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DIVERSITY STRUCTURES AND WHITES' CLAIMS OF BIAS

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Princess Egbule

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ABSTRACT

Diversity structures (e.g. diversity trainings) have been implemented in companies to bring awareness to discrimination and promote equality (Shen, Chanda, D'Netto, & Monga, 2009). However, previous research has shown that diversity structures can act as legitimizing cues and can threaten the authenticity of claims of discrimination made by low-status groups (Dover, Major, & Kaiser, 2012). Ironically, high-status group are typically threatened by pro-diversity organizational messages (Dover, Major & Kaiser, 2015). Could diversity structures meant to help minorities make it more likely that high-status groups are more likely to believe bias claims from an in-group member? In Study 1, White participants were randomly assigned to read a description of a company that had a diversity training versus regular employee training, then read a claim of discrimination made by a White employee. They also completed a measure of White group identification. There was a significant interaction (Condition X GID), which suggested that when participants in the control condition identified more with their in-group, the more believable they found the claim of discrimination to be. The unexpected but interesting result could be due to the fact participants in the diversity condition withdrew their support of the White claimant because they did not want to appear racist or felt that the White claimant was acting as a bad in-group member. A replication of the Study 1 with the additional measures, group level social cost and individual level social cost was conducted, and the results did not replicate. However, exploratory mediation analyses revealed

group level social cost served as a significant mediator for the relationship between GID and claim believability, perceptions of diversity structures and perceptions of policy changes while individual social cost did not. Implications for diversity structures, GID and future research directions are discussed.

Keywords: diversity structures, discrimination, high-status, low-status

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Diversity Structures and Whites' Claims of Bias

Over time, there has been a big shift to the demographics in the United States of America and it is becoming increasingly diverse, therefore, there has been a big push for more diverse and inclusive workplaces. Various organizations are motivated to express their commitment to diversity by implementing different diversity structures (e.g. diversity trainings, pro-diversity mission statements, recruitment of diverse individuals, and efforts to win diversity awards; Shen, Chanda, D'Netto, & Monga, 2009). Diversity structures are often well-intended and meant to produce better outcomes and opportunities for low-status individuals in an organization. Diversity structures were initially created to address systematic disparities, address discrimination and diversify workplaces (Edelman, Fuller & Mara-Drita, 2001; Richard, 2000). The goal of diversity structures is to create a safe and accepting work environment for racial minorities (and members of other stigmatized groups) who are typically at a disadvantage in the workforce. However, even with diversity structures present in a company, it is not always the case that the environment is welcoming or free from discrimination. Longitudinal studies have shown that diversity initiatives often do not reduce workplace bias or increase racial diversity (Kalev et al., 2006; Ryne & Rosen, 1995). Diversity structures tend to be effective only in work environments that incorporate accountability and support for egalitarian goals (Kalev, Dobbin, &

Kelly, 2006; Plaut, Thomas & Goren, 2009), which many environments do not offer. Essentially, for diversity structures to be effective, organizations must hold individuals accountable for their actions and endorse the belief that everyone is entitled to equality and should have equal opportunity.

Although diversity policies may not always be effective, recent research has suggested that diversity structures may have a negative impact on individuals' responses to claims of discrimination made by low-status groups. Research by Dover, Major, and Kaiser (2012) indicates that diversity initiatives in a company can act as legitimizing cues and can de-legitimatize claims of discrimination made by low-status group members. There appears to be a misconception that companies are not discriminatory if they have diversity structures in place, which is not the case. One reason why these policies persist is that although they rarely seem to achieve their intended goals (e.g. diversity), they offer benefits to the companies that have them. Discrimination lawsuits succeed less often in court against companies that do (vs. do not) have diversity structures in place (Edelman, Krieger, Eliason, Albiston & Mellema, 2011).

Another limitation with diversity structures is that high-status groups tend to have a negative response to them. Previous research has shown that high-status groups are typically threatened by pro-diversity organizational messages (Dover, Major & Kaiser, 2015). Specifically, Dover et al. (2015) found that White men experienced more threat, were more worried about being unfairly treated and formed worse impressions of a company when they imagined applying to a

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company that emphasized the importance of diversity versus a company that did not mention diversity. The push for diversity could be perceived as harmful to high-status individuals because they may feel like they are being marginalized. High-status individuals could feel that the push for diversity puts them at a disadvantage and means they are not the ideal candidate for a position. This could make high-status individuals feel that diversity structures are unfair to them and favor minority groups. This shift in standards could make high-status individuals more likely to claim bias or discrimination in the workplace. If diversity structures are indeed seen as threatening to high-status groups, could the presence of diversity structures be perceived as anti-white bias and lead to support for a claim of discrimination made by a high-status group member? I plan to examine if diversity structures created to help minorities, paradoxically helps the believability of discrimination claims made by high-status group members.

<u>Diversity Structures De-legitimize Claims of Discrimination made by Low-status Groups</u>

 Diversity structures provide important benefits, such as, raising awareness of biases, changing norms surrounding the assertion of discrimination and increasing trust among organizations and minority groups (Cheryan, Plaut, Davies, & Steele, 2009; Paluck, 2011; Plaut, 2010; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Randall Crosby, 2008). Diversity structures in a company signal to minority applicants and employees that the environment is safe, welcoming and accepting; however, this is not

always the case. Despite the presence of diversity structures in a company, discrimination can persist. For example, low-status groups still earn less than high-status groups, even when controlling for factors such as education and occupation (United States Census Bureau, 2012). Dover et al. (2012), found that diversity initiatives in a company can act as legitimizing cues for the company and can de-legitimatize claims of discrimination made by low-status groups. The presence of diversity structures in a company gives the impression that the company is fair and respectful to minorities, therefore, the company would not partake in discriminatory behaviors. Kaiser and colleagues (2013) indicated that for high-status groups, just the mention of the company having a diversity training in place, acted as a signal that a company is fair and reduces perceptions of discrimination, which could possibly lead to less support for low-status groups who claim discrimination. Brady, Kaiser, Major, and Kirby (2015), similarly found that the mention of a diversity training caused women to believe that women are treated more fairly in the workplace. This in turn led women to minimize and be less supportive of women's mobilization against discrimination. Ironically, diversity structures may paradoxically undermine the individuals they are intended to help.

Diversity Structures are Threatening to High-status Groups. Dover et al. (2015), found that high-status groups are typically threatened by pro-diversity organizational messages. This threat could may be harmful to the efforts of diversity structures because high-status groups when threatened may push to

undermine diversity and affirmative action policies (Wilkins, Wellman, Babbit, Tossi, & Schad, 2015). Wilkins, Hirsch, Kaiser, and Inkles (2016) have demonstrated that the threat of racial progress, such as a more diverse student body in a college, could potentially translate to high-status groups perceiving more racial bias against their in-group. This finding suggests that advancements made by low-status groups could be perceived by high-status group members as representing a threatening shift. Indeed, Craig and Richeson (2014) demonstrated that when the U.S. racial demographic shift was made salient, White Americans preferred interacting with their own racial group over minority groups and expressed more negative attitudes towards minority groups. Additionally, Craig and Richeson (2017) found that exposure to information about the changing US racial demographic led White Americans to perceive that their group will face increasing amounts of discrimination in a racially-diverse future. White individuals may be under the impression that they will suffer at the expense of the advancement of low-status groups. An increasing number of White individuals believe that discrimination against White individuals is as serious of a problem as discrimination against racial minorities (Public Religion Research Institute, 2011; Norton & Sommer, 2011). Though White individuals experience less severe and less frequent forms of discrimination than racial minorities (Schmitt & Branscome, 2000), White individuals may be more likely to make claims of discrimination compared to racial minorities (Goldman, 2001).

CHAPTER TWO

DISCRIMINATION

Claims of Discrimination

Claims of discrimination can have negative consequences and usually have a negative impact on the person making the claim. Claiming discrimination is associated with victims being perceived as hypersensitive, emotional and generally unpleasant (Feagin & Sikes, 1994). According to Kowalski (1996), the social costs of complaining also include being labeled as a whiner, which could potentially translate to being ostracized by others. A victim of discrimination who complains about the unfair treatment could be perceived as a whiner for "pointing the finger" rather than taking personal responsibility for a poor outcome (Kaiser & Miller, 2001 & 2003; Garcia et al., 2005). The negative evaluations that come from making claims of discrimination could hinder stigmatized groups from making these claims and disregarding discrimination when it has occurred. This could be a big problem because discrimination is still widespread in society and one way to address discrimination is to bring attention to it, when it has occurred (Crosby, 1984). If victims of discrimination are afraid to claim discrimination, the problem is likely to persist (Crosby, 1984).

