ORGANIZATIONAL DIVERSITY PHILOSOPHIES AND MINORITY REPRESENTATION: TESTING PERCEPTIONS OF SAFETY AND THREAT IN THE WORKPLACE

by

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ABSTRACT

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Extant research has established that workplace discrimination negatively predicts turnover and influences targets' job commitment and satisfaction. Historically, diversity research explored the consequences of colorblind diversity philosophies and the benefits of multicultural diversity philosophies for minorities; however, it may be that multicultural work environments are not universally beneficial for minorities. The present study examines how organizational philosophies regarding diversity influence minorities' perceptions of trust, affective commitment, organizational attraction, and perceptions of tokenism towards an organization. Results indicate main effects of minority representation and diversity philosophy such that participants in the high representation condition reported greater trust and comfort than participants in the low representation condition, and participants in the multicultural condition reported greater trust and comfort than participants in the colorblind condition. Moreover, results reveal a significant indirect effect of minority representation on trust and comfort, affective commitment, and organizational attraction through perceived tokenism. Implications for theory and practice are discussed.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Over the last 50 years, the U.S. government has enacted a series of policies to address discrimination in the workplace, such as the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (Cascio & Aguinis, 2011). In response to the changes in employment laws and the globalization of competitive markets, organizations have developed philosophies of diversity and hiring policies intended to increase representation of minorities in the workplace. Although organizations make efforts to promote diversity, minorities continue to perceive and report prejudice and unfair treatment at work (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2014). In 2014, 35% (n = 31,073) of complaints received by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission were allegations of racial discrimination in the workplace. Discrimination based on sex was the second biggest trend accounting for 29.3% (n = 26,027) of complaints, and national origin was the third largest trend accounting for 10.8% (n =9,579) of complaints. This pattern of allegations has been relatively consistent over the past ten years (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2014). Additionally, workplace discrimination is likely more prevalent than these reports suggest because they do not account for internal complaints of discrimination within organizations or complaints that go unreported.

Workplace discrimination has been linked to negative outcomes (Wood, Braeken, & Naven, 2012). For example, identity-based workplace microaggressions, such as unwelcoming forms of communication, being excluded, or damages to personal property,

are related to decreases in stigmatized targets' emotional well-being, physical well-being, and job satisfaction (Deitch, Barsky, Butz, Chan, Brief, & Bradley, 2003). Additionally, workplace discrimination also predicts depression, emotional exhaustion, and anxiety among employees (Wood, Braeken & Niven, 2012). Lee (2009) found that racial microagressions are positively correlated with job burnout, job withdrawal, and decreases in job commitment. Decreases in job satisfaction and organizational commitment ultimately predicted intention to leave the organization and turnover, which in turn increases costs for the organization in the form of recruiting, onboarding, and training new employees (Lee, 1988). Given the negative outcomes associated with experiencing discrimination for both the individual and the organization, organizations have vested interest in shaping diversity initiatives.

The present study examines how organizational philosophies or approaches regarding diversity influence stigmatized targets' perceptions of trust, comfort, affective commitment, organizational attraction and tokenism. In the present research, theories of organizational diversity and social identity threat are reviewed. The present study manipulates minority representation within an organization and the organizational diversity philosophy within recruitment materials to test the impact of these factors on minority individuals' identity safety perceptions. In particular, the present study contributes to the literature by testing how perceptions of tokenism might explain how certain organizational settings may have unintentional negative consequences for minorities.

1.1. Background

1.1.1. Strategic Diversity Initiatives

The field of industrial/organizational psychology has historically studied how diversity functions within organizations. In a comprehensive review of the organizational diversity literature, Liberman (2013) calls for organizations to consider their strategic approach to diversity initiatives and how they want to align diversity with their mission, values, and vision. In the management literature, Thomas and Ely (1996) have established a theoretical framework for conceptualizing how organizations might employ or frame diversity initiatives. They describe three strategic approaches to diversity management: 1) The Discrimination and Fairness Paradigm 2) The Learning and Effectiveness Paradigm, and 3) The Access and Legitimacy Paradigm.

In the Discrimination and Fairness Paradigm, organizations focus on legal requirements, such as equal opportunity, fair treatment, recruitment, and compliance. In a qualitative field study, Ely and Thomas (2001) found employees describe this diversity climate as "everyone being equal, being fair in regards to hiring, and treating all employees the same" (p. 246). On one hand this could suggest a positive climate, but on the other hand, by "treating all employees the same" the organization is promoting a colorblind ideology to minimize group-based differences.

In the Learning and Effectiveness Paradigm, organizations encourage employees to lean on their cultural background to inform workplace decisions, rather than using staff to meet federal requirements (Thomas & Ely, 1996). In interview sessions, employees stated, "diversity means differences in terms of how you see the issues, who you can work with… beyond being comfortable…to the different types of skills people bring"

(Ely & Thomas, 2001, p. 242). In this paradigm, individual differences among employees are respected and valued, much like a pluralistic or multicultural ideology.

The Access and Legitimacy Paradigm seeks to utilize a demographically diverse workforce to gain access to niche markets, such as those dominated by minorities (Thomas & Ely, 1996). This paradigm seeks to "use people's strengths, but does not learn from them" (Thomas & Ely, 1996, p. 84). In descriptions about this climate, employees state, "For management to come into a Black neighborhood and undertake [this mission], they would be remiss not to think we have to get some different people of color in here to help us do this" (Ely & Thomas, 2001, p. 244). In other words, the organization values diversity to some extent, but primarily to tap into more diverse markets; minorities in such organizations might serve as "window dressing."

Across stages of employment, organizations convey their diversity philosophy through subtle and explicit cues. The following sections reviews literature related to how organizational diversity cues signal safety or threat towards employees.

1.1.2. Social Identity Cues

Organizations may establish cues within the work environment that signal safety or threat towards minorities. Identity safe cues convey that minority group membership is not a barrier to success or inclusion, whereas identity threatening cues can signal that individuals may be evaluated negatively due to their group membership (Walton, Murphy, & Ryan, 2015). Identity threatening cues range from signals in the physical environment (e.g., underrepresentation) to organizational policies (e.g., diversity statements). For example, numeric underrepresentation of minorities in the work environment has psychological and motivational outcomes. Murphy (2007) found that

representation (high vs. low) was indeed a powerful situational cue for women. Relative to men, when women were underrepresented in a setting, they reported less belonging and less interest in the organization, and they exhibited more physiological symptoms, such as increased heart rate and skin conductance. From an organizational standpoint, signals of safety and threat can also be conveyed via their position on diversity, such as philosophies, mission statements and initiatives (Walton, Murphy, & Ryan, 2015). Although Ely and Thomas identified three diversity philosophies, most of the extant literature examining diversity philosophy cues as signals of identity safety or threat has focused on two dominant diversity philosophies: colorblindness and multiculturalism.

