From Backlash to Inclusion for All: Instituting Diversity Efforts to Maximize Benefits Across Group Lines

Tiffany N. Brannon*
University of California, Los Angeles

Evelyn R. Carter
University of California, Los Angeles

Lisel Alice Murdock-Perriera
Stanford University

Gerald D. Higginbotham
University of California, Los Angeles

Recent real-world events in which diversity policies and practices have been met with severe backlash can prompt a zero-sum perception of inclusion efforts. This article offers theory-based insights for instituting diversity initiatives that can afford inclusion for all—allowing institutions to reap the benefits of diversity efforts while reducing the costs of backlash. Using an inclusion for all framework we highlight three salient, interrelated, sources of backlash tied to dominant group members' goals and motivations: (1) perceived or actual restriction of independence or autonomy, (2) preference for the status quo and colorblindness, and (3) beliefs that racial and other social equalities have been reached. Throughout, we emphasize an intergroup focus that recognizes the interdependent yet often divergent goals and motivations of marginalized and dominant groups. Mainstream

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*Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Tiffany N. Brannon, Department of Psychology, University of California, 502 Portola Plaza, Los Angeles, CA 90095. Tel: 310-794-5716. [e-mail: tbrannon@ucla.edu].

institutions' (colleges, workplaces) role as a critical site for inclusion interventions is discussed.

The following exchange between Erika Christakis, former Yale University residential college lecturer and administrator, and Ryan Wilson who represented hundreds of concerned Yale University students was sparked by an inclusion effort. That is, in the fall of 2015 a mass email was sent to Yale students in advance of Halloween festivities. The expressed goal of the email was to inspire thoughtfulness and tolerance associated with wearing Halloween costumes that celebrate and affirm stereotypes or portray often marginalized groups[1] in offensive ways. Although the mass email was an effort to promote inclusion, as Christakis' email demonstrates, it was met with backlash—countered by allegations of restricting free speech. In response to the backlash, marginalized students noted the impact of such allegations: that of silencing marginalized group members in favor of the comfort and freedom of dominant group members.

> Is there no room anymore for a child or young person to be a little bit obnoxious . . . a little bit inappropriate or provocative or, yes, offensive? . . . **American universities were once a safe space** not only for maturation but also for a certain regressive, or even transgressive, experience; increasingly, it seems, they have become places of censure and prohibition.
>
> -Erika Christakis, then Yale University residential college lecturer and administrator, email text as reported in *New York Times*, November 8, 2015

> In your email, you defend the right to wear racist or marginalizing costumes as free speech and accuse the Intercultural Affairs Committee of imposing bureaucratic restrictions on the student body. You deem the call for sensitivity "censure"—one which you say comes "from above," not from the students, as if the repeated requests of many students of color do not count. To equate a suggestion of the IAC, a committee created to challenge bias and promote cultural awareness, respect, and appreciation on campus, with an "institutional exercise of implied control over college students" further erases the voices of the students they stand to protect.
> The contents of your email were jarring and disheartening. Your email equates old traditions of using harmful stereotypes and tropes to further degrade marginalized people, to preschoolers playing make believe. This both trivializes the harm done by these tropes and infantilizes the student body to which the request was made . . . Giving "room" for students to be "obnoxious" or "offensive", as you suggest, is only inviting ridicule and violence onto ourselves and our communities, and **ultimately comes at the expense of room in which marginalized students can feel safe**.
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> - Ryan Wilson, open letter signed by hundreds of Yale University students, published in DOWN Magazine, weekly online publication by and for students of color, 2015, October (Wilson, 2015)

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[1] We use the term 'marginalized' to broadly refer to social groups that have been historically underrepresented and/or disadvantaged. It acknowledges the experience of being marginalized in varied ways including numerical representation, access to resources, and status/power. Our use of the term is inclusive of several social groups including racial/ethnic minorities, women, sexual orientation minorities, gender-nonconforming individuals, individuals from working class or low SES backgrounds, and individuals from immigrant backgrounds.

This vivid example poignantly illustrates the complexities of implementing institutional efforts intended to benefit inclusion among marginalized group members. What began as a seemingly simple institutional effort to *benefit* inclusion ignited a firestorm of *costs* that posed questions of institutional belonging. Importantly, these questions of belonging were sparked among members and allies of marginalized groups *as well as* among proponents of free speech (i.e., dominant group members). It resulted in protests by hundreds of students, media attention, and resignations, Friedersdorf, 2016. It also raised concerns among leaders (i.e., university administrators) about how to prevent such volatile situations. These concerns demonstrate the seemingly zero-sum nature of inclusion: victories that afford gains (e.g., increased access or protection) to marginalized groups are perceived as losses (e.g., reduced sense of freedom) for dominant group members. The present paper highlights that inclusion efforts can be framed and achieved in ways that afford *inclusion for all*, allowing institutions to reap the benefits of diversity efforts while reducing the costs of backlash.

In many ways, inclusion is a *fight* against many factors, including interpersonal and institutional racism as well as resistance to equality tied to power and privilege maintenance (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Moya & Markus, 2010; Sears & Henry, 2003; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). Nevertheless, a broad range of institutions continue to publicly embrace bold commitments to diversity and inclusion—for instance, Brown University and Intel Corporation respectively pledged $100 million and $300 million to institutional diversity efforts (Friederdorf, 2015; Wingfield, 2015). In the present paper, we integrate insights from psychological science and education to offer theory-based optimism to scientists, policy-makers, and leaders seeking to promote diversity and inclusion. Moreover, we seek to inspire action by offering best practices for instituting diversity policies and practices in ways that maximize benefits while minimizing the cost of backlash. Creating inclusive environments cannot be accomplished passively or without persistent effort, and careful consideration of the obstacles (and ways to circumvent them) is crucial to achieving success. Thus, we introduce an *inclusion for all framework* that acknowledges challenges while suggesting ways to circumvent obstacles.
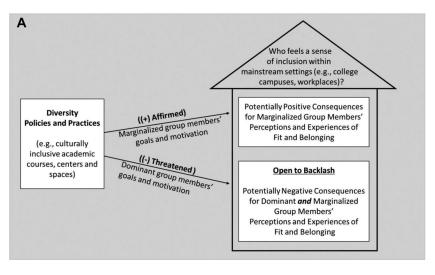
The Inclusion for All Framework

The goals and motivations of marginalized and dominant group members interdependently contribute to the climate of institutions (colleges, workplaces), given their intergroup dynamics. For example, dominant group members' attitudes and beliefs toward multicultural policies and practices shape marginalized group members' experiences in those organizations (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009). Thus, for researchers, policy-makers, and leaders to make measurable and lasting wins for inclusion, they must address the goals and motivations of both marginalized and dominant group members. This is not to suggest that these

goals and motivations are always equally-situated. Institutions are a reflection of society, and thus are not blank slates that are free from the consequences of historical discrimination or contemporary differences in power and hierarchy tied to social group membership. Thus, fostering *inclusion for all* (rather than zero-sum perceptions) requires the acknowledgment that mainstream institutions (e.g., colleges, workplaces) are not neutral settings. It requires the recognition that mainstream institutions have been historically and culturally designed to fit and favor dominant group members (Goudeau & Croizet, 2017; Stephens, Fryberg, Markus, Johnson, & Covarrubias, 2012; Stephens, Markus, & Phillips, 2014). Notably, institutions exert significant influence over individual and societal outcomes (e.g., who has access to college, who graduates from college); such influence makes institutions ideal settings for inclusion interventions. Although obstacles can leave institutions feeling powerless, the present *inclusion for all* framework recognizes and reconciles marginalized and dominant group members' sometimes-divergent goals and motivations to leverage the power of institutions to impact inclusion outcomes across social group lines.

