

“What About Me?” Perceptions of Exclusion and Whites’ Reactions to Multiculturalism

Victoria C. Plaut
University of California, Berkeley

Flannery G. Garnett
University of Michigan

Laura E. Buffardi
Universidad de Deusto

Jeffrey Sanchez-Burks
University of Michigan

A 5-study investigation of reactions of dominant group members (i.e., White Americans) to diversity (relative to racial minority reactions) provides evidence of implicit and explicit associations between multiculturalism and exclusion and of a relationship between perceived exclusion and reactions to diversity. In Study 1, Whites but not racial minorities were faster in an implicit association task at pairing multiculturalism with exclusion than with inclusion. This association diminished in Study 2 through a subtle framing of diversity efforts as targeted toward all groups, including European Americans. In Study 3, in a “Me/Not Me” task, Whites were less likely than minorities to pair multiculturalism concepts with the self and were slower in responding to multiculturalism concepts. Furthermore, associating multiculturalism with the self (Study 3) or feeling included in organizational diversity (Study 4) predicted Whites’ endorsement of diversity and also accounted for the oft-cited group status difference in support for diversity initiatives. Study 5 showed that individual differences in need to belong moderated Whites’ interest in working for organizations that espouse a multicultural versus a color-blind approach to diversity, with individuals higher in need to belong less attracted to organizations with a multicultural approach. Overall, results show that the purportedly “inclusive” ideology of multiculturalism is not perceived as such by Whites. This may, in part, account for their lower support for diversity efforts in education and work settings.

Keywords: diversity, multiculturalism, color blindness, inclusion, need to belong

Our vision: A strong and prosperous nation secured through a fair and inclusive workplace.

—U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

The United States, at first glance, is a country obsessed with managing diversity (Cose, 1997; Jackson, 2008). Governmental and nongovernmental organizations alike (e.g., the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [EEOC], the American Institute for Managing Diversity) put forth great effort to manage

diversity and promote equality. Companies and universities have followed suit by designing and implementing a wide range of diversity initiatives, for example, diversity mission statements displayed in brochures, diversity training, diversity-targeted recruitment advertising, diversity resource groups, and celebration of events highlighting different racial and ethnic groups. However, efforts at promoting diversity and inclusion are often met with negative reactions by White Americans, potentially due to concern about the actual noninclusivity of those efforts. Reflecting this concern, historian Arthur Schlesinger (1992) remarked in *The Disuniting of America*, “Multiculturalism arises as a reaction against Anglo- or Eurocentrism; but at what point does it mutate into an ethnocentrism of its own?” (p. 80). A similar reaction reverberated through the confirmation hearings of Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor, whose ability to judge from a neutral, nonethnic perspective was repeatedly questioned. This purported noninclusivity of multiculturalism has similarly surfaced more generally among university students and working adults in corporate settings (e.g., Chrobot-Mason, Hays-Thomas, & Wishik, 2008; Hewitt, 2005). The majority of these individuals are dominant group members whose support is critical for diversity initiatives to work effectively.

Against this backdrop of concerns about the mounting attention given to diversity, organizations have grown increasingly emphatic in arguing for the necessity of diversity efforts. For instance, John Bryan, former chairman and CEO of Sara Lee Corporation, has

This article was published Online First May 2, 2011.

Victoria C. Plaut, School of Law, University of California, Berkeley; Flannery G. Garnett and Jeffrey Sanchez-Burks, Ross School of Business, University of Michigan; Laura E. Buffardi, Departamento de Psicología, Universidad de Deusto, Bilbao, Spain.

We thank Art Brief, Keith Campbell, Rob MacCoun, Hazel Rose Markus, David Oppenheimer, Kecia Thomas, and Miguel Unzueta for constructive feedback on earlier drafts; Berkeley Law faculty workshop and Institute of Personality and Social Research colloquium audiences for helpful comments; Alem Tecele and Leslie Stone for assistance with manuscript preparation; and members of the Center for Research and Engagement in Diversity and the Culture, Diversity, and Intergroup Relations Lab, including Betsy Carstensen, Katie Hale, Pierce Hale, Walker Jones, Allison Starks, and Sophia Szombathy, for help with data collection.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Victoria C. Plaut, University of California, Berkeley, School of Law, Simon Hall 591, Berkeley, CA 94720-7200. E-mail: vplaut@law.berkeley.edu

argued that “diversity is a strategic business imperative. A policy of inclusion is essential.” Anne Mulcahy, former CEO of Xerox, has similarly remarked that “diversity . . . is about inclusion. Diversity means creating an environment where all employees can grow to their fullest potential.” However, organizations with purported missions of diversity and inclusion often struggle to gain the necessary support among dominant group members (see Thomas, 2008), raising the disconcerting prospect that these efforts will lack effectiveness. Indeed, diversity resistance has been documented at the individual and organizational levels in a wide range of behaviors, practices, and policies (Thomas & Plaut, 2008). If, as acknowledged by the EEOC and those leading some of the world’s largest business organizations, diversity is truly about inclusion, then why might it be met with resistance among Whites? That is, why do Whites consistently trail minorities in endorsement of diversity efforts (e.g., E. H. James, Brief, Dietz, & Cohen, 2001; Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006)?¹

Negative sentiments concerning intergroup dynamics are typically attributed to factors such as ethnocentrism, prejudice, and in-group bias (e.g., Hirschfeld, 1996; E. H. James et al., 2001; Sanchez-Burks, Nisbett, & Ybarra, 2000; Sidanius, 1993; Stephan, 1985; Zanna & Olson, 1994). Moreover, research has demonstrated that perceived losses in social dominance and status contribute to majority group members’ aversion to efforts addressing racial inequality (e.g., Eibach & Keegan, 2006; Knowles, Lowery, Hogan, & Chow, 2009; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). We turn to another set of explanatory factors, complementary to these explanations, that is typically overlooked in the intergroup literature. Our studies examine antecedents to Whites’ reactions to multiculturalism that are rooted in the basic social psychological need for inclusion and belonging. Our presumption is that to the extent that multiculturalism emphasizes the cultures, contributions, and involvement of minorities—or is coded as “only for minorities”—Whites will feel excluded from and less supportive of these efforts. We describe five studies that provide evidence that Whites implicitly associate multiculturalism with exclusion rather than inclusion and that these associations, along with individual differences in need to belong (NTB; Baumeister & Leary, 1995), help account for Whites’ resistance to endorsing diversity efforts.²

Diversity Models

Our theoretical focus builds upon recent research that used a cultural psychological lens to show how cultural ideologies shape various aspects of intergroup relations (e.g., Heine & Norenzayan, 2006; Knowles et al., 2009; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Sanchez-Burks, Bartel, & Blount, 2009). Two cultural ideologies dominate the American lexicon of diversity: multiculturalism and color blindness (see Park & Judd, 2005; Plaut, 2010; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000). These ideologies, referred to here as *diversity models*, represent implicit and explicit systems of ideas, meanings, and practices that suggest how groups should include and accommodate one another and how to best organize a diverse society (Berry, 1984; Markus, Steele, & Steele, 2000; Plaut, 2002). The *color-blind model*, exemplified by the metaphor of the “melting pot” in American society, emphasizes that people are basically the same, that racial categories should be ignored or avoided, and that differences based on social identity should be

assimilated into an overarching unifying category. In contrast, the *multicultural model*—illustrated by the metaphor of a mosaic whose individual pieces are distinct yet together form a coherent picture—explicitly acknowledges differences among groups and promotes the notion that differences associated with social identities should be valued and even celebrated.

The color-blind model resonates with prominent American ideals, such as individualism and meritocracy (Thomas, Mack, & Montagliani, 2004), and is sometimes viewed by dominant group members as a mechanism for decreasing inequality (see Knowles et al., 2009) and by minority group members as a mechanism for combating stigmatization (see Purdie-Vaughns & Dittmann, 2010). Initiatives based upon the color-blind model face an important challenge, however, in that minorities may perceive initiatives using color-blind rhetoric as being disingenuous—that is, as a veiled attempt by organizations to claim a concern for fairness and equality while they in practice do little if anything to support these goals (Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Dittmann, & Crosby, 2008). This may be particularly likely to occur when organizations do not seem to demonstrate support for diversity (e.g., low numerical representation of minorities). Empirically, studies have revealed a host of insidious consequences of the color-blind model, including the perpetuation of unequal treatment of students in school settings (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, & Ambady, 2010; Schofield, 2006), lower empathy among counselors toward minority clients (Burkard & Knox, 2004), the justification of group-based inequality (Knowles et al., 2009; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000; Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008), stronger racial bias and interpersonal discrimination among Whites (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Schofield, 2006), lack of consistent improvement in the employment status of minorities (Konrad & Linnehan, 1995a), lower psychological engagement among minorities (Plaut et al., 2009), and lower organizational effectiveness (Ely & Thomas, 2001).

The multicultural model, in contrast, appears to have more positive consequences for intergroup relations. For example, Whites who endorse multiculturalism or are temporarily primed with a positive account of multiculturalism show less racial bias (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004), more inclusive attitudes on social policies (Wolsko et al., 2006), and greater acceptance of and openness to others (Verkuyten, 2005; Vorauer, Gagnon, & Sasaki, 2009). Other benefits of multiculturalism include positive psychological, educational, and organizational outcomes for minorities and organizations, such as greater psychological engagement (Plaut et al., 2009), intellectual and citizenship engagement (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002), creativity (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008), organizational learning and effectiveness (Ely & Thomas, 2001), and increased employment status of minorities (Konrad & Linnehan, 1995a). Thus, on the basis of prior research, multiculturalism appears to offer a more compelling diversity strategy than do approaches grounded in the color-blind model of diversity.

¹ For the purposes of this paper, *minorities* denotes members of racial and ethnic minority groups.

² In this paper, we equate exclusion with a lack of inclusion and aversion with lower support or endorsement (i.e., of diversity efforts).

Nonetheless, concern among dominant group members about the divisiveness of multiculturalism (and its attack on American culture) continues to be raised not only by historians such as Schlesinger (1992) but also by other academics (Michaels, 2006; Schmidt, 1997), bloggers (Auster, 2004a; Maynard, 2007), politicians (e.g., Gov. Richard Lamm's "I have a plan to destroy America" speech and Gov. Robert Ehrlich Jr.'s remarks on multiculturalism as "damaging to the society"), and judges (e.g., *Shaw v. Reno*, 1995; *Parents Involved v. Seattle*, 2006). These commentaries often draw attention to the "fraud of inclusion" perpetrated by multicultural ideals (Auster, 2004b, p. 197) as well as a sense of subjugation of the majority group resulting from the acceptance and inclusion of minority groups. For example, British journalist Patrick West (2005, p. 5) wrote, "Multiculturalism . . . has mutated into a philosophy of self-loathing, in which everything that is the preserve of 'the Other' has to be celebrated." In the United States these sentiments have surfaced most powerfully in the domain of education, where major challenges have been raised to the merits of multiculturalism as a unifying force (see Banks, 2002; Bennett, 1995). As a recent example, in 2010, Arizona passed a law (HB 2281) banning schools "from teaching classes that are designed for students of a particular ethnic group, promote resentment, or advocate ethnic solidarity over treating pupils as individuals."

