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The Demands of Diversity Messages: Strategic Self-Stereotyping Among Racial Minorities

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Abstract

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Although multicultural messages value and encourage the expression of group differences, this approach to diversity may ironically constrain racial minorities' behavior and promote self-stereotyping. Self-stereotyping in multicultural workplaces may be particularly pronounced among weakly racially identified minorities who, compared to strongly identified minorities, are more willing to engage in identity-related self-presentational strategies to obtain desired outcomes. In four studies, online community samples of African American (Studies 1-4; $N = 1,055$) and White adults (Study 2; $N = 1,586$), who varied in their strength of racial identification, imagined interviewing at a company that either advocated managing diversity through multiculturalism or colorblindness or had no diversity message. When exposed to the multicultural company, African Americans presented themselves as more stereotypically African American (e.g., athletic and streetwise) than in the colorblind company, but only if they were weakly identified with their racial group. Weakly identified African Americans also felt more anxious and less like they could be themselves at the multicultural company compared to the colorblind company. White participants and strongly racially identified Black participants were unaffected by the company's diversity message. These findings show that, despite their best intentions, organizations striving to be inclusive may paradoxically create pressure for some

racial minorities to remain within the constraints of racial stereotypes, even if this is inconsistent with how they view themselves.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The United States is in the midst of a dramatic demographic shift. The population of White Americans is growing only modestly and will begin to decline in approximately 2025, whereas racial minorities' share of the population is quickly increasing, due to immigration and higher birth rates (United States Census Bureau, 2012). For example, the African American population will grow by nearly 40 percent by 2050, and the Latino/a American population will double or even triple. Consequently, the number of racial minorities will surpass the number of White Americans in the United States by around 2044, leading the U.S. to become a "majority minority" nation for the first time in its history.

Despite the diversifying nature of society, American workplaces still struggle to recruit and retain racial minorities, and discrimination persists (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2007). What efforts have been made to reduce bias and create welcoming work environments for minorities? After the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, many organizations began implementing diversity initiatives, which allowed them to express their commitment to diversity through inclusive diversity messages, trainings, and policies (Dobbin, 2009). Over time, these initiatives became institutionalized, and they are now ubiquitous in present day organizations.

Diversity Models

Diversity models defined. These pervasive diversity initiatives advocate for a number of distinct models for how to promote and manage diversity (Berry, 1990; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; Fredrickson, 1995; Hahn, Judd, & Park, 2010; Plaut, 2002). These diversity models represent sets of ideas and practices about how people from different backgrounds should

interact, relate, and accommodate each other. Also known as cultural models and interethnic ideologies, among many other labels, diversity models differ primarily in their focus on group differences versus similarities. Multiculturalism, one of the most common approaches to diversity management, emphasizes and celebrates racial and ethnic differences. Colorblindness, another prominent approach, deemphasizes differences, instead focusing on individual traits and similarities across people (Plaut, 2002).

Colorblindness and multiculturalism both view diversity in society through a positive light and advocate for equality across groups, albeit through different approaches. Multicultural models acknowledge racial and ethnic differences, arguing that these differences enrich society and should be celebrated. A multicultural approach in a work environment might maintain that group differences strengthen the workplace, boost creativity, and can be harnessed to improve productivity. For example, Google's diversity message on their website reads, "Google is committed to bringing together people—in our workforce, our industry, and on the web—who have a broad range of attributes, experiences, and points of view. We believe our differences make us stronger, and produce better, more innovative work" (Google, 2015).

Colorblindness is one alternative to multiculturalism that instead deemphasizes racial and ethnic characteristics, focusing on individual traits or group similarities. Some colorblind approaches encourage recategorization of diverse social groups into an overarching shared category (e.g., American; Dovidio et al., 2009). A colorblind approach in a work environment might advocate for treating each other the same, regardless of background, in order to work together efficiently. Ernst and Young published a recruitment advertisement in 1999 that effectively exemplifies a colorblind work environment: "Zebras never wonder if they're white

with black stripes. Or black with white stripes. They work together so they won't be lunch for a lion" (see Plaut, 2002).

Benefits of multiculturalism. Emerging research suggests that multiculturalism may be superior to colorblindness, as it imparts several psychological benefits to racial minorities. Not only do minorities prefer multiculturalism over colorblindness (Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007), but organizational multicultural messages also facilitate engagement and trust among minority employees (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008). Because minorities have chronic concerns about belonging in domains where they have been historically devalued, instilling a sense of belonging in these environments is crucial (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). For example, African Americans at a low-diversity company had fewer identity-related concerns and anticipated feeling more comfortable when the company had a multicultural as opposed to a colorblind recruitment brochure. Similarly, minorities were more psychologically engaged at companies where White employees were more likely to endorse multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism also benefits minorities by decreasing bias and facilitating positive intergroup interactions (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, 2009). After reading a statement arguing for a multicultural approach to diversity, as compared to a colorblind approach, White and Aboriginal Canadians interacting in dyads made more positive statements about their outgroup partner. This occurred because multiculturalism encouraged an outward orientation focused on learning about their partner, rather than a prevention orientation avoiding acknowledgement of group differences (Vorauer et al., 2009). Similarly, Whites taking a multicultural perspective demonstrated less verbal and

nonverbal prejudice when interacting with Black and Asian partners, leading to smoother interactions (Holoien & Shelton, 2012).

Finally, multiculturalism encourages Whites to communicate about race more efficiently. For example, Whites taking a multicultural relative to colorblind perspective were more likely to use race as a descriptor when it was necessary to complete a photo matching task, which facilitated better communication with outgroup members and better performance on the task (Norton et al., 2006). Whites were also more likely to acknowledge and report racial bias when taking a multicultural perspective (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, & Ambady, 2010). Specifically, elementary school students read a storybook on multiculturalism or colorblindness and then learned about a student who was clearly mistreated due to his race. Participants were more likely to acknowledge the mistreatment as race-related when exposed to multiculturalism as compared to colorblindness, and teachers were then more likely to take appropriate disciplinary action.

Drawbacks of multiculturalism. Although most research has focused on the benefits of multiculturalism, it is premature to conclude that it is universally beneficial for minorities. Multiculturalism has notable drawbacks, such as instilling a false sense of trust that organizations are fair to minorities or other low status groups (Brady, Kaiser, Major, & Kirby, 2014; Dover, Major, & Kaiser, 2013; Kaiser et al., 2013; Kirby, Kaiser, & Major, 2015). For example, Whites who learned about a company with a multicultural message were less supportive of a racial discrimination lawsuit against that company compared to those who read a company's non-diversity related mission statement (Kaiser et al., 2013). This occurred in the face of information that minorities at the organization were disproportionately turned down for promotions relative to Whites.

Additionally, multiculturalism shapes stereotyping of racial minorities (Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2010; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). When primed with multiculturalism as opposed to colorblindness, Whites stereotyped African Americans and Latinos more on both positive and negative attributes (Wolsko et al., 2000). Additionally, White Americans liked stereotypical minorities more when primed with multiculturalism but liked counter-stereotypical minorities more when primed with colorblindness (Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2010). In other words, multiculturalism creates an expectation for minorities to stay within the bounds of their ethnicity.

In the present research, I explore whether the stereotype-based expectations stemming from multiculturalism lead minorities to change their behavior to comply with stereotypes. Specifically, I propose that multiculturalism could create pressure for minorities to conform to expectations about their group and present themselves more stereotypically, even if this is inconsistent with how they view themselves. Indeed, other researchers have speculated that multiculturalism may serve to reify group boundaries and pigeonhole minorities (Plaut, 2010; Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2011). For example, multicultural approaches may encourage hiring minorities to attract a particular client market, subsequently making it difficult for those individuals to be adequately integrated into the broader company (Plaut, 2010). However, minorities' interpretation of and responses to the group-based pressures of multiculturalism have not been examined empirically. In other words, do minorities detect this pressure, and do they comply by changing their behavior?

Diversity Messages May Affect Self-Presentation

Self-stereotyping defined. One way in which minorities might succumb to the expectations of diversity messages is through adjusting the extent to which they self-stereotype,

or apply cultural stereotypes to themselves (Hogg & Turner, 1987; Sinclair & Huntsinger, 2006). Social categorization theory contends that self-stereotyping occurs naturally when people categorize themselves into a particular social identity or group. In other words, people who identify with a group will come to see themselves as possessing attributes that are considered stereotypical of that group. For example, people arbitrarily categorized as introverts, based on their artistic tastes, embraced this group identity and were more likely to label themselves as calm, whereas those categorized as extraverts were more likely to label themselves as sociable (Simon & Hamilton, 1994). Once a particular social identity is established, increased self-stereotyping may also occur whenever that group membership is salient. For example, when gender was salient during a cross-gender interaction, men and women described themselves more in line with stereotypes about their group (e.g., competitive and affectionate, respectively) relative to when gender was not salient (Hogg & Turner, 1987).

Strategic components of self-stereotyping. People also self-stereotype for strategic reasons. As multicultural messages convey expectations about identity-related behavior, they too may elicit impression management strategies. Research on impression management has demonstrated that people adjust how they present themselves depending on the particular audience present and the goals that are salient in the context (Baumeister, 1982; Jones & Pittman, 1982; Schlenker, 1980).

These motivations do not occur exclusively for individual identities, however, as people are also strategic in how they present their social identities. The social identity model of deindividuation effects (SIDE model; Reicher, Spears, & Postmes, 1995) contends that the strategic component of social identity reflects concerns about one's audience and whether or not identity assertion is appropriate in a context. This explains why the cognitive salience of an identity is not

always sufficient to activate group-related behavior. For example, one study showed that when people's social identity as a student was salient, they did not engage in self-stereotyping on a survey when their (higher status) audience would disapprove of their responses (Reicher & Levine, 1994). Specifically, after people's student identities were made salient, they were asked to give their opinions on education topics to their course professors (Reicher & Levine, 1994). Students either had to read their own responses out loud (identifiable) or aggregate all student responses together before the professors read them (anonymous). As those in the identifiable condition knew some of their opinions would conflict with those of their professors, they responded strategically, agreeing more with professors' opinions and thus expressing their student identity less strongly. As expected, anonymous students responded about education topics in ways that were consistent with their identity as a student.

Consistent with this, other research has also shown that audience expectations can elicit self-stereotyping. For example, when people have a strong desire to affiliate with a social interaction partner, they adjust their self-stereotypes to mirror the stereotypes that the interaction partner holds (Sinclair & Huntsinger, 2006). Specifically, when African Americans knew that a high status interaction partner endorsed stereotypes of their group, they self-stereotyped to a greater degree than when their partner was low status, as they had a weaker desire to affiliate with the latter partner. Similarly, the self-fulfilling prophecy literature has shown that women strategically present themselves as aligning with stereotypes of women when they know that men of interest, but not undesirable men, hold those stereotypes (Zanna & Pack, 1975). In other words, when female participants were led to believe, through a fake survey description, that a male interaction partner was physically attractive, women presented themselves as more stereotypical (e.g., passive, sentimental, and easily influenced) on a questionnaire.

Self-presentation and diversity models. Diversity messages also create stereotype-based expectations. For example, when exposed to multiculturalism relative to colorblindness, Whites expected African Americans, consistent with stereotypes, to be more athletic and musical and Hispanic Americans to be more family-oriented (Wolsko et al., 2000). Multiculturalism also leads people to like stereotypical minorities more than counter-stereotypical and non-stereotypical minorities (Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2010). When exposed to multiculturalism relative to colorblindness, Whites liked an African American who was interested in basketball and hip-hop music more than one who was interested in surfing and country music (counter-stereotypical). In other words, multiculturalism enhanced liking for those staying within the bounds of their ethnicity.

Might minorities strategically alter their behavior to comply with these stereotyped expectations? If so, all minorities are not equally likely to engage in self-presentation strategies. Specifically, group identification, or the centrality of a group identity to one's sense of self, affects the extent to which people assert their identity strategically (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). Whereas those who are strongly identified with a group tend to express their identity regardless of the context, weakly identified group members are more strategic in their decisions to assert or distance from their identity (Ellemers et al., 2002). Primarily concerned with individual mobility, or improving their own social status, weakly identified group members are less likely to act on behalf of the group if it is not personally beneficial (Ellemers, Barreto, & Spears, 1999; Pickett, Bonner, & Coleman, 2002; Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997). For example, when the status of psychology students was threatened because they learned that business students are more efficient and assertive than them, only those strongly identified with psychology increased their self-stereotyping (Spears et al., 1997). In other words, this threat to

their group's status led them to assert group solidarity. Those who were weakly identified with psychology instead distanced themselves from the group by decreasing their self-stereotyping when their group had been presented in a negative light.

However, weakly identified group members assert their identity when it is beneficial in the context. For example, in a minimal group study, people completed a questionnaire and were randomly assigned to learn that they were either a deductive or an inductive thinker (Barreto & Ellemers, 2000) and that the goal of the study was to understand how to optimize group and individual problem solving. Participants next responded to a series of questions in which they could choose to respond individually or on behalf of the group. Those who were weakly identified with their group only worked to improve the group's performance when they knew that other members of their group would be able to see their responses. When their behavior was anonymous, however, they prioritized individual over group advancement. Those who were strongly identified with their group were more likely to prioritize group advancement, regardless of whether their behavior was anonymous or not.

Present Research

Given that weakly identified group members are more willing than strongly identified group members to engage in identity-related self-presentational strategies, they may be particularly likely to alter their behavior to comply with the expectations conveyed by diversity messages. Thus, the present research examined whether African Americans considering employment at a multicultural relative to a colorblind company would self-stereotype more and whether this would be pronounced for those weakly identified with their racial group.

Although weakly identified minorities assert their identity strategically, it may be difficult to convince African Americans in particular to assert their identity in workplace contexts, even in the presence of multicultural messages. African Americans have a long history of suppressing their racial identity in professional contexts, as they face chronic concerns about perceptions of their competence. For example, although African Americans may speak African American Vernacular English in social contexts, they are viewed as less educated when they do this in professional contexts (Garner & Rubin, 1986). As such, they code-switch and adjust their language choice depending on the context and their comfort level (DeBose, 1992; Garner & Rubin, 1986; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Similarly, African Americans downplay their identity and avoid race-related conversations in professional contexts (Thomas, 1993; also see Roberts, 2005). Given this history, it would be particularly interesting if multiculturalism is powerful enough to attenuate these code-switching norms and lead African Americans to increase self-stereotyping in a professional context.

In Experiment 1, online community samples of African Americans, who varied in their strength of racial identification, imagined interviewing at a company that either advocated managing diversity through multiculturalism or colorblindness or had no diversity message (control) and then self-reported their levels of self-stereotyping. I expected that results for the control company would be similar to those for the colorblind company because colorblindness has historically been the default model in American company contexts (Plaut, 2002). Participants also completed an implicit self-stereotyping measure in order to ascertain whether changes in self-stereotyping reflected self-presentation strategies or a more automatic process. Implicit measures are more resistant to self-presentation concerns than self-report measures (Cvencek,

Greenwald, Brown, Gray, & Snowden, 2010), so diversity condition would be unlikely to affect implicit self-stereotyping if minorities are engaging in strategic self-presentation.

Experiment 2 used improved self-stereotyping measures and added a White American sample to examine whether multiculturalism creates identity-related pressure exclusively for racial minorities. Experiment 3 included an open-ended essay question to determine whether multiculturalism would lead African Americans to spontaneously engage in increased self-stereotyping on a behavioral measure. Finally, Experiment 4 clarified whether multiculturalism indeed led African Americans to be inauthentic or whether they instead felt more comfortable being themselves.

Hypothesis 1. In the multicultural company, weakly, but not strongly, racially identified minorities will increase self-stereotyping relative to those in colorblind and control companies on an activity measure, a positive trait measure, and a behavioral measure. Participants will not increase self-stereotyping on a negative trait measure because endorsing negative stereotypes is not appropriate in a workplace context.

Hypothesis 2. At the multicultural company, weakly, but not strongly, racially identified minorities will feel more anxious and less like they can be themselves relative to those in the colorblind and control companies.

Hypothesis 3. Neither weakly nor strongly racially identified minorities will increase self-stereotyping in the multicultural relative to the colorblind or control conditions on an implicit self-stereotyping measure because this measure will be resistant to self-presentation strategies.

Hypothesis 4. Racial minorities will only change their self-descriptions on measures relevant to groups to which they belong (i.e., African American stereotypes) and not on measures relevant to groups to which they do not belong (i.e., White American stereotypes).

Hypothesis 5. Multiculturalism will not lead to self-stereotyping among majority group members (Whites) because they will not interpret diversity messages as a model for how they should present themselves.

Chapter 2: Experiment 1

Method

Participants. Participants were 727 African American visitors to the Project Implicit website (<https://implicit.harvard.edu>) who volunteered to participate in research in order to learn about their implicit attitudes. They were randomly assigned to complete the present study from a pool of available studies. Thirty-three of these participants were excluded because they indicated in an open-ended item that they did not read the brochure containing the manipulation. Of the remaining 694 participants, 335 reached the end of the study (Project Implicit completion rates typically range from approximately 50 to 70 percent; 235 women, 100 men; mean age = 36.34, $SD = 13.58$; 93% had completed some college or a higher level of education). Partial data for those not fully completing the study were retained, resulting in varying degrees of freedom in analyses.

Procedure

Participants first read a recruitment brochure from a consulting company called CCG Business Consulting (modeled after Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; see Appendix A) and were instructed to consider working for CCG. Diversity ideologies were manipulated via the content of the brochure. In the colorblind condition, the brochure emphasized that the company's

ethnically diverse workforce should embrace their similarities and that race, ethnicity, and culture are immaterial in the workplace. In the multicultural condition, the brochure encouraged participants to embrace their group differences and emphasized that race, ethnicity and culture are a fundamental asset to the company. Only 7% of the words differed across the multicultural and colorblind conditions. No information was given about the company's diversity ideology in the control condition.

Participants next imagined that they were interviewing at CCG and that the company was interested in their hobbies. To assess the extent to which participants endorsed African American stereotypes, they responded to questions such as "How much do you enjoy the following activities?" on a 1 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Extremely*) scale for 22 activities and interests from Steele and Aronson's (1995) stereotype avoidance measure. They also indicated the extent to which positive and negative stereotypes of African Americans and Whites were self-descriptive with traits used in previous research (Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer, & Kraus, 1995; Wolsko et al., 2000). Scale endpoints were 1 (*Not at all descriptive of me*) to 7 (*Very descriptive of me*).

