Do Whites Perceive Multiculturalism as a Social Identity Contingency?

Thesis

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Taylor Ballinger

Graduate Program in Psychology

The Ohio State University

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Thesis Committee

Jennifer Crocker, Advisor

Steven J. Spencer

Kentaro Fujita

Abstract

Two distinct ideologies have dominated discourse and research on managing diverse groups of people: colorblindness and multiculturalism. Previous research indicates that non-Hispanic Whites react more negatively to multiculturalism because they perceive diversity efforts as exclusionary of their group. However, it remains unclear whether this perceived exclusion triggers social identity threat. Across 4 studies and over 1,000 participants, we examined whether Whites express greater indicators of social identity threat when considering a multicultural versus colorblind ideology. The results consistently indicate that a multicultural ideology does not represent a social identity contingency for Whites in general, Whites higher in ethnic identification, nor Whites higher in need to belong. Additionally, explicitly mentioning Whites in an all-inclusive multicultural ideology does not reduce indicators of social identity threat. The collective evidence suggests Whites respond similarly to colorblind and multicultural framings of diversity, and points to a promising path for facilitating positive intergroup relations.

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Vita

June 2012…….……Zionsville Community High School

May 2016……....B.A. with Honors in Psychology Indiana University - Bloomington

May 2016…….....B.A. in English Indiana University - Bloomington

2016-2018……. Dean's Distinguished Scholar, The Ohio State University

Fields of Study

Major Field: Psychology

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1. Background

Overview

The population of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States is rapidly increasing (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). It is estimated that by 2042, non-Hispanic Whites will no longer constitute over 50% of the U.S. population (Craig & Richeson, 2014a). In response to the increasing diversity of the American population, past research has examined how intergroup relations are shaped by different diversity ideologies: ideas and ideals concerning how diversity is understood and framed in social and organizational settings (Rattan & Ambady, 2013).

Two distinct ideologies have dominated discourse and research on managing diverse groups of people: colorblindness and multiculturalism. Where colorblind ideologies aim to foster positive intergroup relations by focusing on similarities among individuals, multicultural ideologies focus on celebrating racial and ethnic differences (Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). Previous research indicates that non-Hispanic Whites react more negatively to multiculturalism because they perceive diversity efforts as exclusionary of their group (Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011; Unzueta & Binning, 2010). However, recent social movements, such as Black Lives Matter, DREAMers, or I, Too, Am Harvard, have increased Whites' exposure

to diversity and the experiences of underrepresented group members (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015).

In light of evolving attitudes regarding support for diversity in the United States, the present research investigated whether Whites perceive multicultural ideologies as exclusionary and threatening to their social identity. Across 4 studies and over 1,000 participants, we examined whether Whites express greater indicators of social identity threat when considering a multicultural versus colorblind ideology.

Colorblindness and Multiculturalism

Consistent with American ideals of individualism and meritocracy (Plaut, 2002; Thomas & Ely, 1996), the colorblind ideology assumes that beyond superficial differences such as skin color, all people are the same. Accordingly, the colorblind ideology structures intergroup relations by focusing on similarities among members of diverse groups and downplaying differences between groups (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Markus et al., 2000; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). The colorblind ideology is grounded in social categorization theory which suggests that acknowledging group memberships creates in- and outgroup divisions that foster prejudice (Tajfel, 1969; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As a result, the colorblind ideology assumes that deemphasizing group differences decreases prejudices and facilitates positive intergroup relations.

In contrast to the colorblind ideology, the multicultural ideology, also known as cultural pluralism (Fowers & Davidov, 2006) or value diversity approach (Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008), assumes that intergroup relations improve when racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds are acknowledged and celebrated

(Markus et al., 2000; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). Consistent with cultural ideals of America as a nation of immigrants (Kirylo, 2017), the multicultural ideology explicitly calls attention to group memberships (Davies, Steele, & Markus, 2008; Rattan & Ambady, 2013). The multicultural ideology is consistent with contact theory which suggests that learning about group differences breaks down negative stereotypes and increases the quality of intergroup relations (Pettigrew, 1998). In its most generic form, the multicultural ideology emphasizes the importance of group differences because it assumes intergroup relations improve when people are given the opportunity to interact and learn from the unique cultural backgrounds of others.

Multiculturalism and Whites' Perceptions of Exclusion

Previous research suggests that Whites believe multicultural ideologies do not include their group. For example, Unzueta & Binning (2010) asked White, Black, Latino, and Asian undergraduates to rate how relevant various groups were to the concept of diversity. Regardless of their race, participants were less likely to associate Whites with the concept of diversity than all other groups. These findings suggest that racial and ethnic majorities feel excluded by multicultural ideologies, which explicitly call attention to social categories, because they do not perceive their group as relevant to the concept of diversity.

Plaut and colleagues directly examined Whites' perceptions of exclusion in multicultural versus colorblind ideologies. Using a modified IAT, Plaut et al. (2011) asked White participants to pair words conveying either inclusion or exclusion with words associated with colorblindness (e.g., sameness) or multiculturalism (e.g.,

difference). Plaut et al. (2011) found that participants were much faster to pair multicultural words with exclusion (vs. inclusion), suggesting that Whites hold stronger implicit associations between multiculturalism and exclusion. Furthermore, when measuring perceptions of inclusion using self-report measures, Whites were less likely to feel included in a multicultural ideology than were racial and ethnic minorities.

Evidence for the perceived exclusionary nature of multicultural ideologies also emerges from previous research that explicitly mentions racial and ethnic majorities within a multicultural ideology, called *all-inclusive multiculturalism* (AIM; Plaut et al., 2011; Stevens, Plaut, & Sanchez-Burks, 2008). Explicitly mentioning Whites in an AIM ideology reduces perceptions of exclusion compared to a conventional framing of multiculturalism that highlights the importance of group differences without explicitly including Whites (Jansen et al., 2015; Plaut et al., 2011, Stevens et al., 2008). In sum, previous research suggests that Whites perceive multicultural ideologies as exclusionary of their group.

Multiculturalism as a Social Identity Contingency?

Social exclusion based on race or ethnicity has profound consequences for psychological well-being and the quality of intergroup relations (Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991; Mendes, Major, McCoy, & Blascovich, 2008; Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002). People attend to the diversity ideology of an organization to gauge the relational value of their group (Emerson & Murphy, 2015; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Plaut et al., 2011) and experience identity threat when they perceive their group is devalued (Spencer et al., 2002).

Previous research suggests Whites perceive multicultural ideologies as exclusionary of their group (Plaut et al., 2011; Stevens et al., 2008; Unzueta & Binning, 2010). However, it is unclear whether this felt exclusion triggers social identity threat. For example, Plaut et al. (2011) only measured social identity threat via feelings of inclusion. Perceptions of exclusion are one indicator of social identity threat (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Steele et al., 1999; Walton & Cohen, 2007). However, other indicators include negative affect (Crocker et al., 1991; Spencer et al., 1999), expectations of encountering bias as a function of one's devalued identity (Pinel, 1999; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Shelton, 2003), interpersonal concerns (Plant & Devine, 2003), fears of confirming group-relevant stereotypes (Shelton & Richeson, 2006; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Vorauer, 2006), and decreased trust or comfort in a threatening context (Emerson & Murphy, 2015; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). When examining effects of diversity ideologies on these outcomes, previous research offers mixed support for whether multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for White Americans.

Endorsement of diversity ideologies. When experiencing social identity threat, people tend to disengage and withdraw from threatening domains (Cheryan et al., 2009; Murphy et al., 2007; Oyserman, Brickmna, Bybee, & Celious, 2006). If multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for racial and ethnic majorities, we would expect that Whites would prefer colorblind ideologies over multicultural ideologies. However, the evidence is mixed. Indeed, some research indicates that Whites endorse colorblind ideologies more strongly than do racial and ethnic minorities (Plaut et al., 2011; Wolsko et al., 2006; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Verkuyten, 2005)

and believe that colorblind ideologies facilitate positive intergroup relations (Apfelbaum et al., 2008, 2012; Norton et al., 2006; Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007). However, other research suggests that Whites equally endorse colorblind and multicultural ideologies (Morrison & Chung, 2011; Ryan, Casas, & Thompson, 2010; Ryan et al., 2007) and some research even suggests Whites prefer multicultural ideologies when considering intergroup relations between American citizens (Davies et al., 2008). In sum, Whites seem to be equally supportive of multicultural and colorblind ideologies (Rattan & Ambady, 2013).

Indicators of social identity threat. If multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for racial and ethnic majorities, then Whites should experience greater social identity threat when considering a multicultural versus colorblind ideology. However, very little research has measured indicators of identity threat when examining Whites' reactions to multicultural versus colorblind ideologies.

One indicator of social identity threat is lower feelings of inclusion or belonging (Walton & Cohen, 2007). Consistent with multicultural ideologies representing a social identity contingency, Plaut et al. (2011) found that Whites reported lower levels of belonging than racial and ethnic minorities when considering a multicultural ideology. Likewise, Jansen et al. (2015) found that Whites reported higher levels of belonging when considering an AIM ideology that explicitly mentioned their group versus a colorblind ideology. However, previous research has yet to examine whether Whites' feelings of belonging differ between a multicultural versus colorblind ideology.

Identity threat also decreases interest in threatening domains (Murphy et al., 2007; Shapiro & Williams, 2012; Steele et al., 2002). Plaut et al. (2011) found that Whites higher in need to belong perceived a multicultural organization as less attractive than a colorblind organization. However, individuals lower in need to belong did not differ in how attractive they viewed the two organizations. Therefore, previous research suggests that individuals higher in need to belong may be more likely to experience social identity threat when considering a multicultural versus colorblind ideology.

Expectations of performance can signal social identity threat because people expect to perform worse, and actually do so, when their identity is devalued within a group setting (Grover, Ito, & Park, 2017; Logel, Walton, Spencer, Iserman, von Hippel, & Bell, 2009). However, previous research suggests Whites do not differ in how well they think they would perform with others after considering a multicultural versus colorblind ideology (Wilton, Good, Moss-Racusin, & Sanchez, 2015). Taken together, this evidence is not supportive of the idea that Whites experience social identity threat when considering a multicultural versus colorblind ideology.

In sum, past evidence leaves it unclear whether multicultural ideologies signal a social identity contingency for Whites. Therefore, the present work examines the extent to which racial and ethnic majorities display indicators of social identity threat after considering multicultural versus colorblind diversity ideologies.

Evolving Attitudes Toward Diversity and Multiculturalism

Reactions toward multicultural and colorblind ideologies may also be shaped by evolving attitudes toward diversity and multiculturalism in America. In the past ten years,

the United States has witnessed an increase in cultural interest, social movements, and media attention surrounding diversity and the experiences of underrepresented group members (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015). Likewise, cultural attitudes toward diversity in the United States have shifted in the past decade.

Recent data from nationally-representative surveys suggests that Whites have become increasingly supportive of diversity. For example, 53% of White Americans agreed the country needs to continue making changes to give Blacks equal rights with Whites in July 2015 compared to only 36% in November 2009 (Pew Research Center, 2015). Likewise, 2017 data from the NBC/WSJ "Social Trends Poll" indicates 76% of Americans are either comfortable or neutral regarding the nation becoming more diverse and nearly 80% of Americans believe it is important to have diversity in American workplaces (Murray, 2017).

Other data indicates that diversity efforts are not necessarily perceived as threatening by Whites. For example, nationally-representative data from November 2016 reveals that nearly 2/3 of Americans disagree with the idea that increasing diversity comes at the expense of Whites (Cooper, Cox, Lienesch, & Jones, 2016). Likewise, data from the Pew Research Center (2016) finds that only 3% of Americans believe Whites are treated less fairly in the workplace than Black individuals.

However, Whites' support for diversity is contingent upon several individual differences and situational factors. For example, reminding Whites that racial and ethnic minorities will soon outnumber non-Hispanic Whites increases preference for conservative social policies (Craig & Richeson, 2014a) and decreases support for

diversity (Danbold & Huo, 2015). Likewise, the 2016 election polarized political attitudes and national opinion surrounding diversity and race relations (Pew Research Center, 2017). Lastly, some research indicates that White Americans believe prejudice toward Whites has increased steadily since the 1960's (National Public Radio, 2017; Norton & Sommers, 2011)

In sum, research on evolving social attitudes suggests that White Americans may be increasingly open toward diversity and multiculturalism, although some racial resent seems to persist among Whites.

Present Research

The present research examines whether Whites react more negatively to a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology because they perceive the former to be exclusionary of their group. Specifically, it examines whether multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for White Americans. In doing so, we expand upon the literature in three unique ways. First, past work examining reactions to diversity ideologies has indexed identity threat by measuring perceptions of inclusion (Plaut et al., 2011). Here, we draw on a variety of self-report measures that tap into the latent construct of social identity threat – namely, negative emotions, feelings of inclusion, expectations of encountering bias, trust and comfort toward setting, and interpersonal concerns. Second, Plaut et al. (2011) examined reactions to diversity ideologies among White undergraduates majoring in business and current employees of a large healthcare company. Here, we draw on samples of White undergraduates and American adults to examine whether multicultural ideologies trigger social identity threat among a broader

population. Third, previous research examining how racial and ethnic minorities react to different diversity ideologies has manipulated situational cues that signal identity-safety or identity-threat (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). However, past work has yet to examine whether Whites' reactions to multicultural ideologies are affected by the presence of an identity-threatening cue, the presence of an outgroup member.

In the present work, we asked White participants to consider a hypothetical company that articulated a multicultural or colorblind ideology. In addition, we manipulated whether participants imagined working alongside a White or Black coworker. With this design, Study 1 examined whether multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for White Americans, and whether this threat was moderated by the presence of a racial outgroup versus ingroup member.

Chapter 2: Study 1

Overview

In a 2 (diversity ideology: colorblind vs. multicultural) x 2 (coworker race: White vs. Black) factorial design, Study 1 examined how colorblind and multicultural ideologies affect indicators of social identity threat and the quality of intergroup relations. If multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for White Americans, we would predict that Whites who considered a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology would report more negative emotions, greater expectations of encountering bias, lower levels of belonging, less trust and comfort toward the setting, and greater levels of interpersonal concerns.

Additionally, we tested the effect of diversity ideologies on interpersonal goals (Crocker & Canevello, 2008, 2012). When people have self-image goals, they prioritize their needs and desires over others whereas when people have compassionate goals, they care about the well-being of others, seeing their needs and desires as a part of a larger system (Crocker & Canevello, 2008). If multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites, we expect that those who consider a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology would report greater self-image goals because threats to relational value activate the motivation to demonstrate one's worth to others (Crocker et al., in prep). Likewise, Whites should exhibit lower compassionate goals because threat reduces

people's caring about others and increases attention toward the self (Crocker et al., in prep).

Method

Participants and design. Participants were 199 White undergraduates who participated in exchange for course credit. Participants self-reported gender (59.8% female), age (M = 18.9, SD = 2.04), and political ideology (42.4% conservative, 29.3% liberal, 28.3% neither). Sample size was determined using G*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2009) with the goal to detect an effect size of d = 0.4 at 80% power, using oversampling to account for attrition by participants who failed pre-defined manipulation and attention check items.

Participants were excluded from all analyses if they failed to pass any manipulation or attention check items[1]. Two participants failed to recall the coworker's gender, 10 participants failed to recall the coworker's race, and 20 participants failed to pass at least one attention check item surreptitiously located in the study. Attrition did not vary by the diversity ideology manipulation, χ^2 (1, N = 199) = 0.06, p = .810, or coworker race manipulation, χ^2 (1, N = 199) = 2.32, p = .095. Therefore, the reported analyses included 174 participants who were randomly assigned within a 2 (diversity ideology:

[1] For Study 1, including all participants in the analyses did not significantly change the reported results except for the following. Regarding the interaction between diversity ideology and coworker race on estimations of others' self-image goals, a significant interaction emerged, F(1,194) = 3.98, p = .048. Paired contrasts revealed that participants' estimations of others' self-image goals did not vary as a function of coworker race within the colorblind condition, p = .570. However, within the multicultural condition, participants estimated a White coworker would have higher self-image goals than a Black coworker, p = .017.

multicultural vs. colorblind) x 2 (coworker race: White vs. Black) between-subjects design.

Procedure and materials. Participants were informed the experiment examined perceptions of workplace environments. After providing informed consent, participants completed demographic information and then were randomly assigned to condition. In all conditions, participants learned they would read a statement describing the mission and values of an American company, CCG Consulting (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). Participants were told after reading the company's mission statement they would answer several questions about their impressions of the company and what they thought it would be like to work there.

Participants then viewed the mission and values statement of the company (see Appendix A). For all conditions, status threat information (Craig & Richeson, 2014a) was included to enhance the perceived threat of diversity (Danbold & Huo, 2015; Craig & Richeson, 2014b) and intergroup conflict (Correll et al., 2008; Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011). The status threat information began by citing recent census data revealing that racial and ethnic minorities will soon outnumber Whites in the U.S. by the year 2042 (Craig & Richeson, 2014a). The rest of the mission statement contained the diversity ideology manipulation adapted from Wolsko et al. (2000) and Purdie-Vaughns et al. (2008). The ideology manipulation was presented as a mission statement backed by social scientists on ethnic issues in the United States. Specifically, those in the colorblind condition were told that scientific research shows that harmony among groups can be achieved if "we recognize that, at our core, we are all the same." Participants in the colorblind condition

learned in light of these findings, CCG Consulting encourages their "diverse workforce to embrace their similarities" and "looks beyond characteristics such as a person's gender or ethnic background when making [their] employment decisions." In contrast, those in the multicultural condition were told that scientific research shows that harmony among groups can be achieved if "we celebrate the diversity of our nation." Participants in the multicultural condition learned in light of these findings, CCG Consulting believes that "embracing our diversity enriches our culture" and that they "proudly value diverse characteristics such as a person's gender or ethnic background when making our employment decisions."

After reading the mission statement containing the diversity ideology manipulation, all participants were next asked to imagine that they had been hired by CCG and were assigned to work on a challenging project with another new employee (see Appendix B). For the coworker race manipulation, participants were randomly-assigned to consider either a White (Jay or Kristen) or Black (Jermaine or Keisha) coworker, matched for the participant's self-reported gender. Photo stimuli were taken from the Chicago Face Database (Ma, Correll, & Wittenbrink, 2015) and matched for similarity on perceived age, attractiveness, dominance, femininity, threat, and trustworthiness (see Appendix C).

To strengthen the manipulation, participants were asked to consider "it is important to be caring and supportive toward your coworker in order to cooperate and perform well together on the project," but also "it is important to appear competent and intelligent in order to impress people and be successful at the company." Consistent with past work (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2000), participants were then given at least

three minutes to write about their expectations, thoughts, and feelings regarding the mission and values of CCG and what they thought it would be like to work with their coworker. After the free response, participants completed the dependent measures, moderators, and covariates, and were debriefed and dismissed.

Dependent measures. All ratings were made on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree,* 7 *strongly agree*) unless otherwise noted.

Interracial anxiety. Using Plant & Devine's (2003) interracial anxiety measure, participants rated the extent to which working with their coworker would make them feel "awkward," "nervous," "irritable," "enthusiastic" (reverse-scored), and "strong" (reverse-scored). These five items ($\alpha = .84$) formed an index of interracial anxiety such that higher values indicated greater interracial anxiety.

Interpersonal trust. With Fletcher, Simpson, & Thomas's (2000) interpersonal trust measure, participants used a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *extremely)* to assess the extent to which they could "count on [*coworker name*]," "trust [*coworker name*]," "depend on [*coworker name*]," and "be open with [*coworker name*] about your feelings." These four items ($\alpha = .91$) formed a measure of interpersonal trust such that higher values indicated greater trust, or lower levels of interpersonal concerns.

Confidence in others' regard. Following Murray, Holmes, & Griffin (1996), participants used a 9-point scale (1 = *not at all characteristic of me*, 9 = *completely characteristic of me*) to indicate how likely they thought their coworker would focus on their virtues and faults. All items began with the phrase "please indicate how you think [*coworker name*] would see you." Virtues were assessed with 6 items ($\alpha = .81$; e.g.,

"tolerant and accepting") and faults were measured with 10 items (α = .80; e.g., "critical and judgmental") where higher values indicated a greater likelihood of their coworker perceiving their virtues or faults.

Group performance expectations. Following Wilton et al. (2015), participants completed a measure of group performance expectations using eight items that began with the phrase "working with [*coworker name*] at CCG …" and included items such as "I believe we would perform well." These eight items (α = .95) formed a composite measure where higher values indicated higher expectations of group performance.

Zero-sum beliefs. Participants rated their zero-sum beliefs about the company with a scale adapted from Crocker & Canevello (2008). The scale began with the phrase "Working at CCG, I think that …" and included six items such as "in order to succeed, it could be necessary to step on others along the way" and "one person's success would depend on another person's failure." These six items (α = .75) formed an index of zero-sum beliefs where higher values indicated greater beliefs that positive outcomes for one individual come at the expense of others.

Inclusion and belonging. Following Plaut et al., (2011), participants indicated the extent to which they "feel included in CCG's definition of diversity" and the extent to which their "group is included in CCG's definition of diversity." These two items (α = .80) formed an index of belonging where higher values indicated greater feelings of inclusion in the workplace.

Trust and comfort toward setting. Following Purdie-Vaughns et al. (2008), participants indicated their level of agreement with statements regarding trust and

comfort toward the company (e.g., "I think I could 'be myself' at a company like CCG"). These 12 items ($\alpha = .94$) formed a composite measure where higher values indicated greater feelings of trust and comfort toward the company's workplace environment.