This framework is consistent with psychological insights on negotiation practices in which taking into account the goals and interests of both sides serves to maximize joint outcomes and minimize win-lose or comprising outcomes (Fisher, Ury, & Patton, 1987; Galinsky, Maddux, Gilin, & White, 2008). Fostering inclusion within institutional settings through diversity policies and practices, like negotiations more generally, is an interdependent endeavor that requires some buy-in and support across social group lines. Diversity policies and practices are unlikely to promote inclusion among marginalized group members if they inspire reactance among dominant group members. In considering goals and motivations across social group lines it is important to acknowledge that these goals and motivations are often divergent yet can overlap and vary in salience and primacy. For instance, safety and relatedly a sense of inclusion are considered universal needs (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Deci & Ryan, 2000), and indeed, a desire to feel safe within American universities is raised as a concern by dominant group members (i.e., Christakis) and marginalized group members (i.e., Wilson) in the opening excerpts. Yet, the threat to safety differs along social group lines. Whereas Christakis identifies a threat to upholding core American values of independence (e.g., free speech and freedom of expression), the statement from Wilson and other students identifies a threat to upholding egalitarian practices that explicitly signal intolerance toward stereotypes and negative portrayals of marginalized groups. In short, although both groups expressed goals and motivations to feel safe, their expectations of how that safety should manifest differed and conflicted.

Using the current framework, depicted in Figures 1(A/1B), we suggest that understanding how these goals and motivations can conflict and operate in concert, and thus predict reactions to inclusion efforts, is imperative.
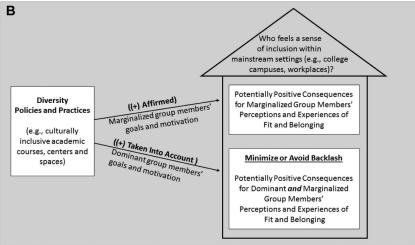
Fig. 1. A/AB: (1A) Inclusion Efforts as Zero Sum/ (1B) Inclusion Efforts as Inclusion for All (Non-zero Sum).

Consider an academic course that explicitly includes the history and per-spectives of marginalized group members (e.g., Latino/a or African American literature). For marginalized group members, this course can serve as a strong cue that they are valued and included. Yet, for dominant group members, this course can challenge previous understandings of history by integrating the experiences of

a group typically excluded from the dominant narrative. Thus, while marginalized group members are likely to feel affirmed, dominant group members might feel threatened and respond with opposition (Figure 1A). This resulting opposition can serve as a competing cue for marginalized group members; a cue that can ironically create questions and doubts about the extent to which marginalized group members are indeed valued and included. Conversely, and as illustrated in Figure 1(B), successful integration of Latino/a or African American literature in the course requires taking into account goals and motivations associated with dominant group members. In so doing, the course can proceed as an affirming experience for marginalized group members that also provides a critical learning opportunity for dominant group members.

Overview

Taken together, the present framework complements and extends past research on the merits of multicultural, rather than colorblind, approaches to intergroup relations (e.g., Apfelbaum, Norton, & Sommers, 2012; Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, & Bluemel, 2013; Plaut et al., 2009; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). We draw upon insights from diverse literatures to illustrate how diversity policies and practices can support an all-inclusive multiculturalism perspective (e.g., Jansen, Otten, & van der Zee, 2015; Stevens, Plaut, & Sanchez-Burks, 2008). Our approach extends the call for all-inclusive multiculturalism strategies by acknowledging that, given historical and contemporary systemic inequalities, the motivations and goals that will drive a sense of feeling included will vary across social group lines.

In the sections that follow, we first review psychological science and education insights on the *benefits* of inclusion efforts including empirical findings that motivate why efforts to promote inclusion among marginalized group members are critical and needed. Second, we review research on *backlash* or reactance to diversity and inclusion efforts by dominant group members. In so doing, as previously noted, we identify three salient and interrelated sources of backlash tied to dominant group members' goals and motivations. Third, we offer theory-based recommendations that highlight the potential for researchers, policy-makers, and leaders to address social disparities by instituting inclusive policies and practices.

Benefits of Inclusion Efforts: Why Target Marginalized Group Members?

Mainstream settings like colleges and universities are gateways that afford access to cultural and material resources that impact a variety of key life outcomes (e.g., employment, health and well-being) tied to long-standing social inequalities. However, within these settings, members of marginalized groups are at risk for experiencing doubts and uncertainty about belonging (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002; Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, &

Crosby, 2008; Walton & Cohen, 2007; see also, Murphy & Zirkel, 2015). For instance, an African American student's membership in a marginalized racial/ethnic group can create questions about belonging and concerns about rejection in response to interpersonal interactions. Questions and concerns such as whether not being called on by a professor or colleague to answer a question or provide advice, or not being asked to attend a social event reflect a simple oversight or stigmatized consequences of being part of a marginalized group. Thus, these doubts can arise from subtle, mundane, and everyday experiences and can be amplified by cues that make stereotypes linked to group membership salient for members of marginalized groups (e.g., physical underrepresentation of African American students on a college campus or women in a STEM[2] classroom). Moreover, numerical underrepresentation and the absence of ideas and practices associated with diverse social groups (e.g., multicultural, value diversity ideologies) contribute to these doubts (see Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008).

Relatedly, common and everyday institutional practices within mainstream colleges and universities can contribute to a sense of misfit among marginalized group members. For example, colleges and universities widely adopt classroom and curriculum practices, and even products, that favor and affirm cultural orientations and sources of cultural capital associated with dominant groups (e.g., White-American, middle-class or masculine groups; Carter, 2003; Cheryan, Plaut, Davies, & Steele, 2009; Collier & Morgan, 2008; Lareau & Weininger, 2003). For example, parent-teacher interactions and student classroom behaviors (e.g., asserting and expressing one's unique perspective) that are associated with White-American and middle class norms and values are often encouraged and rewarded within school settings. Such everyday practices reinforce a sense of fit and belonging among dominant group members that in turn fosters thriving in the environment. Yet, the same common practices can create a sense of misfit and questions about belonging among marginalized group members.

For countries, such as the United States, that are forecasted to continue experiencing significant demographic shifts in which non-White racial/ethnic groups will represent the majority of the population, the absence of individuals from marginalized groups in key gateway institutions is socially and economically costly. Indeed, research demonstrates that diverse organizations are more profitable, productive, trusted, and seen as fair, than homogeneous organizations (Herring, 2009; Juvonen, Kogachi, & Graham, 2017; Richard, 2000). For example, field experiments and data drawn from large samples of for-profit businesses find that diversity (e.g., racial, gender) in organizations and teams is associated with greater sales and market shares (Herring, 2009; Hoogendoorn, Oosterbeek, & Van Praag, 2013). Thus, when members of marginalized groups are not included within

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[2] Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics.

mainstream settings the consequences are severe in ways that extend beyond individual outcomes; inclusion of marginalized groups impacts institutional outcomes.

Interventions that have targeted inclusion among marginalized group members have successfully increased a sense of belongingness and fit, and in turn a myriad of other critical outcomes including health and well-being (Stephens, Markus, & Phillips, 2014; Walton & Cohen, 2011). Research supports the efficacy of diversity policies and practices that explicitly include cultural ideas and practices associated with marginalized groups for promoting inclusion. Such research has examined curriculum practices, dormitory and living spaces, and extracurricular activities that celebrate and include perspectives and histories associated with marginalized groups. For example, Brannon, Markus and Taylor (2015) used experimental and longitudinal survey data to demonstrate that including African American ideas and practices (e.g., African American literature) within an academic course or participation in African American extracurricular groups is related to a greater sense of fit and inclusion among African American college students. They also found that this sense of fit and inclusion enhanced academic performance and persistence. Moreover, in a sample of Latino/a American college students, Rheinschmidt-Same, John-Henderson and Mendoza-Denton (2017) found that living in an ethnic-themed dormitory was related to physiological health benefits.

