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Navigating Diverse Contexts: When Diverse Environments Unintentionally Facilitate Prejudice  
and Strategies for Mitigating Bias

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of  
Philosophy in Psychology

By

Ines Jurcevic

2016



## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Navigating Diverse Contexts: When Diverse Environments Unintentionally Facilitate Prejudice  
and Strategies for Mitigating Bias

by

Ines Jurcevic

Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Jenessa Rachel Shapiro, Chair

Managing diversity is challenging—both for organizations and members of negatively stereotyped groups within those organizations. As a result, many organizations implement structures, such as formal diversity policies, as a way in which to reduce discrimination and increase equity. The studies in this dissertation examine two lines of research. Paper 1 and Paper 2 explore how efforts to promote diversity through the increased representation of racial minority group members may unintentionally backfire, *increasing* prejudice and discrimination. Paper 1 examines whether racial minority group members’ negative evaluations of other minority targets facilitates majority group members’ prejudice expression – in particular because these contexts reduce majority group members’ concerns about appearing prejudiced. Paper 2 extends the research from Paper 1 by examining whether majority group members reward minority group

members who undermine minority advancement and success because doing so can reduce majority group members concerns about appearing prejudiced. A second line of research explores how people manage their memberships in negatively stereotyped groups. Paper 3 tests an intervention strategy for how one can reduce the likelihood of becoming a target of discrimination after disclosing a negatively stereotyped concealable identity.

The dissertation of Ines Jurcevic is approved.

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Yuen J. Huo

Gerardo Ramirez

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2016

To

Boris & Marija

For instilling me with passion and curiosity

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Williams, A. M., Jurcevic, I., & Shapiro, J. R. (2013) “Stereotype Threat.” In Oxford Bibliographies in Psychology. Ed. Dana S Dunn. New York: Oxford University Press.

### MANUSCRIPTS INVITED TO REVISE AND RESUBMIT

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Jurcevic, I., Shapiro, J. R., Trawalter, S., & Unzueta, M. M. (2014, June). *Using racial minorities' opinions to justify prejudice expression*. Paper presented at the 10th biennial convention for the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues in Portland, OR.

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## Overview

Managing diversity is challenging—both for organizations and members of negatively stereotyped groups within those organizations. As a result, many organizations implement structures, such as formal diversity policies, as a way in which to reduce discrimination and increase equity. Paper 1 and Paper 2 explore how these seemingly noble efforts may unintentionally backfire, *increasing* prejudice and discrimination. A second line of research explores how people manage their memberships in negatively stereotyped groups. Paper 3 tests an intervention strategy for how one can reduce the likelihood of becoming a target of discrimination after disclosing a negatively stereotyped concealable identity.

### **The ironic effects of diversity structures**

Diversity has become a well-recognized buzzword in recent decades, and the vast majority of organizations promote diversity as part of their core values and mission (Kalev & Dobbin, 1998). While the broad idea of diversity is generally supported, we do not yet fully understand how diversity efforts and initiatives affect intergroup attitudes and interactions. The present research explores how diversity-promoting structures (e.g., diverse group representation) can ironically hinder racial minority advancement.

Paper 1 examines a diversity initiative that is commonly used to prevent discrimination in hiring and promotion: The increased representation of minority group members on decision making committees. The presence of racial minorities in these contexts has been shown to reduce the likelihood of prejudice expression (Sommers 2006; Lowery, Hardin, & Sinclair, 2001). Racial minorities increase Whites' concerns that they will be seen as prejudiced, which in turn leads to greater attention and care when it comes to evaluating negatively stereotyped groups (Sommers, 2006). However, much of the work on intergroup interactions has focused on

minorities who are merely present and voice no opinion regarding their own evaluations of minority targets (e.g., Richeson & Shelton, 2003; Richeson & Trawalter, 2005). This is not entirely consistent with a reality in which members of minority groups are likely to voice opinions about other minority groups members, and there are times when these opinions will be negative. Indeed, research suggests minority group members feel pressured to respond negatively towards other minorities when they are accountable to Whites; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008. Thus, Paper 1 tests the hypothesis that when racial minorities provide negative evaluations of a minority target in a decision making context, this will *reduce* Whites' concerns about being seen as prejudiced if they themselves negatively evaluate the racial minority target and *increase* Whites' likelihood of expressing prejudice in these contexts.

Extending the findings from Paper 1, Paper 2 examines whether Whites differentially *reward* racial minorities who speak negatively of other minorities. In particular, we propose that Whites reward minority group members who hinder other minorities successes because doing so allows Whites to increase the influence of racial minority group members who will presumably derogate other minorities. Thus, by expressing support for minorities, Whites are able to reduce their own concerns about appearing prejudiced. In addition, by rewarding minority group members who prevent other minorities from advancing, Whites are able to maintain their dominant position in the hierarchy.

### **Managing a stigmatized identity**

Although diversity management typically focuses on top-down organizational practices, researchers continue to call for research on the bottom-up perspective of how employees navigate diverse work environments, contend with negatively stereotyped identities, and manage these identities in organizations (e.g., Roberts, 2005). Paper 3 addresses this gap in the literature

by examining the complexities of managing a negatively stereotyped identity that is concealable (e.g., mental or physical health conditions, sexual orientation).

Workplace disclosure of concealable identities has many benefits. Employees who disclose have fewer distracting thoughts (Smart & Wegner, 1999), greater executive function (Green, Derlega, Yep, & Petronio, 2003), and higher job satisfaction (Griffith & Hebl, 2002). Moreover, when people conceal stigmatizable identities, this results in more distracting thoughts for those around them ultimately reducing others' cognitive performance (Everly, Shih, & Ho, 2012). Importantly, these positive benefits of workplace disclosure are contingent upon an environment that promotes tolerance and acceptance (King, Reilly, & Hebl, 2008). Thus, the question remains, how can people disclose their concealable stigmas such that it provides the benefits of a better workplace for all, without the costs of stigmatization? Paper 3 examines a theory-driven strategy for disclosing a concealable stigma that minimizes the likelihood of experiencing prejudice. In particular, the inclusion of emotional content (e.g., "Going to treatment has been frustrating for me") when disclosing a concealable stigma increases positivity toward the person disclosing (e.g., greater intended social support), compared to a control condition in which only general information is included (e.g., "I have been going to treatment") in the disclosure.

In sum, the present research examines the nuances of managing diversity, both in how organizations promote a diverse environment and how individuals manage their own diverse concealable identities.



## **Paper 1**

He said it, not me: Whites' use of racial minorities' negative evaluations to justify prejudice  
expression

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## **Abstract**

When considering factors that reduce prejudice expression, extant research finds that racial minority group members decrease Whites' prejudice expression. The present research argues that under certain circumstances, racial minorities can facilitate Whites' prejudice and examines a novel lever that can result in increased prejudice expression by Whites: racial minorities' negative evaluations of racial minority targets. Five experiments examine the influence of Black evaluators' negative assessments of Black and Latino job candidates on Whites' evaluations of the candidate. Experiments 1 – 3 and 5 revealed that White participants rated a racial minority candidate as less competent and were less likely to hire a racial minority candidate after a Black, compared to White, evaluator had negatively evaluated the candidate. However, in Experiment 3, Whites' likelihood of hiring the White candidate was not influenced by the evaluator's race. Experiment 3 demonstrated that Whites used only the Black evaluator's negative, and not positive, evaluations of the Black candidate. Experiments 3 and 4 rule out potential alternative mechanisms such as perceived credibility of the evaluator (Experiment 3) and expectancy violations by the evaluator (Experiment 4). Experiment 5 revealed that Whites' decrease in concerns about appearing prejudiced mediates the relationship between viewing the Black evaluator's negative evaluation and Whites' negativity toward the Black candidate. The present findings suggest that Whites are more likely to express prejudice when their negative attitudes can be justified using racial minority evaluators' negative assessment of a minority target.

*Keywords:* prejudice concerns, prejudice expression, intergroup relations

## Introduction

In early 2007, Rush Limbaugh played a song on his radio talk show written by Paul Shanklin (2007), a White comedian. This song was received as both controversial and racist because it made many unflattering claims about President Barack Obama, including the idea that Obama is inauthentically Black. What could lead Shanklin to feel comfortable writing a song with this content and Limbaugh so comfortable playing this song? Of course, there are likely many explanations for Shanklin and Limbaugh's behavior. One possible explanation may relate to an event that took place months earlier: David Ehrenstein, a Black columnist for the *Los Angeles Times*, wrote a story about Obama's presidential campaign, highlighting that Obama is criticized by some members of the Black community as being inauthentically Black.

Although most research to date suggests that minority others *decrease* the likelihood that Whites will express prejudice, here we argue that this event—a Black columnist criticizing a Black president—may have reduced Limbaugh and Shanklin's concerns that their own derogatory comments would be seen by others as racist, thereby providing legitimacy for Limbaugh and Shanklin to openly derogate Obama. Thus, the present research tests a novel lever of Whites' prejudice expression: Negative evaluations of stigmatizable targets made by minority group members.

### **Minority group presence reduces prejudice expression**

There is a common social norm in the U.S. that it is inappropriate to express prejudices (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Plant & Devine, 1998). These norms are coupled with stereotypes that cast Whites as holding and expressing prejudices (Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy 2000) and minority group members as more credible and knowledgeable about potential instances of racism than Whites (Crosby &

Monin, 2013; Crosby, Monin, & Richardson, 2008). Whites are aware of these norms and stereotypes, and as result, intergroup contexts tend to increase Whites' concerns that they will be seen as prejudiced or biased (Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001) and that they will be evaluated negatively by outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan 1985).

Thus, it follows that intergroup contexts increase Whites' desire to be liked (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010), make Whites more vigilant and careful of their behaviors (e.g., Monteith, Sherman, & Devine, 1998; Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Czopp, 2002; Richeson & Shelton, 2003; Richeson & Trawalter, 2005), and reduce prejudice expression. For example, when an experimenter or interviewer is Black (compared to White), Whites show less automatic prejudice (Lowery, Hardin, & Sinclair, 2001) and less explicit prejudice (e.g., Kinder & Sanders, 1996; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997). This can influence behavior as well: Sommers (2006) examined the performance of mock juries that were either all-White or racially diverse. These mock juries were charged with deliberating the fate of a Black defendant. Compared to the all-White juries, the racially diverse juries tended to discuss the case for a longer amount of time, discuss more case facts, discuss fewer inaccurate case-related statements, were more likely to correct case-related factual inaccuracies, and more likely to surface important examples of evidence that was missing from the case but would be helpful in the decision (e.g., a lack of fingerprint evidence). Importantly, for many of these measures it was the behaviors of the White jurors in these diverse juries (not the racial minority jurors) that drove these differences.

Taken together, there is clear evidence that the presence of minority group members reduces Whites' prejudice expression, presumably because minority group member presence elicits Whites' concerns about being seen as prejudiced. Indeed, these findings are consistent

with the intuition of many individuals and organizations attempting to increase fairness and equity: You will often see efforts to include a woman or racial minority person on hiring or promotion committees, and at some organizations it is policy to have at least one woman or minority individual on these committees. These policy efforts make sense. However, they also make a number of assumptions. First, in much of the research reviewed earlier, racial minorities tend to be merely present, voicing no opinions (e.g., Lowery et al., 2001; cf., Sommers, 2006). Second, when present racial minorities do voice an opinion, this opinion will presumably be in support of the racial minority target (e.g., Sommers, 2006).

These assumptions are problematic because minority group members are unlikely to be merely present in real-life decision making contexts and their opinions will not be uniformly positive toward other minority targets. Importantly, minorities in predominantly White groups often face pressures to voice negative opinions of other minorities. As one example, minority group members may be concerned that Whites will see them as favoring racial minorities over Whites (e.g., Shapiro, Baldwin, Williams, & Trawalter, 2011; Shelton & Richeson, 2005; Duguid, Loyd, & Tolbert, 2010), which could facilitate a conscious effort to appear impartial by responding negatively toward an ingroup member to disprove ingroup favoritism (e.g., Eagly, Wood, & Chaiken, 1978). As a second example, because Whites are stereotyped as holding and expressing prejudices, and because members of minority groups tend to have personal experiences and knowledge of discrimination perpetrated by Whites towards members of their group, minority group members tend to infer norms that condone prejudice expression from all-White groups, not norms that condemn prejudice expression (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008). As a result, because minority group members infer prejudice expression norms, when accountable to a

group of Whites, minority group members are likely to derogate members of minority groups to accommodate these norms (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008).

Thus, the conclusions from some previous research that minority group members protect against prejudice expression may only be limited to contexts in which minority group members express no opinion or express a positive opinion. However, what is missing from the literature is how negative opinions voiced by minorities about other minorities might influence Whites' prejudice expression. We argue that these negative evaluations will create ambiguity as to whether a subsequent negative evaluation of this same target by a White evaluator is attributable to prejudice, ultimately resulting in prejudice expression by Whites.

### **Negative evaluations facilitate attributional ambiguity**

Extant research has shown that one prejudice expression lever is ambiguity as to whether one's negative evaluation of a minority target is justified or due to bias (see Crandall & Eshleman, 2003 for a review). One mechanism that can cast ambiguity is a target's own qualifications. That is, when there is no ambiguity about a target's qualifications—for example, when qualifications are unquestionably strong or unquestionably weak—discrimination tends not to occur (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Because the qualifications are clear, a poor evaluation of an unquestionably strong minority target is difficult to attribute to anything but bias. In contrast, a poor evaluation of an unquestionably weak minority applicant is easily attributed to the candidate's poor qualifications. However, when an applicant's qualifications are unclear, a poor evaluation of a minority candidate is now attributionally ambiguous—it can be due to the candidate's qualifications or evaluator discrimination (Hodson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2002).

As one example, researchers varied whether male and female applicants for a stereotypically male construction job requiring both experience in industry and a strong

educational background in engineering possessed only one, but not the other, of these required qualifications. Participants overwhelmingly selected the male candidate (regardless of qualifications) over the female candidate for this position, and when asked what was the most important factor in this decision, participants did not point to gender, but instead reported the qualification that was stronger for the male candidate. That is, when men possessed strong industry background and women possessed strong educational background, participants reported industry background was the most important factor in their decision, however when women possessed strong industry background and men possessed strong educational background, participants reported educational background was the most important factor in their decision (Norton, Vandello, & Darley, 2004).

In addition to drawing on characteristics of the potential target of prejudice, individuals can turn to themselves to provide evidence of an egalitarian disposition. For example, one might provide evidence of personal egalitarian and moral ideologies, or moral credentials, to make it more difficult to assume that a negative evaluation of a person from a stereotyped group is rooted in prejudice (Monin & Miller, 2001). Participants who selected a racial minority (compared to White) job candidate in one task were more likely to discriminate against a racial minority job candidate in a subsequent task (Monin & Miller, 2001). That is, participants tend to believe that their selection of the racial minority applicant in the initial task provides evidence of an egalitarian disposition, giving participants plausible deniability that their selection of the White candidate in the subsequent task was due to racial bias. Other research similarly finds that opportunities such as mentioning one's diverse friendship networks (Bradley-Geist, King, Skorinko, Hebl, & McKenna, 2010), endorsing a Black candidate for president (Efron, Cameron, & Monin, 2009), or pointing to opportunities to express prejudice that were not taken

(Effron, Miller, & Monin, 2012) all provide evidence of credentials that generate plausible alternative explanations to prejudice for future ambiguous behavior, thereby facilitating prejudice expression.

Situational factors are another mechanism through which individuals can establish attributional ambiguity, and thereby make it less likely that their prejudiced behavior will be interpreted as such. In a classic demonstration, Snyder, Kleck, Strenta, and Mentzer (1979) gave participants the option of viewing one of two different movies shown in two different rooms—a selection that is highly subjective. However, in one of these rooms sat a person with a handicap. Although the researchers counterbalanced which movie was shown in the room with the person with a handicap, participants were more likely to distance themselves from the person with the handicap and select the movie played in the other room. Participants who avoided the movie with the person with a handicap could plausibly argue that they just did not care to watch that movie, that they instead had a preference for the other movie.

Extant research has shown that Whites are more likely to make prejudiced evaluations if/when their prejudiced evaluation is attributionally ambiguous. The ambiguity can stem from ambiguity in the target's qualifications, ambiguity in the target's group membership. Thus, it is clear that when a potentially discriminatory behavior is attributionally ambiguous, Whites are more likely to express prejudices. These ambiguities provide a justification for prejudice expression (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003): If there are plausible, justifiable reasons for negative or harmful behaviors toward a member of minority group that is not rooted in prejudice, Whites are less likely to be concerned that they will be seen as prejudiced if they engage in this behavior (Cox & Devine, 2014). Further, when Whites are no longer concerned about being seen as prejudiced, they are more likely to express prejudices (Shelton, 2003; Shelton, Richeson,



Salvatore, & Trawalter, 2005).

In the present work we argue that unlike mere presence or positive evaluations from minority group members, negative evaluations of minority group members by minority group members may create ambiguity as to whether a negative evaluation from a White evaluator of this minority is prejudice or is an unbiased evaluation of this target. First, prejudice and discrimination are often considered an intergroup, rather than an intragroup, phenomenon (Baron, Burgess, & Kao, 1991). Thus, negative evaluations from a racial minority evaluator about an ingroup member are less likely to be categorized as discriminatory. Further, even if the potential target is not an ingroup member, racial minorities are stereotyped as unlikely sources or perpetrators of racism and prejudice against other groups (Inman & Baron, 1996; Rodin, Price, Bryson, & Sanchez, 1990). As a result, the same behaviors are significantly more likely to be interpreted as discriminatory when the perpetrator of this behavior is White and the victim is Black, compared to when the perpetrator is Black (regardless of victim race; Inman & Baron, 1996). This seems to be in part due to status asymmetries (Rodin, Price, Bryson, & Sanchez, 1990): Exclusionary or derogatory behaviors are more likely to be seen as discriminatory or harmful when they are directed toward a lower status group from a higher status group. Thus, a minority group member's negative evaluation of any other low status minority group is unlikely to be categorized as discriminatory.

### **Present Research**

We propose that if/when a minority group member feels compelled to provide a negative opinion or evaluation of another minority group person, Whites will have fewer concerns that they can be seen as prejudiced because of this evaluation, and as a result, express more prejudice (Shelton, et al., 2005). Importantly, this phenomenon differs from previous research on prejudice

expression levers. As noted above, very few phenomena that facilitate prejudice expression focus on the role of minorities. The strategies that have focused on minorities tend to show a positive benefit of minority presence and reduce the likelihood of prejudice expression, whereas here we are arguing that in the circumstance of a negative evaluation from a racial minority, this will increase the likelihood of prejudice expression.

The present research differs from previous research on attributional ambiguity as a lever for prejudice expression because previous research has failed to examine the role of racial minorities. Furthermore, previous research in this area has focused primarily on factors relevant to the potential target, such as the target's qualifications (e.g., Hodson et al., 2002; Norton et al., 2004) or the potential perpetrator's preferences (e.g., Snyder et al., 1979). The present research examines a factor outside of this target-perpetrator dyad—the evaluations of others in the environment. In addition, this focus on the influence of others outside the potential perpetrator and target is different from the majority of prejudice expression research, which tends to focus almost exclusively on this dyad (e.g., Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Thus, the present research aims to address these gaps in the literature, examining the likelihood of outgroup derogation in the wake of negativity first expressed by a minority group member.

And finally, the present research differs from other prejudice justification factors that have been identified to facilitate prejudice expression (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). For example, although we argue that the present strategy uses a previous evaluation to provide a cover for a subsequent negative evaluation, this is different from other strategies that also draw on previous evaluations as cover for prejudice expression. Research on moral credentialing reveals that Whites often use their own previous behaviors—by first evaluating a different minority target positively, making salient one's friendship with minorities (“my best friend is

Black”), and the like (Monin & Miller, 2001; Bradley-Geist, King, Skorinko, Hebl, & McKenna, 2010)—to establish that they are moral, egalitarian individuals, which can lead Whites to feel like they are not prejudiced individuals and then justify any subsequent negative behaviors directed toward any minority targets (e.g., Monin & Miller, 2001). This is different from the present research in that establishing a moral credential is about the White person’s moral identity and how the existence of this identity makes any subsequent evaluations more difficult to characterize as biased. Using a minority group member’s negative evaluation to cast ambiguity as to whether one’s own negative evaluation can be attributed to prejudice says nothing about the White evaluator’s egalitarian or unegalitarian identity and should not extend to any evaluation other than the one in question.

In the present research we propose that when minority group members are present, yet respond negatively toward another minority target, this will reduce Whites’ concerns about being seen as prejudiced and increase the likelihood that they will express prejudice. We conducted five experiments to test this hypothesis. First, we examine whether racial minority job candidates are evaluated more negatively following negative evaluations made by Black, compared to White evaluators (Experiment 1 – 3, 5) and whether negative evaluations have a different effect on racial minority, compared to White, job candidates (Experiment 3). As a further test of whether these evaluations do indeed represent prejudiced responses, we also examine evaluations of these candidate following positive evaluations made by others (Experiments 3). To test prejudice concerns as the underlying mechanism we both measure prejudice concerns (Experiment 5) and rule out potential alternative mechanisms such as perceived credibility of the evaluator (Experiment 3) and expectancy violations by the evaluator (Experiment 4).

## Experiment 1

The goal of Experiment 1 was to test the proposed phenomenon that Whites are more likely to derogate a racial minority target after this target is evaluated negatively by another racial minority. Thus, in Experiment 1, White participants saw a Black job candidate and learned that this candidate would be evaluated by either a White or Black evaluator. Participants then saw either a negative evaluation of this candidate from the evaluator or they were given no information as to how the evaluator rated the candidate (control).

When the evaluator provided no evaluation of the Black candidate (control), we anticipated conceptually replicating previous research: We expected White participants to evaluate the Black job candidate positively (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008; Evans et al., 2003; Judd et al., 1995), and no differently as a function of the race of the evaluator. Further, given research that the mere presence of a racial minority person in the context of a race-related evaluation will increase Whites' prejudice concerns (Richeson & Trawalter, 2005), we anticipated that if participants' evaluations did differ as a function of evaluator race in the no information condition, that White participants would, if anything, report more positivity regarding the Black candidate. In contrast, we anticipated that when the evaluation was negative, participants would evaluate the job candidate as less competent and report less interest in hiring this candidate when this negative evaluation was from a Black, compared to a White, evaluator.

## Method

### Participants and Design

Two hundred nineteen self-identified White participants (157 men, 62 women;  $M_{age} = 34.60$ ,  $SD_{age} = 11.37$ ) completed the experiment via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) in

exchange for \$0.20.<sup>1</sup> Participants varied in educational background (1.8% some high school, 11.0% high school diploma, 25.1% some college, 45.2% college degree, 4.6% some graduate school, 12.3% graduate degree), and employment experience (48.9% were currently or had previously been employed in a management position). The study design was a 2 (Evaluator Race: Black/White) X 2 (Candidate Evaluation: Negative/No Evaluation) between-participants design with random assignment to condition. Across all conditions, the job candidate was always Black.

### **Procedure**

Participants were first introduced to a job candidate evaluation paradigm in which they were told they would be ostensibly using one of three hiring strategies commonly used in organizations for evaluating job candidates. However, across all conditions, participants received the same hiring strategy: Participants were told they were part of a hiring committee with three other individuals in which a single committee member would provide an initial evaluation of a job candidate before the rest of the committee provided their assessment.

Participants saw three photographs representing the members of the hiring committee. These were standardized photographs taken from the Center for Vital Longevity Face Database (Minear & Park, 2004). Two committee members (Steven and Adam) were always portrayed as White. The third committee member (John) was portrayed as either Black or White as a function of the evaluator race condition assigned to the participant.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For experiments recruiting participants through Amazon's MTurk (Experiment 1, 2, and 5), a filter was used to limit participation to U.S. residents as the stereotypes examined within these studies are stereotypes of Black and Latino Americans in the U.S. - stereotypes that do not necessarily exist about these groups in other countries.

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the focal evaluator in each study was represented using one of two different photographs of a White man or two different photographs of a Black man (four photographs total) in order to rule out idiosyncrasies associated with any one photograph. The

Participants then saw a brief job description for the position of Manager for Data Coordination and a job candidate's resume (adapted from Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008). The candidate's race was communicated in the resume with information that suggested he was Black, including his name (Tyrone Jackson) and professional affiliations (African American Business Association).

Lastly, participants learned that one member of the committee—John (portrayed as either Black or White as a function of evaluator race condition)—would be the first person to provide an evaluation of the job candidate. All participants were given the evaluation rubric with four questions, including, for example: “To what extent are the applicant's credentials strong?” and “Does the candidate have a strong background?”. In the no visible evaluation control condition participants read: “John will be the first to provide an evaluation”. Although participants were able to see the scoring rubric, John's answers were redacted so that participants could not see how John evaluated the job candidate. In the experimental condition, participants read: “John starts off by saying, ‘I think this is a very poor application and I don't think we should interview him’”. In this condition, participants saw the scoring rubric and John's responses. None of John's responses were positive. For example, in response to the question regarding credentials, participants saw: “The applicant's credentials are somewhat weak”.

After reviewing this information, participants completed the focal dependent variables, which included their evaluation of the job candidate's competence and their desire to hire the candidate. Participants were then debriefed and compensated.

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specific photograph that appeared in participants' materials was random. There was no effect of photograph on the focal dependent variables across experiments, all  $ps > .05$ . As such, we collapsed across photographs.

*Candidate Competence.* Participants completed six items assessing job candidate competence taken from Shapiro and Neuberg (2008) using a 7-point scale anchored at 1(*not at all*) and 7(*very much so*). Sample items included: “How capable is this applicant” and “How competent is this applicant” ( $\alpha = 0.92$ ).

*Desire to Hire the Candidate.* Participants completed four items assessing their desire to hire the candidate using the same 7-point Likert-type scale as above. Sample items include: “I would likely give this person serious consideration for the position in question” and “I would recommend hiring this applicant” ( $\alpha = 0.97$ ).

*Manipulation Check.* Participants completed the following manipulation check item at the end of the study: “What racial or ethnic group is committee member John (who was selected to provide the first evaluation of the applicant) a member of?”<sup>3</sup>

## Results

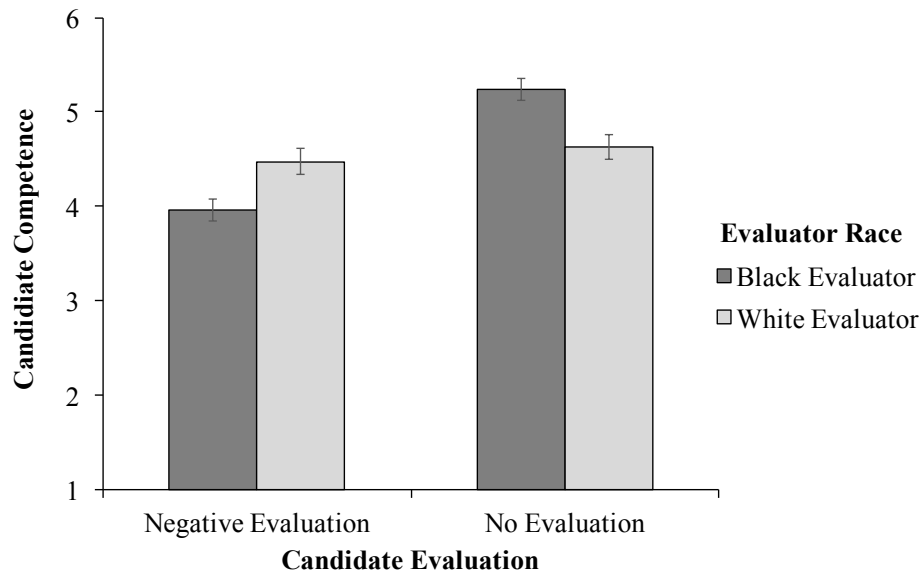
### Candidate Competence

To examine the effect of a Black or White evaluator’s negative or absent evaluation on perceptions of the Black job candidate’s competence, we conducted a 2 (Evaluator Race) X 2 (Candidate Evaluation) Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) on participants’ ratings of candidate competence. Although there was no main effect of Evaluator Race ( $F < 1$ ), there was a main effect of Candidate Evaluation ( $F(1, 219) = 29.33$   $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .12$ ). However, this was

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<sup>3</sup> Based on an a priori decision to only include participants who accurately identified the race of the evaluator on the manipulation check, participants who incorrectly identified the race of the evaluator were removed from the data set prior to data analyses (Experiment 1  $N = 32$ ; Experiment 2  $N = 12$ , Experiment 5  $N = 15$ ). Experiment 3 and 4 are exceptions to this procedure as this manipulation check item was not included in the study protocol.

qualified by the anticipated Evaluator Race by Candidate Evaluation interaction,  $F(1, 215) = 18.26$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .08$  (see *Figure 1*)



*Figure 1.* Whites' ratings of a Black job candidate's competence as a function of whether they did or did not have access to a Black or White evaluator's negative evaluation of the candidate. Error bars indicate standard errors. (Experiment 1).

Consistent with previous research, when the evaluation of the Black candidate was unknown, White participants rated the candidate as more competent in the presence of a Black ( $M = 5.24$ ,  $SD = .91$ ), compared to White ( $M = 4.63$ ,  $SD = .97$ ) evaluator,  $F(1, 215) = 10.17$ ,  $p = .002$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .05$ . Further, as anticipated, White participants rated the Black candidate as less competent following the Black ( $M = 3.96$ ,  $SD = .93$ ), compared to White ( $M = 4.48$ ,  $SD = 1.05$ ), evaluator's negative evaluation of the candidate,  $F(1, 215) = 8.10$ ,  $p = .005$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .04$ .

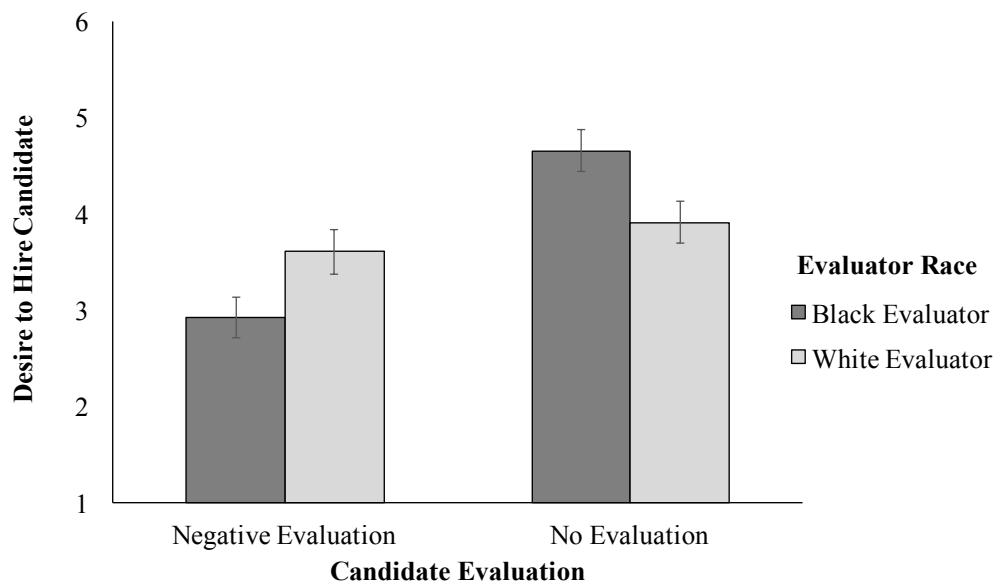
Importantly, these effects were primarily driven by the Black evaluator's negative evaluation. Participants rated the Black job candidate as less competent following the Black evaluator's negative evaluation ( $M = 3.96$ ,  $SD = .93$ ) compared to having no information about his evaluation ( $M = 5.24$ ,  $SD = .91$ ),  $F(1, 215) = 47.27$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .18$ . However, the White evaluator had no effect on participants' evaluations of the racial minority job candidate: White



participants' evaluations of the Black candidate's competence did not vary as a function of seeing the White evaluator's negative evaluation ( $M = 4.47$ ;  $SD = 1.05$ ) or having no information about the White evaluator's assessment ( $M = 4.62$ ,  $SD = .96$ ),  $F < 1$ .