Participants next completed a mental-physical/self-other Brief Implicit Association Test (BIAT; Sriram & Greenwald, 2009) to assess the extent to which they automatically associated themselves with stereotypes of African Americans. As this measure is more resistant than self-report measures to self-presentation concerns, it should not be affected by diversity condition if participants are engaging in a self-presentation strategy.

Finally, to examine whether participants' level of racial identification would moderate how they responded to diversity condition, they completed the centrality subscale of the collective self-esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

Measures

African American activity stereotypes. With an independent sample of University of Washington students, 22 activities and interests from Steele and Aronson's (1995) stereotype avoidance measure were pre-tested to assess the stereotypicality of each activity. Pre-test participants were asked to circle all of the activities that encompassed stereotypes of either African Americans or Whites and to underline the five that were most stereotypical. Each activity received a mean stereotypicality score (underlined = 2, circled = 1, not chosen = 0) and was considered stereotypical if it was significantly different from the mean stereotypicality rating of all activities. I determined that four activities were stereotypical of African Americans (rap/hip-hop, football, sports, basketball; $\alpha = .67$) and five were stereotypical of Whites (classical music, country music, reading, hockey, golf; $\alpha = .48$). I included stereotypical White activities in order to conceal that I was examining African American stereotypes and to examine whether diversity condition would exclusively affect traits relevant to participants' own group membership. However, because the White stereotype measure was not reliable, it is not discussed in detail (see footnote 2 for more information).

African American trait stereotypes. Stereotypic traits were comprised from validated scales used in past research (see Judd et al., 1995; Wolsko et al., 2000). These traits are consistent with African American stereotypes validated in more recent research as well (e.g., Czopp & Monteith, 2006; Ghavami & Peplau, 2012). Final scales used six of these traits that were positive stereotypes of African Americans (streetwise, playful, humorous, fashionable, athletic, musical; $\alpha = .71$), six that were negative stereotypes of African Americans (poor, lazy, reckless, dishonest, dangerous, complaining; $\alpha = .78$), six that were positive stereotypes of Whites (wealthy, ethical, responsible, successful, educated, intelligent; $\alpha = .76$), and six that were

negative stereotypes of Whites (boring, materialistic, greedy, conventional, uptight, stuffy; $\alpha = .67$). See Table 1 for correlations between the dependent measures.

Implicit self-stereotyping. The implicit measure was adapted from Amodio & Devine's (2006) BIAT assessing stereotypes of African Americans as more athletic (physical) and less intelligent (mental) relative to European Americans (Devine & Elliot, 1995). In six blocks (alternating two different block types), participants classified "mental" words (e.g., math, brainy), "physical" words (e.g., athletic, boxing), "self" words (e.g., me, self), and "other" (e.g., other, they) words using two response keys. In one block type, they pressed the right key for mental and self words (and the left key for all other words); in the second block type, they pressed the right key for physical and self words. Which block type participants completed first was counterbalanced. Participants classifying physical and self words together more quickly than mental and self words indicated a stronger automatic association of themselves with physical than mental activities. The BIAT was scored using the IAT D measure (Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003) so that positive values corresponded to greater implicit self-association with physical activities.

Racial identification. Participants responded to four items (e.g., "The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am") on a 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*) scale; $\alpha = .62$. The centrality dimension of racial identification is theorized to be stable across situations (Sellers et al., 1998), and participants' level of racial identification indeed did not differ across conditions, $F(2,332) = .93, p = .40$.

Manipulation check. To determine whether participants correctly recalled the manipulation, they responded to "To what extent does CCG focus on the differences between

different racial and ethnic groups?” where 1 = *Focuses not at all*, 2 = *Focuses slightly*, 3 = *Focuses moderately*, 4 = *Focuses a great deal*.

Table 1. Means, standard deviations and correlations between primary Experiment 1 variables.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| 1. Race centrality | - | | | | | | | |
| 2. Black activity stereotypes | 0.06 (335) | - | | | | | | |
| 3. Positive Black trait stereotypes | -0.03 (330) | .37 (347)** | - | | | | | |
| 4. Negative Black trait stereotypes | 0.003 (331) | 0.00 (350) | 0.05 (347) | - | | | | |
| 5. Implicit self-stereotyping | -0.01 (272) | .20 (272)** | .16 (267)** | -0.002 (268) | - | | | |
| 6. White activity stereotypes | -0.07 (335) | .19 (380)** | 0.10 (347) | -0.07 (350) | -0.06 (272) | - | | |
| 7. Positive White trait stereotypes | 0.04 (329) | .15 (346)** | .54 (346)** | -0.30 (346)** | 0.04 (266) | .11 (346)* | - | |
| 8. Negative White trait stereotypes | 0.02 (330) | 0.13 (348)* | .12 (346)* | 0.61 (348)** | 0.02 (267) | -0.03 (348) | -0.08 (346) | - |
| Mean (<i>SD</i>) | 4.46 (1.39) | 3.85 (1.43) | 4.31 (1.19) | 1.93 (.95) | -0.21 (.42) | 2.99 (.92) | 5.10 (1.03) | 2.47 (.93) |

Note. *N*s (in parentheses next to correlations) do not correspond to the degrees of freedom in regression analyses, as I retained all data for these correlations. Numbers in parentheses next to means correspond to standard deviations. Scales range from 1-7 for all measures except implicit self-stereotyping, which ranges from -2 to +2. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Results

Manipulation and attrition checks. Perceptions of how much the company focused on group differences differed by condition, $F(2,260) = 25.79, p < .001$. Specifically, in a Bonferroni multiple comparison test ($p < .017$), participants perceived that the company focused on group differences more in the multiculturalism condition ($M = 3.12, SD = 1.07$) than in the colorblind condition ($M = 2.06, SD = 1.17$), $p < .001$, and the control condition ($M = 2.39, SD = .92$), $p < .001$. They perceived that the company focused on group differences only marginally more in the control condition relative to the colorblind condition, $p = .07$, which supports the idea that African Americans perceive colorblindness as the default model in American company contexts. Attrition from the study did not differ by gender, $\chi^2(1, n = 743) = .61, p = .33$, but did differ by diversity condition, $\chi^2(2, n = 694) = 11.63, p = .03$. Participants assigned to the control condition completed the study at lower rates (38%) than those assigned to the multicultural (52%) or colorblind (53%) conditions.

Analytic strategy. To test the main hypotheses, two dummy coded variables for diversity condition were entered into the first step of a hierarchical linear regression model in which multiculturalism, the reference group, was always coded as 0. Thus, one variable compared the multiculturalism condition to the control condition (coded as 1), and the other variable compared the multiculturalism to the colorblind condition (coded as 1)¹. Gender (0 = female, 1 = male) and racial identification (mean-centered by race and gender) were entered into the first step of the

¹ When re-running the regression with the control condition as the reference group, no other main effects or interactions with racial identification emerged for the colorblind condition (relative to control) for any dependent variables, $ps > .09$, unless otherwise reported in the main text.

model. All two-way interactions were entered into the second step and all three-way interactions into the third step, which were followed up with simple slope and endpoint analyses for the highest order significant interactions for each comparison. In other words, when they were statistically significant, I first broke down interactions for the multicultural relative to colorblind comparison. Next, I broke down significant interactions for the multicultural relative to control comparison. I did not report simple slope or endpoint analyses for the control and colorblind conditions when they did not differ from multiculturalism.

Self-stereotyping analyses. Unless otherwise specified, I hypothesized an interaction between diversity condition and racial identification. Specifically, simple slope analyses for the colorblind and control conditions would show that the more participants were identified with their racial group, the more they would self-stereotype, consistent with past literature on racial identification and self-stereotyping (Ellemers et al., 2002). At a multicultural company, this relationship would be attenuated. Accordingly, endpoint analyses would reveal that African Americans with weak racial identification would present themselves more stereotypically when contemplating employment at a multicultural company compared to colorblind and control companies. Strongly racially identified African Americans would not be affected by diversity condition. Gender moderation of these effects was also tested, despite not anticipating differences between men and women.

African American activity stereotypes. On one of the primary dependent measures, the activity stereotypes measure, the hypothesized interaction between diversity condition and racial identification emerged, but it was unexpectedly moderated by gender. Specifically, three-way interactions emerged between the multiculturalism condition (relative to colorblindness), racial identification, and gender, $b = .84$, $SE = .26$, $t(323) = 3.22$, $p = .001$, and the multiculturalism

condition (relative to control), racial identification, and gender, $b = .62$, $SE = .30$, $t(323) = 2.10$, $p = .04$ (see Table 2 for statistics for lower order main effects and interactions). Because both comparisons were statistically significant, I probed both the multicultural relative to colorblind comparison and the multicultural relative to control comparison. Below, I first break down the three-way interactions by participant gender to examine the presence of interactions between racial identification and diversity condition.

Male participants. Among men, the predicted two-way interaction between racial identification and multiculturalism (relative to colorblindness), $b = .61$, $SE = .22$, $t(323) = 2.75$, $p = .006$, and multiculturalism (relative to control) emerged, though the latter was marginal $b = .46$, $SE = .24$, $t(323) = 1.87$, $p = .06$. I followed up with endpoint analyses for both comparisons. Consistent with hypotheses, men with weak racial identification ($-1 SD$ below the identification mean) showed marginally more interest in stereotypical activities when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism ($M = 4.78$) relative to colorblindness ($M = 4.36$), $b = -.79$, $SE = .42$, $t(323) = -1.89$, $p = .06$, or a control company ($M = 4.36$), $b = -.89$, $SE = .46$, $t(323) = -1.92$, $p = .06$. Unexpectedly, however, men with strong racial identification ($+1 SD$ above the identification mean) reported marginally *less* interest in stereotypically African American activities when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism ($M = 4.42$) relative to colorblindness ($M = 5.31$), $b = .90$, $SE = .47$, $t(323) = 1.92$, $p = .06$, but not the control company ($M = 4.79$), $b = .38$, $SE = .47$, $t(323) = .80$, $p = .42$.

Simple slope analyses confirmed the predicted interaction pattern as well. Consistent with hypotheses, as men in the colorblind condition had stronger racial identification, they self-stereotyped more on the activity measure, $b = .34$, $SE = .17$, $t(323) = 2.05$, $p = .04$, although men in the control condition did not show this relationship, $b = .19$, $SE = .20$, $t(323) = .97$, $p = .33$. In

the multiculturalism condition, as inferred from the significant interaction, this relationship was attenuated compared to the control and colorblind conditions, $b = -.27$, $SE = .14$, $t(323) = -1.84$, $p = .07$.

Female participants. Among women, counter to hypotheses, the two-way interaction between racial identification and the multiculturalism condition (relative to colorblindness), $b = -.23$, $SE = .14$, $t(323) = -1.66$, $p = .10$, and the multiculturalism condition (relative to control) did not emerge, $b = -.17$, $SE = .17$, $t(323) = -.98$, $p = .33$. I did not examine these interactions further.

Table 2. Hierarchical regression on African American activity stereotyping measure in Experiment 1.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|---|----------|-----------|---------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | 0.15*** |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | 0.05 | 0.17 | 0.02 | 0.29 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | 0.09 | 0.19 | 0.03 | 0.48 | |
| Gender | 1.19 | 0.16 | 0.28*** | 7.47 | |
| Race Centrality | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.08 | 1.57 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.005 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender | -0.12 | 0.38 | -0.02 | -0.31 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender | -0.53 | 0.40 | -0.10 | -1.31 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.01 | 0.12 | 0.01 | 0.10 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.03 | 0.14 | 0.02 | 0.23 | |
| Gender x Centrality | -0.06 | 0.12 | -0.03 | -0.55 | |
| Step 3 | | | | | 0.03** |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | 0.84 | 0.26 | 0.26*** | 3.22 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | 0.62 | 0.30 | 0.16* | 2.10 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multicultural condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. For gender, 0 = Female, 1 = Male. + $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

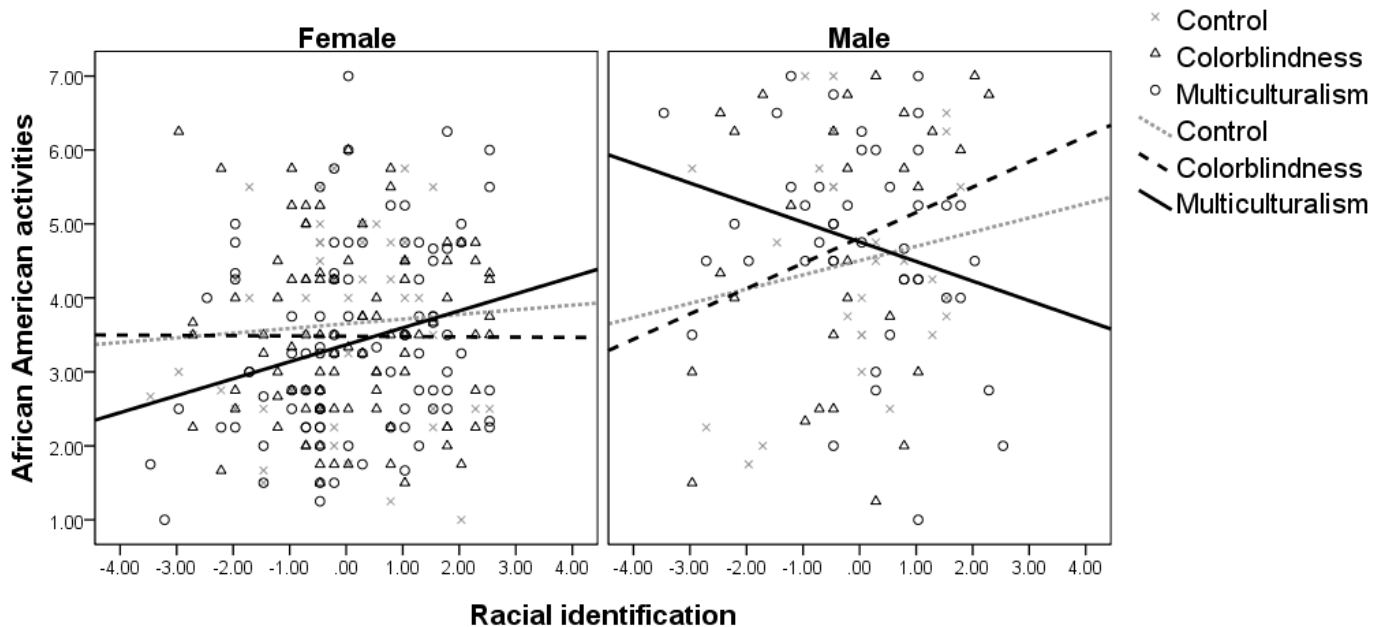


Figure 1. African American activity self-stereotyping among male and female participants varying in racial identification in Experiment 1.

African American positive trait stereotypes. On the second dependent measure of primary interest, positive trait stereotypes, the hypothesized interaction between diversity condition and racial identification emerged but was also unexpectedly moderated by gender. Specifically, three-way interactions emerged between the multiculturalism condition (relative to colorblindness), racial identification, and gender, $b = .49$, $SE = .23$, $t(318) = 2.08$, $p = .04$, but not the multiculturalism condition (relative to control), racial identification, and gender, $b = -.08$, $SE = .27$, $t(318) = .30$, $p = .77$ (see Table 3 for statistics for lower order main effects and interactions). As a result, I probed the multicultural relative to colorblind comparison, but not the multicultural relative to control comparison. I first broke the three-way interaction down by participant gender to examine the presence of interactions between racial identification and the multicultural relative to colorblind condition.

Male participants. Among men, the predicted two-way interaction between racial identification and multiculturalism (relative to colorblindness) was not statistically significant, $b = .29$, $SE = .20$, $t(318) = 1.47$, $p = .14$. Nonetheless, endpoint analyses within condition were conducted, to determine whether the patterns were consistent with the activity self-stereotyping measure. Endpoint analyses at 1 standard deviation above and below the identification mean did not reveal an effect of diversity condition, $ps > .22$. However, the pattern of slopes were somewhat consistent with predictions. As men in the colorblind condition had stronger racial identification, they self-stereotyped marginally more on positive traits, $b = .26$, $SE = .15$, $t(318) = 1.75$, $p = .08$. In the multiculturalism condition, as predicted, this relationship was attenuated, showing no relationship between racial identification and self-stereotyping, $b = -.03$, $SE = .13$, $t(318) = -.23$, $p = .82$.

Female participants. Similar to men, the predicted two-way interaction between racial identification and multiculturalism (relative to colorblindness) was not statistically significant, $b = -.20$, $SE = .13$, $t(318) = -1.55$, $p = .12$. To better understand the three-way interaction, simple slope analyses within condition were conducted. Counter to hypotheses, as women in the colorblind condition had stronger racial identification, they marginally decreased self-stereotyping on positive traits, $b = -.15$, $SE = .09$, $t(318) = -1.69$, $p = .09$. In the multiculturalism condition, racial identification was not significantly related to self-stereotyping, $b = .04$, $SE = .09$, $t(318) = .48$, $p = .63$. Endpoint analyses at 1 standard deviation above and below the identification mean did not reveal an effect of diversity condition, $ps > .22$. Because the interaction among women was difficult to interpret and was not statistically significant for the activity self-stereotyping either, I sought to replicate this finding before interpreting it further. Given the unexpected gender moderation, the power to detect interactions between diversity

condition and racial identification was weakened, and interpretations for all analyses are tentative.