Although there are certainly individual exceptions and wide variation, empirically, dominant racial/ethnic group members such as Whites appear to show less support for multiculturalism than do minorities (Konrad & Linnehan, 1995b; Plaut, 2002; Ryan et al., 2007; Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko et al., 2006). Whites may even view multiculturalism as a source of threat or anxiety (Ginges & Cairns, 2000; Verkuyten, 2005). For example, research reveals that Whites tend to shy away from—or even resist—multiculturalism or race consciousness in favor of color-blind policies and practices in educational (Markus et al., 2000; Schofield, 2006) and organizational settings (E. H. James et al., 2001; Konrad & Linnehan, 1995b; Linnehan & Konrad, 1999; Thomas et al., 2004).

We propose that for Whites (relative to minorities), the appeal of color-blind initiatives and aversion to multicultural initiatives lies, in part, in the perceived inclusivity of color blindness and exclusivity of multiculturalism. To complement the literature on minorities' perceptions of diversity initiatives (e.g., Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008), we focus in the present research on understanding Whites' perceptions. The crux of our story suggests that Whites' support—or lack thereof—for multiculturalism varies as a function of perceptions of inclusion and belonging (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

Inclusion and Belongingness

As noted by William James (1890), human beings possess a fundamental need for inclusion and belonging; recognition by and acceptance into social groups constitute important aspects of human survival. Accordingly, individuals strive to establish and maintain relational bonds (Abrams, Hogg, & Marques, 2005; Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Moreover, feelings of exclusion launch a potent attack on a person's sense of belonging (e.g., Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003; Zadro, Williams, & Richardson, 2004). Indeed, the intra- and interpersonal consequences of social exclusion include increased anxiety (Baumeister & Tice, 1990), decrements in self-esteem (Leary & Baumeister,

2000), decreased engagement in prosocial behaviors (Buckley, Winkel, & Leary, 2004; Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001; Twenge, Catanese, & Baumeister, 2002), cognitive deficits (Baumeister, Twenge, & Nuss, 2002), and impaired self-regulation (Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, & Twenge, 2005).

Although in some circumstances socially excluded individuals seek to reestablish relational bonds and strive toward inclusion (e.g., Brewer & Pickett, 1999; Williams & Sommer, 1997), reactions to social exclusion generally make it difficult for subsequent positive intergroup interactions to take root (Polzer & Caruso, 2008). Moreover, because social belongingness represents a fundamental motive of human behavior, individuals are particularly attuned to environmental cues that signal the potential both for belongingness and for rejection (Pickett, Gardner, & Knowles, 2004). For example, individuals may use cues such as numerical representation (Murphy, Steele, & Gross, 2007), number of friends (Walton & Cohen, 2007), or even physical objects (Cheryan, Plaut, Davies, & Steele, 2009) to determine their social fit with and interest in an educational or organizational environment. Of particular interest, given the goals of our research, are findings showing that cues associated with color blindness and multiculturalism signal to minorities whether their social identities are "safe" in a particular context (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; see also Ely & Thomas, 2001; Markus et al., 2000). Whereas prior research on perceptions of inclusion of social identities has focused on perceptions among minorities (who are typically most at risk of being excluded), we focus the lens on Whites, whose support for diversity efforts is critical to their effectiveness. We contend that Whites similarly attend to cues associated with diversity models to ascertain whether their identities are included in a particular context and that this has implications for diversity efforts.

Present Research

We argue here that a challenge to utilizing multicultural approaches to diversity management stems, in part, from perceptions among dominant group members grounded in belonging processes. To the extent that multiculturalism is perceived as focusing exclusively on the recognition and appreciation of minority identities (Unzueta & Binning, 2010)—as opposed to unifying them under a single "American" category often equated with Whites (Devos & Banaji, 2005)—this approach may create a sense of alienation or exclusion among Whites. We propose that perceived lack of inclusion may help account for lower levels of support for multiculturalism among Whites relative to minorities. Accordingly, multiculturalism's emphasis on the value and contributions of minorities may foster a sense of exclusion among Whites and contribute to weaker support for multicultural diversity initiatives. Five studies, which are described below, examined these propositions.

Overview of Studies

Study 1 examined whether Whites implicitly associate multiculturalism with exclusion. In Study 2, we manipulated subjective inclusion to test whether this association can be weakened. Study 3 directly investigated the role played by the self-concept in White and minority reactions to diversity. Here, there were two objectives: First, we tested whether, consistent with previous research,

Whites show less support for diversity than do minorities. Second, we examined whether this discrepancy goes beyond group membership and instead reflects whether individuals feel that multiculturalism is relevant to the self-concept. Study 4 provides a conceptual replication and extension of the previous study, with a focus on perceptions of inclusion in organizational diversity efforts among working adults in an organizational setting. Finally, Study 5 tested whether individual differences in NTB among Whites predict aversion or attraction toward organizations promoting a color-blind versus multicultural diversity model.

We hypothesized the following regarding diversity models, inclusion, and diversity endorsement:

1. Whites but not minorities will show an association of multiculturalism with exclusion (Studies 1, 2, and 3).
2. This association can be attenuated with the explicit inclusion of one's group in the conceptualization of multiculturalism (Study 2).
3. Whites will endorse diversity and multiculturalism less than minorities do (Studies 3, 4).
4. A sense of inclusion or that multiculturalism is relevant to the self predicts greater support for diversity efforts (Studies 3 and 4).
5. Individual differences in NTB moderate attraction among Whites toward organizations embracing a color-blind versus multicultural approach to diversity, such that higher levels of NTB relate to less attraction to multiculturalism (Study 5).

Study 1

In Study 1 the strength of automatic cognitive associations of color blindness and multiculturalism with exclusion and inclusion was tested with an implicit association test (IAT). Although there is some evidence to suggest that the IAT is largely resistant to self-presentation concerns (Nosek, 2005), we included a measure of social desirability to test for the possibility of a response bias stemming from social desirability. We hypothesized that group status (i.e., White vs. minority) would moderate associations of color blindness and multiculturalism with exclusion and inclusion. We predicted that Whites but not minorities would associate the concept of multiculturalism more readily (i.e., faster) with exclusion than with inclusion.

Method

Participants. Thirty-nine undergraduates (21 female, 18 male) at a large public university in the southeastern United States participated in the study for partial course credit (mean age = 19.49 years, $SD = 0.97$). Of participants, 20 were White and 19 were minorities (42% Black, 16% Asian, 5% Hispanic, and 37% other non-White ethnicity).³

Pretests. A pretest was conducted to generate words representing multiculturalism and color blindness to be used in a subsequent IAT. A set of 40 potential words related to these models of diversity collected from the literature (e.g., Purdie-Vaughns et

al., 2008; Wolsko et al., 2000) was presented to 49 participants from the same student population. The pretest participants were provided with a sentence-long description of each diversity ideology and were asked to select eight words from the list that they believed were most representative of multiculturalism and eight words that were most representative of color blindness. We used two criteria for selecting words for use in the IAT: (a) the number of times each word was chosen as representative of each ideology and (b) a lack of overlap between words selected for each ideology. In other words, the final list included words chosen as most representative of an ideology as well as representative only of that ideology.

To confirm further that multiculturalism and color-blindness words were thought to typify each ideology, we conducted an additional study. Using a 7-point scale (1 = *Different*, 7 = *Similar*), 37 White participants from the same student population rated the words as similar to or different from each ideology (multiculturalism $\alpha = .83$, color-blindness $\alpha = .82$; item-total correlations: multiculturalism, range = .25–.81, $M = .59$; color blindness, .48–.69, $M = .59$). This test showed that multicultural words were rated as typifying multicultural ideology ($M = 5.99$, $SD = 0.93$) and color-blind words were rated as typifying color-blind ideology ($M = 5.44$; $SD = 1.35$). Both mean ratings differed significantly from the midpoint of the scale (4) according to one-sample t tests, $t(36) > 6.50$, $ps < .0001$. It was also the case that multicultural words were seen as typifying multicultural ideology significantly more than were color-blind words ($M = 5.99$ vs. 3.94) and color-blind words were seen as typifying color-blind ideology significantly more than were multicultural words ($M = 5.44$ vs. 3.96), according to paired-sample t tests, $t(35) > 4.8$, $ps < .0001$. The high Cronbach's alphas and item-total correlations suggest that the sets of words had high internal consistency and were representative of the underlying ideologies of color blindness and multiculturalism.

Measures.

IAT. Participants completed an IAT designed to measure the strength of implicit associations between diversity models (i.e., multiculturalism, color blindness) and inclusion versus exclusion. In this task, response latencies were recorded as participants completed two counterbalanced testing blocks with 40 trials each. In one block, participants paired five multiculturalism concept words (i.e., *multicultural*, *culture*, *variety*, *difference*, and *diversity*) with five words denoting exclusion (i.e., *exclude*, *isolate*, *prevent*, *exclusion*, and *reject*) and five color-blindness concept words (i.e., *similarity*, *assimilation*, *sameness*, *color blind*, and *unity*) with five words denoting inclusion (i.e., *include*, *belong*, *incorporate*, *inclusion*, and *accept*). In this testing block, if the displayed concept word belonged to the multiculturalism or exclusion category, the participants pressed the *E* key. If the displayed word belonged to the color-blindness or inclusion category, the participants pressed the *I* key. In the other testing block, in contrast, participants paired

³ Responses from 20 White participants were analyzed in this study. The 20 were randomly selected from a total of 40 White participants who completed the study to roughly equalize the samples in the minority and White groups. It should be noted that relatively small sample sizes are not uncommon in the IAT literature (e.g., Dasgupta & Rivera, 2006). Analyzing all 40 White participants does not change the results.

multiculturalism words with inclusion and color-blindness words with exclusion.

Social desirability. Crowne and Marlowe's (1964) abbreviated 8-item scale was used to measure the degree to which participants desired to present themselves in a manner that would be viewed favorably by others (e.g., reporting being quick to admit mistakes or always being courteous). Responses (yes/no) were reverse scored where necessary and were summed to create an overall social desirability score.

Demographics. Participants provided demographic information, including their racial/ethnic background, age, and gender.⁴

Procedure. Participants completed the study individually. When they consented to take part in a study on "cognitive processes in self and social judgments," participants were asked to read brief descriptions of two views of diversity in preparation for a categorization task on the computer. The multiculturalism description read "This view of diversity stresses the appreciation of differences due to racial, ethnic, and cultural variety of people." The color-blindness description read "This view of diversity stresses that racial, ethnic, and cultural differences are superficial and emphasizes the similarity of all people." The five words employed in the IAT to denote multiculturalism/color blindness were listed immediately following each description. Participants were asked to familiarize themselves with the words in order to use the information in the subsequent computer task. This information was given about each ideology in order to elucidate the concept categories and thus facilitate the categorization process in the IAT task. Next, participants were directed to complete the IAT on a computer using Inquisit software. Last, participants completed paper-and-pencil measures of social desirability and demographics and were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Results

Main analyses. The data were analyzed following Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz (1998), resulting in an IAT effect for each participant. We calculated the IAT effect by subtracting the average latency for the multiculturalism–exclusion combinations (i.e., multiculturalism + exclusion and color blindness + inclusion) from the average latency for the multiculturalism–inclusion combinations (i.e., multiculturalism + inclusion and color blindness + exclusion; see also Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001; Dasgupta & Rivera, 2006). Thus, the higher the resulting latency, or IAT effect, the greater the degree of bias for pairing multiculturalism with exclusion. Two separate single-sample *t* tests were then conducted to compare the mean IAT effect scores by minority status to zero (e.g., Dasgupta & Rivera, 2006). Results indicated that the IAT effect for Whites ($M = 224.96$ ms, $SD = 293.92$) differed significantly from zero, $t(19) = 3.87$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.77$ (i.e., Whites were faster at pairing multiculturalism with exclusion than with inclusion). In contrast, minorities' IAT effect scores ($M = 117.04$ ms, $SD = 339.84$) were statistically no different from zero, $t(18) = 1.37$, $p = .19$.⁵ Thus, as hypothesized, Whites but not minorities associated multiculturalism with exclusion (see Figure 1).