### Desire to Hire the Candidate

Consistent with the competence evaluations, a 2 (Evaluator Race) X 2 (Candidate Evaluation) ANOVA on participants' desire to hire the applicant revealed no main effect of Evaluator Race ( $F < 1$ ) and a significant main effect of Candidate Evaluation ( $F(1, 215) = 21.38$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .09$ ) that was qualified by a significant Evaluator Race by Candidate Evaluation interaction,  $F(1, 215) = 10.48$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .05$  (see *Figure 2*).



*Figure 2.* Whites' reported desire to hire the Black job candidate as a function of whether they did or did not have access to a Black or White evaluator's negative evaluation of the candidate. Error bars indicate standard errors. (Experiment 1).

Consistent with previous research, when the evaluation of the Black candidate was unknown, White participants reported a greater interest in hiring the candidate when in the presence of a Black ( $M = 4.65$ ,  $SD = 1.54$ ), compared to White ( $M = 3.91$ ,  $SD = 1.57$ ), evaluator

$F(1, 215) = 5.31, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .02$ . Consistent with hypotheses, White participants reported less interest in hiring the Black candidate following a negative evaluation from a Black evaluator ( $M = 2.92, SD = 1.64$ ) compared to a White evaluator ( $M = 3.60, SD = 1.73$ ),  $F(1, 215) = 5.18, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .02$ . Again, the Black evaluator tended to drive this difference: Participants reported less interest in hiring the Black candidate following the Black evaluator's negative evaluation ( $M = 2.92, SD = 1.64$ ), compared to having no information about the Black evaluator's assessment ( $M = 4.65, SD = 1.54$ ),  $F(1, 215) = 31.12, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .13$ . However, participants' interest in hiring the Black candidate did not change as a function of seeing the White evaluator's negative evaluation ( $M = 3.60; SD = 1.73$ ) or having no information about the White evaluator's evaluation ( $M = 3.91, SD = 1.57$ ),  $F < 1$ .

## **Discussion**

The results from Experiment 1 provided initial support for our hypothesis: White participants evaluated a Black job applicant as less competent and reported that they were less interested in hiring this candidate after they saw a negative evaluation of this candidate made by a Black, compared to a White, evaluator.

## **Experiment 2**

Experiment 1 found that Whites are likely to derogate a Black target after another Black evaluator has offered a negative assessment of this target. Experiment 2 seeks to replicate and extend this finding. In Experiment 1 the evaluator and job applicant were both Black, however if this effect is driven by participants feeling lower prejudice concerns, then the evaluator and target do not need to share a racial ingroup. That is, if a negative evaluation from a Black evaluator can justify prejudice expression, this pattern should emerge when a Black evaluator provides a negative evaluation of a candidate from another racial minority group.

## Method

### Participants and Study Design

White participants ( $N = 130$ ; 62 men, 68 women,  $M_{age} = 33.24$ ,  $SD_{age} = 10.32$ ) completed the study online via MTurk in exchange for \$0.40. Participants varied in educational background (11.5% high school diploma, 30.8% some college, 42.3% college degree, 2.3% some graduate school, 13.0% graduate degree), and employment experience (42.3% were currently or had previously been employed in a management position). The study design was identical to Experiment 1: 2 (Evaluator Race: Black/White) X 2 (Candidate Evaluation: Negative/No Evaluation) between-participants design with random assignment to condition. Importantly, new to this experiment, the evaluator and job candidate were not racial ingroup members: the evaluator was either Black or White and the job candidate was always Latino.

### Procedure

The study methods and cover story for Experiment 2 were identical to Experiment 1 with exception of the job candidate's racial group membership. Participants saw the same three committee members. Across conditions, two committee members were always portrayed as White, and depending on condition, the third committee member was portrayed as Black or White. As in Experiment 1, the candidate's race was communicated in the resume. New to Experiment 2, the resume information suggested the applicant was Latino using his name (Diego Gutierrez) and professional affiliations (e.g., Latino American Business Association). As in Experiment 1, participants then saw the Black or White evaluator's negative evaluation or no evaluation (control) of the Latino candidate. Next, participants reported their desire to hire the Latino candidate.

*Desire to Hire the Candidate.* Identical to Experiment 1, participants completed four items assessing their desire to hire the job applicant (7-point scale;  $\alpha = 0.96$ ).

*Manipulation Check.* Participants completed the following manipulation check item at the end of the study: “What racial or ethnic group is committee member John (who was selected to provide the first evaluation of the applicant) a member of?”

## Results

We conducted a 2 (Evaluator Race: Black/White) X 2 (Candidate Evaluation: Negative/No Evaluation) ANOVA on White participants’ desire to hire a Latino job candidate. Results revealed no main effect of Evaluator Race ( $F(1, 126) = 1.52, p = .15, \eta_p^2 = .02$ ) and a significant main effect of Candidate Evaluation ( $F(1, 126) = 6.77, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .05$ ). This was qualified by the expected Evaluator Race by Candidate Evaluation interaction,  $F(1, 126) = 4.50, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .03$  (see *Figure 3*).

Unlike in Experiment 1 or previous research, when the evaluation of the Latino candidate was unknown, White participants did not differ in their desire to hire the candidate when in the presence of a Black ( $M = 3.86, SD = 1.67$ ), or White ( $M = 3.67, SD = 1.55$ ), evaluator,  $F < 1$ . However, as predicted and consistent with Experiment 1, simple effects analyses revealed that White participants reported less desire to hire the Latino candidate following the Black ( $M = 2.54, SD = 1.45$ ), compared to White ( $M = 3.54, SD = 1.64$ ) evaluator’s negative evaluation of the candidate,  $F(1, 126) = 6.07, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .05$ .

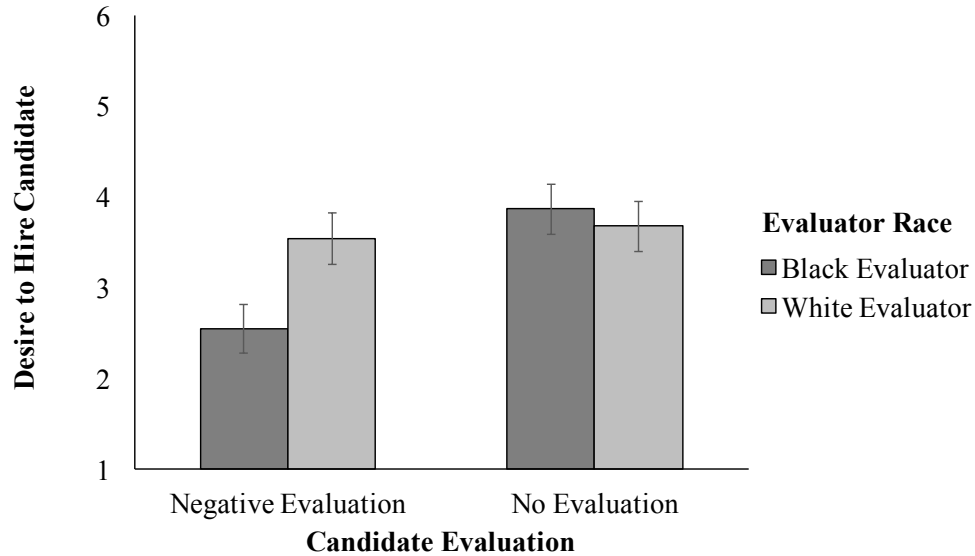


Figure 3. Whites' reported desire to hire the Latino job candidate as a function of whether they did or did not have access to a Black or White evaluator's negative evaluation of the candidate. Error bars indicate standard errors. (Experiment 2).

As in Experiment 1, these effects were driven by the Black evaluator's negative evaluation.

Whites desired to hire the Latino candidate less following the Black evaluator's negative ( $M = 2.54, SD = 1.45$ ), compared to unknown ( $M = 3.86, SD = 1.67$ ) evaluation,  $F(1, 126) = 11.09, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .08$ . However, participants' desire to hire the Latino candidate did not change as a function of the White evaluator's negative ( $M = 3.54, SD = 1.64$ ), compared to unknown ( $M = 3.67, SD = 1.55$ ) evaluation,  $F < 1$ .

### Discussion

Experiment 2 replicated and extended the findings of Experiment 1, demonstrating that White participants were less interested in hiring a Latino job applicant following a Black, compared to White, evaluator's negative assessment of this candidate. Thus, together Experiments 1 and 2 provide initial evidence that Whites are more likely to express prejudice toward a racial minority target following a negative evaluation of that target from a racial minority evaluator. We argue that Whites' negative evaluation of the racial minority target is

driven by reduced prejudice concerns—that the negative evaluation of a racial minority target by another racial minority creates ambiguity as to whether their own evaluations can be seen as prejudiced, providing sufficient cover for public prejudice expression. However, there are other plausible alternative explanations for this pattern data that we address in the next two experiments. Specifically, we explore the possibility that Black evaluators may be seen as more credible evaluators (Experiment 3) and as a result, they may provide a more compelling local norm (Experiments 3) or that their negative evaluation of a Black candidate is so unexpected, and as a result, a Black evaluator’s failure to conform to Whites’ expectations drives their subsequent evaluation (Experiment 4). And finally, in Experiment 5 we directly test the proposed focal mediator: Negative evaluations by a minority evaluator reduce Whites’ prejudice concerns.

### **Experiment 3**

Experiments 1 and 2 demonstrated that White participants are more likely to derogate a racial minority target following a negative evaluation from a Black, but not White, evaluator. A potential alternative explanation for these data is that White participants looked to the Black evaluator for information on how to respond. That is, because the Black evaluator provided an evaluation before the participant, it is possible that participants are merely matching the salient local norms (Crandall et al., 2002).

We argue that this is unlikely given that participants only have access to one person’s evaluation and believe that there are two participants who have yet to provide their assessment. As a result, participants only have information on one third of the responses and are thus unlikely to assume the situational norms will be dictated by one person. In addition, people are most likely to match the norms of similar others (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Cialdini & Trost, 1998), suggesting that if participants’ evaluations were driven by norms, they would match the White

evaluator's assessment. However, one might argue that White participants would not use similarity in this context as a guide to the norms. Instead, they may look to the Black evaluator, assuming that the Black evaluator possesses additional, or better, information regarding the Black candidate because he shares a racial group membership with the Black candidate (for a similar argument see Crosby et al., 2008). Although sharing a racial group membership with another person should not give this evaluator any additional expertise or knowledge, previous research suggests that Whites tend to infer such expertise (Crosby & Monin, 2013).

If White participants see the Black evaluator's assessment as setting the local norms or if they genuinely believe that the Black evaluator possessed additional information about the candidate because of a shared racial/ethnic group membership, then both negative and positive evaluations from a Black evaluator should carry equal weight. If instead, consistent with our hypotheses, White participants are using negative evaluations from Black evaluators as a justification for prejudice expression, we would only expect White participants to match negative evaluations made by Black evaluators.

To further rule out the possibility that participants see shared group membership as increasing one's evaluative credibility or expertise, we also included White job applicants in Experiment 3. If shared group membership offers additional expertise, participants should mirror White evaluators' evaluations of White candidates. Additionally, in the present experiment we include a measure of the evaluator's credibility.

Thus, in Experiment 3 White participants viewed either positive or negative evaluations of a Black or White job candidate made by a Black or White evaluator. We anticipated replicating Experiments 1 and 2 such that when a Black (compared to White) evaluator provides a negative evaluation of a racial minority job candidate, White participants will respond more

negatively to the job candidate. We did not expect positive evaluations made by Black evaluators to have a similar effect: When a Black (compared to White) evaluator provides a positive evaluation of a racial minority job candidate, White participants will not respond more positively to the job candidate. New to this study is the addition of a White job applicant. We did not expect the Black or White evaluator's evaluations of the White applicant to influence White participants' assessments of this candidate. And finally, we did not expect White participants to see the Black evaluator as any more credible when evaluating a Black job candidate compared to a White job candidate.

## **Method**

### **Participants and Design**

White participants ( $N = 215$ , 92 male, 122 female;  $M_{age} = 23.80$ ,  $SD_{age} = 9.28$ ; 2 participants did not provide their age) participated in exchange for a piece of candy. The study design was a 2 (Evaluator Race: Black/White) X 2 (Candidate Race: Black/White) X 2 (Candidate Evaluation: Negative/Positive) between-participants design with random assignment to condition.

### **Procedure**

Participants were approached on campus and asked to participate in a survey being conducted by the UCLA Anderson School of Management to investigate different hiring strategies. Participants received a survey packet instructing them to imagine that they were part of a hiring committee with three other individuals. As part of this committee, participants learned that a single committee member would provide an initial evaluation of a job candidate.

The survey packet contained three additional pieces of information. First, consistent with the previous experiments, participants saw photographs of three committee members. Two



individuals were portrayed as White and one (Committee member B) was portrayed as Black or White, depending on condition. All photographs were matched to the participants' gender and were taken from the Center for Vital Longevity Face Database (Minear & Park, 2004).<sup>4</sup> One photograph of a Black or White individual was used to represent the evaluator. Second, participants saw the job candidate's resume. The candidate's race (Black/White) was communicated with his name Tyrone Jackson/Tyler Jones, his (fictitious) alma mater (Howard State University/Smith State University), and his affiliations (African American Business Association/American Business Association). All other resume details were held constant across conditions and were similar to the resume used in Experiments 1 and 2. Third, participants saw the Black or White evaluator's negative or positive evaluation of the job candidate. As in Experiment 1 and 2, these evaluations were responses to four questions regarding the candidate's qualifications. For example, in response to the first question "To what extent are the applicant's credentials strong?", participants in the negative evaluation condition saw: "The applicant's credentials are somewhat weak" (same as Experiments 1 and 2), and participants in the positive condition saw "The applicant's credentials are relatively strong". These evaluations were intentionally not extremely negative or extremely positive to prevent ceiling or floor effects in participants' evaluations. After seeing the photographs of the committee, the Black job candidate's resume, and the evaluator's evaluation of the job candidate, participants completed focal dependent variables, were debriefed, and offered candy as a token of appreciation.

*Desire to Hire the Candidate.* Participants reported their desire to hire the candidate using three items on a 7-point Likert-type scale anchored at 1(*not at all*) and 7 (*very much so*;  $\alpha = .93$ ).

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<sup>4</sup> Unlike in the previous experiments, in Experiment 3 one photograph of either a Black or White person was used to portray the evaluator, depending on condition.

A sample item includes: “I would likely give this person serious consideration for the position in question”.

*Confidence in the Evaluator.* To assess confidence in the evaluator’s evaluation of the job candidate, participants completed two items on a 7-point Likert-type scale anchored at 1(*not at all*) and 7(*very much so*). These items were: “I have confidence in Committee Member B's evaluation” and “To what extent do you value the evaluator’s recommendation?” ( $r = .71, p = .01$ ).

## Results

### Desire to Hire the Candidate

We conducted a 2 (Evaluator Race: Black/White) X 2 (Candidate Race: Black/White) X 2 (Candidate Evaluation: Negative/Positive) ANOVA on White participants’ desire to hire the candidate. There was a main effect of Candidate Evaluation,  $F(1, 207) = 12.68, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .06$ . These were qualified by a significant interaction between Evaluator Race, Candidate Race, and Candidate Evaluation,  $F(1, 207) = 5.22, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .02$ .

To break down this three-way interaction, we first examined the 2 (Evaluator Race) X 2 (Candidate Evaluation) interaction within the Black job candidate condition. There was a main effect of Candidate Evaluation ( $F(1, 102) = 4.46, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .04$ ), which was qualified by a significant Evaluator Race by Candidate Evaluation interaction,  $F(1, 102) = 9.86, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .09$  (see *Figure 4*). As anticipated and consistent with Experiments 1-2, White participants desired to hire the Black candidate less following the Black ( $M = 3.17, SD = 1.18$ ), compared to White evaluator’s negative evaluation ( $M = 4.32, SD = 1.17$ ),  $F(1, 102) = 9.03, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .08$ .

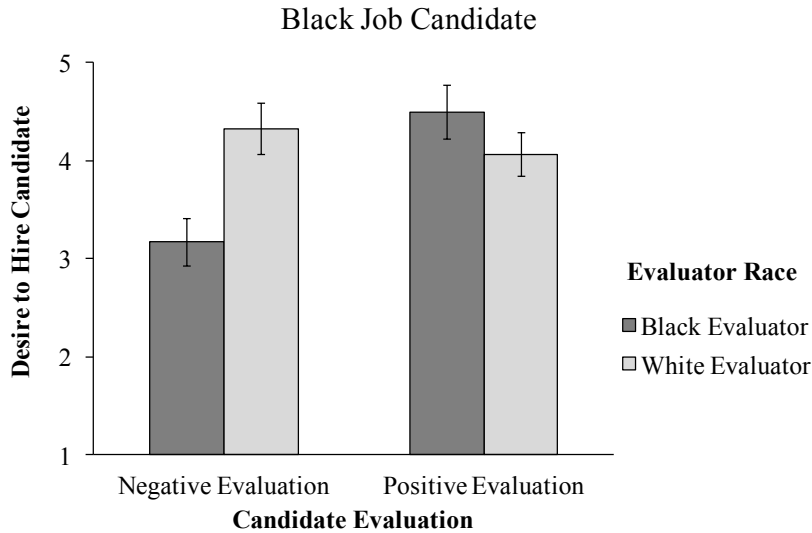
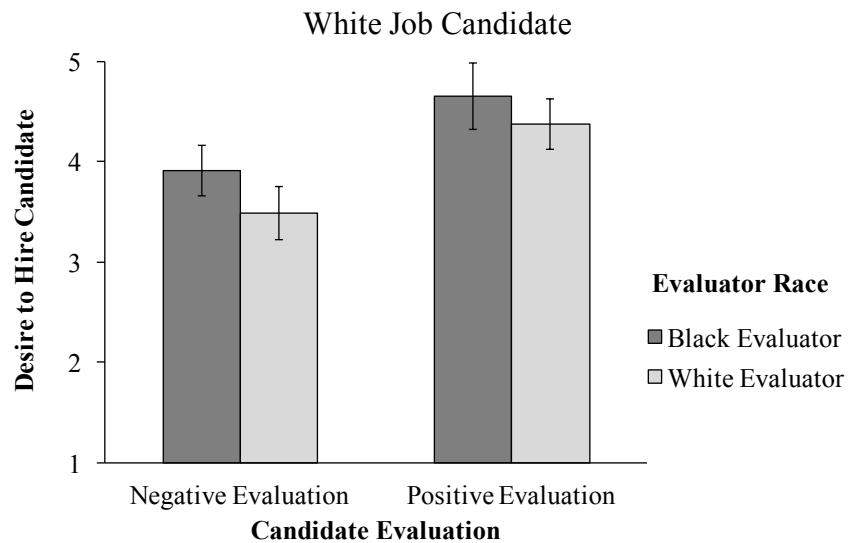


Figure 4. Whites' desire to hire the Black job candidate as a function of the evaluator's race and the candidate evaluation. Error bars indicate standard errors. (Experiment 3).

New to this experiment and as anticipated, desire to hire the Black candidate did not differ following the Black ( $M = 4.49$ ,  $SD = 1.40$ ) or White ( $M = 4.06$ ,  $SD = 1.29$ ) evaluator's positive evaluation,  $F(1, 102) = 1.75$ ,  $p = .19$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ . Moreover, the decreased desire to hire the Black candidate following a negative evaluation seemed to be driven by the Black evaluator. That is, compared to the Black evaluator's positive evaluation ( $M = 4.49$ ,  $SD = 1.40$ ), Whites desired hiring the Black candidate less following the Black evaluator's negative evaluation ( $M = 3.17$ ,  $SD = 1.18$ ),  $F(1, 102) = 13.64$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .12$ . However, the White evaluator's positive ( $M = 4.06$ ,  $SD = 1.29$ ) and negative ( $M = 4.32$ ,  $SD = 1.17$ ), evaluation did not differentially influence desire to hire the Black candidate,  $F < 1$ .

Next, we examined the same 2 (Evaluator Race) X 2 (Candidate Evaluation) interaction when the job candidate was White. There was a main effect of Candidate Evaluation such that Whites desired hiring the White candidate less following the evaluator's negative ( $M = 3.75$ ,  $SD = 1.41$ )

versus positive evaluation ( $M = 4.50, SD = 1.46$ ),  $F(1, 105) = 8.41, p = .005, \eta_p^2 = .07$ . However, this main effect was not qualified by a significant interaction,  $F < 1$  (see *Figure 5*).



*Figure 5.* Whites' desire to hire the White job candidate as a function of the evaluator's race and the candidate evaluation. Error bars indicate standard errors. (Experiment 3).

Additionally, we tested the 2 (Evaluator Race) X 2 (Candidate Race) interaction in the negative Candidate Evaluation condition,  $F(1, 99) = 8.83, p = .004, \eta_p^2 = .08$ . Consistent with predictions, when the job candidate was White, simple effects analyses revealed that White participants did not differ in their desire to hire the candidate following the Black ( $M = 3.91, SD = 1.49$ ), compared to the White ( $M = 3.49, SD = 1.27$ ), evaluator's negative evaluation,  $F(1, 99) = 1.43, p = .23, \eta_p^2 = .01$ . In contrast and consistent with Experiments 1 and 2, simple effects analyses revealed that White participants were less interested in hiring the Black candidate following the Black ( $M = 3.17, SD = 1.18$ ), compared to the White ( $M = 4.32, SD = 1.17$ ), evaluator's negative evaluation,  $F(1, 99) = 8.52, p = .004, \eta_p^2 = .08$ .

The White evaluator's negative evaluation of the Black candidate *increased* participants' desire to hire the candidate ( $M = 4.32, SD = 1.17$ ), compared to when that same negative

evaluation was made of the White candidate ( $M = 3.49, SD = 1.27$ ), which is consistent with the notion that Whites are suppressing prejudice expression in this context,  $F(1, 99) = 4.34, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .04$ . In contrast and supporting our prejudice expression hypothesis, the Black evaluator's negative evaluation of the Black candidate decreased participants' desire to hire the candidate ( $M = 3.17, SD = 1.18$ ) compared to when the Black evaluator negatively evaluated the White candidate ( $M = 3.91, SD = 1.49$ ),  $F(1, 99) = 4.47, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .04$ .

### **Confidence in the Evaluator**

To examine whether participants' confidence in the evaluator was related to their desire to hire the job candidate, we first conducted bivariate correlations. Analyses revealed that confidence in the evaluator and desire to hire the candidate were not significantly correlated,  $r = .12, p > .05$ .

To further understand the pattern of data and test our predictions, we conducted a 2 (Evaluator Race) by 2 (Candidate Race) by 2 (Candidate Evaluation) ANOVA on participants' confidence in the evaluator's evaluation, which revealed a main effect of Evaluator Race,  $F(1, 207) = 21.15, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .09$ ). This was qualified by a significant three-way interaction,  $F(1, 207) = 5.11, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .02$  (see *Figure 6*).

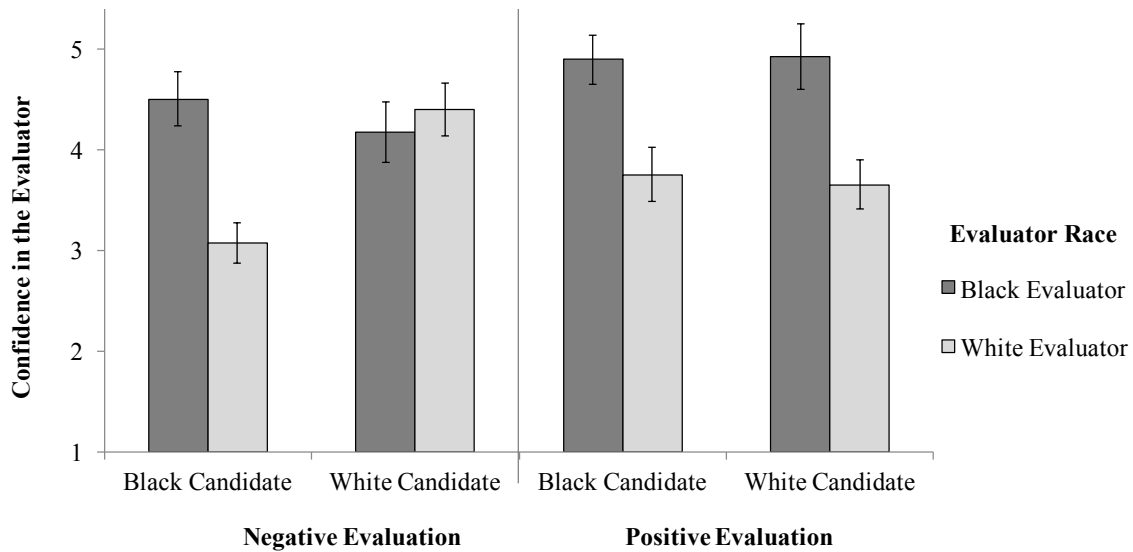


Figure 6. Whites' confidence in the evaluator's evaluation of the candidate as a function of the evaluator's race, the candidate's race, and the candidate evaluation. Error bars indicate standard errors. (Experiment 3).

To test the alternative explanation that the Black evaluator's negative evaluation is seen as more credible, we first conducted a 2 (Candidate Race) by 2 (Candidate Evaluation) ANOVA within the Black evaluator condition. Results revealed a marginal main effects of Candidate Evaluation, such that White participants reported greater confidence in the Black evaluator's positive compared to negative evaluation,  $F(1, 106) = 3.75, p = .055, \eta_p^2 = .03$ . This main effect was not qualified by a significant Candidate Race by Candidate Evaluation interaction,  $F < 1$ . Despite the non-significant interaction, we further probed the data with simple effects analyses to more clearly understand participants' perceptions of the Black evaluator's credibility. None of the simple effects analyses revealed significant results ( $p$ 's  $> .05$ ), but participants did report marginally greater confidence in the Black evaluator when he or she positively ( $M = 4.92, SD = 1.57$ ), compared to negatively ( $M = 4.17, SD = 1.76$ ), evaluated a White candidate,  $F(1, 106) = 3.44, p = .07, \eta_p^2 = .03$ .

We next examined perceptions of the White evaluator's credibility by conducting a 2 (Candidate Race) by 2 (Candidate Evaluation) ANOVA. There was a main effect of Candidate

Race ( $F(1, 101) = 5.48, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .05$ ), which was qualified by a significant Candidate Race by Candidate Evaluation interaction ( $F(1, 101) = 7.46, p = .007, \eta_p^2 = .07$ ). Simple effects analyses revealed that White participants reported greater confidence in the White evaluator following his or her negative evaluation of the White ( $M = 4.39, SD = 1.26$ ), compared to Black job candidate ( $M = 3.07, SD = .09; F(1, 101) = 11.12, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .10$ ) and compared to positive evaluations of the White candidate ( $M = 3.65, SD = 1.28; F(1, 101) = 3.99, p = .05, \eta_p^2 = .04$ ).

### **Discussion**

Experiment 3 replicated and extended the findings of Experiments 1 and 2, providing additional support for our central hypothesis that a negative evaluation of a racial minority target by a racial minority evaluator facilitates Whites' prejudice expression. Experiment 3 replicated Experiments 1 and 2, finding that White participants evaluated a racial minority job candidate more negatively after learning of a negative assessment of this target by a Black, compared to a White, evaluator. In contrast, and new to this experiment, when participants had access to a positive evaluation of the candidate, the race of the evaluator (Black/White) did not differentially influence participants' assessment of the Black candidate. Thus, the failure of participants to mirror the Black evaluator's positive evaluation rules out the possibility that participants see the Black candidate's evaluation as setting the local norms and it rules out the possibility that White participants see Black evaluators as experts on Black candidates.

Experiment 3 extended these results in a number of additional ways. First, the inclusion of a White job candidate demonstrated that White participants were not likely to merely match evaluations made by members who share a racial/ethnic group membership with the target in question. Participants' evaluations of the White applicant did not differ as a function of how this

applicant was evaluated by the White evaluator. Only negative evaluations of Black candidates made by Black evaluators influenced participants' evaluations of Black candidates.

Second, we measured participants' confidence in the Black and White evaluator. Consistent with our contention that participants are not attributing greater evaluation skills to Black evaluators evaluating a Black candidate, we found that participants were not more likely to see Black evaluators as credible when they negatively evaluated a Black candidate, compared to White candidate. Moreover, perceived credibility and desire to hire the candidate were not significantly correlated. Indeed, if anything, participants reported marginally greater credibility to the Black evaluator when he evaluated the White candidate positively.

#### **Experiment 4**

Experiments 1-3 reveal that White participants are likely to lower their evaluations of a Black job applicant following a Black evaluator's negative assessment of this applicant. This pattern does not emerge for White job applicants and only emerges when the initial evaluation is negative. Thus, we have argued that White participants' negative evaluations of the Black candidate are due to reduced concerns about appearing prejudiced. However, an alternative explanation of the data remains: that White participants expect Black evaluators to be positive and the negative evaluation violates these expectations and as a result, motivates a negative evaluation of the candidate. Specifically, people tend to favor ingroup members over outgroup members (Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992), rating ingroup members more positively (Brewer & Silver, 1978) and allocating greater rewards to ingroup members (Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). As a result, Whites may expect Black evaluators to respond favorably to racial ingroup members. If the Black evaluator's negative evaluation violated White participants' expectations that the Black evaluator would support the Black candidate, this



negative evaluation may have been disproportionately influential to the White evaluator.

This potential account of the data from Experiments 1-3 rests on the notion that Whites expect Black evaluators to respond positively to Black candidates, and that they do not have this expectation of White or of Black evaluators' responses to White candidates. We anticipate that this is not the case. Rather, we suggest that White participants will expect Black and White evaluators to similarly evaluate a Black job candidate. In addition, we anticipate that White participants will expect Black evaluators to similarly evaluate Black and White applicants.

## **Method**

### **Participants and Design**

White participants ( $N = 225$ ; 65 men, 160 women,  $M_{age} = 21.73$ ,  $SD_{age} = 4.31$ ) voluntarily completed the experiment and were given a piece of candy as a token of appreciation. The study design was a 2 (Evaluator Race: Black/White) X 2 (Candidate Race: Black/White) between-participants design with random assignment to condition.