Table 3. Hierarchical regression on African American positive trait measure in Experiment 1.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|---|----------|-----------|-------------------|----------|------------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | 0.01 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | 0.01 | 0.15 | 0.00 | 0.04 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | 0.01 | 0.17 | 0.00 | -0.05 | |
| Gender | 0.26 | 0.14 | 0.10 ⁺ | 1.82 | |
| Race Centrality | -0.02 | 0.05 | -0.03 | -0.50 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.01 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender | -0.03 | 0.34 | -0.01 | -0.10 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender | -0.32 | 0.36 | -0.07 | -0.88 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | -0.06 | 0.11 | -0.04 | -0.53 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | -0.09 | 0.13 | -0.05 | -0.71 | |
| Gender x Centrality | 0.08 | 0.10 | 0.05 | 0.75 | |
| Step 3 | | | | | .02 ⁺ |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | 0.49 | 0.23 | 0.18* | 2.08 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | -0.08 | 0.27 | -0.03 | -0.30 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multicultural condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. For gender, 0 = Female, 1 = Male. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

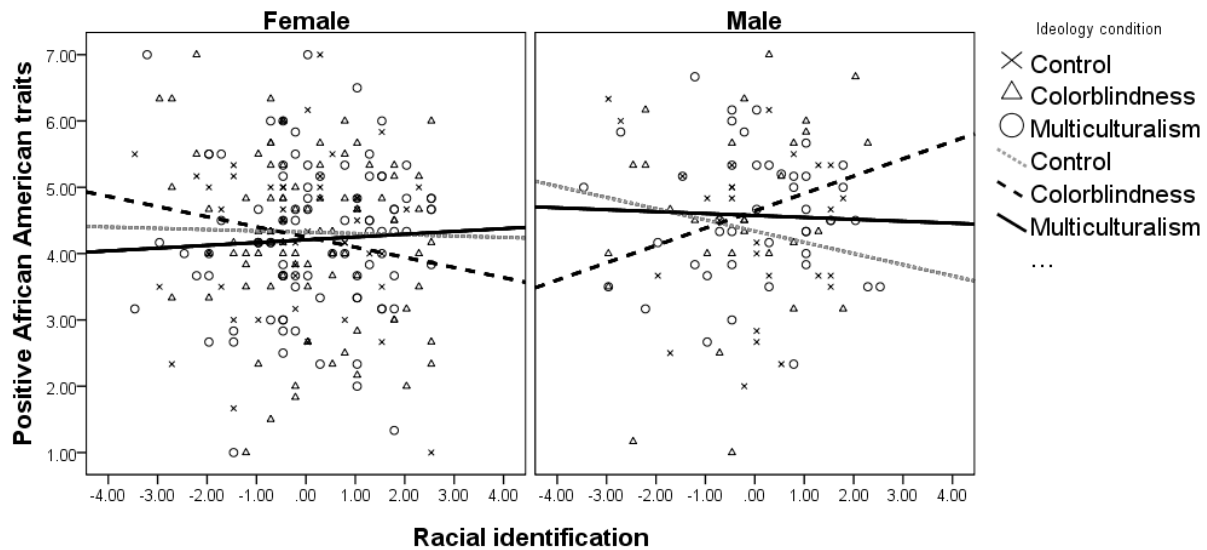


Figure 2. African American positive trait self-stereotyping among male and female participants varying in racial identification in Experiment 1.

African American negative trait stereotypes. Because people tend to embrace positive, but not negative, stereotypes about their group (i.e., selective self-stereotyping; Biernat, Vescio, & Green, 1996), and may be particularly unwilling to express negative stereotypes in the context of job outcomes, diversity condition was not expected to affect levels of negative self-stereotyping.

Indeed, participants were relatively unwilling to express negative stereotypes about themselves, resulting in a strong positive skew on this variable ($M = 1.93$, $SD = .95$, on a 1-7 scale). Due to the low variability and because transformations of the variable did not reduce the skewness, it is difficult to interpret the results for negative stereotypically African American traits. Nonetheless, no main effects or interactions emerged for any variables of theoretical interest, $ps > .13$ (see Table 4).

Table 4. Hierarchical regression on African American negative trait measure in Experiment 1.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|---|----------|-----------|-------------------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | 0.002 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | 0.10 | 0.12 | 0.05 | 0.81 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | 0.03 | 0.14 | 0.01 | 0.21 | |
| Gender | 0.05 | 0.12 | 0.02 | 0.40 | |
| Race Centrality | 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.10 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.01 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender | 0.16 | 0.27 | 0.05 | 0.58 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender | -0.04 | 0.29 | -0.01 | -0.15 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.02 | 0.09 | 0.02 | 0.25 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.18 | 0.10 | 0.13 ⁺ | 1.82 | |
| Gender x Centrality | 0.01 | 0.08 | 0.00 | 0.07 | |
| Step 3 | | | | | 0.01 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | 0.29 | 0.19 | 0.14 | 1.53 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | 0.12 | 0.22 | 0.05 | 0.54 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multicultural condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. For gender, 0 = Female, 1 = Male. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Implicit stereotypes. Because implicit measures are relatively resistant to self-presentation concerns (Cvencek et al., 2010), diversity condition was not expected to affect implicit self-stereotyping, which would be consistent with the possibility that increases on activity self-stereotyping reflected strategic self-presentation. In the multiculturalism condition, as demonstrated by the intercept, participants associated themselves more strongly with mental than physical activities, $b = -.23$, $SE = .04$, $t(260) = 5.13$, $p < .001$, but, consistent with expectations, there were no other main effects or interactions, $ps > .13$ (see Table 5).

Table 5. Hierarchical regression on implicit self-stereotyping measure in Experiment 1.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|---|----------|-----------|---------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | 0.01 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | -0.05 | 0.06 | -0.05 | -0.78 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | 0.03 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.49 | |
| Gender | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.09 | 1.42 | |
| Race Centrality | 0.00 | 0.02 | -0.01 | 1.42 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.02 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender | 0.08 | 0.13 | 0.05 | 0.58 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender | 0.07 | 0.14 | 0.04 | 0.58 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.75 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | -0.07 | 0.05 | -0.10 | -1.35 | |
| Gender x Centrality | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.81 | |
| Step 3 | | | | | 0.01 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | 0.13 | 0.09 | 0.15 | 1.53 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | 0.01 | 0.11 | 0.01 | 0.13 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multicultural condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. For gender, 0 = Female, 1 = Male. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Analyses of White trait and activity stereotypes. I hypothesized that participants would not show an effect of diversity condition or an interaction between diversity condition and racial identification on measures reflecting stereotypes of Whites. If I found an effect, however, this would suggest that diversity condition affects self-descriptions more broadly and not just traits and activities relevant to participants' group membership.

White activity stereotypes. Because of the particularly low reliability for White activity stereotypes ($\alpha = .48$), I did not consider findings for this measure to be meaningful. I nonetheless report these analyses in a footnote² and in Table 6.

² As hypothesized, there were no main effects or interactions between the multiculturalism condition (relative to colorblindness), racial identification, and gender, $ps > .18$, indicating that diversity condition did not affect participants' descriptions of their interest in stereotypically White activities. When re-running the regression with the control condition as the reference group, unexpectedly, a two-way interaction emerged between the colorblind condition (relative to control) and racial identification, $b = -.24$, $SE = .10$, $t(325) = -2.38$, $p = .02$, and the multicultural condition (relative to control) and racial identification, $b = -.23$, $SE = .10$, $t(325) = -2.41$, $p = .02$. I followed up with endpoint analyses for both the multicultural (relative to control) and colorblind (relative to control) comparisons. Counter to hypotheses, participants with weak racial identification (-1 SD below the identification mean) showed more interest in White activity stereotypes when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism ($M = 3.14$) relative to a control company ($M = 2.71$), $b = .43$, $SE = .21$, $t(323) = 2.10$, $p = .04$, but not a colorblind company ($M = 3.06$), $b = .20$, $SE = .20$, $t(323) = 1.50$, $p = .14$. Those with strong racial identification ($+1$ SD above the identification mean) were unaffected by diversity condition, $ps > .11$. Because the colorblind and multicultural slopes differed from the control condition slope (but not from each other), if this effect is reliable, this may reflect more of an effort to appeal to any company that has a positive mission statement targeted to its workforce. It could also reflect a stronger desire to appeal to a company that makes the effort to acknowledge diversity, regardless of the exact approach to diversity (colorblindness or multiculturalism).

Table 6. Hierarchical regression on White activity stereotyping measure in Experiment 1.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|---|----------|-----------|---------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | 0.02 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | -0.03 | 0.12 | -0.01 | -0.24 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | -0.22 | 0.13 | -0.10 | -1.65 | |
| Gender | 0.10 | 0.11 | 0.05 | 0.90 | |
| Race Centrality | -0.05 | 0.04 | -0.08 | -1.37 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | .04** |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender | 0.35 | 0.26 | 0.11 | 1.35 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender | -0.23 | 0.28 | -0.07 | -0.82 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.00 | 0.08 | 0.00 | -0.03 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.23 | 0.10 | 0.16* | 2.41 | |
| Gender x Centrality | -0.16 | 0.08 | -0.13* | -2.00 | |
| Step 3 | | | | | 0.00 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | -0.12 | 0.18 | -0.06 | -0.64 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | -0.16 | 0.21 | -0.06 | -0.77 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multicultural condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. For gender, 0 = Female, 1 = Male. + $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

White positive trait stereotypes. As hypothesized, there were no main effects or interactions between the multiculturalism condition (relative to colorblindness or control), racial identification, and gender, $ps > .16$ (see Table 7), indicating that multiculturalism relative to colorblindness did not affect how stereotypically participants described themselves on positive White traits.

Table 7. Hierarchical regression on White positive trait measure in Experiment 1.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|---|----------|-----------|---------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | 0.006 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | -0.14 | 0.13 | -0.07 | -1.07 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | -0.12 | 0.14 | -0.05 | -0.82 | |
| Gender | -0.07 | 0.12 | -0.03 | -0.57 | |
| Race Centrality | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.03 | 0.58 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.01 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender | 0.00 | 0.28 | 0.00 | 0.00 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender | -0.34 | 0.30 | -0.09 | -1.12 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | -0.02 | 0.09 | -0.02 | -0.22 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | -0.15 | 0.11 | -0.10 | -1.38 | |
| Gender x Centrality | 0.01 | 0.09 | 0.01 | 0.09 | |
| Step 3 | | | | | 0.00 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | -0.01 | 0.20 | -0.01 | -0.07 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | -0.09 | 0.23 | -0.03 | -0.38 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multicultural condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. For gender, 0 = Female, 1 = Male. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

White negative trait stereotypes. Counter to the expectation that diversity condition would not affect White trait stereotypes, a two-way interaction emerged between the multiculturalism condition (relative to colorblindness) and racial identification, $b = .20$, $SE = .08$, $t(320) = 2.39$, $p = .02$, and the multiculturalism condition (relative to control) and racial identification, $b = .29$, $SE = .10$, $t(320) = 2.96$, $p = .003$ (see Table 8 for statistics for lower order main effects and interactions). I followed up with endpoint analyses for both comparisons. Unexpectedly, in the multicultural condition, participants with weak racial identification were more likely to describe themselves consistent with negative White stereotypes ($M = 2.65$) than those in the control condition ($M = 2.26$), $b = -.38$, $SE = .21$, $t(320) = -1.85$, $p = .06$, but not the

colorblind condition ($M = 2.39$), $b = -.26$, $SE = .19$, $t(320) = -1.42$, $p = .16$. In other words, multiculturalism led weakly identified minorities to describe themselves as more similar to Whites, but only relative to the control condition and only marginally.

In the multicultural condition, participants with strong racial identification were marginally *less* likely to describe themselves consistent with negative White stereotypes ($M = 2.25$) than those in the control condition ($M = 2.55$), $b = .41$, $SE = .22$, $t(320) = 1.92$, $p = .06$, but not the colorblind condition ($M = 2.55$), $b = .28$, $SE = .20$, $t(320) = 1.38$, $p = .17$. Once again, this occurred only for multiculturalism relative to the control condition and was only marginal.

Simple slope analyses within condition also showed an unexpected pattern. I predicted that racial identification would be unrelated to self-descriptions with White traits, and this pattern was confirmed for the control, $b = .14$, $SE = .08$, $t(320) = 1.69$, $p = .10$, and colorblind conditions, $b = .05$, $SE = .06$, $t(320) = .80$, $p = .43$. However, unexpectedly, as participants in the multiculturalism condition were stronger in racial identification, they described themselves as less stereotypical of Whites on negative traits, $b = -.15$, $SE = .06$, $t(320) = -2.37$, $p = .02$.

Table 8. Hierarchical regression on White negative trait measure in Experiment 1.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|---|----------|-----------|---------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | 0.01 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | 0.00 | 0.12 | 0.00 | 0.04 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | -0.02 | 0.13 | -0.01 | -0.15 | |
| Gender | 0.23 | 0.11 | 0.12* | 2.07 | |
| Race Centrality | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.38 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.04* |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender | -0.10 | 0.26 | -0.03 | -0.38 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender | -0.10 | 0.28 | -0.03 | -0.35 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.20 | 0.08 | 0.18* | 2.39 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.29 | 0.10 | 0.20** | 2.96 | |
| Gender x Centrality | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 1.08 | |
| Step 3 | | | | | 0.00 |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.09 | 1.02 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Gender x Centrality | 0.13 | 0.21 | 0.05 | 0.60 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multicultural condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. For gender, 0 = Female, 1 = Male. + $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Discussion

African American stereotypes. Experiment 1 partially confirmed the hypothesized interaction between racial identification and diversity condition for the activity but not the positive trait self-stereotyping measure. Specifically, weakly racially identified African American men presented themselves more stereotypically when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism compared to colorblindness or no diversity ideology, although this pattern was only marginally significant for activity stereotypes and was not significant for positive trait stereotypes. However, the pattern of the slopes was in line with hypotheses and was consistent for both measures, so I sought to strengthen these measures in Experiment 2.

Specifically, in the colorblind company context, African American men described themselves more stereotypically as they were more strongly racially identified, consistent with past literature on racial identification and self-stereotyping (Ellemers et al., 2002). In the multicultural company context, this relationship was no longer significant, suggesting that multiculturalism alters the positive relationship typically observed between racial identification and self-stereotyping.

Unexpectedly, strongly identified African American men showed marginally more interest in stereotypically African American activities when exposed to a company that valued colorblindness compared to multiculturalism. One possibility is that strongly identified men assert their group identity more in a colorblind context because they feel that their identity is not valued (see Ellemers et al., 2002).

African American women also showed a marginal interaction between racial identification and diversity condition, but these findings were difficult to interpret because none of the statistical tests for simple slopes and endpoint analyses were significant for either measure. Thus, I sought to replicate this finding before interpreting it further.

Due to the unexpected gender moderations in Experiment 1, my power to detect an interaction between diversity condition and racial identification was weakened for all measures. As a result of the power issues and inconsistent evidence for predictions, I sought to clarify all findings in subsequent studies. Although recent research has shown that men and women sometimes respond differently to diversity messages (Wilton, Good, Moss-Racusin, & Sanchez, 2014), I realized in retrospect that the traits and activities used in Experiment 1 were relatively masculine and may not have captured stereotypes of African American women.

Indeed, post hoc piloting of the stereotypes with a separate University of Washington sample confirmed that they were considered more stereotypical of African American men than of African American women (e.g., 85% of piloting participants said that African American men were athletic, whereas only 50% said the same for African American women). Thus, it remains unclear whether the effects of diversity condition were limited to men or whether the measures did not capture female stereotypes.

White stereotypes. I also examined whether diversity condition affected activities and traits considered stereotypical of Whites. Consistent with hypotheses, multicultural relative to colorblind messages did not affect endorsement of stereotypically White activities or positive traits. Unexpectedly, however, weakly racially identified African Americans increased endorsement of negative White stereotypes when exposed to multiculturalism relative to control and non-significantly relative to colorblindness.

There are a few potential explanations for these unexpected findings. One possibility is that describing themselves in ways that are inconsistent with African American stereotypes is a strategy for weakly identified minorities to avoid seeming too unidimensional after having described themselves stereotypically. A second possibility is that multiculturalism merely leads them to become more extreme in their self-descriptions. Similarly, if weakly identified minorities feel like they do not fit the expectations of a company endorsing multiculturalism, they may endorse a wide range of attributes to seem like a better fit. This would be particularly likely if participants perceived the stereotypical White traits as being valued in this work context (e.g., materialistic and conventional). If any of these explanations are plausible, however, it is surprising that participants only engaged in this strategy with negative White traits and not on

positive traits. Thus, I examined whether this finding would replicate in Experiment 2 and whether it would only appear on negative White traits.

Chapter 3: Experiment 2

Experiment 2 examined whether African American men and women truly react differently to diversity messages, or whether the traits and activities comprising the previous measures did not adequately capture female stereotypes, leading only males to show the predicted patterns of behavior. Indeed, past research has shown that racial stereotypes tend to reflect beliefs about men more than women of that race (Ghavami & Peplau, 2012), so I adjusted the measures with stereotypes that better captured perceptions of African American men and women. Another goal was to clarify whether some of the effects in Experiment 1 would replicate, as several were marginal and difficult to interpret. As such, measures in Experiment 2 were only changed minimally to ensure that they would remain comparable to Experiment 1.

Whites were also included in Experiment 2 to better understand whether diversity messages serve as a model specifically for how minorities should behave or whether this also extends to majority group members. I hypothesized that Whites would not be affected by diversity messages, as they would not interpret them as a model for how they should present themselves. Indeed, Whites often see multicultural messages as excluding their group (Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011).

Method

Participants. Participants were 2,437 White and African American visitors to the Project Implicit website (<https://implicit.harvard.edu>) who volunteered to participate in research in order to learn about their implicit attitudes. They were randomly assigned to complete the present study from a pool of available studies. Sixty-six of these participants were excluded because they

indicated in an open-ended item that they did not read the brochure containing the manipulation. Of the remaining 2,371 participants, 1,586 White and 162 African Americans reached the end of the study (1,285 women, 462 male, 1 unknown; mean age = 33.72, $SD = 11.47$; 98% had completed some college or a higher level of education). I retained partial data for those not fully completing the study, resulting in varying degrees of freedom in analyses.

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to read either the multiculturalism or colorblind diversity ideology in the same CCG recruitment brochure used in Experiment 1 (see Appendix A for stimuli). Participants next imagined that they were interviewing at CCG and that the company was interested in their hobbies. To assess the extent to which participants endorsed African American stereotypes, they responded to questions such as “How much do you enjoy the following activities?” on a 1 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Extremely*) scale for 22 activities and interests from Steele and Aronson's (1995) stereotype avoidance measure. They also indicated the extent to which positive and negative stereotypes of African Americans and Whites were self-descriptive with traits used in previous research (Judd et al., 1995; Wolsko et al., 2000). Scale endpoints were 1 (*Not at all descriptive of me*) to 7 (*Very descriptive of me*).