Bias expectations. Bias expectations were measured with Wilton et al.'s (2015) bias expectations measure and Dover, Major, & Kaiser's (2016) concerns about unfair treatment measure. Participants rated their level of agreement with statements such as "Working at CCG, I would worry my race/ethnicity would put me at a disadvantage." Due to the similarity of these two scales, we conducted an exploratory factor analysis using direct oblimin rotation ($\Delta = 0$), finding all six items loaded onto a single factor accounting for 58.0% of the variance, with each item loading .71 or higher. As a result, these six items ($\alpha = .84$) were combined into a single measure where higher values indicated greater expectations of encountering bias or unfair treatment at the company.

Availability of opportunities. Adapting a measure from Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong (1998), participants used a 7-point scale to estimate the extent to which they believed "job promotions and career advancement," "power and influence," "bonuses and incentives," and "mentoring opportunities and experiences" would be available to them at CCG. These four items ($\alpha = .85$) measured the perceived availability of opportunities where higher values indicated greater beliefs in being able to access career advancement opportunities.

Interpersonal goals. Compassionate and self-image goals were assessed with 16 items (Crocker & Canevello, 2008). Each item began with the phrase "In my relationship with my coworker, [*coworker name*], I would want or try to …" and all items were rated

on a 5-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *extremely*). Self-image goals were assessed using 7 items (α = .77) and included intentions to "avoid being blamed or criticized," "avoid showing my weaknesses," "demonstrate my intelligence," "avoid the possibility of being wrong," "get [*coworker name*] to do things my way," "convince [*coworker name*] that I am right," and "avoid coming across as unintelligent or incompetent." Compassionate goals were measured using 9 items (α = .80) and included intentions to "be aware of the impact my behavior might have on [*coworker name*]'s feelings," "avoid being selfish or self-centered," "be constructive in my comments to [*coworker name*]," "avoid neglecting my relationship with [*coworker name*]," "make a positive difference in [*coworker name*]'s life," "be supportive of [*coworker name*]," "avoid doing things that aren't helpful to me or [*coworker name*]," have compassion for [*coworker name*]'s mistakes and weaknesses," and "avoid doing anything that would be harmful to [*coworker name*]."

Others' interpersonal goals. Participants were also asked to estimate their coworker's interpersonal goals toward them using a modified version of Crocker & Canevello's (2008) scale. All items began with the phrase "In [*coworker name*]'s relationship with me, I think s/he would want or try to …" Self-image goals were assessed using 7 items (α = .85; e.g., "get me to do things their way") and compassionate goals were measured using 9 items (α = .88; e.g., "be supportive of me").

Manipulation and attention check items. To assess the effectiveness of the diversity ideology manipulation, participants used a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *extremely*) to rate the extent to which group differences were valued at CCG (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). To assess the effectiveness of the coworker race manipulation,

participants were asked to recall the race and gender of their imagined coworker in a multiple-choice format. To ensure comprehension of the status threat information, participants were asked to identify which racial group (1 = *Whites*, 2 = *racial minorities*) is the primary contributor to population growth in the United States (Craig & Richeson, 2014a). Lastly, two attention check items were surreptitiously located in the dependent measures. Each item read "I am reading this question and will select 'Agree' as my answer." These two items were included in measures of trust and comfort toward setting and group performance expectations.

Level of ethnic identification. Following Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra (2010), participants used a 7-point scale to rate their level of agreement with items such as "In general, my racial/ethnic group is an important part of my self-image." These eight items (α = .84) comprised a measure of ethnic identification where higher values indicated greater perceptions of one's race or ethnicity as more central to the self-concept.

Need to belong. Using Leary, Kelly, Cottrell, & Schreindorfer's (2013) measure, participants used a 7-point scale to rate items such as "I want other people to accept me." These 10 items (α = .84) formed an index of need to belong such that higher values indicated a greater desire for social belongingness.

System-justifying beliefs. Following O'Brien & Major (2005), participants used a 7-point scale to rate items such as "If people work hard they almost always get what they want." These 16 items (α = .83) formed an index of system-justifying beliefs where higher values indicated greater inclinations to support the status quo.

Outgroup contact. With Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou's (2008) measure, participants indicated the number of friends they have who are White, Black, Asian, and Hispanic/Latino using four five-point scales (1 = *none*, 2 = *one*, 3 = *two to five*, 4 = *five to ten*, 5 = *over ten*). For each group, participants were then asked to use a 5-point scale (1 = *never*, 5 = *all the time*) to rate how often they spent time with friends of each race or ethnicity. An index of outgroup contact was calculated by multiplying the quantity of Black friends by the frequency of contact, with higher values indicating more previous contact with Black individuals.

Demographics. Participants reported their gender, age, race, ethnicity, and primary language. Perceived socioeconomic status was measured using a 10-point socioeconomic status ladder (Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000). Participants also reported their political ideology (liberal, conservative, or neither) and the strength of that ideology (slightly, moderately, or strongly). Political ideology scores were transformed to a 7-point scale where higher values indicated greater political conservatism.

Results

Analytical strategy. We first assessed the effectiveness of the diversity ideology manipulation by examining perceptions of how much the company valued group differences. Next, we examined the effects of diversity ideology (colorblind vs. multicultural) and coworker race (White vs. Black) on indicators of social identity threat and the quality of intergroup relations. We then examined whether ethnic identification and need to belong moderated the effect of diversity ideology on indicators of social

identity threat. Finally, we conducted additional analyses using the manipulation check and participants' free responses to examine the extent to which multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites.

Manipulation check. A 2 (diversity ideology: colorblind or multicultural) x 2 (coworker race: White or Black) ANOVA examined the effect of diversity ideology on how much participants believed the company valued group differences. Levene's test revealed the homogeneity of variance assumption was violated, $F(1,169) = 31.57$, $p < .001$. Therefore, degrees of freedom were adjusted to 134.22 and Welch's ANOVA revealed a significant effect of diversity ideology, $F(31,134.22) = 9.47$, $p = .002$. As expected, those in the multicultural condition ($M = 5.86$, $SD = 1.37$) believed the company valued group differences more than those in the colorblind condition ($M = 4.98$, $SD = 2.30$), $F(1,171) = 9.09$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2_p = .052$. There was no main effect of coworker race or interaction between coworker race and diversity ideology, Fs < 2.44, ps > .120. In other words, the results of the manipulation check suggest participants who considered a multicultural ideology perceived the company valued group differences more than those in the colorblind condition, although both groups were above the midpoint of the scale.

Effect of diversity ideology on social identity threat and intergroup relations. We first tested whether the indicators of social identity threat (e.g., interracial anxiety, bias expectations, feelings of inclusion) and intergroup relations (e.g., interpersonal goals) vary as a function of diversity ideology and coworker race. Each dependent variable was entered into a 2 (diversity ideology: colorblind vs. multicultural) x 2 (coworker race: White vs. Black) ANOVA. Referring to Table 1, there was no effect of diversity ideology

Table 1. Effect of diversity ideology on dependent variables in Study 1

	Diversity Ideology		
Dependent Variable	Colorblind	Multicultural	*F*
Interracial Anxiety	3.34 (1.07)	3.26 (1.23)	0.18
Interpersonal Trust	4.74 (1.05)	4.63 (1.07)	0.59
Perceived Virtues	6.94 (1.08)	6.84 (1.03)	0.35
Perceived Faults	3.25 (1.10)	3.31 (1.10)	0.19
Group Performance Expectations	5.60 (0.90)	5.73 (0.70)	0.99
Zero-Sum Beliefs	3.19 (0.93)	3.12 (1.00)	0.17
Inclusion Concerns	4.81 (1.55)	4.77 (1.42)	0.03
Trust and Comfort Toward Setting	5.54 (0.94)	5.45 (0.91)	0.50
Bias Expectations	2.72 (0.89)	2.89 (1.05)	1.35
Availability of Opportunities	4.88 (0.92)	4.85 (0.96)	0.07
Self-Image Goals	3.07 (0.60)	3.03 (0.58)	0.17
Compassionate Goals	4.17 (0.50)	3.99 (0.46)	**6.47***
Estimations of Others' Self-Image Goals	3.24 (0.69)	3.30 (0.72)	0.34
Estimations of Others' Compassionate Goals	3.89 (0.62)	3.69 (0.60)	**4.81***

Note. Values of diversity ideology reflect the group means collapsed across coworker race. Values in parentheses represent standard deviation of group. Values of *F* represent the $F(1,170)$ test statistics for the main effect of diversity ideology $^*p < .05$

on any indicators of social identity threat, Fs < 1.35, ps > .246. In other words, the results consistently indicate that multicultural ideologies do not evoke greater experiences of social identity threat than colorblind ideologies.

However, some evidence emerged for the deleterious effect of multicultural ideologies on intergroup relations. Diversity ideology did not affect self-image goals or estimations of others' self-image goals, Fs < 0.34, ps > .561. However, for compassionate goals, a main effect of diversity ideology emerged (see Figure 1) such that participants in the multicultural condition (M = 3.99, SD = 0.46) reported lower compassionate goals toward their coworker than those in the colorblind condition (M = 4.17, SD = 0.50), $F(1,169) = 6.47$, $p = .011$, $\eta^2_p = .037$. Likewise, diversity ideology affected participants' estimations of others' compassionate goals (see Figure 2) such that participants in the multicultural condition (M = 3.69, SD = 0.60) estimated their coworker would have lower compassionate goals than those in colorblind condition (M = 3.89, SD = 0.62), $F(1,170) = 4.81$, $p = .030$, $\eta^2_p = .028$.

Taken together, these data suggest multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideologies do not represent a social identity contingency for Whites. However, the findings from Study 1 suggest multicultural ideologies reduce racial and ethnic majorities' compassionate intentions toward others as well as reducing estimations of others' compassionate intentions toward them.

Interaction between diversity ideology and coworker race. Given previous research examines how the presence of outgroup members can increase the perceived threat of a social identity contingency (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008), we next examined

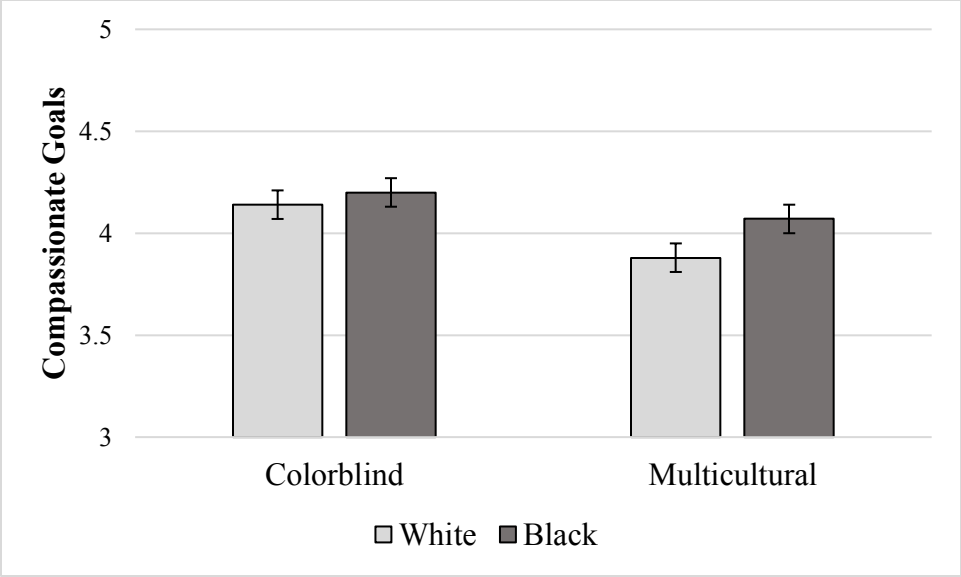

Figure 1. Effect of diversity ideology and coworker race on compassionate goals in Study 1

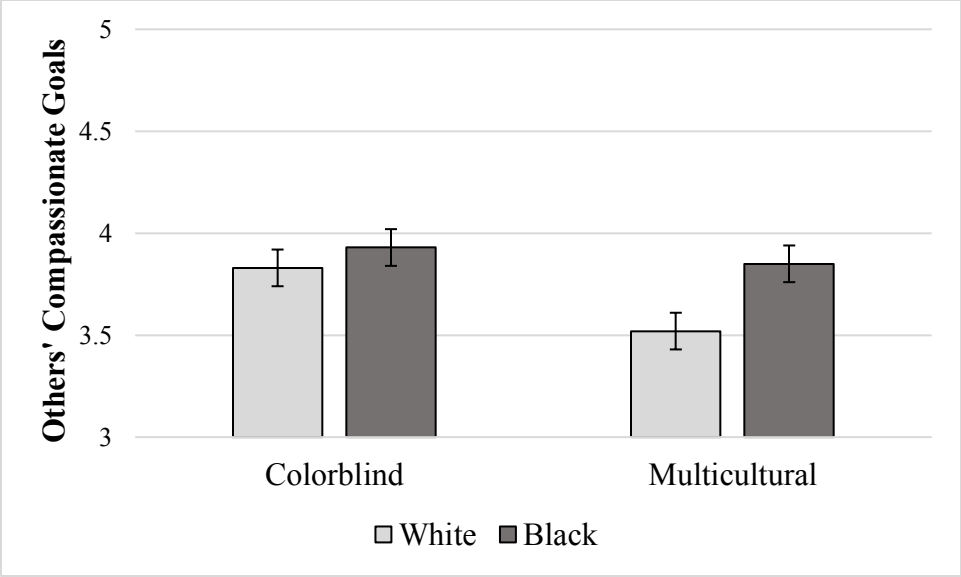

Figure 2. Effect of diversity ideology and coworker race on estimations of others' compassionate goals in Study 1

interactions between diversity ideology and coworker race. However, diversity ideology and coworker race did not interact to significantly affect any indicators of social identity threat, Fs < 3.17, ps > .077. Taken together, the absence of any interaction between diversity ideology and coworker race suggests the presence of an outgroup (vs. ingroup) member does not affect the perceived threat of a multicultural ideology.

Moderation by ethnic identification and need to belong. The results do not support the idea that multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites. However, previous research suggests that multicultural ideologies may trigger social identity threat among Whites higher in ethnic identification (Morrison et al., 2010) and need to belong (Plaut et al., 2011). Therefore, we next tested whether the effects of diversity ideology on indicators of social identity threat were moderated by ethnic identification or need to belong. Neither moderator was affected by the manipulation of diversity ideology, coworker race, or their interaction, Fs < 2.00, ps > .159.

Ethnic identification. First, we used Hayes (2017) Process model 1 to test whether ethnic identification moderated the effect of a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology on indicators of social identity threat. Consistent with past work, we expected that Whites higher in ethnic identification, who see their race as more central to their self-concept, would be more likely to perceive multicultural ideologies as threatening to their group's status, and thus display greater indicators of social identity threat (Morrison et al., 2010). For each dependent measure, diversity ideology (0 = colorblind, 1 = multicultural) was entered as the independent variable, ethnic identification as the moderator, coworker race

as a covariate[2], and significant interactions were probed at ±1 SD from the mean of the moderator. However, ethnic identification did not moderate the effect of diversity ideology on any of the dependent measures (see Table 2). In other words, a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology did not signal a social identity contingency among Whites higher in ethnic identification.

Need to belong. Next, we used Hayes' (2017) Process model 1 to test whether need to belong moderated the effect of a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology on indicators of social identity threat. Consistent with past work, we expected that individuals higher in need to belong, who are more sensitive to threats of social exclusion, would be more likely to perceive multicultural ideologies as exclusionary of their group, and therefore exhibit greater indicators of social identity threat (Plaut et al., 2011). For each dependent variable, diversity ideology (0 = colorblind, 1 = multicultural) was entered as the independent variable, need to belong as the moderator, coworker race as a covariate[3], and

[2] Though not central to our primary hypothesis, we also tested whether the costs of threatening diversity ideologies were moderated by a three-way interaction between diversity ideology, coworker race, and level of ethnic identification. For each dependent variable, we used Hayes (2017) Process model 3, entering diversity ideology (0 = colorblind, 1 = multicultural) as the independent variable, coworker race (0 = White, 1 = Black) as a moderator, and level of ethnic identification was entered as the second moderator. The results indicated the interaction between coworker race and ethnic identification did not moderate the effect of diversity ideology on any of the dependent measures, ΔR^2s < .018, *F*s < 3.45, *p*s > .065.

[3] Though not central to our primary hypothesis, we also tested whether experiences of social identity threat were moderated by the three-way interaction between diversity ideology, coworker race, and need to belong. For each dependent variable, we used Hayes (2017) Process model 3, entering diversity ideology (0 = colorblind, 1 = multicultural) as the independent variable, coworker race (0 = White, 1 = Black) as a moderator, and one's need to belong was entered as the second moderator. The results indicated that the interaction between coworker race and ethnic identification did not moderate the effect of diversity ideology across almost all the dependent measures, ΔR^2s < .019, *F*s < 3.465, *p*s > .064. However, a significant interaction emerged between diversity ideology, coworker race, and need to belong on the extent to which participants believed career advancement opportunities would be available to them at the company, $R^2 = .022$, $F(1,166) = 3.95$, $p = .048$. Conditional effects analyses revealed that there was no interaction between diversity ideology and coworker race amongst those lower in need to belong, $F(1,166) = 0.005$, $p = .939$. However, a two-way interaction emerged amongst those higher in need to belong,

Table 2. Interaction between diversity ideology and ethnic identification in Study 1

Dependent Variable	ΔR^2	*F*	*p*
Interracial Anxiety	.002	0.44	.508
Interpersonal Trust	.001	0.24	.623
Perceived Virtues	.001	0.18	.669
Perceived Faults	< .001	0.06	.807
Group Performance Expectations	.007	1.28	.260
Zero-Sum Beliefs	.009	1.65	.201
Inclusion Concerns	.008	1.33	.249
Trust and Comfort Toward Setting	.007	1.11	.293
Bias Expectations	.005	0.85	.357
Availability of Opportunities	< .001	0.10	.748
Self-Image Goals	.002	0.32	.574
Compassionate Goals	.001	0.21	.646
Estimations of Others' Self-Image Goals	.002	0.41	.523
Estimations of Others' Compassionate Goals	.001	0.15	.701

Note. ΔR^2, *F*, and *p* represent the change in R^2, $F(1,169)$ test statistics, and *p* values for the interaction between diversity ideology and ethnic identification on the dependent measures using Hayes (2017) Process model 1.

$F(1,166) = 7.42$, $p = .007$. Conditional effects analyses revealed coworker race did not affect the perceived amount of career advancement opportunities for participants in the multicultural condition, b = -.01, *SE* = 0.28, $p = .963$. However, among those in the colorblind condition, participants expected more career advancement opportunities when they were paired with a White (vs. Black) coworker, b = -0.75, *SE* = 0.28, $p = .008$.

significant interactions were probed at ±1 SD from the mean of the moderator. However, need to belong did not moderate the effect of diversity ideology on any indicators of social identity threat (see Table 3).

In sum, the results suggest multicultural ideologies do not represent a social identity contingency for Whites in general, for Whites higher in ethnic identification, who see their race as more central to their self-concept, or for Whites higher in need to belong, who are more vigilant to threats of social exclusion.

Free responses. Next, we used LIWC (Pennebaker, Boyd, Jordan, & Blackburn, 2015) to analyze free responses for evidence that multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites. Previous research indicates experiences of social identity threat focus attention on the self (Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998; Vorauer, 2006) and increase negative affect (Crocker et al., 1991; Spencer et al., 1999). Therefore, if considering a multicultural ideology represents a social identity contingency for Whites, we would expect greater levels of ego involvement through increased use of first-person singular pronouns (i) and decreased use of first-person plural pronouns (we). Likewise, we would anticipate participants would exhibit decreased amounts of positive emotions (posemo) and increased amounts of negative emotions (negemo), specifically anxiety (anx) and anger (anger). To test this, each linguistic count was entered into a 2 (diversity ideology: colorblind vs. multicultural) x 2 (coworker race: White vs. Black) ANOVA. The length of participants' free responses was not impacted by diversity ideology, coworker race, or their interaction, Fs $(1,170) < 1.53$, ps $> .218$.

Table 3. Interaction between diversity ideology and need to belong in Study 1

Dependent Variable	ΔR^2	*F*	*p*
Interracial Anxiety	.001	0.20	.655
Interpersonal Trust	.011	2.16	.143
Perceived Virtues	.015	2.70	.102
Perceived Faults	.007	1.15	.285
Group Performance Expectations	< .001	< .01	.989
Zero-Sum Beliefs	.008	1.36	.244
Inclusion Concerns	.010	1.64	.202
Trust and Comfort Toward Setting	< .001	0.06	.808
Bias Expectations	.018	3.07	.081
Availability of Opportunities	< .001	0.02	.894
Self-Image Goals	.002	0.29	.592
Compassionate Goals	< .001	0.13	.716
Estimations of Others' Self-Image Goals	.006	1.12	.291
Estimations of Others' Compassionate Goals	.002	0.29	.593

Note. ΔR^2, *F*, and *p* represent the change in R^2, $F(1,169)$ test statistics, and *p* values for the interaction between diversity ideology and need to belong on the dependent measures using Hayes (2017) Process model 1.