### **Procedure**

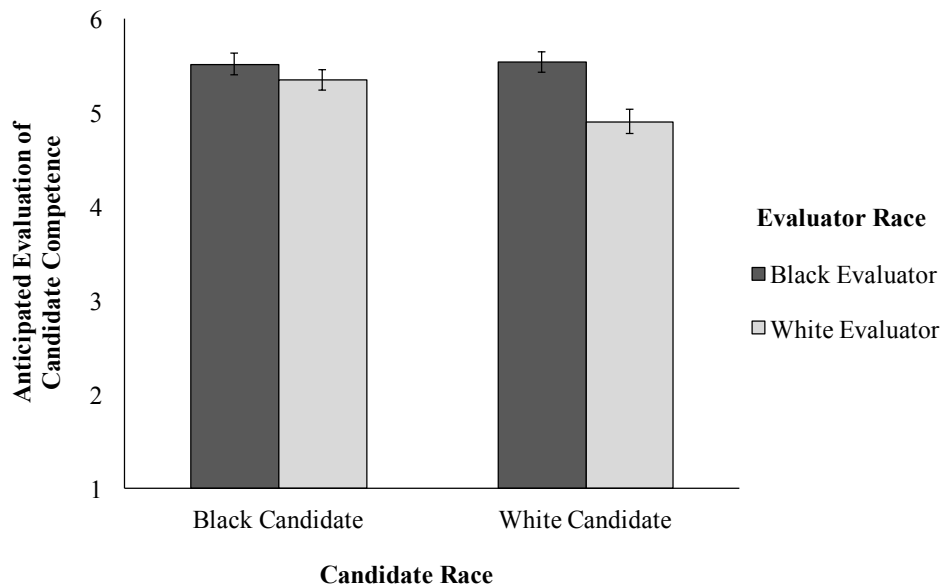
Participants were approached on campus and asked to participate in a study examining accuracy in guessing how people evaluate job candidates. Participants received a survey packet containing a job applicant's resume and photographs of the three people ostensibly on the search committee. Two of these committee members were always White and one (Committee member B) was Black or White, depending on condition. Photographs were taken from the Center for Vital Longevity Face Database (Minear & Park, 2004).

*Anticipated Evaluations of Candidate Competence.* Participants were asked to provide their best guess as to how competent Committee Member B (portrayed as Black or White

depending on condition) had rated the job candidate to be on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much so*) using a 7-item measure similar to Experiment 1 ( $\alpha = .90$ ).

## Results

To examine Whites' expectations of the level of competence attributed to the job applicant by Black or White evaluators, we conducted a 2 (Evaluator Race) by 2 (Candidate Race) ANOVA with anticipated evaluations of the candidate's competence as the dependent variable. Results revealed a main effect of Evaluator Race ( $F(1, 221) = 11.72, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .05$ ) and a marginal main effect of Candidate Race ( $F(1, 221) = 3.29, p = .07, \eta_p^2 = .02$ ). However, these were qualified by a significant Evaluator Race by Candidate Race interaction,  $F(1, 221) = 3.93, p = .05, \eta_p^2 = .02$  (see *Figure 7*).



*Figure 7.* Whites' expectations for how the Black or White evaluator would evaluate a Black or White job candidate given identical resumes. Error bars indicate standard error. (Experiment 5)

Importantly, simple effects analyses revealed that White participants expected the Black evaluator to be equally positive toward both Black ( $M = 5.52, SD = 0.85$ ) and White ( $M = 5.54,$

$SD = 0.79$ ) job candidates,  $F < 1$ . Furthermore, White participants expected the Black ( $M = 5.52$ ,  $SD = 0.85$ ) and White ( $M = 5.35$ ,  $SD = 0.81$ ) evaluator to respond similarly toward the Black job candidate,  $F(1, 221) = 1.03$ ,  $p = .32$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .001$ .

### **Discussion**

Experiment 4 found that Whites expect Black evaluators to evaluate identically qualified Black and White job applicants as similarly competent. Furthermore, Whites expect White evaluators to evaluate the competence of these Black candidates similarly to Black evaluators. This suggests that White participants' negative evaluations of the racial minority job applicant in Experiments 1-3 following a negative evaluation made by a Black evaluator cannot be due just to the evaluator breaking expectations, as the White evaluator would also have broken these expectations.

### **Experiment 5**

Across 4 experiments we provide evidence that Whites evaluate racial minority targets as less competent and are less interested in hiring them after seeing a negative evaluation of these targets made by a racial minority evaluator. We argue that this increased likelihood of prejudice expression is due to Whites feeling reduced concerns about appearing prejudiced when a racial minority evaluator has provided this initial negative evaluation. Although we have ruled out many potential alternative hypotheses that could account for these data, we have not yet provided any direct evidence that the negative evaluations made by a racial minority evaluator reduced prejudice concerns. In Experiment 5 we address this weakness by measuring concerns about appearing prejudiced amongst participants who vary in their external motivation to respond without prejudice. We hypothesize that the Black evaluator's negative evaluation of a Black candidate will reduce Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced, particularly for Whites who

are externally motivated to not appear prejudiced, resulting in more prejudice expression towards the Black candidate.

## **Method**

### **Participants and Design**

White participants ( $N = 150$ ; 69 men, 81 women,  $M_{age} = 36.86$ ,  $SD_{age} = 12.69$ , one person did not provide their age) completed the experiment online using MTurk in exchange for \$0.40. Participants varied in educational background (0.7% some high school, 8.7% high school diploma, 20.0% some college, 48.7% college degree, 1.3% some graduate school, 12.7% graduate degree), and employment experience (54.0% were currently or had previously been employed in a management position). The study had two conditions – participants saw either a Black or White evaluator provide a negative evaluation of a Black job candidate.

### **Procedure**

The experimental procedure was similar to Experiments 1 and 2. Participants were told they were part of a hiring committee with three other individuals and as part of this committee, they would each be evaluating a job candidate and then a single committee member would provide an initial evaluation of a job candidate.

Next, participants saw the photographs of three members of the hiring committee (Minear & Park, 2004) and two different versions of photographs were used. Two committee members (Steven and Adam) were always portrayed as White. The third committee member (John) was portrayed as either Black or White. Participants then saw a brief job description for the position of Manager for Data Coordination used in Experiments 1 and 2. The candidate's race was manipulated using his name – Tyrone Jackson.

Participants were asked to imagine they had reviewed the job applicant's resume and that "...you personally do not feel that the job applicant is a good candidate for the job. However, you have not yet shared this unfavorable evaluation with any of the other committee members". Lastly, participants learned that John would be the first of the committee members to provide his evaluation of the job candidate. John (portrayed as either Black or White) provided the same negative evaluation used in Experiments 1 and 2. After seeing the Black or White evaluator's negative evaluation of the Black job candidate, participants completed the focal dependent variables (Prejudice Concerns, Candidate Competence, Desire to Hire Candidate, External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice), were debriefed and compensated.

In the present study, participants were asked to imagine that they felt negatively about the job candidate. This deviation from the previous studies was necessary to capture the psychology in the previous experiments. Merely adding a measure of concerns about appearing prejudiced to the previous study designs would be ineffective.

If participants were first allowed to evaluate the job candidate, we would expect lower evaluations of the candidate following (1) a negative evaluation from a Black, compared to a White, evaluator or (2) a negative, compared to absent, evaluation from a Black evaluator. If we next asked participants to report their concerns about appearing prejudiced, we would expect no difference between conditions—not because of a failure to see low prejudice concerns in the experimental condition but because of the effects of the control conditions. That is, because participants have no justification to express prejudice in the control condition, their evaluations tend to be positive—so there is no reason to report any concerns about appearing prejudiced, they have evaluated the applicant positively. Moreover, participants who do experience concerns about appearing prejudiced following a negative evaluation from the Black, compared to White,

evaluator could increase the positivity of their ratings of the Black applicant, and thereby reduce concerns about appearing prejudiced – measuring concerns about appearing prejudiced following ratings of the candidate would not allow us to capture the phenomenon of interest

If instead, participants were asked to first report their concerns about appearing prejudiced and then evaluate the job applicant, we also would not expect to see any variability in reports of prejudice concerns. If participants have yet to evaluate the candidate there is no reason to report concerns about being seen as prejudiced. This is especially true given that most White Americans believe they are fair and would not unjustly evaluate someone as a function of his or her race.

Thus, in order to capture prejudice concerns, it was important to put participants into the same psychology as participants in Experiments 1-3. Thus, participants were told to imagine they felt negatively about the applicant but had yet to report an evaluation.

*Concerns About Appearing Prejudiced.* Participants completed a three-item measure assessing their concerns about appearing prejudiced measured on a 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much so) scale ( $\alpha = 0.94$ ). These items were: (1) To what extent would you be concerned the other committee members will think your evaluation of the job applicant is prejudiced, (2) To what extent would you be worried the committee will think you are discriminating against the job applicant, and (3) To what extent would you be worried the committee will think you are prejudiced.

*Candidate Competence.* We used the same six-item measure as Experiment 1 to assess participants' perceptions of candidate competence ( $\alpha = 0.87$ ).

*Desire to Hire the Candidate.* We used the same four item measure as Experiment 1 and 2 to assess desire to hire the candidate for the position ( $\alpha = 0.94$ ).

*External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice.* Participants completed the full ten-item measure of internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998). We used the five-item subscale assessing participants' external motivation to respond without prejudice ( $\alpha = 0.82$ ).

*Manipulation Check.* Participants completed the following manipulation check item at the end of the study: "What racial or ethnic group is committee member John (who was selected to provide the first evaluation of the applicant) a member of?"

## **Results**

### **Candidate Competence**

Replicating Experiment 1, White participants rated the Black job candidate as less competent following the Black ( $M = 3.03, SD = .71$ ), compared to White ( $M = 3.37, SD = .75$ ) evaluator's negative evaluation of the candidate,  $t(148) = -2.85, p = .005$ . Importantly, this difference in competence ratings occurred despite all participants receiving the same instruction that they had a negative evaluation of the applicant.

### **Desire to Hire the Candidate**

Consistent with Experiments 1-3, Whites desired hiring the Black candidate less after seeing the Black ( $M = 2.03, SD = 1.05$ ), compared to White ( $M = 2.47, SD = 1.20$ ) evaluator's negative evaluation,  $t(148) = -2.39, p = .02$ .

### **Prejudice Concerns**

As hypothesized, White participants reported fewer concerns about appearing prejudiced following the Black ( $M = 2.05, SD = 1.18$ ), compared to White ( $M = 2.61, SD = 1.50$ ) evaluator's negative evaluation of the Black job candidate,  $t(148) = -2.48, p = .01$ .

### **External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice as Moderator**

We examined whether Whites' external motivations to respond without prejudice (EMS; Plant & Devine, 1998) moderated the relationship between the Black or White evaluator's negative evaluation of the Black candidate and participants' concerns about appearing prejudiced and subsequent competence ratings.

Prejudice Concerns was regressed on Evaluator Race (dummy coded; 0 = White, 1 = Black), EMS composite scores (standardized), and the interaction between Evaluator Race and EMS composite. Analyses revealed a significant main effect of EMS,  $\beta = .74$ ,  $SE = .14$ ,  $t(149) = 5.14$ ,  $p < .001$ . There was also a significant main effect of Evaluator Race,  $\beta = -.51$ ,  $SE = .21$ ,  $t(149) = -2.38$ ,  $p = .02$ . However, the main effects were qualified by a marginally significant Evaluator Race by EMS interaction,  $\beta = -.41$ ,  $SE = .21$ ,  $t(149) = -1.91$ ,  $p = .06$ .

### **Moderated Mediation Analysis**

Experiments 1-3 and 5 have demonstrated support for the focal phenomenon that Whites are more likely to derogate a minority target after they have first seen another minority respond negatively toward this target. In the present experiment we show that when a minority evaluator has expressed negativity toward a minority job candidate, Whites report fewer concerns that they will be seen as prejudiced if they were to negatively evaluate this candidate. Further, we see that this effect is stronger amongst participants who are chronically concerned about being seen as prejudiced.



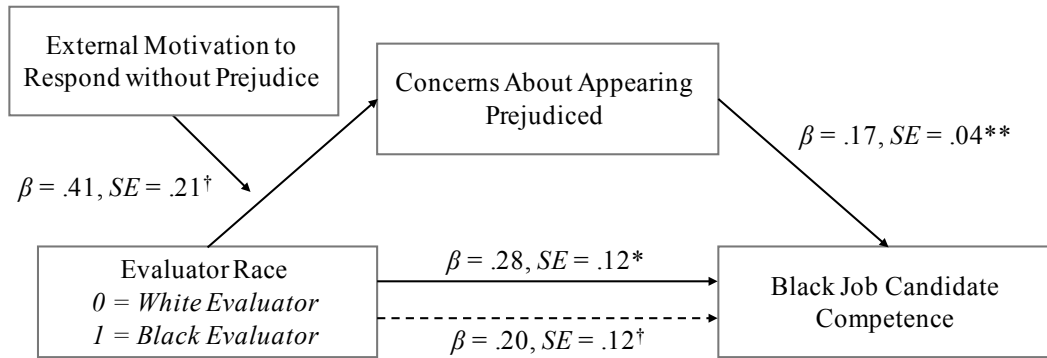


Figure 9. Model for moderated mediation analysis. (Experiment 5). \*\*\* $p < .001$ , \* $p < .05$ , † $p < .10$

We conducted a moderated mediation analysis evaluating whether the relationship between evaluator race and candidate competence, mediated through concerns about appearing prejudiced, was moderated by external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS; see Figure 9 for model). That is, does the Black, compared to White, evaluator’s negative evaluation reduce concerns about appearing prejudiced (particularly for those high in external motivation to respond without prejudice), resulting in decreased competence ratings of the Black job candidate. This analysis was conducted using Preacher & Hayes PROCESS macro (Model 7, 10,000 resamples) for SPSS (Hayes, 2013; see also Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

**Table 1.** Conditional Indirect Effect of Evaluator Race on Candidate Competence through Concerns About Appearing Prejudiced at Low (-1 SD), moderate (Mean), and High (+1 SD) levels of External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice. (Experiment 5)

Conditional Level of External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice	Indirect Effect	Boot-strapped Standard Error	Bias Corrected Lower Limit Confidence Interval	Bias Corrected Upper Limit Confidence Interval
-1 SD (low external motivation to respond without prejudice)	-0.02	.05	-0.11	.08
Mean	<b>-0.09</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>-0.18</b>	<b>-0.02</b>
+1 SD (high external motivation to respond without prejudice)	<b>-0.16</b>	<b>.07</b>	<b>-0.33</b>	<b>-0.04</b>

Note. SD = Standard Deviation. Bias corrected 95% confidence interval calculated using 10,000 bootstrap samples (with replacement). Significant conditional indirect effects ( $p < .05$ ) are in bold-face.

Table 1 shows the conditional indirect effect of evaluator race on prejudice concerns at varying levels of external motivation to respond without prejudice. The indirect effect of evaluator race on candidate competence through prejudice concerns was reliable for those who were at the mean (EMS = 3.52; indirect effect = -.09; bias corrected 95% confidence interval = [-.18, -.02]) or one standard deviation above the mean of external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS = 4.97; indirect effect = -.16; bias corrected 95% confidence interval = [-.33, -.04]). However, the indirect effect was not reliable amongst individuals one standard deviation below the mean of external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS = 2.07; indirect effect = -.02; bias corrected 95% confidence interval = [-.11, .08]). Thus, as anticipated, decreased concerns about appearing prejudiced mediated the relationship between the presence of a negative evaluation made by a racial minority and participants' evaluations of the Black job candidate's competence, particularly for individuals who were high, compared to low, in external motivation to respond without prejudice.

### **Discussion**

Experiment 5 provides additional evidence that negative evaluations of racial minorities by racial minorities reduces Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced and as a result, facilitates prejudice expression. Replicating and extending Experiments 1-3, White participants' competence ratings and desire to hire the Black candidate were lowered following the Black, compared to White, evaluator's negative evaluation. Additionally, White participants who are chronically externally motivated to respond without prejudice reported fewer concerns about appearing prejudiced when the Black, compared to the White, evaluator expressed negativity about the Black candidate. Further, this reduction in concerns about appearing prejudiced accounted for participants' lower evaluation of the Black candidate's competence.

## General Discussion

Across five experiments, we examined an unexplored context that influences Whites' prejudice expression: The use of negative evaluations made by racial minorities and Whites about racial minority targets. These experiments demonstrated that Whites' evaluations of racial minority candidates are influenced by the race of the evaluator: Whites rated a Black job candidate as less competent (Experiments 1 and 5) and were less likely to endorse hiring a Black (Experiment 1, 3, 5) or Latino (Experiment 2) candidate after viewing a Black (vs. White) evaluator's negative evaluation of the candidate. Importantly, several experiments provide evidence to rule out alternative explanations. These effects were also not due to Whites' perceptions of the Black evaluator as more credible—Whites' evaluations of the Black candidate were not influenced by the Black evaluator's positive evaluations of the minority candidate (Experiment 3). Experiments also demonstrated that this effect was not due to Whites matching local norms, as Whites did not match the Black or White evaluator's negative evaluations of White candidates or positive evaluations of racial minority candidates (Experiments 3). Moreover, Whites did not generally perceive the Black evaluator to be any more credible when evaluating a Black candidate negatively compared to positive evaluations or when the applicant was White (Experiment 3). If anything, Whites' perceived the Black evaluator to be marginally more credible when positively evaluating a White candidate, compared to a negative evaluation or when the candidate was Black (Experiment 3). Experiment 4 suggests that these findings were not due to Whites' expectations for the Black evaluator being disproportionately more positive toward the Black candidate being violated when the evaluator provided a negative evaluation. Rather, Whites anticipated that a Black and White evaluator would be equally positive toward a minority candidate and that the Black evaluator would be equally positive to

both candidates, regardless of race. Across multiple experiments, Whites matched only the Black evaluator's negative evaluation of the Black candidate.

Experiments 5 provides evidence of the mechanism accounting for this effect by demonstrating that negative evaluations of racial minority targets reduce Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced and this in turn increases Whites' prejudice expression, particularly amongst individuals who are externally motivated to respond without prejudice – that is, individuals who avoid expressing prejudice due to social pressures. Individuals who are relatively high, compared to low, in external motivation to not appear prejudiced experienced greater concerns about appearing prejudiced (EMS) following a White evaluator's negative evaluation of a Black candidate relative to a Black evaluator's negative evaluation of the Black candidate. Together, these experiments suggest that Whites are more likely to express prejudice when they are able to use a racial minority group member's negative assessment of a minority target to justify prejudice expression.

### **Implications for Prejudice Expression and Suppression Processes**

Presumably, everyone has some prejudices and biases (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; McConnell & Leibold, 2001). However, what varies from person to person is whether these prejudices and biases are expressed. Crandall and Eshleman (2003) articulate a model of prejudice expression and suppression processes, suggesting that when people can justify their prejudices with non-prejudice related explanations, these prejudices are more likely to be expressed. The present research adds to this conceptualization, arguing that prejudice justification can be drawn from others in the environment, in particular minority others. Indeed, the small body of research exploring the role of minority group members in Whites' prejudice expression suggests that minority group members *increase* concerns about

appearing prejudiced, and as a result, *decrease* prejudice expression. For example, in the presence of Blacks (compared to Whites), Whites express more positive attitudes toward race-related issues such as integration and interracial marriage (Hatchett & Schuman, 1975-1976) and respond with more positivity toward Black individuals on the Modern Racism Scale (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995).

Why might these findings diverge from the present research? These findings likely emerge because previous research tends to focus on the mere presence of a person from a racial minority group. The present research replicates these findings in Experiments 1 and 2, demonstrating that Whites are unlikely to express prejudice when a racial minority person is merely present. However, the present research also finds that a small change to this context - Knowledge of the racial minority person's evaluations - can have a big effect on prejudice concerns and prejudice expression. That is, we often know the opinions of other people in evaluative contexts, whether it is juries, hiring processes, debates, etc. When these opinions are made public, the present research reveals that this can influence prejudice suppression and expression processes. Thus, the present research highlights the importance of considering the nuances of the broader social context on Whites' prejudice expression.

### **A Phenomenon Distinct from Moral Licensing**

In considering majority group members' prejudice expression justification processes, much of the research to date has focused on the person expressing prejudice's ability to justify expressing negativity toward a stigmatized group member. That is, perpetrators have been shown to either use their own egalitarianism promoting qualities (e.g., citing that one has a Black friend, providing evidence of unprejudiced values) or those of the target to provide evidence of being unprejudiced. Put another way, research to date has repeatedly demonstrated that prior to

expressing prejudice, individuals tend to take an active role in providing proof that their actions are ostensibly not motivated by prejudice.

Novel to our understanding of prejudice justification and expression processes, the present research suggests Whites may feel similarly protected against being seen as racist or prejudiced *without* demonstrating their own egalitarian attitudes and behaviors prior to expressing their negativity. Unlike in research examining moral credentialing and licensing, in our experiments Whites do not provide evidence that they are egalitarian, that they have preferences that are non-prejudiced, or that they personally have a non-prejudicial justification for their negative evaluation of the Black job candidate (e.g., candidates' low qualifications). Rather, because a racial minority provides a negative evaluation of a minority target, we see Whites expressing greater negativity. That is, the present experiments demonstrate that Whites use the negative evaluations of a stranger-other (Black evaluator) with whom they have no relationship to create plausible deniability that their own actions are motivated by prejudice. Thus, the present research meaningfully extends our current understanding of when and how prejudice justification and expression processes occur.

### **Practical Implications**

In addition to having theoretical implications for prejudice expression processes, these findings have clear practical implications. First, because previous research points to the mere presence of a racial minority person motivating Whites' prejudice suppression (e.g., Apfelbaum et al., 2008; Norton et al., 2006), the recommendations that have emerged from these findings tend to advocate for adding a racial minority person to a group when this group is at risk for biased decision-making. However, the present research suggests that racial minorities may find themselves in a double bind when they have a negative opinion of another racial minority group

member: If they voice their negative opinion, they will likely facilitate prejudice expression for White evaluators and if they don't voice their negative opinion, they are not contributing to the discussion meaningfully or authentically. Furthermore, racial minority evaluators' positive evaluations are likely to have equally problematic outcomes—positive responses from racial minority evaluators regarding racial minority targets tend to be seen as attributionally ambiguous—they might reflect a legitimate positive evaluation of this target or these evaluations could be seen as promoting the ingroup (for a review see Mullen et al., 2002) and discounted by Whites (Crosby & Monin, 2013). Importantly, these standards are not applied to White evaluators of either White or racial minority targets—negative evaluations are not as likely to facilitate prejudice expression and positive evaluations are rarely met with this attributional ambiguity, in part because being White is less likely to be seen as an identity group that engenders advocacy (e.g., Smith & Zarate, 1992; Zarate & Smith, 1990).

Another implication of the present research is that it highlights a context in which racial minorities and Whites have different interpretations and expectations of a similar situation as a function of their divergent experiences in intergroup interactions. Specifically, in intergroup contexts Whites tend to be concerned about being seen as racist and racial minorities tend to be concerned about being a target of negative prejudice and stereotypes (Richeson & Shelton, 2007). Thus, in contexts like hiring decisions or jury decisions where race is relevant, it is likely that Whites and racial minorities may be focused on very different aspects of racial minority involvement. Whites may assume that racial minorities will use these opportunities to advocate for other racial minorities and fight for diversity. However, other research suggests that in these contexts racial minorities feel the opposite pressure: In contexts with outcome controlling Whites, racial minorities may feel the pressure to derogate other minority targets to conform to

perceived White prejudice expression norms (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008). This may subsequently create a vicious cycle where in contexts in which racial minorities are under-represented, single representatives may be placed in groups of predominantly majority group members with the intention of reducing the likelihood that bias will emerge. However, this may instead create a pressure for racial minorities to express negativity that they do not genuinely endorse (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008) and this negativity will subsequently facilitate prejudice expression in other Whites in these groups.

Thus, the present findings add to the growing body of research that points to the harmful nature of solo status. To date, research has focused more on the intrapersonal outcomes associated with solo status. For example, solo status is shown to give rise to stereotype threat (Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2003; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2007; Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2003; Murphy, Steele, & Gross, 2007), which results in lower performance and interest in stereotype-relevant fields. The present research suggests that solo status can also give rise to negative interpersonal outcomes, such as increased prejudice expression by others in these contexts. Thus, the present findings strengthen the call to practitioners to be mindful of representation. Indeed, Whites tend to be motivated to believe that their organizations are diverse, and as a result, tend to have quite liberal definitions of what constitutes diverse contexts (Unzueta & Binning, 2012; Unzueta, Knowles, & Ho, 2012). However, just one or two members of a group is not enough to combat against these processes—it is important to build a critical mass (Konrad, Kramer, & Erkut, 2008). Critical mass has been shown in previous research to be essential to protecting against the intrapersonal processes brought about by solo status (e.g., Murphy et al., 2007) and should have a similar positive influence on these interpersonal processes as well.



## **Limitations and Future Directions**

One limitation of the present research is its focus on racial minorities as both the stigmatizable target and the source of the prejudice justification. Thus, it is unclear whether a shared superordinate group membership, such as racial minority group, is critical to providing the justification processes demonstrated here. For example, would a woman's negative opinion about a racial minority candidate, or a racial minority group member's negative opinion of a candidate with a disability, facilitate prejudice expression in White evaluators? It is also unclear whether these prejudice justification processes will emerge with an evaluator from any group with a history of negative stereotypes or if this is limited to groups with a specific history of stigmatization.

Future research will benefit from a test of these questions. However, the present research suggests that the answer to these questions would depend on the ability of the initial negative assessment to reduce prejudice concerns. Some groups are seen as more diverse (Unzueta & Binning, 2010; Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011), suggesting that it might be the case that negative assessments made by members of certain groups will reduce prejudice concerns (and increase prejudice expression) regardless of the membership of the target, whereas negative assessments made by members of other groups may only have this effect if the target shares a superordinate group membership. However, it is important to note that the difficulty in making concrete hypotheses about non-racial minority groups is due to a limitation of the stigma research more broadly. Most stigma research focuses on racial minority group members, and very little research examines other stigmatizable characteristics (e.g., Shapiro, 2011). In general, the stigma research would benefit from an exploration of how intergroup processes unfold across many different groups.

A second limitation is that although the present research reveals that Whites are personally less concerned that their negativity will be seen as prejudiced when their evaluation follows a negative evaluation from a racial minority, it is unclear whether others will similarly see these behaviors as unbiased. There is reason to believe that White observers may not see these negative evaluations as prejudiced. Many White Americans are chronically concerned about appearing prejudiced and these concerns can affect their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors in interracial contexts (Plant & Devine, 1998). In our particular context, an evaluative context, these White Americans might then view any negative evaluations of any Black candidate by any White evaluator as potentially prejudiced. However, there is also reason to believe that White observers may see these behaviors as unbiased. That is, the negative assessment made by the minority evaluator may allow observers to justify negativity expressed by the evaluator. Furthermore, these processes may unfold differently for White and minority observers. Previous research suggests that White, compared to racial minority, observers are more persuaded by Whites' displays of egalitarian moral ideologies (Krumm & Corning, 2008). This suggests that only White observers' detection of prejudice expression might be influenced by an initial negative evaluation provided by a racial minority. This has implications for confronting prejudice expression, as one needs to be able to identify an action as biased in order to confront it (Ashburn-Nardo, Morris, & Goodwin, 2008). In addition, this reveals a gap in extant research: There is very little research on how third parties interpret intergroup interactions and evaluations and on the implications of these interpretations (for an exception see Shapiro, Baldwin, Williams, & Trawalter, 2011). Thus, a better understanding of how these strategies are interpreted by observers will be an important direction for future research.

## **Conclusions**

The present research moves outside the perceiver-target dyad to examine how individuals in the broader social context facilitate prejudice expression and suppression processes. We also provide evidence for the differential influence of racial minorities' and Whites' input and contributions in intergroup contexts on Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced and prejudice expression.

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Paper 2

Rewarding Racial Minorities' Negative Opinions to Reduce Whites' Concerns about Appearing  
Prejudiced

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## Abstract

Whereas the extant research suggests that the presence of racial minority group members serves to increase Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced, the present research argues under certain circumstances Whites can leverage the presence of racial minority group members to reduce Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced. In particular, the present research argues that when a racial minority advocates against racial minority group members, Whites may strategically benefit this individual in an effort to reduce their concerns about appearing prejudiced. Four studies examine the extent to which Whites reward a racial minority who has a record of decreasing the representation of racial minorities (Experiments 1 – 3) or advocates against programs aimed at fostering minority success (Experiment 4). Experiments 1 – 4 revealed that when a Black target hindered the advancement of racial minorities, White participants rewarded the target with more status and money compared to when a White target engaged in the same behavior. Experiment 1 revealed that White participants viewed the Black, compared to White, target who decreased the representation of racial minority group members to be warmer, suggesting Whites are more comfortable in the presence of a racial minority who undermines minority interests. The present findings suggest that Whites are more likely to reward a racial minority group member when he expresses views that hinder minority group member advancement.

*Keywords:* prejudice concerns, rewarding, intergroup processes

## **Introduction**

In considering why Clarence Thomas, a Black lawyer who had never tried a case in federal court, was promoted to the Court of Appeals, and ultimately to the Supreme Court of the United States, many pundits point to Thomas' history on race-related issues. In the 1980s, Thomas garnered public attention for his strong opposition to affirmative action policies, criticism of civil rights leaders, and support for colorblind ideologies. Journalist Jeffrey Toobin argues that Thomas told "some of the most powerful people in the worlds of government, business, and finance precisely what they wanted to hear—that affirmative action was bad, that black people didn't want or need their help..." (Toobin, 2007). In contrast, George H.W. Bush contended that he had selected the best qualified nominee (Toobin, 2007). Although there are many potential reasons for why Thomas rose in notoriety and status, Toobin points to a possibility that has not been explored in extant literature: Thomas' rejection of policies aimed at fostering minority group members' success. Thus, the present research explores whether Whites reward minorities who undermine other minorities.

### **Whites' Concerns About Appearing Prejudiced**

White Americans tend to experience concerns about appearing prejudiced or being seen as discriminatory. These concerns can stem from internal pressures, including a person's values and desire to maintain a view of themselves as non-prejudiced and fair (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002; Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, & Elliot, 1991; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998). However, these concerns about appearing prejudiced can emerge regardless of one's own values: Pervasive social norms in the U.S. condemn prejudice expression towards marginalized and under-represented groups (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002; Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Plant & Devine, 1998). Indeed, there are social



penalties, including social rejection, for expressing prejudice toward many groups (van Leeuwen, van den Bosch, Castano, & Hopman, 2010). Furthermore, there are federal laws that punish those who discriminate against members of many groups (e.g., Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, hate crime laws).

It is also the case that stereotypes cast Whites as holding and expressing prejudices against racial minority group members (Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan, 1994). For example, people are significantly more likely to interpret the same ambiguous behavior as discriminatory when the perpetrator of this behavior is White and the victim is Black, compared to when the perpetrator is Black, regardless of the victim's race (Inman & Baron, 1996). Thus, Whites are seen as likely sources of racism (Inman & Baron, 1996; Inman, Huerta, & Oh, 1998; Rodin, Price, Bryson, & Sanchez, 1990; Simon, Kinias, O'Brien, Major, & Bivolaru, 2013). Moreover, Whites are aware of these norms and negative stereotypes about their group holding prejudices (Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000). Thus, regardless of Whites actual degree of prejudice, Whites tend to be concerned about whether their behaviors will appear prejudiced to others.

