DISCOVERING THE DIFFERENCES THAT MAKE A DIFFERENCE: RACIAL MAJORITY AND MINORITY RESPONSES TO ONLINE DIVERSITY STATEMENTS

by

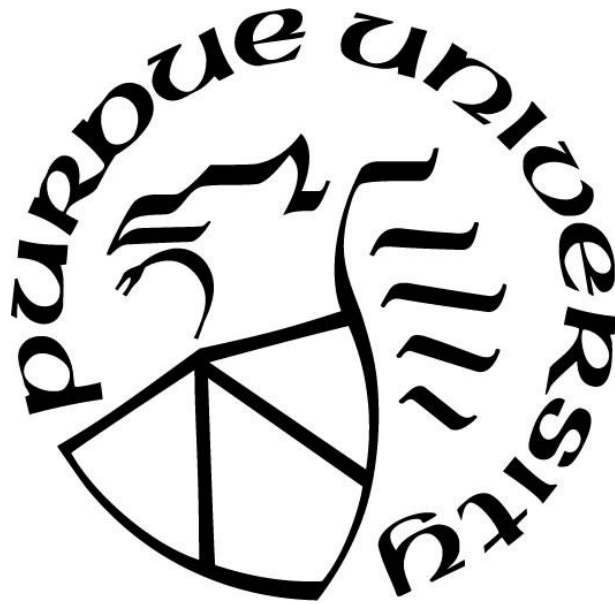**Kelsey M. Stephens**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

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Title: Discovering the Differences That Make a Difference: Racial Majority and
      Minority Responses to Online Diversity Statements
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The presented research the effect of Ely and Thomas' (2001) three diversity perspectives—integration-and-learning, discrimination-and-fairness, and access-and-legitimacy—on perceptions of organizations as a function of their implied ideologies (i.e., multiculturalism, colorblindness, and tokenism). It was hypothesized that the organizational websites that enhance multiculturalism, such as the integration-and-learning perspective, will be perceived more favorably than websites that emphasize ideologies of colorblindness and tokenism, such as the discrimination-and-fairness and the access-and-legitimacy diversity perspectives, respectively. Additionally, expanding work by Plaut, Thomas, and Goren (2009) the study proposed that websites portraying the latter two perspectives will be perceived more negatively by Blacks than by Whites. In contrast, diversity perspectives that emphasize multiculturalism, such as the integration-and-learning diversity perspective, are hypothesized to be perceived more favorably, regardless of racial group membership. The main dependent variables of focus are the organizational outcomes of organizational attraction, organizational trust, P-O fit, and perceived justice. Findings suggest that racial group membership does not operate as a significant moderator of the relationship; however, the hypothesis that diversity perspectives would have varying relationships with diversity ideologies was partially verified.

INTRODUCTION

Marketing, advertising, recruitment, blog posts, news updates—the uses of a company's website are endless. Companies are not the only ones who use websites for their benefit, as millions of job seekers utilize organizations' websites to gain pre-contract information (Cober, Brown, Levy, Cober, & Keeping, 2003). Collecting information about a company's views on diversity is one of those uses, although companies often find that creating a website that portrays a company's perspective on diversity that appeals equally to majority and minority group members is a tricky task.

It is no secret that diversification is becoming increasingly important in modern day organizations. Plaut (2010) urges that due to the shifting demographics within the United States, the time is now to study diversity using a scientific approach. Many organizations are becoming more and more interested in attracting minority employees and creating a workplace environment that supports minorities' productivity (Brown, Cober, Keeping, & Levy, 2006). In fact, corporations have spent billions in an attempt to attract and manage diversity within their organizations—yet, they still face discrimination lawsuits, and the tables at leadership board meetings continue to be filled by White males (Phillips, 2014).

The introduction of the Internet has shifted strategies companies use to attract talent; smart companies are designing their websites with targeted recruits in mind (Cappelli, 2001). Advertising is the leading method of external recruitment; furthermore, the use of Internet advertising has become the preferred method of recruitment (Chapman & Webster, 2003). In fact, the Internet has become relied upon as an inexpensive means

to recruit high quality applicants (Harrington, 2002). One study investigated the type of information that actually influences an applicant's attraction to a company and found that the applicants obtain a plethora of information when making decisions about potential employers, ranging from a company's compensation offerings, the overall culture of a company, and the availability of development opportunities (Cober et al., 2003).