Kaiser and Miller (2001) found that when there was a likelihood that the raters were racist, participants still readily devalued an African American man who claimed discrimination. Even though it was made salient that the evaluators were probably racist, and the discrimination had most likely occurred, the man

was still viewed more negatively when he claimed discrimination rather than blaming himself (taking personal responsibility). More specifically, participants rated the man as more emotional, irritating, complaining and hypersensitive when he claimed his poor outcome was the result of discrimination. Garcia, Reser, Amo, Redersdorff and Branscombe (2005) had similar findings, when targets attributed a poor test score to discrimination rather than answer quality, they were labeled as being complainers and perceived to be avoiding personal responsibility. Participants actually reported less liking for in-group targets who blamed their failure on discrimination than they did for those in the out-group who made identical claims and those in the in-group who blamed answer quality. Perceivers could be harsher on in-group members and feel less inclined to support the in-group member because they are interested in maintaining the positive identity of their group. That is, the person making the claim could be perceived as a bad group member whose failure to take responsibility for a poor outcome makes the group look like complainers as a whole.

Claims of Discrimination and Group Identification

One factor that could influence how the person who is claiming discrimination is perceived could be the perceiver's group identification. Group identification (GID) refers to the extent to which individuals consider their group membership to be an important and central part of their self-concept (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Typically, group identification reflects an

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individual's commitment to a group: thus, highly identified individuals are usually concerned about preserving a positive image of the group and obtaining positive outcomes for their group (Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles & Goff, 2006). Because individuals are a part of a group, they often would like for that group to maintain a positive image and be highly regarded by others. Based on these motivations, GID could differentially predict participant's reactions to claims of discrimination made by an out-group member versus an in-group member. Consistent with this proposition, previous research conducted by Wilkins, Wellman, and Schad (2017), found that among men, greater gender identification was associated with more positive attitudes toward an anti-male bias claimant. Essentially, highly identified men may have been under the impression that the claimant was motivated to protect the in-group and willing to incur the social cost that comes with making a claim to bring attention to the injustice.

There is a growing body of research that suggest negative reactions to claims of discrimination could be influenced by GID (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988; Garcia, Schmitt, Branscombe & Ellemers, 2010). In some cases, it is in the groups' best interest to have a negative reaction to an in-group member claiming discrimination because they are bringing negative attention to the group. Whereas, it could be beneficial to have a positive response to an in-group member claiming discrimination because they are bringing attention to a problem that many members face. Consistent with this proposition, Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens (1988) found that unlikeable in-group members are more negatively

evaluated then unlikeable outgroup members when their behaviors were relevant for the in-group's social identity. In this case, in-group members could be negatively evaluated for claiming discrimination because they reflect poorly on the group. Everything is essentially on a case by case basis and the reaction by the group could be tied to whether or not the claimant claiming discrimination is harmful or helpful to the group. Primarily, I am interested in whether diversity structures influence the believability of a claim of discrimination made by a high-status group member among their in-group, however, as the literature has shown, GID is an important factor to consider and will be assessed in the study.

Although previous research has indicated that the presence of diversity structures can be harmful to low-status group claimants of discrimination, there is the possibility that diversity structures could be beneficial to high-status claimants of discrimination. Diversity structures could demonstrate there is a need for support and therefore a lack of safety for high-status group members as the presence of diversity structures signals safety and support for claims of discrimination for low-status groups. To my knowledge, no research has been done on whether the presence of diversity structures in a company could potentially influence the believability of a claim of discrimination made by a high-status individual. White individuals are increasingly more likely to claim bias (Goldman, 2001), and it is important to understand how these claims are responded to and whether the presence of diversity structures impacts these

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claims. I propose to examine whether diversity structures are helpful to claims of

discrimination made by high-status group members.

CHAPTER THREE

STUDY 1

Study 1 followed the framework of Dover et al. (2012), however, I examined whether the presence of diversity structures in a company could influence the believability of a claim of discrimination made by a high-status group member among their in-group. More specifically, I hypothesized that the presence of diversity structures in a company would significantly increase the believability of a claim of discrimination made by a high-status group member among their in-group members. Participants would perceive the push for diversity as anti-white bias and this would give support to the claim of discrimination made by the high-status group member; therefore, participants would perceive it as more believable. Additionally, I hypothesized that participants in the diversity condition would be more concerned about the company's unfair treatment, perceive the company as less fair, believe the complainant was more likely to win the case, and believe discrimination against White individuals is more widespread. Also, I hypothesized that participants in the manipulation condition will rate the employee as less racist, hold more negative attitudes about diversity structures and indicate policy changes that protect White individuals from discrimination should be put in place. Lastly, I was interested to examine whether the endorsement of different belief systems such as status-legitimatizing beliefs or group identification could moderate the relationship between the conditions and the dependent variables listed above.

Method

I recruited 218 White participants to ensure the White claimant was being evaluated by in-group members. All participants were recruited online through TurkPrime in exchange for US $1.00. After removing individuals for failed attention checks and failed manipulation checks, 145 participants remained (59.6% female; 100% White; age: $M = 45.41$, $SD = 15.53$).

Participants were informed that the study was about workplace policy. Prior to completion of the study, participants were required to sign an informed consent form online. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions, which manipulated a policy a company had in place. The descriptions were adapted from Brady, Kaiser, Major & Kirby (2015). In the *Diversity Training Program* condition, participants were informed that the company had a training program called Fostering Ethnic Diversity Success, which aimed to improve communication between ethnically diverse employees, develop increased sensitivity to manage ethnic diversity and reward good performance that does not discriminate against ethnic minorities. In the *Employee Training Control* condition, participants were informed that the company had a training called Fostering Employee Success, which aimed to improve communication among employees, develop increased sensitivity to manage personnel and establish ways to recognize and reward good performance. All participants then read about a White employee who had filed a claim of discrimination against the company (see Appendix B). Participants then reported how concerned they were

about unfair treatment in the company, the believability of the claim, the possible outcome of the claim, whether the incident represented an isolated or widespread issue, racism of the claimant and perceived fairness of the company, perceptions of diversity structures, and policy changes. Participants then completed a diversity training manipulation check in which they indicated whether the company had a diversity training. Also, they were asked to indicate the race of the employee who claimed discrimination. Finally, participants reported their SLB endorsement, GID and demographics. Upon completion of the study, participants were debriefed and informed of the true nature of the experiment and thanked for their time.

All questions were assessed on a 1-7 scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*, unless otherwise indicated). Correlations between variables can be found in Table 1.

Concerns about unfair treatment. I assessed participants' concerns about the company's unfair treatment with six items. Example items included "The company likely treats all employees equally regardless of race/ethnicity"; "I am concerned that the company is likely to employees differently based on their race/ethnicity"; "The White employees are likely to be treated worse than their racial minority colleagues at this company"; "White employees are likely to "miss out" on opportunities offered to racial minority employees at this company" (M = 4.51, SD = .77, α = .91). See Appendix B.

Claim Believability. I assessed the claim believability with seven items. Example items included "I believe the claimant was right to file their claim"; "I believe the claim of discrimination is accurate"; "I do not think the claim is true" (reverse scored); "The claimant is likely to have experienced bias based on their race"; "The claimant is simply making an excuse for their failure to advance" (reverse coded); ($M = 4.67$, $SD = 1.20$, $\alpha = .93$). See Appendix B.

Outcome of the Claim. I assessed the outcome of the claim with three items. Example items included "The employee is likely to win their case"; "The employee is unlikely to win their case" (reverse coded); ($M = 3.78$, $SD = 1.25$, $\alpha = .88$). See Appendix B.

Isolated incident/Widespread issue. I assessed participant's evaluation of this being an isolated incident or widespread issue with four items. Example items included "It is unlikely that this is an isolated incident of discrimination"; "Discrimination against White people is increasingly common"; "At many companies, Whites are increasingly likely to be at a disadvantage in hiring and promotion"; "Employers are increasingly less likely to recognize the contributions of their White employees" ; ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.24$, $\alpha = .86$). See Appendix B.

Racism of the Claimant. I assessed perceived racism of the claimant with three items. Example items included "The claimant is racist (reverse coded)"; "The claimant is bias against racial minority individuals (reverse coded)"; "The claimant holds negative views of racial minority individuals (reverse coded)"; ($M = 4.52$, $SD = 1.33$, $\alpha = .93$). See Appendix B.

Perceived Fairness of the Company. I assessed perceived fairness of the company with seven items. Example items included "The company is concerned with fairness for its employees"; "The company cares about taking care of its employee"; "The company respects their ethnic minority employees"; "The company deserved recognition for its efforts"; ($M = 4.70$, $SD = .66$, $\alpha = .86$). See Appendix B.