Social desirability. To check whether this implicit bias was separate from socially desirable tendencies, we also analyzed the relationship between IAT effect and social desirability scores. Results show that the IAT effect was not significantly correlated

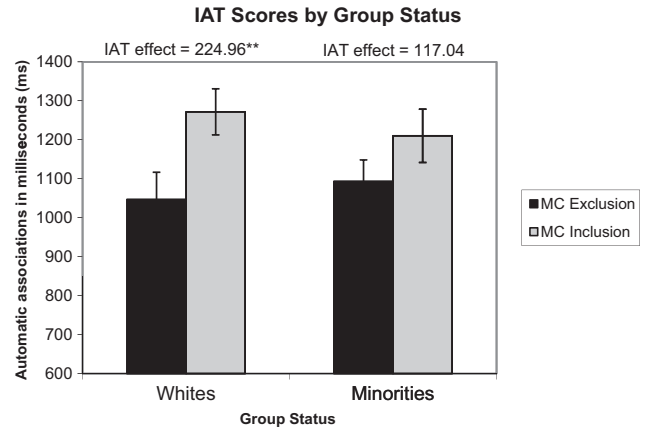


Figure 1. Implicit association test (IAT) results by group status for Study 1. MC exclusion equals mean latency for multiculturalism–exclusion combinations (multiculturalism + exclusion and color blindness + inclusion), and MC inclusion equals mean latency for multiculturalism–inclusion combinations (multiculturalism + inclusion and color blindness + exclusion). Higher bars represent weaker cognitive association. ** $p < .01$.

with social desirability for Whites, $r(20) = -.03$, $p = .90$, or minorities, $r(19) = -.04$, $p = .87$.⁶

Discussion

On an IAT task designed specifically to test the implicit association of the concepts of multiculturalism and color blindness with inclusion and exclusion, Whites showed a significant bias for pairing multiculturalism with exclusion (and color blindness with inclusion). For minorities, there was no significant difference. This could be because, in the absence of a discriminatory context, minorities may be open to the potential inclusivity of both ideologies (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). The lack of correlation between IAT scores and social desirability further underscores the

⁴ Sexual minority status was not measured. There is reason to believe that gay/lesbian White individuals will be more likely than Whites who are not sexual minorities to adopt a multicultural stance, but we think this would only make our analysis more conservative. In other words, the presence of White gay or lesbian individuals would decrease the possibility of finding an association of multiculturalism and exclusion.

⁵ A nonparametric test, the Wilcoxon signed ranks test, was also used to analyze each group's IAT effect scores. Results of these tests revealed the identical pattern as for the one-sample *t* tests. Additionally, we tested whether the mean IAT effect scores in each group were significantly different from each other. An independent-samples *t* test revealed that they were not, $t(37) = 1.34$, $p = .18$.

⁶ Although to our knowledge there has not been an examination of whether the IAT corrupts subsequent responses on self-report measures of social desirability, research suggests more generally that there are no systematic effects of the order in which implicit and explicit measures are presented (Greenwald & Farnham, 2000; Nosek, Greenwald, & Banaji, 2005) and, moreover, that performing the IAT first does not induce reactance in subsequent self-report measures (Nosek et al., 2005). Therefore, we do not think it particularly likely that the social desirability measure was affected by its placement after the implicit measure in Studies 1 and 3.

automaticity of these associations. Given this pattern of associations, we conducted the next study to examine how Whites might come to perceive multiculturalism as less exclusive.

Study 2

In Study 2, we experimentally tested whether Whites' association between multiculturalism and exclusion can be significantly attenuated through a subtle manipulation cuing multiculturalism as inclusive of all groups, including Whites. We refer to this association as *all-inclusive multiculturalism*. In contrast with standard conceptions of multiculturalism, this approach involves cultivating feelings of inclusion by specifically emphasizing that diversity includes everyone (Stevens, Plaut, & Sanchez-Burks, 2008). In this study, we examined whether the addition of "European Americans" to the list of groups often noted in a multiculturalism mission statement could assuage Whites' concerns about exclusion. This cuing of Whites' social identities within the conceptualization of diversity may be of particular import not only because of the pervasiveness of individuals' need for belonging (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) but also because of the tendency to monitor social environments for cues about belonging (Pickett et al., 2004). Indeed, recent research has revealed a strong effect of contextual cues that communicate the social fit or safety of a social identity in academic and work settings (Cheryan et al., 2009; Murphy et al., 2007; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Unzueta & Binning, 2009; Walton & Cohen, 2007). Although this research has not been traditionally targeted at understanding Whites, we proposed that if Whites also experience similar social identity threat from certain representations of diversity (e.g., multiculturalism), similar psychological processes of evaluating the acceptance of one's social identity in a given setting should apply. If Whites perceive themselves to be represented in the definition of diversity, their perceptions of exclusion should diminish.

We tested this hypothesis by combining the IAT task from Study 1 and different versions of a fabricated news story on multiculturalism that either explicitly included or did not include Whites. In particular, we predicted that after reading the news story that did not include Whites in the definition of multiculturalism (i.e., the control condition), Whites would more easily associate concepts of multiculturalism with exclusion (as in Study 1) but that this bias would be attenuated for those in the condition that explicitly included Whites in the conceptualization of multiculturalism.

Method

Participants. Thirty-five White undergraduates (16 female, 19 male) at a large public university in the southeastern United States participated in the study for partial course credit (mean age = 19.26 years, $SD = 1.31$). Participants were randomly assigned to either the all-inclusive multiculturalism condition ($n = 18$) or the control condition ($n = 17$).

Procedure. After providing informed consent, participants read one of two news articles. In the control condition, participants read a fictitious article describing the spread of multiculturalism in corporations and universities across the United States. This article portrayed multiculturalism as an asset that brings together different perspectives and customs and is essential to long-term social

harmony. In the all-inclusive multiculturalism condition, participants read an article identical except for an additional, final paragraph that explicitly described multiculturalism as inclusive of everyone, including European Americans. After reading the article, participants completed several filler items and the manipulation check (i.e., "When people use the term multiculturalism, to which groups are they referring?"). Next, participants became familiar with the lists of IAT words used in Study 1 denoting multiculturalism and color blindness and then completed the IAT task (described in Study 1). Following these tasks, participants provided demographic information (i.e., racial/ethnic background, age, and gender) and were fully debriefed.

Results

Manipulation check. Answers to the manipulation check were coded simply for the presence or absence of Whites (i.e., European Americans, Whites, Caucasians). A chi-square analysis confirmed a significant difference between the control and all-inclusive multiculturalism conditions in the percentage of participants who believed that Whites were included in the notion of multiculturalism, $\chi^2(1) = 5.04, p = .03$. Whereas 61% of participants in the all-inclusive multiculturalism condition reported the inclusion of Whites, only 24% of participants did so in the control condition.

Main analyses. We replicated the analyses of Study 1 by calculating latencies representing the degree of bias for pairing multiculturalism with exclusion (i.e., IAT effect). Two separate single-sample t tests were then conducted to compare the mean scores by condition to zero. Results showed that bias latencies, or the IAT effect, for those in the control condition ($M = 142.49$ ms, $SD = 291.82$) differed significantly from zero, $t(16) = 2.25, p = .04, d = 0.49$, indicating that these participants were faster at pairing multiculturalism with exclusion than with inclusion. As shown in Figure 2, this difference was attenuated in the all-

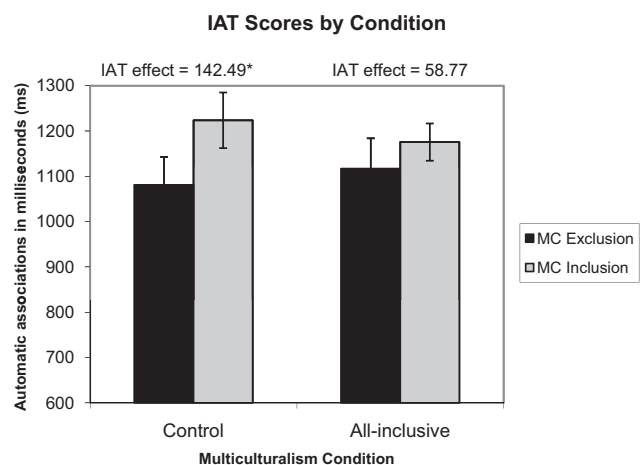


Figure 2. Implicit association test (IAT) results by condition for Study 2. MC exclusion equals mean latency for multiculturalism–exclusion combinations (multiculturalism + exclusion and color blindness + inclusion), and MC inclusion equals mean latency for multiculturalism–inclusion combinations (multiculturalism + inclusion and color blindness + exclusion). Higher bars represent weaker cognitive association. * $p < .05$.

inclusive multiculturalism condition, such that participants' bias latencies ($M = 58.77$ ms, $SD = 258.67$) did not differ significantly from zero, $t(17) = 1.31$, $p = .21$. In other words, Whites exposed to the all-inclusive multiculturalism prime, in contrast with those exposed to the standard multiculturalism control prime, did not implicitly associate multiculturalism with exclusion.

Discussion

Study 2 provides insight into how a subtle change in the framing of multiculturalism can make a significant difference in how it is perceived. An explicit reference made to Whites in the conceptualization of multiculturalism—represented here as all-inclusive multiculturalism—attenuated their tendency to associate multiculturalism with exclusion. This finding is highly suggestive of the role played by inclusion and related processes in shaping responses to diversity, a question to which we turn in Study 3.

Study 3

Study 2 demonstrated that the implicit pairing of multiculturalism with exclusion among Whites found in Study 1 can be mitigated through a small but powerful change in the explicit framing of multiculturalism. The next two studies sought to investigate more closely manifestations of inclusion and their role in reactions to diversity efforts. In particular, we were interested in more directly assessing the manifestations and implications of the “What about me?” sentiment. Accordingly, in Study 3, we examined the degree to which individuals associate their self-concept (“Me”) with multiculturalism and color blindness and how this self-association underlies the discrepant reactions of Whites and minorities to diversity efforts. With regard to the self-concept, we predicted that Whites would associate multiculturalism with the self (a) less than would minorities and (b) less than they would associate color blindness with the self. We also predicted that, in terms of response latency, Whites would be (a) slower than minorities to associate multiculturalism with the self and (b) slower to associate multiculturalism with the self than to associate color blindness with the self. With regard to reactions to diversity, we anticipated that Whites would show weaker endorsement of diversity efforts than would minorities (Ryan et al., 2007; Wolsko et al., 2006). Finally, we hypothesized that the association between multiculturalism and the self-concept is, in part, responsible for (i.e., mediates) the relationship between group status (i.e., minority vs. White) and diversity endorsement. We tested these hypotheses with a “Me/Not Me” task (Markus, 1977) in which participants were asked to evaluate the relationships of multiculturalism and color blindness to their self-concept. We reasoned that the extent to which participants related their self-concept to the multiculturalism/color-blindness words would reveal more controlled, deliberative processing regarding the self-concept. In contrast, the accessibility measure (i.e., response latencies) should capture the ease or difficulty with which participants associate their selves with these constructs, with longer latencies reflecting more hesitation or conflict.

Method

Participants. Fifty-three undergraduates (39 female, 14 male) at a large public university in the southeastern United States

participated in the study for partial course credit (mean age = 18.70 years, $SD = 0.77$). Of participants, 32 were White and 21 were minorities (33% Black, 38% Asian, and 29% other non-White ethnicity).