Authors have suggested that an organization's presentation of diversity values can be of great importance whenever job seekers are evaluating the organization's attractiveness (e.g., Highhouse, Stierwalt, Bachiochi, Elder, & Fisher, 1991; Perkins, Thomas, & Taylor, 2000). Incorporating a culture of diversity into an organization has its advantages, such as an innovative and creative workforce, novel information and perspectives, and sharpening of employees' decision making and problem solving skills (Phillips, 2014); however, the method with which diversity initiatives are put into place cannot be emphasized enough. Simply integrating the "d" word, or *diversity*, onto a company's online verbiage may spark Whites to feel alienated; as found by James, Brief, Dietz & Cohen (2001). Whites may also be driven by a need to protect themselves from threats to the status quo and be motivated to deny the existence of privilege (Plaut, 2010). On the other hand, introducing ideologies of colorblindness may lead Blacks to feel devalued (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009).

In research most germane to the present study, Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Diltmann, and Crosby (2008) investigated the effects that social identity contingencies—a range of perceived opportunities and vulnerabilities that result from a particular setting—can have upon minorities. A series of studies, including only African American participants, manipulated corporate brochures by means of minority staff representation

in the brochure's photographs and by inclusion of diversity philosophy quotes from the company president. These investigations found that when African Americans were presented with a workplace setting that portrayed colorblindness, as opposed to a setting that valued diversity, the African American professionals were more likely to distrust the setting. In other words, participants in the colorblind condition perceived the company as less likely to acknowledge individuals' backgrounds and differences. This relationship was exacerbated when the workplace setting had few minorities portrayed in the pamphlet for the workplace. Thus, a lack of diversity in the workplace led minorities to distrust the organization. The study conducted by Purdie-Vaughns et al. (2008) did not explore the influence that the manipulations could have upon racial majority members—therefore, this proposed study compares and contrasts the effects that diversity cue manipulations can have upon both majorities and minorities.

The present research is designed to assess differential reactions that White and Black job seekers may have to organization websites as a function of diversity framing. Three different diversity perspectives, the integration-and-learning perspective, the access-and-legitimacy perspective, and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective, as coined by Ely and Thomas (2001), will be utilized in this study. Although Ely and Thomas' article is frequently cited, very few quantitative experiments have been conducted to test the various diversity perspectives from an empirical standpoint. Ideally, this study aims to unveil a particular type of diversity perspective that affects majority and minority populations similarly and positively, thus providing very practical information for companies who are wishing to promote diversity on their websites without alienating majority or minority group members. Constructs such as

organizational attractiveness, organizational trust, person-organization fit, and perceived justice will be measured to gauge participants' responses.

Why are Organizations Motivated to Increase Diversity?

Diversity acts as an important determinant in generating both negative and positive results (King, Hebl, & Beal, 2009). Group composition research is heading in a direction that urges researchers to better understand conflict, cooperation, and their interrelations among group members. Although the issue of efficiently embracing and encouraging diversity in a tactful manner is evident, the manner in which diversity is approached can truly make or break the entire process. This source of ambiguity may be the reason that in regards to racial and gender diversity, empirical data have produced both positive and negative outcomes. Studies have found that diversity programs, even with good intentions, can have negative effects on the workforce; for instance, turnover rates for minorities are estimated to be double of that of White males; these high turnover rates are attributed to poor relationships with bosses, lack of challenging and meaningful assignments and having few growth opportunities (Edmonds et al., 1992). Numerous factors play an integral role in any diversity-filled environment; the workplace is certainly no exception.

Although bringing together individuals from diverse backgrounds can often be thought of as a daunting and tedious task, research has shown that pooling together unique thoughts and ideals can often produce positive results. For example, King et al. (2009) advocate that once the positive contributions of group-work have been noted, diversity can become a source of group cohesiveness—raising the overall satisfaction of the group and the levels of cooperation. That is, cohesion among diverse groups is

increased when the group is striving to achieve one overall goal. A large proportion of the existent research of workgroup diversity focuses upon effectiveness and outcomes, rather than the contextual factors that play a role in the workgroups. In conclusion, King et al. (2009) encourage organizational decision makers and policy makers to enact and enable environments that foster diversity; research needs to expand and determine the conditions under which diversity can have positive effects.