1.1.3. Organizational Diversity Philosophies

Organizations make strategic decisions related to diversity and typically align themselves with one of two philosophies: colorblindness or multiculturalism (Liberman, 2013). Colorblind ideologies minimize group differences and attempt to treat all employees the same, whereas multicultural ideologies emphasize the importance of acknowledging group differences as they can contribute to organizational effectiveness (Liberman, 2013). For instance, to date the extant literature has focused on testing the impact of multicultural versus colorblind diversity cues, and in general most researchers conclude that multiculturalism is related to more positive outcomes among minorities.

Apfelbaum, Sommers, and Norton (2008) indicate that colorblindness has become the norm throughout the U.S., and that, although the goal of colorblind ideologies is to promote equality, colorblind diversity structures may have unintentional negative consequences for minorities. Colorblind perspectives of diversity have been linked to decreased organizational trust, and they activate identity cues associated with threat and

perceiving that one's racial identity has been devalued (Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Dittleman, & Crosby, 2008). Additionally, the more White coworkers endorse colorblind perspectives, the poorer minority coworkers' perceptions of job success and sense of organizational membership, as well as the greater their perceptions of bias (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009).

Furthermore, there is some evidence to suggest that colorblind philosophies reduce the detection of racial bias. Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, and Ambady (2010) presented 8- to 11-year-old White and Asian students a teacher instructing on racial diversity. In the first condition, the teacher promoted a colorblind philosophy and in the second condition the teacher promoted a multicultural philosophy. Students in the colorblind condition were less likely to detect prejudice than students in the multicultural condition, even when presented with explicit forms of discrimination. Additionally, Apfelbaum, Sommers, and Norton (2008) found that Whites use colorblindness strategically to avoid speaking about issues of race. Researchers paired White participants with either a White or Black partner. They found that Whites' acknowledgment of race greatly decreased when randomly assigned to a colorblind condition, particularly if their partner was Black. While avoiding topics of race, it may be that colorblind ideologies act to decrease perceived responsibility to address discrimination. This may have major implications for organizations attempting to build an inclusive workplace culture; that is, colorblindness sends a message that race should be minimized. Indeed, colorblind messages may make it more challenging for organizations to address instances of discrimination. In turn, these messages may undermine minorities' work attitudes and performance.

Conversely, research related to multiculturalism trends in the opposite direction. In general, ethnic minorities endorse multiculturalism to a greater extent than Whites, and Whites are more likely to endorse assimilation ideologies such as colorblindness (Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006). Among minorities, multiculturalism is linked to positive in-group evaluations, decreases in evaluative bias, and increases in collective self-esteem (Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006; Verkuyten, 2005) Additionally, Plaut, Thomas, and Goren (2009) found that White endorsement of multiculturalism increases psychological engagement and decreases perceptions of bias among ethnic minority colleagues.

From an organizational perspective, it may appear that multicultural philosophies are universally beneficial to minorities. Yet, because multiculturalism emphasizes the salience of group identity, there may be features within the environment that signal whether one's group identity will be (de)valued. The following section reviews literature related to the unintentional negative consequences of multicultural environments.

1.1.4. Social Identity Contingencies

In their review of the multicultural literature, Purdie-Vaughns and Walton (2011) argue that the benefits of multicultural environments may not be universal for minorities. They suggest organizations should consider a variety of cues that signal identity safety versus threat, not just whether the organization promotes multiculturalism or colorblindness. They discuss social identity contingencies- ways in which social groups differ based on their experiences due to underrepresentation, social hierarchies, and stereotypes (Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2011). Indeed, the only experiment to examine the combination of diversity message and minority representation on targets' perceived trust in organizations is Purdue-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditleman, & Crosby (2008). In

their study, Purdie-Vaughns et al. (2008) found that diversity statements and minority representation are important cues that signal social identity contingencies to African Americans within organizations. They presented participants with recruitment materials to test how perceptions of trust varied as function of diversity philosophy (colorblind vs. multicultural) described in the mission statement and minority representation as evidenced in the photographs of employees (high vs. low). Their findings indicated that when minority representation was low, the company's statement on diversity mattered; minority participants' trust in the company was higher in the multicultural than in the colorblind condition. When minority representation was high, the diversity statement did not matter. Specifically, high minority representation mitigated the negative effects of colorblindness on trust. Interestingly, the authors only reported the simple effects of diversity philosophy within representation condition. Possibly due to being underpowered (n=62), the authors did not report the contrast between high and low minority representation within the multicultural condition, but the trend suggests that the positive effect of multiculturalism on trust is weakened when minority representation is low. Indeed, such a mismatch between what the organization states (values diversity) vs. does (low minority representation) is reminiscent of tokenism.

Kanter (1977) defined tokens as individuals of minority groups numerically representing less than 15 percent of the workforce within an organization. She outlined the consequences of tokenism, which included: 1) assimilation, which forces tokens into limited or stereotypical roles, 2) visibility, which may make tokens feel as though they work under scrutiny or as though they have to work twice as hard as majority group members, and 3) contrast, in which dominant group members may exaggerate difference

between themselves and tokens (Stichman, Hassell, & Archibold, 2010). Indeed, King et al. (2009) demonstrated across three studies the organizational consequences of tokenism; specifically, in a sample of women in the workforce, tokenism status via one's subjective experience of tokenism was negatively related to women's job satisfaction, affective commitment, and helping behaviors and positively related to turnover intentions and stress. Additionally, there is empirical experimental evidence that perceptions of tokenism can impact performance. For example, Sekaquaptewa and Thompson (2002) found that members of low status groups scored worse on a performance task when they were the only member of their social group versus when they were assigned to the non-solo condition. More specifically, relative to White women, African American women scored worse on a performance task, particularly when they were assigned to the solo-status condition.

Due to limited representation, tokens may perceive a threat to their social identities, even when the organization indicates that it values diversity. Consistent with this reasoning, Gutierrez and Unzueta (2010) provided evidence suggesting that multiculturalism can lead individuals to tokenize minorities or believe they are "representatives" of their race. In their experiment, they primed participants with a randomly assigned diversity cue (multicultural vs. colorblindness) and compared likability ratings of stereotypical versus counterstereotypical African Americans. Their results indicated that, when primed with multiculturalism, participants preferred stereotypical African Americans. This finding suggests that multicultural ideologies would be an issue for minorities working within organizations.

Because multicultural philosophies emphasize the importance of group identity, minorities may have an especially challenging time navigating organizations that establish a multicultural diversity philosophy, particularly when minority representation is low within the organization. Especially when tokens are assigned to very niche roles, they may encounter coworkers who see them as "diversity hires." As minorities grapple with the realities of the organization, they may feel tokenized, which may lead to decreased feelings of comfort and trust, as well as less affective commitment and attraction to the organization. In short, companies may unintentionally drive minorities away when minority representation is low, even though they explicitly advocate multiculturalism.