Measures.

Me/Not Me self-association measure. A Me/Not Me response task measure of self-association (Markus, 1977) was utilized in this study to evaluate the relationship of color blindness and multiculturalism with the self-concept. During this task, participants were asked to respond to the computer presentation of a series of color-blindness and multiculturalism concept words by pressing either a key labeled *Me* (i.e., if they believed the concept displayed related to them) or a key labeled *Not Me* (i.e., if they believed the concept displayed was unrelated to them).

In the Me/Not Me task, five practice trials and 36 experimental trials were presented to participants in random order on a computerized response-recording program. In each trial, a word appeared in the center of the screen until the participant responded by pressing either *Me* or *Not Me*. Immediately thereafter, a row of five capital Xs (XXXXX) would appear for 1 s, followed by the next word. Seven of the 36 experimental trial words were multiculturalism concept words: *diversity*, *variety*, *culture*, *multicultural*, *multiracial*, *difference*, and *multiculturalism*.⁷ The multiculturalism accessibility measure, representing the degree of implicit association between multiculturalism and the self, was operationalized as the mean reaction time with which participants responded either “Me” or “Not Me” to the seven multiculturalism concept words. The multiculturalism self-description measure (where a “Me” response was recorded as 1 and a “Not Me” response as 0), capturing the inclusion of multiculturalism in the self-concept, was operationalized as the frequency with which participants responded “Me” to these seven concept words (i.e., the sum of the “Me” responses), divided by seven (i.e., the total number of multiculturalism words).

Another six of the 36 experimental trial words were color-blindness concept words: *equality*, *unity*, *sameness*, *similarity*, *color blind*, and *color blindness*. The color-blindness accessibility measure, representing the degree of implicit association between color blindness and the self, was operationalized as the mean reaction time with which participants responded either “Me” or “Not Me” to the six color-blindness concept words. The color-blindness self-description measure, capturing the inclusion of color blindness in the self-concept, was operationalized as the frequency with which participants responded “Me” to these six concept words (i.e., the sum of the “Me” responses), divided by six (i.e., the total number of color-blindness words).

The seven multiculturalism concept words and six color-blindness concept words were interspersed among 23 neutral stimulus words (e.g., *practical*, *relaxed*, *logic*, *creativity*, and *friendship*). All stimulus words appeared in light blue 34-point Times

⁷ The multiculturalism and color-blindness concept words that were used in the Me/Not Me task were chosen based on the results from same pretest that was used to determine the IAT words in Study 1. In order to try to expand the word list, we added three words that had scored high on the pretest: *multiculturalism*, *multiracial*, and *color blindness*. In addition, we substituted *equality* for *assimilation*.

New Roman font in capital lettering with a space between each letter on a black background.

Diversity endorsement. Six items (see Appendix) measured strength of support for diversity efforts in a context with which all undergraduates are familiar: the university. The items were generated on the basis of previous interview findings and multiculturalism surveys (Berry, 1984; Plaut, 2002; Plaut & Markus, 2008). Participants responded to these items (e.g., “Universities should foster environments where differences are valued” “One of the goals of higher education should be to teach people from different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds how to live and work together”) on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*). Responses were averaged to form a composite ($\alpha = .88$). A principal-components analysis with varimax rotation revealed a single underlying factor, accounting for 64% of the variance (eigenvalue = 3.85).

Social desirability. As in Study 1, we used Crowne and Marlowe’s (1964) 8-item measure of social desirability.

Demographics. As in Studies 1 and 2, participants provided information about their racial/ethnic background, age, and gender.

Procedure. Participants entered the lab individually and, upon consenting to participate, completed the Me/Not Me self-association task on a computer via DirectRT software. In this task, participants were asked to respond as quickly as possible to each word presented on the screen by pressing either the key marked *Me* (i.e., if they felt that the word related to them) or the key marked *Not Me* (i.e., if the word was unrelated to them). Participants were instructed to keep their fingers ready on the keys throughout the task so that they could react with their greatest speed. After the Me/Not Me task, participants completed a series of paper-and-pencil measures including the diversity endorsement, social desirability, and demographic measures. Finally, participants were fully debriefed.

Results

To test our hypotheses, we compared multiculturalism self-descriptions (i.e., the proportion of multiculturalism words to which participants responded “Me”) for Whites and minorities, and we compared the multiculturalism self-descriptions of both groups to their color-blindness self-descriptions. We then made the same comparisons for the multiculturalism and color-blindness accessibility measures. Last, we tested whether associations of multiculturalism with the self mediated the relationship between group status and endorsement of diversity efforts.

Multiculturalism and color-blindness self-description. As predicted, the mean proportion of multiculturalism words associated with the self was lower among Whites ($M = 0.46$, $SD = 0.26$) than among minorities ($M = 0.84$, $SD = 0.24$), $t(51) = -5.27$, $p < .0001$, $d = 1.48$, indicating that Whites associated multiculturalism with the self less than did minorities (see Figure 3a).⁸ Counter to our expectations, Whites were equally likely to associate multiculturalism ($M = 0.46$, $SD = 0.26$) and color blindness ($M = 0.41$, $SD = 0.16$) with the self, $t(31) = 1.07$, $p = .29$. In contrast, however, minorities were considerably more likely to associate multiculturalism ($M = 0.84$, $SD = 0.24$) than color blindness ($M = 0.51$, $SD = 0.18$) with the self, $t(20) = 4.68$, $p = .0001$, $d = 1.02$.

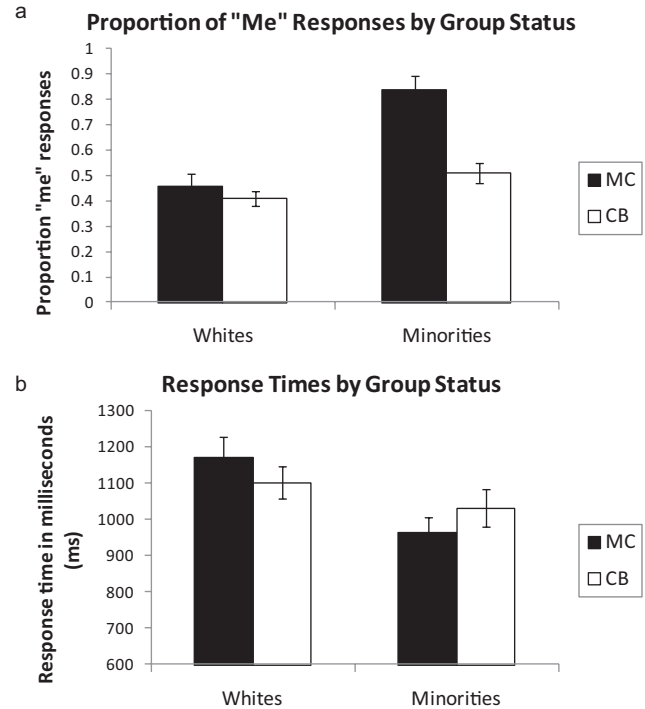


Figure 3. (a) Proportion of multiculturalism and color-blindness words related to self-concept for Whites and minorities in Study 3 and (b) mean reaction times for multiculturalism and color-blindness words in Study 3. Higher bars represent weaker cognitive association. MC = multiculturalism; CB = color blindness.

Multiculturalism and color-blindness accessibility. Consistent with our predictions, Whites ($M = 1,173.25$ ms, $SD = 307.92$) were slower to respond (i.e., press a button indicating “Me” or “Not Me”) to multiculturalism words than were minorities ($M = 965.50$ ms, $SD = 191.35$), $t(51) = 2.76$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.77$ (see Figure 3b).⁹ Additionally, as hypothesized, Whites were slower to respond to multiculturalism words ($M = 1,173.25$ ms, $SD = 307.92$) than to color-blindness words ($M = 1,102.75$ ms, $SD = 256.36$), $t(31) = 2.21$, $p = .03$, $d = 0.39$. Minorities, in contrast, responded marginally faster to multiculturalism words ($M = 965.50$ ms, $SD = 191.35$) than to color-blindness words ($M = 1,032.80$ ms, $SD = 231.50$), $t(20) = 1.76$, $p = .09$, $d = 0.38$.

Diversity endorsement and relationships among measures. As hypothesized, consistent with previous research, Whites ($M = 5.65$, $SD = 0.89$) endorsed diversity significantly less than did minorities ($M = 6.31$, $SD = 0.81$), $\beta = .36$, $t(51) = 2.73$, $p = .009$. Moreover and also as hypothesized, the more participants included multiculturalism in their self-description, the more strongly they endorsed diversity, $r(53) = .43$, $p = .001$. Diversity

⁸ No prediction was made about minority–White differences in color-blindness self-description, which was lower among Whites ($M = 0.41$, $SD = 0.16$) than minorities ($M = 0.51$, $SD = 0.18$), $t(51) = 2.18$, $p = .03$.

⁹ No prediction was made about minority–White difference in color-blindness accessibility, which was statistically equivalent among Whites ($M = 1,102.75$ ms, $SD = 256.36$) and minorities ($M = 1,032.80$ ms, $SD = 231.50$), $t(51) = 1.01$, $p = .32$.

endorsement was not related to color-blindness self-description, $r(53) = .10, p = .48$; multiculturalism response latencies, $r(53) = -.01, p = .93$; color-blindness response latencies, $r(53) = .12, p = .38$; or social desirability, $r(53) = .001, p = .99$.

Mediation. To test the hypothesis that associating multiculturalism with the self would mediate the relationship between group status and diversity endorsement, we followed the four steps for mediation analysis specified by Baron and Kenny (1986). In Step 1, group status was a significant predictor of diversity endorsement, $\beta = .36, t(51) = 2.73, p = .009$. In Step 2, group status predicted multiculturalism self-description (i.e., associations of “Me” with multiculturalism), $\beta = .59, t(51) = 5.27, p < .0001$. In Step 3, the relationship between multiculturalism self-description and diversity endorsement remained significant when controlling for group status (i.e., in the full model), $\beta = .33, t(51) = 2.13, p = .04$. In Step 4, group status was no longer significant after controlling for multiculturalism self-description, $\beta = .16, t(51) = 1.01, p = .32$. This drop in significance was statistically significant (Sobel’s $Z = 2.85, p = .004$). In other words, the analyses supported our mediational hypothesis that inclusion of multiculturalism in the self-concept helps account for the group status difference in diversity endorsement (see Figure 4).¹⁰ Controlling for social desirability did not significantly change the results of these analyses.

Discussion

With the goal of examining both explicit and implicit processes, Study 3 employed two types of measures: self-description and accessibility. On the more explicit measure, we found that Whites associated multiculturalism and color-blindness words equally and relatively infrequently with their self-concept (under 50% in both cases). That Whites associated multiculturalism equally as often as color blindness with their self-concept might suggest that some aspects of multiculturalism (e.g., culture, variety) seem particularly desirable to these participants and that the rhetoric involving both models is relatively pervasive. In other words, Whites may be equally “schematic” for both ideologies (Markus, 1977; Markus,

Hamill, & Sentis, 1987). Of note, however, we also found through the more implicit accessibility measure that Whites gave more pause to multiculturalism words. This greater deliberation suggests that Whites may experience more conflict when responding to multiculturalism words, as evidenced by greater response latencies (e.g., “multiculturalism does relate to me but I hate to admit it” “multiculturalism does not relate to me but something is keeping me from saying so”). These results are consistent with the theoretical distinction between implicit and explicit attitudes (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995), particularly as it relates to the self-concept (e.g., Greenwald & Farnham, 2000; Markus & Kunda, 1986; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002), with the former reflecting evaluations activated automatically and the latter reflecting evaluations produced by controlled processes (Bargh, 1997; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Nosek, 2005; Wilson, Lindsey, & Schooler, 2000).