Ely and Thomas (2001) aimed to develop theory to determine which conditions of diversity play a determining factor to augment or undermine group work. Employees' cultural identities, which are comprised of individuals' race, ethnicity, sex, social class, religion, nationality, and sexual identity, were all considered as variables of diversity in this research—although, the main emphasis of diversity was placed upon racial differences. Additionally, it was emphasized that cultural identity is not stable or innate, but rather, an individual's cultural identity is socially constructed, complex, and dynamic. The way in which an individual perceives his or herself in the light of a respective organization influences one's cultural identity, and, in turn, influences one's own behaviors and expectations. Thus, how diversity is framed in organizations matters.

Diversity perspectives are defined as "group members' normative beliefs and expectations about cultural diversity and its role in their work group" (Ely & Thomas, 2001, p. 234). It was proposed that an organization's diversity perspective could influence work group effectiveness. The underlying reasoning behind any efforts to create and respond to a work group's diversity, the beliefs about the value of cultural identity, expectations about the potential impacts of diversity among group members, and the belief about what counts as progress toward the paradigm of a multicultural work

group are all characteristics of a diversity perspective. It was hypothesized that an organization's diversity perspective would affect how well people function among their work groups; resulting in how likely the work groups were to benefit from their diversity. From their work, Ely and Thomas (2001) uncovered three diversity perspectives, each providing a rationale as to why a work group would increase its cultural diversity.

Because it was salient among all organizations included in Ely and Thomas' 2001 study, racial differences were highlighted as the main type of diversity. Each of the three organizations serving as a focus in this study (a consulting firm, a financial services firm, and a law firm) had already put in place efforts to diversify their workforces. To reduce any imbalances in power, it was verified that within each organization, racial minorities held positions of power. A three-phase method was utilized in each organization, involving the negotiation of the terms of inquiry with the organization, collecting data via interviews and observations, and providing feedback. Using this qualitative approach to investigate three diverse, professional organizations, three different perspectives regarding workplace diversity were unveiled—the integration-and-learning perspective, the access-and legitimacy perspective, and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective (Ely & Thomas, 2001). The integration-and-learning perspective was defined as linking diversity to work processes—the way people do and experience the work—in a manner that makes diversity a resource for learning and adaptive change (Ely & Thomas, 2001, p. 13). In contrast, the access-and-legitimacy perspective was coined as a company's efforts to use diversity based on the recognition that the organization's markets and constituencies are culturally diverse—therefore, it behooves the organization to match that diversity as a way of gaining access to and legitimacy with those markets (Ely &

Thomas, 2001, p. 16). The third diversity perspective, discrimination-and-fairness, is characterized by a belief in a culturally diverse workforce as a moral imperative to ensure justice and the fair treatment of all members of society (Ely & Thomas, 2001, p. 18).

The results indicated that only one of the three diversity perspectives produced progressive gains, which were defined as gains attributable to a work group's diversity. This lone effective approach, the integration-and-learning perspective, attests that group members' insights, skills, and unique experiences due to cultural disparities can work as an advantage to a group's task or mission. The integration-and-learning perspective brings a diverse group of people together who share the desire to combine differences in order to best achieve a mission by informing and enhancing work processes. Individuals working in an organization that enacted this type of diversity perspective reported that they could express their true identities and values, even those attributes that would potentially differentiate them from the group.

"I've learned a lot about things that just weren't in my background. I don't mean about salsa or whatever, but about…what life experiences are like in other places" (Ely & Thomas, 2001, p. 242), said a White woman working in the company that reflected the integration-and-learning perspective. A Black employee stated that "I talk to these individuals [co-workers] as people, regular people, and they talk to me as a regular person" (Ely & Thomas, 2001, p. 254).