1.2. Present Study

1.2.1. Overview and Hypotheses

In the present research, we attempted to replicate the Purdie-Vaughns et al. (2008) design with a larger sample to provide greater power to determine whether the benefits of multiculturalism for minorities are weaker when minority representation is low versus high, as appeared to be a trend in their study. Specifically, we manipulated minority representation (high vs. low) and diversity philosophy (colorblindness vs. multiculturalism) to test perceptions of trust and comfort, affective commitment, organizational attraction, and perceptions of tokenism among African Americans in the workplace. In particular, our project extends Purdie-Vaughns original study to include measures of tokenism and to test whether multiculturalism has unintentional consequences for minorities.

Participants were randomly assigned to hypothetical corporate settings by developing a corporate recruitment website. Minority representation was manipulated by the minority staff included in photographs on the website. Diversity philosophy cues were represented by quotes from the company president. Participants then provided perception ratings of trust and comfort, affective commitment, organizational attraction, and subjective experiences of tokenism. Replicating and extending the Purdie –Vaughns et al (2008) results, Hypothesis 1 predicted a main effect of representation such that participants in the low minority representation condition would report less trust and comfort, affective commitment, and organizational attraction in the high minority representation condition.

Also replicating and extending Purdie-Vaughns et al., Hypothesis 2 predicted a main effect of diversity philosophy such that participants in the multicultural condition would report greater trust and comfort, affective commitment, and organizational attraction than participants in the colorblind condition.

Hypothesis 3a predicted an interaction such that the effect of minority representation on trust and comfort, affective commitment, and organizational attraction would be greater in the colorblind condition than in the multicultural condition; see Figure 1. This finding replicates that of Purdie-Vaughns et al., but with sufficient power to determine significant decreases in the identity safety afforded by an organization's endorsement of a multicultural philosophy when minority representation is low versus high. Based on the findings of Gutiérrez and Unzueta (2010), Hypothesis 3b predicted an interaction such that the effect of minority representation on perceived tokenism would be greater in the multicultural condition than the colorblind condition; see Figure 2.

Finally, Hypothesis 4 was based on the logic of King et al. (2009), who found that the subjective experience of tokenism mediated the relationship between token status and perceptions of the organization. Consequently, in the present study, Hypothesis 4 predicted African Americans' subjective experience of tokenism would mediate the interactive effect of minority representation and diversity condition on trust and comfort and affective commitment; see Figure 3. In other words, if the combination of low minority representation in a multicultural climate that emphasizes social identities inadvertently tokenizes minorities, then their perception of tokenism should in turn predict organizational perceptions of trust and comfort, attraction, and affective commitment. Our project adds to the management literature by including measures of tokenism as an effort to understand the unintentional negative consequences of multiculturalism.

CHAPTER 2. METHOD

2.1. Participants

Participants were a sample of African American (n=400) working professionals recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk marketplace. Amazon Mechanical Turk gives businesses and researchers access to a diverse, on-demand, scalable workforce and gives workers a selection of tasks to complete. Additionally, TurkPrime Panels allows Mechanical Turk studies to be targeted to specific groups of participants and was utilized to screen African American participants. Participants were compensated $1.50 each with funds through the Indiana University Purdue University-Indianapolis psychology department for approximately 10 – 15 minutes.

96.8% of the sample identified as African American. 13 cases were removed for participants who identified as non-African American. 63.5% of the sample was female, and the mean age was 33.06 years (*SD*= 9.86). 57.4% of the sample was employed full-time, and 19.9% of the sample was employed part-time. An attention check (e.g., I enjoy watching basketball) was utilized, and 92.8% of participants passed the attention check yielding a final sample (*N*= 359).

2.2. Design

A between groups 2 (representation: high vs low) X 2 (diversity: colorblind vs. multicultural) factorial design was utilized.

2.3. Stimulus Materials

Based on the Purdie-Vaughns et al (2008) design, a screenshot of a fictitious corporate website was developed to describe the vision, services, and employee base of a management consulting firm; the key difference between the original design of Purdie-Vaughns et al (2008) and our design was that we developed a website, rather than a brochure. Participants viewed a screen shot outlining information pertaining to CCG (i.e., fictitious consulting company). Our cues of interest were depicted as two small sections; these cues varied by condition. Diversity philosophy cues were presented in the form of a quote, made by the president, in a section labeled "Our People." This information was taken directly from Purdie-Vaughns et al. (2008). Participants in the colorblind condition read:

While other consulting firms mistakenly focus on their staff's diversity, we train our diverse workforce to embrace their similarities. We feel that focusing on similarities creates a more unified, exciting, and collaborative work environment. Such an inclusive and accepting environment helps not only us but also our clients. And at CCG, if you're a team player, you'll have unlimited access to success. Your race, ethnicity, gender, and religion are immaterial as soon as you walk through our doors.

Participants in the multicultural condition read:

While other consulting firms mistakenly try to shape their staff into a single mold, we believe that embracing our diversity enriches our culture. Diversity fosters a more unified, exciting, and collaborative work environment. Such an inclusive and accepting environment helps not only us but also our clients. And at CCG, all individuals have

unlimited access to success. As soon as you walk through our doors, you'll appreciate the strength that we derive from our diversity.

High or low minority representation cues were presented in the form of group photographs depicting groups of working employees. Due to the unavailability of the original manipulation photos (Purdie-Vaughns et al, 2008), 2 sets of photos (Version 1 vs. Version 2) were utilized for each representation condition (high vs. low) to increase confidence of the experimental manipulation.

2.4. Measures

2.4.1. Trust and Comfort

Across three studies, Purdie-Vaughns et al (2008) measured participants' trust of and comfort toward the setting, with 11 items (e.g., "I think I would trust the management to treat me fairly") measured on 7-point Likert-type scales anchored by *disagree* (1) and *agree* (7). In Purdie-Vaughns et al (2008), the measure demonstrated acceptable internal reliability (Cronbach alpha) of .92. See Appendix A.

2.4.2. Subjective Experience of Tokenism

Across three studies, King et al (2009) evaluated the subjective experience of tokenism of participants working in an organization. The participants' experience of increased visibility, social isolation, and gender role expectations associated with tokenism was measured with a 7 item scale (e.g., "I feel that I am a 'token' representative of my gender in my current position") with a 7-point response format anchored by 1 (strongly disagree) and 7 (strongly agree). In King et al (2009), the internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's alpha) for this scale was .70. Because the present study asks

participants to evaluate tokenism within a fictitious company (i.e., CCG*)* during recruitment, the items were adapted. See Appendix B.