Table 4. Effect of diversity ideology and coworker race on free responses in Study 1

		Descriptive Statistics		***F* Statistics**	
Linguistic Count	Term	Group Means		*F*	*p*
i	Diversity Ideology	*Colorblind* 6.29 (3.02)	*Multicultural* 6.23 (3.43)	0.05	.824
	Coworker Race	*Ingroup* 5.77 (3.56)	*Outgroup* 6.71 (2.83)	3.68	.057
	Interaction	*Colorblind Ingroup* 6.35**ab** (3.28)	*Colorblind Outgroup* 6.24**ab** (2.80)	**4.96**	**.033**
		Multicultural Ingroup 5.21**a** (3.77)	*Multicultural Outgroup* 7.16**b** (2.82)		
we	Diversity Ideology	*Colorblind* 0.96 (1.59)	*Multicultural* 0.98 (1.30)	< .01	.966
	Coworker Race	*Ingroup* 1.08 (1.66)	*Outgroup* 0.87 (1.21)	0.99	.321
	Interaction	*Colorblind Ingroup* 1.30**a** (2.02)	*Colorblind Outgroup* 0.66**b** (0.97)	3.59	.051
		Multicultural Ingroup 0.87**ab** (1.20)	*Multicultural Outgroup* 1.08**ab** (1.39)		
posemo	Diversity Ideology	*Colorblind* 6.14 (3.11)	*Multicultural* 6.91 (2.78)	2.97	.087
	Coworker Race	*Ingroup* 7.03 (3.08)	*Outgroup* 6.08 (2.78)	**4.59**	**.034**
	Interaction	*Colorblind Ingroup* 6.63**a** (3.31)	*Colorblind Outgroup* 5.70**a** (2.88)	< .01	.960
		Multicultural Ingroup 7.42**a** (2.83)	*Multicultural Outgroup* 6.44**a** (2.67)		
negemo	Diversity Ideology	*Colorblind* 0.58 (0.92)	*Multicultural* 0.88 (1.24)	3.18	.076
	Coworker Race	*Ingroup* 0.71 (0.97)	*Outgroup* 0.75 (1.21)	0.05	.822
	Interaction	*Colorblind Ingroup* 0.59**a** (0.85)	*Colorblind Outgroup* 0.56**a** (0.98)	0.17	.685

		Multicultural Ingroup	*Multicultural Outgroup*		
		0.82**a** (1.08)	0.93**a** (1.39)		

		Descriptive Statistics		***F* Statistics**	
Linguistic Count	Term	Group Means		*F*	*p*
anx	Diversity Ideology	*Colorblind* 0.20 (0.52)	*Multicultural* 0.15 (0.46)	0.55	.459
	Coworker Race	*Ingroup* 0.23 (0.56)	*Outgroup* 0.13 (0.41)	1.63	.203
	Interaction	*Colorblind Ingroup* 0.29**a** (0.64)	*Colorblind Outgroup* 0.12**a** (0.36)	0.83	.364
		Multicultural Ingroup 0.16**a** (0.46)	*Multicultural Outgroup* 0.14**a** (0.46)		
anger	Diversity Ideology	*Colorblind* 0.07 (0.33)	*Multicultural* 0.18 (0.49)	3.28	.072
	Coworker Race	*Ingroup* 0.15 (0.43)	*Outgroup* 0.10 (0.41)	0.46	.498
	Interaction	*Colorblind Ingroup* 0.06**a** (0.28)	*Colorblind Outgroup* 0.07**a** (0.37)	0.77	.381
		Multicultural Ingroup 0.23**a** (0.53)	*Multicultural Outgroup* 0.13**a** (0.44)		

Note. Linguistic count refers to the LIWC (Pennebaker et al., 2015) linguistic dictionary index. Term represents the main effect of diversity ideology $F(1,170)$, main effect of coworker race $F(1,170)$, and their interaction term, $F(1,170)$. Across each row, group means are presented with standard deviations in parentheses. For significant interactions, values that do not share similar subscripts significantly differ $p < .05$.

Regarding Table 4, marginal main effects of diversity ideology emerged such that participants who considered a multicultural ideology exhibited slightly more negative emotions and anger than those in the colorblind ideology, *p*s = .076 and .072 respectively. However, participants also exhibited slightly more positive emotions in the multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology, suggesting greater amounts of affective processing in general. Lastly, diversity ideology did not affect levels of ego-involvement when indexed by the frequency of first-person singular or plural pronouns.

Taken together, linguistic analyses suggest that participants exhibited slightly more negativity toward a multicultural ideology when indexed via negative affect, yet also expressed marginally more positivity. However, the lack of significant differences on the self-report measures call into question whether multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites.

Association between value of group differences and social identity threat. Lastly, the hypothesis that multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites assumes that communicating the value of group differences unintentionally excludes Whites who do not associate themselves with the concept of diversity (Stevens et al., 2008; Unzueta & Binning, 2010). If this was the case, we would expect a positive association to emerge between perceptions of how much the company valued group differences and indicators of social identity threat.

To test this, we conducted zero-order correlations between the manipulation check and dependent measures. However, Whites' perceptions of how much the company valued group differences were not positively related to any indicators of social identity

threat (see Table 5). In fact, the only significant association was in the opposite direction such that the more participants believed group differences were valued by the company, the greater trust and comfort they felt toward the work environment, $r = .19$, $p = .015$. Taken together, these results suggest a multicultural ideology's focus on valuing group differences is not associated with increased indicators of social identity threat among Whites.

Discussion

In Study 1, we tested whether multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites. If communicating the value of group differences unintentionally excludes Whites who do not associate themselves with the concept of diversity, then we would expect greater indicators of social identity threat when Whites consider a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology. However, the results do not support this view. Specifically, exposing Whites to a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology did not consistently impact indicators of social identity threat as indexed by negative emotions, expectations of bias, feelings of inclusion or belonging, trust and comfort toward setting, and interpersonal concerns. Taken together, Study 1 suggests that overall, multicultural ideologies do not represent a social identity contingency for Whites.

Beyond the absence of a main effect, we also tested whether Whites higher in need to belong or ethnic identification were more likely to experience social identity threat when considering a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology. However, the data do not support these predictions either. In contrast to previous work (Morrison et al., 2010; Plaut et al., 2011), the evidence suggests that multicultural ideologies are not perceived as a

Table 5. Zero-order correlation between value of group differences and dependent measures in Study 1

Dependent Variable	*r*
Compassionate Goals	.02
Self-Image Goals	< .01
Others' Compassionate Goals	.05
Others' Self-Image Goals	.03
Interracial Anxiety	-.08
Interpersonal Trust	.13
Perceived Virtues	.12
Perceived Faults	-.12
Group Performance Expectations	.09
Zero-Sum Beliefs	.01
Inclusion Concerns	.13
Trust and Comfort Toward Setting	**.19***
Bias Expectations	-.05
Availability of Opportunities	.02

Note. Values reflect Pearson's *r* correlation values between dependent measures and how much participants believed the company valued group differences. *$p < .05$

social identity contingency among Whites high in ethnic identification, who see their race as more central to the self-concept, or among Whites high in need to belong, who are more vigilant to signs of social exclusion.

In general, our findings do not consistently support the hypothesis that Whites experience social identity threat when considering a multicultural ideology. However, some evidence did emerge to suggest multicultural ideologies decrease the quality of intergroup relations. Specifically, participants who considered a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology reported lower compassionate goals toward others as well as estimated others would exhibit reduced compassionate intentions toward them. Additionally, Whites expressed slightly more negative affect when writing about their expectations of a multicultural (vs. colorblind) company. However, due to the small effect sizes of these linguistic results, as well as their inconsistency with the self-report measures, Study 2 aims to replicate these findings before considering their implications for the theory.

Perhaps the most critical finding from Study 1 concerns the absence of any association between the manipulation check and dependent measures. If communicating the value of group differences unintentionally excludes Whites who do not perceive themselves as included in diversity-related efforts (Stevens et al., 2008; Unzueta & Binning, 2010), then we would expect a positive association to emerge between how much the company values group differences and indicators of social identity threat. However, the data revealed no such relationship. Taken together, the findings indicate a

multicultural ideology's focus on valuing group differences does not trigger social identity threat among Whites.

In Study 2, we aimed to replicate and expand upon these findings by drawing on a sample of American adults. Additionally, we included a second manipulation check to bolster the internal validity of the diversity ideology manipulation. Lastly, given the inconsistency of our findings with previous research on diversity ideologies (Wolsko et al., 2000), Study 2 included conventional measures of intergroup relations used in previous work. Specifically, we included feeling thermometers to assess how diversity ideologies shape affective expressions of prejudice (Wolsko et al., 2000) and an allocation task to examine how diversity ideologies affect behavioral expressions of prejudice (Morrison et al, 2010).

Chapter 3: Study 2

Overview

Study 2 followed the design and procedures of Study 1 with the following exceptions.

Method

Participants and design. Participants were 322 White MTurk users who participated in exchange for $0.60. Participants self-reported gender (53.9% female), age (M = 40.0, SD = 12.9), and political ideology (48.1% liberal, 38.4% conservative, 13.6% neither). Sample size was determined using G*Power (Faul et al., 2009), with the goal to detect an effect size of d = 0.4 at 80% power, using oversampling to account for attrition by participants who failed pre-defined manipulation and attention check items. Participants were excluded from all analyses if they failed to complete the study or to pass all manipulation and attention check items. Eighty participants failed to complete the entire study, however attrition did not vary by the diversity ideology or coworker race manipulations, χ^2s (1, N = 309) < 1.45, ps > .229.

Regarding the 258 participants who completed the entire study, one participant failed to recall the target's gender, 12 participants failed to recall the target's race, and 32 participants failed to pass at least one attention check item surreptitiously located in the dependent measures. Exclusion from analyses did not vary by the diversity ideology

manipulation, χ^2 (1, N = 258) = 0.19, p = .666. However, participants were more likely to be excluded from the analyses if they were paired with a White (vs. Black) coworker, χ^2 (1, N = 258) = 9.43, p = .002. Despite an overall effect of exclusion by the coworker race manipulation, participants in the White (vs. Black) coworker condition were not more likely to fail any single manipulation or attention check item, χ^2s (1, N = 258) < 3.61, ps > .058. In sum, 221 participants were included in the analyses[4].

Procedure and materials. The procedures and materials were identical to Study 1 with the following exceptions. After considering the diversity ideology manipulation, participants were given a minimum of 30 seconds to write about their expectations, thoughts, and feelings regarding the mission and values of CCG and what they thought it would be like to work with their coworker.

Dependent measures. Study 2 omitted the following measures from Study 1 due to time constraints: concern for others' regard, trust and comfort toward setting, system-justifying beliefs, and need to belong. The remaining dependent measures reported in Study 1 produced acceptable reliability ratings in Study 2 (α's > .77). Additionally, Study 2 included the following dependent measures.

Affective prejudice expression. Consistent with previous work (Wolsko et al., 2000), participants used feeling thermometers (0 = *very cold*, *100* = *very warm*) to rate how warmly or coolly they felt toward eight different groups of coworkers. Embedded within these eight groups were two critical groups assessing affective prejudice toward

[4] For Study 2, including all participants in analyses did not significantly change the reported results.

White and Black coworkers. The measures were scored such that lower values indicated greater expressions of affective prejudice toward racial ingroup and outgroup members.

Behavioral prejudice expression. Consistent with previous work (Morrison et al., 2010), participants were asked to imagine employees at CCG had input in how funds were allocated to different organizations sponsored by the company. Participants were told that some organizations are accessible to all employees (e.g., Coworker Health and Exercise Program) where other organizations are accessible to particular groups of employees (e.g., Minority Recruitment Program). Using two sliding scales (0% to 100%), participants were asked to allocate a limited amount of discretionary funds between organizations accessible to all employees and organizations accessible to particular groups of employees. Behavioral prejudice was calculated by subtracting the percentage allocated to organizations accessible to particular groups from the percentage allocated to organizations accessible to all employees, where higher values indicate greater behavioral expressions of prejudice.

Perceived intentionality of racial discrimination. The extent to which individuals believe acts of racism are intentional was measured using Apfelbaum et al.'s (2017) perceived intentionality of racial discrimination (PIRD) scale. These four items (α = .88) were combined such that higher values represented greater beliefs in the intentionality of racial discrimination.

Manipulation check. To verify the internal validity of the diversity ideology manipulation, participants used a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *extremely*) to rate the extent to which individual characteristics were acknowledged or noticed at CCG.

Results

Analytical strategy. We first assessed the effectiveness of the diversity ideology manipulation by examining perceptions of how much the company valued and acknowledged group differences. Next, we examined the effects of diversity ideology (multicultural vs. colorblind) and coworker race (White vs. Black) on indicators of social identity threat and the quality of intergroup relations. We then examined whether the effects of diversity ideology on social identity threat were moderated by ethnic identification. Finally, we conducted additional analyses using participants' free responses and the manipulation check items to examine the extent to which multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites.

Manipulation Checks. A 2 (diversity ideology: colorblind vs. multicultural) x 2 (coworker race: White vs. Black) ANOVA examined the effectiveness of the diversity ideology manipulation on perceptions of how much the company valued group differences. The expected effect emerged such that participants believed the company valued group differences more in the multicultural ($M = 6.39$, $SD = 1.09$) versus colorblind ($M = 5.36$, $SD = 1.99$) condition, $F(1,217) = 21.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .091$. Additionally, neither a main effect of coworker race or an interaction between diversity ideology and coworker race emerged, Fs < 1.40, ps > .238.

A 2 (diversity ideology: colorblind vs. multicultural) x 2 (coworker race: White vs. Black) ANOVA also examined the effect of diversity ideology on perceptions of how much the company acknowledged group differences. The analyses revealed the expected effect such that participants believed group differences were acknowledged more in the

multicultural condition (M = 6.14, SD = 1.19) than in the colorblind condition (M = 4.01, SD = 2.34), $F(1,210) = 69.66$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .249$. Again, this was not affected by the coworker race manipulation or an interaction between diversity ideology and coworker race, Fs < 0.82, ps > .366. Taken together, these results suggest a successful manipulation as those in the multicultural condition perceived the company valued and acknowledged group differences more than those in the colorblind condition.

Effect of diversity ideology on indicators of social identity threat and intergroup relations. To test whether multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites, we first examined whether indicators of social identity threat (e.g., interracial anxiety, bias expectations) and intergroup relations (e.g., interpersonal goals) vary as a function of diversity ideology. Each dependent variable was entered into a 2 (diversity ideology: colorblind vs. multicultural) x 2 (coworker race: White vs. Black) ANOVA. As Table 6 shows, there was no effect of diversity ideology across any indicators of social identity threat, Fs < 1.35, ps > .246. Consistent with Study 1, the results revealed those who considered a multicultural ideology did not exhibit greater indicators of social identity threat than those who considered a colorblind ideology.

However, some evidence emerged for the deleterious effect of multicultural ideologies on intergroup relations. In contrast to Study 1, diversity ideologies did not affect participants' compassionate goals or their estimations of others' compassionate goals (see Table 6). However, a main effect of diversity ideology emerged for participants' estimations of others' self-image goals such that those in the multicultural condition (M = 3.41, SD = 0.75) estimated others would exhibit higher self-image goals

Table 6. Effect of diversity ideology and coworker race on dependent variables in Study 2

	Independent Variable		
Dependent Variable	Diversity Ideology	Coworker Race	Interaction
Interracial Anxiety	1.96	**7.45*** **	0.07
Interpersonal Trust	0.12	2.79	1.15
Group Performance Expectations	0.51	2.13	1.30
Zero-Sum Beliefs	0.03	0.66	0.71
Inclusion Concerns	1.16	0.32	0.50
Bias Expectations	0.52	0.09	1.14
Availability of Opportunities	0.77	0.05	1.49
Compassionate Goals	0.06	0.95	0.34
Self-Image Goals	0.96	3.78	0.01
Others' Compassionate Goals	0.09	0.01	0.15
Others' Self-Image Goals	**3.93***	**3.87***	0.94
White Feeling Thermometer	0.68	< .01	0.04
Black Feeling Thermometer	0.42	0.16	0.77
Behavioral Prejudice	0.04	0.12	0.16

Note. Values of the independent variable represent the $F(1,217)$ test statistics for the main effect of diversity ideology, coworker race, and their interaction for each dependent measure *$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; ***$p < .001$.

than in the colorblind condition (M = 3.21, SD = 0.78), $F(1,217) = 3.93$, $p = .049$, η^2_p = .018. However, the small effect size of this finding, and its failure to emerge in Study 1, calls for replication.

Taken together, the data from Study 2 provide further evidence against the idea that multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites. In addition, the findings from Study 2 call into question whether a multicultural ideology has deleterious effects on intergroup relations as affective and behavioral expressions of prejudice did not differ as a function of diversity ideology nor did a multicultural ideology lower participants' compassionate goals as it did in Study 1.

Interaction between diversity ideology and coworker race on social identity threat and intergroup relations. Given previous research examining how the presence of an outgroup member can enhance the effects of a social identity contingency (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008), we again examined interactions between diversity ideology and coworker race. In other words, we examined whether the presence of an outgroup member increased the perceived threat of a multicultural ideology. However, indicators of social identity threat were not affected by any interaction between diversity ideology and coworker race (see Table 6), Fs < 1.49, ps > .223. Put simply, multicultural ideologies were not perceived to be a greater threat to Whites' social identity when they were presented in tandem with the presence of an outgroup (vs. ingroup) member. In sum, these findings suggest multicultural ideologies do not represent a social identity contingency for Whites.

Moderation of diversity ideologies by ethnic identification. As in Study 1, we next tested whether ethnic identification moderated the extent to which multicultural ideologies increased indicators of social identity threat. Again, we expected that Whites higher in ethnic identification, who see their race as ethnicity as more important to their self-image, would experience increased social identity threat when considering a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology (Morrison et al., 2010). Ethnic identification was not affected by the manipulation of diversity ideology, coworker race, or their interaction, Fs < 3.01, ps > .081.

Using Hayes (2017) Process model 1, diversity ideology (0 = colorblind, 1 = multicultural) was entered as the independent variable, ethnic identification as the moderator, coworker race as a covariate[5], and significant interactions were probed at ±1 SD from the mean of the ethnic identification for each dependent variable. Consistent with Study 1, ethnic identification did not moderate the effect of diversity ideology on

[5] Though not central to our primary hypothesis, we also tested whether experiences of social identity threat were moderated by a three-way interaction between diversity ideology, coworker race, and one's level of ethnic identification. For each dependent variable, we used Hayes (2017) Process model 3, entering diversity ideology (0 = colorblind, 1 = multicultural) as the independent variable, coworker race (0 = White, 1 = Black) as a moderator, and one's level of ethnic identification was entered as the second moderator. The results indicated that the interaction between coworker race and ethnic identification did not moderate the effect of diversity ideology on almost all the dependent measures, ΔR^2s < .012, Fs > 2.75, ps < .098. However, a significant three-way interaction between diversity ideology, coworker race, and ethnic identification emerged on the amount of affective prejudice expressed toward Black individuals, ΔR^2 = .019, $F(1,213) = 4.31$, $p = .039$. Conditional effects analyses revealed no two-way interaction of coworker race and ethnic identification emerged within the multicultural condition, $F(1,213) < .01$, p = .953. However, within the colorblind condition, a significant interaction between coworker race and ethnic identification emerged, $F(1,213) = 8.44$, $p = .004$. Simple slopes analyses revealed that when participants were in the colorblind condition and paired with a White coworker, there was a negative association between ethnic identification and the amount of affective prejudice expressed toward Black individuals, b = -7.79, $SE = 2.26$, $p < .001$. In contrast, when participants were in the colorblind condition and paired with a Black coworker, there was no association between ethnic identification and the amount of affective prejudice expressed toward Black individuals, b = 1.92, $SE = 2.46$, $p = .436$.

negative emotions, group performance expectations, zero-sum beliefs, feelings of inclusion, bias expectations, self-image goals, estimations of others' self-image goals, affective prejudice toward Black individuals, or behavioral expressions of prejudice (see Table 7).

However, significant interactions between diversity ideology and ethnic identification emerged for interpersonal trust (see Figure 3), perceived availability of career advancement opportunities (see Figure 4), compassionate goals (see Figure 5), estimations of others' compassionate goals (see Figure 6), and affective prejudice toward Whites (see Figure 7). In contrast to expectations, it was participants *lower* in ethnic identification who reported greater indicators of social identity threat when considering multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology. Specifically, those lower in ethnic identification who considered a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology reported lower estimations of career advancement opportunities, b = -.48, *SE* = 0.21, *p* = .023, lower compassionate goals, b = -.25, *SE* = 0.14, *p* = .077, lower estimations of others' compassionate goals, b = -.36, *SE* = 0.16, *p* = .025, greater affective prejudice toward ingroup members, b = -8.55, *SE* = 3.90, *p* = .029, and nonsignificantly lower feelings of trust, b = -.34, *SE* = 0.23, *p* = .129.