Minorities were more likely to associate multiculturalism than color blindness with the self and more likely than Whites to associate multicultural words with the self, indicating a fairly robust identification of multiculturalism with the self-concept. Minorities also associated color blindness with the self more than did Whites (a finding about which we had not made a prediction). It should be noted that even though the number was greater than that for Whites, it still hovered around 50%. According to research on minority reactions to color blindness, we should not necessarily expect minorities to disidentify with color blindness in the absence of threatening cues (Purdie-Vaughns & Dittmann, 2010; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). On our implicit measure, minorities were faster than Whites at responding to the multicultural words and were marginally faster at responding to the multicultural words than to the color-blindness words, indicating less hesitation or conflict about the association of multiculturalism with the self.¹¹

In line with our hypothesis, a significant gap between Whites and minorities in associating multiculturalism with the self emerged, as did a discrepancy in explicit attitudes toward diversity. Furthermore, the mediational findings from Study 3 suggest that the association of multiculturalism with the self-concept (i.e.,

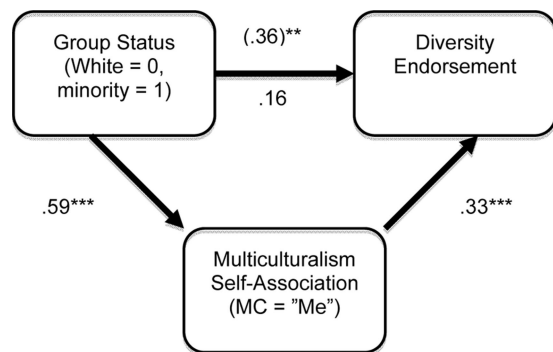


Figure 4. Multiculturalism (MC) self-description as a mediator of the relationship between minority status and diversity endorsement in Study 3. Values are standardized regression coefficients. The value outside parentheses represents the coefficient controlling for multiculturalism self-description (i.e., proportion of “Me” responses to multiculturalism words), and the value inside parentheses represents the relationship without controlling for multiculturalism self-description. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

¹⁰ We did not make a prediction regarding multiculturalism accessibility. Because there was no relationship between multiculturalism accessibility and diversity endorsement, $r(53) = -.01, p = .93$, we did not test mediation.

¹¹ It is possible that the multicultural words could have primed race, which could account for Whites’ and minorities’ responses. We addressed this possibility in two ways. First we reanalyzed our original pretest results regarding the word *race*. Results show that neither multicultural nor color-blind words were associated with the word *race* on the pretest (multicultural, 1 out of 49 respondents; color-blind, 1 out of 49 respondents). Additionally, taking the term *multiracial*—the most ostensibly race-related term—out of the analysis yielded no change in results in Study 3. In fact, doing so slightly magnified the difference between Whites and minorities in reaction time. (Whites were slower, not faster, after we took out *multiracial*.) Taken together, these findings seem to point away from a race-priming explanation. Nonetheless, race is part of the broader multiculturalism–exclusion story. We propose that Whites’ reactions to multiculturalism are founded in part on feelings of how inclusive the ideology of one’s group is, not just whether one agrees with the ideology. Indeed, in Study 2 when we explicitly included Whites’ race/ethnicity in the definition of multiculturalism, the exclusion effect diminished.

believing that multiculturalism is “me”) underlies, in part, the gap between minorities and Whites in attitudes toward diversity. In other words, interest in diversity, or in supporting diversity efforts, does not rely simply on one’s membership in a “minority” or “White” group but rather may rise and fall with the incorporation of multiculturalism in the self-concept. Although additional mediators for this effect surely exist, the mediational results found here suggest that obtaining dominant group member support for diversity efforts may hinge on making individuals feel included. This issue is directly addressed in the next study.

Study 4

Study 3 provided evidence for the hypothesis that Whites’ perception of multiculturalism as excluding the self helps to account for the persistent gap between minority and White groups in their endorsement of diversity efforts. In other words, when it comes to Whites’ reactions to diversity initiatives in universities and workplaces, understanding individuals’ feelings of inclusion may be of considerable importance. Study 4 tested this possibility in a workplace sample and extends the previous studies in several ways. In particular, we explored the importance of associating multiculturalism with the self by explicitly testing whether individuals feel included in an organization’s definition of diversity. Additionally, whereas Studies 1–3 were conducted with college students and used social–cognitive techniques in the laboratory, Study 4 employed a sample of adults within the workplace and a web-based survey methodology. As in Study 3, we expected to find a relationship between group status and diversity endorsement—more specifically, that Whites would endorse diversity less than minorities—and also a tendency for Whites to feel less included in organizational diversity. Moreover, as in Study 3, we hypothesized the mediation of the group status–diversity endorsement relationship by our inclusion variable (i.e., feelings of inclusion).

Method

Participants and procedure. Data were collected as part of a diversity climate survey for a large health care organization in the United States. The survey was advertised by members of the human resources department to all 10,279 employees. A total of 4,915 participants completed the survey individually at a computer terminal, yielding a 48% response rate. The sample was 80% female and 79% White (modal age 42–60 years), almost perfectly mirroring organizational demographics. Because we were interested in the reactions to diversity by groups not traditionally included in organizational definitions of diversity and diversity initiatives, we selected White men for our analyses ($n = 588$) and included minority men as a comparison group ($n = 167$). This organization had a large representation of female employees, but they were underrepresented at the management level and therefore were not considered the “dominant” group. Additionally, examination of the organization’s diversity communications revealed that organizational definitions of diversity explicitly and routinely included women. Moreover, the diversity statement listed many types of backgrounds that make people “diverse and multicultural,” but, most relevant to the present research and consistent with the standard approach to multiculturalism, it did not stress that diversity or multiculturalism includes all groups (including Whites). Therefore, in this context there was less reason to suspect

that White women would feel excluded from the definition of diversity, but there was reason to suspect that White men would.

Measures. The diversity climate assessment included various measures related to diversity climate, with all scales ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*). We were interested in the following measures: inclusion, diversity endorsement, and demographics.

Inclusion. Two items from the diversity climate survey measured respondents’ feelings of inclusion in organizational diversity: “I feel included in [this organization’s] definition of diversity” and “My group is included in [this organization’s] definition of diversity” ($\alpha = .81$).

Diversity endorsement. Endorsement of diversity ($\alpha = .83$) was assessed with four items (e.g., “Organizational practices should support racial and ethnic diversity” “Employees should recognize and celebrate racial and ethnic differences”). The items were adapted from Berry and Kalin’s (1995) and Wolsko et al.’s (2006) multiculturalism measures and were designed for an organizational audience with a wide range of literacy levels (see also Plaut et al., 2009). A principal-components analysis with varimax rotation revealed one underlying factor, accounting for 66% of the variance (eigenvalue = 2.63).

Demographics. Participants provided demographic information including race/ethnicity, age, and gender.

Results

Consistent with our hypothesis, group status predicted diversity endorsement, $\beta = .16$, $t(752) = 4.33$, $p < .0001$, and feelings of inclusion, $\beta = .15$, $t(738) = 4.08$, $p < .0001$.¹² Whites ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 0.75$) were less likely to endorse diversity than were minorities ($M = 4.12$, $SD = 0.74$), and they felt less included in their organization’s definition of diversity than did minorities (Whites: $M = 3.54$, $SD = 1.11$; minorities: $M = 3.92$, $SD = 0.90$). We also predicted that perceptions of inclusion account, in part, for the difference between minorities and Whites in the endorsement of diversity. As in Study 3, to test the hypothesis that feeling included in diversity would mediate the relationship between group status and diversity endorsement, we followed the four steps specified by Baron and Kenny (1986). In Steps 1 and 2, group status significantly predicted diversity endorsement and feelings of inclusion, as presented above. In Step 3, perceptions of inclusion was still a significant predictor of diversity endorsement after controlling for group status (i.e., in the full model), $\beta = .48$, $t(737) = 14.69$, $p < .0001$. In Step 4, the effect of group status on diversity endorsement was reduced after controlling for feelings of inclusion, $\beta = .09$, $t(737) = 2.77$, $p < .01$. This drop in significance was statistically significant (Sobel’s $Z = 3.93$, $p < .0001$).¹³ These findings

¹² Of the 755 male participants selected for analysis, 738 answered all items of interest, accounting for the slightly lower degrees of freedom.

¹³ Analyses conducted with the whole sample yielded the same significant pattern of results, although weaker. In Steps 1 and 2, group status significantly predicted diversity endorsement and feelings of inclusion ($\beta = .11$, $p < .0001$; $\beta = .05$, $p = .004$). In Step 3, perceptions of inclusion was still a significant predictor of diversity endorsement after controlling for group status ($\beta = .41$, $p < .0001$). In Step 4, the effect of group status on diversity endorsement was reduced after controlling for feelings of inclusion ($\beta = .09$, $p < .0001$). This drop in significance was statistically significant (Sobel’s $Z = 2.91$, $p < .01$).

provide additional support for our hypothesis that feelings of inclusion help to account for the group status difference in diversity endorsement (see Figure 5).

Discussion

The results from Study 4 reaffirm that group status and inclusion matter when it comes to diversity endorsement. White males—that is, those typically excluded from explicit diversity messages and initiatives in organizations—were less likely than their minority counterparts to endorse organizational diversity. Moreover, perceptions of inclusion helped to account for this group status difference. In other words, after controlling for how included employees felt in their organization's diversity efforts, the gap between minorities and Whites in endorsement of multiculturalism initiatives was significantly attenuated.

Study 4 also illustrated that context matters for diversity and inclusion. Here it was important to consider the status of the group within the organization (Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2002). In this organization, White men were technically a smaller group than White women but were also overrepresented in management. Furthermore, the organization's diversity communications did not explicitly include Whites but it did include women. Therefore, in terms of their status in the organization, White men were the dominant group and also a group excluded from diversity representations (Unzueta & Binning, 2010) and likely to perceive such exclusion. In our final study, we investigated whether attraction to a workplace that embraces multiculturalism is determined not by individuals' current perceptions of inclusion but by their chronic feelings of needing to belong to a group.

Study 5

Our first four studies demonstrate that Whites implicitly perceive multiculturalism as exclusionary and tend not to associate themselves with multiculturalism concepts readily. However, these studies also show that explicitly including one's group in the definition of multiculturalism, even in the form of a subtle cue, decreases the association between multiculturalism and exclusion

(Study 2) and that associating multiculturalism with the self, or feeling included in organizational definitions of diversity, strongly relates to the endorsement of diversity (Studies 3 and 4). In Study 5, we turn to an analysis of Whites' attraction to diversity as a function of individual differences in the NTB (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). To the extent that models of diversity communicate to Whites different signals about inclusion, the NTB should predict attraction to these models. In the current study, we used organizations as a backdrop to our investigation of how cues regarding diversity, as signaled by diversity messages communicated in organizational brochures, influence subsequent ratings of a company's attractiveness by potential White employees. In other words, individual motivations for belongingness were investigated as a potential moderator of the relationship between diversity messages and organizational attractiveness among Whites.