Both the access-and-legitimacy and the discrimination-and-fairness methods did not produce such positive results. From its inception, the access-and-legitimacy perspective aims to advance profit under the notion that the more diversified an organization, the better the organization can appeal to the diverse make-up of a

community; therefore, the intentions of increasing workplace diversity are devised in a manner that focuses upon financial gains. Regarding the access-and-legitimacy perspective, Ely and Thomas (2001) reported one White manager explaining her workplace:

> If [the firm] were all white, our relationships with the community would be extremely strained. And our retail deposit base would be very much threatened. [The community] would be saying, "What are these white people doing running a bank in the middle of *our* community?" And they'd be right. We've operated in black communities for 20 years. If we aren't fully integrated ourselves, it's pretty hypocritical (p. 244).

The third diversity perspective, discrimination-and-fairness, entails the belief that a culturally diverse workforce is essentially a moral standard which results in social justice. Topics of equal hiring and promotion procedures are illuminated in this perspective—a diverse work group is meant to act as a positive symbol that reflects the fair treatment of an organization's employees.

One African American employee, working in the company which aligned to the discrimination-and-fairness perspective, stated "I don't see people in color, I treat them all the same"; a White manager disclosed that although the goal was to be "entirely race blind, the expectation is still that people will speak in normal English and write the way white people write" (Ely & Thomas, 2001, p. 247). Employees in this company described their feelings as "disappointed," "hopeless," and "powerless," and the same employees also used words such as tense," "cynical," "hostile," and "distrustful" to describe the relationships between White and African American employees.

Although this work made steps in our understanding of diversity in the workplace, there are still strides to be made to further advance the outcomes of diversity perspectives. Ely and Thomas' (2001) findings were limited in that they assessed only three professional organizations. Furthermore, specific organizational outcomes were not considered. Thus, using two experiments, this present research proposes to investigate the ways these three diversity perspectives—the integration-and-learning perspective, the access-and legitimacy perspective, and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective, can affect important organizational constructs such as organizational attractiveness, organizational trust, person-organization fit, and justice. Toward that end, Experiment 1 prompts participants to determine the degree to which ideologies of multiculturalism, colorblindness, and tokenism are related to the three diversity perspectives of integration-and-learning, discrimination-and-fairness, and access-and-legitimacy, respectively. Spanning across industries and job types, Experiment 2 will gauge the effect that the diversity perspectives can have upon the above specified organizational constructs, especially organizational attraction. Drawing upon the work of Purdie-Vaughns and colleagues (2008, 2011) and by Plaut, Thomas, and Goren (2009), it is hypothesized that the frames that enhance colorblindness and tokenism, such as the justice-and-fairness and the access-and-legitimacy diversity perspectives, respectively, will be perceived more negatively by Blacks than by Whites, as Whites are socialized to perceive that making demographic distinctions of any type is wrong, and Blacks feel the pressure to assimilate. On the other side, a diversity perspective that emphasizes the notion of multiculturalism, such as the integration-and-learning diversity perspective, is hypothesized to be perceived most favorably, regardless of racial group membership.

PRESENT STUDY

Spencer, Zanna, and Fong (2005) proposed that when establishing mediation, measuring a psychological process through a series of experiments is superior to merging all pieces of the process into a single, all-encompassing experiment. Although it may be considered customary to include all constructs into one overall study, doing so runs the risk of increasing participants' suspicion of the study in this proposed research. The existence of the diversity-themed items included may provoke participants to become more cognizant of their responses, thus, responding in manners that align with social desirability. Therefore, Experiment 1 is designed as a means to test the impact of diversity perspective framing and the perceptions of multiculturalism, colorblindness and tokenism, which are presumed mediators of the proposed relationship between diversity perspectives and important organizational outcomes. The completion of Experiment 1 will set the stage for Experiment 2—which allows for the prediction of different responses between majority and minority group members when they are exposed to the three diversity perspectives.

Thus, this proposed two-part study will build upon past research in several ways. First, the past exploratory research conducted by Ely and Thomas (2001) will be empirically studied from an experimental method that will allow for causal inferences between their three coined diversity perspectives and the highlighted organizational outcomes. Furthermore, the plausible association between ideologies of multiculturalism, colorblindness, and tokenism and the diversity perspectives will be tested. This association would broaden the implications and the theoretic understandings of Ely and

Thomas' (2001) work. Secondly, this study will investigate the influence that the diversity perspectives can have upon both majority and minority group members. A third implication of this research is practical in nature—the manipulations of the diversity perspectives will provide data for practitioners to reference when building portions of company websites that portray their values of diversity.