Diversity Structures. I assessed perceptions of diversity structures with four items. Example items included "The push for diversity has a negative effect on non-minority employees"; "The push for diversity is beneficial to all employees (reverse coded)"; "Diversity policies are leading to discrimination against Whites'; ($M = 3.94$, $SD = 1.27$, $\alpha = .87$). See Appendix B.

Policy Changes. I assessed participant's opinions of policy changes with three items. Example items included "White individuals need policies that protect them from discrimination"; "Policies that protect White individuals from discrimination are unnecessary" (reverse coded); "Policies that protect minority individuals from discrimination are harmful to White individuals"; ($M = 4.15$, $SD = 1.03$, $\alpha = .75$). See Appendix B.

Status-legitimizing beliefs. I assessed endorsement of status-legitimizing beliefs with 12 items (adapted from Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, & Federico, 1998). Example items included "If people work hard they almost always get what they want"; "America is an open society where all individuals can achieve higher status"; "America is a just society where differences in status between groups

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reflect actual group differences"; Differences in status between groups in

American society are fair"; "Differences in status between groups in American

society are the result of injustice"; "It is unfair that certain groups in America have

poorer living conditions than other groups", (M = 3.64, SD = .73, $α$ = .79). See

Appendix B.

Group Identification. I assessed how much participants identified with their

group with four items (adapted from Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Example items

included "My race has very little to do with how I feel about myself"; "My race is

an important reflection of who I am"; "In general, my race is important to my self-

image"; (M = 2.97, SD = 1.26, $α$ = .80). See Appendix B.

Demographics Questionnaire. Participants completed a demographics

questionnaire regarding their gender, age, ethnicity, country of birth, sexual

orientation and political affiliation. See Appendix B.

Results

Preliminary Analyses. Because GID was assessed at end of the study, it

was important to establish that it was not influenced by my experimental

manipulation. There were no main effect of condition on group identification

(Claim Condition: $t(143)$ = 1.08, p = .281, CI -.19 to .64).

Analysis Strategy. I first tested the two-way interaction between Claim

Condition (Claim vs. No Claim) and GID (continuous), using hierarchical linear

regression. On Step 1, the covariates' SLB and Political Affiliation were entered,

per previous research that has indicated that SLB, PA, and GID are highly

correlated among high-status group members. On Step 2, GID (mean centered) and Claim Condition (0 = control) were entered. On Step 3, the two-way interaction between GID*Condition was entered. I then examined the simple slopes of GID within each condition at 1 SD above the mean and 1 SD below the mean. I found no effect of condition across any of the dependent variables examined, therefore, the analyses below focus on the interactions. See Table 2 and Table 3 for the full output.

Concerns about unfair treatment. There was no significant interaction between GID and condition in predicting concerns about unfair treatment, $\Delta F(1,138) = .003$, $p = .956$, $\Delta R^2 = .000$; Model: $F(5, 138) = 2.62$, $p = .027$, $R^2 = .09$.

Claim believability. There was a significant interaction between GID and condition in predicting claim believability, $\Delta F(1,138) = 5.02$, $p = .027$, $\Delta R^2 = .03$; Model: $F(5, 138) = 3.59$, $p = .004$, $R^2 = .12$. The more participants in the *control* condition identified with their group, the more believable they found the claim of discrimination to be believable, $b = .29$ $p = .005$. GID was unrelated to claim believability in the *diversity* condition, $b = -.06$, $p = .628$ (see Figure 1).

Outcome of the Claim. There was a significant interaction between GID and condition in predicting outcome of the claim, $\Delta F(1,138) = 5.17$, $p = .025$, $\Delta R^2 = .03$; Model: $F(5, 138) = 4.30$, $p = .001$, $R^2 = .14$. The more participants in the *control* condition identified with their group, the more they felt the employee

should win the case, b = .42, p < .000. GID was unrelated to outcome of the claim in the *diversity* condition, b = .06, p = .624. (See Figure 2).

Isolated incident/Widespread issue. There was no significant interaction between GID and condition in predicting whether this was an isolated incident or a widespread issue, $\Delta F(1,138)$ = 1.55, p = .215, ΔR^2 = .01; Model: $F(5, 138)$ = 8.22, p < .000, R^2 = .23.

Racism of the Claimant. There was no significant interaction between GID and condition in predicting racism of the claimant, $\Delta F(1,138)$ = .43, p = .512, ΔR^2 = .003; Model: $F(5, 138)$ = 1.35, p = .248, R^2 = .05.

Perceived Fairness of the Company. There was no significant interaction between GID and condition in predicting perceived fairness of the company, in the *diversity* condition, $\Delta F(1,138)$ = .42, p = .517, ΔR^2 = .003; Model: $F(5, 138)$ = 2.02, p = .079, R^2 = .07.

Diversity Structures. There was a significant interaction between GID and condition in predicting perceptions of diversity structures, $\Delta F(1,138)$ = 3.85, p = .052, ΔR^2 = .02; Model: $F(5, 138)$ = 15.56, p < .000, R^2 = .36. The more participants in the *control* condition identified with their group, the more they felt diversity structures were harmful for White individuals, b = .28, p = .003. GID was unrelated to diversity structures in the *diversity condition*, b = .004, p = .974.

Policy Changes. There was a significant interaction between GID and condition in predicting perceptions of policy changes, $\Delta F(1,138)$ = 5.42, p = .021, ΔR^2 = .03; Model: $F(5, 138)$ = 13.24, p < .000, R^2 = .32. The more participants in

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the *control* condition identified with their group, the more they felt policies that help White individuals should be put in place, $b = .18$, $p = .019$. GID was unrelated to perceptions of policy change in the *diversity* condition, $b = -.09$, $p = .31$ (see Figure 4).

Discussion. I examined participants' attitudes towards a White employee who had filed a claim of discrimination against a company and how GID moderated those reactions. I found that GID moderated reactions to the high-status group member's claim of discrimination. The more participants identified with their group, the more believable they found the claim to be. However, this relationship was present only in the control condition. This unexpected finding could be due to participants in the diversity condition having the fear of appearing racist. Also, participants in the diversity condition may feel the White employee shined a negative light on the in-group, so they withdrew their support for him. The more participants identified with their group, the more they thought the claimant should win the case; this relationship was present in the control condition. Participants in the control condition found the claim more believable, additionally, they thought it would be more likely that the employee would win the case. Also, the more participants in the control condition identified with their group, the more they felt diversity structures were harmful for White individuals. Participants could be perceiving that diversity structures are harmful for White individuals because they emphasize the importance of typically minority groups, therefore, they may feel White individuals are now being marginalized. The more

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participants in the control condition identified with their group, the more they felt

policies that protect White individuals from discrimination should be put in place.

These unexpected but interesting results have led me to Study 2. I hope to

replicate these findings and try to explain why the GID relationships were

significant in the control condition but not the diversity condition. The measures

concern about unfair treatment, isolated incident/widespread issue, racism of the

claimant, and perceived fairness of the company did not produce significant

results. This could be due to various factors; these are exploratory measures and

maybe they did not latch on or encompass what was really important to

participants in regard to the claim of discrimination. Therefore, concerns about

unfair treatment, isolated incident/widespread issue, racism of the claimant and

perceived fairness of the company will not be included in the next study.

CHAPTER FOUR

STUDY 2

For Study 2, I sought to replicate and extend the findings of Study 1, I included two new measures: group level social cost and individual level social cost. I expected to find that participants with higher GID in the control condition would find the claim of discrimination more believable, believe the claimant is more likely to win the case, have more negative perceptions towards diversity structures and believe policy changes are necessary for White individuals. Specifically, I hypothesized that GID would moderate the relationship between claim believability, outcome of the claim, perceptions of diversity structures and perceptions of policy changes in the control condition. Additionally, I was interested to see whether group level social cost or individual level social cost would serve as mediators, accounting for the elimination of the effect of GID in the diversity condition.

These hypotheses were based on Study 1 findings that GID was a moderating factor in the control condition. There was a possibility that GID influenced the results because in the diversity condition, participants did not want to appear racist or could have felt the White employee was shining a bad light on the in-group; therefore, they did not want to support the White employee. When the diversity training was mentioned, participants may be more likely to believe that the claim of discrimination made by the White employee is harmful to the group; therefore, they no longer support the in-group member. In the control

condition, there was no mention of diversity training, participants in this condition may have felt they were acting as a good in-group member by endorsing support for the White employee.