As previously discussed, prior research has identified a basic human need to belong such that without inclusion into social groups, individuals experience a host of negative social, emotional, and behavioral consequences (for a review, see Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Consistent with the principles of belongingness, individuals should gravitate toward the diversity approach that is most inclusive of their group. In other words, individuals exhibiting higher levels of this fundamental need to belong should be more attracted to organizations perceived as being inclusive of their group, as opposed to those in which there might be a possibility of social exclusion. An organization employing a color-blind approach—with a focus on individual accomplishments and qualifications (Plaut, 2002; Thomas et al., 2004)—is hypothesized to be more attractive to Whites with a higher NTB because there is less threat to their need for inclusion than in organizations espousing multiculturalism or recognition of differences.

Method

Participants. Thirty-one students at a large public university located in the Midwest participated in the study for extra credit. All participants were undergraduate business school students who were White males born in the United States ($M = 20.61$ years, $SD = 0.61$).

Measures.

NTB. NTB was measured with the 10-item Need to Belong Scale (Leary, Kelly, Cottrell, & Schreindorfer, 2007). Respondents indicated the degree to which they agreed with each statement (e.g., "It bothers me a great deal when I am not included in other people's plans" "I try hard not to do things that will make other people avoid or reject me") on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*). Items expressing a low NTB were reverse scored so that higher scores reflected a greater NTB ($\alpha = .76$, $M = 4.38$, $SD = 0.82$).

Organizational attractiveness. The dependent variable, organizational attractiveness, was measured with five items (e.g., "I would like to work at a company that has similar hiring practices as those of CCG" "I could 'be myself' at a company like CCG"). In developing the items, we consulted undergraduate business students who were preparing to enter the job market and had been exposed to various organizational recruitment materials. For the organizational attractiveness items ($\alpha = .64$), respondents indicated the degree to which they agreed with each item using a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*). In

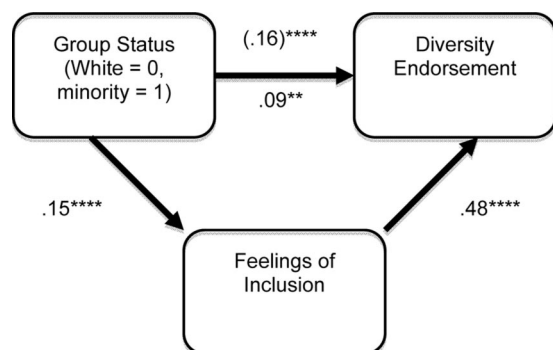


Figure 5. Diversity inclusion as a mediator of the relationship between minority status and diversity endorsement in Study 4. Values are standardized regression coefficients. The value outside parentheses represents the coefficient controlling for perceptions of inclusion, and the value inside parentheses represents the relationship without controlling for perceptions of inclusion. ** $p < .01$. **** $p < .0001$.

assessing the underlying structure of the measure, we conducted a principal-components analysis with varimax rotation. A single factor emerged, accounting for 42.52% of the variance (eigenvalue = 2.13).

Procedure. Participants completed the NTB measure in an earlier, ostensibly unrelated study. To capture the influence of diversity messages on Whites' perceptions, we used organizational brochures, a context familiar to many potential employees (e.g., Perkins, Thomas, & Taylor, 2000; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). With the intent to garner attention, organizations often use brochures and advertisements to bolster their applicant pool (Avery & McKay, 2006). Whether or not they are aware, Whites are constantly exposed to messages of diversity that, subsequently, impact their perceptions about an organization as well as their decisions to seek future employment with that company. For this study, we used undergraduate business students who were preparing to enter the job market and, in doing so, were likely to be subjected to similar diversity messages in their job searches. Participants were randomly assigned to either the color-blind or the multicultural condition and were presented with a brochure from a fictitious organization, "CCG Consulting," varying only in its statement concerning diversity from the organization's CEO. In the color-blind condition, the message read

Many companies miss the point when they think about putting together the best team of people. Here we know that it's important to look beyond characteristics such as a person's gender or ethnic background to see their individual talents. These talents make us the best we can be.

The language in the multicultural condition came directly from the diversity statement of an actual U.S. company that recruits nationally from business programs. The message in the multicultural condition read

Many companies miss the point when they think about putting together the best team of people. Here we know that outstanding, talented people come from all walks of life and can contribute a rich set of viewpoints and experiences to our firm. These experiences make us the best we can be.

After they read the organizational brochure, participants completed a scale assessing the attractiveness of the organization represented in the brochure and provided demographic information (i.e., racial/ethnic background, age, and gender).

Results

Regression analyses were conducted to examine whether the diversity messages portrayed in organizational literature and an individual's NTB influence subsequent ratings of organizational attractiveness. Dummy codes were used for the diversity condition (0 = color blindness, 1 = multiculturalism), and the NTB scores were centered (e.g., Cohen, Cohen, Aiken, & West, 2003), with the interaction term based on these centered scores.

Preliminary analysis indicated that diversity condition marginally predicted organizational attractiveness, $\beta = -.27$, $t(27) = 1.70$, $p = .10$, and NTB predicted organizational attractiveness, $\beta = 1.67$, $t(27) = 3.24$, $p < .01$. Of particular interest was the interaction term, which is a direct test of our hypothesis that NTB moderates the relationship between diversity condition and orga-

nizational attractiveness. As hypothesized, the interaction of diversity condition and NTB was statistically significant, $\beta = -1.56$, $t(27) = 3.03$, $p < .01$, and adding this interaction term to the regression yielded a significant increment in R^2 of .23, $F(3, 27) = 4.60$, $p = .01$. Following Aiken and West (1991), we plotted this interaction using predicted means at one standard deviation above and below the mean of the Need to Belong Scale (i.e., representing high and low NTB, respectively). As shown in Figure 6, participants high in NTB rated the organization conveying a multicultural message as less attractive than the organization portraying a color-blind message, whereas those low in NTB rated both organizations as equally attractive.

Discussion

Study 5 provides support for the notion that Whites' aversion to multicultural ideals varies as a function of an individual's NTB. That is, individuals with a high NTB rated the organization with the multicultural diversity message as less attractive than the one espousing a color-blind message. A potential explanation for this finding lies in the previous studies showing a relationship between multiculturalism and exclusion, as perceived by Whites. In particular, for White individuals with a higher NTB, an organization espousing a color-blind message may represent a lesser threat to their sense of inclusion than an organization espousing a multicultural message. More generally, the moderating role of the NTB found in this study also provides further evidence for our theory about the role of inclusion processes in shaping support for diversity. In combination with the prior studies, the results of this study underscore the need to identify the conditions (contextual and identity-related) under which individuals experience aversion to diversity messages.

General Discussion

Minorities—now roughly one third of the U.S. population and projected to become the majority between 2040 and 2050 (Ortman & Guarneri, 2009; U.S. Census Bureau, 2008)—have typically been the focus of diversity efforts. Although recent research in social and organizational psychology has shed some light on minorities' inclusion-related perceptions and reactions to diversity efforts (Ely & Thomas, 2001; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008), we propose that the success of these efforts also hinges on their reception by the dominant group. Owing to the prevalence of multicultural models of diversity in educational and workplace settings, we investigated the role of inclusion-related processes in shaping Whites' responses to diversity. Our results suggest that

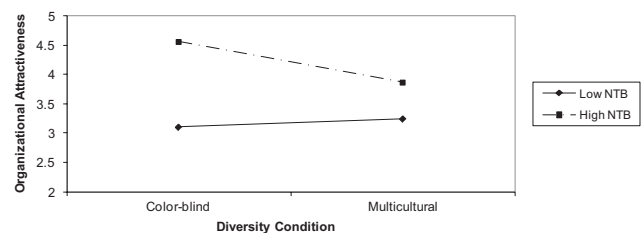


Figure 6. Ratings of organizational attractiveness as a function of diversity condition and need to belong (NTB) in Study 5.

whether the “What about me?” question surfaces for Whites in reaction to multiculturalism is consequential for diversity efforts.

Study 1 showed a bias among Whites toward implicitly associating multiculturalism with exclusion as opposed to inclusion. In Study 2 when Whites were included explicitly in the conceptualization of multiculturalism—referred to here as all-inclusive multiculturalism—they did not show this bias. These findings were built upon in Study 3, using both explicit and implicit measures. Results show that Whites associated multiculturalism with their self-concept less than did minorities. Whites were slower than minorities to associate multiculturalism with the self and were slower to associate multiculturalism than color blindness with the self. Moreover, whether individuals viewed multiculturalism as related to their self-concept was, in part, responsible for the gap between minorities and Whites in diversity endorsement. Study 4 replicated among working adults our initial finding of a gap in diversity endorsement among minorities and Whites, as well as elaborated on the role played by inclusion to account for this gap. These feelings of inclusion partially mediated the relationship between group status and diversity endorsement, further implicating the importance of inclusion-related processes in reactions to diversity. Finally, Study 5 demonstrated that individual differences in NTB influenced the perceived attractiveness of organizations espousing either a multicultural or a color-blind diversity message.

In sum, across five studies, using different measures, samples, and methodologies, we provide evidence that Whites associate multiculturalism but not color blindness with exclusion and that such associations—as well as individual differences in NTB—help explain their support for multiculturalism. These findings were robust to the subtly different operationalizations of multiculturalism employed across studies. The heterogeneity of our construct is reflective of the myriad of ways in which multiculturalism has been defined theoretically and empirically in social psychology (Plaut et al., 2009; Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko et al., 2000, 2006) as well as other disciplines, such as political theory (e.g., Song, 2009). Despite the subtle differences in conceptualizations of multiculturalism used in this research, however, there is a core principle running throughout: that is, that strength can be drawn from the recognition and appreciation of group differences (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Wolsko et al., 2000). This core theme, intended for the pursuit of inclusion, appears to evoke inferences of exclusion for Whites.

Limitations and Future Directions

The implicit measure used in Studies 1 and 2 provided us with a tool to establish the automatic association between multiculturalism and exclusion among Whites, but the present data do not permit us to make conclusions regarding the effects of these implicit associations on intergroup outcomes. Although the explicit measures used in the other studies suggest an important role of perceptions of exclusion in the shaping of support for diversity, the predictive power of the implicit association between multiculturalism and exclusion requires further investigation. Furthermore, although we present strong evidence for a link between multiculturalism and exclusion and for the role played at least by relatively more explicit processes of inclusion, we cannot rule out the influence of intergroup biases, such as prejudice and racism. Future studies could provide a comparative test with which to examine the

role of feelings of inclusion vis-à-vis intergroup prejudice (cf. Sanchez-Burks et al., 2000), as well as their possible interaction, in determining aversion to diversity. Such a comparison was not the purpose of the present research, but establishing feelings of exclusion as a significant factor in reactions to diversity opens the door for such an assessment.

Another promising avenue for future work is the reactions of Whites and minorities to specific aspects of each diversity model. Perhaps concepts associated with color blindness, such as “equality” and “unity,” used here and in prior research (e.g., Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2000) may not be as incongruent with multicultural values as is typically presented, particularly for minorities. As Purdie-Vaughns and Dittmann (2010) have suggested, color-blind rhetoric may be wielded by minorities as a response to inequality and a means to pursue fair treatment, which possibly contributes to a perceived overlap between color blindness and multiculturalism by minorities. For Whites, however, the themes of equality and unity may be seen as more distinct from multiculturalism. Examination of our pretest data in Study 1 suggests that Whites see these themes as similar to our group of color-blindness words but as different from the multicultural words.

Another limitation is the reliance on college undergraduates in the majority of our studies. Our workplace study, however, strongly suggests that the phenomena captured by our laboratory snapshot may be generalized beyond college campuses.