2.4.3. Affective Commitment Scale

Allen and Meyer (1990) developed the Affective Commitment Scale based on data collected from full-time, non-unionized employees in three organizations: two manufacturing firms and a university. The participants' experience of affective commitment toward the organization was measured by an 8 item scale (i.e., "I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this organization") anchored on a seven point Likert scale anchored by strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). In Allen and Meyer (1990), the internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's alpha) was .87. Because the present study asks participants to evaluate affective commitment within a fictitious company (i.e., CCG) during recruitment, the items were adapted. See Appendix C.

2.4.4. Organizational Attraction

Highhouse, Lievens, and Sinar (2003) measured organizational attractiveness by assessing organizational prestige, intentions towards the company, and company attractiveness by a 15 item scale (i.e., I would accept a job offer from this company) anchored by a seven point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). In Highhouse, Lievens, and Sinar (2003), the Cronbach's alphas for each subscale were reported as: 1) organizational prestige was .83; 2) intentions toward the company was .82; 3) general attractiveness was .88. Because the present study asks participants to evaluate attraction within a fictitious company (i.e., CCG), items were

utilized from the general attractiveness and intentions toward the company scale and adapted for the present study. See Appendix D.

2.5. Manipulation Checks

Participants completed three items measuring sensitivity to minority representation and diversity philosophy cues. Two items asked about the ethnic composition of the photographs, and the item was measured on a 7-point Likert scale anchored by not at all diverse (1) and extremely diverse (7). The third item asked about the extent to which group differences were valued in the work setting, and the item was anchored by not at all (1) and extremely (7).

2.6. Power Analysis

Power analyses conducted Thoemmes, MacKinnon, and Reiser (2010) indicate that a sample size of 92 per condition is needed to detect medium sized indirect effects with a dichotomous treatment variables. We estimated that a sample of 400 participants would be sufficient to detect indirect effects.

2.7. Procedure

Participants completed a web survey via Qualtrics. In the web survey the first screen included important information regarding the study purpose, procedure, instructions and contact information. Instructions emphasized the confidentiality of participants' responses, and participants were presented with informed consent. Participants were randomly assigned to representation (high vs. low) and diversity (colorblind vs. multicultural) conditions. Participants were instructed to read organizational information regarding a fictitious consulting company, CCG. Diversity

philosophy cues were presented in the form of a quote, made by the President, in a section labeled “Our People.” Representation cues were manipulated by a photograph of employees who work for CCG. After exposure to one of the four stimulus materials, participants completed measures of trust and comfort, affective commitment, organizational attraction, and subjective experience of tokenism.

CHAPTER 3. RESULTS

3.1. Preliminary Analyses

The data were first screened to check for outliers, missing values, abnormal response patterns, and to examine variable distributions. A visual scan of the data and variable frequencies revealed no apparent outliers or abnormal response patterns. Data screening procedures resulted in the exclusion of 41 cases. Specifically, 13 participants identified as non-African Americans and were excluded from the sample. Additionally, analyses indicate that 92.8% of the sample passed the attention check, excluding 28 cases from the sample. A crosstab chi-square analysis was utilized to test whether participants responded systematically different to the attention check across conditions. For diversity, participants' responses to the attention check did not vary by condition, χ^2 (1, 387)= 3.26, p= .07. For representation, participants responses to the attention check did not vary by condition χ^2 (1, 387)= .638, p=.424. As a result, the final sample size was 359 participants.

3.1.1. Manipulation Photos

Due to the unavailability of the original manipulation photos (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008), two photo sets (version 1 vs. version 2) were utilized to represent the low and high minority representation conditions; thus, there were two versions of each condition. Preliminary analyses were conducted to test whether participants responded systematically differently across the photo sets. A 2 (diversity: colorblind vs. multicultural) x 2 (representation: high vs. low) x 2 (photo set version: version 1 vs.

version 2) ANOVA was conducted on trust and comfort, and it was found that there was no main effect of photo set version, *F(*1, 351)= 1.86, p=.174, no diversity x version interaction, *F*(1, 351)= 1.45, p=.229, no representation x version interaction, *F(*1, 351)= .135, p=.714, nor a diversity x representation x version interaction, *F(*1, 351)= 2.56, p=.111.

A 2 (diversity: colorblind vs. multicultural) x 2 (representation: high vs. low) x 2 (photo set version: version 1 vs. version 2) ANOVA was conducted on affective commitment, and it was found that there was no main effect of photo set version, *F(*1, 351)= .173, p=.677, no diversity x version interaction, *F*(1, 351)= 1.20, p=.274, no representation x version interaction, *F(*1, 351)= 1.42, p=.233, nor a diversity x representation x version interaction, *F(*1, 351)= .400, p=.528.

A 2 (diversity: colorblind vs. multicultural) x 2 (representation: high vs. low) x 2 (photo set version: version 1 vs. version 2) ANOVA was conducted on tokenism, and it was found that there was no main effect of photo set version, *F(*1, 351)= .040, p=.842, no diversity x version interaction, *F*(1, 351)= .038, p=.846, no representation x version interaction, *F(*1, 351)= 2.12, p=.146, nor a diversity x representation x version interaction, *F(*1, 351)= .013, p=.909. These findings all demonstrate that photo set did not systematically influence the dependent variables of interest.

3.1.2. Manipulation Checks

A manipulation check was conducted for both diversity philosophy and representation. For diversity philosophy, the manipulation was assessed with one item (i.e., To what extent are group differences valued in the work setting portrayed…). A 2 (photo set version: version 1 vs. version) x 2 (diversity: colorblind vs. multicultural)

ANOVA was utilized to assess the diversity manipulation check item, and it was found there was no main effect of photo set version, $F(1, 355)= .355$, $p=.552$, a main effect for diversity, $F(1, 355)= 86.58$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.18$, and a version x diversity interaction, $F(1, 355)= 4.66$, $p<.05$, $\eta=.01$. The main effect for diversity indicated, as expected, that participants perceived greater valuing of group differences in the multicultural philosophy *(M*= 3.13, *SD*= 1.42*)* than in the colorblind philosophy *(M*= 2.93, *SD*= 1.47) condition. An examination of the interaction demonstrated that this pattern was larger in photo set 1, $t(193)= -8.30$, $p<.001$, than in photo set 2, $t(203)= -4.95$, $p<.01$.