One context in which Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced are particularly salient is in intergroup interactions, a context in which Whites are concerned about being rejected by racial minorities (Shelton & Richeson, 2005) and are highly motivated to be liked (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010). Racial minorities in the U.S. have a long history of being the targets of prejudice and discrimination (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986), and these experiences facilitate perceptions of racial minorities as unlikely sources or perpetrators of racism and prejudice against other groups (Inman & Baron, 1996; Rodin et al., 1990). Moreover, these experiences lead Whites to see racial minorities as experts on issues related to prejudice or

discrimination (see Crosby & Monin, 2013). As a result, intergroup contexts are stressful for Whites (Plant, 2004; Trawalter, Adam, Chase-Lansdale, & Richeson, 2012; Trawalter, Richeson, & Shelton, 2009), as they tend to increase concerns that they will be seen as prejudiced or biased by racial minority group members (Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001; Vorauer et al., 2000). For example, when Whites are concerned that their behaviors or opinions could reflect that they hold racial prejudices, they experience greater cognitive resource depletion (Richeson & Trawalter, 2005) and increased physiological stress responses when interacting with a racial minority, compared to White, person (Trawalter et al., 2012), presumably because their concerns about appearing prejudiced are heightened in the presence of a racial minority group member. This is especially the case when race-related topics are discussed (Trawalter & Richeson, 2008). In contrast, when these concerns about appearing prejudiced are not present, Whites express fewer markers of anxiety (Trawalter et al., 2012). Taken together, Whites experience concerns about appearing prejudiced, and these concerns are especially salient in intergroup contexts whether racial minorities are perceived as being able to detect whether Whites hold prejudices.

### **Reducing the Likelihood of Appearing Prejudiced**

Given that expressing prejudice is socially condemned and that Whites experience heightened concerns about appearing prejudiced, Whites tend to be motivated to engage in behaviors and pursue situations that reduce the likelihood that they will be seen as prejudiced. There are a number of strategies that Whites use in intergroup contexts to limit the likelihood that their behaviors could be perceived as prejudicial.

One strategy includes Whites engaging in greater vigilance and self-regulation of their behavior. Concerns about appearing prejudiced in intergroup contexts can lead Whites to be more vigilant of the opinions and behaviors they express in these environments (e.g., Monteith,

Sherman, & Devine, 1998; Monteith, Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Czopp, 2002; Richeson & Shelton, 2003; Richeson & Trawalter, 2005; Crosby, Monin, & Richardson, 2008) as these opinions or behaviors may be perceived by others as communicating Whites' prejudices (Monteith, 1993). Thus, Whites tend to control their verbal and non-verbal behavior in intergroup contexts as indexed by poor subsequent performance on tasks that require executive functioning (which is depleted by self-regulation; Richeson & Shelton, 2003; Richeson & Trawalter, 2005) and greater regulation of behavior (e.g., less fidgeting and gesturing, increased facial rigidity; Shelton, 2003; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008; Richeson & Shelton, 2003). Moreover, increased self-regulation in an attempt to avoid appearing prejudiced can lead Whites to overcompensate by expressing greater engagement in intergroup interactions (Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, & Trawalter, 2005). Recent research highlights that people who are concerned that intergroup interactions can determine if they are racist or not are more likely to engage in strategies involving overcompensation, such as being excessively nice and pretending the interaction is going well (Neel & Shapiro, 2012).

Another strategy that Whites use to avoid being seen as prejudiced is strategically avoiding or claiming not to see race – presumably believing that if they do not notice race, then they cannot be labeled racist (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, & Ariely, 2006; Norton, Sommers, & Apfelbaum, 2006). For example, Whites will claim to notice a number of arbitrary features of a photograph (e.g., the target's facial hair, the imagine background) before noticing a person's race, despite people being quite good at this task (Norton et al., 2006). Similarly, Whites will avoid mentioning race when interacting with a Black, compared to White, partner (Apfelbaum et al., 2008) even when doing so is critical for effective communication with the interaction partner on a collaborative task (Apfelbaum, et al.,

2008; Norton et al., 2006). Indeed, these strategies of avoiding race are consistent with Whites more general support for colorblind policies, which promote avoiding mentioning or acknowledgement of race, as compared to multi-culturalism approaches, which celebrate people's differences (Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006).

As a third example, Whites will express their support for racial minority interests and group members in an attempt to reduce the likelihood that they will be seen as prejudiced. For example, research finds that opportunities such as endorsing a Black candidate for president (Effron, Cameron, & Monin, 2009) or Black applicant for a job (Monin & Miller, 2001) can reduce Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced. In particular, supporting racial minorities provides Whites with opportunities to demonstrate their personal egalitarian values and non-prejudiced ideologies. These behaviors provide Whites with evidence of their own fairness. When Whites feel they have demonstrated that they are egalitarian and fair, this reduces their concerns about appearing prejudiced. Whites have been shown to actively pursue opportunities to provide evidence of egalitarian values and non-prejudiced ideologies to make it more difficult to assume that their ambiguous behaviors are rooted in prejudice (Bradley-Geist, King, Skorinko, Hebl, & McKenna, 2010; Effron, Miller, & Monin, 2012). For example, when Whites are concerned that their future behavior might be interpreted as prejudiced, they try to pre-emptively provide evidence of their non-prejudiced ideologies by demonstrating greater racial sensitivity in the present (Merritt, Effron, Fein, Savitsky, Tuller, & Monin, 2012). Strategically providing evidence of one's egalitarianism in the present aims to increase the likelihood that others will see the future ambiguous behavior through a non-prejudiced, rather than prejudiced, lens.

As a fourth example, Whites limit their concerns about appearing prejudiced by using using minority group member's negativity towards other minorities. Although the presence of racial minority group members generally tends to increase Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced, recent research finds that under some circumstances racial minority group members *reduce* Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced. In particular, when a racial minority expresses negativity towards another racial minority, this has been shown to reduce Whites' personal concerns about appearing prejudiced (Jurcevic, Shapiro, Trawalter, & Unzueta, in prep). The negative evaluation of a racial minority target by a minority evaluator creates ambiguity for Whites about whether their subsequent evaluation of this same racial minority target is attributable to prejudice. This ambiguity serves to reduce Whites' concerns about being seen as prejudiced. In a series of studies, White participants were charged with evaluating a Black job candidate for a position - a context which usually increases concerns about appearing prejudiced. However, prior to providing their own evaluation, White participants first saw a Black or White evaluator provide a negative evaluation of the Black job candidate. Importantly, when the Black, compared to White, evaluator first provided a negative evaluation of the Black candidate, Whites reported fewer concerns about appearing prejudiced should they now provide their evaluation (Jurcevic et al., in prep). Thus, Whites in the presence of a racial minorities who negatively evaluates other minority, experience reduced concerns about appearing prejudiced to others.

Taken together, there is ample evidence to suggest that Whites engage in a variety of strategies and behaviors to reduce the likelihood that they will be seen as prejudiced in intergroup interactions. Moreover, the extant literature suggests that Whites can leverage racial minority group members into efforts to reduce concerns about appearing prejudiced. However, these various strategies may not always be readily accessible or available. Given how pervasive

Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced in intergroup contexts are, this suggests that Whites may be motivated to proactively create situations that can reduce their concerns about appearing prejudiced.

### **Rewarding Racial Minorities Who Derogate Racial Minorities**

Given that Whites are motivated to create situations in which their concerns about appearing prejudiced are reduced (e.g., Merritt et al., 2012) and that racial minorities who express negativity toward minority interests reduce Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced (Jurcevic et al., in prep), one possibility is that Whites will want to create situations in which they can leverage racial minorities who express negativity towards other minorities. In particular, Whites may take a strategy that reduces their concerns about appearing prejudiced – the presence of racial minority group members who express negativity towards other minorities - and strategically increasing the likelihood that this strategy will be present by rewarding racial minorities who engage in this behavior.

By rewarding or benefitting racial minority group members who express negativity towards other minorities, Whites are placing the racial minority person in a position of influence within a given domain. For example, in organizations, this person could have a voice in who gets hired, how resources are distributed, and the like. In media and public opinion domains as well as educational contexts, this person could use their visible position to express views that undermine support for efforts to foster success and well-being in marginalized communities. As such, Whites may be motivated to reward racial minorities who hinder other minorities' advancement with more influence and money, the assumption being that these individuals will continue to undermine minority interests. If racial minorities are promoted into positions of power, Whites may perceive that these individuals will have many more opportunities to express

opinions and influence outcomes that Whites assume will be negative towards other minorities (e.g., advocating against mentoring programs, hiring fewer racial minorities, etc.). As such, placing racial minorities who undermine minority advancement into influential positions should serve as a strategy for reducing Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced in these domains.

Rewarding racial minorities who express negativity towards minority interests can serve as a way for Whites to express support for these behaviors and opinions. Research finds that providing rewards to people after they express certain opinions or behaviors is an effective way in which to communicate endorsement of these values and behaviors (Nystrom & Starbuck, 1984; Wayne, Shore, Bommer, Tetrick, 2002). Importantly, these rewards are especially impactful if they are contingent upon specific behaviors (Podsakoff, Todor, & Skov, 1982). As such, when a racial minority hinders other minorities, Whites may seek to strategically (and subtly) reward this behavior as a way of communicating that these types of opinions or actions are valued, thereby attempting to increase the likelihood that racial minorities will engage in these behaviors.

Moreover, Whites may perceive rewards, such as those that provide influence and money, as desirable to racial minority group members. Within organizations, minorities rarely occupy higher ranking positions within the organizational hierarchy (Alliance for Board Diversity: Catalyst, 2006) and are more likely to be assigned roles that are not integral to organizational success (Bradley-Geist & Ruscher, 2011). Furthermore, racial minorities are sensitive to these status asymmetries – racial minorities (unlike Whites) are less likely to define numerical representation as sufficient for organizational diversity when hierarchical representation is missing (Binning & Unzueta, 2013). Thus, greater influence within the domain may be a compelling reward, as this would increase hierarchical representation of minorities. We

refer to these types of rewards as status rewards, and they can take the form of promotions, being given greater responsibilities, or being assigned the more lucrative or influential projects and clients. Similarly, minorities lower positions within organizations make it more likely that these individuals are making less money compared to their higher ranked White co-workers. As such, monetary rewards – such as bonuses and raises – are a clear incentives and a way for Whites to show endorsement of minority group members' actions.

Rewarding minorities who hinder minority advancement provides an additional benefit to Whites. Strategically rewarding racial minorities with status can also help secure Whites' high status in the social hierarchy. While it may seem counterintuitive to promote racial minority group members in an effort to maintain Whites' dominant position in the hierarchy, research finds that Whites who are motivated to maintain the hierarchy will engage in behaviors that, on the surface, seem supportive of minorities. For example, Whites who are motivated to maintain their dominant position in the hierarchy will, ironically, endorse hierarchy-attenuating affirmative action policies. However, they only do so when they believe their position in the hierarchy is threatened by racial minorities who dislike Whites (Chow, Lowery, & Hogan, 2013). Similarly, Knowles, Lowery, and Schaumberg (2009) demonstrated that when Barack Obama, a Black senator at the time, was running for the U.S. presidency, he garnered votes from an unlikely source – anti-egalitarian Whites. That is, Whites who show less favorability towards attenuating racial hierarchies were more likely to express support for Barack Obama – thereby actively engaging in behavior that promoted egalitarianism – to the extent that they thought a Black president would suggest that racism was no longer a factor in society, rendering efforts to promote equality unnecessary. Thus, promoting racial minorities into positions of influence can suggest that the White individual and organization more generally are making strides regarding



equity. However, this particular action of promoting racial minorities who undermine other minorities advancement is likely to help maintain a hierarchy in which minorities are likely to occupy lower status positions. In particular, the racial minority person's history of hindering minority advancement is one that is unlikely to promote minorities within the hierarchy or change the hierarchy in a meaningful way. Thus, Whites may be motivated to promote one racial minority individual who can represent a good faith effort to support minorities while facilitating a context in which other minorities are unlikely to advance and alter the hierarchy.

### **Present Research**

In the present research, we propose that when a racial minority advocates against racial minority group members, Whites may strategically reward this individual. By benefitting a racial minority individual who undermines minority advancement, Whites are able to reduce their concerns about appearing prejudiced.

Across four studies, we examine the extent to which Whites benefit racial minority group members who hinder or undermine minority advancement with status and money. Experiments 1 – 4 examine whether Whites reward a racial minority who hinders minority advancement by decreasing the representation of racial minorities (Experiments 1 – 3) or advocates against programs aimed at fostering minority success (Experiment 4).

### **Experiment 1**

The goal of Experiment 1 was to test the proposed phenomenon that Whites benefit racial minority group members who advocate against minority advancement. Thus, in Experiment 1, White participants evaluated a Black or White employee for promotion after learning that the person had either decreased the representation of racial minorities amongst new hires over time

or participants did not learn any information about this person's hiring history (control condition).

When the employee's racial minority hiring record was not known to participants, we anticipated conceptually replicating previous research: We expected White participants to evaluate the Black and White employee positively (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008; Evans, Garcia, Garcia, & Baron, 2003; Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer, & Kraus, 1995). Further, if participants did not evaluate the employee equally positively, consistent with previous research (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), we anticipated that White participants would have a tendency to reward the Black employee less than the White employee. In the present study, the employee being considered for promotion was portrayed as average in job performance and previous research suggests that when contexts are more ambiguous and there is no clear correct response on how to evaluate the minority person, participants' true evaluations and perceptions of the employee are most likely to emerge and these evaluations tend to be more negative (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000).

In contrast, we hypothesized that when a racial minority employee engages in behavior that undermines racial minority group interests (i.e., decreasing the representation of racial minorities), Whites would benefit this racial minority group member more compared to a White individual who undermines minority interests, despite the behavior being identical. Doing so is consistent with our argument that Whites reward minorities who undermine minority interests because doing reduces Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced in intergroup contexts.

Experiment 1 also examined White participants' perceptions of the employee's competence and warmth (adapted from Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002). As noted earlier, Whites are concerned about being rejected by racial minority group members (Shelton &

Richeson, 2005) or being seen as prejudiced (Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001) in intergroup contexts. Therefore, participants should be more focused on cues to closeness rather than cues to the employee's competence. We anticipated that participants' competence ratings of the employee being evaluated would not be affected in the present context. Indeed, participants were all given the same objective information regarding the employee's competence. In contrast, one way to indirectly assess Whites' feelings of closeness and connection in a context where they otherwise fear rejection and being seen as prejudiced is through their perceptions of closeness with the Black employee – in the present study we do so through perceptions of the Black employee's warmth. We anticipated that White participants would perceive the Black employee who hinders minority advancement as warmer. In particular, if the Black employee with a record of decreasing the representation of racial minorities reduces White participants' concerns over appearing prejudiced, it follows that participants are likely to rate the employee as being a more welcoming and warm individual.

### **Pilot Study**

The goal of the pilot study was to identify items that captured status and monetary rewards and to ensure that these different types of recognition were equally valued. Thus, forty-nine White participants (30 men, 19 women;  $M_{age} = 34.84$ ,  $SD_{age} = 10.84$ ) completed the study online using Amazon's Mechanical Turk and were compensated with \$0.20 for their time. The design was within subject, such that all participants completed all the measures detailed below.

On a scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (a great deal), participants provided their perceptions of the degree to which 17 different types of recognition constituted a monetary reward (described to participants as providing employees with a financial benefit). The list of recognitions was randomized for each participant. Participants then repeated the rating procedure of the same 17

recognitions, this time evaluating the extent to which each represented a status-related reward (described as providing employees with increased influence, power, or status in the company). Lastly, participants rated each of the recognitions on how desirable they are for an employee to receive using a single item measure assessed from 1 (not at all) to 7 (a great deal): “To what extent would an employee desire this type of recognition?”. Thus, each of the items was rated three times – once for monetary rewards, once for status, and lastly for whether the item as seen as desirable.

**Monetary Rewards.** Principal axis factoring analyses with direct oblim rotation revealed 14 of the items loaded onto one of two separate factors (see Appendix for details). Factor 1 was consistent with the hypothesized monetary reward items, which included the following eight items: (1) Annual lump sum bonus, (2) Annual percentage bonus, (3) A salary raise, (4) Offered company stock options, (5) Receiving a greater portion of the profit sharing pool, (6) Increasing the percentage allocated to the employee’s retirement fund, (7) Paid vacation time/time off, and (8) Gift Certificate. Thus, items that loaded onto Factor 1 were combined into a monetary composite ( $\alpha = .93$ ). Factor 2 was consistent with the hypothesized status reward items. These six items included: (1) Being promoted to a higher status role, (2) Being promoted to an influential role in the company, (3) Getting a high profile client, (4) Being assigned a leadership position on a team project, (5) Increasing one’s influence within the organization, and (6) Being assigned a managing role on a new project. These items were combined into a status composite ( $\alpha = .89$ ). As anticipated, analyses revealed that the composite of Factor 1 (monetary) items was rated as higher in monetary value to employees ( $M = 5.99$ ,  $SD = .40$ ) than the composite of Factor 2 (status) items ( $M = 3.47$ ,  $SD = .82$ ),  $t(12) = 6.89$ ,  $p < .001$ . Thus, Factor 1

was a clear measure of monetary rewards that employers might use to recognize employees' contributions.

**Status Rewards.** Principle axis factoring with direct oblim rotation on participants' ratings of the extent to which the 14 items constituted status rewards revealed a two-factor structure. Factor 1 ( $\alpha = .96$ ) and Factor 2 ( $\alpha = .88$ ) were comprised of the same items listed above, respectively. As expected, the composite of Factor 2 (status) items was rated as higher in status rewards to employees ( $M = 5.93$ ,  $SD = .35$ ) than the composite of Factor 1 (monetary) items ( $M = 2.86$ ,  $SD = .43$ ),  $t(12) = 14.59$ ,  $p < .001$ . Thus, Factor 2 was a clear measure of status rewards that employers could use to recognize employees.

**Desirability of Recognition Type.** Analyses revealed that participants viewed the composite of eight monetary reward items ( $M = 5.93$ ,  $SD = .65$ ) and six status reward items ( $M = 5.60$ ,  $SD = .32$ ) to be equally desirable forms of recognition for employees,  $t(12) = 1.23$ ,  $p = .24$ .

Taken together, the pilot study clarified which types of recognitions constituted monetary rewards and status rewards for employees, which informed the dependent variables in the present studies. Additionally, and importantly, the monetary rewards and status rewards were seen as equally valuable types of recognition for employees and as highly desirable.

### **Participants and Experimental Design**

In Experiment 1, two hundred fifty-eight White participants (113 men, 144 women;  $M_{age} = 39.34$ ,  $SD_{age} = 13.18$ ) completed the experiment via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) in exchange for \$0.40. Participants varied in educational background (0.4% some high school, 8.1% high school diploma, 26.4% some college, 42.7% college degree, 7.0% some graduate school, 15.1% graduate degree), and employment experience (71.7% were currently employed and 51.9% were currently or had previously been employed in a management position). The

study design was a 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Racial Minority Representation: Decreasing Minority Representation vs. No Representation Information [control]) between-participants design with random assignment to condition.

### **Procedure**

Participants were instructed that they would be assisting the Promotions Review Committee at Rafali LLC evaluate employees for potential promotion within the company. Participants were next provided with information about the fictional organization, which described Rafali LLC as a Fortune 5000 marketing and consulting organization with 500 total employees. Next, participants learned that they would be reviewing information relevant to the employee being considered for promotion. However, prior to seeing the evaluation materials, participants saw a photograph and brief information about the employee being considered for promotion. Across all conditions, the employee's name was Damian Williams. He had been with the organization for five years and held the title of "Manager for New Markets." To manipulate the race of the employee, participants saw a photograph of Damian depicting him as either a Black or White man. To account for idiosyncrasies in any one photograph, two photographs were used and care was taken to match these photographs on visible characteristics (e.g., wearing a business suit, glasses, facial hair).<sup>1</sup> Participants next reviewed the employee's information summary.

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<sup>1</sup> The focal employee in each study was represented using one of two different photographs of a White man or two different photographs of a Black man (four photographs total) in order to rule out idiosyncrasies associated with any one photograph. The specific photograph that appeared in participants' materials was random. In Experiment 1, an effect of photograph was only present for the Black employee when he decreased the representation of racial minorities for some dependent variables ( $p < .05$  for status reward, warmth, competence) but not others (monetary reward). In all other comparisons, there was no effect of photograph on the focal dependent

Across all conditions, participants saw four separate charts of information for Damian, the Black or White employee being reviewed. These charts included the number of clients he had and total revenue of the projects he managed as well as an evaluation of him and information about the different roles for which he had hired employees (see Figure 1). For participants in the no information [control] condition, this was the entirety of the information they reviewed regarding Damian.

For participants randomly assigned to the decreasing racial minority representation condition, two additional charts of information were provided detailing the ethnic and gender representation of new hires by Damian between 2010 and 2014. Participants saw that the gender make-up of Damian's team had not fluctuated meaningfully across the five years (Figure 2). The ethnic representation, however, clearly reflected that Damian was hiring fewer and fewer racial minorities (especially new Black hires) with each passing year. In particular, in 2010, racial minorities made up more than 50% of new hires by Damian, with the rest being White individuals (Figure 2). However, by 2014, the number of new racial minority job applicants being hired was down to approximately 25% of the total new hires by Damian. Thus, participants were able to see that Damian had more than halved the number of new racial minority hires within his team in just five years. Gender representation information was intentionally excluded from the control condition to avoid participants having ethnic representation primed upon reviewing gender information, given that these two demographics are often paired. Upon reviewing the charts, participants completed dependent variables and demographic items and were then debriefed and compensated.

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variables, all  $ps > .05$ . Given that the differences in photographs did not reliably influence the dependent variables, we collapsed across photographs.



Employee Name: **Damian Williams**  
 Employee ID #: **659-24**  
 Employee Level: **G**  
 Position: **Manager for New Markets**  
 Years with Rafali LLC: **5 years**

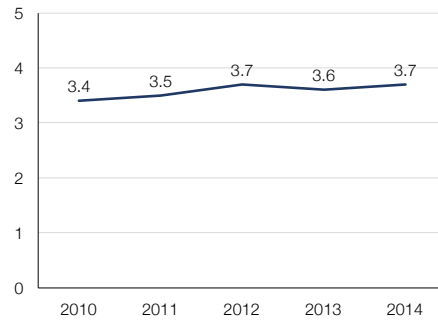
**Project and Hiring Statistics For Damian Williams: 2010-2014**

Total Employees managed by Williams: 100

**Total Number of Clients 2010-2014**



**Total Project Revenue in Million Dollars (Domestic and International) 2010-2014**



**360° Employee Review Summary for Damian Williams**

Evaluations: 1 = not at all competent; 5 = very competent

Customer Evaluation	2.68
Team Evaluation	3.17
Senior Executive Evaluation	3.02
Managers	3.24
<b>Average</b>	<b>3.03</b>

**Job Roles of New Hires by Damian Williams 2010-2014**

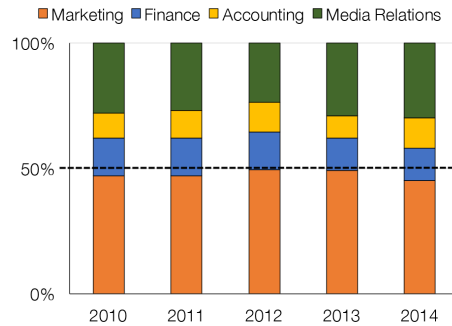


Figure 1. Example of stimuli reviewed by participants in the No Information – Control condition. Participants viewed each chart separately during the study. (Study 1).





Employee Name: **Damian Williams**  
 Employee ID #: **659-24**  
 Employee Level: **G**  
 Position: **Manager for New Markets**  
 Years with Rafali LLC: **5 years**

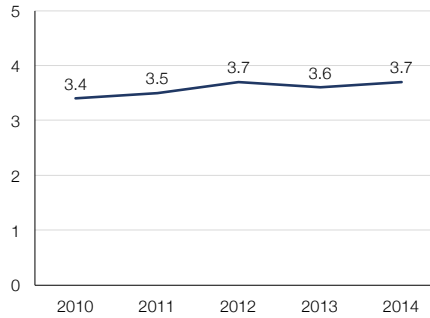
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2010-2014**



**Total Project Revenue in Million Dollars  
(Domestic and International)  
2010-2014**

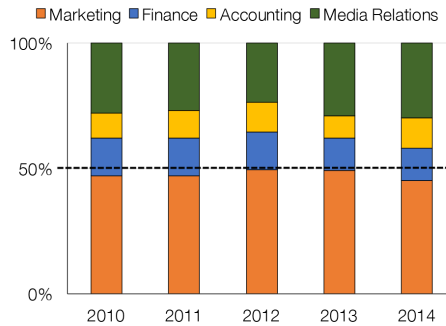


**360° Employee Review Summary for Damian Williams**

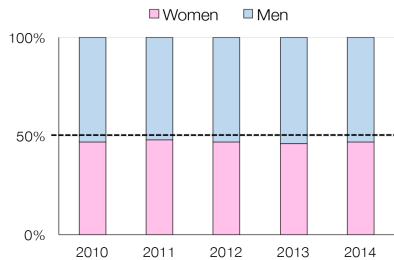
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**Job Roles of New Hires by Damian Williams  
2010-2014**



**Gender Representation of New Hires by Damian Williams  
2010-2014**



**Ethnic Representation of New Hires by Damian Williams  
2010-2014**

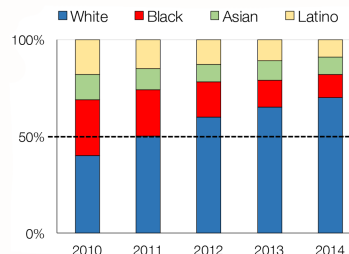


Figure 2. Example of stimuli reviewed by participants in the Decreasing Minority Representation. Participants viewed each chart separately during the study. (Study 1).

## Dependent Variables

Measures of status and monetary rewards were created using the findings from the pilot study.

*Status Rewards.* Five items ( $\alpha = .94$ ) were used to assess the extent to which participants rewarded the employee with status on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much so). These items were: “To what extent should the committee promote Damian?”; “To what extent should the committee assign Damian a high profile client?”; “To what extent should the committee assign Damian a high profile project?”; “To what extent should the committee assign Damian to be a part of next year's Promotion Review Committee?”; “To what extent should the committee assign Damian to be a part of next year's Hiring Committee?”. Higher values indicate greater status rewarded to the employee.

*Monetary Rewards.* Participants completed three items ( $\alpha = .94$ ) assessing whether the employee should be monetarily compensated on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much so). These items were: “To what extent should the committee give Damian an annual bonus?”; “To what extent should the committee give Damian a raise?”; “To what extent has Damian earned a bonus?”. Higher values indicate greater monetary rewards.

In addition to participants' perceptions of whether the committee should give Damian monetary compensation, participants completed a single item assessing how much money (in U.S. dollars) the employee should receive and were given a monetary range to anchor their responses: “If the committee were to assign a value to the bonus, how much should the organization give him? (bonuses tend to range between \$0 and \$2500)”. Higher values indicate a larger monetary bonus amount.

*Competence.* Five items assessed participants' perceptions of the employee's competence ( $\alpha = .88$ ) measured on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much so) (adapted from Fiske et al., 2002). These items were: "To what extent is Damian Williams competent?"; "To what extent is Damian Williams confident?"; "To what extent is Damian Williams independent?"; "To what extent is Damian Williams competitive?"; To what extent is Damian Williams intelligent?".

*Warmth.* Four items assessed participants' perceptions of the employee's warmth ( $\alpha = .92$ ) measured on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much so) (adapted from Fiske et al., 2002). These items were: "To what extent is Damian Williams tolerant?"; "To what extent is Damian Williams warm?"; "To what extent is Damian Williams good natured?"; "To what extent is Damian Williams sincere?".

*Manipulation Check.* Participants completed two items to ensure that they had noticed the focal manipulations in the study. One item asked participants to identify the race of the employee being considered for promotion with response options being "African American", "White American", or "I do not recall". A second item asked if the number of White employees at Rafali had "increased", "decreased", or "stayed the same" between 2010 and 2014. Participants could also select "I do not recall". Only participants in the decreasing racial minority representation condition were asked the second item as it was not relevant to participants in the no representation information (control) condition who had not seen this information. A total of 57 participants either did not respond or responded to one or both of the manipulation check items incorrectly and were removed prior to analyses. Additionally, to ensure that participants were completing the study at a regular pace and paying attention to the questions, participants who took fewer than five minutes (the minimal amount of time possibly needed to read each item and select a response) or more than two standard deviations length of time longer to complete the

study compared to the average participant ( $M_{time} = 10:41$ ,  $SD_{time} = 6:18$ ) were excluded from analyses ( $N = 32$ ).

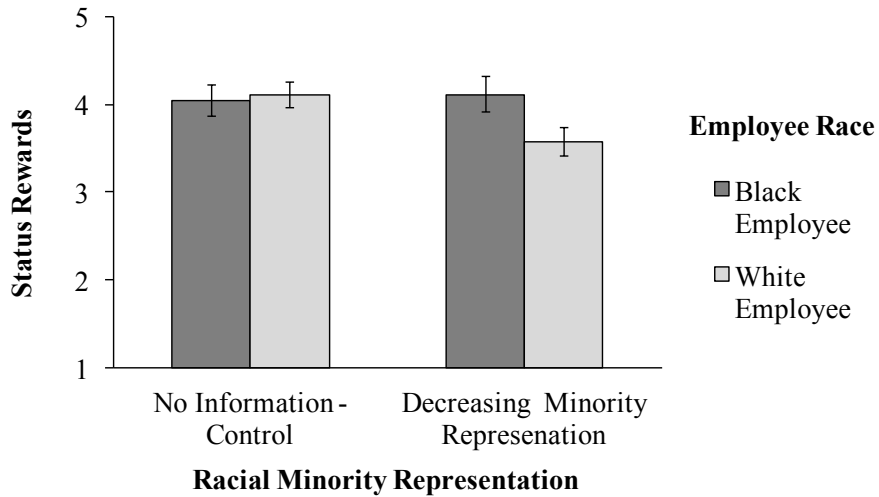
## Results

### Status Rewards

To examine whether the employee's race and hiring record for racial minority representation influenced the extent to which Whites would reward the employee with status, a 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Racial Minority Representation: Decreasing Minority Representation vs. No Representation Information) Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was conducted. Analyses revealed no main effect of employee race ( $F(1, 254) = 1.98$ ,  $p = .16$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .008$ ) or racial minority representation ( $F(1, 254) = 1.85$ ,  $p = .18$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .06$ ). However, there was a marginal interaction between employee race and racial minority representation,  $F(1, 254) = 3.20$ ,  $p = .08$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .012$ . While the interaction did not reach conventional standards of significance (i.e.,  $p < .05$ ), we further probed the interaction with simple effects given our a priori predictions and research suggesting that the two-way Analysis of Variance test is underpowered for examining the predicted ordinal interaction (Strube & Bobko, 1989; Bobko, 1986). In particular, we anticipated no differences in rewarding of the Black or White employee in the no information control condition and significantly greater rewarding of the Black compared to White employee when he decreased the representation of minorities.

As anticipated, simple effects analyses revealed no significant differences in how much status White participants rewarded the Black ( $M = 4.04$ ,  $SD = 1.45$ ) or White ( $M = 4.11$ ,  $SD = 1.19$ ) employee when they had no information about the ethnic representation of his new hires,  $F < 1$  (Figure 3). However, consistent with the hypothesis that Whites will reward a racial minority who hinders minority advancement, White participants rewarded the Black employee who had

decreased the representation of racial minorities with more status ( $M = 4.11$ ,  $SD = 1.50$ ) compared to the White employee who had decreased the representation of minorities ( $M = 3.57$ ,  $SD = 1.31$ ),  $F(1, 254) = 4.70$ ,  $p = .03$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ .

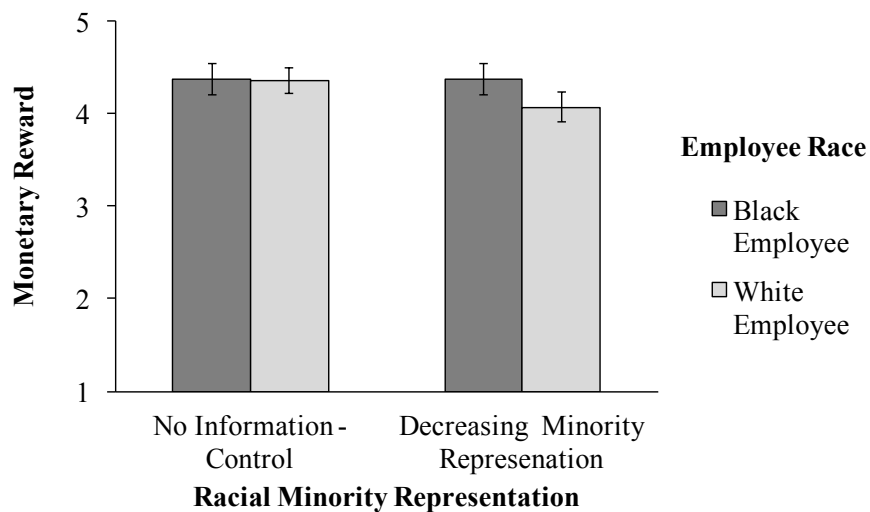


*Figure 3.* White participants' allocation of status rewards to the Black or White employee as a function of whether participants viewed information that the employee had decreased the representation of racial minorities at the organization or no such information was provided (control). Error bars indicate standard error. (Experiment 1).

Examining differences in rewarding for each employee, White participants' status rewards to the Black employee did not differ as a function of whether the employee had a history of decreasing the representation of minorities ( $M = 4.11$ ,  $SD = 1.50$ ) or when no information was provided ( $M = 4.04$ ,  $SD = 1.45$ ),  $F < 1$ . However, participants were more likely to reward the White employee with status when there was no information about the ethnic representation of new hires ( $M = 4.11$ ,  $SD = 1.19$ ) as compared to when he had a consistently decreased the representation of racial minorities ( $M = 3.57$ ,  $SD = 1.31$ ),  $F(1, 254) = 5.20$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ .

## Monetary Rewards

Next, examining monetary rewards, a 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) x 2 (Racial Minority Representation: Decreasing Minority Representation vs. No Representation Information) ANOVA revealed no main effect of employee race ( $F < 1$ ), no main effect of hiring statistics ( $F < 1$ ), and no significant interaction between the two variable ( $F < 1$ , Figure 4). However, to better understand the pattern of data, we probed the interaction using simple effects analyses. Counter to hypotheses, analyses revealed no significant differences in monetary rewards for the Black or White evaluator who had decreased the representation of racial minorities,  $F(1, 254) = 1.69$ ,  $p = .20$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .007$ . All other simple effects comparisons did not reach significance (all  $ps > .19$ ).



*Figure 4.* White participants' allocation of monetary rewards to the Black or White employee as a function of whether participants viewed information that the employee had decreased the representation of racial minorities at the organization or no such information was provided (control). Error bars indicate standard error. (Experiment 1).

A 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Racial Minority Representation: Decreasing Minority Representation vs. No Representation Information) ANOVA was conducted to examine

how much of a monetary bonus White participants thought the employee should be given. Analyses revealed no main effect of employee race ( $F(1, 254) = 1.54, p = .22, \eta_p^2 = .006$ ), no main effect of hiring statistics ( $F(1, 254) = 1.26, p = .26, \eta_p^2 = .005$ ), and no interaction between the two variables ( $F < 1$ , Figure 5). Results did not support our hypotheses - simple effects analyses revealed no significant differences in bonus allocation to the Black or White evaluator who had decreased the representation of racial minorities ( $F(1, 254) = 1.87, p = .17, \eta_p^2 = .007$ ) or any other comparisons (all  $ps > .19$ )

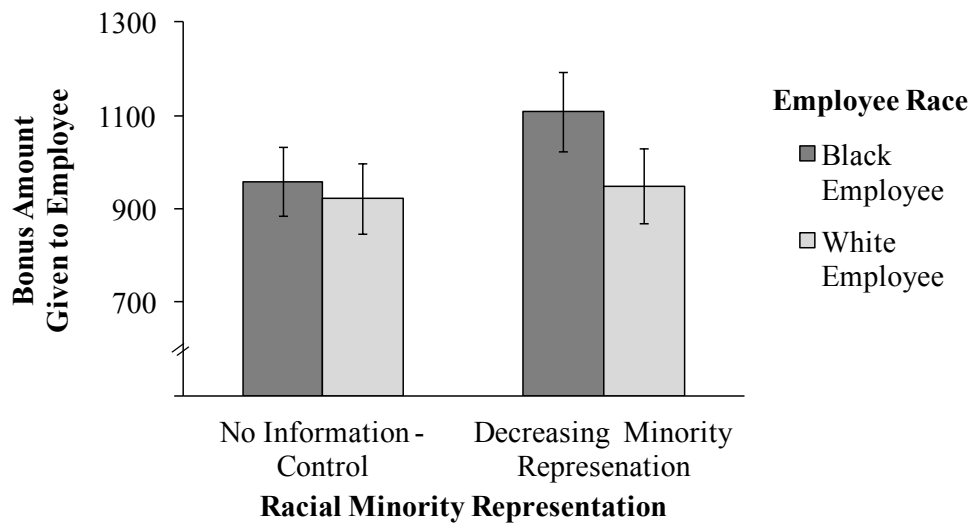


Figure 5. Bonus amount White participants assigned to the Black or White employee as a function of whether participants viewed information that the employee had decreased the representation of racial minorities at the organization or no such information was provided (control). Error bars indicate standard error. (Experiment 1).

## Competence

Using a 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Racial Minority Representation: Decreasing Minority Representation vs. No Representation Information) ANOVA, we examined participants' perceptions of the employee's competence. Consistent with predictions, analyses revealed no main effect of employee race ( $F < 1$ ), no main effect of hiring statistics ( $F < 1$ ), and

no interaction between the two variables ( $F < 1$ ). Simple effects analyses further revealed no significant differences between conditions (all  $ps > .44$ ).

### Warmth

A 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Racial Minority Representation: Decreasing Minority Representation vs. No Representation Information) ANOVA examining perceptions of the employee's warmth revealed a main effect of employee race,  $F(1, 254) = 6.24$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ . There no main effect of hiring statistics ( $F < 1$ ) and the interaction between the variables did not reach significance ( $F(1, 254) = 1.75$ ,  $p = .19$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .007$ ; Figure 6). However, to clarify the pattern of data, simple effects analyses were conducted.

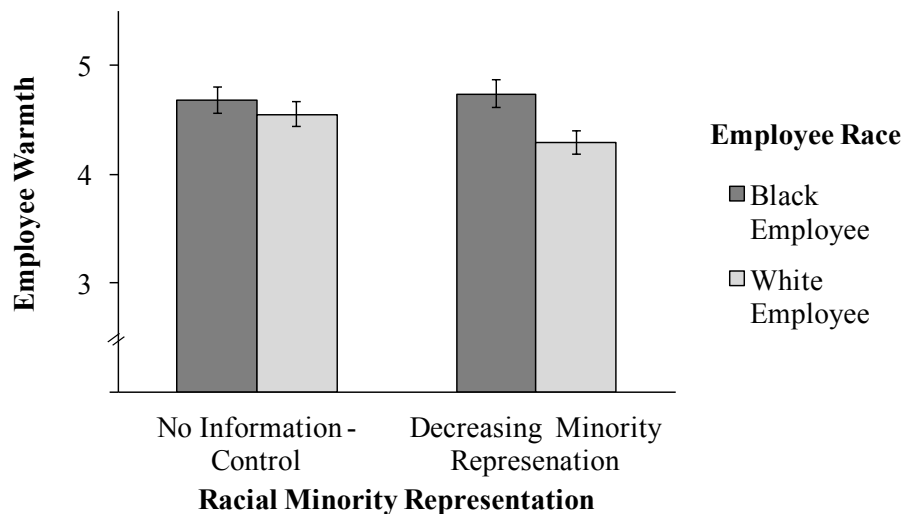


Figure 6. White participants' perceptions of the Black or White employee's warmth as a function of whether participants viewed information that the employee had decreased the representation of racial minorities at the organization or no such information was provided (control). Error bars indicate standard error. (Experiment 1).

As anticipated, analyses revealed that when no information about the ethnic representation of new hires was known (control), White participants did not differ in their warmth perceptions of the Black ( $M = 4.69$ ,  $SD = 1.50$ ) or White ( $M = 4.55$ ,  $SD = .97$ ) employee,



$F < 1$ . However, consistent with the notion that Whites are less concerned about appearing prejudiced when a racial minority hinders the advancement of other minorities, participants perceived the Black employee to be warmer when he had decreased the representation of new racial minority hires ( $M = 4.74$ ,  $SD = .93$ ) as compared to a White employee with the same record decreasing the representation of racial minorities ( $M = 4.29$ ,  $SD = .87$ ),  $F(1, 254) = 6.72$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .03$ .

Examining differences in warmth perceptions for each employee as a function of racial minority representation, White participants' warmth perceptions of the Black employee did not differ as a function of whether the employee was hiring racial minorities at a decreasing rate ( $M = 4.74$ ,  $SD = .93$ ) compared to when no information was provided ( $M = 4.69$ ,  $SD = 1.50$ ),  $F < 1$ . However, participants perceived the White employee as warmer when they were not aware of his ethnic hiring record ( $M = 4.55$ ,  $SD = .97$ ) as compared to when he was hiring racial minorities at a decreasing rate ( $M = 4.29$ ,  $SD = .87$ ), however, these results did not reach statistical significance.  $F(1, 254) = 2.50$ ,  $p = .12$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .01$ .

## Discussion

The results from Experiment 1 provide some initial support for hypotheses: White participants benefited the Black employee with greater status compared to a White employee when he had a decreased the representation of racial minorities over time. Additionally, compared to the White employee who decreased the representation of racial minorities, White participants perceived the Black employee who decreased the representation of racial minorities to be warmer – providing some preliminary evidence to suggest that White participants would feel more comfortable around the Black individual. In contrast, White participants did not differ in their reward allocations to the Black or White employee in the control condition, where there

was no information about how the employee had influenced the representation of racial minorities.

While Experiment 1 shows initial support for our hypotheses, one potential limitation of the study was that participants were given a great deal of information to review about the employee being considered for promotion – four to six charts of information depending on condition. Moreover, these charts covered information regarding performance in a domain in which participants may not have had the experience to assess whether this employee was performing well relative to expectations or not. That is, employees may have felt pressure to retain and consolidate all of the information provided and then discern how the employee’s record compared to other employees at the organization. In addition, the employee was portrayed as low competence (via the 360° Employee Review Summary), thus participants who did interpret the information from all the charts may have felt that this person was unqualified for promotion, resulting in muted effects. Experiment 2 accounts for these limitations.

## **Experiment 2**

Experiment 2 aimed to replicate and extend the findings from Experiment 1. As in Experiment 1, Whites provided their perceptions of whether a Black or White employee should be rewarded. Additionally, some participants saw that the employee had decreased the representation of racial minorities amongst new hires. Here, we anticipated replicating Experiment 1, such that White participants would reward the Black employee who had decreased the representation of racial minorities to a greater extent than a White employee who had done the same.

In Experiment 2, we sought to rule out that the Black employee was being rewarded for arguing against his own group interests by decreasing the representation of racial minorities.

Previous research suggests that when individuals advocate against self-interest, their messages receive greater processing (Petty, Fleming, Priester, & Feinstein, 2001) and are seen as more objective (Eagly, Wood, & Chaiken, 1978). Thus, new to Experiment 2, we introduced a condition in which some participants were randomly assigned to learn that the Black or White employee had *increased* the representation of racial minorities amongst new hires. When a Black or White employee increases the representation of racial minority group members, they can be seen as fostering the success of racial minority group members in the organization. If the present findings are simply due to employees arguing against self-interest, then we would similarly expect that White employees who advocate against self-interests by increasing the representation of racial minority hires should also be rewarded to a greater extent than Black employees who increase minority representation. Thus, by including an increasing minority representation condition, we are able to test whether simply advocating against ingroup interests results in greater rewarding of the employee, or whether this finding is specific to racial minority employees who hinder minority advancement.

If, however, the present findings are due to Whites' desire to reduce concerns about appearing prejudiced, then we would anticipate that White participants would not differentially reward a racial minority or Whites person who advocated for minority interests. Given that Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced are especially salient in intergroup contexts (Richeson & Trawalter, 2005) and that the majority of Whites perceive social norms that promote publically endorsing affirmative action efforts and policies (van Boven, 2000), failing to support or reward an individual who has demonstrated support for racial minority group members could be interpreted as motivated by prejudice. Thus, if Whites are motivated to decrease the likelihood of appearing prejudiced, it follows that they would reduce this concern

about appearing prejudiced by expressing support for the employee who increases the representation of racial minorities.

Additionally, in Experiment 1, participants were given a large amount of information to process across many charts, which may have been challenging to recall. In Experiment 2, this information was paired down to be more manageable for participants to interpret. Moreover, in Experiment 1, the rewarding results may have been muted in part due to the employee being of average quality. Thus, participants potentially saw the employee as unfit for promotion more generally. To ensure the employee was perceived as qualified for promotion, in Experiment 2, the employee was portrayed as high in competence.

### **Participants and Experimental Design**

One hundred twenty-three self-identified White participants (58 men, 65 women;  $M_{age} = 36.14$ ,  $SD_{age} = 12.63$ ) completed the experiment via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) in exchange for \$0.30. Participants varied in educational background (13.0% high school diploma, 22.8% some college, 40.7% college degree, 5.7% some graduate school, 17.8% graduate degree), and employment experience (74.8% were currently employed and 58.0% were currently or had previously been employed in a management position). The study design was a 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Racial Minority Representation: Decreasing Minority Representation vs. Increasing Minority Representation) between-participants design with random assignment to condition.

### **Procedure**

The procedure for Experiment 2 was similar to that of Experiment 1. Participants were introduced to the fictional organization (Rafali LLC), saw the same company profile as in Experiment 1, and were instructed that they would be assisting in evaluating employees for

promotion. As in Experiment 1, participants were randomly assigned to review either a Black or White employee who was being considered for promotion, and as before, two photographs of the Black and two of the White employee were used in the study.<sup>2</sup> After viewing the employee's photograph, participants next reviewed information about the employee's project and hiring statistics at Rafali LLC over the last 5 years (2010-2014). The project statistics provided information about the employee's projects and the 360° employee review summary demonstrated that the employee had received an average rating of 4.09 on a scale from 1-not at all competent to 5-very competent, suggesting that the employee was, on average, perceived a highly competent by others at the organization (Figure 7). Key to the manipulation, participants next saw Damian's hiring statistics, which provided information about the gender and ethnic representation of employees hired under Damian's supervision from 2010 to 2014. Across all condition, participants saw that the same gender representation information as in Experiment 1. In contrast, for ethnic representation, participants saw one of two charts depicting that the overall number of White employees had either increased or decreased between 2010 and 2014. In the decreasing minority representation condition, participants saw that the number of racial minorities at the organization had decreased from over 50% to approximately 25% of new hires by Damian Williams between 2010 and 2014 (see Figure 7).

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<sup>2</sup> For Experiment 2, there was no effect of photograph on the focal dependent variables, all  $ps > .05$ . Therefore, we collapsed across photographs.

### Employee Promotion Review



Employee Name: **Damian Williams**  
 Employee ID #: **659-24**  
 Employee Level: **G**  
 Position: **Manager for New Markets**  
 Years with Rafai LLC: **5 years**

#### Project Statistics for 2014

**Projects 2010 - 2014:** 8  
 6 Domestic (U.S.)  
 2 International (China, S. Korea)  
 Total Revenue: \$2.3 million

**New Projects 2014-2015:** 4  
 3 Domestic  
 1 International  
 Anticipated Revenue: \$1.2 million



#### 360 Employee Review Summary

Evaluations: 1 = not at all competent; 5 = very competent

Customer Evaluation	4.38
Team Evaluation	4.17
Senior Executive Evaluation	4.27
Managers	3.54
<b>Average</b>	<b>4.09</b>

#### Hiring Statistics under Damian Williams: 2010-2014

Total Employees managed by Williams: 100

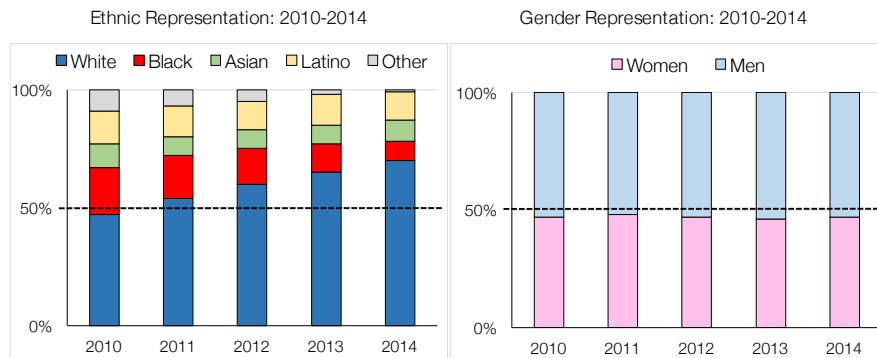


Figure 7. Example of stimuli reviewed by participants in the decreasing racial minority representation condition. Participants viewed each chart separately during the study. (Experiment 2).

The greatest decrease in racial minorities being hired was seen amongst Black individuals. In the increasing minority representation condition, participants saw the exact opposite change in ethnic representation of new hires, such that Damian had increased the number of minorities he was hiring from less than 25% in 2010 to over 50% in 2014 (Figure 8). After reviewing this information, participants were asked to respond to a series of dependent variables and demographic items, were debriefed and compensated.

## Employee Promotion Review



Employee Name: **Damian Williams**  
 Employee ID #: **659-24**  
 Employee Level: **G**  
 Position: **Manager for New Markets**  
 Years with Rafali LLC: **5 years**

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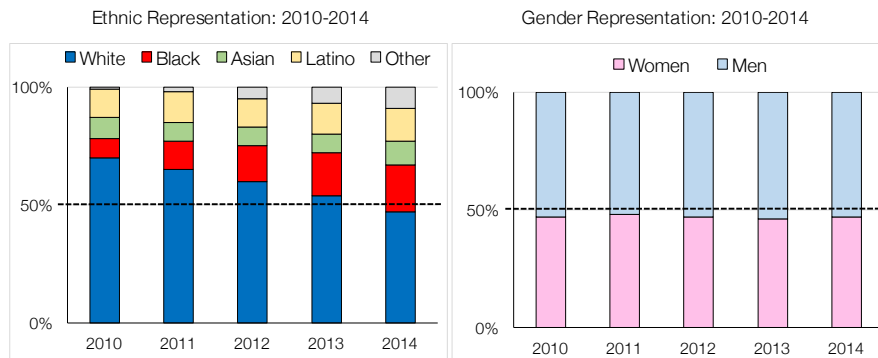


Figure 8. Example of stimuli reviewed by participants in the increasing racial minority representation condition. Participants viewed each chart separately during the study. (Experiment 2).

## Dependent Variables

*Status Rewards.* Participants completed the same five items ( $\alpha = .89$ ) assessing the extent to which they would reward the employee with status from Experiment 1.

*Monetary Rewards:* Participants completed the same three monetary rewards items as in Experiment 1 ( $\alpha = .92$ ). Additionally, participants completed the same single item assessing how much money should be rewarded in a bonus to the employee as in Experiment 1.

*Manipulation Checks.* Participants completed the same two manipulation check items as in Experiment 1. One assessed whether participants recalled the race of the employee being

considered for promotion and the second item asked if the number of White employees at Rafali had “increased”, “decreased”, or “stayed the same” between 2010 and 2014. Participants could also select “I do not recall”. A total of 82 participants either did not respond or responded to one or both of the manipulation check items incorrectly and were removed prior to analyses.

Additionally, as in Experiment 1, to ensure that participants were completing the study at a regular pace and paying attention to the questions, participants who took fewer than five minutes or more than two standard deviations length of time longer to complete the study compared to the average participant ( $M_{time} = 9:20$ ,  $SD_{time} = 4:29$ ) were excluded from analyses ( $N = 9$ ).

## Results

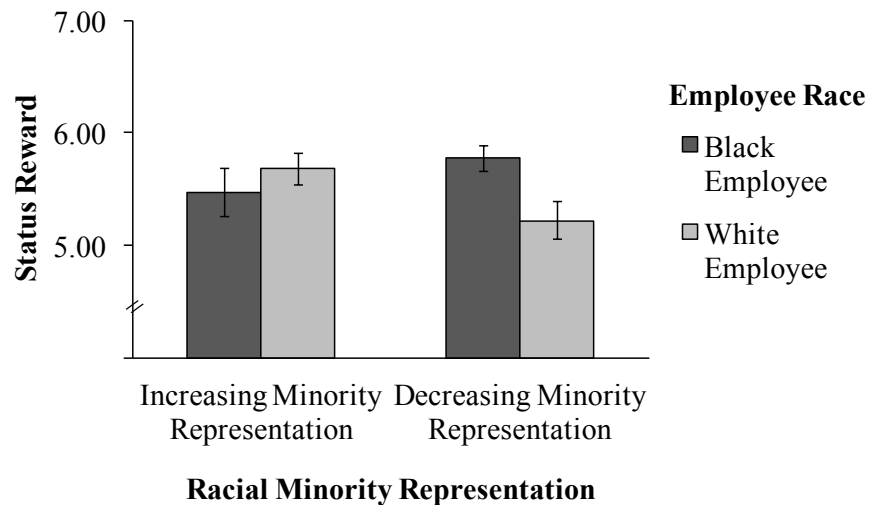
### Status Rewards

A 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Racial Minority Representation: Decreasing Minority Representation vs. Increasing Minority Representation) ANOVA was conducted to examine White participants’ rewarding of the employee with status. Analyses revealed only a significant interaction between employee race and racial minority representation,  $F(1, 119) = 5.71$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .05$  (Figure 9).

Consistent with predictions and previous research suggesting that Whites tend to publically express support for minority interests (e.g., van Boven, 2000), simple effects analyses revealed that White participants did not differ in the extent to which they gave the Black ( $M = 5.47$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ) or White ( $M = 5.68$ ,  $SD = .78$ ) employee who had increasingly hired racial minorities status rewards,  $F < 1$ . However, consistent with Experiment 1 and our hypothesis that Whites reward racial minority group members who hinder minority advancement, White participants rewarded the Black employee who decreased the representation of racial minorities



with more status ( $M = 5.77$ ,  $SD = .61$ ) compared to the White employee with the same record of decreasing minority representation ( $M = 5.22$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ),  $F(1, 119) = 6.32$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .05$ .



*Figure 9.* White participants' allocation of status rewards to the Black or White employee as a function of whether participants viewed information that the employee had increased or decreased the representation of racial minorities at the organization. Error bars indicate standard error. (Experiment 2).

Examining differences in rewarding for each employee, White participants' status reward to the Black employee did not differ as a function of whether the employee had a decreased ( $M = 5.77$ ,  $SD = .61$ ) or increased the representation of racial minorities ( $M = 5.47$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ),  $F(1, 119) = 1.66$ ,  $p = .20$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .014$ . However, participants were more likely to reward the White employee with status when he had increased ( $M = 5.68$ ,  $SD = .77$ ) as compared to decreased ( $M = 5.22$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ) the representation of racial minorities,  $F(1, 119) = 4.54$ ,  $p = .04$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .04$ .

### Monetary Rewards

A 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) x 2 (Racial Minority Representation: Decreasing Minority Representation vs. Increasing Minority Representation) ANOVA with monetary

rewards as the outcome revealed a marginal main effect of employee race, such that the Black employee was rewarded more ( $M = 5.98, SD = .90$ ), compared to the White employee ( $M = 5.70, SD = .80$ ),  $F(1, 119) = 3.10, p = .08, \eta_p^2 = .03$ . There was no main effect of racial minority representation ( $F < 1$ ), but the two-way interaction between employee race and racial minority representation was marginally significant,  $F(1, 119) = 2.79, p = .097, \eta_p^2 = .02$  (Figure 10).

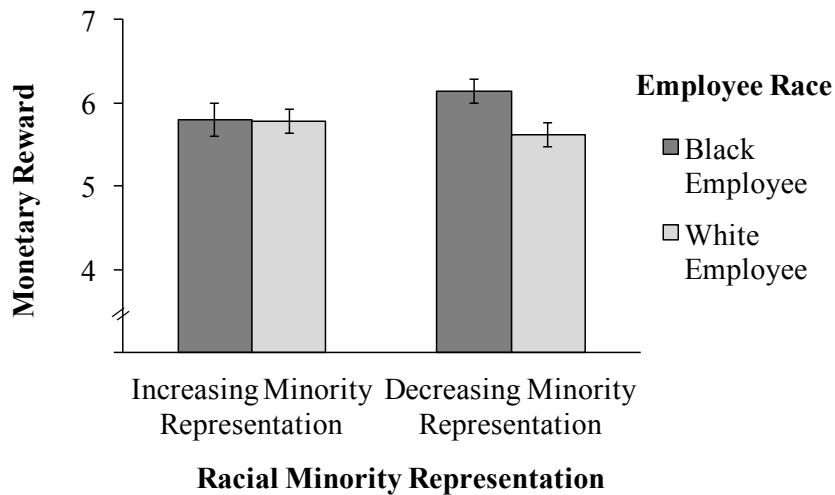


Figure 10. White participants' allocation of monetary rewards to the Black or White employee as a function of whether participants viewed information that the employee had increased or decreased the representation of racial minorities at the organization. Error bars indicate standard error. (Experiment 2).

Consistent with predictions, White participants did not differ in the extent to which they monetarily rewarded the Black ( $M = 5.79, SD = 1.01$ ) or White ( $M = 5.78, SD = .78$ ) employee with a record of increasingly hiring racial minorities,  $F < 1$ . However, as expected, when the Black employee had decreased the representation of racial minorities, he received greater monetary rewards ( $M = 6.14, SD = .77$ ) compared to a White employee with the same record ( $M = 5.62, SD = .83$ ),  $F(1, 119) = 6.26, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .05$ .

Simple effects further revealed that White participants' monetary rewarding of the Black employee did not differ as a function of whether the employee had decreased ( $M = 6.14, SD = .77$ ) or increased the representation of racial minorities ( $M = 5.79, SD = 1.01$ ), but the pattern of data suggest a slight trend toward rewarding the Black employee more when he decreased, rather than increased, the representation of racial minorities,  $F(1, 119) = 2.39, p = .13, \eta_p^2 = .02$ . Moreover, there was not a significant difference in rewarding of the White employee as a function of whether he decreased ( $M = 5.62, SD = .83$ ) or increased the representation of racial minorities ( $M = 5.78, SD = .78$ ),  $F < 1$ .

**Bonus Amount.** In addition to general willingness to reward the employee monetarily, 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Racial Minority Representation: Decreasing Minority Representation vs. Increasing Minority Representation) ANOVA was conducted to examine how much of a bonus (in U.S. dollars) White participants thought the employee should be given by the company. Analyses revealed only a marginal interaction between employee race and racial minority representation,  $F(1, 119) = 3.40, p = .07, \eta_p^2 = .03$ .

White participants did not differ in the bonus amount they thought the Black ( $M = 1626.92, SD = 663.06$ ) or White ( $M = 1728.12, SD = 580.87$ ) employee should receive when he had increased the representation of racial minorities,  $F < 1$ . However, as predicted and consistent with the monetary rewards measure, White participants awarded the Black employee who had decreased minority representation a larger bonus ( $M = 1861.67, SD = 518.90$ ) relative to a White employee who had decreased the representation of racial minorities ( $M = 1582.86, SD = 520.03$ ),  $F(1, 119) = 3.89, p = .05, \eta_p^2 = .03$ .

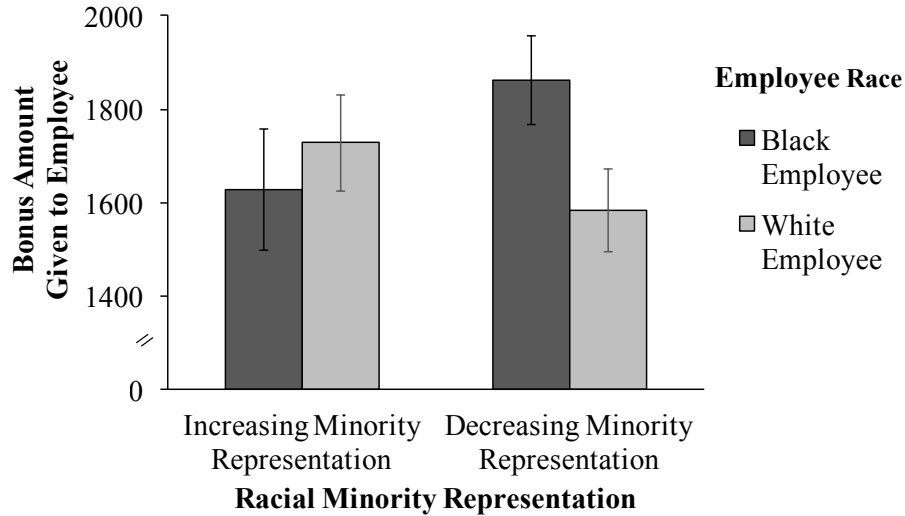


Figure 11. White participants' allocation of monetary rewards to the Black or White employee as a function of whether participants viewed information that the employee had increased or decreased the representation of racial minorities at the organization. Error bars indicate standard error. (Experiment 2).

Again, White participants' bonus assignment to the Black employee did not differ as a function of whether the employee had decreased ( $M = 1861.67, SD = 518.90$ ) or increased the representation of racial minorities ( $M = 1626.92, SD = 663.06$ ), but the pattern of data did suggest a slight trend toward assigning a larger bonus to the Black employee when he had decreased the representation of racial minorities,  $F(1, 119) = 2.38, p = .13, \eta_p^2 = .02$ . There was no significant difference in bonus assignments to the White employee as a function of decreasing ( $M = 1582.86, SD = 520.03$ ) or increasing the representation of racial minorities ( $M = 1728.12, SD = 580.87$ ),  $F(1, 119) = 1.09, p = .30, \eta_p^2 = .01$ .

### Discussion

The results from Experiment 2 replicate and extend Experiment 1. First, consistent with predictions, White participants advantaged a Black employee who had decreased the representation of racial minorities with greater status and monetary rewards compared to a White

employee with the same record. Additionally, there was a trend toward rewarding the Black employee more when he had decreased, compared to increased, the representation of racial minorities at the company - however these differences did not reach statistical significance.

New to this study, White participants also reported how much they would reward a Black or White employee who increased the representation of racial minority group members. Analyses revealed no reliable differences in rewarding of the Black or White employee as a function of hiring racial minorities. These findings are consistent with research suggesting that when race is salient, Whites tend to experience concerns about appearing prejudiced (e.g., Trawalter & Richeson, 2008) and one way to reduce these concerns is to demonstrate support for racial minority individuals (Monin & Miller, 2001; Effron et al., 2009). Thus, if participants did not express positivity toward the employee supporting minority interests, this could be interpreted by others as the employee not supporting minority group members. To avoid this concern, the present findings suggest that White participants engage in equal rewarding of both Whites and racial minorities who support minority interests.