Notably, Dee and Penner (2017) found that exposure to an ethnic-studies curriculum is associated with increased attendance and GPA gains. The results were observed in a large sample ($N = 1,405$) of racial/ethnic minority high school students who were identified as at-risk for dropping out of school. Similarly, research on social class in college samples has shown that acknowledging and recognizing the unique experiences, challenges, and cultural resources associated with working-class backgrounds can foster a variety of positive inclusion and engagement outcomes (Stephens et al., 2012; Stephens, Townsend, Hamedani, Destin, & Manzo, 2015). Although experimental, field, and survey research converge to highlight that institutions can promote inclusion among marginalized group members, most of this past research has not explicitly engaged an intergroup focus or examined outcomes across social group lines in responses to these efforts (cf., Stephens et al., 2015). However, recent real world events, such as the one illustrated in the opening excerpts, have revealed salient backlash in response to well-intended inclusion efforts (see Figure 2). These events emphasize the importance of engaging an intergroup focus and addressing psychological sources of backlash to these efforts by dominant group members.

Backlash to Inclusion Efforts by Dominant Group Members

Sources of backlash to inclusion efforts by dominant group members can represent reactance to policies and practices that are perceived to threaten

A

Real-world Examples of Backlash

Diversity Effort: Multicultural Graduations

Source(s) of Backlash: Colorblindness/ Status Quo, Autonomy

A common diversity practice to celebrate the unique experiences, history and cultures of marginalized groups is to hold separate graduation ceremonies. This practice affords a bicultural or multicultural experience that allows members of such groups to take part in a celebration with the broader or mainstream university and one with individuals who share their marginalized group identity (e.g., racial/ethnic ingroup members). Recently, Harvard University joined other colleges and universities who hold multiple commencement ceremonies. The *New York Times* covered reactions to this inclusion effort including a statement from Ward Connerly, a former University of California regent and current president of the American Civil Rights Institute. Connerly noted that the practice of holding multiple commencement ceremonies such as a Black or African-American graduation ceremony "amplif[ies]" racial differences. Moreover, he shared, "College is the place where we should be teaching and preaching the view that you're an individual, and choose your associates to be based on other factors rather than skin color" (June 2, 2017). Connerly's reaction and opposition to the inclusion effort underscores a strong preference for colorblindness and not emphasizing group differences. It also emphasizes a valuing of autonomy and choice.

(Interrelated) Goals and Motivations Tied to Sources of Backlash

Independence/Autonomy
- Valuing of free expression and choice
- Desire to not feel constrained or forced

Status Quo/Colorblindness
- Avoidance of discomfort and anxiety associated with intergroup contact and discussions

Equality Achieved
- Unwillingness to support policies and practices that are perceived as unfair or not based on meritocracy

B

Real-world Examples of Backlash

Diversity Effort: Black Lives Matter

Source(s) of Backlash: Colorblindness/ Status Quo

Protests, demonstrations and campaigns associated with 'Black Lives Matter' are relevant to colleges and universities yet extends to broader societal contexts . Backlashes to 'Black Lives Matter' have emphasized similarity and colorblindness by responding that 'All Lives Matter'. The attraction to such colorblind approaches and the harm that these approaches pose for addressing inequalities is articulated by UC Berkeley's Maxine Elliot Professor of Comparative Literature, Judith Butler in a *New York Times* interview. Butler shares:

One reason the chant "Black Lives Matter" is so important is that it states the obvious but the obvious has not yet been historically realized. So it is a statement of outrage and a demand for equality…When some people rejoin with "All Lives Matter" they misunderstand the problem, but not because their message is untrue. It is true that all lives matter, but it is equally true that not all lives are understood to matter which is precisely why it is most important to name the lives that have not mattered, and are struggling to matter in the way they deserve… we cannot have a race-blind approach to the questions: which lives matter? Or, which lives are worth valuing? If we jump too quickly to the universal formulation, "all lives matter," then we miss the fact that black people have not yet been included in the idea of "all lives."(January 12, 2015).

The assertion that colorblind approaches like 'All Lives Matter' is a true, important universal idea in the abstract, yet when placed in the context of present and historical structural and systemic discrimination (e.g., slavery, racial profiling), serves to obscure meaningful realities and inequalities is supported by research. For example, empirical evidence supports that colorblind approaches, although often the preferred intergroup strategy among dominant group members, are associated with the harm of ignoring, invalidating, and not striving to intervene to address real and consequential inequalities (e.g., Apfelbaum et al., 2010; 2012; Dovidio et al., 2016).

(Interrelated) Goals and Motivations Tied to Sources of Backlash

Independence/Autonomy
- Valuing of free expression and choice
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Status Quo/Colorblindness
- Avoidance of discomfort and anxiety associated with intergroup contact and discussions

Equality Achieved
- Unwillingness to support policies and practices that are perceived as unfair or not based on meritocracy

C

Real-world Examples of Backlash

Diversity Effort: All-female Movie Screening Event

Source(s) of Backlash: Belief that Social Equality has been Achieved, Colorblindness/Status Quo

This year a major Hollywood film version of 'Wonder Women' was released. And, to celebrate the rare event of having a major motion film by a female director that features a female heroine, a movie theater organized a 'women-only screening' of the film. The news of a special screening for women was met with backlash and reactance. Importantly, the film and entertainment industry like colleges and universities has been criticized for a lack of diversity and representation of members of marginalized groups (e.g., campaigns like '#OscarsSoWhite'). And, like colleges and universities, the film and entertainment industry has made recent bold commitments to improve diversity and inclusion among marginalized group members. Thus, in the context of recent criticism and commitments to make progress toward the inclusion of individuals from marginalized groups the release of a film like 'Wonder Woman' was a symbolic win for diversity and inclusion in Hollywood. Yet, the 'women-only screening' was perceived by some as reverse-discrimination and as unfair. In response to this backlash and reactance, Don Cheadle, an African American male actor shared the following, "You guys really have to stop with this stupid analogy [reverse discrimination]. It's apples to carburetor parts. A double standard presupposes equal footing. This ain't that" (May 31, 2017). Cheadle's statement calls attention to historical and present inequalities (e.g., unequal footing) to counter the notion that men in this situation, a dominant group, are being disadvantaged relative to women, a marginalized group.

(Interrelated) Goals and Motivations Tied to Sources of Backlash

Independence/Autonomy
- Valuing of free expression and choice
- Desire to not feel constrained or forced

Status Quo/Colorblindness
- Avoidance of discomfort and anxiety associated with intergroup contact and discussions

Equality Achieved
- Unwillingness to support policies and practices that are perceived as unfair or not based on meritocracy

Fig. 2. Sources of Backlash: Recent Real-World Examples, Goals and Motivations.

key goals and motivations (see Figure 1A). We suggest that recognizing and understanding these threats can allow researchers, policy-makers and leaders to identify ways to institute diversity policies and practices that maximize benefits (see Figure 1B). That is, to institute diversity efforts that address (a) the important need to foster inclusion among marginalized group members, by attending to the goals and motivations of marginalized group members, and (b) the goals and motivations of dominant group members, which, when threatened, can inspire backlash. In this section, we identify and selectively review research associated with three salient sources of backlash: (1) perceived or actual restriction of independence or autonomy, (2) preference for the status quo and colorblindness, and (3) beliefs that racial and other social equalities have been reached and thus persistent inequalities are not present or are just (reflecting individual factors and not structural problems). We discuss how diversity policies and practices can threaten key goals and motivations related to these sources of backlash.