With regard to representation, the manipulation was assessed with two items (i.e., To what degree are employees ethnically diverse…; what percentage of this company do you think are racially diverse). For the first representation manipulation check, a 2 (photo set version: version1 vs. version 2) x 2 (representation: high vs low) ANOVA was conducted on representation check item (e.g., To what degree are employees ethnically diverse…), and it was a found there was no main effect of photo version, $F(1, 355)= .671$, $p=.413$, a main effect of representation, $F(1, 355)= 117.78$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.23$, and no photo set version x representation interaction, $F(1, 355)= .00$, $p=.99$. For the main effect of representation, participants in the high representation condition reported a greater degree of diversity (*M*= 3.77; *SD*= 2.54) than participants in the low representation condition (*M*= 2.54; *SD*= .911).

For the second representation manipulation check, a 2 (photo set version: version1 vs. version 2) x 2 (representation: high vs low) ANOVA was conducted on representation manipulation check item (i.e., What percentage of this company do you think are racially diverse), and it was found there was no main effect of photo set version, $F(1, 355)= .00$,

p=.949, a main effect of representation, $F(1, 355)= 35.85$, $p< .001$, $\eta^2=.08$, and no photo set version x representation interaction, $F(1, 355)= .363$, p=.547. For the main effect of representation, participants in the high representation condition reported that a greater percentage of employees were ethnically diverse ($M= 42.02$; $SD= 21.583$) than participants in the low representation condition ($M= 29.35$; $SD= 20.435$).

Across preliminary analyses, results indicated that the photo sets did not create systematic differences. Thus, for the remaining analyses, photo set version was dropped as an independent variable.

3.1.3. Descriptive Statistics

Means and standard deviations were then calculated for all dependent variables as well as Pearson correlations between outcomes (see Table 1). For all analyses, results were considered statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level (two-tailed). Internal consistency estimates (Cronbach's Alpha) are reported in Table 1. Each scale demonstrated acceptable reliability estimates: tokenism (alpha = .748), trust and comfort (alpha= .950), organizational attraction (alpha=.937), and affective commitment (alpha=. 862). Because dependent variables all correlated highly (> r=.78), z scores were calculated for each dependent variable and then all standardized dependent variables were combined into a composite score. The composite score will be referred to as OrgSafety for the remainder of the paper.

3.2. Hypothesis Tests

3.2.1. Main Effects

Hypotheses were tested as follows. To examine the hypothesized main effect of minority representation (Hypothesis 1), main effect of diversity (Hypothesis 2), and the interaction between minority representation and diversity (Hypothesis 3), a 2 (representation: high or low) x 2 (diversity: colorblind or multicultural) ANOVA was conducted on OrgSafety. To examine the predicted model illustrated in Figure 2 (Hypothesis 4), model 7 of Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro and 10,000 bootstrap samples was utilized. In this model, the x variable is diversity, m variable is perceptions of tokenism, w variable is representation, and the y variable is OrgSafety.

Results indicate that there were main effects for diversity and representation $F(1, 355)=9.792$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2 =.027$, and $F(1, 355)= 21.582$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2 =.057$. For diversity, participants in the multicultural condition ($M= .157$, $SD= .828$) reported a greater degree of OrgSafety than participants in the colorblind condition ($M= -.158$, $SD= 1.02$). For representation, participants in the high condition ($M= .230$, $SD= .884$) reported a greater degree of OrgSafety than participants in the low condition ($M= -.224$, $SD= .938$). However, the interaction between diversity and representation was not statistically significant $F(1, 355)= .012$, $p=.913$. See Figure 4.

Additionally, a 2 (diversity: colorblind vs. multicultural) x 2 (representation: high vs. low) ANOVA was conducted on tokenism, and results indicate a main effect of representation was found $F(1, 355)= 27.95$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2 =.073$. For representation, participants in the low condition ($M= 4.16$, $SD= .08$) reported a greater degree of tokenism than participants in the high condition ($M= 3.56$; $SD= .08$). There were no

significant main effect for diversity, $F(1, 355) = .81$, $p = .369$, and no representation x diversity interaction, $F(1, 355) = .06$, $p = .81$.

3.2.2. Mediation Analysis

Because results indicated there was no interaction, Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro model 4 and 10,000 bootstrap samples were utilized to examine a simple mediation of whether there was an indirect effect of minority representation on OrgSafety through tokenism (Hypothesis 4). There was a significant indirect effect of (i.e., the 95% confidence interval did not cross 0) of minority representation on OrgSafety via perceived tokenism (.45, 95% CI: .17 -.41). Relative to the low condition, participants in the high representation condition reported less tokenism, which in turn, lead to increases in OrgSafety. See Figure 5. Additionally, simple mediation of diversity condition was also tested with Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro model 4 and 10,000 bootstrap samples. The indirect effect of diversity philosophy via tokenism on OrgSafety was non-significant (.06, 95% CI: -.05 - .18). Therefore, tokenism only mediated the relationship between minority representation and OrgSafety.

CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION

4.1 General Discussion

Substantial progress toward addressing workplace discrimination in the United States has been made, but today minorities continue to face prejudice at work. Recent data from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission indicate that 35% of complaints received are racial discrimination allegations (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2014) and these data are likely an underestimate given they do not account for unreported and internal cases within the organization. The present study investigated whether situational cues in a work setting convey social identity contingencies- possible judgments, stereotypes, opportunities, restrictions, and treatments that are tied to one's social identity in a given setting. Specifically, the present study examined how organizational philosophies or approaches regarding diversity, as well as the perceived representation of minorities within the organization, influence stigmatized targets' perceptions of trust, comfort, affective commitment, organizational attraction, and perceptions of tokenism. Results indicate main effects for both minority representation (high vs. low) and organizational diversity philosophy (colorblind vs. multicultural); that is, participants in the low representation condition reported less trust and comfort, affective commitment, and organizational attraction relative to participants in the high representation condition. Additionally, participants in the multicultural diversity philosophy condition reported more trust and comfort, affective commitment, and organizational attraction when compared to the colorblind condition. Finally, a

significant indirect effect of minority representation on trust and comfort, affective commitment, and organizational attraction via perceived tokenism was found.

4.1.1. Theoretical Contribution

Our study is a replication and extension of Purdie-Vaughns et al (2008). In their original study, African American professionals were sampled and presented with recruitment materials that described the mission, vision, and services of a management consulting firm. Unlike the present research, these materials were presented via a brochure rather than via a website. As in the present study, participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (minority representation: high vs. low) x 2 (diversity philosophy cue: colorblind vs. multicultural) between-subjects factorial design and rated perceptions of trust and comfort toward the organization. Their results indicated main effects of minority representation, diversity philosophy, and were qualified by a significant Minority Representation × Diversity Philosophy interaction. When minority representation was high, participants trusted the setting regardless of the diversity philosophy, but when minority representation was low, participants in the colorblind condition trusted the setting less than participants in the multicultural condition.