### **Experiment 3**

One important consideration is whether participants are sensitive to which racial minority group members are being represented (i.e., Latino, Black, Asian), or whether generally decreasing the number of racial minorities is sufficient to motivate Whites to reward the racial minority employee who engages in these practices. In the previous studies, while participants saw either an overall increase or decrease in the representation of racial minority group members over time, the chart depicted that the increase was predominantly amongst new Black hires, with the number of new Asian and Latino hires remaining relatively stable. Importantly, Experiments 1 and 2 both used a zero-sum context, such that White participants always saw that a decrease in

the representation of racial minority hires meant an increase in the representation of new White hires, and in Experiment 2, an increase in the representation of racial minorities necessarily meant a decrease in the representation of White employees.

Experiment 3 extends these findings by examining Whites' rewarding following changes in the relative representation of Latinos and Whites in a zero-sum context. By examining a change in the representation of new Latino hires, rather than Black hires, we are able to generalize the findings by ruling out the possibility that the Black employee in Experiments 1 and 2 is being rewarded for promoting Whites at the expense of his own racial minority ingroup (i.e., promoting Whites at the expense of other Black individuals). Thus, Whites' rewarding of the Black employee who hires Latinos cannot be due to the Black employee advocating against his own racial minority ingroup, which previous research suggests is especially compelling (Petty, Fleming, Priester, & Feinstein, 2001; Eagly, Wood, & Chaiken, 1978).

Additionally, in Experiment 1 and 2, the employee and racial minority group most affected by the decrease in representation were from the same racial group (i.e., both Black). However, if this effect is driven by participants feeling lower prejudice concerns when a minority hinders other minorities, then the employee and racial minorities he is/is not hiring do not need to share a racial ingroup. That is, a Black employee should be rewarded equally for undermining Black and Latino hires because Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced should be present in both instances and rewarding the Black employee who undermines minorities, regardless of whether they are Black or Latino, should reduce these concerns for Whites.

## Participants and Experimental Design

One hundred ninety-five White participants (109 men, 85 women, 1 missing response;  $M_{age} = 36.78$ ,  $SD_{age} = 11.97$ ) completed the experiment via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) in exchange for \$0.30. Participants varied in educational background (1.0% some high school, 12.3% high school diploma, 21.5% some college, 42.1% college degree, 7.7% some graduate school, 11.8% graduate degree), and employment experience (73.3% were currently employed and 59.0% were currently or had previously been employed in a management position). The study design was a 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Latino Representation: Decreasing Latino Representation vs. Increasing Latino Representation) between-participants design with random assignment to condition.

## Procedure

The study methods and cover story for Experiment 3 were identical to Experiment 2, with the exception of racial minority representation information. Damian, the employee being considered for promotion, was depicted as either Black or White using the same set of photographs as in Experiment 2.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, participants saw the same project statistics, 360° employee review summary, and gender representation for employees hired between 2010 and 2014 from Experiment 2.

New to Experiment 3, the ethnic representation information of who was being hired by Damian from 2010 to 2014 was altered to reflect that he had either decreased or increased the

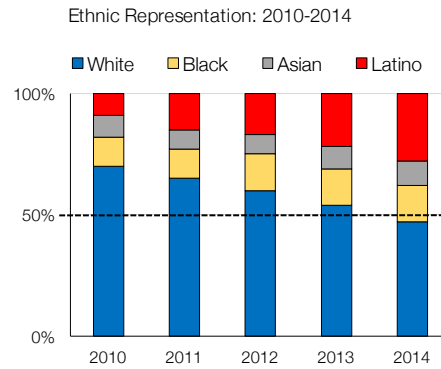
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<sup>3</sup> In Experiment 3, an effect of photograph was only present for the White employee when he increased the representation of Latinos for one dependent variables ( $p < .05$  bonus amount) but not others (monetary reward, status reward, public relations committee). In all other comparisons between photographs, there was no effect of photograph on the focal dependent variables, all  $ps > .05$ . Given that the differences between photographs were not reliable, we collapsed across photographs for analyses.

representation of Latinos being hired over time. In the decreasing Latino representation condition, participants saw that the number of Latino hires had decreased from 28% in 2010 to 9% in 2014, with only very minor changes in the representation of Asian and Black hires (Figure 12). In the increasing Latino representation condition, participants saw the exact opposite information such that Damian had increased the number of Latinos he was hiring, from 9% in 2010 to 28 % in 2014 (again with minor changes to the representation of Black and Asian hires; Figure 12). After reviewing this information, participants completed dependent variables and demographic items, and were debriefed and compensated.



### Hiring Statistics under Damian Williams: 2010-2014



### Hiring Statistics under Damian Williams: 2010-2014

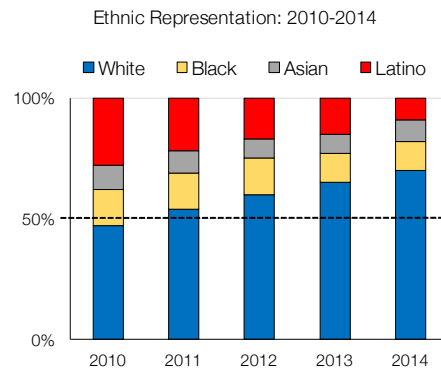


Figure 12. Sample of stimuli shown to participations depicting the increase in representation (top image) or decrease in representation (bottom image) of Latinos amongst new hires under Damian Williams, the Black or White employee being considered for promotion. Participants only saw one of these two charts. (Experiment 3).

## Dependent Variables

*Status Rewards.* The same five items from Experiment 1 and 2 ( $\alpha = .87$ ) were used to assess the extent to which participants rewarded the employee with status.

*Public Relations Representative.* Participants completed a single item measure assessing the extent to which they would like the Black or White employee to represent the organization publically on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much so) (adapted from Bradley-Geist & Ruscher, 2011). Participants read that all employees are assigned to committees at Rafali LLC

and were asked to identify the extent to which they would assign the employee being considered for promotion to the following committee: “Public Relations: Responsibilities include representing the company at national conventions, recruiting at career fairs, and serving as a spokesperson during interview with the media”. This item functioned as a measure of status rewards in the present research. Previous research finds that racial minority group members are significantly less likely to be assigned to visible and influential committee positions, such as a public relations committee, in organizations as compared to White individuals (Bradley-Geist & Ruscher, 2011). Thus, another measure of status allocation would be to examine if participants assign the employee to a committee that previous research has demonstrated is high in visibility and high in influence.

*Monetary Rewards.* The three item composite ( $\alpha = .90$ ) and single item measure assessing how much money of a bonus (in dollars) the employee should receive were identical to those in Experiments 1 and 2.

*Manipulation Checks.* Participants completed the same two items as in Experiment 2 assessing if they correctly recalled the race of the employee and his hiring record at the organization. A total of 93 participants either did not respond or responded to one or both of the manipulation check items incorrectly and were removed from analyses. Additionally, participants who took fewer than five minutes or more than two standard deviations length of time longer to complete the study compared to the average participant ( $M_{time} = 10:33$ ,  $SD_{time} = 6:45$ ) were excluded from analyses ( $N = 11$ ).

## Results

### Status Rewards

A 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Latino Representation: Decreasing Latino Representation vs. Increasing Latino Representation) ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of the Black or White employee's record of decreasing or increasing the representation of Latinos on White participants' rewarding the employee with status. Analyses revealed a main effect of employee race, such that the Black employee was rewarded with more status ( $M = 5.60$ ,  $SD = .91$ ) than the White employee ( $M = 5.27$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ),  $F(1, 191) = 5.09$ ,  $p = .03$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .03$ . There was also a significant main effect of Latino representation, such that the employee increasing the representation of Latinos was rewarded with more status, ( $M = 5.69$ ,  $SD = .89$ ) than the employee decreasing the representation of Latinos ( $M = 5.22$ ,  $SD = 1.04$ ),  $F(1, 191) = 12.25$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .06$  (Figure 13). These main effects were qualified by a marginally significant interaction between employee race and Latino representation,  $F(1, 191) = 3.64$ ,  $p = .06$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ . However, given a priori predictions, we further probed this interaction using simple effects analyses.

Consistent with predictions and Experiment 2, simple effects analyses revealed no significant difference in the extent to which White participants rewarded the Black ( $M = 5.71$ ,  $SD = .96$ ) or White ( $M = 5.66$ ,  $SD = .81$ ) employee with status when the employee increased the representation of Latinos,  $F < 1$ . However, consistent with hypotheses and Experiments 1 and 2, White participants rewarded the Black employee who had decreased the representation of Latinos with more status ( $M = 5.49$ ,  $SD = .85$ ) compared to the White employee who had decreased the representation of Latinos ( $M = 4.92$ ,  $SD = 1.14$ ),  $F(1, 191) = 9.10$ ,  $p = .003$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .05$ .

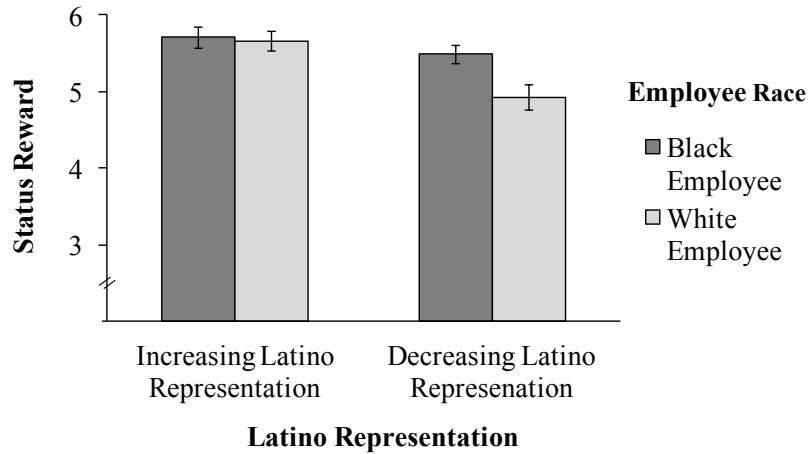


Figure 13. White participants' allocation of status rewards to the Black or White employee as a function of whether the employee had increased or decreased the representation of Latinos amongst new hires. Error bars indicate standard error. (Experiment 3).

Examining differences in rewarding for each employee, White participants' status rewards to the Black employee did not differ as a function of whether the employee had decreased ( $M = 5.49, SD = .85$ ) or increased ( $M = 5.71, SD = .96$ ) the representation of Latinos,  $F(1, 191) = 1.35, p = .25, \eta_p^2 = .007$ . However, participants were more likely to reward the White employee with status when he had increased ( $M = 5.66, SD = .81$ ) as compared to decreased ( $M = 4.92, SD = 1.14$ ), the representation of Latinos,  $F(1, 191) = 13.82, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .07$ .

### Public Relations Representative

New to Experiment 3, we examined whether participants thought the employee being considered for promotion should be assigned to the public relations committee representing the company at national conventions using a 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Latino Representation: Decreasing Latino Representation vs. Increasing Latino Representation) ANOVA. Analyses revealed a main effect of employee race, such that participants were more

likely to assign the Black ( $M = 5.47$ ,  $SD = 1.25$ ), compared to White employee ( $M = 4.85$ ,  $SD = 1.54$ ) to the public relations committee,  $F(1, 191) = 9.20$ ,  $p = .003$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .05$ . There was also a main effect of Latino representation such that an employee who had increased the representation of Latinos was more likely to be assigned to the committee ( $M = 5.54$ ,  $SD = 1.18$ ) compared to an employee who had decreased the representation of Latinos ( $M = 4.84$ ,  $SD = 1.55$ ),  $F(1, 191) = 13.76$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .07$ . These main effects were qualified by a significant two-way interaction,  $F(1, 191) = 6.53$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .03$  (Figure 14).

When the employee had increased the representation of Latinos over time, White participants did not differ in the extent to which they would assign the Black ( $M = 5.58$ ,  $SD = 1.33$ ) or White ( $M = 5.49$ ,  $SD = .98$ ) employee to the public relations committee,  $F < 1$ . However, conceptually replicating Experiment 1 and 2, when the Black employee had decreased the representation of Latinos, participants were more likely to assign him to the visible and influential position on the public relations committee ( $M = 5.36$ ,  $SD = 1.18$ ) compared to the White employee with the same record of decreasing Latino representation ( $M = 4.29$ ,  $SD = 1.72$ ),  $F(1, 191) = 16.41$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .08$ .

Examining differences in desire to have the employee as on the committee as a function of Latino representation, White participants were equally likely to assign the Black employee to the public relations committee regardless of whether he had increased ( $M = 5.58$ ,  $SD = 1.33$ ) or decreased ( $M = 5.36$ ,  $SD = 1.18$ ) the representation of Latinos at the company,  $F < 1$ . However, participants were more likely to assign the White employee to the committee when he had increased ( $M = 5.49$ ,  $SD = .98$ ) as compared decreased ( $M = 4.29$ ,  $SD = 1.72$ ) the representation of Latinos,  $F(1, 191) = 18.55$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .09$ .

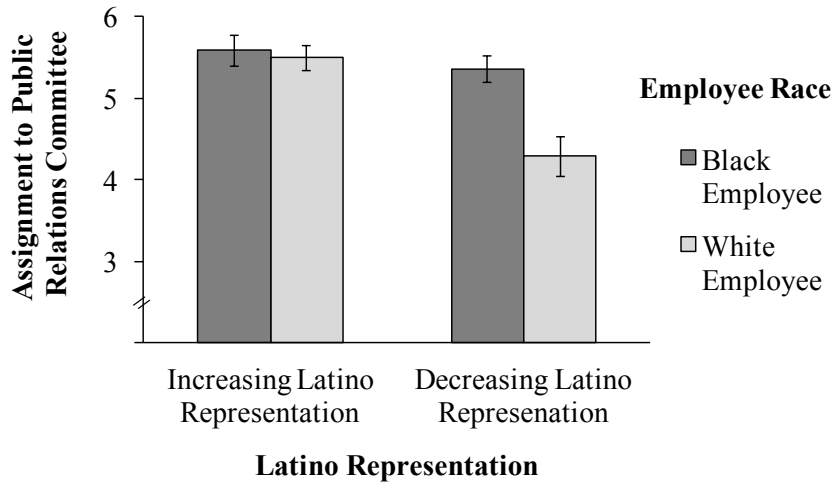


Figure 14. White participants' assignment of the Black or White employee to the public relations committee as a function of whether the employee had increased or decreased the representation of Latinos amongst new hires. Error bars indicate standard error. (Experiment 3).

### Monetary Rewards

A 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Latino Representation: Decreasing Latino Representation vs. Increasing Latino Representation) ANOVA with monetary rewards as the outcome revealed a marginal main effect of employee race, such that the Black employee was monetarily rewarded more ( $M = 5.83, SD = .79$ ) compared to the White employee ( $M = 5.59, SD = .93$ ),  $F(1, 191) = 3.42, p = .066, \eta_p^2 = .02$ . There was also a main effect of Latino representation, such that the employee with a record of increasing Latino representation was rewarded more ( $M = 5.86, SD = .79$ ) than when the employee who had a record of decreasing Latino representation ( $M = 5.59, SD = .91$ ),  $F(1, 191) = 5.55, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .03$ . These were qualified by a significant employee race by Latino representation interaction,  $F(1, 191) = 5.43, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .03$  (Figure 15).

Consistent with Experiment 2, simple effects analyses further revealed that White participants did not differ in the extent to which they monetarily rewarded the Black ( $M = 5.83,$

$SD = .83$ ) or White ( $M = 5.89, SD = .76$ ) employee who had increased the representation of Latinos over time,  $F < 1$ . However, as anticipated, when the Black employee had decreased the representation of Latinos, he received greater monetary rewards ( $M = 5.83, SD = .76$ ) than a White employee with the same record ( $M = 5.33, SD = .98$ ),  $F(1, 191) = 9.17, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .05$ .

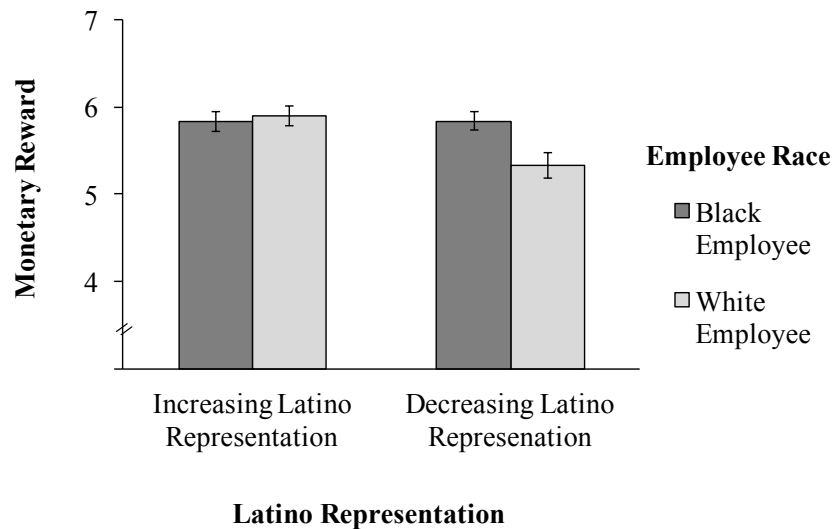


Figure 15. White participants' allocation of monetary rewards to the Black or White employee as a function of whether the employee had increased or decreased the representation of Latinos amongst new hires. Error bars indicate standard error. (Experiment 3).

Moreover, there were no differences in monetary rewards assigned to the Black employee as a function of whether he had increased ( $M = 5.83, SD = .83$ ) or decreased ( $M = 5.83, SD = .76$ ) the representation of Latinos,  $F < 1$ . However, White participants were significantly more likely to monetarily reward the White employee who had increased ( $M = 5.89, SD = .76$ ) as compared to decreased ( $M = 5.33, SD = .98$ ) the representation of Latinos,  $F(1, 191) = 10.38, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .05$ .

**Bonus Amount.** A 2 (Employee Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Latino Representation: Decreasing Latino Representation vs. Increasing Latino Representation) ANOVA was conducted

to examine how much of a monetary bonus White participants thought the employee should be given. Analyses revealed only an interaction between employee race and Latino representation,  $F(1, 191) = 3.99, p = .05, \eta_p^2 = .02$  (Figure 16).

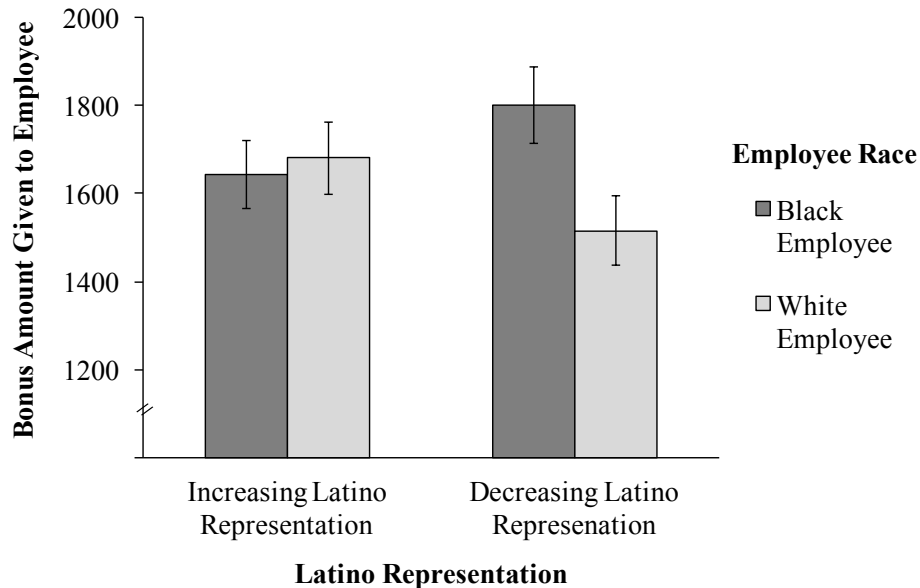


Figure 16. Bonus amount White participants assigned to the Black or White employee as a function of whether the employee had increased or decreased the representation of Latinos amongst new hires. Error bars indicate standard error. (Experiment 3).

As anticipated, White participants did not differ in the bonus amount they thought the Black ( $M = 1644.00, SD = 606.99$ ) or White ( $M = 1681.40, SD = 520.65$ ) employee who had increased Latino representation should receive,  $F < 1$ . However, replicating Experiment 2, White participants awarded the Black employee who had decreased the representation of Latinos with a larger bonus ( $M = 1800.94, SD = 556.30$ ) relative to a White employee who had done the same ( $M = 1515.31, SD = 573.66$ ),  $F(1, 191) = 6.47, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .03$ .

Further, White participants' bonus assignment to the Black employee did not differ as a function of whether the employee had decreased ( $M = 1800.94, SD = 556.30$ ) or increased the Latino population ( $M = 1644.00, SD = 606.99$ ), though means were in the predicted direction,



$F(1, 191) = 1.97, p = .16, \eta_p^2 = .02$ . There was no significant difference in bonus assignments to the White employee as a function of his having decreased ( $M = 1515.31, SD = 573.66$ ) or increased ( $M = 1681.40, SD = 520.65$ ) the representation of Latinos, although there was a slight trend to reward the White employee more when he had increased the Latino representation,  $F(1, 191) = 1.97, p = .16, \eta_p^2 = .02$ .

### **Discussion**

Across Experiments 1 – 3, White participants were more likely to reward a Black employee with a record of decreasing the representation of racial minorities compared to a White employee with the same history of decreasing the representation of racial minorities. There were no differences in rewarding of a Black or White employee when he had a history of hiring racial minority group members (Experiment 2 and 3) or when no information about his hiring history was present (Experiment 1).

An alternative interpretation of the findings from Experiment 1 – 3 is that the data suggest a pattern of *punishing* the White employee who is decreasing the representation of racial minorities hiring Whites, whereas no such punishment occurs for racial minority group members who is decreasing the representation of racial minorities. This interpretation is not inconsistent with the theorizing that Whites may desire to benefit racial minority group members who express negativity towards other minorities. In particular, we suggest that when a racial minority hinders minority advancement (operationalized as decreasing the representation of racial minorities in Experiment 1 - 3), this reduces Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced. In a context where Whites should normally experience concerns about appearing prejudiced (as in one where racial minorities are being hired less and less over time) and distance from the situation, we see that they do not distance equally. Rather, they reward (or fail to punish) the Black employee over the

White employee in these contexts, despite both individuals significantly decreasing the representation of racial minorities in a short period of time.

In Experiments 1 - 3, the impact of decreasing the representation of racial minorities was made zero-sum, such that a Black employee who decreased the representation of racial minorities necessarily increased the representation of Whites. Thus, it is challenging to interpret and disambiguate whether White participants were rewarding the Black employee for decreasing the representation of racial minority group members or for increasing the representation of Whites. Importantly, in the real world, these contexts are not always zero-sum. Moreover, for Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced to be reduced, we anticipate that it is more important that the Black employee hinder the advancement of racial minorities, and that the relative promotion of Whites in these contexts is not necessary. In Experiment 4, we remove the explicit zero-sum context present in the previous studies and examine whether Whites' differentially reward the Black or White individual who hinders racial minority advancement without mentioning how this impacts Whites

#### **Experiment 4**

Experiment 4 sought to extend the findings from Experiments 1 – 3 to a new domain. The present study moves away from the organizational context to examine Whites' rewarding of a racial minority or White opinion-editorial writer who writes an article expressing either support or lack of support for minority mentoring initiatives intended to foster racial minority students' success in school. By focusing the article on the writer's attitudes toward efforts to foster minority success without mention of how these efforts impact White students' resources or outcomes, the overt zero-sum context present in the previous studies was removed.

Moreover, unlike Experiments 1 – 3, Experiment 4 examines Whites' rewarding of a low status individual who does not have the status to influence significant changes in regard to minority mentoring efforts. In Experiments 1 – 3, the employee being evaluated for promotion was already a manager and clearly had the ability to impact significant change in the demographics of the organization. In the present study, the writer being considered for rewards is a college student who writes an opinion piece. If our hypotheses are correct, then Whites rewarding of racial minorities who hinder minority advancement should not be limited to those individuals who have already gained influence within the organization. Rather, in Experiment 4, White participants should reward the writer in Experiment 4 with rewards as a means of *increasing* the writer's status and likelihood that he will express similar opinions in the future. Taken together, Experiment 4 sought to extend the generalizability of the present research.

## **Method**

### **Participants and Experimental Design**

Seventy-six White non-international participants (49 female, 22 male, 5 missing;  $M_{age} = 20.88$ ,  $SD_{age} = 4.00$ , 2 responses missing) were approached on campus and asked to participate in the survey in exchange for a piece of candy. The study design was a 2 (Writer Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Minority Mentoring Program: Support for Mentoring Program vs. No Support for Mentoring Program) between-participants design with random assignment to condition.

### **Procedure**

Participants were approached on campus and asked to participate in a study on perceptions of opinion and editorial articles regarding various topics in the news. Participants received a survey packet instructing them they would be reading an article that had ostensibly

been submitted to the Daily Bruin, the college newspaper. Participants then read the opinion-editorial article.

The content of the article was adapted to either communicate that the author did or did not support mentoring programs intended to promote racial minority group members' academic success (see Figure 17 for sample stimuli). For example, the article in *support of mentoring programs* included the following (boldface added here to clarify differences in content between conditions): “Some have argued that the pipeline for racial minorities to advance in college is ineffective and that there is need for better mentoring programs. I **agree**. I **don't** think it's just a matter of taking responsibility for one's education, **rather students should be able to rely on others for support**”. In the article *against mentoring programs*, participants read: “Some have argued that the pipeline for racial minorities to advance in college is ineffective and that there is need for better mentoring programs. I **disagree**. I **think** it's just a matter of taking responsibility for one's education, **rather than relying on others for support**”. The articles were similarly matched in length; the article in support of minority mentoring programs had 138 words and the article not in support of mentoring programs had 130 words long.

In addition to reading the article, participants were also shown a photograph of the undergraduate student who was described as having written the article. The writer was portrayed as either Black or White using photographs from the Chicago Face Database (Ma, Correll, & Wittenbrink, 2015).<sup>4</sup> As in Experiments 1 – 3, to rule out idiosyncrasies associated with any one photograph, the writer was portrayed using one of two different photographs of a White man or

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<sup>4</sup> There were no differences in participants' responses to the focal dependent variables as a result of which of the two photographs they saw for the Black or White writer (all  $ps > .05$ ). Thus, I collapsed across photograph condition for analyses.

two different photographs of a Black man (four photographs total). After reading through the article, participants completed key dependent variables, demographic items, and were debriefed.

**DAILY BRUIN**

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## Students and the Academic Ladder

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COMMUNITY, OPINION



**BY JONATHAN WILKINS**  
Posted: November 23, 2015 11:00 am

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The accepted message on racial disparities in colleges and universities for the past 10-15 years has been one of acknowledgement and reassurance: Yes, racial minorities represent a very small percentage of the student population and even fewer of the graduating students, but give it time. It'll change.

Some have argued that the pipeline for racial minorities to advance in college is ineffective and that there is need for better mentoring programs. I disagree. I think it's just a matter of taking responsibility for one's education, rather than relying on others for support. Freshman minority students should not expect more senior students, professors, or administrators to mentor and pull them through school.

Universities need students of color to put in the effort and this will put minorities in a position to succeed.

*Wilkins is an undergraduate student at UCLA.*



Figure 17. Sample of one of the articles read by White participants. (Experiment 4).

### Dependent Variables

*Status Reward.* Participants completed five items ( $\alpha = .89$ ) assessing how much status they would give the writer on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much so). We sought to use status reward measures that were relevant to the participants' social context and the study context. These items were: "To what extent would you like to read more articles written by this author?"; "To what extent would you assign the author to be a permanent opinion/editorial section contributor?"; "To what extent would you ask the author to expand their op-ed for a front page piece in the Daily Bruin?"; To what extent would you want the author to be a student body representative?"; "To what extent would you follow the author on Twitter?".

*Monetary Reward.* Participants completed two separate items assessing how much of a monetary reward they would give the writer. The first item asked participants: “If hired as a Daily Bruin author, what should the author’s stipend be (for reference, student newspaper authors make between \$100 and \$800 a quarter)?”.

A second item assessed participants’ willingness to reward the writer in a second domain: “The LA Times has expressed interest in running this piece in their paper. How much would you suggest they pay the author (for reference, newspaper authors make between \$300 and \$1200 a submission)?”. These two monetary items were correlated ( $r = .80, p < .001$ ), however, they were assessed on different scales and standardizing the variable (z-scoring) would make interpretation difficult. Therefore, they were analyzed separately.

*Article Perceptions.* Participants completed four items ( $\alpha = .88$ ) assessing their perceptions of the articles overall quality on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much so). The items were: “How well written is the article?”; “How strong is the argument in the article?”; “How convincing is the article?”; “How compelling is the article?”.

*Manipulation Checks.* Participants completed two manipulation check items to ensure they had taken notice of the key manipulations. One item asked participants to identify the race of the writer ( $N$  who responded incorrectly = 3) and the second item asked participants to identify if the article they had read was or was not in support of mentoring programs for minority students ( $N$  who responded incorrectly = 2). Participants were excluded from analyses if they incorrectly responded to either manipulation check item.

## Results

### Status Rewards

To examine the effect of the Black or White writer's support or lack of support for minority mentoring programs on rewarding the writer with status, we conducted a 2 (Writer Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Minority Mentoring Program: Support for Mentoring Program vs. No Support for Mentoring Program) ANOVA. Analyses revealed a significant main effect of writer race – White participants rewarded the Black writer with more status ( $M = 4.10$ ,  $SD = 1.20$ ) compared to the White writer ( $M = 3.15$ ,  $SD = 1.20$ ),  $F(1, 72) = 13.60$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .16$ . There was no main effect of minority mentoring policy,  $F < 1$ . However, consistent with predictions, the writer race by minority mentoring program interaction was significant,  $F(1, 72) = 4.57$ ,  $p = .04$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .06$  (Figure 18).

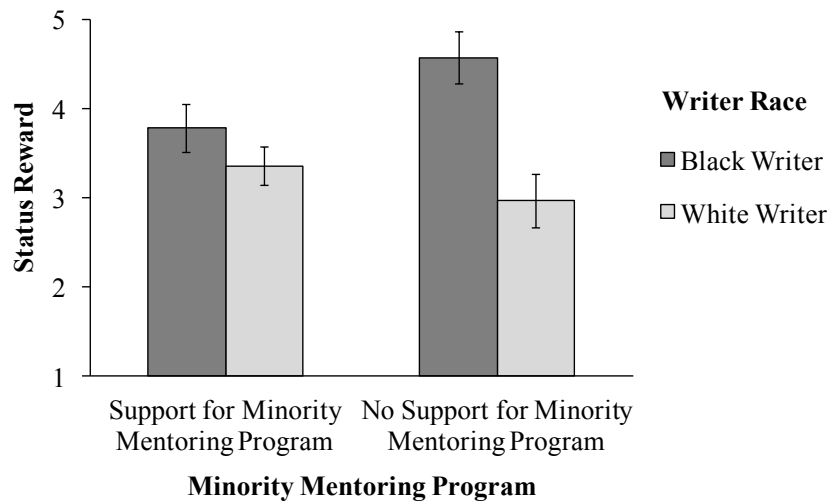


Figure 18. White participants' allocation of status rewards to the Black or White writer as a function whether the writer expressed support or lack thereof for minority mentoring programs. Error bars indicate standard errors. (Experiment 4).