While conceptually distinct, these sources of backlash are interrelated. For example, dominant group members are likely to react negatively to perceived or actual restriction of independence because independence is a valued and self-guiding cultural orientation, especially among individuals who hold dominant group memberships (e.g., White-American, middle class, male; Markus & Conner, 2013). Relatedly, an independent cultural orientation emphasizes the importance of an autonomous and unique individual, as well as the primacy of an individual's traits and preferences; it deemphasizes the importance of connections to others, broader context and situational factors (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1994). These characteristics of an independent cultural orientation coincide with a preference toward colorblindness, an ideology that minimizes differences based on group membership (Markus, Steele, & Steele, 2000; see also, Neville et al., 2013). Likewise, colorblindness and an independent cultural orientation can fuel lack of knowledge of racial and social inequalities and in turn emphasize the perception that racial and social equality has been achieved. Thus, colorblindness and an independent cultural orientation can negatively impact willingness to acknowledge social disparities and to intervene (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, & Ambady, 2010; Markus et al., 2000; Savani, Stephens, & Markus, 2011).

Perceived or Actual Restriction of Independence or Autonomy

In countries, such as the United States, individuals, especially dominant group members, are motivated by independence and autonomy (Markus & Conner, 2013). Environments and situations that support independence or autonomy have been associated with a variety of positive outcomes including greater trust, intrinsic motivation, creativity, and cognitive flexibility (Deci & Ryan, 1987; Dickinson, 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Vansteenkiste, Simons, Lens, Sheldon, & Deci, 2004). However, while independence and autonomy emphasize the importance

of the individual and the individual's preferences and choices (Kim & Sherman, 2007), they also deemphasize the importance of context, and even history (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1994).

In mainstream settings, like colleges and universities, that have been historically designed to foster and reward independence and autonomy (Stephens et al., 2012), well-intentioned inclusion efforts may restrict, or be perceived as restricting, autonomy. For example, in the opening excerpts encouraging sensitivity toward wearing stereotypical costumes necessarily constrains students' choices of potential costumes. When independence or autonomy are constrained, people are likely to react in ways that restore a sense of freedom (e.g., Brehm & Brehm, 2013; Snibbe & Markus, 2005). For instance, in experimental research, participants expressed greater liking for a given choice (e.g., pen) after their choice was usurped (Snibbe & Markus, 2005; Stephens, Markus, & Townsend, 2007). Consistent with such experimental findings, institutional mechanisms for reporting instances of prejudice and discrimination, including microaggressions, have been attacked for transforming universities into spaces of censure where administrators, professors, and students, are no longer free to say what they choose, but instead must consider how their statements might make others feel (Bodenner, 2016; Lyons, 2014). Reactance to threatened independence has included calls to restore institutions back to spaces of free speech, and even victim-blaming rhetoric in which members of marginalized groups are portrayed as too sensitive or whiny (Shulevitz, 2015).

Understanding this source of backlash can suggest ways to institute inclusion efforts that serve multiple needs. It highlights the need to promote inclusion among marginalized groups, which often requires some restrictions of independence or autonomy. Yet, it also underscores the need to minimize threats and reactance by dominant group members who are likely to have goals and motivations that are fundamentally tied to valuing independence or autonomy. Although these goals and motivations can seem divergent, diversity policies and practices can be strategically designed to address these seemingly opposed sets of goals and motivations.

Preference for the Status Quo and Colorblindness

Instituting diversity policies and practices often requires enacting changes that fundamentally impact everyday experiences and interactions within institutions. This departure from the status quo can inspire reactance among dominant group members, in part because individuals prefer options that do not require change or action (Anderson, 2003; Samuelson & Zeckhauser, 1988). For dominant groups members, diversity policies and practices are likely to necessitate effortful and uncomfortable changes and actions. For example, inclusion efforts might create more situations in which dominant group members encounter topics and interactions they might prefer to avoid, such as more intergroup contact or dialogues

about race or social class relations. Further, within mainstream institutions, color-blind policies and practices often represent the status quos (Markus et al., 2000). Members of dominant groups, relative to members of marginalized groups, have a preference for colorblind ideologies and practices (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, & Ambady, 2010; Apfelbaum et al., 2012; see also common ingroup model preference, Dovidio, Gaertner, Ufkes Saguy, & Pearson, 2016). For example, in interracial interactions dominant group members (Whites) often prefer and use colorblind strategies of not mentioning race or acknowledging racial differences. This preference is so strong that even when placed in a situation in which mentioning race would be advantageous and productive (i.e., a photo identification game) Whites still engage colorblind strategies (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008).

Despite dominant group members' preference for a colorblind approach, many inclusion efforts require explicitly acknowledging and recognizing multiculturalism or social group memberships and differences. Recent real world examples of reactance toward diversity policies and practices illustrate this threat to the status quo and preference for institutional colorblindness (see Figure 2). Identifying the preference for the status quo and colorblindness as a source of backlash is helpful for suggesting insights on how to institute diversity policies and practices in ways that move from zero-sum to inclusion for all. More broadly, initiatives aimed at promoting inclusion among marginalized groups can minimize or avoid backlash by acknowledging and addressing goals and motivations that underlie dominant group members' preference for the status quo and colorblind policies and practices. These underlying goals and motivations can reflect a variety of factors including a lack of intergroup knowledge, or even anxiety and discomfort with intergroup contact and race/ identity-relevant discussions. To promote *inclusion for all*, institutions can enact multicultural practices and policies in ways that ease or reduce dominant group members' anxiety and discomfort with engaging intergroup interactions and discussions.

Beliefs that Racial and Other Social Equalities Have Been Reached

Members of marginalized and dominant groups often possess differing views on the extent to which racism or other forms of discrimination contribute to present inequalities and disparities (Carter & Murphy, 2015; Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981). As an example, in a 2016 Pew Research Center poll, 88% of African Americans, compared to 53% of White Americans, reported that the United States still has work to do to achieve equal rights between African Americans and White Americans. The same poll found that 84% of African Americans compared to 50% of White Americans believe African Americans are treated unfairly by police. Importantly, these attitudes inform people's beliefs about how severe racism is and their support for egalitarian policies (see Eibach & Purdie-Vaughns, 2011).

If racial and other social equalities are perceived to have been reached (in the past), then structural solutions to current inequalities will likely be perceived as unnecessary. Furthermore, a lens that assumes social equality suggests that diversity policies and practices unfairly advantage marginalized groups and create disadvantages for dominant groups. Recent real world examples of backlash to diversity policies and practices illustrate this threat to perceived fairness and equality (see Figure 2). Thus, identifying differences in beliefs about progress toward equality can inform ways to institute diversity efforts to allow inclusion for all. Further, it highlights goals and motivations among dominant group members tied to perceptions of fairness and meritocracy. Accordingly, one important way institutional efforts to promote inclusion among marginalized group members can minimize backlash is by emphasizing the fairness and legitimacy of such efforts (see Walton, Spencer, & Erman, 2013 for discussion of affirmative meritocracy).

Theory-Based Recommendations for Diversity Policies and Practices

Critics of diversity efforts often caution that improving diversity is a zero-sum game—that dominant group members will be negatively impacted (e.g., experience ongoing discomfort, restrictions on free-speech) by changes that are targeted toward benefiting marginalized group members. This begs the question: *can* institutions enact changes that allow marginalized group members to reap the rewards of inclusion efforts without a potential cost to dominant group members? Furthermore, if there are costs to dominant group members, how might institutions weigh the short-term costs (e.g., reactance, discomfort) with the long-term benefits (e.g., inclusion for all) such change may afford? Indeed, if the aim is to improve diversity and inclusion in a setting, we must consider how everyone will be affected; yet, in so doing, we must keep in mind that discomfort is an important precursor for individual and structural change (e.g., Mallett, Huntsinger, Sinclair, & Swim, 2008; Monteith, 1993).

Many of our recommendations necessitate a paradigm shift in the way institutions approach diversity work, beginning with an understanding of *White fragility*. Robin DiAngelo refers to *White fragility* as "a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves . . . outward display of emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation" (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 57). Importantly, following our recommendations will likely create many of the conditions (i.e., "racial stressors") under which White fragility is most likely to emerge; these stressors also align quite closely with the sources of backlash that accompany dominant group members' reactions to inclusion efforts.