Multiculturalism/Colorblindness ideologies

Blacks are likely to distrust workplace cultures that influence a feeling of blanketed sameness, or colorblindness (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008); within organizations where Whites endorse colorblindness, the minority employees perceive Whites to be more prejudiced—and are therefore less engaged (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009). Multiculturalism is considered to be the framework that contrasts colorblindness. However, multiculturalism should not be considered as uniformly "good" for African Americans, as programs emphasizing multiculturalism are sometimes implemented with good intentions, but the intentions are not fully played out as planned (Purdie-Vaughns, 2011).

Multiculturalist ideologies refer to an attitude in which people value and actively support mutual cultural differences, as well as equal chances and opportunities among all individuals (Arends-Toth & Van De Vijver, 2003). Ideologies of multiculturalism have been considered to be a bipolar, unidimensional scale with positive evaluations of cultural diversity on one end, and negative evaluations on the other end. A positive evaluation of cultural diversity involves the support of multiculturalist beliefs, whereas a negative evaluation of cultural diversity is synonymous with values of segregation, assimilation, and exclusion (Berry, 1984). Majority members are more likely to endorse

multicultural ideologies when they see gains for themselves (Berry & Kalin, 1995); thus, when circumstance and opportunities are different for individuals based upon their demographic groupings, minority and majority members report different underlying psychological processes with regards to cultural diversity, including its structure, meaning, implications, and consequences (Arends-Toth & Van De Vijver, 2003).

Tokenism ideology

Tokenism is evident when an organization strategically places minorities on behalf of an organizational benefit, such as projecting a workforce that is diverse. Tokenism theory posits that the underrepresentation of minorities inflicts negative experiences upon minorities (King, Hebl, George, & Matusik, 2009). Kanter (1977) coined tokenism as a theory in which an organization is skewed such that a clearly definable subgroup, such as racial group minorities, makes up less than 15 percent of the whole organization. Albeit focused on gender differences, Kanter's work exposed three ways in which the presence of tokenism can negatively impact an individual: visibility, in which the heightened sense of attention leads to exacerbated pressures to perform; contrast, which occurs when the exaggerated differences amongst individuals leaves the token with a feeling of social isolation; and role encapsulation, in which tokens become compressed within their defined role and purpose. This work was groundbreaking, as it uncovered the importance of organizational structure as it relates to diversity implications in the workplace.

In Experiment 1, this research is designed to understand how Ely and Thomas' (2001) diversity perspectives are related to ideologies of multiculturalism, colorblindness, and tokenism. Additionally, Experiment 2 will go one step further and explore how these

diversity perspectives can affect important organizational outcomes that have an influence on an organization's workforce.

Organizational attractiveness

The primary outcome of Experiment 2 is organizational attractiveness. Molding a presence that intrigues job seekers is becoming increasingly important, as applicant attraction has been deemed the primary goal of recruitment efforts (Barber, 1998; Rynes, 1991). Applicants report an increase of anticipated pride from joining an organization that upholds a favorable reputation (Dineen & Soltis, 2011). Furthermore, a company's image positively relates to an applicant's attitudes toward the organization and the applicant's intention to pursue employment—this finding is particularly relevant within the web-based context (Allen, Mahto, & Otondo, 2007). A qualitative examination of organizational web sites suggests that information such as the culture of a company is commonly communicated through the web sites themselves (Cober, Brown, Blumental, & Levy, 2001). A study designed by Cober and colleagues (2003) solidified the positive association between a supportive organizational culture and the attractiveness of the organization. Job seekers actively seek out a good deal of information when making decisions regarding their pursuit of employment; during the earliest stages of organizational attraction, job applicants turn to the organizational recruitment material in order to form their impression of the organization (Cober et al., 2003). The specific framing of information presented to job seekers may have an effect on the overall organizational attraction. Potential job applicants are likely to take into account the opportunities for advancement and development within an organization—the existence of these types of opportunities influences organization attraction (Turban, 2001).