However, participants higher in ethnic identification exhibited a pattern in the opposite of the predicted direction. Specifically, high identifiers exhibited *lower* experiences of social identity threat in the multicultural (vs. colorblind) condition, reporting greater levels of trust, b = .40, *SE* = 0.23, *p* = .077, higher compassionate goals,

Table 7. Moderation of ethnic identification on dependent measures in Study 2

Dependent Variable	ΔR^2	*F*	*p*
Interracial Anxiety	.011	2.50	.115
Interpersonal Trust	**.024**	**5.40**	**.021**
Group Performance Expectations	.014	3.02	.083
Zero-Sum Beliefs	< .001	< .01	.991
Inclusion and Belonging	.006	1.34	.248
Bias Expectations	006	1.21	.272
Availability of Opportunities	**.025**	**5.62**	**.018**
Self-Image Goals	.005	1.02	.314
Compassionate Goals	**.027**	**6.29**	**.012**
Estimations of Others' Self-Image Goals	.007	1.62	.314
Estimations of Others' Compassionate Goals	**.041**	**9.52**	**.002**
White Feeling Thermometer	**.023**	**5.13**	**.024**
Black Feeling Thermometer	.002	0.45	.505
Behavioral Prejudice	< .001	0.05	.823

Note. ΔR^2, *F*, and *p* represent the change in R^2, $F(1,216)$, and *p* values for the interaction between diversity ideology and ethnic identification on the dependent measures using Hayes (2017) Process model 1

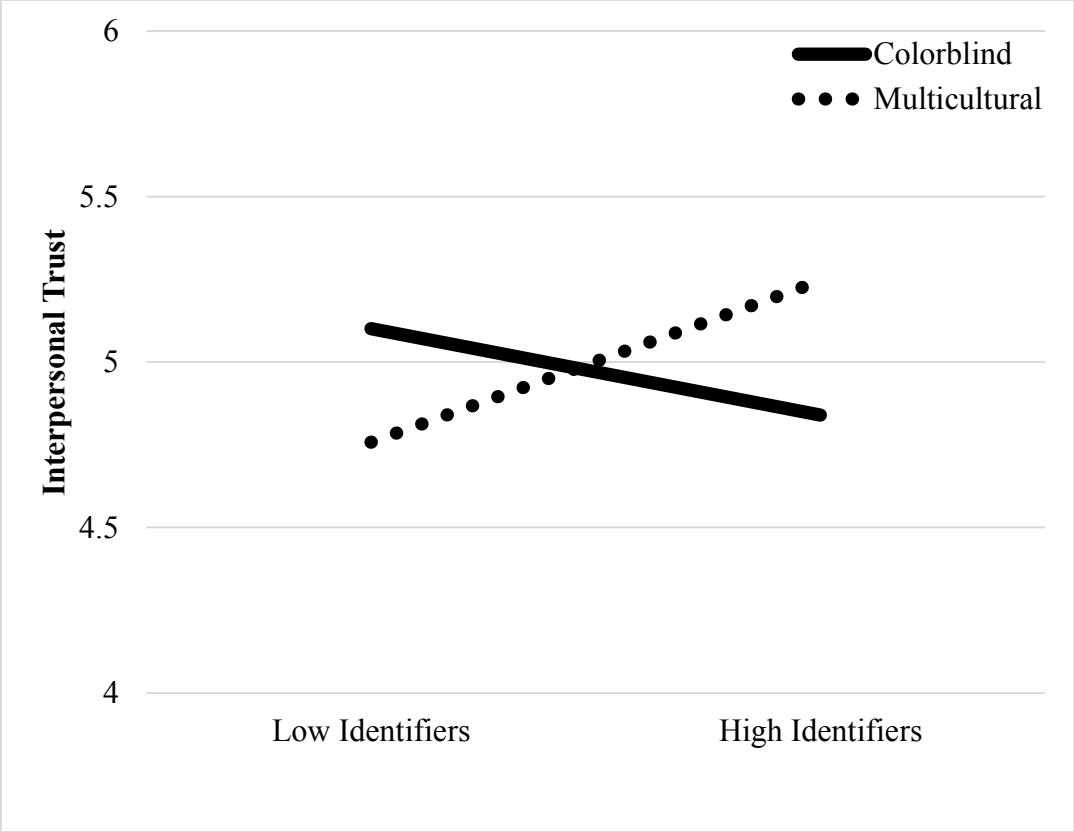

Figure 3. Ethnic identification moderates effect of diversity ideology on interpersonal trust in Study 2

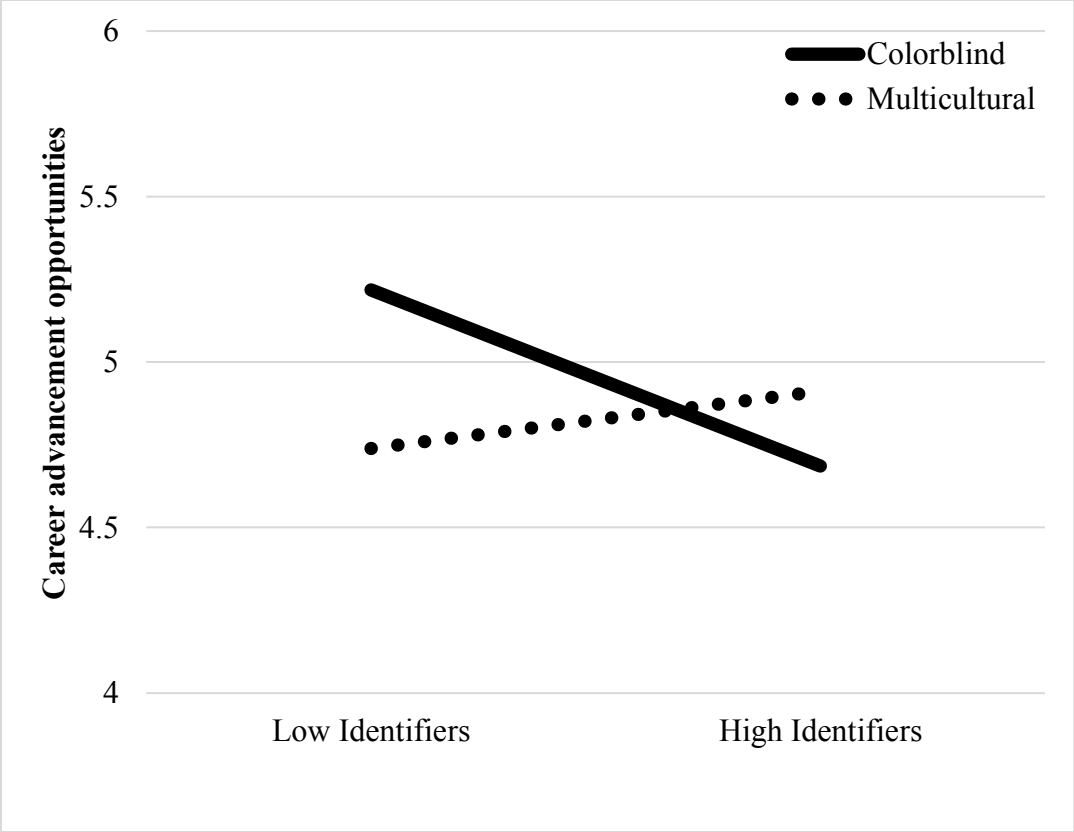

Figure 4. Ethnic identification moderates effect of diversity ideology on career advancement opportunities in Study 2

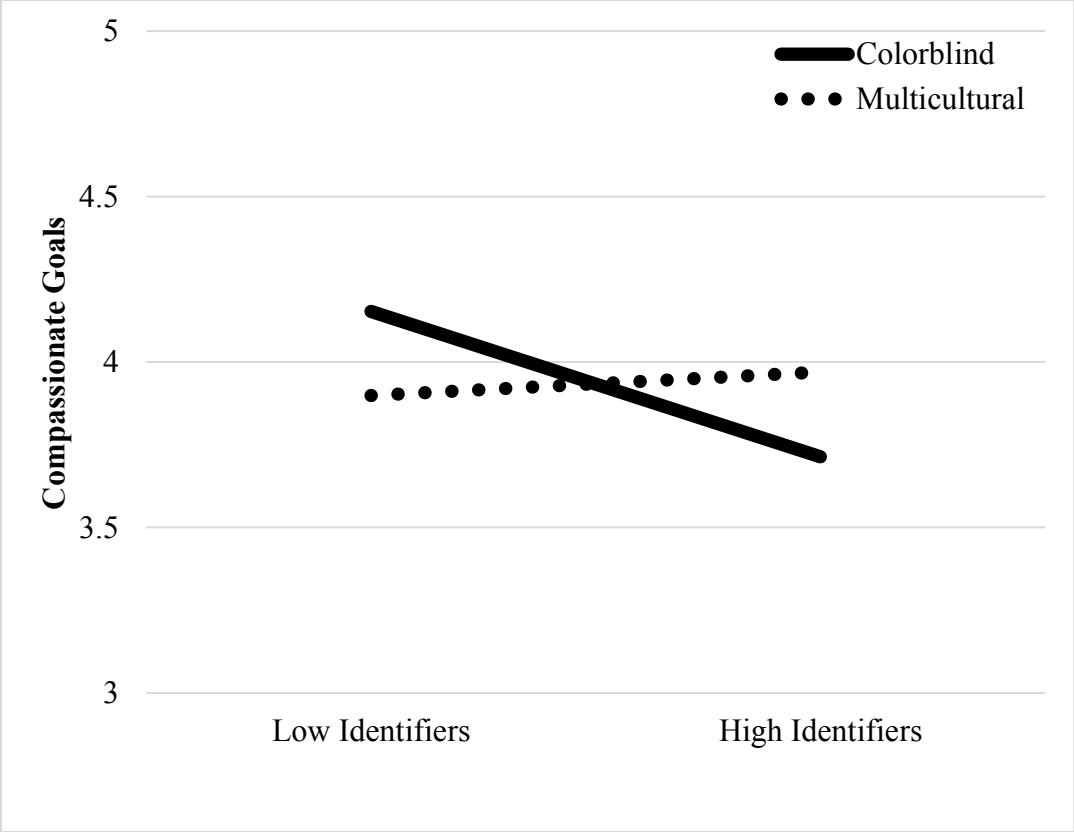

Figure 5. Ethnic identification moderates effect of diversity ideology on compassionate goals in Study 2

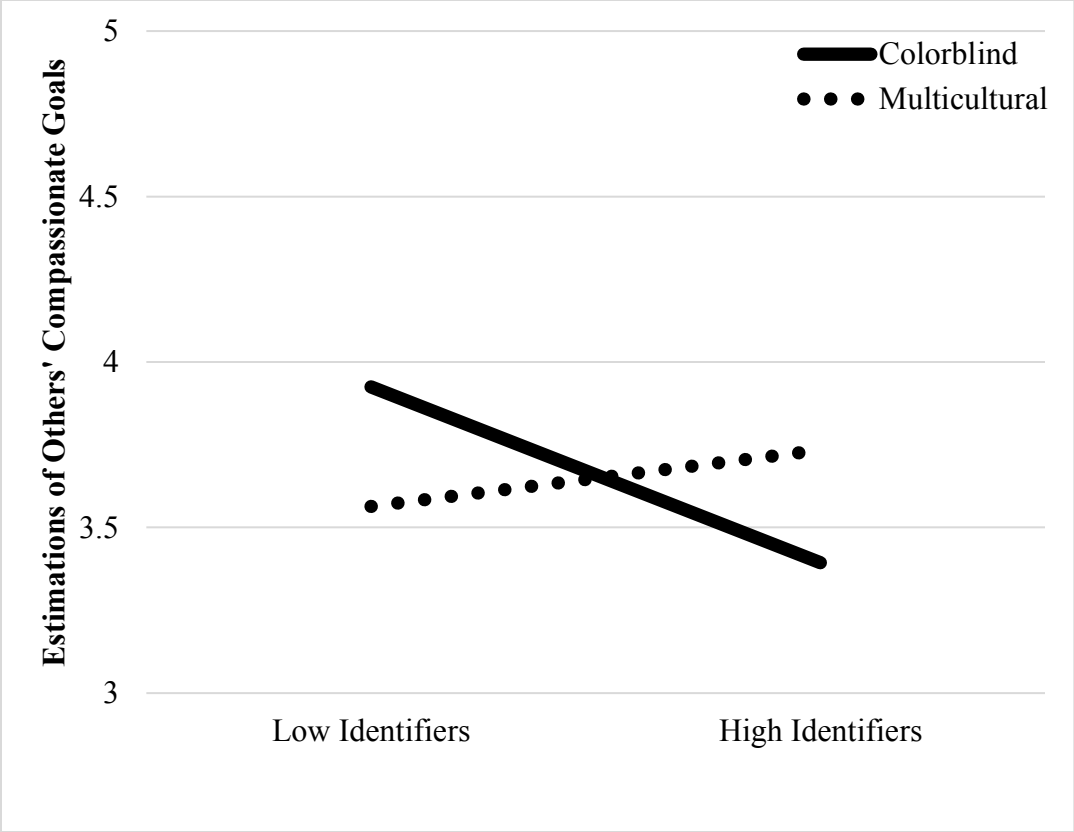

Figure 6. Ethnic identification moderates effect of diversity ideology on estimations of others' compassionate goals in Study 2

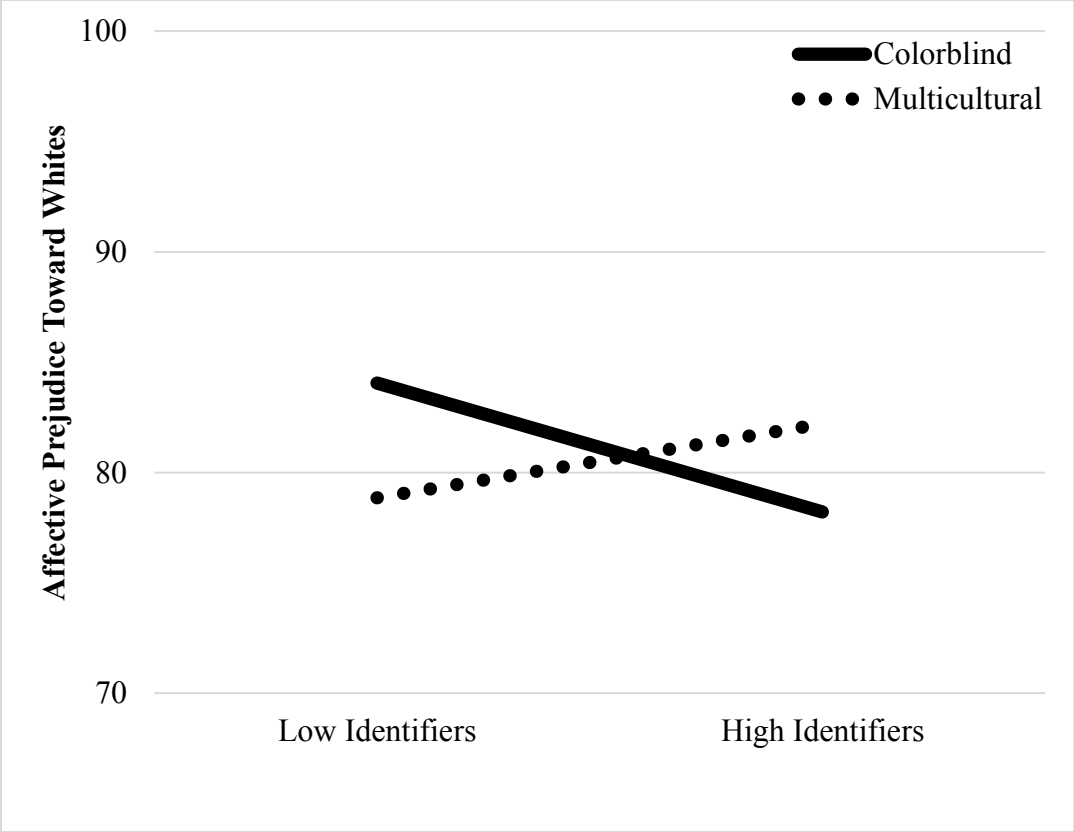

Figure 7. Ethnic identification moderates effect of diversity ideology on affective prejudice toward Whites in Study 2

b = .26, *SE* = 0.14, *p* = .075, and higher estimations of others' compassionate goals, b = .34, *SE* = 0.16, *p* = .034.

In sum, the evidence is in the opposite of the predicted patterns. Participants lower in ethnic identification, who perceive their race as less central to the self-concept, exhibited greater indicators of social identity threat when considering a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology. In contrast, among those higher in ethnic identification, participants exhibited less social identity threat when considering a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology.

Association between perceived value of group differences and social identity threat.

As in Study 1, we examined zero-order correlations between indicators of social identity threat, perceptions of how much the company valued group differences, and how much the company acknowledged group differences. However, significant associations emerged in the opposite of the anticipated direction (see Table 8). Specifically, greater beliefs that the company valued group differences were associated with *less* social identity threat, as indicated by increased group performance expectations, decreased bias expectations, increased compassionate goals, and decreased prejudice toward racial ingroup and outgroup members.

Moderation of diversity ideology on manipulation check by ethnic identification.

The moderation analyses suggest the surprising conclusion that multicultural ideologies triggered greater social identity threat among Whites who less strongly identify with their racial identity. To further investigate, we next examined whether ethnic

identification moderated the effect of the diversity ideology manipulation on the manipulation check. In other words, we examined whether ethnic identification influenced interpretations of how much a multicultural versus colorblind company valued group differences. Using Hayes (2017) Process model 1, diversity ideology (0 = colorblind, 1 = multicultural) was entered as the independent variable, ethnic identification as the moderator, coworker race as a covariate, and significant interactions were probed at ±1 SD from the mean of the ethnic identification. A significant interaction emerged between diversity ideology and ethnic identification for how much participants believed the company valued group differences (see Figure 8), $\Delta R^2 = .024$, $F(1,215) = 6.02$, $p = .015$. Conditional effects analyses revealed for participants who less strongly identified with their ethnic identity, the anticipated effect emerged such that group differences were seen as more valued by the multicultural (vs. colorblind) company, b = 1.48, $SE = .30$, $t(215) = 4.89$, $p < .001$. However, this difference was nonsignificant for those who strongly identified with their ethnic identity, b = .52, $SE = .30$, $p = .159$. In other words, participants who more strongly identified with their ethnic identity believed the company valued group differences relatively equally between the colorblind and multicultural conditions. In sum, the diversity ideology manipulation only produced the expected difference for those who less strongly identified with their race or ethnicity.

Free responses. As in Study 1, we next used LIWC (Pennebaker e al., 2015) to analyze free responses for evidence that multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites. Again, if considering a multicultural ideology threatens Whites' social identity, we would expect higher levels of ego involvement through greater

Table 8. Zero-order correlation between perceived value of group differences, perceived acknowledgement of group differences, and dependent measures in Study 2

	Manipulation Check	
Dependent Variable	Group Differences Valued	Group Differences Acknowledged
Interracial Anxiety	-.01	-.01
Interpersonal Trust	.12	.01
Group Performance Expectations	**.20****	-.05
Zero-Sum Beliefs	-.11	.07
Inclusion Concerns	.02	-.13
Bias Expectations	**-.18****	**.14***
Availability of Opportunities	**.16***	-.11
Compassionate Goals	**.20****	.03
Self-Image Goals	**.14***	.09
Others' Compassionate Goals	**.20****	-.03
Others' Self-Image Goals	**.16***	.07
White Feeling Thermometer	**.17***	-.05
Black Feeling Thermometer	**.19****	-.04
Behavioral Prejudice	.05	-.09

Note. Values reflect Pearson's r correlation between the dependent measure and manipulation check. *$p <$ .05; ** $p <$ .01

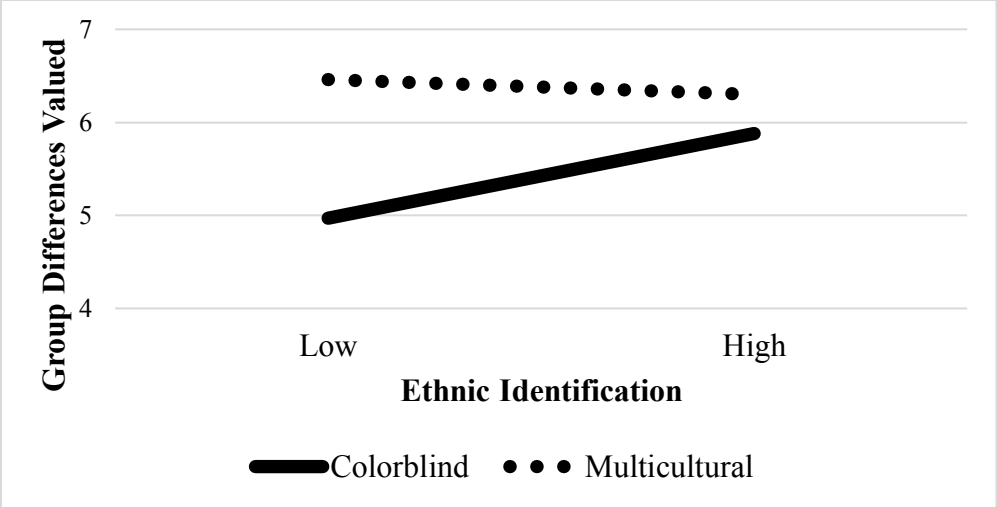

Figure 8. Ethnic identification moderates effect of diversity ideology on perceptions of how much the company values group differences in Study 2

use of first-person singular pronouns (i) and less use of first-person plural pronouns (we; Vorauer et al., 1998; Vorauer, 2006). Likewise, we would also anticipate less positive emotions and more negative emotions (negemo), specifically anxiety (anx) and anger (anger; Crocker et al., 1991; Spencer et al., 1999). To test this, each linguistic count was entered into a 2 (diversity ideology: colorblind vs. multicultural) x 2 (coworker race: White vs. Black) ANOVA. The length of participants' free responses was not affected by diversity ideology, coworker race, or their interaction, Fs (1,217) < 1.99, ps > .160. However, the analyses revealed linguistic indicators of social identity threat were not affected by considering a multicultural versus colorblind ideology, or by the interaction between diversity ideology and coworker race (see Table 9). In contrast to Study 1, participants did not exhibit more negative emotions and anger when considering a multicultural versus colorblind ideology.