Participants next completed a mental-physical/self-other Brief Implicit Association Test (BIAT; Sriram & Greenwald, 2009) to assess the extent to which they automatically associated themselves with stereotypes of African Americans. Finally, to examine whether participants' level of racial identification would moderate how they responded to diversity condition, they completed the centrality subscale of the collective self-esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

Measures

African American activity stereotypes. In order to make this measure more relevant to African American women, I again pre-tested the 22 activities and interests from Steele and Aronson's (1995) stereotype avoidance measure with a separate sample of University of Washington students. Using the same procedure described in Experiment 1, I assessed the stereotypicality of each activity, separately for African American men and women, and determined that two activities were particularly stereotypical of women, talking and gospel music. The final measure used the same activities from Experiment 1 but supplemented with these two activities, as well as with two others, physical education and athletics, in order to increase reliability ($\alpha = .72$). These measures were only changed minimally to ensure that they would remain comparable to Experiment 1 and because many stereotypes of African American women either were not appropriate for the present work context or were not applicable to men (e.g., hair weaves; Ghavami & Peplau, 2012). I also added several stereotypically White activities, new age music, community service, tennis, chess, and martial arts, in order to increase reliability ($\alpha = .59$).

African American trait stereotypes. In order to make this measure relevant to African American women as well, I used the same pre-testing procedure described above for 48 traits from past validated scales (see Judd et al., 1995; Wolsko et al., 2000) with a separate sample of University of Washington students. The final measure supplemented the positive traits from Experiment 1 with two stereotypes of African American women, emotionally expressive and charming ($\alpha = .73$). I also added two White stereotypes, ambitious, and progressive, in order to increase reliability ($\alpha = .77$). See Table 9 for correlations between the dependent measures.

Participants also responded about the same negative African American ($\alpha = .68$) and White trait stereotypes ($\alpha = .66$) as in Experiment 1, but I will not describe the negative African

American stereotypes in detail because they had similarly low variability as those in Experiment 1.

Implicit African American stereotypes. Participants completed the same mental-physical/self-other BIAT used Experiment 1. The BIAT was scored using the IAT D measure (Greenwald et al., 2003) so that positive values corresponded to greater implicit self-association with physical activities.

Racial identification. Participants again responded to the centrality subscale of the collective self-esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) on a 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*) scale; $\alpha = .74$. African American participants ($M = 4.49, SD = 1.43$) reported stronger racial identification than White participants ($M = 3.30, SD = 1.31$), $F(1,1850) = 133.41, p < .001$, but participants' level of racial identification did not differ across conditions, $F(1,1850) = 2.54, p = .11$, and there was no interaction between condition and race, $F(1,1850) = .003, p = .96$. Due to racial differences in identification, I mean centered racial identification by race before including it in the main regression analyses.

Manipulation check. To determine whether participants correctly recalled the manipulation, they responded to “To what extent does CCG value group differences?” on a 1 (*Undervalue a great deal*) to 7 (*Value a great deal*) scale.

Table 9. Means, standard deviations and correlations between primary Experiment 2 variables split by race.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|--|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1. Race centrality | - | 0.07 (162) | -0.05 (158) | -0.13 (137) | -0.03 (161) | -0.03 (158) | 0.02 (157) |
| 2. Black activity stereotypes | 0.03 (1580) | - | .52 (171)** | .32 (137)** | .41 (188)** | .23 (170)** | -0.09 (169) |
| 3. Positive Black trait stereotypes | 0.01 (1540) | .35 (1570)** | - | 0.15 (135) | .22 (171)** | .40 (170)** | 0.11 (169) |
| 4. Implicit self-stereotyping | 0.03 (1454) | 0.28 (1452)** | 0.12 (1414)** | - | 0.01 (137) | 0.06 (135) | 0.06 (134) |
| 5. White activity stereotypes | -0.04 (1580) | .49 (1708)** | .25 (1570)** | 0.03 (1451) | - | .19 (170)* | 0.03 (169) |
| 6. Positive White trait stereotypes | -0.01 (1546) | .17 (1575)** | .57 (1575)** | -0.03 (1420) | .17 (1575)** | - | -0.03 (169) |
| 7. Negative White trait stereotypes | 0.03 (1542) | -0.04 (1572) | -.17 (1571)** | -0.003 (1417) | .06 (1572)* | -.17 (1574)** | - |
| Mean (<i>SD</i>) for African Americans | 4.51 (1.43) | 4.17 (1.24) | 4.22 (1.11) | -0.21 (.43) | 3.09 (.95) | 5.26 (.86) | 2.43 (.79) |
| Mean (<i>SD</i>) for Whites | 3.27 (1.30) | 3.32 (.96) | 3.89 (.96) | -0.31 (.37) | 3.29 (.75) | 4.96 (.85) | 2.67 (.86) |

Note. Correlations for African Americans are above the diagonal, and correlations for Whites are below the diagonal. *N*s (in parentheses next to correlations) do not correspond to the degrees of freedom in regression analyses, as I retained all data for these correlations. Numbers in parentheses next to means correspond to standard deviations. Scales range from 1-7 for all measures except implicit self-stereotyping, which ranges from -2 to +2. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$.

Results

Manipulation and attrition checks. Participants reported that the company valued group differences more in the multiculturalism condition ($M = 6.47$, $SD = 1.05$) than in the colorblind condition ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 2.30$), $F(1,1564) = 274.66$, $p < .001$. This effect was stronger among White participants (multicultural $M = 6.53$; colorblind $M = 3.12$), $F(1,1564) = 1348.60$, $p < .001$, than among African American participants (multicultural $M = 5.95$; colorblind $M = 4.08$), $F(1,1564) = 37.50$, $p < .001$; interaction: $F(1,1655) = 23.61$, $p < .001$.

Attrition from the study did not differ by diversity condition, $\chi^2(1, n = 2437) = 1.31$, $p = .25$, or gender, $\chi^2(1, n = 2434) = .37$, $p = .54$. However, White participants (73%) completed the study at higher rates than African American participants (60%), $\chi^2(1, n = 2437) = 18.89$, $p < .001$.

Analytic strategy. To test the main hypotheses, diversity condition (0 = colorblindness, 1 = multiculturalism), race (0 = African American, 1 = White), and racial identification (mean-centered by race) were entered into the first step of a hierarchical linear regression model. All two-way interactions were entered into the second step and all three-way interactions into the third step, which were followed up with simple slope analyses for the highest order significant interactions³.

Main self-stereotyping analyses. Unless otherwise specified, an interaction between diversity condition, race, and racial identification was hypothesized such that African Americans,

³ Gender did not moderate the effects of diversity condition for African American stereotypes, $ps > .41$. This suggests that the measures in Experiment 1 may not have adequately incorporated stereotypes of African American women.

but not Whites, would show an interaction between racial identification and diversity condition. For African Americans, simple slope analyses for the colorblind and control conditions would show that the more participants were identified with their racial group, the more they would self-stereotype, consistent with past literature on racial identification and self-stereotyping (Ellemers et al., 2002). At a multicultural company, this relationship would be attenuated. Accordingly, endpoint analyses would reveal that African Americans with weak racial identification would present themselves more stereotypically when contemplating employment at a multicultural company compared to colorblind and control companies. Strongly racially identified African Americans would not be affected by diversity condition.

African American activity stereotypes. As shown in Figure 3, the predicted three-way interaction between diversity condition, racial identification, and race emerged, $b = .32$, $SE = .13$, $t(1691) = 2.47$, $p = .01$ (see Table 10 for statistics for lower order main effects and interactions). I first broke down the three-way interaction by participant race. Consistent with hypotheses, the two-way interaction between condition and racial identification emerged among African American participants, $b = -.28$, $SE = .12$, $t(1691) = -2.28$, $p = .02$, but not White participants, $b = .04$, $SE = .04$, $t(1691) = .97$, $p = .33$, so I did not examine Whites further. In endpoint analyses, African American participants with weak racial identification (-1 *SD* below the identification mean) reported more interest in stereotypically African American activities when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism ($M = 4.31$) relative to colorblindness ($M = 3.77$), $b = .54$, $SE = .24$, $t(1691) = 2.25$, $p = .02$. Strongly racially identified African American participants (+1 *SD* above the identification mean) were not affected by diversity condition, $b = -.20$, $SE = .24$, $t(1840) = -.84$, $p = .40$.

Simple slope analyses confirmed the predicted interaction pattern as well. As African Americans in the colorblind condition had stronger racial identification, they self-stereotyped more on the activity measure, $b = .19$, $SE = .09$, $t(1691) = 2.28$, $p = .02$. In the multiculturalism condition, this relationship was attenuated, and there was no relationship between racial identification and self-stereotyping, $b = -.08$, $SE = .09$, $t(1691) = -.94$, $p = .35$.

Table 10. Hierarchical regression on African American activity stereotyping measure in Experiment 2.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>T</i> | ΔR^2 |
|-------------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | 0.03*** |
| Diversity Condition | 0.01 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.18 | |
| Race Centrality | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 1.01 | |
| Race | -0.67 | 0.09 | -0.17*** | -7.73 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.001 |
| Diversity x Centrality | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.19 | |
| Diversity x Race | -0.18 | 0.18 | -0.08 | -0.96 | |
| Race x Centrality | -0.04 | 0.07 | -0.05 | -0.66 | |
| Step 3 | | | | | 0.003** |
| Diversity x Race x Centrality | 0.32 | 0.13 | 0.25** | 2.47 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. For diversity condition, 0 = colorblindness, 1 = multiculturalism. For race, 0 = African American, 1 = White. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

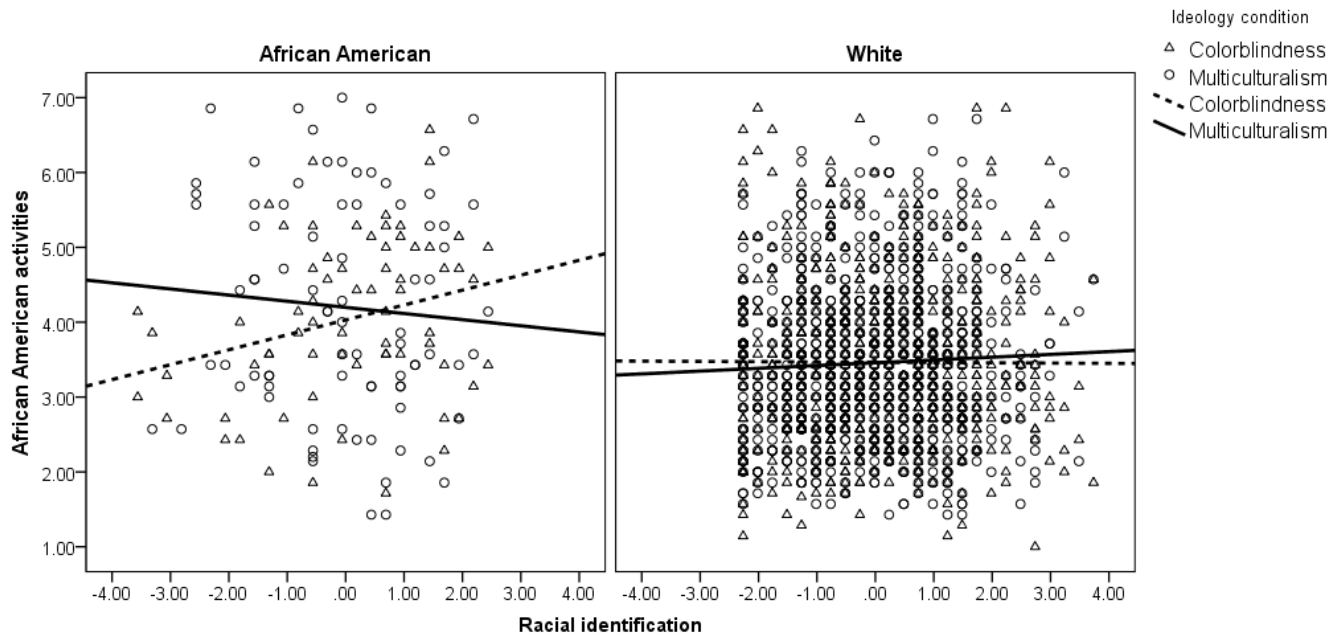


Figure 3. African American activity self-stereotyping among male and female participants varying in racial identification in Experiment 2.

African American positive trait stereotypes. As shown in Figure 4, the predicted three-way interaction between diversity condition, racial identification, and race emerged, $b = .30$, $SE = .12$, $t(1648) = 2.46$, $p = .01$ (see Table 11 for statistics for lower order main effects and interactions). I first broke down the interaction by participant race. Consistent with hypotheses, the two-way interaction between condition and racial identification emerged among African American participants, $b = -.23$, $SE = .11$, $t(1648) = -2.02$, $p = .04$, but not White participants, $b = .07$, $SE = .04$, $t(1648) = -1.68$, $p = .09$, so I did not examine Whites further. In endpoint analyses, African Americans with weak racial identification self-stereotyped more on positive traits when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism ($M = 4.47$) relative to colorblindness ($M = 3.98$), $b = .48$, $SE = .21$, $t(1648) = 2.27$, $p = .02$. Strongly racially identified African American participants, $b = -.11$, $SE = .22$, $t(1648) = -.52$, $p = .60$, were unaffected by diversity condition.

Simple slope analyses confirmed the predicted interaction pattern as well, although slopes were not significant for either condition. As African Americans in the colorblind condition had stronger racial identification, they trended toward increased self-stereotyping, $b = .12$, $SE = .08$, $t(1648) = 1.45$, $p = .15$. In the multiculturalism condition, this relationship was attenuated and trended in the opposite direction, $b = -.12$, $SE = .08$, $t(1648) = -1.42$, $p = .16$.

Table 11. Hierarchical regression on African American positive trait measure in Experiment 2.

| Predictor | B | SE | β | T | ΔR^2 |
|-------------------------------|-------|------|---------|-------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | .01*** |
| Diversity Condition | 0.10 | 0.05 | 0.05* | 2.03 | |
| Race Centrality | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.28 | |
| Race | -0.36 | 0.08 | -0.1*** | -4.23 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.001 |
| Diversity x Centrality | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.03 | 0.94 | |
| Diversity x Race | -0.10 | 0.17 | -0.05 | -0.60 | |
| Race x Centrality | 0.00 | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.06 | |
| Step 3 | | | | | .004** |
| Diversity x Race x Centrality | 0.30 | 0.12 | 0.26** | 2.46 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. For diversity condition, 0 = colorblindness, 1 = multiculturalism. For race, 0 = African American, 1 = White. + $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$.

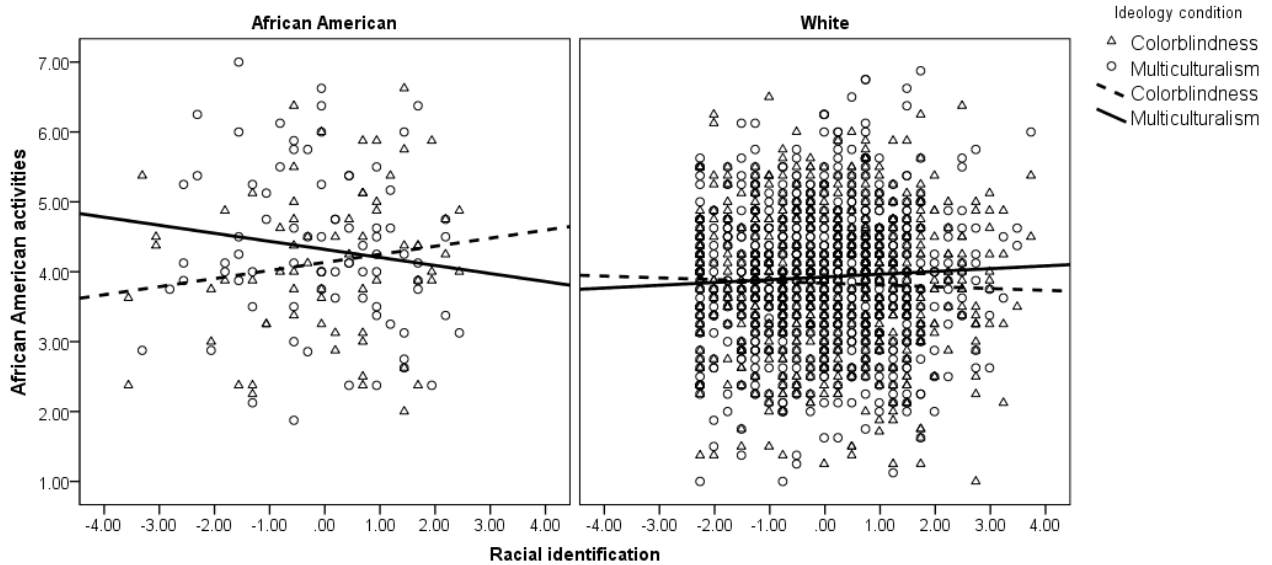


Figure 4. African American positive trait self-stereotyping among White and African American participants varying in racial identification in Experiment 2.

Implicit stereotypes. As in Experiment 1, diversity condition was not expected to affect implicit self-stereotyping. In the multiculturalism condition, as demonstrated by the intercept,

participants associated themselves more strongly with mental than physical activities, $b = -.21$, $SE = .04$, $t(1546) = -6.12$, $p < .001$, and African Americans ($M = -.18$, $SD = .43$) associated themselves more with physical activities than Whites did ($M = -.31$, $SD = .37$), $b = .11$, $SE = .03$, $t(1546) = 3.05$, $p = .002$. Consistent with expectations, there were no other main effects or interactions with diversity condition, $ps > .19$ (see Table 12).

Table 12. Hierarchical regression on implicit self-stereotyping measure in Experiment 2.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|-------------------------------|----------|-----------|---------|----------|--------------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | .01* |
| Diversity Condition | -0.01 | 0.02 | -0.01 | -0.53 | |
| Race Centrality | 0.00 | 0.01 | -0.01 | -0.29 | |
| Race | 0.11 | 0.03 | 0.08** | 3.05 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.004 ⁺ |
| Diversity x Centrality | 0.00 | 0.02 | -0.01 | -0.20 | |
| Diversity x Race | -0.09 | 0.07 | -0.12 | -1.31 | |
| Race x Centrality | -0.06 | 0.03 | -0.19* | -2.27 | |
| Step 3 | | | | | 0.00 |
| Diversity x Race x Centrality | -0.05 | 0.05 | -0.12 | -1.01 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. For diversity condition, 0 = colorblindness, 1 = multiculturalism. For race, 0 = African American, 1 = White. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$.

Analyses of White trait and activity stereotypes. I hypothesized that neither African Americans nor Whites would show an effect of diversity condition or an interaction between diversity condition and racial identification on measures reflecting stereotypes of Whites. If an effect emerged, however, this would suggest that diversity condition affects self-descriptions more broadly and not just traits and activities relevant to participants' group membership.

White activity stereotypes. African American participants showed less interest in stereotypically White activities than Whites did, $b = .47$, $SE = .07$, $t(1695) = 6.54$, $p < .001$.