Using an experimental design, Williams and Bauer (1994) assessed the effects that policies that highlight diversity can have upon job seekers of different demographics. Two forms of a fictitious company recruitment brochure were created to serve as the manipulation in this study—one brochure stated that the company "is an affirmative action/equal opportunity employer" while the other used a paragraph long description of managing diversity, an excerpt stated "Carycorp is a company that values the contributions of a diverse work force, and we have implemented programs that help teach all employees to recognize the strengths that individuals from diverse backgrounds can bring" (p. 300). Photographs in the brochure were also manipulated to depict men and women of different ages and racial backgrounds. Results indicated that across all demographics, participants who were presented with a policy that emphasized an organization's commitment to diversity rated the company more favorably than those participants who were in the control group. Women rated the company more favorably, regardless of their racial demographic or their placement in experimental conditions. No differences were found among races. Although similar in nature to this proposed study, Williams and Bauer (1994) used only a student sample—this study will expand upon the sample by capitalizing on the diverse population of working adults in MTurk, thereby focusing on individuals who have experience with job-seeking and organizational policies.

As such, it is critical to gather an idea of how attractive each diversity perspective makes the company seem. Moreover, the overall organizational attractiveness can influence the perceptions of companies' prestige, as well as job seeker's intentions to apply for an open position. The previous work by Ely and Thomas (2001) used a sample

of employees who had already been selected into an organization. Thus, measuring the way the diversity perspectives may influence the overall organization attraction will further advance our understanding of why minority and majority job seekers may perceive organizations to have different levels of attraction.

Organizational trust

Another highlighted construct that will be investigated in Experiment 2 is that of organizational trust. Within the United States, it is suggested that during the last two decades, the importance of trust has been increasing, due in part to the shifts in the workforce composition and the organization of the workplace (Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995). Trust, defined by Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman (1995) as "the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party" (p. 712). Therefore, a trusting relationship includes a degree of risk. It can be presumed that in an organizational context, an employee trusts his or her employer to be reliable, predictable, and cooperative. Allocating time and resources to an organization involves a level of risk-taking, a risk that would be hindered and diminished in the absence of trust.

The employees' expectation of a relationship similar to the one just described can be thought of as a psychological contract. Robinson and Rousseau (1994) discovered that a breach in a psychological contract is negatively associated with satisfaction, trust, and employees' intentions to remain with their employer. The study also found that a psychological contract violation is positively associated with actual turnover.

Dozens of factors have been determined to be antecedents of a trusting relationship, including trustees' claims about how they will behave (Good, 1988), openness/congruity and shared values (Hart, Capps, Cangemi, & Caillouet, 1986), reliability (Johnson-George & Swap, 1982), and group goals (Rosen & Jerdee, 1977). In order for organizations to appear reliable and trustworthy, organizations should remain credible, as job applicants often seek out information regarding an organization's justice throughout the hiring process; in addition, negative information about prospective employers weighs heavier than positive information (Ryan & Delany, 2010). The information an applicant comes across while researching a potential employer plays a significant role in determining the job seekers' thoughts about the organization.

For an organization to be successful, employees typically must work together. Interdependence is a necessity in order for a workforce to collaborate and to accomplish goals. One of the main changes within the workforce composition today is the growing population of diverse employees. A diverse workforce is less able to rely on interpersonal similarity and common backgrounds to foster interdependence (Newcomb, 1956); therefore, one can deduce that the more an organization can embrace and foster trust throughout the workforce, the more willing employees may be to collaborate with one another.

Trust is an important piece of an employer-employee dyad. Research has shown that distrust between an employee and his or her employer can lead to employees feeling threatened or even unsafe (Purdie-Vaughns et al., (2008). Presumably, if job seekers are exposed to a prospective employer that is perceived as untrustworthy, the lack of trust could potentially deter the job seeker from pursuing the employer.