I hypothesized that the individual level social cost and group level social cost would mediate the relationship between GID and claim believability, outcome of the claim, perceptions of diversity structures and perceptions of policy changes in the diversity condition but not in the control condition. Participants in the diversity condition may have withdrew support for the White employee because they feared that they would be perceived as racist or that White people as a group would be perceived as being racist. See *Figure 5.*

Method

I recruited 369 White participants to ensure the White claimant was being evaluated by in-group members. All participants were recruited online through TurkPrime in exchange for US $1.00. After removing individuals for missing 2 or more attention checks, failing the manipulation and not being White, 275 participants remained (60% female; 100% White; age: $M = 49.67$, $SD = 16.01$). I followed the same procedure that was outlined in the Study 1. All questions were assessed on a 1-7 scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*, unless otherwise indicated). Correlations between all variables can be found in Table 4. Measures were assessed with the same items from Study 1: Claim Believability ($M = 4.68$, $SD = 1.25$, $α = .93$), Outcome of the Claim ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.20$, $α = .82$), Diversity Structures ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 1.44$, $α = .89$), Policy Changes ($M =$

4.10, $SD = 1.30$, $α = .70$), Status-Legitimizing Beliefs ($M = 3.65$, $SD = .93$, $α =$ .86), and Group Identification ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 1.41$, $α = .82$).

Individual Level Social Cost. Was assessed with nine items. Example items included "If I were to support the claimant, it would make me look racist"; "If I were to support the claimant, it would make me look like I have biases"; "If I were to support the claimant, it would reflect poorly on me"; ($M = 3.98$, $SD = 1.10$, $α = .88$) See Appendix B.

Group Level Social Cost. Was assessed with twelve items. Example items included "The claimant is looking out for White individuals"; "The claimant makes White individuals look like they are prejudice"; "Supporting the claimant reflects poorly on White individuals" ($M = 3.87$, $SD = .91$, $α = .84$). See Appendix B.

Results

Preliminary Analyses. Because GID was assessed at end of the study, it was important to establish that it was not influenced by my experimental manipulation. There were no main effect of condition on group identification (Claim Condition: $t(273) = 1.18$, $p = .240$, CI -.14 to .54).

Analysis Strategy. I followed the same procedure set forth in Study 1. See Table 5 for the full output, the analyses below focus on the interactions.

Claim Believability. There was a no significant interaction between GID and condition in predicting claim believability, $\Delta F(1, 268) = .07$, $p = .793$, $\Delta R^2 = .000$; Model: $F(5, 268) = 5.22$, $p < .000$, $R^2 = .09$.

Outcome of the Claim. There was a no significant interaction between GID and condition in predicting outcome of the claim, $\Delta F(1, 268) = .005$, $p = .946$, $\Delta R^2 = .00$; Model: $F(5, 268) = 3.29$, $p = .007$, $R^2 = .06$.

Diversity Structures. There was a no significant interaction between GID and condition in predicting perceptions of diversity structures, $\Delta F(1, 268) = .18$, $p = .675$, $\Delta R^2 = .001$; Model: $F(5, 268) = 8.14$, $p < .000$, $R^2 = .13$.

Policy Changes. There was a no significant interaction between GID and condition in predicting perceptions of policy changes, $\Delta F(1, 268) = .53$, $p = .469$, $\Delta R^2 = .002$; Model: $F(5, 268) = 11.18$, $p < .000$, $R^2 = .17$.

There were no significant interactions between GID and Condition in this study, therefore, the moderated meditation analyses were not conducted. I found no effect of condition across any of the dependent variables examined. However, there were correlations between several variables; there were negative correlations between group level social cost and claim believability, $r = -.70$, $p < .001$, diversity structures, $r = -.40$, $p < .001$ and policy changes, $r = -.53$, $p < .001$ across conditions. Additionally, there were negative correlations between individual level social cost and claim believability, $r = -.61$, $p < .001$, diversity structures, $r = -.23$, $p < .001$ and policy changes, $r = -.36$, $p < .001$ across conditions. I believe these relationships are worth highlighting and exploring, therefore, exploratory mediation analyses were conducted. See Table 6 for the correlations between variables. I used PROCESS (V#3 Model 4) to examine my mediation exploratory hypotheses (Hayes, 2018). I used a 95% confidence

interval as the index for the mediation and examined indirect effects based on 5,000 bootstrapped samples. A significant effect is indicated by a confidence interval that does not include zero.

Claim Believability. The results indicated that an indirect effect did occur, Model: R^2 = .57, $F(5,268)$ = 69.85, $p < .000$. There was an indirect effect between GID and claim believability when group level social cost was the mediating variable, b = .08, 95% CI [.0079, .1619], however, the indirect effect between GID and claim believability was not significant when individual level social cost was the mediating variable, b = .03, 95% CI [-.0119, .0681].

GID is positively associated with claim believability in part because it appears to reduce perceptions of group level social cost. See *Figure 6.*

Diversity Structures. The results indicated that an indirect effect did occur, Model: R^2 = .25, $F(5,268)$ = 17.75, $p < .000$. There was an indirect effect between GID and perceptions of diversity structures when group level social cost was the mediating variable, b = .07, 95% CI: [.0041, .1376], however, the indirect effect between GID and perceptions of diversity structures was not significant when individual level social cost was the mediating variable, b = -.01, 95% CI [-.0404, .0089]. GID is positively associated with perceptions of diversity structures in part because it appears to reduce perceptions of group level social cost. See *Figure 7.*

Policy Changes. The results indicated that an indirect effect did occur, Model: R^2 = .37, $F(5,268)$ = 31.37, $p < .000$. There was an indirect effect between

GID and perceptions of policy changes when group level social cost was the mediating variable, $b = .07$, 95% CI: [.0076, .1463], however, the indirect effect between GID and perceptions of policy changes was not significant when individual level social cost was the mediating variable, $b = -.001$, 95% CI: [-.0223, .0149]. GID is positively associated with perceptions of policy changes in part because it appears to reduce perceptions of group level social cost. See *Figure 8.*

Discussion. I examined participants' attitudes towards a White employee who had filed a claim of discrimination against a company and how GID moderated those reactions. I did not find the condition by GID interaction in Study 2, such that, GID did not moderate participants responses when diversity was not salient. However, I did find that GID was related to some of my outcomes in the exploratory analyses. The hypotheses were not replicated from the first study because GID did not moderate reactions to the claim believability, the outcome of the claim, perceptions of diversity structures and perceptions of policy changes differently across conditions. Because there were no significant interactions between GID and condition, the hypothesized moderated mediation analyses were not conducted.

These results were unexpected and inconsistent with the initial Study 1 results. The lack of replication may suggest that Study 1's findings were a fluke and indicative of type one error. These findings could also be due to the subtlety of the manipulation. It is possible that only some individuals are fully attending to

the manipulation, thus it may not be affecting all participants the same. Future research may try examining the relationship between GID and Diversity Structures with a stronger manipulation. These findings could be due to a variety of reasons, such as the measured variables not capturing what participants believe is important surrounding the claim of discrimination.

The exploratory analyses did yield some interesting results in that group level social cost served as a significant mediator for the relationship between GID and claim believability, perceptions of diversity structures and perceptions of policy changes while individual social cost did not. It appears that higher GID leads to increased support for the claimant to the extent that it reduces the concern about the group appearing racist. There is a possibility that individuals that are highly identified with their group are very loyal to their group and will support their in-group members regardless of the repercussions that could come with it, so they are not as concerned about the group looking bad. Previous research has shown that GID can be a meaningful factor into whether or not we support a claimant of discrimination because we may feel that they're acting as a good in-group member by bringing attention to an issue many group members face or we may not support them because we feel they're reflecting poorly on the group (Wilkins, Wellman, & Schad 2017; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988; Garcia, Schmitt, Branscombe & Ellemers, 2010). Additionally, in-group members are likely to evaluate the social cost that comes with supporting a claimant of discrimination. Participants may be more likely to support an in-group member

claiming discrimination because they recognize that the claimant knows claiming discrimination is more effective than staying silent and the claimant understands the repercussions that could come with claiming discrimination but feels that the costs would more beneficial than damaging to the whole group. In this way, the claimant is somewhat acting as a "savior" for the group and looking out for the whole group and doing what they think is best for the group regardless of the cost and that could be considered very noble. Further research is necessary to explore this issue and provide further understanding into what makes Whites want to or not want to support a White claimant of discrimination.