For example, engaging in a conversation about how identity necessarily shapes one's experiences will directly challenge dominant group members' beliefs in individualism. Similarly, marginalized group members talking about their experiences and perspectives based on their racial/ethnic group stands in stark contrast to a colorblind ideology. Likewise, receiving feedback that one's behavior was offensive will be challenging to those who desire to focus on intent, and not impact. However, it is clear that the short-term costs that are associated with White fragility are the result of a lack of practice engaging with how identity fundamentally shapes lived experiences and important life outcomes.

The recommendations that follow, based on empirical research, highlight ways to engage the *inclusion for all* framework to successfully meet the, often divergent, goals and motivations of dominant and marginalized group members. First, consistent with this framework, we review research on the benefits of inclusion efforts that target marginalized groups. We highlight the necessity and efficacy of such efforts to meet the goals and motivations of marginalized groups which have historically experienced exclusion within mainstream institutions and continue to be associated with disadvantaged outcomes within such settings. Then, we broaden our emphasis from *only* marginalized groups to engage an intergroup focus. We acknowledge the danger for theory and application concerned with promoting inclusion among marginalized groups of not engaging an intergroup focus—namely the danger of allowing beneficial inclusion efforts to incur the cost of backlash. We offer theory-based recommendations for implementing inclusion efforts in ways that minimize or eliminate intergroup backlash by addressing the goals and motivations of dominant groups. In so doing, we note places in which institutions may encounter reactance so as to raise awareness about the myriad, predictable, ways in which dominant group members may respond. Administrators, leaders, and other decision-makers must be equipped to manage these situations and respond directly instead of—as is often the case—avoid them to appease dominant group students at the expense of marginalized students.

Recommendation 1: Be Mindful of Cues that Signal Inclusion (and Change those that Do Not)

In the 2016 film *Hidden Figures*, a poignant montage depicts Katherine Johnson[3] running half a mile from the building where she works to the "Colored Computers" building to use the only available "Colored" restroom. The montage lasts several minutes. Viewers watch her battle the rain as she runs in heels from

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[3] Katherine Johnson is an African American mathematician who worked for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in a career that spanned decades; she has been awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom; and her experiences of working at NASA were depicted in the blockbuster and award-winning film *Hidden Figures* in 2016.

building to building, agonize over whether to have a cup of coffee knowing it will mean another trip to the bathroom, and load stacks of papers into her arms so she can work while in transit; her White coworkers, unintentionally or not, ignore her struggle. Throughout, viewers empathize with Katherine– how awful that something so small could turn into a half-hour ordeal, *every single day*. However, for many people, something as seemingly small as access to a bathroom is an important cue to belonging (Murphy & Walton, 2013). Marginalized group members are especially vigilant to such cues–including numerical representation, decor and signage, and institutional messaging (Cheryan, Plaut, Davies, & Steele, 2009; Murphy, Steele, & Gross, 2007; Tajfel & Turner, 1985)—when they are concerned about being devalued or unwelcome due to some aspect of their social identity. For example, Murphy and colleagues (2007) showed that female math, science, and engineering (MSE) majors randomly assigned to a threatening situation (i.e., watching a MSE video with gender unbalanced cues) exhibited greater cognitive and physiological vigilance. That is, relative to male MSE majors across conditions and female MSE majors who were not under threat, they had better memory for objects in the video and faster heart rates. Importantly, these cues can bolster or undermine student trust, with a powerful impact on student engagement and persistence in higher education (Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2011; Yeager, Purdie-Vaughns, Hooper, & Cohen, 2017). Being mindful of these types of cues will ensure that all students, or organizational members, are receiving the intended message from their institution: that they belong, that they are welcomed, and that the organization will do everything it can to support them and their success.

Numerical representation. Numerical representation (i.e., having a critical mass of people from different groups represented) is a crucial cue for signaling inclusion. When marginalized group members look around and see people that look like them, it conveys that the setting is one where many people from a variety of backgrounds are welcomed (and hopefully thrive). For example, women are under-represented within STEM fields. However, one study found that a relatively small change in a video advertising a summer conference for STEM majors—namely, ensuring the video had equal representation of men and women—significantly improved female participants' physiological vigilance, sense of inclusion and even willingness to participate in the conference (Murphy, Steele & Gross, 2007).

Within the present context of shifting demographics of the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), having a diverse representation at the undergraduate level may not be difficult. Indeed, the University of California system comprises 10 institutions across the state and has near-equal enrollment for domestic Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latinx, and White students (34%, 24%, and 23%, respectively, as of 2016), though numbers for Black and Native American/American Indian students lag behind significantly (University of California, 2017). Nevertheless, the representation in the upper levels of administration or tenured and tenure-track

faculty—that is, the key power players—do not always match the level of diversity reflected in the student body. Thus, the call for increased representation as an important signal to belonging is not merely about adding students from diverse backgrounds for the mere sake of numbers, but rather because it signals something important about whose opinions and contributions are valued (Chen & Hamilton, 2015). The real signaling value of diversity/numerical representation can only be met if it is approached as a genuine goal through every element of the university—from hiring and student outreach to retention of students, faculty, and staff.

Institutional (University) messaging. Numerical representation is undoubtedly important for the aforementioned reasons. However, superficial efforts to increase the diversity of a campus without accompanying institutional change will continue to marginalize students who will feel like they were only brought to campus to occupy "token" status and will bolster facetious meritocracy arguments that people of color are only admitted because of affirmative action and/or bring down the prestige of an institution. Thus, universities must also reflect deeply on the institutional values related to messaging and policies that can either support or hinder diversity, inclusion, and equity.

Policies that emphasize valuing diversity (e.g., multiculturalism, respect and recognition of differences) hold powerful inclusive benefits, even in the absence of diverse representation. For instance, in one set of studies, Black professionals were asked evaluate a company that either espoused a multicultural or a colorblind ideology (Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008). The question of interest was how the company's diversity ideology shaped participants' trust and expectations about how they would be treated there, even in the absence of numerical diversity. The results revealed that Black participants expressed greater trust, and fewer concerns about potential negative experiences, in the multicultural company than in the colorblind company. This, and other research (e.g., Emerson & Murphy, 2015), emphasizes just how important institutional messaging can be for signaling the institution's values. Those signs *can* come from numerical diversity, but information about the heart of an institution may be more clearly communicated in what is said, or what is not said, about the institution's approach to inclusion.

Although policies and practices within institutions that endorse multiculturalism may help marginalized group members, they can also alienate dominant group members (Plaut, Garnett, Bufardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011). Yet experimental laboratory studies and large-scale field research find that even small changes can mitigate these concerns. Specifically, an "all-inclusive multicultural ideology," which emphasizes that everyone–including dominant group members—contributes to diversity in an organization makes both dominant and marginalized group members feel included (Plaut et al., 2011). This research aligns with recent findings that people are more likely to perceive an environment as diverse when

they see members of their racial in group represented (Bauman Trawalter, & Unzueta, 2014). In this way, institutions can successfully navigate interests that might seem to be at odds with one another and allow everyone to feel included.

Furthermore, institutions must be aware of some of the ironic consequences of diversity policies. Indeed, one set of studies found that participants were less likely to detect discrimination against marginalized group members in a company that explicitly mentioned diversity in their mission statement, compared to a company whose mission statement did not mention diversity (Kaiser, Major, Jurcevic, Dover, Brady, & Shapiro, 2013). This was especially striking because this same pattern emerged *even when there was clear evidence of sexism- and racism-based practices at the company*. Therefore, institutions cannot rest on their laurels and conclude that adjusting diversity messaging is sufficient. Just as numerical representation can take on a superficial quality, so too can diversity ideology take on the "language of appeasement" (Stewart, 2017)—support for diversity and inclusion in name only, unaccompanied by substantive change. The deeper, transformative work that is required for change will take much longer and require some hard dissonance-producing investigations into whether the goals of valuing diversity ideology are truly being realized.