However, as hypothesized, there were no other main effects or interactions, $ps > .11$, indicating that diversity condition did not affect whether participants showed interest in White activities (see Table 13).

Table 13. Hierarchical regression on White activity measure in Experiment 2.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|-------------------------------|----------|-----------|---------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | 0.03*** |
| Diversity Condition | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.40 | |
| Race Centrality | -0.01 | 0.02 | -0.01 | -0.32 | |
| Race | 0.47 | 0.07 | 0.16*** | 6.54 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.002 |
| Diversity x Centrality | -0.01 | 0.03 | -0.01 | -0.21 | |
| Diversity x Race | -0.23 | 0.14 | -0.14 | -1.61 | |
| Race x Centrality | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.64 | |
| Step 3 | | | | | 0.00 |
| Diversity x Race x Centrality | -0.06 | 0.10 | -0.06 | -0.60 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. For diversity condition, 0 = colorblindness, 1 = multiculturalism. For race, 0 = African American, 1 = White. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$.

White positive trait stereotypes. Unexpectedly, African American participants considered the stereotypically White traits to be more self-descriptive than Whites did, $b = -.31$, $SE = .07$, $t(1657) = -4.20$, $p < .001$ (see Table 14). As this sample of African American participants is relatively educated compared to the general population (and other African Americans), this may be a contrast effect where they view the White traits (e.g., educated) as particularly descriptive of them compared to their reference group. Indeed, African Americans often use other African Americans as their reference group when responding about their own qualities (Sinclair, Huntsinger, Skorinko, & Hardin, 2005). Alternatively, African Americans might have felt inclined to compensate for stereotypes because they were imagining a job context.

Additionally, an interaction between condition and racial identification emerged, $b = .06$, $SE = .03$, $t(1654) = 1.98$, $p = .05$. However, in endpoint analyses, diversity condition did not affect whether weakly or strongly racially identified participants considered positive White traits to be self-descriptive, $ps > .22$. In simple slopes analyses within diversity condition, racial identification was unrelated to descriptions with White traits for the multicultural, $b = .05$, $SE = .05$, $t(1654) = 1.01$, $p = .31$, and colorblind condition, $b = -.01$, $SE = .05$, $t(1654) = -.20$, $p = .84$. Due to the small magnitude of the interaction and the lack of a clear interpretation, this effect was likely driven by the large sample size for White participants, and I did not consider it to be meaningful.

Table 14. Hierarchical regression on White positive trait measure in Experiment 2.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|-------------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | .01*** |
| Diversity Condition | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.03 | 1.13 | |
| Race Centrality | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.00 | -0.10 | |
| Race | -0.31 | 0.07 | -0.10*** | -4.20 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.003 |
| Diversity x Centrality | 0.06 | 0.03 | 0.07* | 1.98 | |
| Diversity x Race | 0.16 | 0.15 | 0.09 | 1.07 | |
| Race x Centrality | -0.02 | 0.05 | -0.03 | -0.44 | |
| Step 3 | | | | | 0.00 |
| Diversity x Race x Centrality | -0.02 | 0.10 | -0.02 | -0.20 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. For diversity condition, 0 = colorblindness, 1 = multiculturalism. For race, 0 = African American, 1 = White. + $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$.

White negative trait stereotypes. African American participants considered the negative White traits to be less self-descriptive than Whites did, $b = .26$, $SE = .08$, $t(1650) = 3.48$, $p = .001$. However, as hypothesized, there were no other main effects or interactions, $ps > .13$,

indicating that diversity condition did not affect whether participants described themselves with negative White traits (see Table 15).

Table 15. Hierarchical regression on White negative trait measure in Experiment 2.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|-------------------------------|----------|-----------|---------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | .01*** |
| Diversity Condition | -0.07 | 0.04 | -0.04 | -1.54 | |
| Race Centrality | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.94 | |
| Race | 0.26 | 0.08 | 0.09*** | 3.48 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.001 |
| Diversity x Centrality | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.58 | |
| Diversity x Race | -0.20 | 0.15 | -0.11 | -1.32 | |
| Race x Centrality | 0.00 | 0.05 | -0.01 | -0.08 | |
| Step 3 | | | | | 0.00 |
| Diversity x Race x Centrality | 0.00 | 0.11 | 0.00 | 0.02 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. For diversity condition, 0 = colorblindness, 1 = multiculturalism. For race, 0 = African American, 1 = White. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$.

Discussion

Experiment 2 demonstrated that weakly racially identified African American men *and* women described themselves more stereotypically on positive trait and activity measures when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism relative to colorblindness. Thus, the gender moderation in Experiment 1 seems to have stemmed from using measures that did not adequately represent stereotypes of African American women. Strongly identified African Americans and Whites were not affected by diversity condition.

I also examined whether diversity condition affected White traits and activities. Although weakly racially identified African American participants showed increased endorsement of negative White traits when exposed to multiculturalism relative to colorblindness in Experiment 1, I did not replicate this finding in Experiment 2. As in Experiment 1, diversity condition also

did not affect self-descriptions with positive White traits or activities. This suggests that the effects of diversity condition occur consistently for African Americans on traits and activities relevant to their group identity but not on stereotype-irrelevant traits and activities.

Chapter 4: Experiment 3

Experiment 3 examined whether African Americans considering employment at a multicultural relative to a colorblind or control company would also present themselves more stereotypically on a measure that better captured their spontaneous self-descriptions. Open-ended measures are under-examined in social psychology research, despite sometimes showing stronger demonstrations of phenomena than constrained self-report items or even showing different findings altogether (Baumeister, Vohs, & Funder, 2007).

Participants completed an open-ended essay question, and an independent sample of participants rated these essays for their level of stereotypicality. This allowed me to understand whether participants would engage in stereotypical behavior more spontaneously, perhaps even after they enter the company context. It also allowed me to examine impressions of African American participants' behavior from an outsider's perspective, rather than merely examining how African Americans presented themselves on self-report items.

Method

Participants. Participants were 426 African American visitors to the Project Implicit website (<https://implicit.harvard.edu>) who volunteered to participate in research in order to learn about their implicit attitudes. They were randomly assigned to complete the present study from a pool of available studies. Of those starting the study, 232 participants reached the end (163 women, 67 male, 2 unknown; mean age = 33.39, $SD = 13.96$; 93% had completed some college or a higher level of education). I retained partial data for those not fully completing the study,

resulting in varying degrees of freedom in analyses. 215 of those completing the study wrote an essay, but one was excluded from essay analyses because four research assistant coders agreed that they had not taken the essay task seriously (e.g., the participant wrote, “I must babble on for how many more line [sic]”).

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to read either the multiculturalism, colorblind, or control message in the same CCG recruitment brochure used in Experiment 1 (see Appendix A). To assess the extent to which participants demonstrated stereotypically African American behaviors, I asked them to respond to an essay prompt describing themselves.

Participants next imagined that they were interviewing at CCG and completed the positive African American and White trait measures from Experiment 2. Participants indicated the extent to which positive stereotypes of African Americans (streetwise, playful, humorous, fashionable, athletic, musical, emotionally expressive, and religious; $\alpha = .65$) and Whites (wealthy, ethical, responsible, successful, educated; $\alpha = .70$) were self-descriptive. Scale endpoints were 1 (*Not at all descriptive of me*) to 7 (*Very descriptive of me*). Participants did not self-report about negative traits in this study.

Participants next completed a mental-physical/self-other Brief Implicit Association Test (BIAT) to assess the extent to which they automatically associated themselves with stereotypes of African Americans. Finally, participants completed the same measure of racial identification ($\alpha = .68$) used in previous experiments and responded to a manipulation check item: “To what extent does CCG focus on the differences between different racial and ethnic groups?” (1 = *Focuses not at all*, 2 = *Focuses slightly*, 3 = *Focuses moderately*, 4 = *Focuses a great deal*).

Participants' level of racial identification did not differ across conditions, $F(2,229) = 1.66$, $p = .19$.

Open-ended self-stereotyping. African American participants responded to the following essay prompt:

If you had to describe yourself to someone at CCG, how would you describe yourself? For example, what are some of your favorite activities, hobbies, and interests? What are your favorite academic subjects or other educational pursuits? Who do you enjoy spending time with, and where? How would you describe your personality? Please be as specific as possible (for example, if you enjoy music, what type of music?).

I recruited a separate sample of 52 University of Washington undergraduate students (42 White, 1 Asian, 1 Latino, 1 Multiracial, and 7 unspecified) to rate the essays for stereotypicality and racial identity assertion in exchange for extra course credit in their psychology courses. The raters learned that they would be reading several short paragraphs written by applicants for a job, who were African Americans between the age of 18-40, and would then be asked about their impressions of each person in an online survey. Each rater was randomly assigned to read 40 of the 215 total essays, and they were blind to all hypotheses and condition of the essay writer. Randomization was constrained so that each essay would be rated an approximately equal number of times. Due to missing data, each essay was rated between 6 and 10 times (mean = 8.90). Raters assessed each essay for perceived stereotypicality and racial identity assertion on a 1 (Not at all) to 7 (Extremely) scale: *To what extent does this person embody positive stereotypes of African Americans?; To what extent does this person embody negative stereotypes of African Americans?; To what extent does this person embody positive counter-stereotypes of African*

*Americans?*⁴; *To what extent does this person embody negative counter-stereotypes of African Americans?*; *How important is this person's race/ethnicity to his/her self-image?*.

The rater responses for each essay were averaged to create a measure of perceived positive stereotypicality, negative stereotypicality, positive counter-stereotypicality, negative counter-stereotypicality, and racial identity assertion for each essay. I asked raters to judge counter-stereotypes to determine whether African American participants considering the multicultural company would both increase self-stereotyping and distance from counter-stereotypes. I could not run interrater reliabilities because all participants rated a different subset of essays, but the relatively large number of raters helps ensure that the ratings are more reflective of general impressions in society. See Table 16 for correlations between the dependent measures.

Implicit African American stereotypes. This experiment used a shortened version (two instead of six blocks) of the same mental-physical/self-other BIAT described in Experiment 1. Shortening the BIAT allowed me to reduce the overall study length in order to improve study completion rates. Although this weakened the reliability of the measure, I did not anticipate any effects of diversity condition on the BIAT due to the lack of effects in previous studies. The BIAT was scored using the IAT *D* measure (Greenwald et al., 2003) so that positive values corresponded to greater implicit self-association with physical activities.

⁴ Counter-stereotypes were defined as “anything that is the opposite of what you would expect based on stereotypes - such as enjoying country music.”

Table 16. Means, standard deviations and correlations between primary Experiment 3 variables.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|-------------|--------------|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|------------|------------|
| 1. Race centrality | - | | | | | | | |
| 2. Positive Black trait stereotypes | .07 (231) | - | | | | | | |
| 3. Positive White trait stereotypes | .10 (231) | .40 (237)*** | - | | | | | |
| 4. Implicit self-stereotyping | .07 (113) | -.10 (113) | .04 (113) | - | | | | |
| 5. Racial identity assertion | .04 (198) | .05 (202) | .08 (202) | -.01 (99) | - | | | |
| 6. Stereotypically Black positive behaviors | .07 (198) | .06 (202) | .05 (202) | -.05 (99) | .43 (214)*** | - | | |
| 7. Counter-stereotypically Black positive behaviors | .03 (198) | -.01 (202) | -.02 (202) | -.08 (99) | .002 (214) | .31 (214)*** | - | |
| 8. Counter-stereotypically Black negative behaviors | .03 (198) | .08 (202) | .01 (202) | .02 (99) | .23 (214)*** | .11 (214) | -.02 (214) | - |
| Mean (<i>SD</i>) | 4.38 (1.46) | 4.40 (1.07) | 5.47 (.97) | -0.16 (.65) | 2.81 (.85) | 3.61 (.82) | 3.74 (.66) | 2.19 (.46) |

Note. Ns (in parentheses next to correlations) do not correspond to the degrees of freedom in regression analyses, as I retained all data for these correlations. Numbers in parentheses next to means correspond to standard deviations. Scales range from 1-7 for all measures except implicit self-stereotyping, which ranges from -2 to +2. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$.

Results

Manipulation and attrition checks. Perceptions of how much the company focused on group differences differed by condition, $F(2,213) = 31.04, p < .001$. Specifically, in a Bonferroni multiple comparison test ($p < .017$), participants perceived that the company focused on group differences more in the multiculturalism condition ($M = 3.36, SD = 1.03$) than in the colorblind condition ($M = 2.00, SD = 1.26$), $p < .001$, and the control condition ($M = 2.26, SD = 1.09$), $p < .001$. However, they did not perceive a difference in how much the control and colorblind companies focused on group differences, $p = .36$, which supports the idea that colorblindness is perceived as the default model in American company contexts. Attrition from the study did not differ by gender, $\chi^2(2, n = 423) = 1.81, p = .74$, or by diversity condition, $\chi^2(2, n = 426) = 2.07, p = .36$.

Analytic strategy. To test the main hypotheses, two dummy coded variables for diversity condition were entered into the first step of a hierarchical linear regression model in which multiculturalism, the reference group, was always coded as 0. Thus, one variable compared the multiculturalism condition to the control condition (coded as 1), and the other variable compared the multiculturalism to the colorblind condition (coded as 1)⁵. Racial identification was entered into the first step of the model. All two-way interactions were entered into the second step, following up with simple slope and endpoint analyses for the highest order significant interactions for each comparison. In other words, when they were statistically significant, I first

⁵ When re-running the regression with the control condition as the reference group, no other main effects or interactions with racial identification emerged for the colorblind condition (relative to control) for any dependent variables, $ps > .11$, unless otherwise reported in the main text.

broke down interactions for the multicultural relative to colorblind comparison. Next, I broke down significant interactions for the multicultural relative to control comparison. I did not report simple slope or endpoint analyses for the control and colorblind conditions when they did not differ from multiculturalism.

Unless otherwise specified, an interaction between diversity condition and racial identification was hypothesized. Specifically, simple slope analyses for the colorblind and control conditions would show that the more participants were identified with their racial group, the more they would self-stereotype, consistent with past literature on racial identification and self-stereotyping (Ellemers et al., 2002). At a multicultural company, this relationship would be attenuated. Accordingly, endpoint analyses would reveal that African Americans with weak racial identification would present themselves more stereotypically when contemplating employment at a multicultural company compared to colorblind and control companies. Strongly racially identified African Americans would not be affected by diversity condition.

Open-ended essay measures

Racial identity assertion. Although I predicted an interaction between racial identification and diversity condition, instead, a main effect emerged between the multicultural relative to the colorblind condition, $b = -.34$, $SE = .15$, $t(194) = -2.28$, $p = .02$, and the control condition, $b = -.37$, $SE = .15$, $t(194) = -2.51$, $p = .01$. Participants asserted their racial identity more when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.07$) relative to colorblindness ($M = 2.71$, $SD = .68$), and control ($M = 2.69$, $SD = .70$). The predicted two-way interactions did not emerge between the multiculturalism condition (relative to colorblindness) and self-reported racial identification, $b = -.09$, $SE = .10$, $t(192) = -.82$, $p = .41$, or the multiculturalism condition (relative to control) and self-reported racial identification, $b = -.02$,

$SE = .14$, $t(192) = -.16$, $p = .88$ (see Table 19 for statistics for all lower order main effects and interactions). See Appendix C for examples of essays high and low in racial identity assertion.

Table 17. Hierarchical regression on racial identity assertion in Experiment 3.

| Predictor | B | SE | B | t | ΔR^2 |
|--|-------|------|--------|-------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | .04* |
| Race Centrality | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.29 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | -0.37 | 0.15 | -0.20* | -2.51 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | -0.34 | 0.15 | -0.18* | -2.28 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.004 |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | -0.02 | 0.11 | -0.02 | -0.16 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | -0.09 | 0.10 | -0.08 | -0.82 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multicultural condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

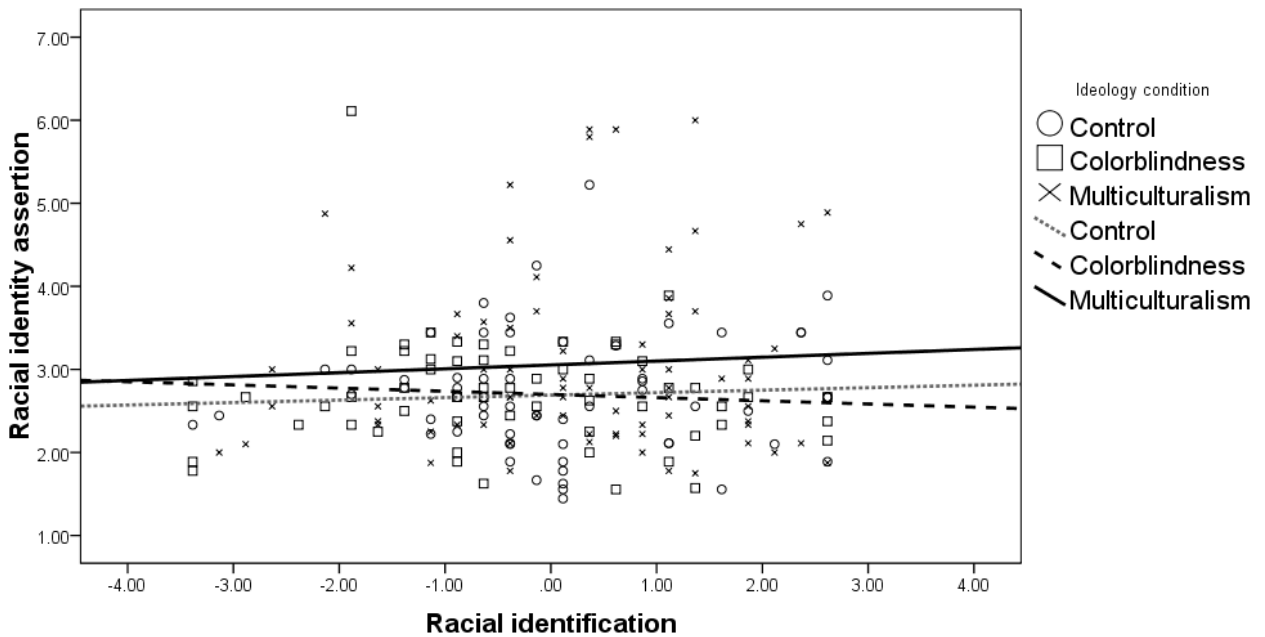


Figure 5. Racial identity assertion among participants varying in racial identification in Experiment 3.