Given that ethnic identification moderated the impact of the diversity ideology manipulation, we also examined if ethnic identification moderated the effect of diversity ideology on linguistic indicators of social identity threat. Each linguistic dimension was entered separately into a moderation analysis using Hayes (2017) Process model 1, where diversity ideology (0 = colorblind, 1 = multicultural) was entered as the independent variable, ethnic identification as the moderator, coworker race as a covariate, and significant interactions were probed at ±1 SD from the mean of ethnic identification. However, ethnic identification did not moderate the effect of diversity ideology on any linguistic indicators, ΔR^2s < .007, Fs < 1.46, ps > .228. In sum, participants' free

Table 9. Effect of diversity ideology and coworker race on free responses in Study 2

		Descriptive Statistics		***F* Statistics**	
Linguistic Count	Term	Group Means		*F*	*p*
i	Diversity Ideology	*Colorblind* 7.20 (3.93)	*Multicultural* 7.24 (3.44)	< .01	.935
	Coworker Race	*Ingroup* 7.86 (4.07)	*Outgroup* 6.69 (3.25)	**5.608**	**.019**
	Interaction	*Colorblind Ingroup* 7.86**a** (4.24)	*Colorblind Outgroup* 6.64**a** (3.51)	0.01	.927
		Multicultural Ingroup 7.86**a** (3.83)	*Multicultural Outgroup* 7.25**a** (3.00)		
we	Diversity Ideology	*Colorblind* 1.54 (2.02)	*Multicultural* 1.46 (2.31)	0.03	.862
	Coworker Race	*Ingroup* 1.40 (2.02)	*Outgroup* 1.58 (2.26)	0.40	.526
	Interaction	*Colorblind Ingroup* 1.28**a** (1.87)	*Colorblind Outgroup* 1.75**a** (2.08)	1.01	.315
		Multicultural Ingroup 1.52**a** (2.17)	*Multicultural Outgroup* 1.41**a** (2.43)		
posemo	Diversity Ideology	*Colorblind* 6.55 (3.20)	*Multicultural* 6.81 (4.00)	0.42	.517
	Coworker Race	*Ingroup* 7.00 (3.71)	*Outgroup* 6.41 (3.54)	1.46	.228
	Interaction	*Colorblind Ingroup* 6.52**a** (3.41)	*Colorblind Outgroup* 6.57**a** (3.03)	1.76	.186
		Multicultural Ingroup 7.48**a** (3.94)	*Multicultural Outgroup* 6.24**a** (4.00)		
negemo	Diversity Ideology	*Colorblind* 0.67 (1.14)	*Multicultural* 0.52 (1.10)	0.94	.333
	Coworker Race	*Ingroup* 0.48 (1.00)	*Outgroup* 0.69 (1.20)	1.84	.176
	Interaction	*Colorblind Ingroup* 0.57**a** (1.10)	*Colorblind Outgroup* 0.75**a** (1.17)	0.04	.845
		Multicultural Ingroup 0.40**a** (0.90)	*Multicultural Outgroup* 0.52**a** (1.25)		

		Descriptive Statistics		*F* Statistics	
Linguistic Count	Term	Group Means		*F*	*p*
anx	Diversity Ideology	*Colorblind* 0.19 (0.56)	*Multicultural* 0.15 (0.61)	0.29	.593
	Coworker Race	*Ingroup* 0.21 (0.65)	*Outgroup* 0.13 (0.52)	0.83	.363
	Interaction	*Colorblind Ingroup* 0.22**a** (0.60)	*Colorblind Outgroup* 0.16**a** (0.53)	< 0.01	.957
		Multicultural Ingroup 0.19**a** (0.71)	*Multicultural Outgroup* 0.11**a** (0.52)		
anger	Diversity Ideology	*Colorblind* 0.11 (0.47)	*Multicultural* 0.09 (0.37)	0.06	.806
	Coworker Race	*Ingroup* 0.07 (0.30)	*Outgroup* 0.12 (0.50)	0.99	.319
	Interaction	*Colorblind Ingroup* 0.05**a** (0.27)	*Colorblind Outgroup* 0.15**a** (0.59)	0.61	.436
		Multicultural Ingroup 0.08**a** (0.34)	*Multicultural Outgroup* 0.09**a** (0.39)		

Note. Linguistic count refers to the LIWC (Pennebaker et al., 2015) linguistic dictionary index. Term represents the main effect of diversity ideology $F(1,217)$, main effect of coworker race $F(1,217)$, and their interaction term, $F(1,217)$. Across each row, group means are presented with standard deviations in parentheses. For significant interactions, values that do not share similar subscripts significantly differ $p < .05$.

responses provided no evidence that multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency among Whites.

Discussion

Consistent with Study 1, we did not find evidence that a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology consistently increased indicators of social identity threat among Whites. Additionally, Study 2 assessed affective and behavioral expressions of prejudice to replicate measures of intergroup relations used in previous work (Morrison et al., 2010; Ryan et al., 2007; Wolsko et al., 2000). In contrast to past research, exposure to a multicultural versus colorblind ideology did not impact affective expressions of prejudice (Wolsko et al., 2000) or increase behavioral expressions of prejudice (Morrison et al., 2010). Furthermore, in contrast to Study 1, exposure to a multicultural ideology did not affect participants' compassionate goals or their estimations of others' compassionate intentions toward them. Taken together, Study 2 provides almost no evidence that multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency among Whites.

Beyond the absence of a main effect, Study 2 produced evidence of moderation that contradicts both theory and previous research. Specifically, Morrison et al. (2010) theorize that Whites higher in ethnic identification, who see their race or ethnicity as more central to their self-concept, should perceive multicultural ideologies as more exclusionary to their group, and thus more threatening. As a result, we expected that Whites higher in ethnic identification would exhibit greater indicators of social identity threat when considering a multicultural versus colorblind ideology. However, the exact opposite pattern emerged. Specifically, it was Whites *lower* in ethnic identification who

exhibited greater indicators of social identity threat in response to a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology.

The origin of this unexpected pattern becomes clear when examining how ethnic identification influenced perceptions of the diversity ideology manipulation. We expected that participants would believe the company valued group differences more in the multicultural (vs. colorblind) condition. While the expected main effect emerged, it was qualified by an interaction between diversity ideology and ethnic identification. Specifically, group differences were seen as more valued by the company in the multicultural (vs. colorblind) condition, but only for participants who less strongly identified with their race or ethnicity. In contrast, participants who more strongly identified with their race or ethnicity perceived the two companies valued group differences relatively equally.

Lastly, if valuing group differences unintentionally excludes Whites, we would expect a negative association between perceptions of how much the company values group differences and indicators of social identity threat. However, the data illustrate the exact opposite pattern. The more participants believed group differences were valued at the company, the less they exhibited indicators of social identity threat. Taken together, these findings suggest that Whites do not perceive multicultural ideologies as exclusionary to their group, and in fact, may feel less threatened when considering an organization that explicitly values group differences.

However, one potential limitation of Studies 1 and 2 is the vagueness of the manipulation check. Past research finds that Whites are associated less strongly with the

concept of diversity than racial and ethnic minorities (Unzueta & Binning, 2010). However, in the current form of the manipulation check, it is unclear what specific groups participants believe are valued by the multicultural ideology. Therefore, Study 3 includes an additional manipulation check to directly measure how much Whites see their group as included in a multicultural versus colorblind ideology.

Chapter 4: Study 3

Overview

Study 3 modified three design features to more clearly assess whether multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites. First, we removed the coworker race manipulation because Studies 1 and 2 revealed it did not consistently interact with diversity ideology. In Study 3, all participants were asked to imagine they had been paired with a Black coworker. Second, Study 3 added an ideology control condition to test the effect of the mere presence (vs. absence) of a diversity ideology. In other words, an ideology control condition allowed us to examine whether the mere presence of a diversity ideology, regardless of its frame (i.e., colorblind or multicultural), affected indicators of social identity threat. Third, Studies 1 and 2 included status threat information that highlighted the growing number of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. This information was included to increase perceptions of threat and high conflict, which have been found to increase negativity toward diversity (Craig & Richeson, 2014b; Correll et al., 2008; Danbold & Huo, 2015; Vorauer & Sasaki, 2011). However, including this status threat information might have induced identity threat for all participants, thus obscuring any potential differences between the colorblind and multicultural ideologies. Therefore, Study 3 included a status threat control condition to test whether the mere presence of status threat information, without information

regarding the company's diversity ideology, increases indicators of social identity threat relative to the control ideology statement that makes no mention of status threat information nor the company's diversity ideology. Thus, Study 3 randomly assigned participants to one of four between-subjects conditions: colorblind, multicultural, ideology control, and status threat control.

Lastly, Studies 1 and 2 failed to replicate previous findings that multicultural ideologies are perceived as more threatening for those higher in need to belong and ethnic identification (Morrison et al., 2010; Plaut et al., 2011). The lack of effects may be due to the fact the moderators were completed after the dependent measures in Studies 1 and 2. As a result, the order of moderators was counterbalanced between participants in Study 3. Half of participants completed the moderators before considering the diversity ideology manipulation and dependent measures, whereas the remaining half of participants completed the moderators after considering the diversity ideology manipulation and dependent measures. Beyond the changes described above, Study 3 followed the design and procedures of Study 2 with the following exceptions.

Participants and design. Participants were 413 White MTurk users who participated in exchange for $1.00. Participants self-reported gender (55.9% female), age (M = 37.5, SD = 12.5), and political ideology (47.8% liberal, 32.3% conservative, 19.9% neither). Sample size was determined using G*Power (Faul et al., 2009) with the goal to detect the effect size of d = 0.4 at 80% power, using oversampling to account for attrition by participants who failed pre-defined manipulation and attention check items.

Participants were excluded from all analyses if they failed to complete the study or failed to pass all manipulation and attention check items. Eighty-two participants failed to complete the entire study, however attrition did not vary by the diversity ideology manipulation, χ^2 (1, N = 413) = 0.75, p = .748. However, attrition varied by the counterbalancing of moderators such that participants were more likely to leave the study early if they completed the moderators after (n = 56) versus before (n = 26) the diversity ideology manipulation and dependent measures, χ^2 (1, N = 413) = 13.51, p < .001. Despite the fact that more participants failed to complete the entire study when completing the moderators after (vs. before) the ideology manipulation, both groups exhibited attrition at similar points in the study. Specifically, of those 26 participants who completed the moderators before the diversity ideology manipulation, 23 (88.4%) terminated their participation in the study while completing the dependent measures. Additionally, of those 56 participants who completed the moderators after the diversity ideology manipulation, 49 (87.5%) terminated their participation while completing the dependent measures.

Regarding the 322 participants who completed the entire study, three participants failed to recall the target's gender, 14 participants failed to recall the target's race, and 25 participants failed to pass at least one of two attention check items surreptitiously located in study. Exclusion from analyses did not vary by the diversity ideology manipulation or

counterbalancing of moderators, χ^2s (1, N = 322) < 0.97, ps > .809. In sum, 291 participants were included in the primary analyses[6].

Procedure and materials. Participants were randomly assigned to complete the moderators either before or after considering the diversity ideology manipulation and dependent measures. Participants in the colorblind and multicultural condition were exposed to the materials outlined in Study 1. Participants in both the ideology control and status threat control conditions read a similar mission statement about an ostensible consulting company CCG, but the materials did not contain any references to the diversity ideology of the company (see Appendix D). Instead, the statement focused on embracing employees' personality and individuality, emphasizing on how "everyone is unique, and that we are first and foremost a nation of individuals." The statement went on to emphasize how the company encourages their "workforce to embrace themselves" and the company values employees' "personality and individuality."

Preceding the mission statement, participants in the colorblind, multicultural, and status threat control conditions encountered the status threat information used in Studies 1 and 2, which highlighted the growing population of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. However, in the ideology control condition, the mission statement was preceded with information highlighting changes in geographic mobility and the number of individuals who have moved within the past year (Craig & Richeson, 2014a). All

[6] For Study 3, including all participants in the analyses did not significantly change the reported results except for the following. Regarding the extent to which participants believed Whites were included in CCG's diversity efforts, a significant effect emerged, $F(3,287) = 3.67$, $p = .013$. Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey's HSD correction revealed participants in the multicultural condition ($M = 4.70$, $SD = 1.82$) perceived Whites were less included than those in the colorblind condition ($M = 5.43$, $SD = 1.74$), $p = .042$.

participants then saw a Black coworker matched for gender and were asked to write about their expectations, thoughts, and feelings regarding the mission and values of CCG and what they thought it would be like to work with their coworker. Participants then completed the dependent measures and were debriefed and compensated.

Dependent measures. All the dependent measures from Study 2 produced acceptable reliability ratings, α's > .82. In addition, participants completed Luhtanen & Crocker's (1992) collective self-esteem scale, which had an acceptable global reliability (α's = .86) as well as acceptable reliability within each of the four subscales (α's > .70).

Manipulation checks. To increase the internal validity of our manipulation, an additional item directly assessed the extent to which participants believed Whites were included in the company's diversity ideology (Plaut et al., 2011). Using a 7-point scale (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Extremely*), participants were asked "to what extent were Whites included in CCG's definition of diversity?". If multicultural ideologies unintentionally exclude Whites, participants should be less likely to see Whites as included in the multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology.

Results

Analytical strategy. We first examined whether counterbalancing the moderators affected responses to the moderators or dependent measures. Next, we assessed the effectiveness of the diversity ideology manipulation on our three manipulation checks. Then, we examined the effects of diversity ideology (colorblind, multicultural, ideology control, status threat control) on indicators of social identity threat and the quality of

intergroup relations and tested whether these effects are moderated by level of ethnic identification. Finally, we conducted additional analyses with free responses and examined associations between manipulation checks to gauge whether multicultural ideologies represented a social identity contingency for Whites.

Counterbalancing. The counterbalancing of moderators did not affect any of the manipulation check items, Fs < 0.38, ps > .539. In other words, whether participants completed the moderators before or after considering the diversity ideology did not affect perceptions of how much the company valued or acknowledged group differences, or how much participants believed Whites were included in the company's definition of diversity.

The counterbalancing of moderators did not interact with diversity ideology to affect level of ethnic identification, collective self-esteem, the perceived intentionality of racial discrimination, or amount of outgroup contact, Fs < 1.00, ps > .318. However, need to belong was affected by a significant interaction between diversity ideology and counterbalancing[7], $\Delta R^2 = .033$, $F(3,283) = 3.27$, $p = .021$. As a result of this unexpected order effect, need to belong was excluded as a moderator and counterbalancing was entered as a covariate in all subsequent analyses[8].

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[7] For Study 3, the effect of counterbalancing on need to belong was moderated by diversity ideology =, $\Delta R^2 = .033$, $F(3,283) = 3.27$, $p = .021$. Simple slopes analyses revealed there was no effect of counterbalancing on participants' need to belong within the multicultural ideology control, or status threat control conditions, ps > .450. However, participants in the colorblind condition reported higher need to belong when they completed the measure after ($M = 4.34$, $SD = 1.02$) versus before ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 1.30$) the dependent measures, b = 0.70, $SE = 0.30$, $p = .019$.

[8] For Study 3, removing counterbalancing as a covariate did not significantly affect the reported results.

Manipulation checks: We first examined the effect of the diversity ideology manipulation on how much participants believed the company valued and acknowledged group differences as well as the extent to which participants believed Whites were included in the company's definition of diversity (see Table 10). Participants who considered the multicultural ideology perceived the company valued and acknowledged group differences more than those in the colorblind condition, *p*s < .001. However, no significant differences emerged between the multicultural and colorblind ideologies on the extent to which participants believed Whites were included in the company's definition of diversity, $p = .094$. Put another way, participants perceived Whites as only slightly less included in the company's mission statement in the multicultural versus colorblind condition. However, those in the multicultural condition perceived Whites as significantly less included than those in the ideology control condition who did not consider any diversity statement, $p = .010$.

In sum, the evidence signals a successful manipulation of a multicultural ideology that communicates the value and acknowledgement of group differences. However, there was only marginal evidence that participants perceived Whites as less included in the multicultural ideology compared to the colorblind ideology.

Effect of diversity ideology on social identity threat and intergroup relations. We first tested whether indicators of social identity threat and intergroup relations varied as a function of diversity ideology. Each dependent variable was entered into a one-way ANOVA to examine the effect of diversity ideology (colorblindness, multiculturalism, status threat control, ideology control), controlling for the counterbalancing of

Table 10. Effect of diversity ideology on manipulation checks in Study 3

	Independent Variable				
Manipulation Check	Colorblind	Multicultural	Status Threat Control	Ideology Control	*F*
Group Differences Valued	5.25_{a} (2.37)	6.59_{b} (0.71)	5.47_{a} (1.94)	5.67_{a} (1.81)	**7.64*** **
Group Differences Acknowledged	4.43_{a} (2.58)	6.23_{b} (1.10)	5.72_{b} (1.68)	5.65_{b} (1.68)	**12.652*** **
Whites Included	5.42_{ab} (1.81)	4.73_{a} (1.88)	5.10_{ab} (1.99)	5.65_{bc} (1.50)	**3.673***

Note. Values of independent variables represent group means. Values in parentheses represent standard deviations. *F* statistic represents the one-way Welch's ANOVA $F(3,314)$ of diversity ideology for each manipulation check. Across each row, values that do not share similar subscripts differ significantly using Tukey's HSD post-hoc comparison. Significant *F* values are noted $*p < .05$; $** p < .01$; $***p < .001$

moderators. Again, diversity ideology did not affect any indicators of social identity threat (see Table 11). Consistent with Studies 1 and 2, Whites reported similar levels of social identity threat when considering a multicultural versus colorblind ideology. Likewise, the quality of intergroup relations, as measured through affective and behavioral expressions of prejudice, was not affected by considering a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology.

The inclusion of an ideology control condition in Study 3 allowed us to examine whether the mere presence of a diversity statement represented a social identity contingency for Whites. However, no such effect emerged as those in the ideology control condition exhibited similar levels of social identity threat compared to participants in both the colorblind and multicultural ideology conditions. In other words, these findings suggest the mere presence of a diversity ideology, regardless of its frame, does not induce experiences of social identity threat among Whites.

Lastly, the use of a status threat control condition allowed us to test whether information highlighting the growing population of racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. triggered social identity threat for all participants, thus obscuring any differences between the colorblind and multicultural ideologies. However, participants reported similar levels of social identity threat regardless of whether the growing population of racial and ethnic minorities was highlighted or not. Taken together, these findings suggest the absence of differences in social identity threat between the colorblind and multicultural conditions cannot be explained by the inclusion of status threat information within both conditions.

Table 11. Effect of diversity ideology on dependent variables in Study 3

	Independent Variable				
Dependent Variable	Colorblind	Multicultural	Status Threat Control	Control	*F*
Interracial Anxiety	2.51 (1.11)	2.64 (1.17)	2.67 (1.24)	2.95 (1.44)	1.66
Interpersonal Trust	5.37 (1.09)	5.11 (1.06)	5.20 (1.12)	5.00 (1.23)	1.47
Group Performance Expectations	5.84 (0.98)	5.87 (0.71)	5.74 (0.94)	5.58 (1.06)	1.66
Bias Expectations	2.31 (1.07)	2.68 (1.07)	2.72 (1.33)	2.38 (0.87)	3.03
Inclusion Concerns	5.54 (1.30)	5.04 (1.58)	5.29 (1.44)	5.39 (1.11)	1.79
Availability of Opportunities	5.04 (1.15)	4.86 (1.09)	4.92 (1.00)	4.89 (0.89)	0.43
Compassionate Goals	4.04 (0.78)	3.92 (0.63)	3.97 (0.63)	3.99 (0.71)	0.40
Self-Image Goals	2.86 (0.88)	2.95 (0.59)	2.88 (0.74)	2.75 (0.72)	0.29
Others' Compassionate Goals	3.85 (0.74)	3.65 (0.83)	3.69 (0.76)	3.58 (0.93)	1.48
Others' Self-Image Goals	3.11 (0.86)	3.29 (0.70)	3.20 (0.71)	3.15 (0.71)	0.71
White Feeling Thermometer	87.21 (15.69)	83.15 (18.52)	85.74 (15.64)	80.42 (16.60)	2.47
Black Feeling Thermometer	85.22 (15.83)	82.12 (20.12)	80.76 (21.17)	77.27 (21.49)	2.13
Behavioral Prejudice	64.30 (36.27)	49.35 (40.93)	55.74 (40.86)	57.47 (41.48)	1.71

Note. Values of independent variables represent group means with standard deviations in parentheses. *F* statistic represents the one-way $F(3,312)$ ANOVA of diversity ideology on each dependent variable. *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Moderation by ethnic identification. As in Studies 1 and 2, we next examined whether the effect of diversity ideology on indicators of social identity threat was moderated by ethnic identification. Using Hayes (2017) Process model 1, diversity ideology was effects coded (1=multiculturalism, 2 = colorblindness, 3 = ideology control, 4 = status threat control) and entered as the independent variable, ethnic identification as the moderator, counterbalancing as a covariate, and significant interactions were probed at ±1 SD from the mean of ethnic identification. As Table 12 shows, ethnic identification did not moderate the effect of diversity ideology on most indicators of social identity threat.

However, ethnic identification moderated the effect of diversity ideology on group performance expectations (see Figure 9) and feelings of inclusion and belonging (see Figure 10). For these two interactions, we first examined whether a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology induced greater feelings of social identity threat among Whites who strongly identify with their ethnicity (see Table 13). The results revealed mixed support for this view, as those who strongly identified with their ethnic identity reported lower expectations of group performance in the multicultural (vs. colorblind condition) yet did not differ on feelings of belonging. In sum, evidence that highly-identified Whites experience identity threat when considering a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology emerged for only one of six dependent measures.