One critique of Purdie-Vaughns et al.'s (2008) initial study was that the authors only reported the simple effects of diversity philosophy within representation condition. Possibly due to being underpowered (n=62), the authors did not report the contrast between high and low minority representation within the multicultural and colorblind conditions, but the trend suggested that the positive effect of multiculturalism on trust is weakened when minority representation is low. Indeed, such a mismatch between what

the organization states (multiculturalism; values diversity) vs. does (low minority representation) is reminiscent of tokenism (Kanter, 1977).

Our study replicated and extended Purdie-Vaughns et al.'s (2008) design by exploring whether perceptions of tokenism explain the relationship between minority representation and diversity philosophy on trust and comfort, and, additionally, affective commitment, and organizational attraction. Our study also had significantly greater power (N= 359) than the original Purdie-Vaughns design. Although we did not replicate the interaction between diversity philosophy and representation, our results do replicate the original study's main effects and establish a new finding. This study is a contribution to the organizational literature as it links social identity contingencies to perceptions of tokenism in the workplace. Specifically, this study sheds light on a mechanism that drives organizational trust and comfort: perceived tokenism. Our results indicate that both diversity philosophy and representation have main effects, but it is numerical representation- not diversity philosophy- that drives tokenism and leads to decreases in trust and comfort, affective commitment, and organizational attractiveness. More importantly, our results underscore that minorities can vicariously experience perceptions of tokenism- even before candidates are employed by the organization; that is, minorities do not have to work within an organization, but can imagine the work environment and feel tokenized. Although previous research has explored tokenism in the context of gender inequity in the workplace (King et al, 2009), this study offers a major contribution by exploring tokenism in the context of racial representation in the workplace and its related outcomes.

Finally, the dependent variables trust and comfort, affective commitment, and organizational attraction correlated highly with one another (Table 1), and variation among scores was similar across job seekers. As a result, there is concern that these dependent variables may not be tapping into unique constructs, but may be tapping into an overarching construct regarding one's affective state toward the organization. Our data suggest that it may be time for future researchers to review and revise the larger literature of attitudes regarding organizational affect and commitment.

4.1.2. Practical Implications

The results from this study may have some practical implications for organizations. Evidence supports that minorities are actively scanning the environment for social identity contingencies, and these data suggest that minorities are highly sensitive to representation cues. From an organizational standpoint, there is empirical evidence that high representation can impact performance. Inzlicht and Ben-Zeev (2000) found that high representation mitigates the negative influence of stereotype threat on performance among women; specifically, researchers randomly assigned female participants to representation condition (same-sex vs. minority) and found that female participants in the minority condition demonstrated a decrease in performance on a math test when compared to females in the same-sex condition. Also, Kochan et al (2003) found that representation and racial diversity was positively related to business portfolio growth and overall firm performance, particularly when an integration and learning perspective on diversity was enacted.

Additionally, we found a main effect of diversity philosophy on trust and comfort, organizational attraction, and affective commitment. It is a well-established finding in the

organizational diversity literature that multiculturalism is positively related to beneficial outcomes among minorities. For example, among minorities, multiculturalism is linked to positive in-group evaluations, decreases in evaluative bias, and increases in collective self-esteem (Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006; Verkuyten, 2005) Additionally, Plaut, Thomas, and Goren (2009) found that White endorsement of multiculturalism increases psychological engagement and decreases perceptions of bias among ethnic minority colleagues. This study highlights additional organizational benefits of multicultural diversity philosophies.

Creating a representative and diverse work environment is a challenge for organizations of all sizes. Our research highlights some of those challenges and offers the following the recommendations to organizational leaders and practitioners. If representation is low within the organization, one strategy is to increase other safety cues throughout the environment. There is some evidence in the gender domain where women in a lab who see more masculine artifacts (vs. gender neutral) are less interested in computer science. When more gender neutral imagery was used, women trusted the environment more and felt more valued (Cheryan, Plaut, Davies, & Steele, 2009). Cheryan et al.'s research suggests that attending to visual cues throughout the organization may be one strategy to mitigate feelings of mistrust among minorities related to lack of representation. For example, organizations can utilize nondiscrimination policies and equal opportunity hiring statements as a visual cue; even if an organization does not explicitly value diversity, a cue of fair hiring practices can send a safety signal to potential minority candidates. Additionally, our results underscore that minorities are paying close attention to organizations "who walk the walk" but not "talk the talk;"

transparency throughout the recruitment process can help establish reasonable expectations for the work environment and mitigate distrust once placement begins. If organizations currently do not employ individuals from racial minority groups, then do not use misleading recruitment materials as it may create backlash and cause distrust in the environment. If organizations are facing challenges recruiting minorities and may also lack representation, rely on the social cue that organizational leaders can manipulate- the diversity value. Especially, for organizations just starting, endorsing multiculturalism can have beneficial outcomes among minority recruits.

4.2 Limitations

One limitation of the study is in regards to the characteristics of the sample. Because the goal of our study was to explore tokenism and racial representation, a sample of African American professionals was utilized. Sampling only this specific group limits the interpretability of results to other minority groups (e.g., disability, age, sexual orientation, religion). Future studies should examine how representation influences other stigmatized groups perceptions of tokenism.

A second limitation is the brief nature of the study. In our study, we ask participants to briefly review an organization online and imagine what it might be like to work there; that is, our design is reflective of the recruitment process. The process of searching online may not be the same as experiencing representation and diversity implemented firsthand within an organization; that is, employees who actually work within the organization may not have similar experience. Due to limits of our design, we may not observe similar results if participants had the opportunity to truly to see how

diversity and representation are promoted within the organization. Results should be generalized beyond recruitment with care.

4.3 Future Research

Future research might explore how introducing information regarding employee discrimination might impact the relationship between organizational diversity, representation and trust towards the organization. A consistent finding in the literature from Dover, Major, and Kaiser (2013) indicates that organizational diversity initiatives can act as legitimizing cues, increasing perceptions that the company is procedurally fair to minorities, even in the face of discrimination. In their experiment, Whites (vs. minorities) were more likely to believe that an organization treats minorities fairly when the company had won a "diversity award" versus when they had not; their findings indicate the presence of diversity statements undermines support for fair treatment towards minorities and leads to an underestimation of workplace discrimination. In fact, Kaiser, Major, Jurcevic, Dover, Brady, and Shapiro (2013) findings suggest that the mere presence of diversity structures (e.g., policies, statements, awards) create an "illusion of fairness" within organizations (pg. 508) and enhances the perception to high status group members (e.g., White males) that organizational policies and practices are procedurally fair to minorities, even in the face of explicit discrimination. As a twist on Dover et al's original research, future research may extend Dover et al's original design by sampling minorities and testing how the presence of diversity awards influence levels of trust among minority employees.