General Discussion. Various organizations are motivated to express their commitment to diversity by implementing different diversity structures (e.g. diversity trainings, pro-diversity mission statements, recruitment of diverse individuals, and efforts to win diversity awards; Shen, Chanda, D'Netto, & Monga, 2009). Longitudinal studies have shown that diversity initiatives often do not reduce workplace bias or increase racial diversity (Kalev et al., 2006; Ryne & Rosen, 1995). Additionally, Dover et al. (2012), found that diversity initiatives in a company can act as legitimizing cues for the company and can de-legitimatize claims of discrimination made by low-status groups. Interestingly, Dover et al. (2015), found that high-status groups are typically threatened by pro-diversity organizational messages. Moreover, White individuals experience less severe and less frequent forms of discrimination than racial minorities (Schmitt & Branscome, 2000), but White individuals may be more likely to make claims of

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discrimination compared to racial minorities (Goldman, 2001). With all of this in mind, across two studies I was interested in examining whether the presence of diversity structures in a company would significantly increase the believability of a claim of discrimination made by a high-status individual. In Study 1, I found that GID moderated reactions to the high-status group member's claim of discrimination when diversity was not present. When participants in the control condition had high GID, they found the claim of discrimination more believable, thought the claimant was more likely to win the case, felt diversity structures were harmful for White individuals and thought policy changes were necessary to protect White individuals. This could have been due to participants in the diversity condition having the fear of appearing racist or their in-group being perceived as racist. These results were interesting and unexpected, and I wanted to validate the results and conducted the second study to replicate the results. In Study 2, GID did not moderate reactions to the high-status group member's claim of discrimination, there was no significant interactions between GID and condition for claim believability, outcome of the case, perceptions of diversity structures and perceptions of policy changes.

These inconsistent findings between studies present a variety of possible questions and could be due to several factors. Some limitations of the studies were the subtle manipulation, the manipulation could easily be overlooked had participants not been reading closely. In this case, participants could have been answering questions without keeping the manipulation in mind and this could

have altered the results. Had the manipulation been more apparent and salient, the results of the study could have been different. Another limitation of the studies was the nature of the experiment, both studies were online and may be an in-lab study or different approach may have been more effective. This could have helped with participants paying attention, and not having so many participants removed prior to the final analysis.

However, exploratory analyses revealed that group level social cost was a significant mediator for GID and claim believability, perceptions of diversity structures and perceptions of policy changes. This is consistent in the literature because Group identification (GID) refers to the extent to which individuals consider their group membership to be an important and central part of their self-concept (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Typically, group identification reflects an individual's commitment to a group: thus, highly identified individuals are usually concerned about preserving a positive image of the group and obtaining positive outcomes for their group (Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles & Goff, 2006). In this case, participants GID was associated with claim believability, negative perceptions of diversity structures and the need for policy changes that could be beneficial to White individuals regardless of the group level social cost associated with it because they're committed to their group and will support the claimant rather than be concerned about the repercussions that could come with supporting the claimant. As previously stated, this is consistent

with the literature because participants with high GID are invested in the group and want positive outcomes for their group, in turn, they support in-group members who they feel are protecting the group or doing what's best for the group regardless of the social cost associated with their support.

This is an interesting direction that future research could explore further. This research is interesting and necessary because there isn't a lot of research about how high-status in-group members respond to other high-status individuals claims of discrimination. This could also help us further understand why diversity can be perceived as threatening for White individuals and in future, develop ways to combat this issue. Some future studies could examine this issue with a stronger manipulation and possibly different research approach.

The two studies provided inconsistent results regarding how high-status groups respond to in-group members claims of discrimination. Future work should examine whether there are other factors that influence claim believability and other mediators/moderators that I did not account for. Additionally, a stronger manipulation and possibly a different approach should be used in the future.

APPENDIX A

IRB/INFORMED CONSENT/INSTRUCTIONS/MANIPULATION

STUDY 1 IRB APPROVAL

> **Human Subjects Review Board**
> **Department of Psychology**
> **California State University,**
> **San Bernardino**

PI: Joseph Wellman & Princess Egbule

From: Donna Garcia

Project Title: Diversity Initiatives & Perceptions of Anti-White Bias (Person Impression Formation)

Project ID: H-18WI-11

Date: 3/15/18

Disposition: Administrative

Your IRB proposal (Diversity Initiatives & Perceptions of Anti-White Bias, Wellman & Egbule, H-18WI-11) is approved. You are permitted to collect information from 200 participants from MTurk. This approval is valid from 3-15-18 to 3-15-19.

Good luck with your research!

_____
Donna Garcia, Chair
Psychology IRB Sub-Committee

STUDY 2 IRB APPROVAL

INFORMED CONSENT

PURPOSE: The study in which you are being asked to participate is designed to examine your perception of an individual in a workplace setting. This study is being conducted by Dr. Joseph Wellman, Assistant Professor of Psychology, California State University, San Bernardino. This study has been approved by the Department of Psychology Institutional Review Board Sub-Committee of

California State University, San Bernardino, and a copy of the official Psychology IRB stamp of approval should appear on this consent form.

DESCRIPTION: If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete several surveys regarding your impressions, views, and opinions regarding a brief workplace scenario. Overall, the surveys will take approximately 10 minutes to complete.

COMPENSATION: You will receive the set amount determined by TurkPrime for your involvement in our study today.

PARTICIPATION: Participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to refuse to participate in this study or answer any questions, or to terminate your particpation at any time.

CONFIDENTIALITY: The information that you give us will remain confidential. Your name will not be associated with your data in any way. The following groups may need to review study records, but the records will not be linked to your identity: Institutional oversight review offices at CSUSB and federal regulators. Furthermore, the research may be presented at professional conferences or submitted to scientific journals for publication. The data will be destroyed 7 years after publication.

RISK AND BENEFITS: There are no known risks to participating in this study. The task you complete could evoke some emotional stress. However, these tasks should cause no more discomfort than you would experience in your everyday life. Although participation may not benefit you directly, we believe that the information obtained from this study will help us gain a better understanding about people's responses to workplace situations.

Questions: You may contact Dr. Joseph Wellman at jwellman@csusb.edu regarding questions, or concerns. Additionally, if you would like to receive a copy of the results, please contact Dr. Wellman after December 2018. You may also contact the Department of Psychology Institutional Review Board Sub-Committee of the California State University, San Bernardino at psych.irb@csusb.edu.

I acknowledge that I have been informed of, and understand the true nature and purpose of this study, and I freely consent to participate. I acknowledge that I am at least 18 years of age.

Instructions

Please read the following.

You are about to read a description of a company, followed by a claim made by an employee. We are interested in having you assess these responses and provide your perception of the participants.

Even though it may seem odd to make a judgment about someone based on minimal information, previous research suggests that individuals are quite accurate in making these judgments (Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992).

After you read the short response, you will be given a questionnaire to evaluate the participant's responses. Please respond to the questions with your first, initial, gut response. There are no right or wrong answers.

Diversity Training Program:

CMC Corp. considers its employees to be one of its greatest assets. All CMC Corp management-level employees are required to participate in a mandatory training program called Fostering Ethnic Diversity Success. The goal of this program is to foster improved communication between ethnically diverse employees, to develop increased sensitivity to managing ethnic diversity, and to establish ways of recognizing and rewarding good performance that do not discriminate against ethnic minorities.

(Control) Training Program:

CMC Corp. considers its employees to be one of its greatest assets. All CMC Corp employees are required to participate in a mandatory training program called Fostering Employee Success. The goal of this program is to foster improved communication among employees, to develop increased sensitivity to managing personnel, and to establish ways of recognizing and rewarding good performance.

Discrimination Claim
A discrimination claim alleging that CMC Corp. practiced discrimination against a White employee is set to be reviewed by a human resources committee next week. The claimant reports to have been discriminated against by CMC Corp. due to being passed over for a promotion in place of a non-White applicant with less experience. In addition, the claimant also states instances of receiving fewer opportunities for advancement within the company, and less recognition by superiors and coworkers. The claimant states that because of their non-minority status, working for the company has become quite stressful and draining. The claimant continues by citing instances where fellow employees did not include them through invitations to events and other company functions which are beneficial to advancement. Because of this, the claimant reports feeling alienated and discriminated against due to their race and the companies focus on diversity.