We next examined whether merely mentioning diversity (i.e., the multicultural ideology) represented a social identity contingency for highly-identified Whites compared to the absence of any diversity statement (i.e., the control ideology). Contrary

Table 12. Interaction between diversity ideology and ethnic identification in Study 3

Dependent Variable	ΔR^2	*F*	*p*
Interracial Anxiety	.008	0.80	.494
Interpersonal Trust	.012	1.15	.329
Group Performance Expectations	**.027**	**2.72**	**.045**
Bias Expectations	.017	1.77	.153
Inclusion and Belonging	**.027**	**2.72**	**.045**
Career Advancement Opportunities	.027	2.63	.050
Self-Image Goals	.002	0.18	.908
Compassionate Goals	< .001	0.05	.985
Estimations of Others' Self-Image Goals	0.001	0.11	.955
Estimations of Others' Compassionate Goals	0.001	0.11	.953
White Feeling Thermometer	.012	1.16	.325
Black Feeling Thermometer	.019	1.88	.134
Behavioral Prejudice	.001	0.96	.410

Note. ΔR^2, *F*, and *p* represent the change in R^2, *F*(3,282), and *p* values for the interaction between diversity ideology and ethnic identification on the dependent measures using Hayes (2017) Process model 1.

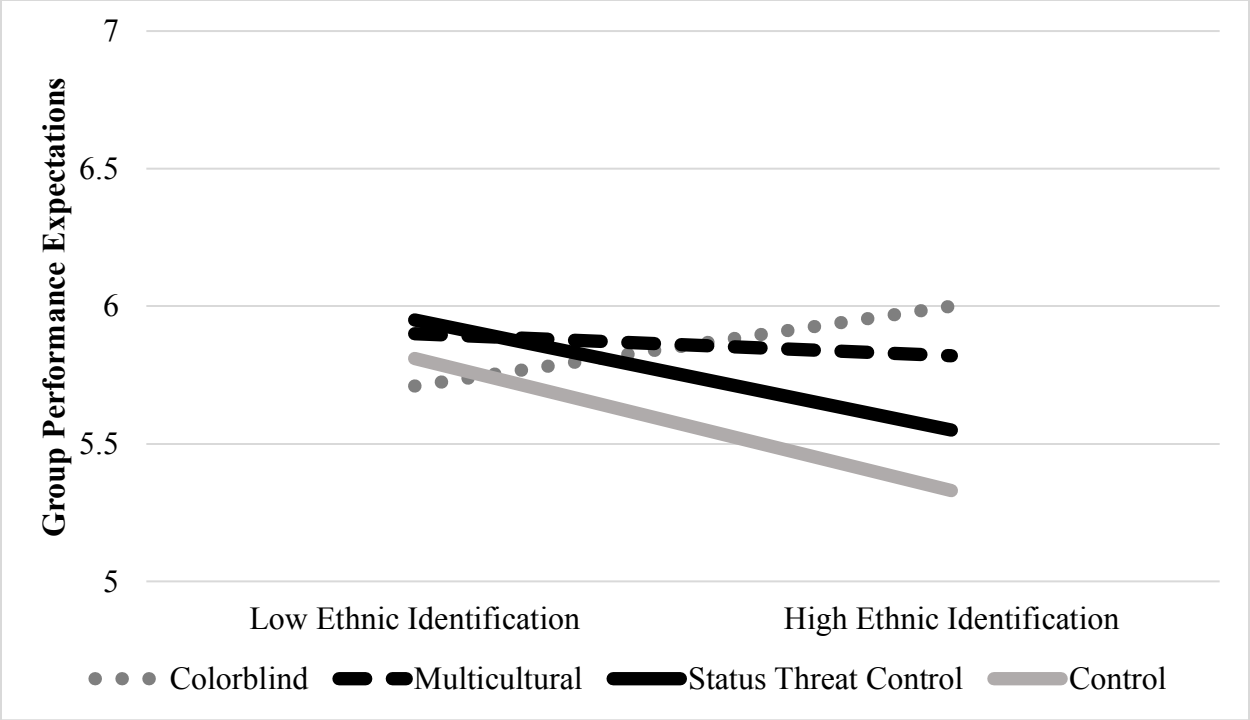

Figure 9. Ethnic identification moderates effect of diversity ideology on group performance expectations in Study 3

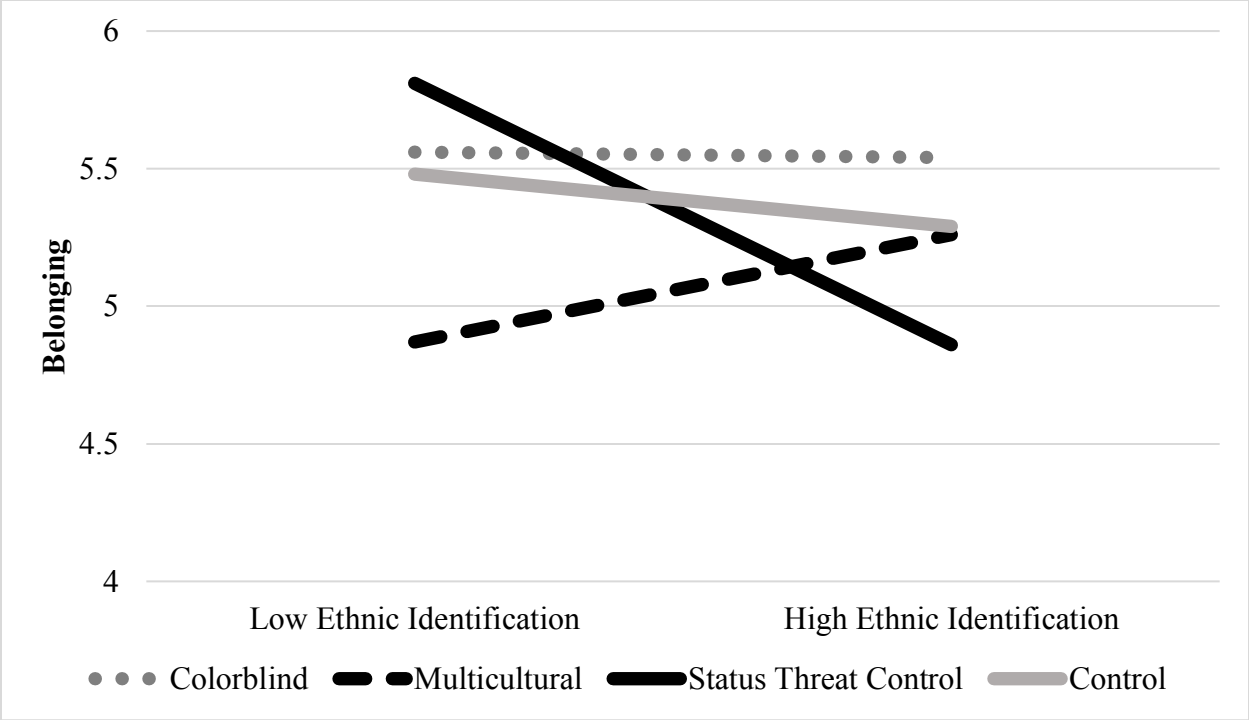

Figure 10. Ethnic identification moderates effect of diversity ideology on belonging in Study 3

to these expectations, those who strongly identified with their ethnic identity actually reported *higher* group performance expectations after considering the multicultural (vs control) ideology (see Table 13). Therefore, the evidence does not support the idea that highly-identified Whites experience identity threat in the presence (vs. absence) of a diversity statement.

Lastly, no significant differences emerged among highly-identified Whites when considering the ideology control versus status threat control statements. In other words, high- and low-identified Whites exhibited similar amounts of social identity threat regardless of whether or not they encountered information that highlighted the growing population of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States.

Free responses. As in Studies 1 and 2, we next used LIWC (Pennebaker et al., 2015) to examine free responses for evidence that multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency among Whites. To index perceptions of threat and ego involvement, we tested how diversity ideology affected word count (WC), first person singular pronouns (i), first person plural pronouns (we), overall affect (affect), positive emotions (posemo), negative emotions (negemo), anxiety (anx), and anger (anger). Each linguistic dimension was entered into a one-way ANOVA (diversity ideology: colorblind, multicultural, ideology control, status threat control), controlling for the counterbalancing of moderators. The diversity ideology manipulation did not significantly affect any linguistic counts (see Table 14). In other words, the free responses revealed indicators of social identity threat did not vary between the multicultural versus colorblind ideology,

Table 13. Conditional effects of diversity ideology and ethnic identification in Study 3

Dependent Variable	Ethnic Identification	Multicultural vs. Colorblind	Multicultural vs. Ideology Control	Ideology Control vs. Status Threat Control
Group Performance Expectations	Low	b = -.132 *SE* = 0.13 *p* = .329	b = -.033 *SE* = 0.13 *p* = .796	b = .105 *SE* = 0.14 *p* = .446
	High	**b = .321** ***SE* = 0.13** ***p* = .012**	**b = -.342** ***SE* = 0.13** ***p* = .009**	b = -.123 *SE* = 0.13 *p* = .358
Inclusion and Belonging	Low	b = .129 *SE* = 0.20 *p* = .510	b = .051 *SE* = 0.19 *p* = .786	b = .379 *SE* = 0.20 *p* = .060
	High	b = .301 *SE* = 0.19 *p* = .107	b = .052 *SE* = 0.19 *p* = .783	b = -.377 *SE* = 0.20 *p* = .053

Note. Within each row, values represent conditional effects analyses comparing diversity ideology among participants high (+1 SD) or low (-1 SD) in ethnic identification using Hayes (2017) Process model 1. Reported betas, standard errors, and *p* values represent conditional effect between the two diversity ideology conditions indicated above.

Table 14. Effects of diversity ideology on participants' free responses in Study 3

Dependent Variable	*F*	df	*p*
Length	0.36	286	.783
First-person singular pronouns (i)	0.51	286	.678
First-person plural pronouns (we)	2.56	286	.056
Positive emotions (posemo)	0.28	286	.838
Negative emotions (negemo)	2.10	286	.100
Anxiety (anx)	0.45	286	.721
Anger (anger)	0.28	286	.837

Note. Values represents the effect of diversity ideology on LIWC linguistic counts. Information in parentheses corresponds to LIWC dictionary index.

nor by encountering the mere presence of a diversity statement in the multicultural (vs. ideology control) conditions.

Association between perceived value of group differences and social identity threat. The hypothesis that multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites is rooted in the assumption that communicating the value of group differences unintentionally excludes Whites who do not associate themselves with the concept of diversity (Stevens et al., 2008; Unzueta & Binning, 2010). If this was the case, we would expect a positive association between indicators of social identity threat and perceptions of how much the company values group differences. Likewise, we would expect a negative association between indicators of social identity threat and the extent to which Whites are perceived to be included in the company's mission statement. Lastly, and most critically, if multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency because valuing group differences unintentionally excludes Whites, we would expect a negative association between perceptions of how much the company values group differences and how much Whites are seen as included in the company's mission.

To test this, we examined zero-order correlations between perceptions of how much the company valued group differences, how much the company acknowledged group differences, the extent to which Whites were included in the company's mission statement, and indicators of social identity threat (see Table 15). Regarding how much the company valued group differences, the analyses revealed associations in the opposite of the anticipated direction. Consistent with Study 2, greater beliefs that the company valued group differences were associated with *decreased* indicators of social identity threat and

Table 15. Zero-order correlations between manipulation checks and dependent measures in Study 3.

	Manipulation Check		
Dependent Variable	Group Differences Valued	Group Differences Acknowledged	Whites Included
Interracial Anxiety	-.05	-.13*	**-.18****
Interpersonal Trust	**.15***	.09	**.24*****
Group Performance Expectations	**.23*****	.17**	**.27*****
Bias Expectations	**.13***	-.04	**-.43*****
Inclusion Concerns	.08	.08	**.55*****
Availability of Opportunities	**.17****	.17**	**.38*****
Compassionate Goals	**.12***	.03	**.21*****
Self-Image Goals	.07	.08	.06
Others' Compassionate Goals	.07	-.03	**.25*****
Others' Self-Image Goals	.07	.12*	.09
White Feeling Thermometer	**.16****	.11	**.25*****
Black Feeling Thermometer	**.15***	.09	**.27*****
Behavioral Prejudice	**-.13***	-.01	-.06

Note. Values of manipulation check represent zero-order correlations between the manipulation check and dependent measure. *$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

increased quality of intergroup relations. In other words, the more participants believed the company valued group differences, the less they reported experiences of social identity threat.

In turn, the association between indicators of social identity threat and the extent to which Whites were included in the company's mission statement revealed the predicted pattern. The less included participants believed Whites were in the company's definition of diversity, the greater indicators of social identity threat they exhibited.

However, the most illuminating evidence is the association between how much the company valued group differences and the extent to which Whites were included in the company's mission statement. If multicultural ideologies unintentionally exclude Whites by valuing group differences, we would expect a negative association. However, a positive correlation emerged. Specifically, the more Whites believed the company valued group differences, the more they saw their group as included in the company's mission statement ($r = .14$, $p = .015$). This evidence suggests that, in contrast to previous work, perceptions that an organization values group differences does not necessarily signal exclusion for White participants, but rather, may signal inclusion.

Discussion

Consistent with Studies 1 and 2, Study 3 provided additional evidence that multicultural ideologies do not represent a social identity contingency for Whites. Specifically, considering a multicultural ideology did not evoke greater indicators of social identity threat for White participants compared to a colorblind ideology. Across 3 studies, the data consistently suggest that Whites exhibited similar levels of social

identity threat regardless of whether diversity is framed in colorblindness or multiculturalism.

We further tested whether ethnic identification moderated the effect of diversity ideology on social identity threat. Previous work suggests Whites higher in ethnic identification, who see their race or ethnicity as more central to their self-concept, react more negatively to a multicultural versus colorblind ideology (Morrison et al., 2010). While this predicted interaction emerged for group performance expectations, the remaining measures were consistent with Studies 1 and 2 by suggesting that multicultural ideologies are not more likely to represent a social identity contingency among highly-identified Whites.

In Study 3, the use of two control conditions allows us to rule out several alternative explanations for the lack of significant differences between the colorblind and multicultural conditions in Studies 1 and 2. Specifically, the use of a status threat control condition allows us to examine whether the status threat information used in the colorblind and multicultural conditions induced threat for all participants by highlighting the growing population of racial minorities in America. However, levels of social identity threat were similar between the status threat control and ideology control conditions, casting doubt on this possibility. In other words, merely highlighting the growing population of racial minorities in America does not account for the lack of differences between the colorblind and multicultural conditions in Studies 1-3.

Moreover, the mere presence of a diversity statement did not significantly increase social identity threat or decrease the quality of intergroup relations. In other words,

participants reacted similarly to a mission statement about personality and individual differences as they did to a mission statement emphasizing diversity in the workplace, regardless of its ideological frame (i.e., colorblindness or multiculturalism). These findings are inconsistent with recent research suggesting the mere presence (vs. absence) of a diversity statement can signal social identity threat for majority group members (Dover, Major, & Kaiser, 2016), and therefore warrant further investigation in Study 4.

The most telling results emerge from the manipulation checks. Consistent with Studies 1 and 2, participants were more likely to perceive the company valued and acknowledged group differences in the multicultural versus colorblind condition. However, in contrast to previous work (Plaut et al., 2011), Whites were not more likely to perceive their group as excluded in the multicultural (vs. colorblind) condition. Put simply, a multicultural ideology that focused on valuing group differences did not significantly affect how included Whites felt compared to a colorblind ideology that focused on similarities.

Also striking is the positive association between perceptions of how much the company valued group differences and the extent to which Whites were included in the company's mission statement. Previous work suggests a multicultural ideology's focus on valuing group differences unintentionally excludes Whites who do not perceive themselves to be a part of diversity efforts (Plaut et al., 2011; Stevens et al., 2008; Unzueta & Binning, 2010). Therefore, we would expect the more participants perceived the company valued group differences, the less they would see their group as included in the company's mission statement. In contrast, the opposite pattern emerged. While this is

in direct contrast to previous work (Plaut et al., 2011; Unzueta & Binning, 2010), it provides one potential explanation for the lack differences between the colorblind and multicultural conditions: it seems the focus of multiculturalism on valuing group differences does not signal exclusion to Whites, but rather, inclusion.

To test if Whites perceive themselves to be included in a multicultural ideology, Study 4 examined whether experiences of social identity threat differed between a conventional multicultural ideology versus an all-inclusive multicultural (AIM) ideology that explicitly includes Whites in its mission and values statement (Plaut et al., 2011; Stevens et al., 2008). If Whites already perceive themselves to be included in a conventional multicultural ideology, then we would expect no reductions in social identity threat by explicitly including Whites in an AIM ideology.

Chapter 5: Study 4

Overview

In Study 4, we examined whether indicators of social identity threat varied between multicultural ideologies that explicitly include Whites versus not. Specifically, Study 4 randomly assigned participants to one of four between-subjects conditions. In addition to the colorblind, multicultural, and ideology control conditions used in Study 3, Study 4 featured an all-inclusive multicultural (AIM) condition. Past work suggests that Whites respond more positively to an AIM ideology that explicitly references Whites as a part of diversity-related efforts than to a conventional multicultural ideology that merely highlights the importance of group differences (Jansen et al., 2015; Plaut et al., 2011; Stevens et al., 2008). By including both a multicultural and AIM condition, Study 4 allows us to examine whether indicators of social identity threat are reduced by explicitly mentioning Whites in an AIM ideology relative to a multicultural ideology.

Study 4 tests three hypotheses. First, we examine whether experiences of social identity threat and intergroup relations vary as a function of the mere presence (vs. absence) of a diversity statement by comparing the ideology control condition to both the colorblind and multicultural conditions. If the mere presence of a diversity statement triggers social identity threat among Whites (Dover et al., 2016), we would expect those

in the ideology control condition would exhibit fewer indicators of social identity threat than those in either the colorblind or multicultural conditions.

Second, we examine whether indicators of social identity threat vary between a multicultural versus colorblind ideology. If a multicultural ideology represents a social identity contingency for Whites, we would expect those in the multicultural condition would exhibit greater indicators of social identity threat than those in the colorblind condition.

Third, and most critically, we examine whether indicators of social identity threat vary between a multicultural ideology that explicitly includes racial and ethnic majorities (AIM) versus a conventional multicultural ideology that merely mentions group differences. If Whites already see their group as included in multicultural ideologies, then we would expect no differences in social identity threat between the AIM and multicultural conditions. Beyond the changes described above, Study 4 followed the design and procedures of Study 3 with the following exceptions.

Participants and design. Participants were 365 White undergraduates who participated in exchange for course credit. Participants self-reported gender (58.6% female), age (M = 19.0, SD = 2.53), and political ideology (37.3% liberal, 38.6% conservative, 24.1% neither). Sample size was determined using G*Power (Faul et al., 2009), with the goal to detect the effect size of d = 0.4 at 80% power, using oversampling to account for attrition by participants who failed pre-defined manipulation and attention check items.

Participants were excluded from analyses if they failed to complete the study or pass all manipulation and attention check items. Of 365 participants, eight were excluded for reporting a race other than White and 34 were excluded for failing to pass at least one of two attention check items surreptitiously located in study. Exclusion from analyses did not vary by the diversity ideology manipulation, χ^2 (3, N = 365) = 4.11, p = .250. In sum, 327 participants were included in the analyses[9].

Procedure and materials. Participants in the colorblind, multicultural, and ideology control conditions considered the stimulus materials outlined in Study 3. Participants in the all-inclusive multicultural (AIM) condition read the multicultural materials with slight modifications (see Appendix E). Following Plaut et al. (2011), the AIM condition explicitly referenced Whites in the mission statement by stating that CCG aimed to "celebrate the diversity of our nation by appreciating all races and ethnicities, including White … Americans" and that "we believe the diversity of our White, Black, Hispanic, and Asian employees fosters a more unified … work environment." With the exception of the ideology control condition that used the geographic mobility information featured in Study 3, all other conditions included the status threat information highlighting the growing population of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States.

[9] For Study 4, including all participants in the analyses did not significantly change the reported results except for the following. When including all participants, the effect of diversity ideology on interracial anxiety was significant, $F(3,361) = 3.93$, $p = .009$. Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey's LSD corrections revealed that participants in the ideology control condition ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 1.15$) felt more interracial anxiety than participants in the multicultural ($M = 2.79$, $SD = 1.16$) condition, $p = .010$, and AIM condition ($M = 2.87$, $SD = 1.13$), $p = .038$.

After reading the company mission statement, participants were presented with a Black coworker matched for gender and were asked to write about their expectations, thoughts, and feelings regarding the mission and values of CCG and what they thought it would be like to work with their coworker. After writing for a minimum of 30 seconds, participants completed the dependent measures, moderators, and were debriefed.

Dependent measures. The composite measure of bias expectations and concerns about unfair treatment measure produced surprisingly low reliability ($\alpha = .45$). However, treating Wilton et al.'s (2015) bias expectations measure and Dover et al.'s (2016) concerns about unfair treatment measure as separate factors produced acceptable reliabilities (α's > .68). Therefore, these two scales were treated as separate measures in all subsequent analyses. All remaining dependent measures from Study 3 produced acceptable reliability, α's > .72.

Additionally, a stereotyping measure was included to examine whether multicultural ideologies increase stereotyping of racial and ethnic minorities (Ryan et al., 2007; Wolsko et al., 2000). Specifically, using a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*), participants reported the perceived warmth and competence of the imagined coworker (Swencionis, Dupree, & Fiske, 2017). Lastly, participants completed measures of ethnic identification, need to belong, and amount of previous contact, α's > .74, which were collected following completion of the dependent measures.

Results

Analytical strategy. To test our manipulation of diversity ideology, we first examined perceptions of how much the company valued or acknowledged group differences and the extent to which Whites were seen as included in the company's mission statement. Then, we tested the effects of diversity ideology (colorblind, multicultural, ideology control, AIM) on indicators of social identity threat and the quality of intergroup relations, and whether these effects were moderated by ethnic identification or need to belong. Finally, we conducted additional analyses using free responses and the manipulation check items to examine the extent to which multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites relative to an all-inclusive multicultural ideology that explicitly includes racial and ethnic majorities.