Our findings indicate a main effect of representation. Future research could explore how representation (high vs. low) and diversity award (present vs. not) would

influence level of trust and comfort among minorities when they are encountered with information about the organization discriminating against one of their employees. Based on these data, when participants encounter discrimination, researchers might predict an interaction such that there is no difference when a diversity award is present, but the level of distrust would be greater in the low representation condition relative to the high representation condition, particularly when there is no-award present.

4.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, public data indicate that minorities continue to report prejudice and discrimination in the workplace (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2014). In response to federal laws and regulations, organizations promote philosophies of diversity in efforts to foster inclusion with traditionally marginalized groups. However, our data indicate that it is *both* diversity philosophy and numerical representation which influence minorities' level of trust and comfort, and representation is an important driver of perceptions of tokenism within organizations. Although much work is left to be done, organizations aiming for inclusive environments can be informed of the importance of both diversity and representational cues.

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APPENDIX A: TABLES

Table 1. Variable Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3
Affective Commitment	4.17	1.22	(alpha= .862)		
Trust and Comfort	4.16	1.91	.810**	(alpha= .950)	
Org Attraction	5.03	1.11	.783**	.871**	(alpha=.937)

**Correlation is significant at p < .01 (2-tailed

APPENDIX B: FIGURES

Figure 1

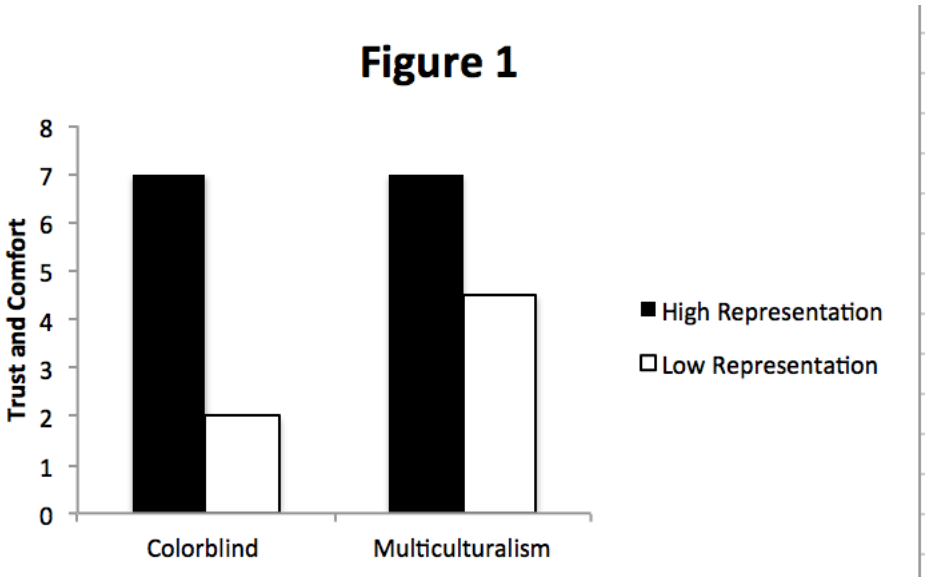

Figure 1. Interaction between Representation and Diversity Philosophy

*We anticipate a similar interaction pattern for affective commitment and organizational attractiveness