Implications

This research addresses a critical component in the success or failure of diversity initiatives: reactions of Whites to diversity. Whites make up about two thirds of American workers in private industry and are overrepresented in executive and senior management (87%), midlevel management (81%), and professional (76%) positions (EEOC, 2007). This indicates that, as a group, they hold much of the power in American workplaces. The same can be said of institutions of higher education, where Whites make up 85% of professor-rank faculty (National Center for Education Statistics, 2007). Without the support of Whites, organizations and educational settings will fail in their attempts to navigate and manage the complexities of diverse workforces and constituencies. In the face of the dramatic projected growth in demographic diversity mentioned previously, such failure could have severe economic, social, and political consequences. The real dilemma in building diversity and inclusion, then, is to better understand reactions to diversity in hopes of creating diversity messages, practices, and policies that appeal to minority and White groups without alienating either.

Although in focusing on the inclusiveness of diversity ideologies the present research departs from the traditional focus on individual racial attitudes, intergroup contact, and relative social status and dominance to investigate intergroup relations, our approach complements these explanations. For example, recent work on assessments of racial progress by Whites and Blacks draws specific attention to the different ways that each group views such progress, specifically as it relates to perceived changes in social dominance (Eibach & Keegan, 2006). Consistent with both prospect and social dominance theories, Eibach and Keegan found that Whites—many of whom are assumed to be motivated to preserve their group’s privileges—tend to view the strides made by minor-

ities toward racial equality as losses for Whites, whereas Blacks view the same progress as gains. Even though Eibach and Keegan focused on the relative gains and losses of power and privilege, one could argue that there are possible gains and losses with respect to inclusion-related processes as well. Different diversity models, such as multiculturalism, may indeed provide cues about how socially included Whites and minorities are in conceptions of diversity, as we suggest here, but they may also induce such groups to evoke different frames (e.g., zero sum frame; see Eibach & Keegan, 2006) when approaching intergroup interactions.

Particularly relevant to the current study is research that highlights inclusion as an important mechanism underlying the extent to which individuals identify with the national category *American*. Devos and Banaji (2005) found a robust association between "American" and White Americans, with strong evidence that in the view of different American ethnic groups (African, Asian, and White), Whites are included in the American identity whereas the other groups are not. Although we do not focus on what constitutes being American, our premise is similar. The extent to which multiculturalism is perceived as inclusive varies among Whites and minorities, just as the American identity is seen as including some American ethnic groups but not others. Both perceptions have implications for subsequent intergroup interactions.

In terms of practical applications, if diversity resistance stems, in part, from perceived cues embedded in social contexts rather than individual tendencies toward prejudice and racism alone, techniques targeting inclusion processes may fruitfully be used to change Whites' perceptions of diversity. Understanding Whites reactions to diversity—through the lens of identity-related processes such as inclusion—could help practitioners in a variety of fields (e.g., education, medicine, business, mental health, law) better identify potential resistance to diversity efforts and develop ways to reduce such resistance (see also Morrison & Chung, 2011). Additionally, CEOs such as Bryan and Mulcahy could draw upon our findings to help frame diversity in ways that minimize resistance to diversity programs and thereby help build cultures of inclusion successfully. As suggested by our findings, the wording of diversity-related messages, such as corporate brochures and mission statements, provides opportunities for organizations to promote an ideological stance that is more inclusive of Whites and minorities alike. Changes to organizational structures can also be implemented to cultivate a sense of inclusion. For instance, including both Whites and minorities in mentoring and social networking efforts through cross-race pairings rather than targeting such initiatives to certain demographic groups reflects an approach to diversity that draws on the potential strengths of all individuals. More widely targeted inclusion efforts could help individuals who hold Schlesinger's point of view meet multiculturalism with less resistance and allay fears of these efforts destroying America's unity. Furthermore, this research could lead to the development of assessment tools that schools and workplaces can use to gauge implicit diversity resistance.

Conclusion

Concerted efforts by organizations to bolster and embrace diversity through the use of various diversity programs and struc-

tures (e.g., Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006) may create the unintended consequence of simultaneously repelling their White, or dominant group, constituency. Without adequate buy-in from these organizational members, attempts at launching diversity initiatives (in which significant resources have often been invested) will likely be met with resistance, especially if a sense of inclusion is not fostered. Our research suggests that careful attention should be paid to the inclusion-related processes that help shape support for these efforts. In other words, taking the "What about me?" question seriously may be crucial in stemming the tide of backlash responses to diversity efforts.

References

- Abrams, D., Hogg, M. A., & Marques, J. M. (2005). *The social psychology of inclusion and exclusion*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Appelbaum, E. P., Pauker, K., Sommers, S. R., & Ambady, N. (2010). In blind pursuit of racial equality? *Psychological Science*, 21, 1587–1592. doi:10.1177/0956797610384741
- Appelbaum, E. P., Sommers, S. R., & Norton, M. I. (2008). Seeing race and seeming racist? Evaluating strategic colorblindness in social interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95, 918–932. doi: 10.1037/a0011990
- Auster, L. (2004a). How multiculturalism took over America. *FrontPage-Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID-12269#>
- Auster, L. (2004b). How the multicultural ideology captured America. *Social Contract*, 14, 197–208.
- Avery, D. R., & McKay, P. F. (2006). Target practice: An organizational impression management approach to attracting minority and female job applicants. *Personnel Psychology*, 59, 157–187. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6570.2006.00807.x
- Banks, J. A. (2002). *An introduction to multicultural education*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Bargh, J. A. (1997). The automaticity of everyday life. In R. S. Wyer, Jr. (Ed.), *The automaticity of everyday life: Advances in social cognition* (Vol. 10, pp. 1–61). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator–mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 1173–1182. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.51.6.1173
- Baumeister, R. F., DeWall, C. N., Ciarocco, N. J., & Twenge, J. M. (2005). Social exclusion impairs self-regulation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88, 589–604. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.88.4.589
- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117, 497–529. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.117.3.497
- Baumeister, R. F., & Tice, D. M. (1990). Anxiety and social exclusion. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 9, 165–195.
- Baumeister, R. F., Twenge, J. M., & Nuss, C. K. (2002). Effects of social exclusion on cognitive processes: Anticipated aloneness reduces intelligent thought. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 817–827. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.83.4.817
- Bennett, C. I. (1995). *Comprehensive multicultural education: Theory and practice* (3rd ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Berry, J. W. (1984). Cultural relations in plural societies: Alternatives to segregation and their socio-psychological implications. In M. B. Brewer & N. Miller (Eds.), *Groups in contact* (pp. 11–27). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Berry, J. W., & Kalin, R. (1995). Multicultural and ethnic attitudes in Canada: An overview of the 1991 National Survey. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 27, 301–320. doi:10.1037/0008-400X.27.3.301

- Brewer, M. B., & Pickett, C. L. (1999). Distinctiveness motives as a source of the social self. In T. Tyler, R. Kramer, & O. John (Eds.), *The psychology of the self* (pp. 71–87). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Buckley, K. E., Winkel, R. E., & Leary, M. R. (2004). Reactions to acceptance and rejection: Effects of level and sequence of relational evaluation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 40*, 14–28. doi:10.1016/S0022-1031(03)00064-7
- Burkard, A. W., & Knox, S. (2004). Effect of therapist color-blindness on empathy and attributions in cross-cultural counseling. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51*, 387–397. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.51.4.387
- Cheryan, S., Plaut, V. C., Davies, P., & Steele, C. M. (2009). Ambient belonging: How stereotypical environments impact gender participation in computer science. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 97*, 1045–1060. doi:10.1037/a0016239
- Chrobot-Mason, D., Hays-Thomas, R., & Wishik, H. (2008). Understanding and defusing resistance to diversity training and learning. In K. M. Thomas (Ed.), *Diversity resistance in organizations* (pp. 23–54). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Cohen, J., Cohen, P., Aiken, S. G., & West, S. G. (2003). *Applied multiple regression/correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences* (3rd ed.). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Cose, E. (1997). *Color-blind: Seeing beyond race in a race-obsessed world*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.
- Crowne, D. P., & Marlowe, D. (1964). *The approval motive*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Dasgupta, N., & Greenwald, A. G. (2001). On the malleability of automatic attitudes: Combating automatic prejudice with images of admired and disliked individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*, 800–814. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.81.5.800
- Dasgupta, N., & Rivera, L. M. (2006). From automatic antigay prejudice to behavior: The moderating role of conscious beliefs about gender and behavioral control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 91*, 268–280. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.91.2.268
- Devos, T., & Banaji, M. R. (2005). American = White? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*, 447–466. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.88.3.447
- Eibach, R. P., & Keegan, T. (2006). Free at last? Social dominance, loss aversion, and White and Black Americans' differing assessments of racial progress. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*, 453–467. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.90.3.453
- Eisenberger, N. I., Lieberman, M. D., & Williams, K. D. (2003, October 10). Does rejection hurt? An fMRI study of social exclusion. *Science, 302*, 290–292. doi:10.1126/science.1089134
- Ely, R. J., & Thomas, D. A. (2001). Cultural diversity at work: The effects of diversity perspectives on work group processes and outcomes. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 46*, 229–273. doi:10.2307/2667087
- Ginges, J., & Cairns, D. (2000). Social representations of multiculturalism: A faceted analysis. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 30*, 1345–1370. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2000.tb02524.x
- Greenwald, A. G., & Banaji, M. R. (1995). Implicit social cognition: Attitudes, self-esteem, and stereotypes. *Psychological Review, 102*, 4–27. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.102.1.4
- Greenwald, A. G., & Farnham, S. D. (2000). Using the Implicit Association Test to measure self-esteem and self-concept. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79*, 1022–1038. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.79.6.1022
- Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The Implicit Association Test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 1464–1480. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.74.6.1464
- Gurin, P., Dey, E. L., Hurtado, S., & Gurin, G. (2002). Diversity and higher education: Theory and impact on educational outcomes. *Harvard Educational Review, 72*, 330–366.
- Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2006). Toward a psychological science for a cultural species. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 1*, 251–269. doi:10.1111/j.1745-6916.2006.00015.x
- Hewitt, R. (2005). *White backlash and the politics of multiculturalism*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Hirschfeld, L. A. (1996). *Race in the making*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Jackson, J. L., Jr. (2008). *Racial paranoia: The unintended consequences of political correctness*. New York, NY: Basic Civitas Books.
- James, E. H., Brief, A. P., Dietz, J., & Cohen, R. R. (2001). Prejudice matters: Understanding the reactions of Whites to affirmative action programs targeted to benefit Blacks. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*, 1120–1128. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.86.6.1120
- James, W. (1890). *The principles of psychology*. New York, NY: Holt.
- Kalev, A., Dobbin, F., & Kelly, E. (2006). Best practices or best guesses? Assessing the efficacy of corporate affirmative action and diversity policies. *American Sociological Review, 71*, 589–617. doi:10.1177/000312240607100404
- Knowles, E. D., Lowery, B. S., Hogan, C. M., & Chow, R. M. (2009). On the malleability of ideology: Motivated construals of color blindness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 96*, 857–869. doi:10.1037/a0013595
- Konrad, A. M., & Linnehan, F. (1995a). Formalized HRM structures: Coordinating equal employment opportunity or concealing organizational practices? *Academy of Management Journal, 38*, 787–820. doi:10.2307/256746
- Konrad, A. M., & Linnehan, F. (1995b). Race and sex differences in line managers' reactions to equal employment opportunity and affirmative action interventions. *Group & Organization Management, 20*, 409–439. doi:10.1177/1059601195204003
- Leary, M. R., & Baumeister, R. F. (2000). The nature and function of self-esteem: Sociometer theory. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 32, pp. 1–62). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Leary, M. R., Kelly, K. M., Cottrell, C. A., & Schreindorfer, L. S. (2007). *Individual differences in the need to belong: Mapping the nomological network*. Unpublished manuscript, Duke University.
- Leung, A. K.-Y., Maddux, W. W., Galinsky, A. D., & Chiu, C.-Y. (2008). Multicultural experience enhances creativity: The when and how. *American Psychologist, 63*, 169–181. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.63.3.169
- Linnehan, F., & Konrad, A. M. (1999). Diluting diversity: Implications for intergroup inequality in organizations. *Journal of Management Inquiry, 8*, 399–414. doi:10.1177/105649269984009
- Markus, H. R. (1977). Self-schemata and processing information about the self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 35*, 63–78. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.35.2.63
- Markus, H. R., Hamill, R., & Sentis, K. P. (1987). Thinking fat: Self-schemas for body weight and the processing of weight relevant information. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 17*, 50–71. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.1987.tb00292.x
- Markus, H., & Kunda, Z. (1986). Stability and malleability of the self-concept. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51*, 858–866. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.51.4.858
- Markus, H. R., Steele, C. M., & Steele, D. M. (2000). Colorblindness as a barrier to inclusion: Assimilation and non-immigrant minorities. *Daedalus, 129*, 233–259.
- Maynard, C. (2007). The fallacy of multiculturalism revealed. *Western Voices World News*. Retrieved from <http://www.wvnews.net/story.php?id=983>
- Michaels, W. B. (2006). *The trouble with diversity: How we learned to love identity and ignore inequality*. New York, NY: Metropolitan Books.
- Morrison, K. R., & Chung, A. H. (2011). “White” or “European American”? Self-identifying labels influence majority group members' inter-ethnic attitudes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 47*, 165–170.
- Murphy, M. C., Steele, C. M., & Gross, J. J. (2007). Signaling threat: How