Consistent with predictions and conceptually replicating Experiment 2 and 3, simple effects analyses revealed no significant difference in the how much status White participants

rewarded the Black ( $M = 3.78, SD = 1.20$ ) or White ( $M = 3.35, SD = .94$ ) writer who wrote in support of minority mentoring programs,  $F(1, 72) = 1.30, p = .26, \eta_p^2 = .02$ . However, consistent with our hypothesis that Whites reward minorities who hinder minority advancement, when the writer wrote an article articulating a lack of support for minority mentoring programs, White participants rewarded the Black writer with greater status ( $M = 4.56, SD = 1.08$ ) compared to the White writer ( $M = 2.96, SD = 1.39$ ),  $F(1, 72) = 15.75, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .18$ .

Importantly, consistent with hypotheses, White participants rewarded the Black writer with more status when he wrote an article advocating against minority mentoring programs ( $M = 4.56, SD = 1.08$ ) compared to support for mentoring programs ( $M = 3.78, SD = 1.20$ ),  $F(1, 72) = 3.66, p = .06, \eta_p^2 = .05$ . In contrast, there were no differences in status rewards for the White writer as a function of whether the article detailed support ( $M = 3.35, SD = .94$ ) or lack thereof ( $M = 2.96, SD = 1.39$ ) for minority mentoring programs,  $F(1, 72) = 1.14, p = .29, \eta_p^2 = .02$ .

### **Monetary Rewards**

Two items were used to assess how much money (in dollars) participants would reward the Black or White writer for his opinion article in support of or against minority mentoring programs.

**Daily Bruin Stipend.** To assess the stipend participants would give the writer, 2 (Writer Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Minority Mentoring Program: Support for Mentoring Program vs. No Support for Mentoring Program) ANOVA was conducted. Analyses revealed a main effect of writer race, such that participants rewarded the Black writer with a higher stipend ( $M = 378.13, SD = 210.96$ ) compared to the White writer ( $M = 276.79, SD = 141.79$ ),  $F(1, 70) = 6.89, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .09$ . There was no significant main effect of minority mentoring policy ( $F < 1$ ) and the two-way interaction interaction did not reach statistical significance ( $F(1, 70) = 2.77, p =$



.10,  $\eta_p^2 = .04$ ). However, given specific a priori predictions regarding the pattern of data, simple effects analyses were conducted to further probe the interaction and clarify the relationship between the two independent variables.

As expected, simple effects analyses revealed that White participants did not differ in the stipend they awarded the Black ( $M = 350.00$ ,  $SD = 199.34$ ) or White ( $M = 310.00$ ,  $SD = 119.87$ ) writer who wrote in support of minority mentoring programs,  $F < 1$  (Figure 19). However, as anticipated, participants awarded a higher stipend to the Black ( $M = 378.13$ ,  $SD = 210.96$ ) compared to White ( $M = 378.13$ ,  $SD = 210.96$ ) writer when he wrote an article advocating against minority mentoring programs,  $F(1, 70) = 8.16$ ,  $p = .006$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .10$ .

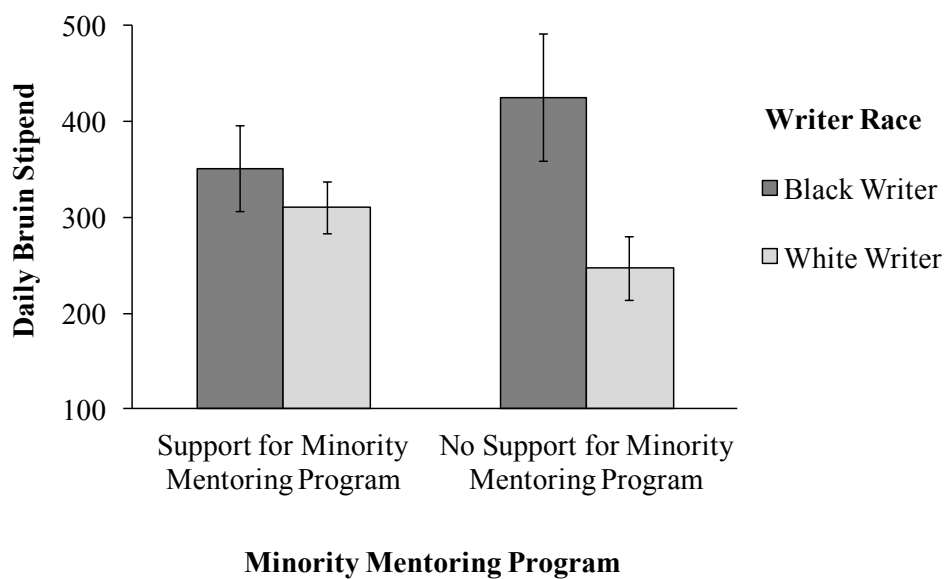


Figure 19. Daily Bruin stipend amount allocated by White participants to the Black or White writer as a function whether the writer expressed support or lack thereof for minority mentoring programs. Error bars indicate standard errors. (Experiment 4).

Examining rewarding of the writer as a function of his opinion, White participants did not differentially assign stipend amounts to the Black writer as a function of whether he had expressed support ( $M = 325.00$ ,  $SD = 199.34$ ) or lack thereof ( $M = 425.00$ ,  $SD = 230.12$ ) for

minority mentoring programs,  $F(1, 70) = 1.39$ ,  $p = .24$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ . Similarly, participants did not differentially assign stipend amounts to the White writer as a function of whether he had expressed support ( $M = 310.00$ ,  $SD = 119.87$ ) or lack thereof ( $M = 246.59$ ,  $SD = 155.70$ ) for minority mentoring programs,  $F(1, 70) = 1.39$ ,  $p = .24$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ .

**LA Times Payment.** A 2 (Writer Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Minority Mentoring Program: Support for Mentoring Program vs. No Support for Mentoring Program) ANOVA with payment amount as the outcome assessed participants' ratings of the monetary amount the LA Times should provide the writer for his article. There was a main effect of writer race, such that participants thought the LA Times should pay the Black writer more than ( $M = 616.67$ ,  $SD = 349.70$ ) the White writer ( $M = 428.66$ ,  $SD = 204.91$ ),  $F(1, 70) = 8.81$ ,  $p = .004$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .11$ . There was no significant main effect of minority mentoring program ( $F < 1$ ) and the writer race by minority mentoring program interaction did not reach statistical significant ( $F(1, 70) = 2.53$ ,  $p = .12$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .04$ ). As above, this interaction was further probed given a priori predictions.

Simple effects analyses revealed that White participants thought the LA Times should pay the same amount for the article in support of mentoring programs, regardless of whether the writer was Black ( $M = 575.00$ ,  $SD = 300.66$ ) or White ( $M = 484.21$ ,  $SD = 183.37$ ),  $F(1, 70) = 1.04$ ,  $p = .31$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$  (Figure 20). However, as predicted and conceptually replicating Experiment 2 and 3, White participants reported that the LA Times should pay the Black writer significantly more for his article against minority mentoring programs ( $M = 680.77$ ,  $SD = 419.09$ ), compared to when the same article was authored by a White writer ( $M = 380.68$ ,  $SD = 214.36$ ),  $F(1, 70) = 9.55$ ,  $p = .003$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .12$ .

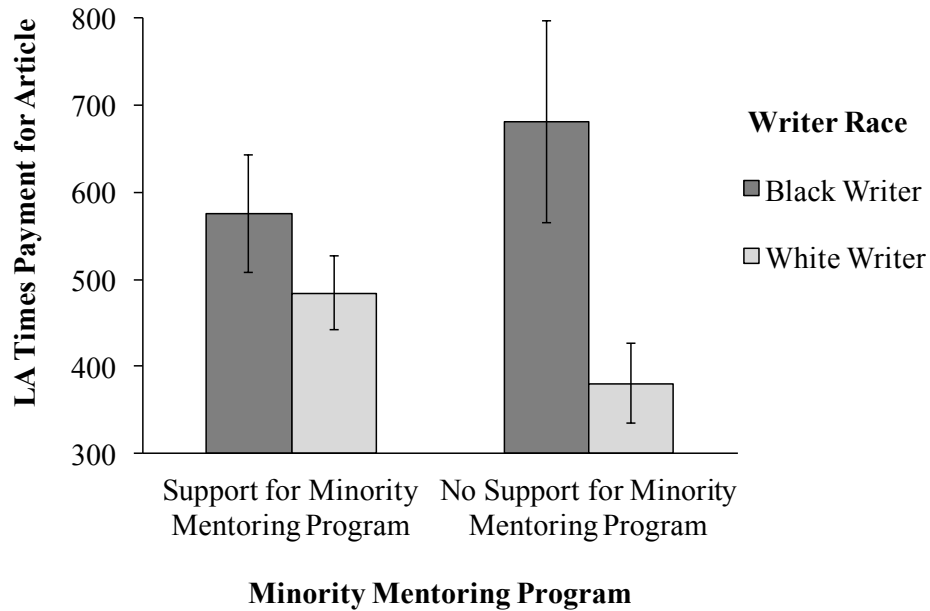


Figure 20. Los Angeles Times payment amount allocated by White participants to the Black or White writer as a function whether the writer expressed support or lack thereof for minority mentoring programs. Error bars indicate standard errors. (Experiment 4).

Additional analyses revealed that when the writer was Black, White participants did not differentially assign LA Times payment to the writer as a function of whether he had expressed support ( $M = 575.00$ ,  $SD = 300.66$ ) or lack thereof ( $M = 680.77$ ,  $SD = 419.10$ ) for minority mentoring programs,  $F(1, 70) = 1.14$ ,  $p = .29$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ . Similarly, participants did not differentially assign LA Times payment to the White writer as a function of whether he had expressed support ( $M = 484.21$ ,  $SD = 183.37$ ) or lack thereof ( $M = 380.68$ ,  $SD = 214.36$ ) for minority mentoring programs,  $F(1, 70) = 1.42$ ,  $p = .24$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ .

### Article Perceptions

Next, examining whether perceptions of the article's quality were influenced by which article participants saw and the race of the writer, a 2 (Writer Race: Black vs. White) X 2 (Minority Mentoring Program: Support for Mentoring Program vs. No Support for Mentoring

Program) ANOVA revealed a main effect of writer race, such that the article was perceived to be of better quality when it was written by the Black ( $M = 4.31$ ,  $SD = 1.47$ ) compared to White ( $M = 3.09$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ) writer,  $F(1, 72) = 20.89$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .23$ . There was no main effect of minority mentoring program,  $F < 1$ . However, the writer race by minority mentoring policy interaction was significant,  $F(1, 72) = 9.37$ ,  $p = .003$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .12$ .

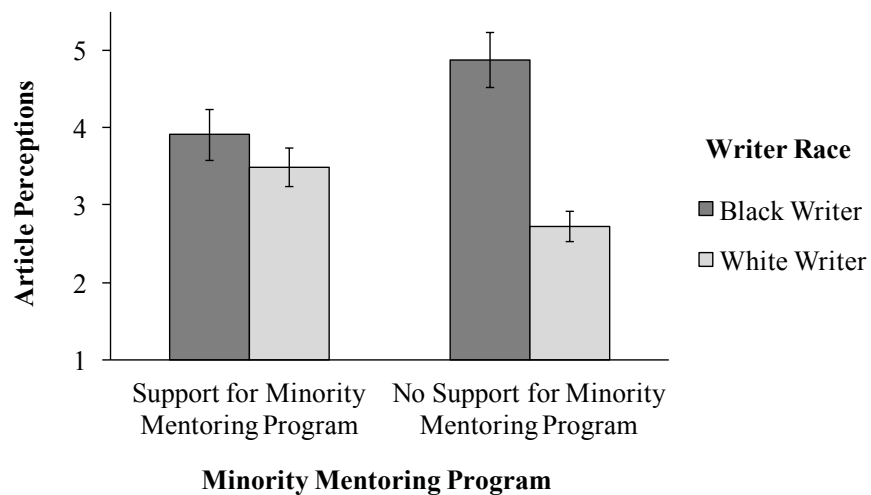


Figure 21. White participants' perceptions of the article as a function of whether it was written by a Black or White writer who expressed either support or lack thereof for minority mentoring programs. Error bars indicate standard errors. (Experiment 4).

When the article was in support of minority mentoring programs, White participants perceived the article to be equally well written, regardless of whether the writer was Black ( $M = 3.91$ ,  $SD = 1.47$ ) or White ( $M = 3.49$ ,  $SD = 1.10$ ),  $F(1, 72) = 1.24$ ,  $p = .27$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .02$ . However, consistent with predictions, when the article was not in support of minority mentoring programs, White participants perceived the article to be better written when the writer was Black ( $M = 4.88$ ,  $SD = 1.33$ ) compared to White ( $M = 2.73$ ,  $SD = .94$ ),  $F(1, 72) = 27.02$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .27$ .

Simple effects analyses further revealed that White participants thought the Black writer had written a better article when it was against minority mentoring programs ( $M = 4.87$ ,  $SD =$

1.33) in comparison to in support of these programs ( $M = 3.91$ ,  $SD = 1.47$ ),  $F(1, 72) = 27.02$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .27$ . However, participants perceived the White writer to have written a better article when it was in support of minority mentoring programs ( $M = 3.49$ ,  $SD = 1.10$ ) as compared to against minority mentoring programs ( $M = 2.73$ ,  $SD = .94$ ),  $F(1, 72) = 27.02$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .27$ .

## **Discussion**

Conceptually replicating Experiments 1 – 3, Experiment 4 demonstrated that White participants rewarded a Black, compared to White, writer more when he advocated against minority mentoring programs. Importantly, Experiment 4 tested this hypothesis in a novel domain (an opinion news article) and in the absence of a zero-sum context. Moreover, the person being evaluated was in a low status position. Taken together, Experiment 4 extended the generalizability of the present phenomenon.

## **General Discussion**

Given the ubiquity of social norms condemning prejudice expression and stereotypes that cast Whites as perpetrators of prejudice, many Whites experiences concerns about appearing prejudiced (Plant & Devine, 1998; Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002; Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001). To reduce these concerns and the likelihood of appearing prejudiced, Whites engage in strategies that limit the likelihood of appearing prejudiced. To date, much of the research has highlighted that Whites engage in expressing positivity and support towards racial minority groups as a means of communicating a lack of prejudice (e.g., Bradley-Geist, King, Skorinko, Hebl, & McKenna, 2010; Effron, Cameron, & Monin, 2009). However, given that recent research finds that when racial minorities express negativity towards other minorities, this reduces Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced, the present research tested the hypothesis

that Whites will strategically engage in rewarding of racial minorities who hinder the advancement of racial minorities. Doing so would allow Whites to surround themselves with racial minority individuals who may be more likely to express negativity towards minorities, thereby reducing Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced. In addition, rewarding racial minorities who hinder minority advancement allows Whites to maintain the existing social hierarchy in which Whites are dominant. By rewarding minority group members who are more likely to express negativity, Whites are able to engage in behaviors that simultaneously demonstrate non-prejudice (i.e., promoting minority group members) while ensuring that those racial minorities who are rewarded are unlikely to upset the existing hierarchy by advancing other minorities.

Four studies examined whether Whites reward racial minority group members who express views or behaviors that hinder minority advancement. Supporting this hypothesis, Experiments 1 – 4 found that, overall, Whites were more likely to allocate status and monetary rewards to racial minorities who hindered the advancement of other racial minorities (i.e., decreased minority representation, advocated against mentoring programs) as compared to when Whites engaged in the same behavior. Importantly, Whites' rewarding of the Black or White individual did not differ when his impact on racial minority representation within the domain was unknown (Experiment 1). Similarly, Whites did not differentially reward the Black or White target when he had a record of supporting racial minorities by hiring minorities at an increasing rate (Experiments 2 and 3) or expressing support for minority mentoring programs (Experiment 4). Moreover, providing initial support for the notion that Whites engage in these rewarding behaviors as a means of reducing their concerns about appearing prejudiced, Experiment 1 demonstrated that White participants perceived the racial minority individual who

decreased the representation of racial minorities as warmer compared to a White individual who decreased racial minorities representation. Taken together, four studies provided preliminary support for the hypothesis that racial minorities who express negativity towards other minorities are rewarded by Whites.

### **Implications for Identifying Prejudice**

The present research highlights a novel strategy that Whites might use to reduce the likelihood of appearing prejudiced – supporting racial minority group members who undermine minority advancement. Prejudice expression has become increasingly subtle in recent decades (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986), with individuals being more likely to express prejudice when they are able to reduce concerns about appearing prejudiced by justifying their potentially prejudiced behavior with non-prejudice related explanations or justifications (see Crandall & Eshleman, 2003 for a review). Indeed, providing justifications for one’s potentially prejudiced behaviors can serve to reduce Whites’ concerns about appearing prejudiced (Monin & Miller, 2001; Merritt et al., 2012). Importantly, in the existing literature, while justifications for prejudice expression can be difficult to detect – given that these justifications are intentionally meant to make behaviors and attitudes seem unrelated to prejudice – Whites’ behaviors and attitudes are still ultimately marked by *negativity* towards minority group members. For example, research shows that in the presence of justifications which reduce concerns about appearing prejudiced Whites will report that racial minorities are less intelligent (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), less hireable (Monin & Miller, 2001), and physically distance from minority group members (Snyder, Kleck, Strenta, & Mentzer, 1979)

However, in the present literature Whites reduced their concerns about appearing prejudiced by expressing *positivity* towards minority group members by rewarding them with

greater status and money. This outwardly positive behavior may be especially problematic to detect as it does not fit peoples' schemas of the types of attitudes and behaviors that represent prejudice and discrimination, which are generally marked by negativity. For example, as noted earlier, Knowles and colleagues (2009) find Whites who are less favorable toward attenuating social hierarchies voted for Obama to the extent that they thought a Black president would suggest that racism was no longer a factor in society, rendering efforts to promote equality unnecessary. Thus, the present research contributes to a small but growing body of literature examining the perceptively counterintuitive strategies that individuals use to reduce concerns about appearing prejudiced without dramatically changing the inequitable status quo.

Importantly, this means that individuals are unlikely to be vigilant for prejudice expression when these types of ostensibly positive behaviors occur, making them especially difficult to identify and label as bias. This has implications for diversity strategies which aim to increase the heterogeneity of group composition by increasing the representation of minorities. In particular, Whites may be especially positive toward minority group members who hinder the advancement of other minorities, enabling these individuals to rise into positions of influence within a given domain. Consistent with this notion, research finds that non-dominant group members (e.g., women) who do make it into positions of influence actively hinder non-dominant group members' success in these domains (Ellemers, Rink, Derks, Ryan, 2012; Derks, van Laar, & Ellemers, 2016) – thereby behaving much like their dominant group member counterparts. Taken together, the present findings and existing literature suggest that racial minorities who express certain views may be especially likely to be represented in these domains, resulting in subsequent decrements in diversity.



## **A System that Undermines Minorities**

Researchers have argued that racial minority group members do experience pressure to express negativity towards other minority group members for a variety of reasons (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008; Duguid, Loyd, & Tolbert, 2012). A notable factor is that racial minority group members infer subtle prejudice expression norms amongst Whites and will express negativity toward other racial minorities in environments where Whites control outcomes (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008). Importantly, minority group members will express more negativity towards other minority job applicants publically, where Whites can view these behaviors, but not privately, where only they have access to this information (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008). This suggests that these negative evaluations are not necessarily genuine or internalized, but rather, that they are expressed in a context where Whites, who are perceived to hold prejudices, can view them. Recent research finds that Whites leverage racial minorities' negative evaluations of minority targets to express prejudice. In particular, when a racial minority group member negatively evaluates a minority target, this reduces Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced should they express an evaluation of the minority target (Jurcevic et al., in prep). Consequently, Whites evaluate the minority target more negatively when these concerns about appearing prejudiced are absent (Jurcevic et al., in prep). Moreover, not only do Whites use minorities' negative evaluations of minority targets, but the present research demonstrates that Whites reward racial minority group members who engage in behaviors or express opinions that hinder the advancement of minorities.

Thus, an important theoretical implication of the present findings is that these norms of subtle prejudice expression may be established and communicated through Whites' rewarding and benefitting racial minority group members who engage in behaviors that undermine the

ingroup. That is, these rewarding behaviors can communicate which opinions and behaviors are valued, thereby limiting the likelihood that racial minorities will express positivity towards other minority group members. Taken together, this line of research demonstrates that there is a system in place that simultaneously serves to subtly undermine minority group members all while decreasing the likelihood that these behaviors will be perceived as prejudiced.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

One potential critique of the present studies is that they fail to reliably demonstrate that Whites reward a racial minority person who undermines the advancement of other minorities. One might argue that they instead demonstrate a punishment of White individuals who decrease the representation of racial minorities relative to the other conditions. However, an important consideration here is what the default response would be for someone who promotes versus hinders the representation of racial minorities in a given domain, as this provides an informative baseline.

The majority of Whites perceive social norms that promote publically endorsing affirmative action efforts and policies (van Boven, 2000), and publically supporting racial minority group members (Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008). Indeed, fostering racial minorities' advancement and interests is consistent with prevalent social norms that promote egalitarianism and condemn prejudice expression. As such, failing to express support for racial minority group members should increase the salience of Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced because one could infer that their lack of support is due to personally held prejudices. Consistent with this notion, research finds that one way Whites reduce the likelihood of appearing prejudiced is by expressing support for minority group members (e.g., Monin & Miller, 2001; Effron et al., 2009). In the present studies, when the Black or White target expressed support for minority

group members, participants lacked potential alternative opportunities for reducing the likelihood of appearing prejudiced, other than expressing positivity. Indeed, in Experiments 2 and 3 it was made explicit that the employee was competent, as such participants could not point to a lack of competence to justify negative treatment (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Thus, the only means by which White participants could reduce the likelihood of appearing prejudiced in a context where others are expressing positivity towards minority group members was to support the individual who promotes minority advancement. Indeed, Experiments 2 – 4 consistently show equal rewarding of the employee promoting minority advancement, regardless of whether that employee is Black or White.

In contrast, a failure to support minority advancement goes against perceived social norms (van Boven, 2000). In this context, Whites should be motivated to punish an individual who decreases the representation of racial minorities - doing so allows Whites to demonstrate that they are egalitarian and do not endorse these behaviors, thereby reducing their concerns about appearing prejudiced. Thus, Whites should fail to reward an individual who undermines minority advancement. However, in the present research, Whites likelihood of punishing the individual who decreased the representation of minorities differed as a function of that person's race. White participants punished a White individual who had undermined minority advancement but did not decrease their rewarding of a racial minority person who hindered minority advancement, despite both individuals' actions being equally detrimental to minority group members. Thus, in a context where one would anticipate that individuals would be derogated for failing to advance minorities, the present research suggests that this is not the case when the person hindering minority advancement is also a racial minority. We take this as evidence to suggest the racial minority person is being rewarded for hindering minority group member.

A second limitation of the present research is that we do not directly measure or manipulate White participants' concerns about appearing prejudiced. An important future direction would be to directly assess whether rewarding a racial minority group member who advocates against minority interests reduces Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced. Measuring concerns about appearing prejudiced directly is challenging and we have reviewed a significant body of literature suggesting that Whites are motivated and strategic in their desire to reduce concerns about appearing prejudice (e.g., Norton et al., 2006; Shelton et al., 2005; Merritt et al., 2012). Moreover, even expressing that one has concerns about appearing prejudiced may be threatening for Whites – by expressing that one has concerns about appearing prejudiced, this suggests that the person has these concerns because they, in fact, hold prejudices. As such, much of the existing literature examining concerns about appearing prejudiced and intergroup anxiety has relied on measures outside of participants' self-reports, such as non-verbal behavior (Richeson & Trawalter, 2005; Richeson & Shelton, 2003). Thus, future studies should indirectly measure Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced – for example, by manipulating whether these concerns are salient or not prior to examining rewarding behavior (e.g., Richeson & Trawalter, 2005). If Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced are removed, then Whites should engage in less rewarding of a racial minority who undermines minority advancement compared to when these concerns are salient. Moreover, future research should examine potential moderators of these effects – such as individual difference measures (e.g., social dominance orientation, motivations to respond without prejudice) to provide better insights into the processes underlying the present phenomenon.

A third limitation of the present research is the focus on Whites' rewarding of racial minority group members' behaviors. Researchers would benefit from future research examining

how these rewards are received and interpreted by minority group members. Indeed, racial minority group members' perspectives remain underrepresented in intergroup research (Shelton, 2003) and an understanding of how these rewards are perceived by minority group members is important in understanding potential feedback systems between Whites' rewarding and minorities' expression of negativity towards ingroup members. One possibility is that racial minorities who express negativity towards other minorities genuinely hold these values, and thus, being rewarded for expressing authentic opinions may be a positive experience. Alternatively, racial minorities may not genuinely hold these negative opinions and only express them due to perceived social norms (Shapiro & Neuberg 2008) or concerns about being seen as unfairly favoring their racial ingroup (see Duguid et al., 2010). In these instances, being rewarded for hindering other racial minorities' advancement may be a negative and uncomfortable experience. In particular, because these opinions are not genuinely held, individuals may feel that they are letting down ingroup members by expressing these opinions and reaping benefits while other ingroup members experience negative consequences. The manner in which these prejudice justification processes impact racial minorities is an important next step for future research as much of the focus on intergroup interactions in diverse environments has been on Whites' reactions and outcomes – without considering of the role of racial minority group members in these processes.

## **Conclusion**

Whereas the extant research suggests that the presence of racial minority group members serves to increase Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced, the present research demonstrates that Whites can leverage the presence of racial minority group members to reduce Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced. In particular, the present findings suggest that

Whites are motivated to strategically reward racial minority group members who undermine minority advancement, presumably in an effort to reduce Whites' concerns about appearing prejudiced while maintaining the existing social hierarchy in which Whites are dominant.

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## Appendix

### Experiment 1 Pilot Study Results

**Monetary Rewards.** Principal axis factoring analyses with direct oblim rotation were conducted to assess the extent to which each type of recognition was rated as being a monetary reward, which revealed a two-factor structure. Of the 17 items that were rated, 3 items that loaded onto both factors (e.g., Being offered free management and development training courses, getting a preferred parking spot) were removed and the principle axis factoring was conducted on the remaining fourteen items. The two factor solution remained. Factor 1 had an eigenvalue of 5.57, accounting for 39.79% of the variance and Factor 2 had an eigenvalue of 3.99, accounting for 28.49% of the variance.

Factor 1 was consistent with the hypothesized monetary reward items, which included the following eight items: (1) Annual lump sum bonus, (2) Annual percentage bonus, (3) A salary raise, (4) Offered company stock options, (5) Receiving a greater portion of the profit sharing pool, (6) Increasing the percentage allocated to the employee's retirement fund, (7) Paid vacation time/time off, (8) Gift Certificate. Thus, items that loaded onto Factor 1 were combined into a monetary composite ( $\alpha = .93$ ; see Table 1 for mean ratings of each item; Table 2 for factor loadings).



**Table 1.**

*Means and Standard Deviation for Whites' ratings of the extent to which each type of recognition an employer can give employees is a monetary or status reward to employees, and the desirability of the recognition (Pilot Study).*

Type of Recognition	Monetary Value				Status Value				Desirability			
	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Annual lump sum bonus	1	7	6.41	1.29	1	7	2.88	1.95	3	7	6.27	1.13
Annual percentage bonus	1	7	6.37	1.17	1	7	2.92	1.97	3	7	6.31	1.07
A salary raise	1	7	6.49	1.28	1	7	3.16	1.95	4	7	6.63	0.73
Offered company stock options	1	7	5.80	1.24	1	7	3.35	1.86	2	7	5.57	1.40
Receiving a greater portion of the profit sharing pool	1	7	6.06	1.33	1	7	3.31	1.71	3	7	6.04	1.10
Increasing the percentage allocated to the employee's retirement funds	1	7	5.69	1.39	1	7	2.53	1.78	3	7	5.86	1.23
Paid vacation time/time off	1	7	5.63	1.40	1	7	2.61	1.85	2	7	6.18	1.09
Gift Certificate	1	7	5.43	1.38	1	7	2.08	1.50	1	7	4.53	1.76
Being promoted to a higher status role	1	7	4.37	1.89	3	7	6.20	1.04	3	7	6.06	1.03
Being promoted to an influential role in the company	1	7	4.45	1.95	3	7	6.20	1.12	3	7	5.94	1.07
Getting a high profile client	1	7	3.73	1.99	1	7	5.29	1.40	2	7	5.27	1.20
Being assigned a leadership position on a team project	1	6	2.65	1.72	3	7	5.84	1.11	2	7	5.47	1.04
Increasing employee's influence within the organization	1	7	2.73	1.71	4	7	6.18	0.91	3	7	5.49	1.02
Being assigned a managing role on a new project	1	7	2.90	1.76	3	7	5.88	1.05	3	7	5.37	0.99

Factor 2 was consistent with the hypothesized status reward items. These six items included: (1) Being promoted to a higher status role, (2) Being promoted to an influential role in the company, (3) Getting a high profile client, (4) Being assigned a leadership position on a team project, (5) Increasing one's influence within the organization, (6) Being assigned a managing role on a new project. and items that loaded on. These items were combined into a status composite ( $\alpha = .89$ ).

As anticipated, analyses revealed that the composite of Factor 1 (monetary) items was rated as higher in monetary value to employees ( $M = 5.99$ ,  $SD = .40$ ) than the composite of Factor 2 (status) items ( $M = 3.47$ ,  $SD = .82$ ),  $t(12) = 6.89$ ,  $p < .001$ . Thus, Factor 1 was a clear measure of monetary rewards that employers might use to recognize employees' contributions.

**Table 2.***Factor Loadings for the exploratory factor analysis of the perceived monetary and status value of each type of recognition. (Pilot Study).*

Type of Recognition	Factor Loadings for Status Value Ratings		Factor Loadings for Monetary Value Ratings	
	Factor 1 (Monetary)	Factor 2 (Status)	Factor 1 (Monetary)	Factor 2 (Status)
Annual lump sum bonus	.895		.883	
Annual percentage bonus	.866	.254	.868	
A salary raise	.798	.362	.885	
Offered company stock options	.883		.748	
Receiving a greater portion of the profit sharing pool	.882		.864	
Increasing the percentage allocated to the employee's retirement funds	.888		.714	
Paid vacation time/time off	.833		.765	
Gift Certificate	.822		.607	
Being promoted to a higher status role	-.344	.848		.681
Being promoted to an influential role in the company	-.340	.769	.339	.671
Getting a high profile client		.641		.616
Being assigned a leadership position on a team project		.814		.868
Increasing employee's influence within the organization	-.246	.602		.784
Being assigned a managing role on a new project		.749		.918

*Note.* Small factor loadings that were below .20 were suppressed and not included in the above table for clarity.

**Status Rewards.** Principle axis factoring with direct oblim rotation on participants' ratings of the extent to which the 14 items from the monetary analyses constituted status rewards revealed a two-factor structure. Factor 1 had an eigenvalue of 6.46, accounting for 46.13% of the variance and Factor 2 had an eigenvalue of 3.96, accounting for 28.29% of the variance. Factor 1 was comprised of the hypothesized monetary reward items and these were identical to those listed in Factor 1 for the monetary reward factor analyses above. These were combined into a single composite ( $\alpha = .96$ ). Factor 2 was comprised of the hypothesized status reward items and these six items were identical to those in Factor 2 of the monetary value factor analyses, and thus, were combined into a composite ( $\alpha = .88$ ). As expected, the composite of Factor 2 (status)

items was rated as higher in status rewards to employees ( $M = 5.93$ ,  $SD = .35$ ) than the composite of Factor 1 (monetary) items ( $M = 2.86$ ,  $SD = .43$ ),  $t(12) = 14.59$ ,  $p < .001$ . Thus, Factor 1 was a clear measure of status rewards that employers could use to recognize employees.