APPENDIX B

MEASURES/DEMOGRAPHICS/DEBRIEFING STATEMENT

---Concerns about unfair treatment---
Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the following scales:

1------------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

1. The company likely treats all employees equally regardless of race/ethnicity
2. I am concerned that the company is likely to treat employees differently based on their race/ethnicity
3. Racial minority employees are likely treated better than the white employees at this company
4. The white employees are likely to be treated worse than their racial minority colleagues at this company
5. White employees are likely to "miss out" on opportunities offered to racial minority employees at this company
6. The company culture is unlikely to lead to all employees being treated equally regardless of race

Note: Dr. Wellman and I developed these items

---Claim Believability---
Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the following scales:

1------------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

1. The claim of discrimination seems unreasonable
2. I believe the claimant was right to file their claim
3. I believe the claim of discrimination is accurate
4. I do not think the claim is true
5. The claimant is likely to have experienced biased based on their race
6. The claimant is likely hypersensitive
7. The claimant is simply making an excuse for their failure to advance

Note: Dr. Wellman and I developed these items

---Outcome of the Claim---
Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the following scales:
1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6-----------7
Strongly   Neutral   Strongly
Disagree   Agree
1. The employee is likely to win their case
2. The employee is unlikely to win their case
3. The company is likely to dismiss the case

Note: Dr. Wellman and I developed these items

---Isolated incident/Widespread issue---
Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the following scales:

1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6-----------7
Strongly   Neutral   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

1. It is unlikely that this is an isolated incident of discrimination
2. Discrimination against White people is increasingly common
3. At many companies, Whites are increasingly likely to be at a disadvantage in hiring and promotion
4. Employers are increasingly less likely to recognize the contributions of their White employees

Note: Dr. Wellman and I developed these items

---Racism of the Claimant---

Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the following scales:

1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6-----------7
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

1. The claimant is racist
2. The claimant is bias against racial minority individuals
3. The claimant holds negative views of racial minority individuals

Note: Dr. Wellman and I developed these items

---Perceived Fairness of the Company---
Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the following scales:

1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6-----------7
Strongly   Neutral   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

1. The company is concerned with fairness for its employees

2. The company is responsible in helping its employees
3. The company cares about taking care of its employees
4. The company values cultural diversity in the workplace
5. The company respects their ethnic minority employees
6. The company deserves recognition for its efforts
7. The company values their White employees

Note: Dr. Wellman and I developed these items

---Diversity Structures---
Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the following scales:

1------------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7
Strongly   Neutral   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

1. The push for diversity has a negative effect on non-minority employees
2. The push for diversity is beneficial to all employees
3. Diversity policies are leading to discrimination against Whites
4. The focus on increased diversity in the workplace harms Whites opportunities

Note: Dr. Wellman and I developed these items

---Policy Changes---
Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the following scales:

1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6-----------7
Strongly   Neutral   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

1. White individuals need policies that protect them from discrimination
2. Policies that protect white individuals from discrimination are unnecessary
3. Policies that protect minority individuals from discrimination are harmful for white individuals

Note: Dr. Wellman and I developed these items

---SLB--- Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, Federico, (1998). (Adapted)
Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the following scales:

1-----------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7

 Strongly   Neutral   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

1. If people work hard, they almost always get what they want
2. Most people who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they really have only   themselves to blame
3. In America, getting ahead doesn't always depend on hard work
4. Even if people work hard, they don't always get ahead
5. America is an open society where all individuals can achieve higher status
6. Advancement in American society is possible for all individuals
7. Individual members of certain groups have difficulty achieving higher status
8. Individual members of certain groups are often unable to advance in American society
9. America is a just society where differences in status between groups reflect actual group differences
10. Differences in status between groups in American society are fair
11. Differences in status between groups in American society are the result of injustice
12. It is unfair that certain groups in America have poorer living conditions than other groups

---Group Identification--- Luhtanen and Crocker, (1992). (Adapted)
Directions: Rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following items using the scale provided.

0-----------1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

_____1.   My race has very little do with how I feel about myself
_____2.   My race is an important reflection of who I am
_____3.   My race is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am
_____4.   In general, my race is important to my self-image

Demographics

1. What is your gender? _____ Female _____ Male _____ Other

2. What is your age? _____

3. What is your race/ethnicity? (Check all that apply)
_____ Black/African American
_____ Asian American
_____ Hispanic/Latino American
_____ Native American/American Indian
_____ White/European American
_____ Other (Please Specify_____)

4. Where you born in the United States of America? Yes No

If no, where were you born? _____

5. What is your sexual orientation?
____Heterosexual
____Gay
____Lesbian
____Bisexual
____Other

6. When it comes to politics, do you usually consider yourself to be liberal, conservative, or moderate? Please use the scale to indicate your response.

0---------------1---------------2--------------3--------------4--------------5--------------6
Very Conservative   Very Liberal
                                   Moderate

DEBRIEFING STATEMENT:

The true focus of this study was to test if diversity initiatives could influence the perceptions of claims of discrimination made by different individuals. Also, we are trying to assess if individual's perceptions of the claim are influenced by their beliefs about meritocracy.

Thank you very much for your time and participation. Your help is invaluable as we work to understand factors that help or hinder the legitimacy of claims of discrimination.
Please complete this survey only once. Please do not discuss this study with other people, knowing what we are testing might change the way people respond to the survey.
If you have any concerns or questions, you can contact the researcher, Joseph Wellman (jwellman@csusb.edu)

--Group Level Social Cost--
Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the following scales:

1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6-----------7
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

1. The claimant makes White individuals look racist
2. The claimant makes White individuals look like they have biases
3. The claimant makes White individuals look like they are prejudice
4. The claimant is confirming negative stereotypes about White individuals being racist
5. Supporting the claimant reflects poorly on White individuals
6. Supporting the claimant reflects positively on White individuals
7. Minority members association with White individuals would not be affected by the claimant's behavior
8. Minority members may not want to associate with White individuals because of the claimant's behavior
9. The claimant is looking out for White individuals
10. The claimant is a good representation of White individuals
11. The claimant has White individuals' best interest at heart
12. The claimant projects a positive image of White individuals

Note: Dr. Wellman and I developed these items

-Individual Level Social Cost-
Please rate your agreement with the following statements using the following scales:

1-----------2-----------3-----------4-----------5-----------6-----------7
Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   Agree

1. If I were to support the claimant, it would make me look racist
2. If I were to support the claimant, it would make me look like I have biases
3. If I were to support the claimant, it would make me look prejudice
4. If I were to support the claimant, it would confirm negative stereotypes about me being racist
5. If I were to support the claimant, it would reflect poorly on me
6. If I were to support the claimant, it would reflect positively on me
7. Supporting the claimant would make me look good
8. Supporting the claimant feels like the right thing for me to do
9. Supporting the claimant is beneficial to me

Note: Dr. Wellman and I developed these items

TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLE 1

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. GIDc		-.03	.07	.01	-.03	-.05	-.10	.03	-.08	.02	-.05
	-										
2. Claim believability			.64**	.57**	.67**	.74**	-.13	.38**	.47**	-.003	-.19
	.75**	-									
3. Concerns about treatment				.37**	.53**	.38**	.001	.44**	.43**	-.002	-.21
	.42**	.59**	-								
4. Outcome of the claim					.36**	.43**	-.17	.06	.39**	.12	-.05
	-.17	-.20*	-.28**	-							
5. Isolated incident/widespread issue						.45**	-.21	.57**	.60**	.15	-.32**
	.51**	.40**	.44**	-.27*	-						
6. Racism of claimant							-.15	.33**	.40**	.13	-.26*
	-.38**	-.34*	-.48**	.37**	-.64**	-					

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
7. Perceived fairness	-.43**	-.42**	-.49**	.45**	-.60**	.59**	-	-.17	-.19	-.04	.12
8. Diversity structures	.51**	.37**	.42**	-.32*	.71**	-.64**	-.57**	-	.50**	.10	-.50**
9. Policy changes	-.25*	-.22	-.42**	.34*	-.34**	.60**	.55**	-.42**	-	.21	-.53**
10. Status-legitimizing beliefs	-.26*	-.18	-.25*	.23*	-.21*	.32*	.23*	-.19	.25*	-	-.38**
11. Political Affiliation	-.20	-.28*	-.27*	-.16	-.55**	-.02	.23*	-.62**	-.52**	-.15	-

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN VARIABLES (STUDY 1)

Note. GIDc = Group Identification (centered), above the diagonal are correlations in the diversity condition. Below the diagonal are correlations in the control condition. * = $p < .05$. ** = $p < .01$.