Positive stereotypically African American behavior. Although I predicted an interaction between racial identification and diversity condition, instead, a marginal main effect emerged between the multiculturalism relative to the control condition, $b = -.27$, $SE = .14$, $t(194) = -1.92$, $p = .056$, but not relative to the colorblind condition, although the trend was consistent with hypotheses (see Figure 6), $b = -.22$, $SE = .14$, $t(194) = -1.55$, $p = .12$. Participants were rated as more stereotypically African American when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .75$) relative to control ($M = 3.53$, $SD = .85$), although only marginally. This trend was similar for colorblindness ($M = 3.56$, $SD = .82$). The predicted two-way interactions did not emerge between the multiculturalism condition (relative to colorblindness) and self-reported racial identification, $b = -.04$, $SE = .10$, $t(192) = -.44$, $p = .66$, or the multiculturalism condition (relative to control) and self-reported racial identification, $b = -.11$, $SE = .10$, $t(192) = -1.10$, $p = .27$ ⁶ (see Table 20 for statistics for all lower order main effects and interactions)⁷. See Appendix C for examples of essays high and low in stereotypicality.

⁶ When I re-ran the regression with the control condition as the reference group, no other main effects or interactions with racial identification emerged for the colorblind condition (relative to control), $ps > .53$.

⁷ For brevity's sake, I do not describe results for negative stereotypical behavior or positive and negative counter-stereotypical behavior in detail. Consistent with previous studies, I did not expect diversity condition to affect these measures. Indeed, there were no main effects or interactions for either multiculturalism relative to colorblindness, $ps > .65$, or relative to the control group, $ps > .27$, for any of these measures.

Table 18. Hierarchical regression on positive stereotypically African American behavior in Experiment 3.

| Predictor | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|--|----------|-----------|--------------------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | 0.03 |
| Race Centrality | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.85 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | -0.27 | 0.14 | -0.15 ⁺ | -1.92 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | -0.22 | 0.14 | -0.13 | -1.55 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.01 |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | -0.11 | 0.10 | -0.11 | -1.10 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | -0.04 | 0.10 | -0.05 | -0.44 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multicultural condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

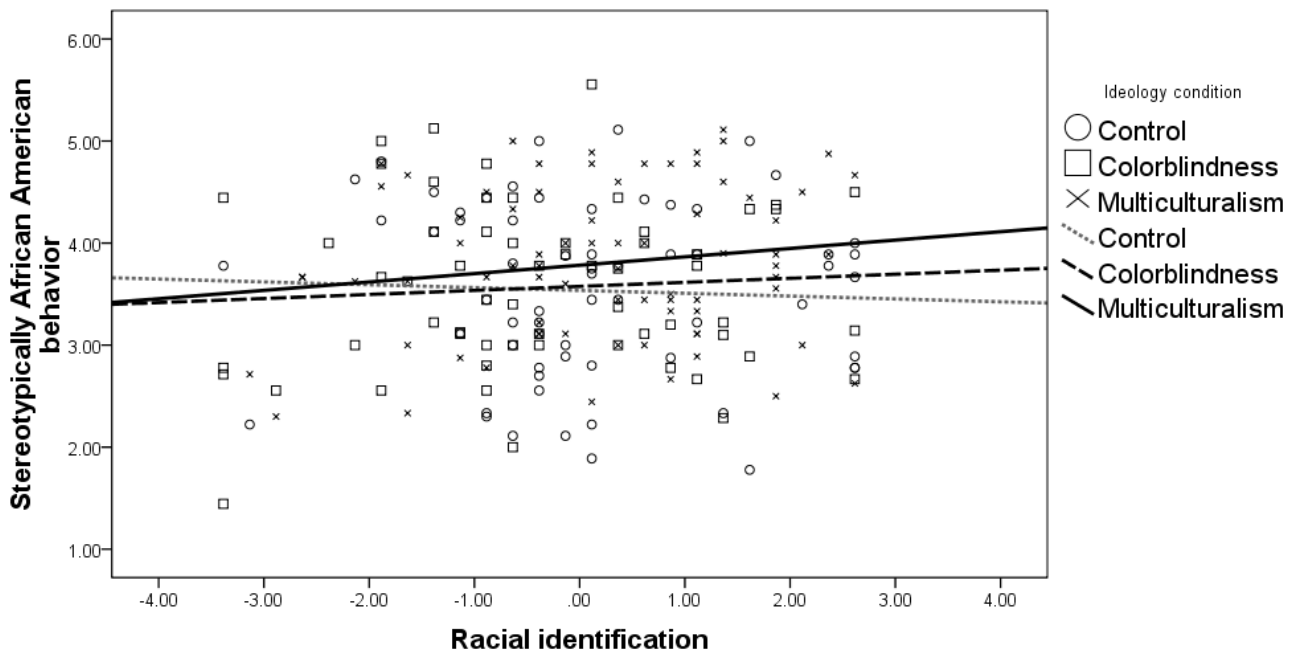


Figure 6. Positive stereotypically African American behavior among participants varying in racial identification in Experiment 3.

Self-report measures

African American positive trait stereotypes. As shown in Figure 7, the predicted two-way interaction emerged between the multiculturalism condition (relative to colorblindness) and racial identification, though it was marginal, $b = .23$, $SE = .12$, $t(225) = 1.91$, $p = .057$, but not the multiculturalism condition (relative to control) and racial identification, $b = .15$, $SE = .12$, $t(225) = 1.22$, $p = .23$ ⁸ (see Table 16 for statistics for lower order main effects and interactions). Because of this, I probed the multicultural relative to colorblind comparison but not the multicultural relative to control comparison.

In endpoint analyses, consistent with predictions, African Americans with weak racial identification (-1 *SD* below the identification mean) reported that stereotypically African American traits were marginally more self-descriptive when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism ($M = 4.56$) relative to colorblindness ($M = 4.11$), $b = -.45$, $SE = .24$, $t(225) = -1.89$, $p = .06$. African Americans with strong racial identification ($+1$ *SD* above the identification mean) were unaffected by multiculturalism relative to colorblindness, $b = .21$, $SE = .25$, $t(225) = 0.84$, $p = .40$.

Simple slope analyses confirmed the predicted interaction pattern as well. As participants in the colorblind condition were more strongly racially identified, they described themselves marginally more stereotypically, $b = .16$, $t(225) = 1.79$, $p = .07$. Racial identification did not

⁸ When I re-ran the regression with the control condition as the reference group, the interaction between the colorblind condition (relative to control) and racial identification also did not emerge, $b = .08$, $SE = .12$, $t(225) = .68$, $p = .50$. This suggests that the control condition falls approximately in between the multicultural and colorblind conditions.

affect how stereotypically participants described themselves in the multiculturalism condition, $b = -.07, t(225) = -.89, p = .37$.

Table 19. Hierarchical regression on African American positive trait measure in Experiment 3.

| Predictor | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|--|----------|-----------|-------------------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | 0.01 |
| Race Centrality | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.96 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | -0.08 | 0.17 | -0.03 | -0.44 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | -0.13 | 0.18 | -0.06 | -0.73 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.02 |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.15 | 0.12 | 0.11 | 1.22 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.23 | 0.12 | 0.18 ⁺ | 1.91 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multiculturalism condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

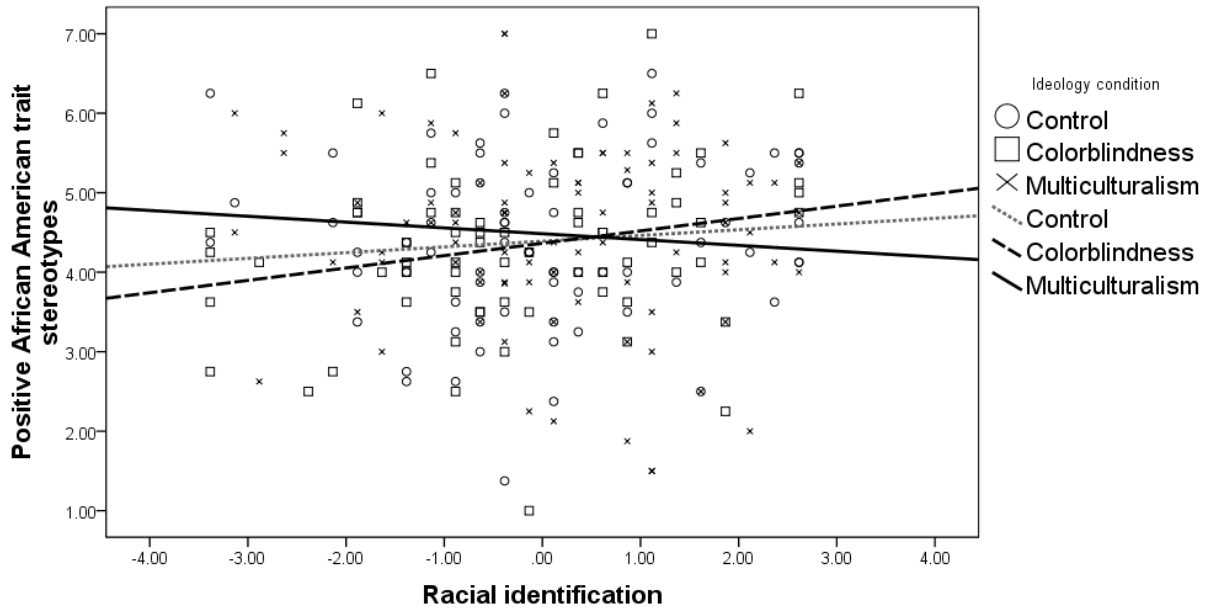


Figure 7. African American positive trait self-stereotyping among participants varying in racial identification in Experiment 3.

White positive trait stereotypes. Although prior experiments did not show an effect of diversity condition on White traits, an unexpected main effect emerged between the multiculturalism condition relative to colorblindness, $b = -.43$, $SE = .15$, $t(227) = -2.81$, $p = .01$, but not relative to the control condition, $b = -.15$, $SE = .15$, $t(227) = -1.02$, $p = .31$. Participants reported that counter-stereotypical traits were more self-descriptive when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism ($M = 5.69$) relative to colorblindness ($M = 5.21$), but not relative to the control condition ($M = 5.37$)⁹.

Additionally, a marginal two-way interaction emerged between the multiculturalism condition (relative to colorblindness) and racial identification, $b = .19$, $SE = .10$, $t(225) = 1.83$, $p = .07$, but not the multiculturalism condition (relative to control) and racial identification, $b = .11$, $SE = .10$, $t(225) = 1.03$, $p = .31$ (see Table 17 for statistics for lower order main effects and interactions). Because of this, I probed the multicultural relative to colorblind comparison but not the multicultural relative to control comparison.

In endpoint analyses, participants with weak racial identification (-1 SD below the identification mean) reported that positive White traits were more self-descriptive when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism ($M = 5.69$) relative to colorblindness ($M = 4.99$), $b = -.69$, $SE = .21$, $t(225) = -3.30$, $p = .001$. African Americans with strong racial identification ($+1$

⁹ When I re-ran the regression with the control condition as the reference group, a main effect between the colorblind relative to the control condition emerged on White trait stereotypes, $\beta = -.13$, $t(225) = -1.75$, $p = .08$. This suggests that the control condition may be more similar to the multiculturalism than the colorblind condition.

SD above the identification mean) were unaffected by multiculturalism relative to colorblindness, $b = -.14$, $SE = .22$, $t(225) = -.66$, $p = .51$.

I also examined the simple slopes within condition. As participants in the colorblind condition were more strongly racially identified, they reported that positive White traits were more self-descriptive, $b = .15$, $t(225) = 1.93$, $p = .05$. Racial identification did not affect how participants described themselves in the multiculturalism condition, $b = -.04$, $t(225) = -.63$, $p = .53$, or control condition, $b = .06$, $t(225) = .82$, $p = .41$.

Table 20. Hierarchical regression on White positive trait measure in Experiment 3.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|--|----------|-----------|-------------------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | .04* |
| Race Centrality | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.08 | 1.19 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | -0.15 | 0.15 | -0.07 | -1.02 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | -0.43 | 0.15 | -0.21** | -2.81 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.01 |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.11 | 0.10 | 0.09 | 1.03 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.19 | 0.10 | 0.17 ⁺ | 1.83 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multicultural condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Implicit stereotypes. Consistent with previous studies, I did not expect diversity condition to affect the implicit self-stereotyping measure because it should be resistant to self-presentation concerns. Indeed, there were no main effects or interactions for either multiculturalism relative to colorblindness, $ps > .46$, or relative to the control group, $ps > .66$ (see Table 18 for statistics for all lower order main effects and interactions).

Table 21. Hierarchical regression on implicit self-stereotyping measure in Experiment 3.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|--|----------|-----------|----------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | 0.01 |
| Race Centrality | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.65 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | -0.07 | 0.16 | -0.05 | -0.45 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | -0.11 | 0.15 | -0.08 | -0.74 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.002 |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.04 | 0.11 | 0.04 | 0.34 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | -0.02 | 0.10 | -0.03 | -0.21 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multicultural condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Discussion

Experiment 3 demonstrated that multiculturalism relative to colorblindness increased African Americans' self-stereotyping on both self-report and open-ended essay measures. Multiculturalism also increased African American participants' racial identity assertion, as measured by essay raters' perceptions of their racial identification.

Whereas self-report measures only showed these effects for weakly racially identified minorities, an open-ended essay showed increased stereotypical behavior irrespective of participants' levels of racial identification. Because weakly racially identified minorities are relatively willing to assert their identity for strategic purposes (Ellemers et al., 2002), it may not be surprising that they would show increased self-stereotyping more consistently across different measures in the multicultural context.

One possibility as to why multiculturalism increased stereotypical behavior for both weakly and strongly identified African Americans on the essay measure is that there may be differences in the nature of the stereotypes weakly and strongly identified minorities are willing to express. The open-ended measure may have allowed more strongly identified minorities to

express stereotypes that better capture their self-perceptions than those included in the self-report questionnaire.

Another possibility is that the open-ended essay might have served as an unobtrusive measure of self-stereotyping, permitting participants to express stereotypes more naturally or subtly. Indeed, open-ended measures are not always consistent with self-report ratings, sometimes showing stronger demonstrations of phenomena or different findings altogether (Baumeister et al., 2007) and even emerging as a conceptually distinct construct (Esses & Maio, 2002).

Unexpectedly, Experiment 3 also showed increased endorsement of positive counter-stereotypical traits for weakly identified African Americans exposed to multiculturalism relative to colorblindness, but only for the self-report measure. As this is the first time diversity ideology affected positive counter-stereotypes, it is unclear if it is a reliable effect. In fact, multiculturalism relative to colorblindness only affected counter-stereotypical or stereotype-irrelevant trait or activity measures once out of the nine times they were measured across three studies. Multiculturalism increased endorsement of *negative* counter-stereotypes in Experiment 1, but relative to the control condition instead of colorblindness.

One reason weakly identified African Americans might have endorsed positive counter-stereotypes more when exposed to multiculturalism relative to colorblindness is because the hypotheses were more transparent in Experiment 3 than in previous studies. After writing an essay describing themselves, but immediately before completing self-report measures, participants were asked “How similar was your [essay] description to how you would normally

describe yourself?”¹⁰ This question may have alerted participants to the expectation that they were altering how they presented themselves for strategic purposes. If this was the case, it might have led them to reactively endorse positive White traits more strongly in the subsequent self-report measures. Furthermore, the number of traits in the self-report measure was substantially reduced in Experiment 3. Whereas Experiment 1 had six each and Experiment 2 had eight each of the positive and negative African American and White traits (24 and 32 traits total, respectively), Experiment 3 only had 8 positive African American traits and 5 positive White traits (13 traits total). Having both fewer traits and an imbalance of African American and White traits might have further alerted them to the fact that the measure was assessing their stereotypical behavior.

Chapter 5: Experiment 4

An assumption of the previous experiments was that weakly identified minorities feel pressure to behave in line with their group membership; however, these experiments did not directly demonstrate that they detected this pressure. Thus, one goal of Experiment 4 was to directly ask minorities whether they anticipated pressure to conform to race-based expectations in a multicultural company context. Given that weakly identified minorities are more strategic with respect to their identities, it is possible that they are more attentive to the multicultural cues in the company environment and are more likely to detect this pressure. However, because strongly identified minorities cross-situationally hold their racial identity as important to their self-concept, it seems unlikely that they would be less vigilant to cues signaling identity-based

¹⁰ There were no main effects or interactions on this measure, $ps > .19$.

pressure. Thus, I predicted that weakly and strongly identified minorities would be equally likely to detect identity-based pressure but that weakly identified minorities are more likely to succumb to this pressure.

A second goal of Experiment 2 was to examine an alternative explanation for self-stereotyping among weakly identified minorities. Although the evidence so far suggests that the effects of multiculturalism were self-presentational in nature and that weakly identified minorities were experiencing pressure to be inauthentic, another explanation for these findings is that weakly identified minorities actually felt more comfortable being themselves and expressing their identity at the multicultural company. To disentangle these two possibilities, Experiment 4 asked participants how much they felt like they could be authentic and how anxious they would feel in the company contexts. If weakly identified minorities reported feeling inauthentic and anxious in the multicultural company, this would be consistent with the hypothesis that weakly identified minorities engaged in self-stereotyping as an impression management strategy.

Method

Participants. Participants were 524 African American visitors to the Project Implicit website (<https://implicit.harvard.edu>) who volunteered to participate in research and were randomly assigned to complete the present study from a pool of available studies. Of the 524 participants assigned to the study, 327 reached the end (217 women, 110 male; mean age = 31.59, $SD = 13.95$; 94% had completed some college or a higher level of education). I retained partial data for those not fully completing the study, resulting in varying degrees of freedom in analyses.

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to read either the multiculturalism, colorblind, or control message in the same CCG recruitment brochure used in Experiment 1 (see Appendix A for stimuli). Participants next imagined that they were interviewing at CCG and responded to 7 items about authenticity and anxiety (e.g., “I would be my true self at the CCG interview”; “I would feel anxious at the CCG interview”; $\alpha = .85$) and 6 items on perceptions of race conformity pressure (e.g., “CCG would be more likely to hire me if I conformed to their expectations about my racial/ethnic group”; adapted from Sekaquaptewa, Waldman, & Thompson, 2007; $\alpha = .84$). Scale endpoints were 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*), and the measures were scored so that higher values indicated more anxiety and inauthenticity or higher perceptions of race conformity pressure.