Institutional (University) décor and signs. Even seemingly benign environmental cues can buffer marginalized group members from concerns about belonging and being valued. For example, a set of studies found that female students reported less interest in computer science and a lower sense of belonging when they were randomly assigned to a computer science classroom that had sci-fi posters and other stereotypically male objects in the room. However, replacing these stereotypical objects with more neutral ones reduced these concerns (Cheryan et al., 2009). Extrapolating out from these studies, institutions should be mindful of decor, signs, and other external cues, like the statues on campus and who they choose to celebrate/memorialize in building names, or the physical size of and resources allotted to "ethnic enclaves" (Sidanius, Van Laar, Levin, & Sinclair, 2004) for dominant group members (e.g., fraternity and sorority houses for historically and predominantly White organizations) compared to those same spaces for marginalized group members (e.g., multicultural centers).

How recommendation meets goals and motivations for marginalized group members. Following these recommendations may satisfy goals and motivations for marginalized group members in several ways. First, and perhaps most paramount, marginalized group members are aware that they may become targets of bias (Mendoza-Denton, Goldman-Flythe, Pietrzak, Downey, & Aceyes, 2010; Pinel, 1999; Richeson & Shelton, 2007). When environmental cues do little to mitigate those concerns—and sometimes, in fact, exacerbate them—students from these groups experience a host of consequences that interfere with their

ability to focus on their studies. For example, marginalized students encounter decreased working memory capacity as they try to decipher the meaning behind their ambiguous interactions (Crocker & Major, 1989; Murphy et al., 2013; Schmader & Johns, 2003), which contributes to academic underperformance (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002) and ultimately disengagement and withdrawal (Beasley & Fischer, 2012; Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005).

The consequences of existing in an environment that is not explicitly welcoming have implications beyond academic success. Students from marginalized groups contend with increased negative affect (Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991) as well as greater incidence of stress, anxiety, and depression in these identity-threatening environments (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Jones, Peddie, Gilrane, King, & Gray, 2016). In health care settings, such environment have implications that contribute to health and mortality disparities as well as patient satisfaction, communication and treatment adherence (Penner, Blair, Albrecht & Dovidio, 2014). Finally, such environments erode marginalized students' trust in the institution (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008), which can have long-lasting consequences for academic achievement and persistence (Yeager et al., 2017).

Changing environments from identity-threatening to identity-safe ones that value and affirm students' identities both avoids harm and has measurable benefits for marginalized students. When marginalized students feel represented and socially accepted, they perceive their institution as more diverse (Chen & Hamilton, 2015). Furthermore, students who have more self-relevant role models, brought about because of increased diversity, experience increased long-term positive consequences, such as decreased implicit stereotypical beliefs, future job security, and enhanced well-being (Brady, Cohen, Jarvis, & Walton, 2017; Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004). Changing the cues in the environment—especially in some of the smaller ways, like changing whose pictures are on the walls—can have substantial payoffs for marginalized group members (see Cheryan, Ziegler, Plaut, & Meltzoff, 2014).

Recommendation 2: Teach about Structural Discrimination in Addition
to Individual Forms of Discrimination

Substantial energy has been spent, by researchers and lay people alike (Duckitt, 1992), trying to identify the cause of individual discrimination by identifying *who* is racist. This results in the faulty conclusion that if there are no individuals enacting discrimination then discrimination does not exist (c.f., Murphy & Walton, 2013). However, structural discrimination is evidenced in the policies that are created and supported by key decision-makers in this country on issues related to public education, health care, criminal justice, etc. (e.g., Adams, O'Brien, & Nelson, 2006; Alexander, 2010). Extant research highlights that group-based disparities in perceptions of discrimination exist in part because dominant group

members focus more on individual forms of discrimination than the structural (and individual) forms of discrimination marginalized group members experience (see Carter & Murphy, 2015 for a review). Thus, institutions can do their part by teaching students about structural discrimination, and the way that it, in addition to individual discrimination, maintains inequity between dominant and marginalized group members. However, it is important to remember that, when institutions invite their students to engage in a conversation about inequity, not all students may be aware that such inequities exist.

Research by Glenn Adams and colleagues demonstrates the efficacy of shifting the way in which we teach about racism (Adams, Edkins, Lacka, Pickett, & Cheryan, 2008). Across two studies, White students participated in an online tutorial about racism. The first part of the tutorial was the same for all participants, defining key terms (e.g., stereotype) and describing the features of blatant and subtle racism. Then, students were randomly assigned to one of two tutorials. The *standard tutorial* focused on individual difference predictors of racism such as authoritarianism, religiosity, and conformity, and identified the automatic and controlled components of prejudice. The *sociocultural tutorial* focused on identifying structural factors that systematically favor members of some groups more so than others. Students' perceptions of discrimination were significantly impacted by the tutorial. Whereas students in the sociocultural tutorial condition were significantly more likely to perceive examples of structural racism as evidence of racism than students in the standard tutorial condition, both groups were equally likely to perceive examples of individual racism as evidence of racism. Taken together, these studies demonstrate the added benefit, particularly for dominant group members, of teaching about structural forms of discrimination.

How recommendation meets goals and motivations for marginalized group members. Marginalized group members are often accused of being oversensitive complainers when they talk about discrimination (e.g., Eliezer & Major, 2012; Kaiser & Miller, 2001). However, these accusations may stem from dominant group members' lack of knowledge about historical and current manifestations of racism (Nelson, Adams, & Salter, 2013). Furthermore, when such situations arise, marginalized group members are sometimes expected to educate their peers on their experiences and those of their group—a history lesson that should be the responsibility of the educational institution, not the students who inhabit it (Byrd, 2015). Teaching about structural discrimination also directly benefits marginalized group members, who feel a greater sense of fit and acceptance within organizations that highlight structural barriers to equality (i.e., lack of resources and opportunities) rather than individual barriers to equality (i.e., personal preference). For instance, Levine, Stephens, and Chentsova-Dutton (2017) showed that African American police officers report greater fit and trust in their department after being randomly assigned to read an organizational statement about inequality in

promotions that highlighted structural barriers (e.g., less representation and mentors) relative to individual barriers (e.g., personal choice in pursuing a promotion). Thus, shifting how institutions teach about what discrimination looks like will relieve some of this undue teaching burden from marginalized group members and help bring dominant group members' perceptions more in line with reality.

Recommendation 3: Take Heed of the Motivational Strategy Associated with Diversity Messaging

The goal of inclusion efforts is to prompt students to approach intergroup situations, and college campuses represent a unique opportunity to do so as students from different races, ethnicities, and backgrounds come together. Thus, institutions must take care to discuss diversity and inclusion efforts in ways that promote approach, rather than avoidance. Dominant group members experience intergroup conversations as anxiety-provoking and cognitively taxing (Richeson & Shelton, 2007). These anxiety-related concerns stem from little previous experience discussing race-related topics, and concerns that openly addressing race will belie their egalitarian self-concept (Dovidio, 2001; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). However, bias and discrimination are pervasive (e.g., Nosek et al., 2007), and learning about marginalized group members' experiences with discrimination can improve dominant group members' perceptions of bias (Carter & Murphy, 2017). Thus, it is important to structure conversations that make open, honest dialogue the priority in conversations about identity and equality, instead of defensiveness and a desire to not be seen as bigoted (Knowles, Lowery, Chow, Unzueta, 2014; Sue, Rivera, Capodilupo, Lin, Torino, 2010).