TABLE 2

FULL OUTPUT (STUDY 1)

Model	Concerns about treatment			Believability of Claim			Outcome of the Claim			Isolated/Widespread		
	b	*SE*	ΔR^2	*b*	*SE*	ΔR^2	*b*	*SE*	ΔR^2	*b*	*SE*	ΔR^2
Step 1			**.08**			**.06**			.03			**.18**
SLBtot	-.17	.09		-.03	.14		.28	.15		-.004	.14	
PAtot	**-.14**	.04		**-.19**	.06		.01	.07		**-.33**	.06	
Step 2			.004			.02			**.08**			**.04**
GID (centered)	.04	.05		.15	.08		**.27**	.08		.06	.08	
0 = Diversity	-.01	.13		.01	.20		.22	.20		**-.45**	.19	
Step 3			.000			**.03**			.03			.01
GIDCond	.01	.10		**.35**	.16		**.36**	.16		.19	.15	

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TABLE 3

FULL OUTPUT (STUDY 1)

Model	Racism of the Claimant			Percieved Fairness			Diversity Structures			Policy Changes		
	b	SE	ΔR^2	b	SE	ΔR^2	b	SE	ΔR^2	b	SE	ΔR^2
Step 1			.03			.04			**.31**			**.29**
SLBtot	.24	.15		.08	.08		-.06	.13		.160	.10	
PAtot	-.08	.07		**.09**	.04		**-.44**	.06		**-.32**	.05	
Step 2			.010			.02			**.03**			.01
GID (centered)	.01	.09		-.08	.04		**.16**	.07		.07	.06	
0 = Diversity	-.26	.22		-.07	.11		-.15	.18		-.15	.15	
Step 3			.003			.003			.02			**.03**
GIDCond	.12	.18		-.06	.09		.28	.14		**.27**	.12	

Note. **Bolded** = $p < .05$
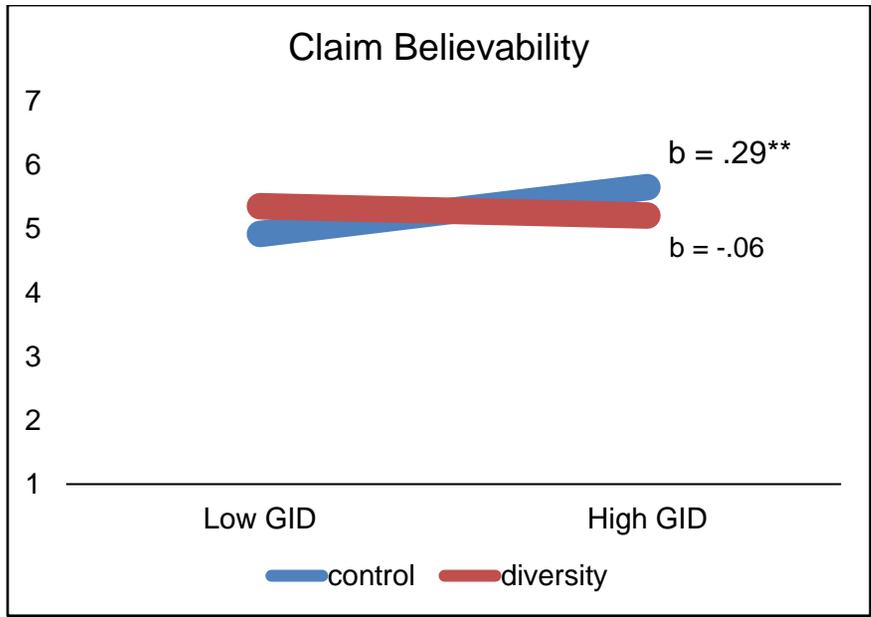
Figure 1. Claim believability by GID and claim condition.
Note. **$p < .01$. *$p < .05$.
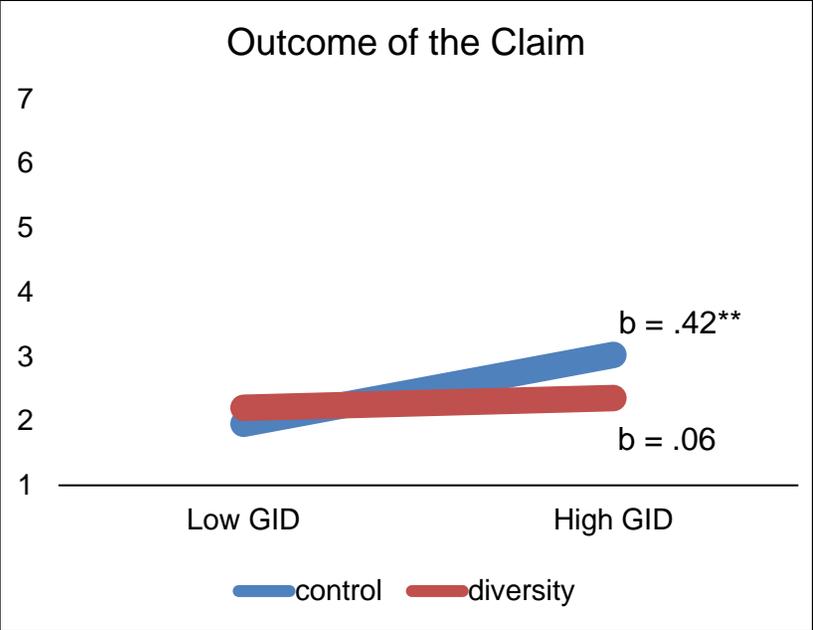
Figure 2. Outcome of the Claim by GID and claim condition.
Note. **$p < .01$. *$p < .05$.
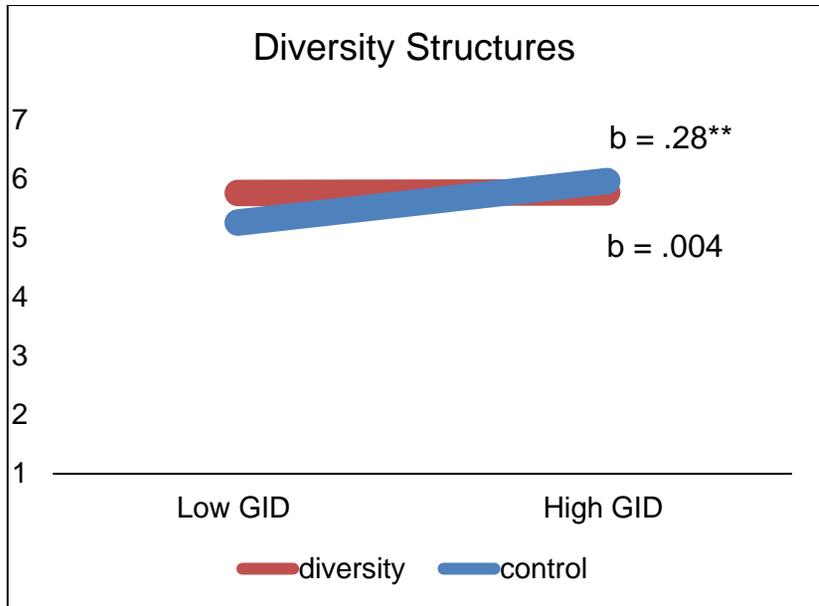
Figure 3. Diversity Structures by GID and claim condition.
Note. *p < .01. *p < .05.
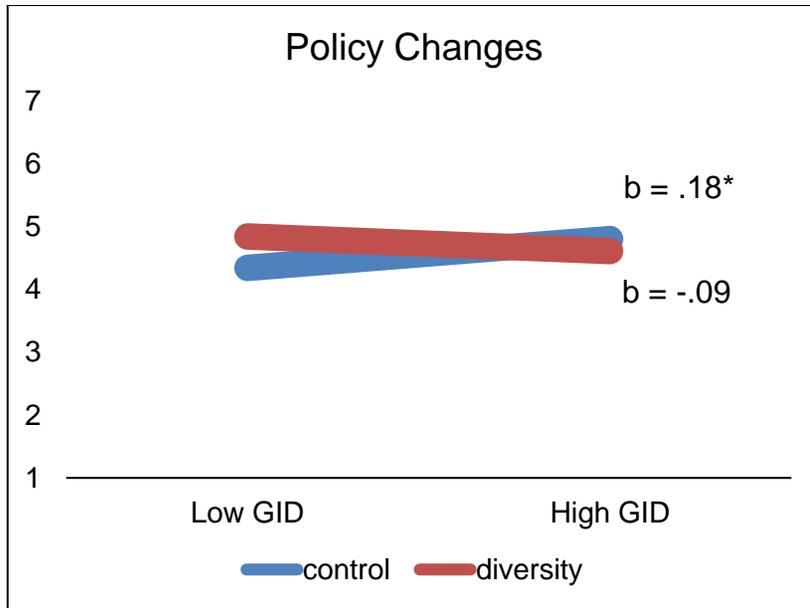
Figure 4. Policy changes by GID and claim condition.
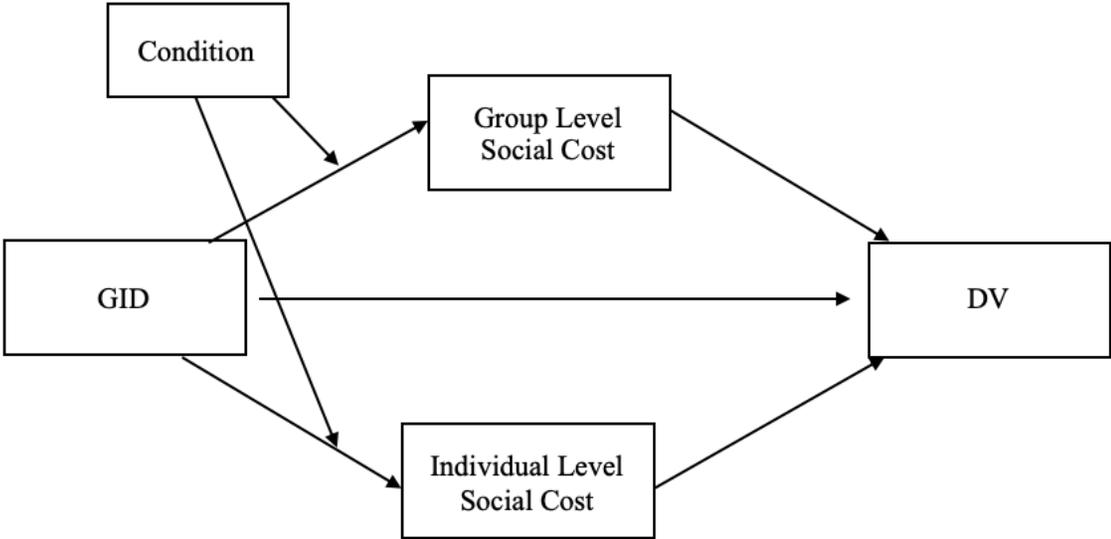*Note.* **p < .01. *p < .05.