Participants did not complete explicit self-stereotyping measures in this study; however, they completed the same mental-physical/self-other Brief Implicit Association Test (BIAT) because Project Implicit volunteers visit the website to learn about their implicit attitudes¹¹. Finally, participants completed the same manipulation check and measure of racial identification ($\alpha = .75$) used in the previous experiment. Participants’ level of racial identification did not differ across conditions, $F(2,324) = .39, p = .68$. See Table 22 for correlations between the dependent measures.

¹¹ Consistent with previous studies, I did not expect diversity condition to affect the implicit self-stereotyping measure. Indeed, there were no main effects or interactions for either multiculturalism relative to colorblindness, $ps > .51$, or relative to the control group, $ps > .66$, so it will not be discussed further.

Table 22. Means, standard deviations and correlations between primary Experiment 4 variables.

| | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. Race centrality | - | | |
| 2. Anxiety and inauthenticity | 0.00 (321) | - | |
| 3. Race conformity pressure | -0.01 (321) | .14 (337)** | - |
| Mean (<i>SD</i>) | 4.55 (1.46) | 3.28 (1.23) | 3.47 (1.26) |

Note. *N*s (in parentheses next to correlations) do not correspond to the degrees of freedom in regression analyses, as I retained all data for these correlations. Numbers in parentheses next to means correspond to standard deviations. Scales range from 1-7 for all measures except implicit self-stereotyping, which ranges from -2 to +2. ⁺ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Results

Manipulation and attrition checks. Perceptions of how much the company focused on group differences differed by condition, $F(2,312) = 39.17, p < .001$. Specifically, in a Bonferroni multiple comparison test ($p < .017$), participants perceived that the company focused on group differences more in the multiculturalism condition ($M = 3.24, SD = .97$) than in the colorblind condition ($M = 2.15, SD = 1.10$), $p < .001$, and the control condition ($M = 2.20, SD = .96$), $p < .001$. However, they did not perceive a difference in how much the control and colorblind companies focused on group differences, $p = .93$, which supports the idea that colorblindness is perceived as the default model in American company contexts. Attrition from the study did not differ by gender, $\chi^2(1, n = 687) = 1.22, p = .27$, but did differ by diversity condition, $\chi^2(2, n =$

524) = 10.63, $p = .005$. Participants assigned to the control condition completed the study at lower rates (53%) than those assigned to the multicultural (69%) or colorblind (66%) conditions.

Analytic strategy. To test the main hypotheses, two dummy coded variables for diversity condition were entered into the first step of a hierarchical linear regression model in which multiculturalism, the reference group, was always coded as 0. Thus, one variable compared the multiculturalism condition to the control condition (coded as 1), and the other variable compared the multiculturalism to the colorblind condition (coded as 1). Racial identification was entered into the first step of the model. All two-way interactions were entered into the second step, following up with simple slope and endpoint analyses for the highest order significant interactions for each comparison. In other words, when they were statistically significant, I first broke down interactions for the multicultural relative to colorblind comparison. Next, I broke down significant interactions for the multicultural relative to control comparison. I did not report simple slope or endpoint analyses for the control and colorblind conditions when they did not differ from multiculturalism.

Race conformity pressure. I hypothesized a main effect of diversity condition on perceptions of race conformity pressure, not moderated by racial identification. Specifically, African Americans would perceive more pressure to conform to race-based expectations in the multicultural company context compared to colorblind and control companies. As shown in Figure 8, the predicted main effects indeed emerged between the multiculturalism condition (relative to colorblindness), $b = -.73$, $SE = .16$, $t(317) = -4.51$, $p < .001$, and the multiculturalism

condition (relative to control), $b = -.84$, $SE = .17$, $t(317) = -4.97$, $p < .001$ ¹². Consistent with predictions, participants perceived more pressure to conform to race-based expectations in the multicultural company context ($M = 3.74$) compared to colorblind ($M = 3.01$) and control companies ($M = 2.90$). These effects were not moderated by racial identification, $ps > .61$.

Table 23. Hierarchical regression on race conformity pressure in Experiment 4.

| <i>Predictor</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | β | <i>t</i> | ΔR^2 |
|--|----------|-----------|---------|----------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | 0.09*** |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | -0.73 | 0.16 | -0.28** | -4.51 | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | -0.84 | 0.17 | -0.31** | -4.97 | |
| Race Centrality | 0.00 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.06 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | 0.001 |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.01 | 0.12 | 0.01 | 0.10 | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.06 | 0.11 | 0.04 | 0.51 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multicultural condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

¹² When I re-ran the regression with the control condition as the reference group, there was no main effect for the colorblind condition (relative to control), $b = .11$, $SE = .17$, $t(317) = .66$, $p = .52$, and no moderation by racial identification, $b = .04$, $SE = .12$, $t(315) = .37$, $p = .71$.

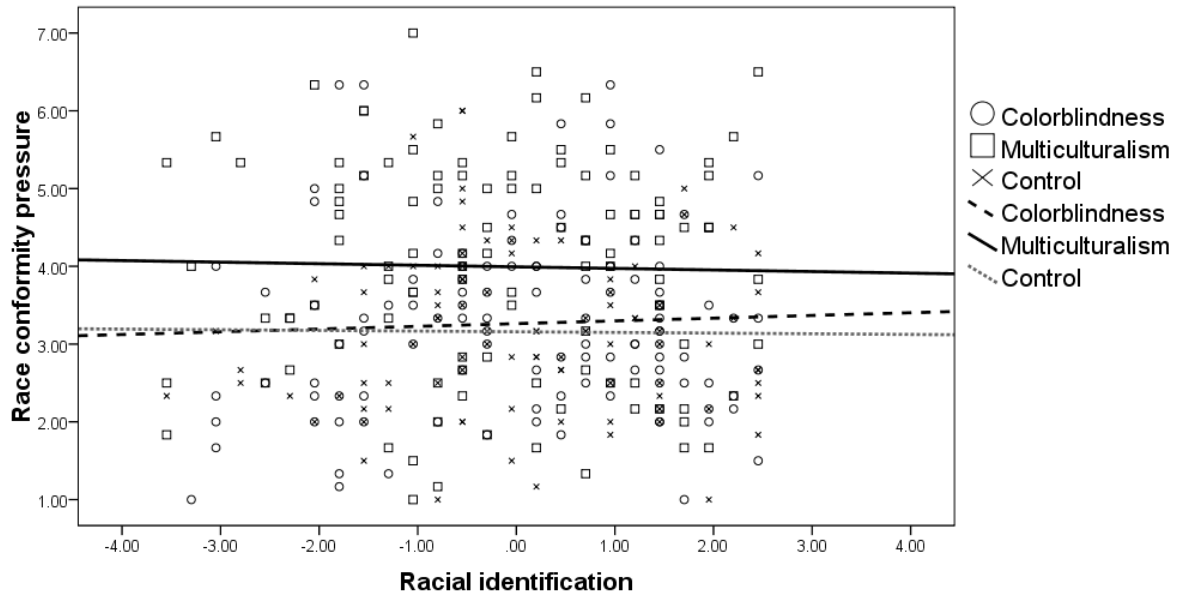


Figure 8. Perceptions of race conformity pressure among participants varying in racial identification in Experiment 4.

Anxiety and inauthenticity. I hypothesized an interaction between diversity condition and racial identification. Specifically, simple slope analyses for the colorblind and control conditions would show that the more participants were identified with their racial group, the more anxious and inauthentic they would feel. At a multicultural company, this relationship would be attenuated. Accordingly, endpoint analyses would reveal that African Americans with weak racial identification would feel more anxious and inauthentic when contemplating employment at a multicultural company compared to colorblind and control companies. Strongly racially identified African Americans would not be affected by diversity condition.

As shown in Figure 9, the predicted two-way interaction emerged between the multiculturalism condition (relative to colorblindness) and racial identification, $b = .28$, $SE = .11$, $t(315) = 2.57$, $p = .01$, although only marginally for the multiculturalism condition (relative to

control) and racial identification, $b = .20$, $SE = .12$, $t(315) = 1.73$, $p = .09$ ¹³. (see Table 23 for statistics for lower order main effects and interactions). Because of this, I probed both the multicultural relative to colorblind and the multicultural relative to control comparisons.

In endpoint analyses, consistent with predictions, African Americans with weak racial identification (-1 SD below the identification mean) reported that they would feel more anxious and inauthentic when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism ($M = 3.49$) relative to colorblindness ($M = 3.05$), $b = -.44$, $SE = .22$, $t(315) = -1.89$, $p = .05$, but not relative to the control group ($M = 3.28$), $b = -.07$, $SE = .24$, $t(315) = -.28$, $p = .78$. African Americans with strong racial identification ($+1$ SD above the identification mean) were unaffected by multiculturalism relative to colorblindness $b = .37$, $SE = .23$, $t(315) = 1.62$, $p = .11$. However, unexpectedly, African Americans with strong racial identification ($+1$ SD above the identification mean) reported that they would feel *less* anxious and uncomfortable being authentic when exposed to a company that valued multiculturalism ($M = 3.04$) relative to control ($M = 3.42$), $b = .52$, $SE = .24$, $t(315) = 2.17$, $p = .03$

Simple slope analyses confirmed the predicted interaction pattern as well, although the slope for the colorblind condition was not statistically significant. As participants in the colorblind condition were more strongly racially identified, they trended toward increased anxiety and inauthenticity, $b = .12$, $SE = .08$, $t(225) = 1.59$, $p = .11$. In the multiculturalism

¹³ When I re-ran the regression with the control condition as the reference group, the interaction between the colorblind condition (relative to control) and racial identification also did not emerge, $b = .08$, $SE = .12$, $t(315) = .65$, $p = .52$. This suggests that the control condition falls approximately in between the multicultural and colorblind conditions.

condition, as participants were stronger in racial identification, they expressed less anxiety and inauthenticity, $b = -.16$, $SE = .08$, $t(225) = -2.05$, $p = .04$.

Table 24. Hierarchical regression on anxiety and inauthenticity measure in Experiment 4.

| Predictor | B | SE | B | t | ΔR^2 |
|--|------|------|-------------------|-------|--------------|
| Step 1 | | | | | |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) | 0.05 | 0.16 | -0.02 | -0.29 | 0.01 |
| Control (v. Multicultural) | 0.21 | 0.17 | 0.08 | 1.26 | |
| Race Centrality | 0.00 | 0.05 | 0.00 | -0.02 | |
| Step 2 | | | | | |
| Control (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.20 | 0.12 | 0.13 ⁺ | 1.73 | .02* |
| Colorblind (v. Multicultural) x Centrality | 0.28 | 0.11 | 0.2* | 2.57 | |

Note. Regression coefficients are reported from the step on which each variable was first entered. The multicultural condition, the reference group in the regression, is always coded as 0, with control and colorblindness coded as 1. ⁺ $p \leq .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

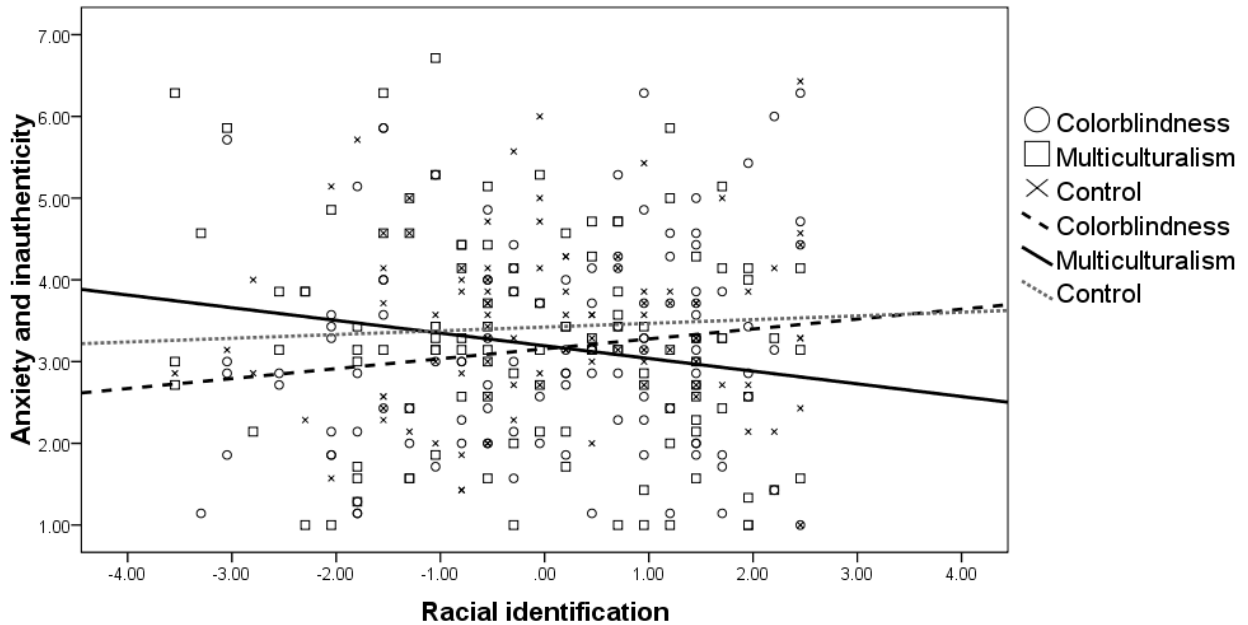


Figure 9. Anxiety and inauthenticity among participants varying in racial identification in Experiment 4.

Discussion

Experiment 4 demonstrated that racial minorities, regardless of their level of racial identification, detected more pressure to conform to expectations of their racial group in multicultural relative to colorblind or control company contexts. Despite this, only weakly identified minorities felt more anxious and less authentic, which may explain why only weakly identified minorities in Experiments 1-3 (only men in Experiment 1) increased their self-stereotyping. Strongly identified minorities may not have been as concerned about these pressures because they are merely less susceptible to strategic self-presentation concerns (Ellemers et al., 2002) or because they already see themselves as being good representatives of their racial group.

One important caveat of the Experiment 4 results is that means for both measures are near or below the midpoint of the scales. Although multiculturalism increases feelings of anxiety and inauthenticity as well as race conformity pressure, participants are relatively low in these concerns overall. One reason for this may be that they are imagining relatively unthreatening hypothetical contexts.

Chapter 6: General Discussion

Multicultural approaches to diversity, which value and encourage the expression of group differences, have proliferated in recent years. Although multiculturalism offers significant benefits to racial minorities, the present research tested the hypothesis that multicultural messages ironically constrain the behavior of racial minorities, promoting self-stereotyping and leading to negative psychological consequences. I hypothesized that self-stereotyping in multicultural workplaces would be particularly pronounced among weakly racially identified minorities who, compared to strongly identified minorities, are more willing to engage in

identity-related self-presentational strategies to obtain desired outcomes. Three studies supported these hypotheses on positive trait and activity self-stereotyping measures (e.g., self-reports of athleticism and interest in rap music), and one study tentatively supported these hypotheses among African American men, but not women. White participants and strongly racially identified Black participants were not consistently affected by diversity messages.

Also consistent with hypotheses, multiculturalism did not shape self-stereotyping on negative stereotypes, possibly because it is inappropriate to endorse negative stereotypes in a workplace context. Because African Americans in particular have a long history of contending with perceptions of their group as less competent in professional contexts (Steele et al., 2002), participants were unlikely to believe that confirming negative stereotypes would be advantageous in an interview scenario, even in a company advocating for multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism also did not shape self-stereotyping on implicit self-stereotyping measures. The implicit self-stereotyping measure was used in order to ascertain whether changes in self-stereotyping reflected self-presentation strategies or a more automatic process, as implicit measures may be more resistant to self-presentation concerns than self-report measures (Cvencek et al., 2010). Because diversity condition did not affect implicit self-stereotyping, this supports the case that minorities were engaging in strategic self-presentation, or compliance with norms, rather than internalization of norms (but see Gawronski, Lebel, & Peters, 2007 for a discussion of implicit measures and self-presentation). However, the implicit self-stereotyping measure only tested athletic versus academic stereotypes, so it is also possible that the null effect stemmed from the nature of the specific stereotypes tested.

Although one explanation for these findings was that weakly identified participants felt more comfortable being themselves at the multicultural company, I instead hypothesized that

they were being inauthentic, or behaving in ways that did not reflect their true self. Indeed, weakly identified African Americans felt more anxious and less like they could be themselves at the multicultural company compared to the colorblind company. These findings show that, despite their best intentions, organizations striving to be inclusive may paradoxically create pressure for some racial minorities to remain within the constraints of racial stereotypes, even if this is inconsistent with how they view themselves.

These findings for authenticity and anxiety as well as for implicit measures all contribute to the evidence that the observed self-stereotyping effects were indeed self-presentational in nature. Furthermore, the moderation by racial identification also points to self-presentation, as past literature shows that weakly identified minorities assert their identity or behave in ways that benefit their group primarily under conditions in which their behavior is identifiable, and not anonymous (Ellemers et al., 2002). Thus, identity assertion is often strategic for weakly identified minorities and only occurs when they will benefit from the behavior. Future work should examine whether the self-stereotyping effects in the present studies indeed only occur in situations that elicit self-presentation concerns, such as when participants' responses could produce more positive outcomes at companies.

The self-presentation concerns and resulting anxiety and inauthenticity demonstrated in this research have negative downstream consequences for minorities. People desire to be seen in ways that are consistent with their own self-views (Swann & Read, 1981) and have lowered self-esteem and positive affect when they behave inauthentically (Harter, 2002). Minorities also experience negative affect in interracial interactions when they behave inauthentically (Shelton, Richeson, & Salvatore, 2005). Thus, inauthentic behavior in workplace contexts may lead to both negative psychological experiences and harm employee relations. Furthermore, workplace

stress and anxiety can lead to lowered efficiency, job satisfaction and retention, performance, and well-being (Cavanaugh, Boswell, Roehling, & Boudreau, 2000; Linden & Muschalla, 2007; Teasdale, 2006).

Strengths of the Research

The present findings were replicated in multiple experiments with a range of measurement approaches. First of all, I replicated the predicted pattern of results on two different self-report measures, one reflecting activity stereotypes and one reflecting positive trait stereotypes. I also used an open-ended essay measure to gauge participants' spontaneous behavior, although this latter measure did not demonstrate the same racial identification moderation. Furthermore, I used an implicit measure to demonstrate repeatedly that the self-stereotyping effects do not replicate on a measure that reduces the influence of self-presentation concerns. Finally, I used self-report measures that more closely examined the psychological experience of racial minorities by asking about anxiety and authenticity in the company contexts.