Extant research gives guidance on how to frame intergroup interactions in ways that facilitate successful intergroup relations. First, conversations about diversity that admonish dominant group members not to be racist elicit a performance goal and reinforce fears about being seen as racist (Murphy, Richeson, & Molden, 2011). A performance goal is associated with proving one's egalitarianism and demonstrating one's competence and ability. Ironically, this focus leads to increased anxiety and decreased comfort in intergroup interactions, and the kinds of stilted nonverbal behaviors that are perceived by marginalized group members as evidence of bias (McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Migacheva & Tropp, 2013; Trawalter & Richeson, 2006). Furthermore, presenting intergroup interactions as a skill that one (typically marginalized group members) has, and others do not, reinforces a fixed mindset about bias (e.g., Carr, Dweck, & Pauker, 2012; Neel & Shapiro, 2012). These mindsets (i.e., performance goals and a fixed theory of bias) elicit tactics that ensure dominant group members avoid risks, such as limiting the length of intergroup interaction, to avoid being "found out" as prejudiced. In contrast, to the extent that institutions frame successful intergroup engagement as a process of growth in which nobody is an expert, and that the university is an ideal setting for

such learning, research suggests this will encourage the learning-oriented strategies that are essential in promoting intergroup engagement, instead of intergroup avoidance. Taken together, this research presents a learning goal and a growth mindset about bias as promising antidotes to the awkward intergroup conversations that marginalized and dominant group members fear, as one's focus shifts away from how they are being perceived by others toward gaining new knowledge.

Self-determination theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryan & Deci, 2000) also suggests that broader messages about inclusion efforts should be framed in an autonomy-supportive way, emphasizing consistency with personally-held goals (e.g., talking about diversity is important to my goal of being more egalitarian), instead of an autonomy-restrictive way that emphasizes consistency with external requirements (e.g., talking about diversity is important because it is socially required). Indeed, recent research (Legault, Gutsell, & Inzlicht, 2011) demonstrated that students whose prejudice reduction goals were framed in autonomy-supportive language showed less explicitly and implicitly measured prejudice than control participants. Strikingly, students whose prejudice reduction goals were framed in autonomy-restrictive language showed *more* explicitly and implicitly measured prejudice than control participants. With this in mind, institutions would do well to examine their messaging related to diversity—does it emphasize that we "must" be non-prejudiced because society requires it (autonomy-restrictive)? Or, does it emphasize a community goal to be egalitarian (autonomy-supportive)?—and adjust so that their students are getting the right message: that intrinsically motivated change is the goal, not mere compliance with external mandates.

How recommendation meets goals and motivations for marginalized group members. For marginalized group members, the motivational framework of university diversity messaging has indirect benefits. Dominant group members often avoid intergroup contact for fear of being seen as racist, but especially at predominantly-White institutions (PWIs), this avoidance often means that marginalized group members are relegated to segregated areas of campus (Sidanius et al., 2004). However, cross-group friendship plays an important role in fostering a sense of belonging for students from marginalized groups (Mendoza-Denton & Page-Gould, 2008). Thus, by addressing the anxiety that accompanies intergroup engagement for dominant group members, marginalized group members will be less likely to be ignored and will instead experience greater engagement and integration in the campus community.

Recommendation 4: Create Structured Opportunities for Intergroup Engagement

Although attending college represents a unique experience in which students can meet peers from almost every corner of the world within the few square miles of campus, the reality is that students more often gravitate toward those in their

in-group (Tatum, 1997). The temptation to let this stand is high—it is comfortable and ensures less conflict. However, institutions can build opportunities for intergroup engagement into the fabric of the requirements asked of students, staff, and faculty as a way to seed the kind of interactions that they are hoping will naturally otherwise occur.

As described in some of the above recommendations, changing the way we teach about structural inequality and group-based experiences is an important precursor toward creating inclusive environments. In recent years, many colleges and universities, and even secondary school systems, have instituted some form of a diversity curriculum requirement to varying levels of success (Ceasar, 2014; Deruy, 2016). These changes have been celebrated and criticized (Anderson, 2016); however, the main benefit of such a requirement is that increases the likelihood that students will be exposed to content that they would not otherwise learn (save for specialty majors like Women's Studies, LGBTQ studies, or Asian American History). Extant evidence highlights the benefits of diversity-oriented courses for marginalized and dominant group members. For example, a series of studies found that practices such as incorporating African American literature into coursework improved African American students' sense of academic fit, performance, and persistence (Brannon, Markus, & Taylor, 2015). For dominant group members, curriculum diversity and engagement with peers from diverse backgrounds are associated with improved intergroup attitudes and greater orientation toward civic engagement (Denson & Bowman, 2013). Sustained effort toward increasing students' exposure to information about groups and experiences, through course requirements, is one way institutions can create more equitable and inclusive environments.

Course requirements are one tool institutions can use to encourage intergroup engagement, but students must also get practical advice about how to broach conversations with people different from them in more informal social settings as well. In one experimental study (Mallet & Wilson, 2010), White students watched videos of one Black and one White student who were ostensibly good friends. In the videos, both students described surprise that their initial concerns that they would not have much in common were wrong. Students in the study who watched these videos and also reflected on a similar experience in their life (i.e., when they became friends with someone and it went better than expected) later displayed more positive behaviors toward a Black experimenter. This small intervention had lasting impact—White students self-reported a greater proportion of cross-group friendships, and their Facebook networks reflected this as well. The benefits of cross-group friendships are well documented (Brannon & Walton, 2013; Mendes, Gray, Mendoza-Denton, Major, & Epel, 2007), and as our society becomes more globalized and diverse, it is increasingly important to ensure that students become more knowledgeable about and comfortable with interacting across group lines. Therefore, institutions must foster more intergroup contact, especially the type

of contact that can be knowledge-giving, allowing dominant group members to learn about the shared and different experiences of marginalized group members (see Brannon, Taylor, Higginbotham, & Henderson, 2017; see also Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton & Tropp, 2008 for long-term intergroup benefits of institutional efforts to foster cross-group friendships).

How recommendation meets goals and motivations for marginalized group members. For marginalized group members, institutionally supported efforts to incorporate information about their identity in an affirming and centralized way represent a critical cue to belonging. Thus, institutions dedicated to enhancing the experiences and achievement of marginalized group members will find efficacy in structuring requirements and opportunities for intergroup engagement.

Leveraging an *Inclusion for All* Framework

The reviewed recommendations offer empirically-supported implications for policy and practice to promote inclusion among marginalized group members. However, as the opening excerpt of the Yale Halloween example illustrated, well-intentioned inclusion efforts can create zero-sum situations. That is, in the Yale Halloween example the inclusion effort directly recognized and addressed the goals and motivations of marginalized group members. It sought to proactively re-duce or prevent experiences that would harm and threatened a sense of institutional belonging and safety. Moreover, the inclusion effort was empirically supported. Research in social and cultural psychology provides empirical evidence of the harm to academic and well-being outcomes suffered by members of marginal-ized groups when their group is associated with images and representations like mascots and cartoon characters (Fryberg, Markus, Oyserman, & Stone, 2008; Fryberg & Watts, 2010). Yet, despite positive intentions and empirical support for the inclusion effort, it inspired spirited backlash—reactance that can deduct from, nullify or even reverse any potential benefits of inclusion in direct and indirect ways. To reduce or avoid backlash in response to needed and important inclusion efforts we outline a set of goals and motivations associated with dominant group members that can be taken into account when instituting policies and practices. As shown in Figure 2, the three identified sources of backlash can have implications for dominant group members' goals and motivations.

Goals and Motivations: Perceived or Actual Restriction of Independence or Autonomy

A variety of the reviewed recommendations are vulnerable to reactance associated with perceived or actual restriction of independence or autonomy. Yet, goals and motivations among dominant group members tied to this source of

backlash can be acknowledged and taken into account. For example, if an academic course requirement is perceived to restrict independence or autonomy, institutions can minimize this threat by emphasizing how the requirement is consistent with broader institutional goals and values. Institutions can also create opportunities for choice or expression of independence or autonomy within the course requirement (e.g., allowing students to choose topics and focuses within the course requirement). Research demonstrates that dominant group members (i.e., White Americans) value making choices and that the act of making a choice is associated with investment (see Kim & Sherman, 2007). Institutions might also incorporate feedback from a diverse group of student representatives (e.g., comprised of students from marginalized and dominant groups) in addition to faculty and other institutional stakeholders in structuring the inclusion effort. These suggestions for addressing motivations and goals tied to valuing independence and autonomy are consistent with research which finds that reactance to restricted freedom can be minimized by giving individuals a sense of voice (Olison & Roloff, 2012).