Figure 2

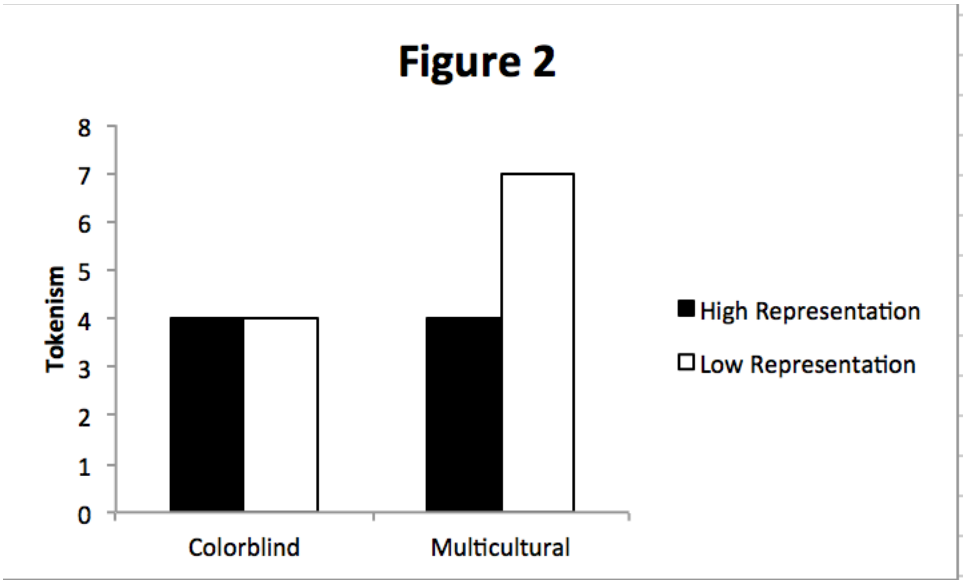

Figure 2. Interaction between Representation and Diversity Philophy

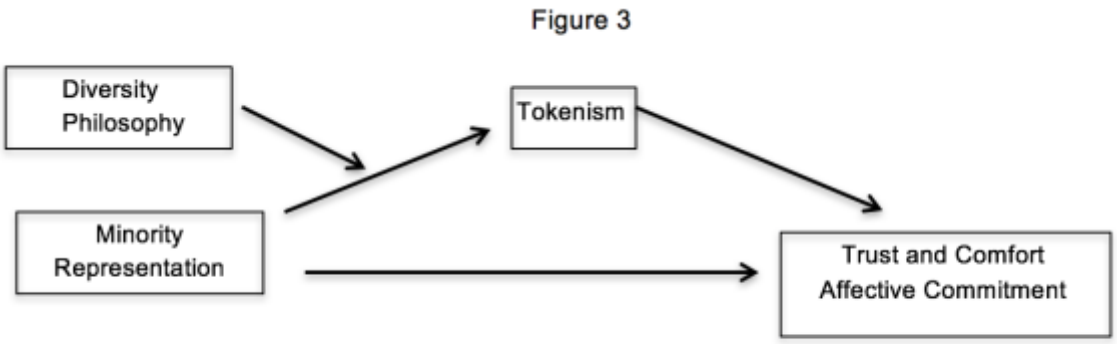

Figure 3. Hypothesized Model

Figure 4

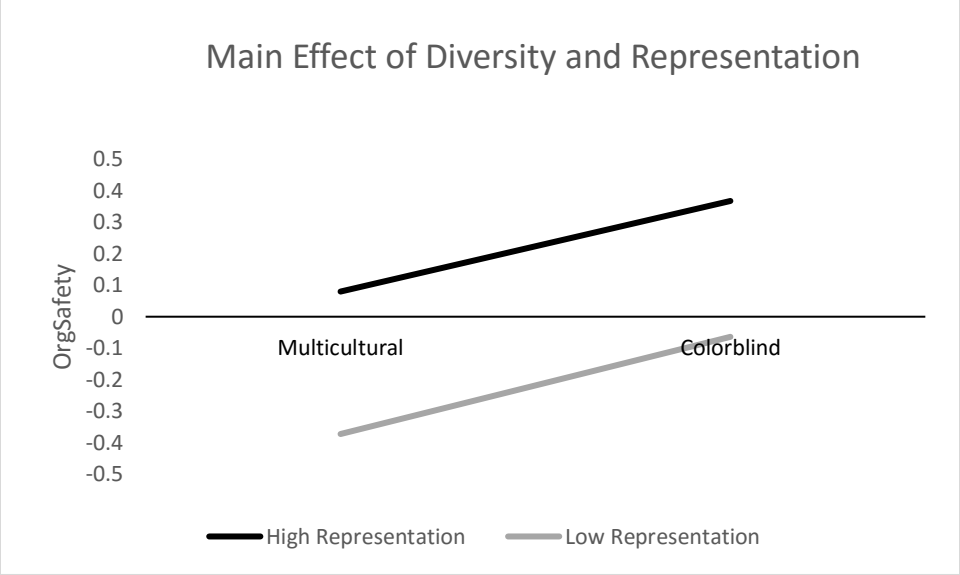

Figure 4. Main Effect of Diversity and Representation

Figure 5

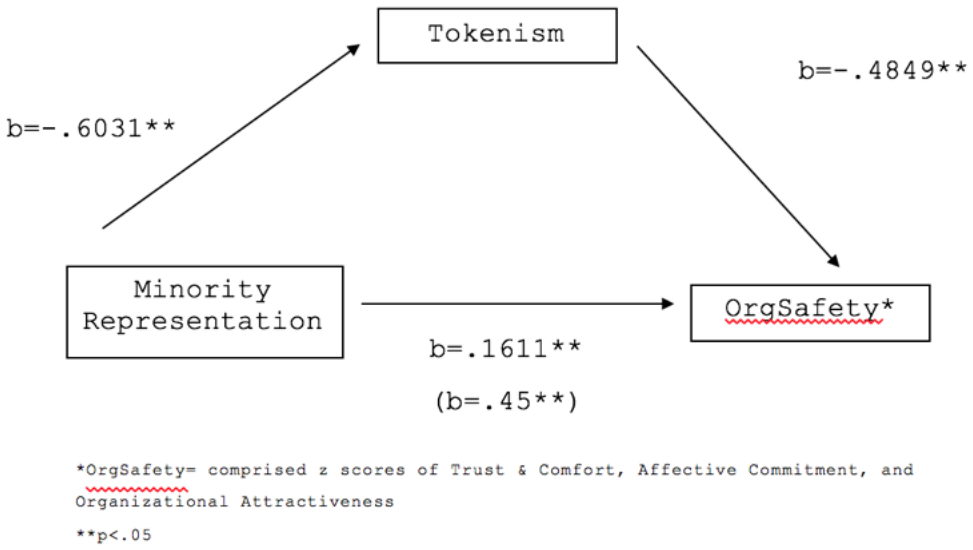

Figure 5. Mediation model testing the indirect effect of minority representation on OrgSafety through perceived tokenism. The total effect of minority representation of OrgSafety is shown in parenthesis, and the direct effect (i.e., the effect of minority representation controlling for tokenism) are shown without parenthesis. b= the unstandardized regression coefficient.

APPENDIX C: MATERIALS

Trust and Comfort Toward the Company Setting (7 Point likert scale)

Envision working in the consulting company CCG and answer the following:

1. I think I would like to work at a company like this.
2. I think I would like to work in a company that has similar hiring practices.
3. I think I would like to work under the supervision of people with similar values as the staff.
4. I think I could "be myself" at this company.
5. I think I would be willing to put in extra effort if my supervisor asked me to.
6. I think my colleagues at this company would become my close personal friends.
7. I think I would be willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected in

   order to help the company be successful.
8. I think I would be treated fairly by my supervisor.
9. I think I would trust the management to treat me fairly.
10. I think that my values and the values of this company are very similar.
11. I think that the work environment would inspire me to do the very best job that I can.

Purdie-Vaughns, V., Steele, C., Davies, P., Ditleman., R., & Crosby, J. (2008). Social identity contingencies: How diversity cues signal threat or safety for African Americans in mainstream institutions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94, 615-630.

Subjective Experience of Tokenism Scale (7 point Likert scale)

Envision working in the consulting company CCG and answer the following:

1. People at this company would look at me as a representative of all people of my race
2. I would feel that I am a 'token' representative of my race
3. I would feel that I have to represent the perspective of my race
4. I would have to explain the perspective of my race to others
5. I would often feel accepted as a person (reverse coded)
6. I would often spend social and leisure time with my colleagues (reverse coded)
7. I would often discuss general topics such as politics with my colleagues (reverse coded)

Adapted from:

King, E. B., Hebl, M. R., George, J. M., & Matusik, S. F. (2009). Understanding tokenism: Antecedents and consequences of a psychological climate of gender inequity. *Journal of Management*.

Affective Commitment Scale items

Envision working in the consulting company CCG and answer the following:

1. I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career at this company.
2. I would enjoy discussing this company with people outside of it
3. I would feel as if this company's problems were my own
4. I would easily become as attached to another organization as I am to this one (R)
5. I would not feel like 'part of the family' at this company (R)
6. I would not feel 'emotionally attached' to this company (R)
7. This company would have a great deal of personal meaning for me
8. I would not feel a strong sense of belonging at this company (R)

Adapted from:

Allen, N. J., & Meyer, J. P. (1990). The measurement and antecedents of affective, continuance and normative commitment to the organization. *Journal of occupational psychology*, *63*(1), 1-18.

Organizational Attractiveness

Envision working in the consulting company CCG and answer the following:

General attractiveness
1. For me, this company would be a good place to work.
2. I would not be interested in this company except as a last resort
3. This company is attractive to me as a place for employment.
4. I am interested in learning more about this company.
5. A job at this company is very appealing to me.

Intentions to pursue
6. I would accept a job offer from this company.
7. I would make this company one of my first choices as an employer.
8. If this company invited me for a job interview, I would go.
9. I would exert a great deal of effort to work for this company.
10. I would recommend this company to a friend looking for a job.

Highhouse, S., Lievens, F., & Sinar, E. F. (2003). Measuring attraction to organizations. *Educational and Psychological Measurement, 63*(6), 986-1001.