Furthermore, I demonstrated the hypothesized pattern of results with relatively subtle brochure manipulations. The manipulations comprised only four sentences in a single paragraph, and only 7% of the words differed across the multicultural and colorblind conditions. With stronger manipulations and in more realistic contexts, these effects might be even stronger. They might be further magnified in real company contexts where multicultural and colorblind ideals are reinforced through diversity trainings, environmental cues, and the company culture.

Finally, the present research had relatively large samples of a population that is difficult to recruit. Recent concerns about replicability and pushes to increase statistical power in social psychology and other fields (Fraley & Vazire, 2014) may make it more difficult to study racial

minorities and other groups, as it is difficult to achieve the desired statistical power. Despite these difficulties, the present experiments replicated the hypothesized effects across 4 experiments (although evidence was only tentative in Experiment 1) with a combined final sample of 1,055 African Americans.

Theoretical and Empirical Advances

Diversity researchers have largely focused on the benefits of multiculturalism and have neglected the possibility that multiculturalism's focus on group differences may create identity-based pressure for racial minorities. Furthermore, researchers have neglected the possibility that reactions to diversity messages may depend on individual differences. These are the first studies to examine both how diversity messages affect self-stereotyping and also to explore the nuances of how minority group identification can shape reactions to diversity messages. Examining these naturally varying differences is essential, as traits such as group identification and stigma consciousness, among many others, can dramatically affect how minorities respond to identity-based cues, such as threat and identity inclusion cues (see Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994; Ellemers et al., 2002; Pinel, 1999).

The present findings are consistent with theoretical perspectives in the social identity tradition suggesting that weakly identified minorities are more likely to assert their racial identity strategically (Ellemers et al., 2002). In fact, social identity theory would suggest that many previously documented findings on minorities' reactions to diversity models could depend on participants' level of group identification. For example, the extent to which the presence of multicultural beliefs increases minorities' psychological engagement at work (see Plaut et al., 2009) may differ for those strongly and weakly identified with their racial group.

The present research seems to contradict previous findings that racial minorities trust and feel more comfortable at organizations with multicultural messages (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). However, as elaborated above, past research has not accounted for individual differences in minorities' reactions to diversity messages. Furthermore, these two findings are not necessarily mutually exclusive – it is possible for racial minorities to simultaneously believe they will be treated fairly (e.g., not experience discrimination) while also anticipating identity-based pressure in that same environment.

These findings on identity-based pressure dovetail with research on categorization threat and the minority spotlight effect. Categorization threat occurs when people are seen through the lens of a group membership that feels inappropriate for the particular context (Barreto, Ellemers, Scholten, & Smith, 2010). For example, a medical doctor at her child's baseball game may want to be treated in line with her identity as a parent in that context, rather than as a doctor. Similarly, the minority spotlight effect is a phenomenon in which unwanted attention is drawn to minorities' group identity, leading to negative emotions for minorities possessing that identity. In the present research, weakly racially identified minorities may not see their race as a relevant identity in a work context so may feel uncomfortable when that identity is emphasized through multicultural approaches. These previously unconnected phenomena may stem from related concerns about a particular group identity being highlighted in an undesirable or contextually inappropriate way. Although previous research has not explored group identification as a moderator of categorization threat and the minority spotlight effect, the present research suggests that weakly identified minorities may experience those threatening situations particularly strongly as well.

Caveats

Compensatory response among strongly identified minorities. While the present research focused on the reactions of weakly identified minorities, strongly identified minorities also showed trends of theoretical interest. In Experiment 4, strongly identified minorities were more anxious in a colorblind company relative to a control company and, in Experiment 1, strongly identified African American men increased their self-stereotyping in a colorblind company relative to a multicultural company. Although the latter effect did not replicate in subsequent studies, these patterns nonetheless align well with research showing that strongly identified minorities sometimes assert their identity when group identity is under threat (Ellemers et al., 2002) and that some racial minorities place more trust in multicultural company contexts (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008).

I did not expect that colorblind messages alone would be threatening enough to lead to a compensatory response, but minimizing group identity could indeed be threatening for those who strongly value their group. Given the trends observed in the present data, it is possible that colorblindness paired with other threatening cues would lead to clearer evidence of a compensatory threat response among strongly identified minorities. For example, colorblind messages paired with a lack of racial diversity at a company (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008) or an evaluative, stereotype-relevant task (Wilton et al., 2014) can induce identity threat. This would suggest that multiculturalism has clear benefits for those who are strongly identified with their group but can backfire for those who are more weakly identified.

Open-ended essay measures. Whereas self-report measures showed increased self-stereotyping exclusively among weakly racially identified minorities, an open-ended measure showed increased stereotypical behavior irrespective of participants' levels of racial identification. Because weakly racially identified minorities are relatively willing to assert their

identity for strategic purposes (Ellemers et al., 2002), it may not be surprising that they would show increased self-stereotyping more consistently across different measures in the multicultural context.

Why might the essay measure diverge from self-report measures? One possibility is that the open-ended measure may have allowed more strongly identified minorities to express stereotypes that better capture their self-perceptions than those included in the self-report questionnaire. Similarly, the open-ended essay might have served as an unobtrusive measure of self-stereotyping, permitting participants to express stereotypes more naturally or subtly, whereas the self-report questions were more restrictive in how they permitted participants to express their identity.

Finally, the divergence might be attributed to the participant raters themselves. Primarily White undergraduate participant raters might have been unable to pick up on the nuances in the ways that weakly and strongly identified African Americans express their identity when describing themselves. A sample of exclusively African American raters might have been better able to detect stereotypical behaviors. However, if African Americans were self-stereotyping strategically, it seems likely that they would self-stereotype in ways that even outgroup members would be able to detect.

White stereotyping measures. The present studies also examined whether diversity condition affected traits and activities considered stereotypical of Whites. Unexpectedly, multiculturalism relative to colorblindness increased endorsement of these traits and activities two out of the nine times they were measured across three studies. In the multicultural condition, weakly identified minorities described White stereotypes as more self-descriptive relative to the colorblind and control conditions In Experiment 1 and 3, but in inconsistent ways. Specifically,

these effects emerged on negative traits in Experiment 1 but on positive traits in Experiment 3, making interpretation difficult. Given the inconsistencies, this is unlikely to be a reliable effect. Alternatively, an individual difference measure other than racial identification may prove to be a more appropriate moderator of the effect on White stereotypes.

Limitations and future directions. Participants in the present studies were from the Project Implicit website, which attracts a relatively educated sample of participants. For example, 40% of the participants in Experiment 4 had completed some college, and another 39% had obtained a bachelor's degree or higher. The high level of education is reflected in several measures, including the implicit self-stereotyping measure. Despite stereotypes about African Americans as more athletic than academically oriented, African American participants implicitly associated themselves more with mental than physical activities. Although it would be beneficial to examine how diversity messages affect a more nationally representative sample of racial minorities, as well as minorities other than African Americans, the present sample was more representative than the college student samples typically used in social psychology research.

Nonetheless, one way in which a nationally representative sample would be beneficial is that it might reveal a wider range of racial identification in the African American population, which could have implications for where companies should focus their efforts. Whereas racial identification in the present sample fell slightly above the midpoint on a 1-7 scale, it is possible that African Americans in the general population would be even more strongly identified on average. Although it is important to frame diversity messages in a way that is beneficial for a wide range of people, if most African Americans are relatively strongly identified with their racial group, then it may be prudent to focus more resources on how to frame diversity in ways that help those who are committed to their group identity.

Another caveat of the present results is that, although multiculturalism increased feelings of anxiety and inauthenticity, participants were relatively low in these concerns overall. One reason for this may be that participants were imagining relatively unthreatening hypothetical contexts. Future research should extend these findings to more realistic settings to better understand how strongly these concerns manifest in the real world.

Finally, I primarily used self-report and reaction time measures in the present research, which may not reflect actual behavior in organizational contexts. Although the open-ended essay measure in Experiment 3 examined more spontaneous self-descriptions, it was nonetheless a written measure set in a hypothetical context. This open-ended measure may be a better representation of behavior than that typically used in social psychology research (see Baumeister, Vohs, & Funder, 2008), however, as it captured more complexity than constrained self-report items and allowed for the examination of actual impressions of racial minorities' essay representations of themselves. Future research should more fully examine how diversity messages influence real behavior in workplace interactions in order to get a complete picture of the self-presentation strategies racial minorities employ.

Implications

These findings show that, despite their best intentions, organizations striving to be inclusive may paradoxically create pressure for some racial minorities to remain within the bounds of stereotypes about their racial group. This may have negative downstream consequences for racial minorities and other low status group members. Because minorities who express their racial identity encounter more prejudice (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009), multiculturalism may have the ironic effect of eliciting behavior from minorities that hurts rather than helps them in professional contexts. However, past research has shown that multiculturalism

actually increases liking for stereotypical minorities (Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2010), so an alternative possibility is that stereotypical minorities will be well-liked in company contexts but nonetheless be pigeonholed and relegated to certain positions deemed appropriate for their group.

The present research also has implications for organizational and institutional best practices. Although I have demonstrated a potential downside of multiculturalism, it may still be a beneficial strategy. One possibility for designing the most effective interventions is to combine multiculturalism with other strategies that mitigate the identity-based expectations it creates. For example, people who have the opportunity to individuate by focusing on their unique qualities are less likely to experience stereotype threat (Ambady, Paik, Steele, Owen-Smith, & Mitchell, 2004). This strategy could be applied to multiculturalism by stressing that groups are important but that people have flexible identities and that people vary within groups rather than conforming to a single categorical mold.

Indeed, other researchers have suggested similar strategies. *Identity safety* is a diversity model that also values group differences but considers within group differences to be of equal importance, thus ensuring that the individual is valued as well (Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2011; Rose, Steele, Steele, & Markus, 2015; Steele et al., 2002). Similarly, *polyculturalism* focuses on group differences but also addresses how groups are interconnected and influence each other (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010).

Although it is unclear whether racial minorities are attentive to these organizational diversity messages before interviewing at companies, these findings have potential implications beyond company interview contexts. Diversity messages are not restricted to statements appearing in company brochures, as in the present research – instead, they represent broad

models for how diverse groups of people within a company should interact and serve as a model for how to frame a range of organizational initiatives (Plaut, 2002). For example, a company with a colorblind diversity message on its website may also frame diversity trainings and company policies in line with colorblind ideals. Accordingly, these diversity messages may not only affect recruitment, but may also affect retention and how people within a company relate to one another.

Indeed, the diversity models endorsed by employees within companies affects the experience of racial minorities (Plaut et al., 2009), suggesting that diversity models permeate company culture and affect minorities' everyday experiences. Furthermore, racial minorities and other disadvantaged groups are attentive to cues to diversity and belonging in environments in which they are underrepresented (Cheryan, Plaut, Davies, & Steele, 2009). Future research should further clarify if companies send consistent diversity messages through their organizational initiatives and whether minorities are attentive to these messages in the real world.

Conclusion

As the world becomes increasingly diverse, efforts to harness the potential benefits of this diversity are essential. Although diversity efforts have become institutionalized in many companies and institutions, relatively limited research has examined the nuances of how to best manage diversity (Paluck, 2006). The present research provides insight into the psychological consequences of diversity efforts from an understudied perspective, that of racial minorities. While striving for multicultural ideals provides clear benefits (e.g., Holoien & Shelton, 2012; Plaut et al., 2009; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004), it is important to pursue this goal in ways that do not create identity-based pressure for racial minorities. A better

understanding of multicultural practices will prevent unexpected consequences for low status groups and help ensure accepting workplace and academic environments.

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Appendix A: Manipulations

Colorblind brochure




CCG
BUSINESS CONSULTING

OUR STAFF

While other consulting firms mistakenly focus on their staff's differences, we train our ethnically diverse workforce to embrace their similarities. Focusing on our similarities creates a more exciting and collaborative work environment. Such an inclusive and accepting environment helps not only us but also our clients. At CCG, your race, ethnicity, and culture are immaterial – you'll recognize this as soon as you walk through our doors.

OUR SERVICES

- Advice
- Planning
- Calculating
- Consulting
- Forecasting
- Coaching



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OUR STAFF

While other consulting firms mistakenly focus on their staff's similarities, we train our ethnically diverse workforce to embrace their differences. Focusing on our differences creates a more exciting and collaborative work environment. Such an inclusive and accepting environment helps not only us but also our clients. At CCG, your race, ethnicity, and culture are fundamental assets – you'll recognize this as soon as you walk through our doors.

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- Advice
- Planning
- Calculating
- Consulting
- Forecasting
- Coaching



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OUR SERVICES

- Planning
- Financial Advising
- Calculating
- Consulting
- Product Management
- Forecasting
- Career Coaching
- Marketing

Appendix B: Scales

Racial Identification

My race/ethnicity is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am. (reverse scored)

The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.

In general, belonging to my race/ethnicity is an important part of my self image.

Overall, my race/ethnicity has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (reverse scored)

1 = *Strongly disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Disagree somewhat*, 4 = *Neutral*, 5 = *Agree somewhat*,
6 = *Agree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*

African American and White Activity Stereotypes

Instructions

Please imagine that you are interviewing at CCG, and they would like to know more about you as a person (what types of activities you enjoy, how you like to spend your time, etc.). Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible.

How much do you enjoy the following activities?

How much do you enjoy/listen to the following types of music?

How might you describe your personality?

How much do you enjoy participating in the following sports activities?

1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Extremely*

Experiment 1 activities

African American: rap/hip-hop, football, sports, basketball

White: classical music, country music, reading, hockey, golf

Experiment 2 activities

African American: rap/hip-hop, football, sports, basketball, talking, gospel music, physical education, athletics

White: classical music, country music, reading, hockey, golf, new age music, community service, tennis, chess, martial arts

African American and White Trait Stereotypes

In this workplace, I would feel... [insert trait]

1 = *Not at all descriptive of me*, 7 = *Very descriptive of me*

Experiment 1 traits

Positive African American: streetwise, playful, humorous, fashionable, athletic, musical

Negative African American: poor, lazy, reckless, dishonest, dangerous, complaining

Positive White: wealthy, ethical, responsible, successful, educated, intelligent

Negative White: boring, materialistic, greedy, conventional, uptight, stuffy

Experiment 2 traits

Positive African American: streetwise, playful, humorous, fashionable, athletic, musical, emotionally expressive, charming

Negative African American: poor, lazy, reckless, dishonest, dangerous, complaining, violent, ignorant

Positive White: wealthy, ethical, responsible, successful, educated, intelligent, ambitious, progressive

Negative White: boring, materialistic, greedy, conventional, uptight, stuffy, boastful, competitive

Experiment 3 traits

Positive African American: streetwise, playful, humorous, fashionable, athletic, musical, emotionally expressive, religious

Positive White: wealthy, ethical, responsible, successful, educated

Anxiety and Inauthenticity

I would be myself at the CCG interview. (reverse scored)

I would be my true self at the CCG interview. (reverse scored)

I would feel comfortable being myself at the CCG interview. (reverse scored)

I would feel comfortable at the CCG interview. (reverse scored)

I would feel uncomfortable at the CCG interview.

I would feel anxious at the CCG interview.

I would feel nervous at the CCG interview.

1 = *Strongly disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Moderately disagree*, 4 = *Neutral*, 5 = *Moderately agree*, 6 = *Agree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*

Race conformity pressure

CCG would be more likely to hire me if I asserted my racial/ethnic identity.

My interview at CCG would go better if I asserted my racial/ethnic identity.

If I asserted my racial/ethnic identity, CCG would think I was a better fit at their company.

CCG would be more likely to hire me if I conformed to their expectations about my racial/ethnic group.

My interview at CCG would go better if I behaved like a representative of my racial group.

If I seemed like others of my racial group, CCG would think I was a better fit at their company.

1 = *Strongly disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Moderately disagree*, 4 = *Neutral*, 5 = *Moderately agree*, 6 = *Agree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*

Appendix C: Experiment 3 Essay Prompt and Responses

Instructions

Please imagine that you are interviewing at CCG, and they would like to know more about you as a person.

CCG offers a number of benefits to its employees such as museum and gym memberships, discounted concerts, sporting events, theater tickets, and many other activities. It also organizes events for employees and friends/family. Your responses to these questions may inform the type of benefits that Human Resources offers in the future or the types of events it organizes. Please keep this in mind when responding to the next question.

Essay Prompt

CCG Questionnaire

Please spend a couple minutes answering the following question. Please be detailed and write as much as you want (although it is not required, normal responses are at least five lines). All of the questions that follow this one are multiple choice.

If you had to describe yourself to someone at CCG, how would you describe yourself? For example, what are some of your favorite activities, hobbies, and interests? What are your favorite academic subjects or other educational pursuits? Who do you enjoy spending time with, and where? How would you describe your personality? Please be as specific as possible (for example, if you enjoy music, what type of music?).

Example Essay Responses

Participant rated as highly stereotypical of African Americans on positive traits

(5.33 on 1-7 scale):

I am a religious, outgoing person who loves to read all books especially the Holy Bible. I am interested in Leadership and Management because I have seen first hand how staff members are demotivated in the workplace. I want to be a manager and be able to interact in a positive way with my staff members and share my vision with them, getting their feedback and together we will see the company full success.

Participant rated as relatively non-stereotypical of African Americans on positive traits (2.20 on 1-7 scale):

well i like to consider myself a cheerful person, easy to get along with if you don't mind being occasionally embarrassed. i'm definitely an introvert, but when i do remember to talk to my friends we have a good time. they tell me i come off a little nerdy but i just love a good charged conversation. biology psychology and history are among my favorite topics i would love to take up teaching one day. a few key words in my dictionary? anime, books, idiot, cultures!, weird, mom, temperate, patient

Participant rated as strongly identified with race (5.47 on 1-7 scale):

I am African American. I am a future child psychologist with a concentration in ubuntu psychology. I enjoy reading, music, and going to church. I enjoy researching and learning. My favorite past times are dancing and writing poetry.

Participant rated as weakly identified with race (1.75 on 1-7 scale):

I would describe myself as a diligent person with an easy going attitude. I enjoy hiking, hunting, fishing and writing poetry. My favorite subjects were history and English, but i especially love environmental law. My time may mostly be spent with my German Wire-haired Pointer in the mountains enjoying what nature has to offer. I am a very direct person when necessary. My philosophy is do what needs to be done and learn as much as possible in the meanwhile.