Goals and Motivations: Preference for the Status Quo and Colorblindness

Many of the recommendations are also designed to challenge the status quo or colorblindness, which will likely result in discomfort and anxiety for dominant group members. However, for dominant group members, the motivational framework of university diversity messaging has direct benefits. For these group members, anxiety is a strong predictor of avoidance (Plant & Devine, 2003) and awkward behaviors (e.g., increased interpersonal distance, speech disfluency, decreased eye contact; Glick, DeMorest, & Hotze, 1988; Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008; Shelton, 2003) during intergroup interaction. And indeed, while increased knowledge of one's own biases can, at first, prompt greater awkwardness (Perry, Dovidio, Murphy, & van Ryn, 2015), the more institutions can do to emphasize that successful intergroup engagement does not require perfection, the more likely it is that dominant group members will adopt an approach motivation and the more adaptive behaviors that accompany it.

Institutions can address this anxiety and discomfort by creating a more structured environment for intergroup contact to occur—a training ground of sorts—that can be very effective when accompanied by other informal opportunities for engagement. This opportunity to learn is not only useful for decreasing anxiety, but research also demonstrates that this exposure to others' experiences is an essential way to reduce dismissive responses to discrimination claimants and to increase dominant group members' perceived prevalence of bias (Carter & Murphy, 2017). By creating what are, at first, mandated opportunities for intergroup contact, institutions can be reasonably optimistic that these conversations will prompt post-class conversations and engagement that turn into genuine cross-group friendship.

Goals and Motivations: Beliefs that Racial and Other Social Equalities Have Been Reached

Many dominant group members feel that the proverbial playing field has been sufficiently leveled: slavery and other moments of historical inequality are in the past; where we are now is certainly better than where we have been (Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006). As a result, any continued conversation about improving conditions for one group—when it is not first clear that there are still vast disparities—will understandably be met with skepticism and disdain by members of the dominant group who hold such beliefs. For example, dominant group members sometimes respond to inclusion efforts for marginalized group members, such as creating ethnic-themed dormitories, with calls for parallel efforts (e.g., White-themed dormitories). As noted in the sources of backlash section, this is because people who presuppose equal footing are likely less aware of/or less willing to acknowledge historical and current structural inequity across race, gender, sexuality, class, and other social lines. However, it is also important to note that a potential barrier to acknowledging structural discrimination for dominant group members is that it implies their current status and achievements are in part due to their group membership, rather than fully due to their own personal merit and strivings (Knowles, Lowery, Chow, & Unzueta, 2014). Thus, institutions must understand that acknowledging inequities may require a larger shift in dominant group members' understanding about the persistence of individual *and* structural discrimination in modern society.

Creating opportunities for dominant group members to engage with diverse perspectives and histories in curriculum practices and/or through contact with marginalized group members can facilitate this shift in dominant group members' understanding of inequalities. It can also facilitate exposure to counterstereotypcial exemplars and other positive consequences. For example, the same benefits of exposure to counterstereotypical exemplars/role models that marginalized group members experience also hold for dominant group members, whose stereotypical associations are reduced following exposure to counterstereotypical exemplars (Finnegan, Oakhill, & Garnham, 2015). Recent research on middle school students demonstrates the far-reaching benefits of diversity for students of all races and ethnicities: Asian, Black, Latino, and White students all felt safer, less victimized, and less lonely in more diverse schools. They also perceived teachers' treatment of marginalized group members to be more fair (Juvonen, Kogachi, & Graham, 2017). Although this study examined the benefits of diversity for middle school students, the same insights can be extrapolated to anticipate the all-inclusive benefits of diversity for older students (i.e., college) who exist in more identity-safe environments that explicitly value and support diversity and inclusion.

Conclusion

Mainstream institutions are not culturally neutral settings; they are often designed exclusively with ideas, practices and products associated with dominant groups. Thus, diversity efforts that explicitly include individuals, ideas, practices, and products associated with marginalized groups necessarily change the status quo. However, such changes can promise long-term benefits at the expense of short-term costs, including predictable reactions to efforts that elicit even minimal levels of racial stress amongst dominant group members. Such short-term costs are worth the long-term benefits of existing in an environment that is more identity-safe and supportive of diversity (e.g., Bowman, Brandenberger, Hill, & Lapsley, 2011). Leaders and decision-makers, as well as researchers who study inclusion and related social inequalities, should feel empowered about their ability to enact and develop policies and practices that can succeed at achieving inclusion within institutions. By drawing attention to the goals and motivations of dominant group members tied to the three identified sources of backlash the current *inclusion for all* framework does not excuse interpersonal or institutional prejudice as a source of reactance and resistance to inclusion initiatives. Rather, it complements research and policy perspectives that focus on prejudice; and, it offers recommendations that are likely to foster inclusion *as well as* reduce institutional and interpersonal prejudice.

Acknowledgments

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TIFFANY N. BRANNON is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Psychology at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her research examines sociocultural identities in negatively stereotyped groups such as African Americans and Latino Americans; and she investigates the potential for these identities to serve as a psychological resource—one that can facilitate a variety of individual and intergroup benefits. Her research integrates basic psychological theories related to the self, multicultural experiences, and consistency theories to understand the conditions that allow culturally shaped identities in negatively stereotyped groups to function as powerful agents of social change. This research has demonstrated that culturally shaped identities when affirmed within mainstream educational settings can increase academic motivation and performance among members of negatively stereotyped groups and can improve the intergroup attitudes of majority group members. Prior to joining the faculty at UCLA, she was a postdoctoral fellow and visiting assistant professor at the Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University. She received her Ph.D. and M.A. in Social Psychology from Stanford University and her B.A. in Psychology from Florida International University

EVELYN R. CARTER (www.evelyn-carter.com) is a Research Scientist for BruinX, the Research & Development arm of the UCLA Office of Equity, Diversity and Inclusion. Her research examines the factors that shape how people detect racial bias. Her work on identifying successful strategies for racial bias confrontation has been funded by the National Science Foundation. Evelyn is passionate about translating social psychological research into evidence-based practices that will create and sustain inclusion. To this end, her research also focuses on how to structure institutions in ways that will foster greater awareness about subtle and blatant bias and structural inequity among students from dominant groups, while increasing sense of belonging and institutional engagement among students from marginalized groups. Evelyn earned her B.A. in Psychology at Northwestern University, her M.A. in Social Psychology at University of Illinois at Chicago, and her Ph.D. in Social Psychology from Indiana University.

LISEL ALICE MURDOCK-PERRIERA is a PhD candidate in Curriculum and Teacher Education at the Stanford Graduate School of Education and teaches for Stanford University and for the Stanford Teacher Education Program. Her research is dedicated to introducing Linguistic Belonging—the idea that students' sense of belonging is shaped by interactions with their teachers in school about their language use—to the fields of education and social psychology. She also studies how

race and language interact with regard to belonging in multiple settings, including elementary school and higher education. Lisel earned her A.B. in Sociology at Dartmouth College, summa cum laude, and her M.S.Ed. in Childhood General and Special Education at the Bank Street College of Education.

GERALD HIGGINBOTHAM is a doctoral student in the Department of Psychology, University of California-Los Angeles. His research focuses on how cultural representations in media shape identity and intergroup perceptions, primarily in high school and college contexts, and how these representations can be leveraged to increase sense of academic fit amongst underrepresented groups.