Manipulation checks: We first examined the effect of diversity ideology on how much participants believed the company valued and acknowledged group differences, and the extent to which participants felt Whites were included in the company's diversity efforts. Diversity ideology (colorblind, multicultural, all-inclusive multicultural, ideology control) was entered into a one-way ANOVA to examine the effects for each manipulation check (see Table 16).

Comparing the multicultural versus colorblind conditions, participants believed the multicultural ideology both acknowledged and valued group differences more than the colorblind ideology. However, consistent with Study 3, the extent to which Whites were seen as included in the company's mission statement did not vary between the colorblind and multicultural ideology, $p = .852$. In short, participants perceived the company valued

Table 16. Effect of diversity ideology on manipulation check items in Study 4.

Dependent Variable	*F*	Diversity Ideology: Colorblind	Multicultural	Ideology Control	All-Inclusive Multiculturalism
Group Differences Valued	**7.11*** **	5.05_{a} (2.18)	6.23_{bc} (1.16)	5.62_{ac} (1.61)	5.72_{bc} (1.72)
Group Differences Acknowledged	**22.47*** **	3.82_{a} (2.39)	5.83_{b} (1.49)	5.27_{b} (1.81)	5.99_{b} (1.48)
Whites Included	2.23	3.92_{a} (1.97)	4.16_{a} (1.88)	4.51_{a} (1.92)	4.60_{a} (1.94)

Note. Across each row, values of manipulation check represent group means with standard deviations in parentheses. Within each row, values with a different subscript differ $p < .05$. *F* values represent one-way Welch's ANOVA with $F(3,323)$ degrees of freedom ***$p < .001$.

group differences more in the multicultural condition yet were no less likely to see their group as excluded than compared to the colorblind condition.

Comparing the colorblind and multicultural ideology conditions to the ideology control condition that made no mention of diversity, participants believed the company acknowledged group differences less in the colorblind condition than in the ideology control condition. However, there were no differences between the multicultural and ideology control conditions in how much the company valued group differences. Put simply, these data suggest the default assumption was that group differences were valued by the company except in the colorblind condition when they were explicitly deemphasized.

Lastly, the critical test assessed how a multicultural versus AIM ideology affected perceptions that Whites were included in the company's definition of diversity. However, no significant effect emerged such that participants were no more likely to see Whites as included in an AIM ideology that explicitly included Whites versus a conventional multicultural ideology that merely mentioned group differences. In other words, this manipulation check suggests participants already perceived themselves as included in a conventional multicultural ideology as perceptions of inclusion did not increase by explicitly mentioning their group within the AIM ideology.

Effects of diversity ideology on social identity threat and intergroup relations. We first examined whether diversity ideology affected indicators of social identity threat or intergroup relations. Each dependent variable was entered into a one-way ANOVA examining the effect of diversity ideology (colorblindness, multiculturalism, ideology

control, AIM). Consistent with Studies 1-3, diversity ideology did not significantly affect indicators social identity threat or intergroup relations (see Table 17).

Specifically, participants did not report greater indicators of social identity threat after considering a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology. Consistent with Studies 1-3, a multicultural ideology that emphasized group differences did not induce greater feelings of social identity threat than a colorblind ideology that emphasized similarities. Further in line with Study 3, indicators of social identity threat did not differ when participants considered an ideology that emphasized diversity, regardless of its framing (colorblindness or multiculturalism), versus a mission statement that made no mention of race or diversity (control ideology).

Lastly, and most critically, indicators of social identity threat did not vary between the multicultural and AIM conditions. The lack of differences builds upon Studies 1-3 by demonstrating that explicitly mentioning Whites in an AIM ideology does not reduce indicators of social identity threat relative to a conventional multicultural ideology. Put simply, these findings indicate Whites may already perceive themselves as included in a multicultural ideology as explicitly including their group does not reduce experiences of social identity threat.

Moderation by ethnic identification and need to belong. We next examined whether ethnic identification or need to belong moderated the effects of diversity ideology on indicators of social identity threat. The manipulation of diversity ideology did not significantly affect participants' levels of ethnic identification, $F(3,323) = 0.55$, $p = .646$, or need to belong, $F(3,323) = 0.82$, $p = .483$.

Table 17. Effect of diversity ideology on dependent variables in Study 4

	Diversity Ideology				
Dependent Variable	Colorblind	Multicultural	Ideology Control	AIM	*F*
Interracial Anxiety	2.88 (1.19)	2.79 (1.18)	3.24 (1.13)	2.88 (1.17)	2.25
Interpersonal Trust	5.43 (0.90)	5.60 (0.79)	5.40 (0.86)	5.59 (0.87)	1.19
Group Performance Expectations	5.85 (0.88)	5.81 (0.78)	5.84 (0.72)	5.94 (0.78)	0.39
Zero-Sum Beliefs	2.68 (0.99)	2.87 (0.97)	2.78 (1.12)	2.61 (1.13)	0.91
Belonging	5.23 (1.15)	5.13 (1.18)	5.10 (1.40)	5.29 (1.47)	0.37
Bias Expectations	2.69 (1.11)	2.76 (1.07)	2.74 (1.08)	2.88 (1.11)	0.44
Concerns About Unfair Treatment	2.41 (0.92)	2.49 (0.97)	2.24 (0.89)	2.43 (1.00)	1.05
Availability of Opportunities	4.77 (0.81)	4.70 (0.83)	4.65 (0.94)	4.79 (0.92)	0.41
Compassionate Goals	4.28 (0.42)	4.21 (0.47)	4.30 (0.46)	4.22 (0.51)	0.79
Self-Image Goals	3.04 (0.59)	3.01 (0.53)	3.07 (0.65)	3.08 (0.62)	0.08
Estimations of Others' Compassionate Goals	4.01 (0.66)	3.94 (0.60)	3.96 (0.62)	4.07 (0.65)	0.28
Estimations of Others' Self-Image Goals	3.26 (0.66)	3.31 (0.55)	3.30 (0.68)	3.27 (0.62)	0.05
Warmth	5.56 (1.02)	5.50 (0.93)	5.57 (0.94)	5.58 (0.98)	0.11
Competence	5.73 (0.95)	5.75 (0.79)	5.80 (0.81)	5.86 (0.82)	0.25
Behavioral Prejudice	48.99 (42.03)	39.46 (37.80)	42.33 (34.45)	51.32 (34.62)	1.79

Note. AIM refers to the all-inclusiveness multiculturalism condition. Values are means and values in parentheses represent standard deviations. *$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

Ethnic identification. If individuals higher in ethnic identification, who see their race as more central to their self-concept, perceive multicultural ideologies as exclusionary of their group (Morrison et al., 2010), they should report more social identity threat when considering a multicultural ideology than compared to either a colorblind or AIM ideology. Using Hayes (2017) Process model 1, diversity ideology was effects coded (1=multiculturalism, 2 = colorblindness, 3 = control, 4 = AIM) and entered as the independent variable, ethnic identification as the moderator, and significant interactions were probed at ±1 SD from the mean of ethnic identification. However, ethnic identification did not moderate the effect of diversity ideology on any of indicators of social identity threat, ΔR^2s < .016, *F*s(3,319) < 1.82, *p*s > .142. In other words, those higher in ethnic identification were not more likely to experience social identity threat when considering a multicultural ideology compared to either a colorblind ideology or an AIM ideology that explicitly included their group.

Need to belong. Next, we repeated the above moderation analyses, substituting need to belong as the moderator variable. Consistent with past work (Plaut et al., 2011), we anticipated if Whites higher in need to belong, who are more sensitive to threats of social exclusion, perceive multicultural ideologies as exclusionary of their group, they should report greater indicators of social identity threat when considering a multicultural ideology than compared to either a colorblind or AIM ideology. However, need to belong did not moderate the effect of diversity ideology any of the dependent measures, ΔR^2s < .021, *F*s < 2.31, *p*s > .076, with one exception: behavioral expressions of prejudice, R^2 = .024, *F*(3,319) = 2.71, *p* = .045 (see Figure 11).

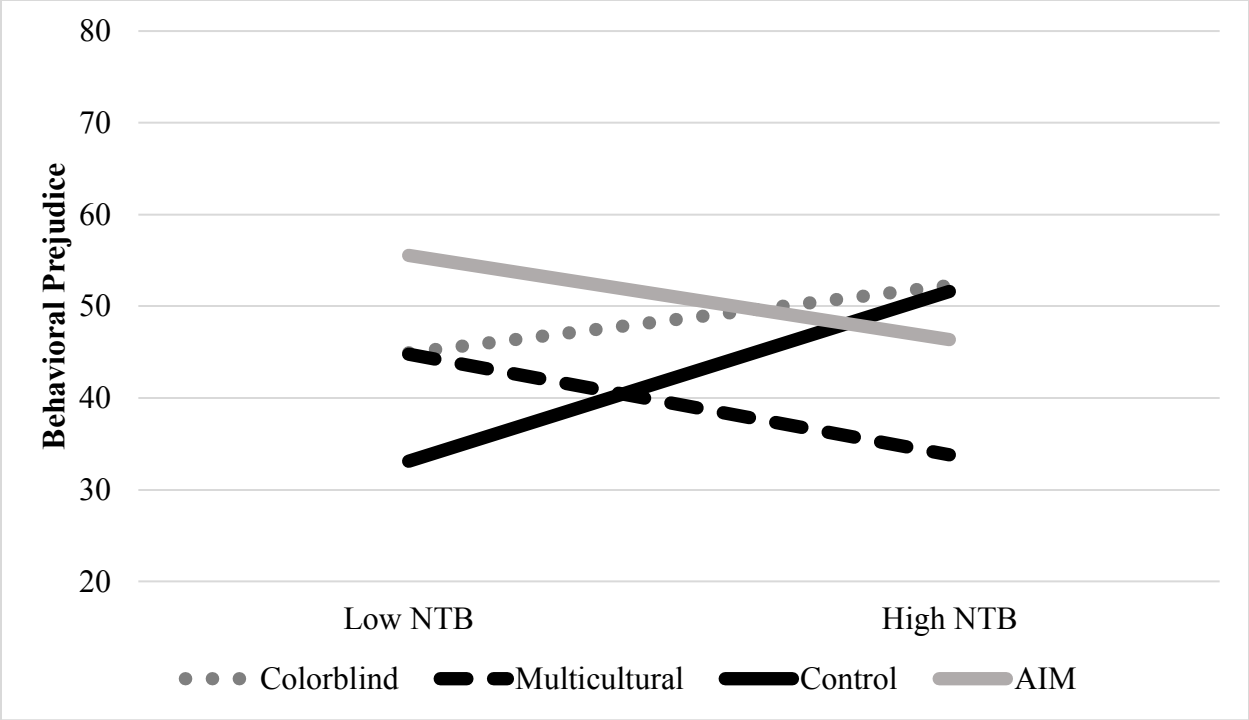

Figure 11. Need to belong moderates effect of diversity ideology on behavioral expressions of prejudice in Study 4

Conditional effects analyses revealed that for participants lower in need to belong, those in the multicultural condition expressed greater prejudice than those in the ideology control condition, b = -11.48, *SE* = 5.21, *p* = .028. Additionally, those lower in need to belong expressed less prejudice in the multicultural condition than in the AIM condition, b = 10.96, *SE* = 4.86, *p* = .025. Contrary to predictions, there were no effects of diversity ideology among those higher in need to belong, *p*s > .189. Put simply, the results indicate Whites higher in need to belong did not display greater indicators of threat in the multicultural condition compared to the colorblind condition. Likewise, explicitly mentioning racial and ethnic majorities in the AIM condition did not reduce experiences of social identity threat among those higher in need to belong relative to a conventional multicultural ideology.

Free responses. As in Studies 1-3, we used LIWC (Pennebaker et al., 2015) to analyze free responses for evidence that multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites relative to a colorblind and AIM ideology. To index perceptions of threat and ego involvement, we tested how diversity ideology affected word count (WC), first person singular pronouns (i), first person plural pronouns (we), overall affect (affect), positive emotions (posemo), negative emotions (negemo), anxiety (anx), and anger (anger). Each linguistic dimension was entered into a one-way ANOVA (colorblind, multicultural, ideology control, AIM).

As shown in Table 18, diversity ideology did not affect most linguistic indicators. However, a significant effect of diversity ideology emerged for positive emotions $F(3,323) = 4.43$, $p = .005$. Post-hoc analyses using Tukey's HSD revealed those in the

Table 18. Effect of diversity ideology on participants' free responses in Study 4

	Diversity Ideology				
Dependent Variable	Colorblind	Multicultural	Control	AIM	*F*
Length	75.53$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (40.24)	80.37$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (34.30)	88.42$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (43.56)	77.44$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (40.30)	1.65
First-person singular pronouns (i)	6.28$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (2.50)	6.06$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (3.36)	5.62$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (2.87)	6.04$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (2.92)	0.72
First-person plural pronouns (we)	0.77$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (1.28)	0.65$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (1.16)	0.71$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (1.08)	0.77$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (1.17)	0.19
Positive emotions (posemo)	6.85$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (2.79)	5.64$_{\mathbf{b}}$ (2.92)	7.13$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (2.72)	6.97$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (3.26)	**4.43****
Negative emotions (negemo)	0.46$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (0.94)	0.53$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (1.05)	0.58$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (0.88)	0.38$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (0.73)	0.78
Anxiety (anx)	0.09$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (0.36)	0.17$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (0.53)	0.18$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (0.43)	0.14$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (0.46)	0.67
Anger (anger)	0.08$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (0.32)	0.10$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (0.47)	0.03$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (0.15)	0.04$_{\mathbf{a}}$ (0.19)	1.07

Note. Values represents the effect of diversity ideology on LIWC linguistic counts with means and standard deviations in parentheses. For dependent variables, information in parentheses corresponds to LIWC dictionary index. *F* values represent one-way ANOVA with $F(3,323)$ degrees of freedom. For *F* values, $^{**}p < .01$. Within each row, values with a different subscript differ $p < .05$ using Tukey's HSD post-hoc comparisons.

multicultural condition exhibited less positive emotions than all other conditions. These findings are consistent with the hypothesis that multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites. Participants who considered a multicultural ideology exhibited less positive emotions than those who considered either a colorblind ideology that emphasized similarities, AIM ideology that explicitly included Whites, or a control ideology that made no mention of diversity. However, this effect was in the opposite direction of the findings from Study 1 and failed to appear in Studies 2 and 3, calling into question the reliability of this finding.

Association between diversity ideology manipulation checks and dependent measures. Next, we conducted zero-order correlations between the dependent measures and our three manipulation checks: perceptions of how much the company valued group differences, how much the company acknowledged group differences, and the extent to which Whites were included in the company's mission statement. Regarding Table 19, the results are inconsistent with the hypothesis that a multicultural ideology's focus on valuing group differences threatens Whites. Specifically, perceptions that the company valued group differences was *negatively* associated with indicators of social identity threat. Consistent with Studies 1-3, these results suggest the more participants perceived that the company valued group differences, the less they experienced social identity threat.

Finally, we examined the critical association between perceptions that the company valued group differences and perceptions that Whites were included in the company's mission statement. If a multicultural ideology's focus on valuing group differences

Table 19. Zero-order correlations between manipulation checks and dependent measures in Study 4.

	Manipulation Check		
Dependent Variable	Group Differences Valued	Group Differences Acknowledged	Whites Included
Interracial Anxiety	-.07	-.08	-.05
Interpersonal Trust	**.12***	.05	.10
Group Performance Expectations	.09	.05	**.11***
Bias Expectations	**-.18****	.01	**-.13***
Concerns About Unfair Treatment	**-.19****	.01	**-.22*****
Inclusion Concerns	**.17****	.01	**.23*****
Availability of Opportunities	.09	-.06	**.17****
Compassionate Goals	**.14***	-.03	.04
Self-Image Goals	.04	.04	-.02
Others' Compassionate Goals	**.12***	.03	.11
Others' Self-Image Goals	.00	.07	-.02
Warmth	.06	-.01	**.13***
Competence	**.12***	.04	**.14***
Behavioral Prejudice	-.07	-.05	.04

Note. Values of independent variables represent zero-order correlations. *$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

unintentionally excludes Whites who do not perceive themselves to be a part of diversity efforts (Plaut et al., 2011; Stevens et al., 2008; Unzueta & Binning, 2010), we would expect the more participants perceived the company valued group differences, the less Whites would see their group as included in the company's definition of diversity. In contrast to these predictions, no significant association emerged, $r = .09$, $p = .107$. However, the association trended in the opposite direction such that the more participants believed group differences were valued at the company, the more they felt Whites were included in the mission statement[10]. Taken together, these results suggest that valuing group differences does not necessarily lead Whites to see their group as excluded from diversity-related efforts.

Discussion

Study 4 offers further evidence that multicultural ideologies do not represent a social identity contingency for racial and ethnic majorities. In line with Studies 1-3, participants who considered a company espousing a multicultural ideology did not exhibit heightened indicators of social identity relative to those who considered a colorblind ideology. Beyond the absence of this main effect, Study 4 examined whether

[10] While we did not directly measure the extent to which Whites were perceived as included in the company's mission statement in Studies 1-2, one item from the inclusion and belonging measure is conceptually similar. In Studies 1-2, participants were asked the extent to which they agreed with the statement "My group is included in CCG's definition of diversity". Examining the correlation between this item and perceptions of how much the company valued group differences produced a nonsignificant association for both Study 1 ($r = .11$, $p = .149$) and Study 2 ($r = -.02$, $p = .778$). Taken together, this evidence suggests the extent to which the company values group differences is not consistently related to how included Whites feel in an organization.

multicultural ideologies were perceived as more threatening by Whites higher in need to belong or ethnic identification. In contrast to past work (Morrison et al., 2010; Plaut et al., 2011), yet consistent with the present studies, we did not find evidence of greater social identity threat in the multicultural versus colorblind condition among those higher in need to belong or ethnic identification.

Consistent with Study 3, Study 4 also found that experiences of social identity threat did not differ by the mere presence versus absence of a diversity statement. Specifically, those in the ideology control condition who considered a company that made no mention of diversity did not report lower indicators of social identity threat compared to either those in the colorblind or multicultural conditions. These findings are consistent with Study 3 yet stand in contrast to past research (Dover et al., 2016).

The results of Study 4 extend knowledge of diversity ideologies by providing new evidence for whether Whites perceive their group as excluded within multicultural ideologies. Specifically, Study 4 included an all-inclusive multiculturalism condition (AIM) that explicitly acknowledged and included Whites in the company's diversity-related efforts. Previous work has shown explicitly including racial and ethnic majorities in a company's diversity statement ameliorates the negative effects of a multicultural ideology (Jansen et al., 2015; Plaut et al., 2011; Stevens et al., 2008). However, participants did not report greater feelings of inclusion in the AIM condition compared to the multicultural condition nor did participants in the AIM condition exhibit any reductions in indicators of social identity threat or intergroup relations. In other words,

the lack of differences between the AIM and multicultural conditions suggests Whites may already see themselves as included in the multicultural ideology.

Chapter 6: General Discussion

Multicultural Ideologies as a Social Identity Contingency?

The present research provides a comprehensive examination of whether multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for White Americans. In short, our evidence suggests that Whites do not feel more social identity threat when considering a multicultural versus colorblind ideology. Previous work has indexed social identity threat by measuring perceptions of belonging or the perceived attractiveness of an organization (Plaut et al., 2011). In the present work, we drew on a variety of self-report measures to tap into the latent construct of identity threat – namely, negative emotions, feelings of belonging, expectations of bias, trust and comfort toward setting, and interpersonal concerns. Across four studies and over 1,000 participants, we do not find consistent evidence that multicultural ideologies, which focus on celebrating racial and ethnic differences, evoke social identity threat. In fact, across four studies, White participants expressed significantly more identity threat in the multicultural (vs. colorblind) condition on only three of 56 dependent measures – a rate almost exactly that of statistical chance. Taken together, our findings suggest multicultural ideologies do not represent a social identity contingency for Whites in general. This claim is further bolstered by the fact that explicitly including Whites in a company's diversity ideology (i.e., all-inclusive multiculturalism) does not reduce feelings of social identity threat

relative to a conventional form of multiculturalism that merely mentions group differences (Study 4).

Beyond the absence of a main effect, past theory identifies three specific moderators that may affect whether multicultural ideologies signal a social identity contingency among Whites: the presence of an outgroup member, ethnic identification, and need to belong. First, the presence of a racial outgroup (vs. ingroup) member did not increase indicators of social identity threat for Whites who considered a multicultural versus colorblind ideology (Studies 1 and 2). Whereas previous work finds the presence of outgroup members can increase the threat of diversity ideologies among racial and ethnic minorities (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008), the present research is the first to examine this question among majority group members. These null findings likely highlight the role of racial and ethnic majorities as dominant group members who may be less susceptible to threat from lower-status groups. Indeed, this is consistent with previous work finding that Whites' reactions to diverse environments are not affected by the racial composition of the setting (Wout, Murphy, & Steele, 2010).

Second, Whites higher in ethnic identification are not more likely to experience social identity threat when considering a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology. Previous work suggests highly-identified Whites respond more negatively to multicultural ideologies because valuing racial differences threatens their group's status (Morrison et al., 2010). However, the present data do not align with this theory. Across four studies, with similar populations and measures as Morrison et al. (2010), we do not find consistent evidence that highly-identified Whites express more intergroup bias after

considering a multicultural (vs. colorblind) ideology. One reason for these inconsistent findings may be that Morrison et al. (2010) manipulated diversity ideology with the use of a leading questionnaire whereas the present studies provided participants with a diversity ideology statement. These different instantiations of the manipulation may suggest those higher in ethnic identification are more threatened by multicultural ideologies when they are forced to link multiculturalism with the self-concept. However, our studies asked participants to write about what they thought it would be like to work at the company in hopes of increasing the relevance of the diversity ideology for the self (Wolsko et al., 2000; 2006). Therefore, it is unclear why a different operationalization of a multicultural ideology does not evoke greater evidence of social identity threat among highly-identified Whites. In sum, these findings may point to a generalizability constraint of the extent to which Whites high in ethnic identification perceive multiculturalism as a social identity contingency.