**Desirability of Recognition Type.** Having established which types of recognition are associated with monetary and status rewards to employees, an important additional question was whether these different types of recognition are equally desirable to employees or not. This is an important consideration given that the present studies will utilize these different types of recognition in assessing whether Whites reward or benefit racial minority group members who undermine minority interests. Thus, it is important to ensure that these different types of recognition are seen as rewards. Analyses revealed that participants viewed the composite of eight monetary reward items ( $M = 5.93$ ,  $SD = .65$ ) and six status reward items ( $M = 5.60$ ,  $SD = .32$ ) to be equally desirable forms of recognition for employees,  $t(12) = 1.23$ ,  $p = .24$ .

Paper 3

Strategies for disclosing a concealable stigma: Facts and feelings?

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## **Abstract**

Disclosing a concealable stigma has the potential for both positive outcomes such as social support and negative outcomes such as prejudice. Identifying a disclosure strategy that minimizes prejudice while increasing the likelihood of social support can build theory regarding stigma and provide guidance to those with concealable stigmas. Across two experiments, we tested a theory-driven disclosure strategy (providing emotional content vs. purely factual content) for stigmatizing conditions that elicit sympathy or disgust. These experiments revealed that for disgust-eliciting stigmas, disclosure with personal feelings content increases social support intentions compared to factual information only. This research advances our theoretical understanding of disclosure of stigma and offers pragmatic and easily implemented suggestions for stigma disclosure.

*Keywords:* stigma, disclosure, prejudice, emotions, communication

## Introduction

Given that many stigmatizing conditions can be concealed or hidden from others, this can create the dilemma of whether or not and how to disclose. There are many reasons why one might want to disclose a stigmatizing characteristic. Even briefly concealing one's identity can be distracting and can lead to deficits in interpersonal, intellectual, physical, and executive functioning (Critcher & Ferguson, 2014; Smart & Wegner, 1999). Furthermore, disclosing allows a person to gain new or better opportunities for social support and access to health services or resources (Greene, Derlega, Yep, & Petronio, 2003; Ragins, 2008). However, there are also a number of potential costs to disclosure (e.g., Ragins, 2008). Individuals who disclose a stigmatizable attribute are at an increased risk for experiencing social isolation, avoidance, prejudice and discrimination, relationship termination, eviction, job loss, or in extreme cases, hate crimes (Clair, Beatty, & Maclean, 2005; Greene et al., 2003; Pachankis, 2007).

Thus, while there are many positive effects of disclosure, these benefits are contingent upon an environment that promotes tolerance and acceptance (e.g., Griffith & Hebl, 2002; King, Reilly, & Hebl, 2008). As a result, scholars have called for more research on how one can disclose a concealable stigma without the costs of discrimination, thereby facilitating the benefits of disclosure (Schmader & Stone, 2008; Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010). However, most studies on disclosing concealable stigmas have primarily focused on public outreach or awareness of these stigmas (Rüsch, Angermeyer, & Corrigan, 2005) or have catalogued actual disclosure strategies (Link, Mirotznik, & Cullen, 1991; c.f., Schmader, Croft, Whitehead, & Stone, 2013; c.f., Stone, Schmader, Whitehead, Lazarewicz, & Fernandez, 2007). As a result, there is little understanding regarding how to disclose in ways that limit discrimination. The present research addresses this gap in the literature.

First, the form prejudice takes varies between different stigmatized groups, suggesting disclosure strategies might be differentially effective as a function of what is being disclosed. For example, some stigmatized characteristics are seen as warm and elicit sympathy (e.g., cancer diagnosis; e.g., Martinez, White, Shapiro, & Hebl, 2016), an emotion that tends to facilitate approach responses and social support (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). In contrast, other stigmatized characteristics are not seen as warm, and some are instead seen as repellent, eliciting disgust (e.g., sexually transmitted illnesses; Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; see also Harris & Fiske, 2006; 2011), which facilitates physical or psychological avoidance and rejection (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). Thus, the present research targets disgust-eliciting characteristics because the people possessing them are at the greatest risk for experiencing rejection upon disclosure.

Differentiating between disgust- and sympathy-eliciting stigmas and using a discreet emotions approach to prejudice offers an avenue by which to target the harmful intergroup outcomes associated with disgust (e.g., Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005, Cuddy et al., 2007; Neel, Neufeld, & Neuberg, 2013). Given that perceptions of warmth can facilitate approach and support behaviors, a disclosure strategy that increases the perceived warmth of a person with a disgust-eliciting stigma should reduce the likelihood of rejection and distancing. Thus, in the present research we propose a disclosure intervention that demonstrates discloser honesty and authenticity as a way in which to increase perceptions of discloser warmth. That is, we anticipate that including how the discloser feels (e.g., “going to treatment has been frustrating to me”)—as compared to purely factual or informational content (e.g., “I have been going to treatment”)—will increase perceived warmth, and as a result, increase social support intentions. In contrast, we expect that for a sympathy-eliciting stigma, including how the discloser feels will not influence

reactions to the discloser, as these conditions already tend to elicit warmth and approach tendencies from others (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). We test these hypotheses across two experiments and multiple concealable stigmas.

### **Experiment 1**

The goal of Experiment 1 was to test whether information about how the discloser feels (compared to only factual information) will result in greater social support for someone disclosing a disgust-eliciting concealable stigma. Participants learned their interaction partner had a disgust- or sympathy-eliciting stigma that was revealed either with or without information about how the discloser felt about possessing this stigmatizing characteristic.

#### **Pilot Study 1 and 2**

We conducted two pilot studies to identify two concealable stigmas that differentially elicited sympathy and disgust, but were matched on type of stigma (e.g., two mental illnesses), perceived controllability, and perceived communicability.<sup>1</sup> In Pilot Test 1, 213 participants read a vignette in which an individual disclosed one of seventeen concealable stigmas (e.g., drug addiction, bulimia) or did not reveal anything (control). Participants then reported how grossed out (disgust) and sympathetic they thought they would feel interacting with this person. Two mental health conditions emerged as being similar on perceived responsibility for possessing the stigmatizable characteristic ( $t(22) = -1.47, p = .16$ ): Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and pica (described to participants as “eating non-food substances - e.g., dirt, glass, pebbles, toilet paper”). Further, participants reported more disgust from pica compared to control ( $t(25) = 3.66$ ,

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<sup>1</sup> For all experiments, study materials, dependent variables, and additional analyses are available in the Appendix.



$p = .001$ ) and PTSD ( $t(22) = 3.44, p = .002$ ), and greater sympathy toward PTSD compared to control ( $t(25) = 8.37, p < .001$ ) and pica ( $t(22) = -5.01, p < .001$ ).

Pilot Test 2 recruited 80 participants to pre-test the disclosure language and replicate the responses to PTSD and pica from Pilot Test 1. Participants read a vignette in which an interaction partner revealed a diagnosis and definition of either pica (“*Having Pica means I eat things like dirt, glass, or sometimes toilet paper*”) or PTSD (“*Having PTSD means I avoid thinking about details from certain times in my life. I’ve been having bad dreams and reoccurring flashbacks*”). When considering pica, participants reported more disgust ( $t(77) = -7.42, p < .001$ ) and less sympathy ( $t(77) = 2.63, p = .01$ ) compared to PTSD. Importantly, there were no differences between PTSD and pica in perceived controllability ( $t(76) = -1.41, p = .16$ ) or perceived communicability ( $t(76) = -1.33, p = .19$ ) of the stigma.

## Method

### Participants and Design

Participants ( $N = 129$ ;<sup>2</sup> 100 female;  $M_{age} = 20.33, SD_{age} = 2.11$ ; 1.6% Black, 45.7% Asian, 13.2% Latino, 23.3% White, 4.7% Other, 11.6% multi-racial) completed the experiment for course credit. The study design was a 2 (Stigma Type: Pica [disgust-eliciting stigma]/PTSD [sympathy-eliciting stigma]) X 2 (Disclosure Strategy: Factual/Factual-plus-Feelings) between-participant design with random assignment to condition.

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<sup>2</sup>For Experiments 1 and 2, a priori power analyses used to calculate the needed sample size for a desired statistical power level of .80, with medium effect size of .25 for a between-participant ANOVA design using G\*Power<sup>3</sup> suggested a minimum sample size of 128 (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007).

## Procedure

Participants learned they would be participating in a first impressions task with another student. Participants were told they would (1) record their responses to a series of interview questions, (2) listen to their interaction partner's interview responses, and (3) meet their partner in person (adapted from Silver, Wortman, & Crofton, 1990). In reality, the other student was a female research assistant whose audio interview responses were previously recorded.

Participants first answered ten get-to-know-you questions that included, for example, where they were born and whether they had a job. Participants then listened to their ostensible partner's responses to the same questions. The pre-recorded responses were identical across conditions for questions 1-9.

Question 10 asked the respondent to describe something they had been struggling with recently. In the *Factual (control) disclosure condition*, only basic information about the diagnosis and treatment plan was disclosed: "Well I was recently diagnosed with [PTSD/pica]. Having [PTSD/pica] means [definition pre-tested in Pilot Study 2]. I have symptoms almost every day. When I got the diagnosis I pretty much started treatment right away, but now I'm just really trying to focus on school."

For the *Factual-plus-Feelings disclosure condition*, participants heard the factual disclosure described above in addition to three sentences describing how the discloser felt in response to the diagnosis: "Having [PTSD/pica] has been scary and is really difficult to deal with. I freaked out at first and I definitely feel stressed and sad about it. But I'm just trying to deal with it and make the best of what I have." Importantly, this was only one of 10 questions. Thus, these additional three sentences comprised only a small fraction of what the participant learned about the target. The PTSD factual control disclosure was 2 minutes and 43 seconds in

length, while the PTSD Factual-plus-Feelings audio interview with the partner ran for 3 minutes and 1 second. Thus, there as only an 18 second difference in audio length. Similarly, the pica factual disclosure (2 minutes, 35 seconds) and factual-plus-feelings disclosure (2 minutes, 54 seconds) only differed by 19 seconds in length. After listening to the interview, participants completed the dependent measures and were debriefed and probed for suspicion.

### **Dependent Variable**

**Social support.** Participants completed 8 items ( $\alpha = .83$ ) measuring support for their interaction partner (four items adapted from Westmaas & Silver, 2001; four items adapted from Schwarzer & Weiner, 1991). Sample items from Westmaas and Silver (2001) include: “I would not accept this person into my social group” (reverse scored) and “I would want this person as a friend” measured on a scale from 1 - strongly disagree to 7 – strongly agree Sample items from Schwarzer and Weiner (1991) include: “How willing would you be to spend time talking with and listening to the other student?” and “How willing would you be to console and reassure the other student if they were upset?” measured on a scale from 1 - not very willing to 7 - very willing.

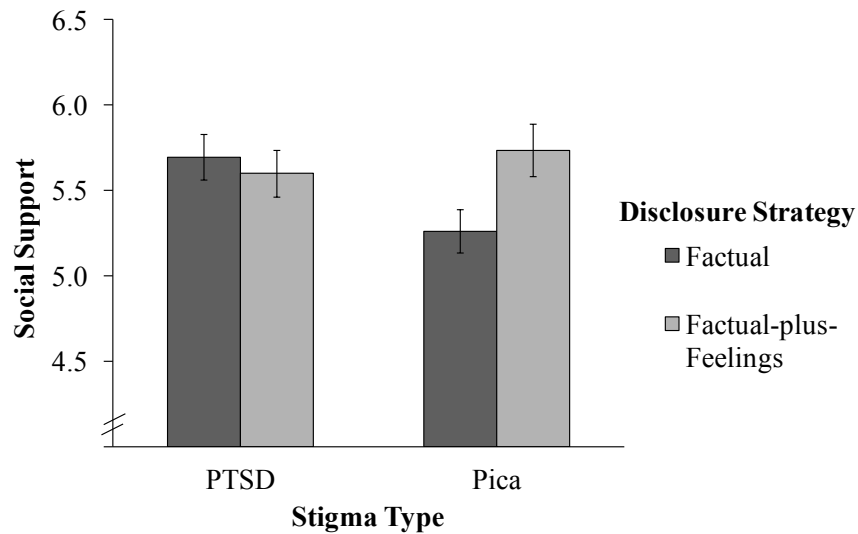
**Manipulation check.** At the end of the study participants were asked if they believed their interaction partner was real. Those expressing suspicion were asked when during the study this thought had occurred to them and what about the study had made them suspicious. Participants who expressed suspicion that their interaction partner was not real while listening to the pre-recorded audio interview responses were excluded from analyses ( $N = 39$ ).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The focal dependent variable is participants’ willingness to offer social support. Thus, it was critical that participants believe their interaction partner was real in order for them to offer support to this person. Based on our a priori exclusion criteria, participants who expressed

## Results

We conducted a 2 (Stigma Type: Pica [disgust-eliciting stigma]/PTSD [sympathy-eliciting stigma]) X 2 (Disclosure Strategy: Factual/Factual-plus-Feelings) Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) on participants' intended social support toward the interaction partner. Analyses revealed only a significant interaction between the two variables,  $F(1, 125) = 4.27, p = .04, \eta_p^2 = .03$  (see Figure 1).



*Figure 1.* Social Support as a function of stigma type (PTSD vs. Pica) and disclosure strategy (Factual vs. Factual-plus-Feelings). Error bars indicate standard errors. (Experiment 1).

Consistent with previous research, simple effects analyses revealed that participants in the factual disclosure condition reported a greater willingness to offer social support to a person disclosing PTSD ( $M = 5.69, SD = 0.74$ ) compared to pica ( $M = 5.26, SD = .72$ ),  $F(1, 125) = 4.61, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .04$ . Furthermore, for PTSD, the inclusion of the discloser's feelings did not significantly change intended social support ( $M = 5.60, SD = .77$ ) compared to the factual

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suspicion that the interaction partner was not real were removed from the final data set prior to analyses.

disclosure ( $M = 5.69$ ,  $SD = 0.74$ ),  $F(1, 125) = .25$ ,  $p = .62$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .002$ . In contrast, and consistent with predictions, the inclusion of the discloser's feelings significantly increased participants' willingness to offer social support to a person disclosing pica ( $M = 5.73$ ,  $SD = 0.89$ ), compared to the factual disclosure ( $M = 5.26$ ,  $SD = .72$ ),  $F(1, 125) = 5.69$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .04$ . Importantly, there was no difference in willingness to offer social support to the person disclosing pica and PTSD when the disclosure included feelings,  $F(1, 125) = .53$ ,  $p = .47$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .004$ .

### **Discussion**

Experiment 1 provides initial support for our hypothesis that when disclosing a condition that elicits disgust, including personal information, like how the discloser feels, in addition to factual information, can elicit greater social support. Indeed, participants reported they would give equivalent levels of social support to a person disclosing a disgust-eliciting condition as a person disclosing a sympathy-eliciting condition when they learned how the discloser felt.

### **Experiment 2**

The goal of Experiment 2 was to replicate Experiment 1 and extend it in two important ways. First, given the small number of male participants in Experiment 1, it is difficult to generalize the findings to both men and women. That is, women may be more likely than men to have a response to the disclosure of personal, emotional content, especially content that could facilitate sadness (e.g., Diener, Sandvik, & Larsen, 1985; Fischer, Rodriguez Mosquera, van Vianen, & Manstead, 2004; Grossman & Wood, 1993). Further, women may be more likely than men to offer social support to others experiencing a crisis (e.g., Cutrona, 1996; Eagly & Wood, 1991). Thus, Experiment 2 focuses on male participants as we argue that the inclusion of feelings (as opposed to information only) when disclosing a disgust-eliciting stigma will elicit social support from both men and women. If the inclusion of how a discloser feels increases

perceptions of the discloser's warmth, this should increase social support intentions regardless of participant gender.

Second, Experiment 1 focused on two mental health stigmas. In Experiment 2 we extend this to two physical health stigmas. Given that cancer tends to elicit sympathy (Martinez et al., 2016) and sexually transmitted diseases tend to elicit disgust (e.g., Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005), male participants evaluated a person disclosing either testicular cancer or genital herpes.

## **Methods**

### **Participants and Design**

Male participants ( $N = 151$ ;  $M_{age} = 22.64$ ,  $SD_{age} = 4.51$ ; 41.1% Asian, 22.5% White, 20.5% Latino, 0.6% Black, 0.6% Native American, 0.6% Pacific Islander, 0.6% Alaskan Native, 1.3% Middle Eastern, 7.3% multi-racial, 4.0% other, 0.6% did not know their background) completed the study in exchange for a piece of candy. The design was a 2 (Stigma Type: Genital Herpes [disgust-eliciting stigma]/Testicular Cancer [sympathy-eliciting stigma]) X 2 (Disclosure Strategy: Factual/Factual-plus-Feelings) between-participant design with random assignment to condition.

### **Procedure**

Participants were approached on campus and asked to participate in a study on first impressions. Participants were handed one of many packets from a pile. The packet included responses from an ostensible previous participant to eight interview questions that were taken from Experiment 1. Answers to questions 1-7 were identical across conditions. In question 8, participants learned that the respondent had recently been diagnosed with either testicular cancer or genital herpes. The disclosure content was adapted from Experiment 1. In the *Factual disclosure condition* participants read: "I hadn't been feeling well for a while and when I went to

the doctor I found out it was [testicular cancer/genital herpes]. When I got the diagnosis they [had to remove a mass and I've been in chemo for the past month/treated my last outbreak of sores, but there isn't really a cure for it]. I have symptoms almost every day, but now I'm just trying to focus on work.”

In the *Factual-plus-Feelings disclosure condition*, participants received the factual disclosure above, in addition to the three sentences used in Experiment 1 regarding how the discloser was feeling. Participants then completed the dependent variables, demographic items, and were debriefed.

### **Dependent Variable**

**Social Support.** Participants completed 9 items ( $\alpha = .84$ ) assessing social support. Seven items were identical to Experiment 1 (one item was erroneously omitted). Two new items were included to capture behaviors relevant to the predominantly college student participants: “How willing would you be to chat with the other person in an online chat room” and “How willing would you be to help distract the other person from their personal struggle?” All were measured on a Likert-type scale from 1 (not very willing) to 7 (very willing).

## **Results**

### **Social Support**

A Stigma Type (Genital Herpes/Testicular Cancer) X Disclosure Strategy (Factual/Factual-plus-Feelings) ANOVA revealed only a significant interaction,  $F(1, 147) = 6.57, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .04$  (see Figure 2). As anticipated, in the factual disclosure condition, participants reported a greater willingness to offer social support to the discloser of testicular cancer ( $M = 5.30, SD = .78$ ) compared to genital herpes ( $M = 4.82, SD = .84$ ),  $F(1, 147) = 4.89, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .03$ . Further, including how the discloser of testicular cancer felt did not alter social

support ratings ( $M = 5.04$ ,  $SD = .98$ ) compared to factual disclosure ( $M = 5.30$ ,  $SD = .78$ ),  $F(1, 147) = 1.55$ ,  $p = .22$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .01$ . However, consistent with predictions and Experiment 1, compared to the factual disclosure of genital herpes ( $M = 4.82$ ,  $SD = .84$ ), the inclusion of how the discloser felt led participants to report a greater willingness to offer social support ( $M = 5.34$ ,  $SD = 1.13$ ),  $F(1, 147) = 5.58$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .04$ . Indeed, when feelings were included in the disclosure, there was no difference in willingness to offer social support to the discloser of testicular cancer ( $M = 5.04$ ,  $SD = 0.98$ ) compared to genital herpes ( $M = 5.34$ ,  $SD = 1.13$ ),  $F(1, 147) = 1.97$ ,  $p = .16$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .01$ .

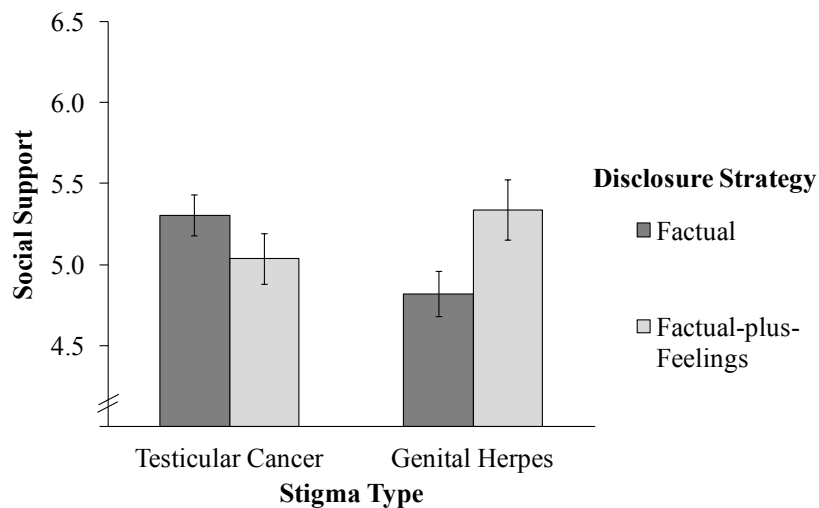


Figure 2. Social Support as a function of stigma type (Testicular Cancer vs. Genital Herpes) and disclosure strategy (Factual vs. Factual-plus-Feelings). Error bars indicate standard errors. (Experiment 2).

## Discussion

Experiment 2 provides further evidence that including personal information about how one feels in addition to factual information about a stigmatizable characteristic can be a potential means for eliciting social support from others when disclosing a disgust-eliciting stigma. Moreover, Experiment 2 extends our findings to a population of men and from mental health to physical health stigmas. Thus far we have argued that the addition of personal information



increases feelings of warmth toward the discloser, which accounts for greater social support. However, we have not examined this relationship directly. We do so in Experiment 3.

### **General Discussion**

Concealable stigmas introduce a difficult decision of whether or not to disclose: Disclosure increases opportunities for social support and access to many valuable resources, yet also increases the likelihood of experiencing discrimination. Here we argue that research should move away from this common question of whether or not to disclose, and instead consider the question of *how* to disclose in ways that minimize the likelihood of discrimination and maximize the likelihood of opportunities.

Drawing on a discrete emotions approach to understanding prejudice and discrimination (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002), two experiments examined the disclosure of disgust-eliciting stigmas—stigmas met with the greatest likelihood of social distancing and rejection (Harris & Fiske, 2006; 2011). Given that people tend to see those with sympathy-eliciting stigmas (e.g., cancer) as warm, and as a result, are more likely to approach and offer support to these individuals, the present research attempted to develop a disclosure strategy for disgust-eliciting stigmas that could help to increase perceived warmth of the discloser. Thus, in the present research we examined reactions to disclosures of disgust-eliciting stigmas that combined the typical factual information with information about how the discloser felt about possessing this stigmatizable characteristic. Consistent with predictions, disclosing a disgust-eliciting stigma (pica, genital herpes) resulted in greater intended social support when this disclosure included the discloser's feelings in addition to factual information, rather than factual information only.

There are both theoretical and practical implications of the present research.

Theoretically, this research fills an important gap in the disclosure literature by focusing on disclosure content. The present findings reveal that the one-size-fits-all approach to disclosure may be less successful than an approach that tailors the disclosure content to the specific emotions underlying prejudice. Second, this research fills an important gap in prejudice research. Recently prejudice research has begun to highlight the importance of a discrete emotions approach to prejudice. Although a small amount of research finds that members of stigmatized groups assume impression management strategies will be most successful when they target specific prejudices, like disgust (e.g., Neel, Neufeld, & Neuberg, 2013), research to date has yet to examine whether this targeted approach is indeed beneficial. Practically, the disclosure strategy tested here—factual information combined with how the discloser feels—is relatively straightforward and can be readily implemented. The phrases were not disease-specific and did not speak to the severity of the illness. Importantly, the feelings shared across these studies were predominantly negative. That is, we did not simply try to make the discloser appear more likeable using exclusively positive emotions. Rather, these findings suggest that disclosers can be honest about their challenges, which is critical to receiving the support that they might need.

Further, because the stigmas themselves were chosen based on the emotions they elicited, the findings are likely generalizable beyond the specified stigmatized conditions examined in these two experiments to other stigmatized characteristics that elicit disgust-based prejudice (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). Another advantage of the present research was the examination of both mental and physical illnesses, speaking to the generalizability of the findings. Future research would benefit from replicating and extending these findings among different types of social relationships (e.g., friends, family members, etc.) and investigating the ideal amount and

type of emotional disclosure (i.e. specific positive or negative emotions) for a given stigmatized condition with different types of stigmatized groups that vary in perceived prevalence, communicability, and controllability (e.g., poverty, religion, sexual orientation).

A potential limitation of the present study is that disclosure was examined through computer interactions instead of live interactions with a confederate. However, research on disclosure interactions in the laboratory finds no difference between responses to disclosers who are met in person compared to those who are introduced on paper (Westmaas & Silver, 2001). Moreover, participants in Experiments 1 and 3 were led to believe their interaction partner was real and anticipated meeting and interacting with this person. Thus, participants were under the impression that they could be called upon to provide the discloser with social support.

The present research is one of the first to empirically develop and test a strategy for minimizing prejudice during disclosure. To the extent one can share personal emotional content when disclosing a stigmatized condition, it may be possible to gain many of the rewards of disclosure without its costs.

### **Author Contributions**

All authors contributed to the development of the study concept and study design. Testing, data collection, and analysis were performed by I. Jurcevic and L. H. Wong under the supervision of J. R. Shapiro. I. Jurcevic and L. H. Wong drafted the paper, and J. R. Shapiro and C. Dunkel Schetter provided critical revisions. All authors approved the final version of the paper for submission.

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## Appendix

### Pilot Studies

#### Pilot Study 1

Participants ( $N = 213$ ; 151 female, 60 male, 2 missing responses;  $M_{age} = 20.20$ ,  $SD_{age} = 2.89$ ; 39.5% Asian, 22.1% White, 14.1% Latino, 4.2% Middle Eastern, 3.8% Black, 3.3% Native American, 1% Pacific Islander, 0.5% Other, 10.8% Multi-racial, 3 missing responses) completed a survey on campus in exchange for a piece of candy. See Table 1 for means and standard deviations of disgust, sympathy, and responsibility ratings for the two selected stigmatizable conditions – PTSD and pica.

Table 1

*Means and standard deviations for all stigmatizable characteristics that were piloted in Experiment 1 Pilot Study 1.*

Stigmatizable Condition	Gross		Sympathy		Responsible	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Addiction - meth	2.50	1.88	4.25	1.96	4.58	1.73
Addiction - painkillers	1.42	0.90	4.00	1.35	4.08	1.24
Binge eater	2.09	0.94	4.27	1.68	4.36	1.57
Bulimia	1.73	1.01	6.18	0.60	3.45	1.37
Diabetes - childhood	1.00	0.00	5.17	1.34	1.92	1.31
Colorectal cancer	1.50	1.17	4.83	1.95	2.75	1.29
Colostomy bag	2.91	1.70	4.73	1.62	4.50	2.32
Diabetes - unhealthy diet	1.58	1.00	4.58	1.98	4.50	1.24
Foster child	1.17	0.39	5.00	1.71	1.92	1.38
Hoarder	2.67	1.50	5.17	1.27	3.83	1.27
Homeless	1.60	1.26	5.50	1.18	3.90	1.45
Lung cancer	1.09	0.30	6.09	0.94	3.64	1.29
Pancreatic cancer	1.42	0.79	4.25	1.82	1.91	1.45
Pica	2.83	1.53	3.92	1.31	2.75	1.29
PTSD	1.25	0.45	6.17	0.83	2.00	1.21
Transgender	1.59	0.92	4.00	1.41	3.60	1.96
Trichotillomania	3.67	1.72	5.33	0.98	2.50	1.93
Control – no stigmatizable condition	1.27	0.59	2.33	1.40	--	--

## Pilot Study 2

Participants ( $N = 80$ ; 47 female, 33 male;  $M_{age} = 20.51$ ,  $SD_{age} = 2.89$ ; 55% Asian, 16.3% White, 8.8% Latino, 5% Middle Eastern, 1.3% Black, 5% Indian, 6.3% Other, 2.5% Multi-racial) completed a survey on campus in exchange for a piece of candy. See Table 2 for means and standard deviations of disgust, sympathy, communicability, and controllability for and responsibility ratings for the two stigmatizable conditions – PTSD and pica.

Table 2

*Means and Standard Deviations for Experiment 1 Pilot Study 2.*

Stigmatizable Condition	Disgust		Sympathy		Communicability		Controllability	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
PTSD	1.23 <sup>a</sup>	0.54	5.72 <sup>b</sup>	1.05	1.34	0.91	3.29	1.11
Pica	3.10 <sup>a</sup>	1.48	4.95 <sup>b</sup>	1.50	1.73	1.54	3.68	1.29

*Note.* Significantly different means between groups are indicated by letters. Please see manuscript for p-values.

## Dependent Variables

**Social Support** (adapted from Westmaas & Silver, 2001; Schwarzer & Weiner, 1991)

The following items were used in Experiment 1 and 2:

*1-Not very willing to 7-Very willing*

- How willing would you be to...
  - ...spend time talking with and listening to the other student?
  - ...give advice and information to the other student?
  - ...console and reassure the other student if they were upset?
  - ...to assist the other student with a small problem?

*1-Strongly Disagree to 7-Strongly Agree*

- I would feel at ease introducing this person to a friend of mine.
- I would not accept this person into my social group (reverse scored).
- I would want this person as a friend.
- I would not want to sit by this person in class (reverse scored). \*

*\*not included in Experiment 2 due to a programming error.*

Additional Experiment 2 Items:

*1-Not very willing to 7-Very willing*

- How willing would you be to...
  - ... chat with the other person in an online chat room?
  - ...help distract the other person from their personal struggle?

### **Interview Transcript**

**What town did you grow up in?**

I grew up in Pasadena, which is like 40 minutes from here in east LA.

**What was the best thing about the town you grew up in?**

Umm, it was a pretty quiet town, it was really nice. Uh, I liked going to the main street to eat with my friends.

**What did you like least about the town you grew up in?**

Well, there's really not that much to do, everything closes early, like around 10 at night.

**Did you come to UCLA directly after high school or did you take some time off before college?**

No, I came here right after high school.

**What is your year and major here at UCLA?**

I'm currently a 2<sup>nd</sup> year and I'm a psych major.

**What do you like most about life as a college student at UCLA?**

Probably getting to meet all sorts of different people from all over. Like my roommate is from Washington and lots of my friends are from back east. There are just a lot of groups on campus here that have so many different backgrounds, and there's always new people to meet there.

**What do you like least about life here as a college student here at UCLA?**

Honestly, there are just too many students in each class and it's hard to enroll for classes sometimes.

**Do you currently have a job, and if you do, do you enjoy it?**

Yeah, I do work on campus here and it's pretty cool. The people here I've meet are really great and they've actually become some of my closest friends on campus.

**What, in general, was the best thing that's happened to you recently?**

Umm, I just got a really good grade on my last midterm and I'm pretty happy about it.

**In general, what have you been struggling with recently?**

See Experiment 1 and 2 for disclosure content.

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