Model 7

Figure 5. Hypothesized moderated mediation model for Study 2.

TABLE 4

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN VARIABLES (STUDY 2)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. GIDc	-	.10	.04	.19*	.21*	.21*	-.07	-.13	-.11
2. Claim believability	.12	-	.56**	.36**	.56**	.35**	-.39**	-.72**	-.61**
3. Outcome of the claim	.07	.47**	-	.04	.17	.34**	-.15	-.33**	-.45**
4. Diversity Structures	.27**	.37**	.14	-	.59**	.19*	-.27**	-.44**	-.16
5. Policy Changes	.34**	.51**	.23**	.69**	-	.31**	-.33**	-.56**	-.31**
6. Status-legitimizing beliefs	.29**	-.12	.07	.15	.20*	-	-.49**	-.34**	-.32**
7. Political Affiliation	-.27**	-.19*	-.13	-.34**	-.34**	-.351**	-	.33**	.30**
8. Group level social cost	-.20*	-.69**	-.25**	-.38**	-.50**	-.11	.18*	-	.58**
9. Individual level social cost	-.17*	-.60**	-.43**	-.30**	-.39**	-.15	.21*	.69**	-

Note. GIDc = Group Identification (centered), above the diagonal are correlations in the diversity condition. Below the diagonal are correlations in the control condition.
* = $p < .05$.
** = $p < .01$.

TABLE 5

FULL OUTPUT (STUDY 2)

Model	Claim Believability			Outcome of the Claim			Diversity Structures			Policy Changes		
	b	*SE*	ΔR^2	*b*	*SE*	ΔR^2	*b*	*SE*	ΔR^2	*b*	*SE*	ΔR^2
Step 1			**.08**			**.04**			**.10**			**.13**
SLBtot	-.04	.09		**.22**	.08		.05	.10		**.20**	.09	
PAtot	**-.20**	.05		-.05	.04		**-.24**	.05		**-.20**	.05	
Step 2			.012			.02			**.04**			**.05**
GID (centered)	.07	.05		.00	.05		**.19**	.06		**.19**	.05	
0 = Diversity	-.20	.15		**-.30**	.14		.24	.17		-.15	.15	
Step 3			.000			.000			.00			.01
GIDCond	.03	.10		-.01	.10		.05	.12		.08	.10	

Note. **Bolded** = *p* < .05

TABLE 6

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN VARIABLES (STUDY 2)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. GIDc	-							
2. Claim believability	.12	-						
3. Diversity Structures	.23**	.36**	-					
4. Policy Changes	.28**	.53**	.64**	-				
5. Group Level Social Cost	-.17**	-.70**	-.40**	-.53**	-			
6. Individual Level Social Cost	-.15**	-.61**	-.23**	-.36**	.63**	-		
7. Political Affiliation	-.18**	-.28**	-.31**	-.33**	.25**	.25**	-	
8. Status-legitimizing beliefs	.25**	.09	.15*	.25**	-.22**	-.23**	-.40**	-

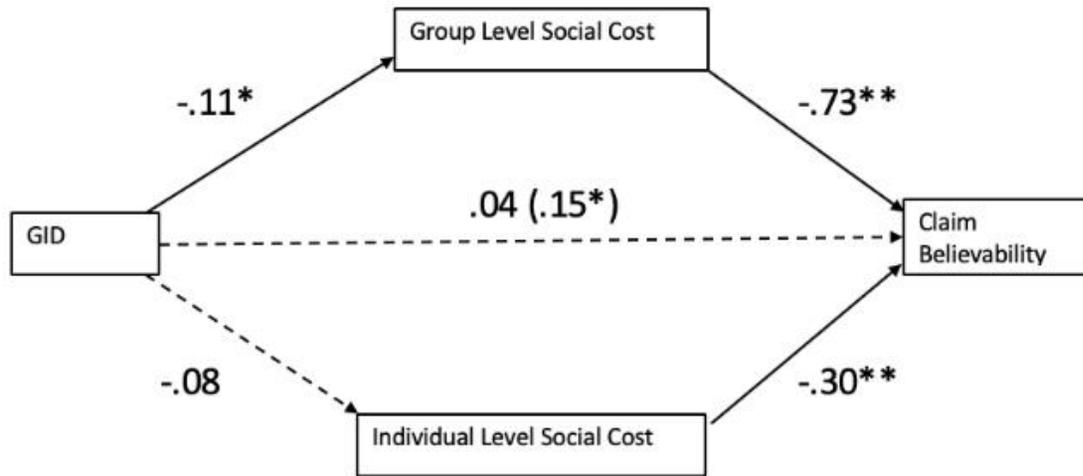*Note.* ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$
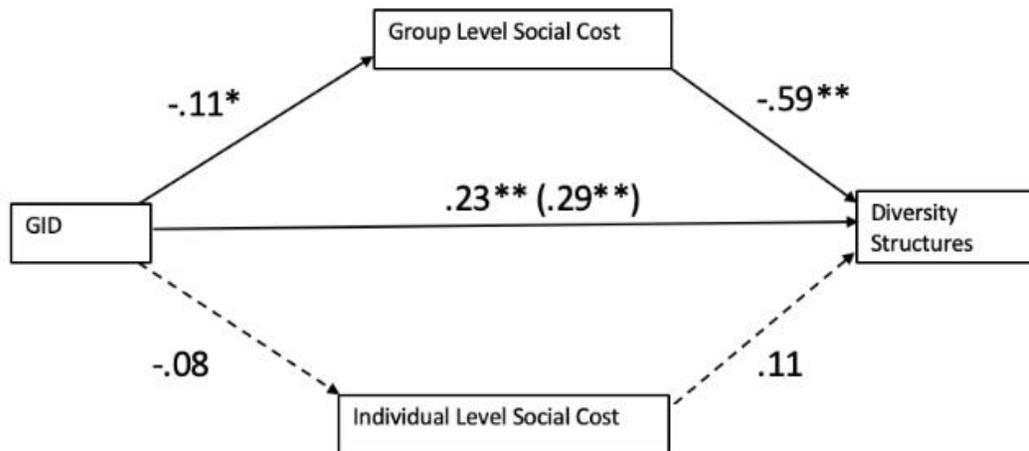
Figure 6. All coefficients, () = total effect
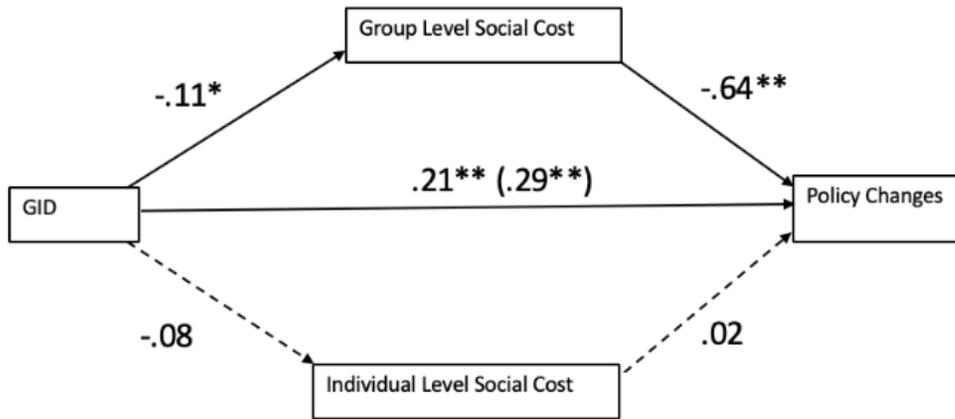
Figure 7. All coefficients, () = total effect

Figure 8. All coefficients, () = total effect

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