Third, we tested whether Whites higher in need to belong exhibit increases in social identity threat after considering a multicultural (vs. colorblind) company. Past work suggests Whites higher in need to belong, who are more sensitive to threats of social exclusion, may be more likely to perceive multicultural ideologies as exclusionary of their group (Plaut et al., 2011). However, this pattern did not emerge in Studies 1 and 4. One possibility for these null findings is that previous work examined workplace professionals and undergraduate business students – populations who may exhibit greater interest and motivation in belonging to a hypothetical company. In contrast, the present studies tested these effects among undergraduates and American adults. Therefore, these

findings may point to a boundary condition of this effect such that need to belong may moderate the perceived threat of multiculturalism only for individuals who have a strong initial desire to belong to the organizational domain. Indeed, this is consistent with recent work finding that need to belong enhances the sting of exclusion in self-relevant domains (Tyler, Branch, & Kearns, 2016).

In sum, the present results suggest that neither ethnic identification or need to belong increased perceptions of multiculturalism as a social identity contingency. However, it is possible that other moderators may increase the perceived threat of multicultural ideologies. For example, individuals high in Right-Wing Authoritarianism may experience social identity threat when considering a multicultural ideology due to their blatant negative attitudes toward racial minorities and their support for traditional values (Altemeyer, 1981). Likewise, Whites higher in SDO may perceive multicultural ideologies as a social identity contingency given their preference for maintaining social hierarchies between racial and ethnic groups (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). While the present research does not support two theoretically-relevant moderators (i.e., need to belong and ethnic identification), future research should seek evidence of moderation to determine when and for whom multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency.

The Mere Presence of a Diversity Ideology as a Social Identity Contingency?

Beyond testing whether multiculturalism represents a social identity contingency for Whites, the present studies also examined whether the mere presence of a diversity statement, regardless of its ideology, increased indicators of social identity threat (Studies

3-4). Inconsistent with previous findings (Dover et al., 2016), our studies do not indicate that the mere presence of a diversity ideology triggered social identity threat among Whites. One potential explanation for these results is that Dover et al. (2016) used lengthy, multimedia materials of the diversity ideology manipulation whereas the present studies relied on short mission statements. Previous research suggests Whites perceive concrete portrayals of diversity as more threatening than diversity efforts described in generic and abstract terms (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). As a result, the present studies comport with these findings. In our studies, abstract mission statements describing a multicultural ideology did not trigger social identity threat among Whites relative to a control mission statement that did not mention diversity. In short, these results may point to a design factor for future researchers to consider when examining reactions to diversity statements, as using rich, multimedia materials may increase the perceived threat of a diversity statement among high-status groups.

Another potential explanation for the inconsistency between our results and those of Dover et al. (2016) is that Dover and colleagues indexed indicators of social identity threat by measuring nonverbal behaviors and physiological reactivity. In contrast, the present studies relied on self-report measures. Our lack of findings may highlight the role of anti-bias norms in moderating Whites' reactions to diversity statements. In other words, participants may have been uncomfortable expressing negative reactions toward a multicultural ideology out of concerns of appearing prejudiced (Major et al., 2016). If anti-bias norms discourage expressions of discomfort surrounding diversity, then indirect measures such as physiological reactivity or nonverbal behavior may be best suited to

capture the "behavioral leakage" of social identity threat in response to different diversity ideologies (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997). However, nonverbal and physiological responses are also more ambiguous indicators of social identity threat as they can be associated with a physiological state of threat or challenge (Blascovich, 2013). Therefore, future work should use multi-method investigations to provide converging evidence for whether diversity ideologies represent a social identity contingency for majority group members.

White' Perceived Inclusivity in the Concept of Diversity

The most informative evidence from the present studies concerns the extent to which White Americans perceive themselves to be included in multicultural ideologies. Previous work suggests racial and ethnic majorities do not associate their group with the concept of diversity (Plaut et al., 2011; Stevens et al., 2008; Unzueta & Binning, 2010). As a result, multicultural ideologies, which focus on group differences, may unintentionally exclude Whites who do not see their group as relevant to diversity-related efforts (Plaut et al., 2011; Stevens et al., 2008). However, the present studies do not support this view.

If valuing group differences unintentionally excluded Whites, then we would expect that greater perceptions that the company valued group differences would be associated with increased indicators of social identity threat. In contrast, the opposite pattern emerged. Regardless of diversity ideology, the more Whites believed the company valued group differences, the fewer indicators of social identity threat they exhibited in Studies 2-4. These findings suggest a multicultural ideology's focus on diversity and group

differences is associated with decreased experiences of social identity threat among Whites and may signal identity safety rather than identity threat.

The most illuminating evidence concerns the relationship between perceptions that the company valued group differences and perceptions that the company's mission statement included Whites. If valuing group differences unintentionally excluded Whites (Stevens et al., 2008; Unzueta & Binning, 2010), then we would expect the more participants believed the company valued group differences, the less they would perceive Whites as included in the company's definition of diversity. However, no consistent association emerged. This suggests that, in contrast to previous work (Plaut et al., 2011), the focus of multiculturalism on valuing group differences does not necessarily signal exclusion for racial and ethnic majorities.

The fact that Whites do not perceive a company that values group differences as exclusionary of their group may highlight an increasing tendency for multiculturalism to be inclusive of racial and ethnic majorities. In other words, might present-day forms of multiculturalism be inclusive of both majority and minority group members, thus reducing the perceived threat of multicultural ideologies? As a preliminary investigation of this hypothesis, we examined the extent to which Whites were featured in the diversity and inclusion websites of all 2018 Fortune 100 companies (*Fortune Magazine*, 2018). Companies were randomly sorted into two groups with two independent coders for each group. Coders evaluated each company on the extent to which the company's diversity website explicitly included Whites (via the text of their diversity ideology) and implicitly included Whites (via pictures or graphics included on their diversity website). Coders

also categorized the diversity ideology of the company (colorblind, multicultural, both, or neither). Interrater agreement was acceptable within both groups on explicitly including Whites (93.5% average for both groups), implicitly including Whites (81.9% average for both groups) and categorizing diversity ideology (69.1% average for both groups). Coders independently completed ratings then resolved disagreements through discussion.

Regarding Table 20, while only 5.1% of companies explicitly included Whites in the text of their diversity ideology, 83.7% of companies implicitly included Whites within the pictures, graphics, and tables on the company's website. In other words, more than four out of five companies used indirect cues to signal that Whites were included in their concept of diversity.

Regarding the diversity ideology of the companies, Table 21 also suggests an increasing presence of multiculturalism in the United States. Nearly four out of five companies (79.6%) espoused a multicultural ideology while only a few companies (7.1%) articulated a colorblind diversity ideology. Compared to past work finding that colorblind ideologies are more common than multicultural ideologies in the United States (Plaut, 2010), the present data may point to the increasing normativity of multiculturalism.

Moreover, the increasing normativity of multiculturalism may be coupled with a parallel norm of including majority group members in diversity efforts. Specifically, among multicultural companies, 85.8% used indirect cues to signal that Whites were included in their diversity-related efforts. While these findings are limited to large

Table 20. Inclusion of Whites in diversity ideologies of Fortune 100 companies

Dependent Variable	Yes	No
Explicitly included	5.1% (n = 5)	94.9% (n = 93)
Implicitly included	83.7% (n = 82)	16.3% (n = 16)

Note. Values represent the proportion of *Fortune* 100 companies who explicitly or implicitly include Whites in their portrayals of diversity ideology. Numbers in parentheses represent number of companies who fall within each category.

Table 21. Diversity ideologies of Fortune 100 companies

	Multicultural	Colorblind	Both	Neither
Diversity Ideology	79.6% (n = 78)	7.1% (n = 7)	3.1% (n = 3)	9.2% (n = 9)

Note. Values represent the proportion of *Fortune* 100 companies who endorse each diversity ideology. Numbers in parentheses represent number of companies who fall within each category.

corporations, they shed light on the increasing normativity of multicultural ideologies in the United States and increased efforts to include Whites in diversity-related efforts.

Future Directions and Implications

Across four studies, our evidence suggests multicultural ideologies do not signal a social identity contingency for White Americans. However, there remains several issues for future research to explore. First, the present set of studies drew on samples of university undergraduates and American adults recruited through online crowdsourcing. While these samples are consistent with previous research (Dover et al., 2016; Morrison et al., 2010; Plaut et al., 2011), they limit the generalizability of our findings. Specifically, university undergraduates and crowdsourced American adults tend to younger, more educated, and more liberal than the general population (Berinsky, Huber, & Lenz, 2012; Shapiro, Chandler, & Mueller, 2013). Previous work suggests that politically conservative individuals respond more negatively to multicultural ideologies (Wolsko et al., 2006) and to diversity in general (Harrison et al., 2006). While the present research included samples with a minimum of 32% conservatives within each study, we did not observe any consistent interactions between diversity ideology and political orientation on indicators of social identity threat. However, future research should directly examine whether political orientation might moderate the extent to which multicultural ideologies represent a social identity contingency for Whites.

Additionally, the present samples are still relatively younger than the average American population. Previous research suggests younger individuals have increased exposure to multicultural competency and diversity education in both primary and

secondary schooling (Keengwe, 2010; Kirmayer, 2012). As a result, the present samples may feature participants who possess more knowledge and experience with multiculturalism and diversity than the average American. Past research suggests increased familiarity with multiculturalism and diversity-related issues reduces the perceived threat of intergroup settings (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008; Stolle, Soroka, & Johnston, 2008). Therefore, future work should examine these questions among an older and more politically diverse sample to highlight the generalizability of the findings.

The present research also relied on one operationalization of a multicultural ideology, providing participants with an ostensible mission statement from a fictitious company. While these materials are identical to previous work in terms of format and content (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Wolsko et al., 2000), they provide brief, abstract summaries of a multicultural or colorblind ideology. As previous work suggests people are less supportive of multicultural ideologies when they are described in a detailed and concrete format (Yoogeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014), future work should draw on rich, multimedia portrayals of multicultural ideologies (e.g., Dover et al., 2016) to examine whether specific, concrete instantiations of multiculturalism represent a social identity contingency for Whites.

Lastly, the studies modified the conventional manipulation of diversity ideology by including the presence of a racial ingroup (Studies 1-2) or outgroup (Studies 1-4) member. While this design choice aimed to bolster the psychological realism of the manipulation by allowing participants to realistically simulate a workplace environment (Wolsko et al., 2000; 2006), the presence of a racial outgroup member could have raised

participants' concerns of appearing prejudiced (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981). Therefore, any negative reactions that emerged as a result of diversity ideology could have been overridden with socially-desirable responding.

In sum, the present research offers reason for optimism. Across four studies and over 1,000 participants, our evidence first suggests Whites do not perceive multicultural ideologies as a social identity contingency. Second, neither Whites high in ethnic identification or high in need to belong respond more negatively to a multicultural versus colorblind ideology. And third, Study 4 shows that explicitly including Whites in a multicultural ideology statement does not lower indicators of social identity threat relative to a conventional multicultural ideology that merely mentions group differences.

If multicultural ideologies do not represent a social identity contingency for Whites, then this offers a clear path for facilitating positive intergroup relations. Previous research suggests a zero-sum view of diversity ideologies in that colorblind ideologies appease Whites at the expense of racial and ethnic minorities whereas multicultural ideologies satisfy racial and ethnic minorities at the expense of Whites (Plaut et al., 2011; Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Stevens et al., 2008). The present findings do not support this zero-sum view. Instead, if Whites already see themselves as included in multicultural ideologies that emphasize the importance of group differences, then multiculturalism may offer the most promising path for facilitating positive intergroup relations between racial and ethnic majorities and minorities. While future research should challenge, replicate, and extend the present findings, the present data offer promise for using multiculturalism as a diversity ideology to facilitate positive intergroup relations.

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Appendix A: Colorblind and Multicultural Ideology Statements

CCG Consulting Mission & Values Statement [COLORBLIND]

New U.S. Census Bureau data suggest that America will become a "majority-minority" nation much faster than once predicted. The nation's racial minority population is steadily rising, advancing an unmistakable trend that could make minorities the new American majority by midcentury. The data show a declining number of White adults and growing under-18 populations of Hispanics, Asians, and other minorities. Demographers calculate that by 2042, Americans who identify themselves as Hispanic, Black, Asian, American Indian, Native Hawaiian, or Pacific Islander will together outnumber non-Hispanic Whites.

People have often wondered about how people of such different backgrounds can get along and live peacefully. Researchers at Harvard University have done many studies to try to understand what kinds of factors lead people to get along well and peacefully. In particular, they were interested in understanding the factors that influence how different racial and ethnic groups get along with each other. After surveying numerous psychologists, sociologists, economists, and political scientists, the results of the study revealed that most scientists are in agreement. That is, scientific research shows that harmony among groups can be achieved only if we recognize that, at our core, we are all the same. That is, all men and women, and people of all races and ethnicities, are created equal, and we are first and foremost a nation of individuals.

In fact, scientists conducted a similar study with students at various colleges in New York City and found that the results were remarkably similar to those found by researchers at Harvard University. That is, scientists again found that the best way to ensure racial and ethnic harmony is to focus on how we are more similar than different.

In light of these findings, we at CCG train our diverse workforce to embrace their similarities. We feel that focusing on our common humanity and our similarities creates a more unified, exciting, and collaborative work environment. Such an inclusive and accepting environment helps not only us but also our clients. At CCG, we proudly look beyond characteristics such as a person's gender or ethnic background when making our employment decisions. Your race, ethnicity, gender, and religion are immaterial as soon as you walk through our doors.

CCG Consulting Mission & Values Statement [MULTICULTURAL]

New U.S. Census Bureau data suggest that America will become a "majority-minority" nation much faster than once predicted. The nation's racial minority population is steadily rising, advancing an unmistakable trend that could make minorities the new American majority by midcentury. The data show a declining number of White adults and growing under-18 populations of Hispanics, Asians, and other minorities. Demographers calculate that by 2042, Americans who identify themselves as Hispanic, Black, Asian, American Indian, Native Hawaiian, or Pacific Islander will together outnumber non-Hispanic Whites.

People have often wondered about how people of such different backgrounds can get along and live peacefully. Researchers at Harvard University have done many studies to try to understand what kinds of factors lead people to get along well and peacefully. In particular, they were interested in understanding the factors that influence how different racial and ethnic groups get along with each other. After surveying numerous psychologists, sociologists, economists, and political scientists, the results of the study revealed that most scientists are in agreement. That is, scientific research shows that harmony among groups can be achieved only if we celebrate the diversity of our nation by appreciating different races and different ethnicities.

In fact, scientists conducted a similar study with students at various colleges in New York City and found that the results were remarkably similar to those found by researchers at Harvard University. That is, scientists again found that the best way to ensure racial and ethnic harmony is to celebrate the various racial and ethnic groups that make our nation diverse.

In light of these findings, we at CCG believe that embracing our diversity enriches our culture. Diversity fosters a more unified, exciting, and collaborative work environment. Such an inclusive and accepting environment helps not only us but also our clients. At CCG, we proudly value diverse characteristics such as a person's gender or ethnic background when making our employment decisions. As soon as you walk through our doors, you'll appreciate the strength that we derive from our diversity.

Appendix B: Coworker Race Manipulation

Employee Photo: Kristen Baker

Imagine you have just been hired by CCG and it is your first day on the job. As soon as you arrive at the office, you are assigned to work on a challenging project with another new employee, Kristen. Before you meet with Kristen, you stop to think about how you want to present yourself.

On one hand, you consider that it is important to be caring and supportive toward Kristen in order to cooperate and perform well together on the project. However, you also consider that it is important to appear competent and intelligent to Kristen in order to impress people and be successful in the company.

After giving this some thought, you will be asked to write about your expectations, thoughts, and feelings of working with Kristen at CCG.

Now, we would like you to spend a few minutes writing about your expectations of working at CCG. Specifically, we ask that you:

1. communicate your thoughts and feelings toward the mission and values of CCG and what you think it would be like to work there.
2. talk about your thoughts and feelings of working with Kristen at CCG and what you think it would be like to work with her.

Appendix C: Coworker Photo Stimuli

Black Female

White Female

Black Male

White Male

Appendix D: Control and Status Threat Control Statements

CCG Properties Mission Statement [STATUS THREAT CONTROL]

New U.S. Census Bureau data suggest that America will become a "majority-minority" nation much faster than once predicted. The nation's racial minority population is steadily rising, advancing an unmistakable trend that could make minorities the new American majority by midcentury. The data show a declining number of White adults and growing populations of Hispanics, Asians, and other minorities. Demographers calculate that by 2042, Americans who identify themselves as Hispanic, Black, Asian, American Indian, Native Hawaiian, or Pacific Islander will together outnumber non-Hispanic Whites.

At CCG Properties, we are prepared to respond to these changing trends and to meet the modern demands of the American workforce. People have often wondered about how people can get along and work well together. Researchers at Harvard University have done many studies to try to understand what kinds of factors lead people to get along with each other. In particular, they were interested in understanding the factors that influence how people with different personalities get along with each other. After surveying numerous psychologists, sociologists, economists, and political scientists, the results of the study revealed that most scientists are in agreement. That is, scientific research shows that harmony between people can be achieved only if we recognize that, at our core, we are all individuals. That is, everyone is unique, and we are first and foremost a nation of individuals.

In fact, scientists conducted a similar study with students at various colleges in New York City and found that the results were remarkably similar to those found by researchers at Harvard University. That is, scientists again found that the best way to ensure harmony is to recognize our different personalities.

In light of these findings, we at CCG Properties train our workforce to embrace themselves. We feel that focusing on our individuality creates a more unified, exciting, and collaborative work environment. Such an inclusive and accepting environment helps not only us but also our clients. At CCG, we proudly value characteristics such as a person's personality when making our employment decisions. Your individuality is valued as soon as you walk through our doors.

CCG Properties Mission Statement [IDEOLOGY CONTROL]

New U.S. Census Bureau data suggest that the rate of geographical mobility, or the number of individuals who have moved within the past year, is increasing. The national mover rate increased from 11.9 percent in 2015 (the lowest rate since the U.S. Census Bureau began tracking the data) to 12.5 percent in 2016. According to the new data, 37.1 million people changed residences in the U.S. within the past year. 84.5 percent of all movers stayed within the same state, and renters were more than five times more likely to move than homeowners.

At CCG Properties, we are prepared to respond to these changing trends and to meet the modern demands of American clients. People have often wondered about how people can get along and work well together. Researchers at Harvard University have done many studies to try to understand what kinds of factors lead people to get along with each other. In particular, they were interested in understanding the factors that influence how people with different personalities get along with each other. After surveying numerous psychologists, sociologists, economists, and political scientists, the results of the study revealed that most scientists are in agreement. That is, scientific research shows that harmony between people can be achieved only if we recognize that, at our core, we are all individuals. That is, everyone is unique, and we are first and foremost a nation of individuals.

In fact, scientists conducted a similar study with students at various colleges in New York City and found that the results were remarkably similar to those found by researchers at Harvard University. That is, scientists again found that the best way to ensure harmony is to appreciate our different personalities.

In light of these findings, we at CCG Properties train our workforce to embrace themselves. We feel that focusing on our individuality creates a more unified, exciting, and collaborative work environment. Such an inclusive and accepting environment helps not only us but also our clients. At CCG, we proudly value characteristics such as a person’s personality when making our employment decisions. Your individuality is valued as soon as you walk through our doors.

Appendix E: All-Inclusive Multicultural Statement

CCG Properties Diversity Statement

New U.S. Census Bureau data suggest that America will become a "majority-minority" nation much faster than once predicted. The nation's racial minority population is steadily rising, advancing an unmistakable trend that could make minorities the new American majority by midcentury. The data show a declining number of White adults and growing populations of Hispanics, Asians, and other minorities. Demographers calculate that by 2042, Americans who identify themselves as Hispanic, Black, Asian, American Indian, Native Hawaiian, or Pacific Islander will together outnumber non-Hispanic Whites.

At CCG Properties, we are prepared to respond to these changing trends and to meet the modern demands of the American workforce. People have often wondered about how people of such different backgrounds can get along and work well together. Researchers at Harvard University have done many studies to try to understand what kinds of factors lead people to get along with each other. In particular, they were interested in understanding the factors that influence how different racial and ethnic groups get along with each other. After surveying numerous psychologists, sociologists, economists, and political scientists, the results of the study revealed that most scientists are in agreement. That is, scientific research shows that harmony among groups can be achieved only if we celebrate the diversity of our nation by appreciating all races and ethnicities, **including White**, Black, Hispanic, and Asian Americans, and others.

In fact, scientists conducted a similar study with students at various colleges in New York City and found that the results were remarkably similar to those found by researchers at Harvard University. That is, scientists again found that the best way to ensure racial and ethnic harmony is to acknowledge and celebrate all the various racial and ethnic groups that make our nation diverse.

In light of these findings, we at CCG Properties believe that embracing the diversity of all our employee enriches our culture. We **believe the diversity of our White**, Black, Hispanic, and Asian employees fosters a more unified, exciting, and collaborative work environment. Such an inclusive and accepting environment helps not only us but also our clients. At CCG, we proudly value diverse characteristics such as a person's racial or ethnic background when making our employment decisions. As soon as you walk through our doors, you'll appreciate the strength that we derive from our diversity.