- situational cues affect women in math, science, and engineering settings. *Psychological Science*, 18, 879–885. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2007.01995.x
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2007). *Full-time instructional faculty in degree-granting institutions, by race/ethnicity, sex, and academic rank: Fall 2003, fall 2005, and fall 2007*. Retrieved from http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d08/tables/dt08_249.asp
- Neville, H. A., Lilly, R. L., Duran, G., Lee, R. M., & Browne, L. (2000). Construction and initial validation of the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS). *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 47, 59–70. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.47.1.59
- Nosek, B. A. (2005). Moderators of the relationship between implicit and explicit evaluation. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 134, 565–584. doi:10.1037/0096-3445.134.4.565
- Nosek, B. A., Banaji, M. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (2002). Math = male, me = female, therefore math ≠ me. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 44–59. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.83.1.44
- Nosek, B. A., Greenwald, A. G., & Banaji, M. R. (2005). Understanding and using the Implicit Association Test: II. Method variables and construct validity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31, 166–180.
- Ortman, J. M., & Guarneri, C. E. (2009). *United States population projections: 2000 to 2050*. Retrieved from the U.S. Census Bureau website: <http://www.census.gov/population/www/projections/analytical-document09.pdf>
- Park, B., & Judd, C. M. (2005). Rethinking the link between categorization and prejudice within the social cognition perspective. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 9, 108–130. doi:10.1207/s15327957pspr0902_2
- Perkins, L. A., Thomas, K. M., & Taylor, G. A. (2000). Advertising and recruitment: Marketing to minorities. *Psychology and Marketing*, 17, 235–255. doi:10.1002/(SICI)1520-6793(200003)17:3<30.CO;2-#
- Pickett, C. L., Gardner, W. L., & Knowles, M. (2004). Getting a cue: The need to belong and enhanced sensitivity to social cues. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30, 1095–1107. doi:10.1177/0146167203262085
- Plaut, V. C. (2002). Cultural models of diversity: The psychology of difference and inclusion. In R. Shweder, M. Minow, & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Engaging cultural differences: The multicultural challenge in a liberal democracy* (pp. 365–395). New York, NY: Russell Sage.
- Plaut, V. C. (2010). Diversity science: Why and how difference makes a difference. *Psychological Inquiry*, 21, 77–99. doi:10.1080/10478401003676501
- Plaut, V. C., & Markus, H. R. (2008). *Basically we're all the same? Models of diversity and the dilemma of difference*. Unpublished manuscript, University of California, Berkeley.
- Plaut, V. C., Thomas, K. M., & Goren, M. J. (2009). Is multiculturalism or colorblindness better for minorities? *Psychological Science*, 20, 444–446. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2009.02318.x
- Polzer, J. T., & Caruso, H. M. (2008). Identity negotiation processes amidst diversity. In A. P. Brief (Ed.), *Diversity at work* (pp. 89–126). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Purdie-Vaughns, V., & Dittmann, R. (2010). Reflection on diversity science in social psychology. *Psychological Inquiry*, 21, 153–159. doi:10.1080/1047840X.2010.486758
- Purdie-Vaughns, V., Steele, C. M., Davies, P. G., Dittmann, R., & Crosby, J. R. (2008). Social identity contingencies: How diversity cues signal threat or safety for African Americans in mainstream institutions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94, 615–630. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.94.4.615
- Richeson, J. A., & Nussbaum, R. J. (2004). The impact of multiculturalism versus color-blindness on racial bias. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 40, 417–423. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2003.09.002
- Ryan, C. S., Hunt, J. S., Weible, J. A., Peterson, C. R., & Casas, J. F. (2007). Multicultural and colorblind ideology, stereotypes, and ethnocentrism among Black and White Americans. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 10, 617–637. doi:10.1177/1368430207084105
- Saguy, T., Dovidio, J. F., & Pratto, F. (2008). Beyond contact: Intergroup contact in the context of power relations. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34, 432–445. doi:10.1177/0146167207311200
- Sanchez-Burks, J., Bartel, C. A., & Blount, S. (2009). Performance in intercultural interactions at work: Cross-cultural differences in response to behavioral mirroring. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94, 216–223. doi:10.1037/a0012829
- Sanchez-Burks, J., Nisbett, R. E., & Ybarra, O. (2000). Cultural styles, relational schemas, and prejudice against out-groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79, 174–189. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.79.2.174
- Schlesinger, A. M., Jr. (1992). *The disuniting of America: Reflections on a multicultural society* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Norton.
- Schmidt, A. J. (1997). *The menace of multiculturalism: Trojan horse in America*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Schofield, J. W. (2006). The colorblind perspective in school: Causes and consequences. In J. A. Banks & C. A. McGee Banks (Eds.), *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives* (6th ed., pp. 271–295). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Sekaquaptewa, D., & Thompson, M. (2002). The differential effects of solo status on members of high- and low-status groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28, 694–707. doi:10.1177/0146167202288013
- Sidanius, J. (1993). The psychology of group conflict and the dynamics of oppression: A social dominance perspective. In S. Iyengar & W. McGuire (Eds.), *Explorations in political psychology* (pp. 183–219). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Song, S. (2009). The subject of multiculturalism: Culture, religion, language, ethnicity, nationality, and race? In B. de Bruin & C. F. Zurn (Eds.), *New waves in political philosophy* (pp. 177–197). Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stephan, W. G. (1985). Intergroup relations. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (Vol. 3, pp. 599–658). New York, NY: Addison-Wesley.
- Stevens, F. G., Plaut, V. C., & Sanchez-Burks, J. (2008). Unlocking the benefits of diversity: All-inclusive multiculturalism and positive organizational change. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 44, 116–133. doi:10.1177/0021886308314460
- Thomas, K. M. (2008). *Diversity resistance in organizations*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Thomas, K. M., Mack, D. A., & Montagliani, A. (2004). Arguments against diversity: Are they valid? In F. Crosby & P. Stockdale (Eds.), *The psychology and management of diversity in organizations* (pp. 31–51). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Thomas, K. M., & Plaut, V. C. (2008). The many faces of diversity resistance in the workplace. In K. M. Thomas (Ed.), *Diversity resistance in organizations* (pp. 1–22). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Twenge, J. M., Baumeister, R. F., Tice, D. M., & Stucke, T. S. (2001). If you can't join them, beat them: Effects of social exclusion on aggressive behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1058–1069. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.81.6.1058
- Twenge, J. M., Catanese, K. R., & Baumeister, R. F. (2002). Social exclusion causes self-defeating behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 606–615. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.83.3.606
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2008). *An older and more diverse nation by mid-century*. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/population/cb08-123.html>
- U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (2007). *2007 EEO-1*

- national aggregate report*. Retrieved from <http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/employment/jobpat-eeo1/2007/us/national.html>
- Unzueta, M. M., & Binning, K. R. (2009). *Diversity is in the eye of the beholder: How group interest affects majority and minority group members' definitions of organizational diversity*. Unpublished manuscript, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Unzueta, M. M., & Binning, K. R. (2010). Which groups are associated with diversity? White exclusion and minority ingroup projection. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 16, 443–446. doi:10.1037/a0019723
- Verkuyten, M. (2005). Ethnic group identification and group evaluation among minority and majority groups: Testing the multiculturalism hypothesis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88, 121–138. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.88.1.121
- Vorauer, J. D., Gagnon, A., & Sasaki, S. J. (2009). Salient intergroup ideology and intergroup interaction. *Psychological Science*, 20, 838–845. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2009.02369.x
- Walton, G. M., & Cohen, G. L. (2007). A question of belonging: Race, social fit, and achievement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 82–96. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.1.82
- West, P. (2005). *The poverty of multiculturalism*. London, England: Civitas.
- Williams, K. D., & Sommer, K. L. (1997). Social ostracism by coworkers: Does rejection lead to loafing or compensation? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 693–706. doi:10.1177/0146167297237003
- Wilson, T. D., Lindsey, S., & Schooler, T. Y. (2000). A model of dual attitudes. *Psychological Review*, 107, 101–126. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.107.1.101
- Wolsko, C., Park, B., & Judd, C. M. (2006). Considering the Tower of Babel: Correlates of assimilation and multiculturalism among ethnic minority and majority groups in the United States. *Social Justice Research*, 19, 277–306. doi:10.1007/s11211-006-0014-8
- Wolsko, C., Park, B., Judd, C. M., & Wittenbrink, B. (2000). Framing interethnic ideology: Effects of multicultural and color-blind perspectives on judgments of groups and individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 635–654. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.78.4.635
- Zadro, L., Williams, K. D., & Richardson, R. (2004). How low can you go? Ostracism by a computer is sufficient to lower self-reported levels of belonging, control, self-esteem, and meaningful existence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 40, 560–567. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2003.11.006
- Zanna, M. P., & Olson, J. M. (1994). *The psychology of prejudice: The Ontario symposium* (Vol. 7). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Appendix

Diversity Endorsement Measure

1. Universities should foster environments where differences are valued.
2. One of the goals of higher education should be to teach people from different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds how to live and work together.
3. A university education should expose students to the important differences in ideas and values that exist in the world.
4. A university should help students understand that differences in backgrounds and experiences can lead to different values and ways of thinking.
5. At the university it's not enough for there to be diversity of student body, there should also be diversity in faculty and leadership.
6. It is important to have multiple perspectives on campus (i.e., from different cultures, races, and ethnicities).

Note. Participants rated items on a scale from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly Agree*).

Received December 8, 2009

Revision received November 29, 2010

Accepted December 14, 2010 ■