Person-organization fit

A third focal outcome of Experiment 2 is person-organization fit (P-O fit). The theoretical root of P–O fit lies within Schneider's (1987) attraction-selection-attrition (ASA) model. Schneider posits that individuals are attracted to, selected by, and remain with organizations that have similar goals, values, and culture. The key principle of the ASA model is that individuals are not assigned to organizational environments, but rather, they self-select in and out of the organization, based on the perceived congruence with the organization. The assumption is that those employees who determine they "fit" within the organization will remain, whereas employees who do not fit will voluntarily turnover.

The more detailed information a company can portray about their culture, the more likely applicants can make decision based upon person-organization congruence. The better the person-organization fit, the likelihood of turnover decreases, as applicants are able to gain a realistic idea of what it is like to work within a company before accepting any job offers (Jex & Britt, 2008). Research has emphasized that job applicants make assumptions based on perceived fit when considering entry decisions (Judge & Bretz, 1992). In order to gauge their potential fit within a given environment, individuals develop perceptions concerning their degree of fit. This suggests that if a lack of fit is perceived, job seekers may self-select out of the pool for a particular organization. Cable & Judge (1996) discovered that among job seekers, P–O fit predicted job choice intentions and work attitudes. Given the expansive list of outcomes, empirical evidence posits that individuals should be very concerned about the degree to which they fit within an organization; the organization should also highlight the

importance of P–O fit because selecting individuals who fit would presumably result in a more successful and satisfied workforce (Bretz & Judge, 1994). Organizations are likely to benefit in very practical and tangible ways from actively attracting and selecting potential employees who fit with the overall culture, values, and beliefs of an organization.

Turnover is a concern for most organizations, as the costs of turnover can be substantial and unwarranted. Individuals reporting high P–O fit were found to report more job satisfaction and organizational commitment; whereas individuals with low P–O fit were found to remain with the organization half as long as employees experiencing high P–O fit (O'Reilly III, Chatman, & Caldwell, 1991). Furthermore, O'Reilly III and colleagues discovered that among newly hired accountants, the degree to which individual preferences matched the realities of an organization was predictive of turnover two years later. Those who are deemed to fit within an organization are more likely to be attracted to the organization, display greater motivation, and perform better than those who do not (Bretz & Judge, 1994). It is clear to link these findings to the importance of proper recruiting processes—selecting individuals who are a poor fit within the organization increases the likelihood that the individuals will turnover quicker, be less motivated, and perform worse than individuals who are a good fit within an organization. In essence, proper recruiting methods and selection decisions may protect organizations from suffering through unwarranted repercussions at a later time.

Perceived justice

The significance of employees' reactions to perceptions of potential unfair treatment within the workplace cannot be understated (Stecher & Rosse, 2005); thus

justice perceptions will be assessed in Experiment 2. Interpersonal justice, also referred to as interactional justice, is considered to be the social aspect of distributive justice. The processes and outcomes of events is not the topic of interpersonal justice, but rather, the affective manner in which the processes and outcomes are handled is part of interpersonal justice. This subset of justice is fostered when decision makers treat others with respect and sensitivity, explaining the rationale for decisions thoroughly (Colquitt, 2001). A high-quality relationship that stresses courtesy and respect between employee and organization ultimately strengthens an organization's competitive advantage by decreasing turnover rates and risk of burnout, which retains talented and skilled employees (Son, Kim, & Kim, 2014). Tyler (1989) preceded this importance of interpersonal treatment—his research verified that the quality of interpersonal treatment is related to the acceptance of authority figures. Researchers Stecher and Rosse (2005) found that judgments are not based solely upon the perceived economic exchange between employee and organization; rather, affective and cognitive mechanisms also play a role in determining the equity of situations. Additionally, these researchers attested that poor interpersonal justice acts as an antecedent for negative emotions, intentions to reduce work effort, and intentions to leave the organization.

Past research has demonstrated the importance of interpersonal treatment received during the recruitment process. Walker and colleagues (2013) showed that applicant's treatment received serves as a signal about the types of relationships that exist within the organization. That is, based upon the information provided to them during the recruitment stages, applicants make judgments about how they perceive they would be treated if they were to become an employee within the given organization. This present

study aims to take a look at this relationship from an even earlier starting block, as this study is designed to investigate the extent to which an organization's online presentation can influence employees' thoughts about how they would be treated in the organization.

Overview and hypotheses

Figure 1 shows a graphical representation of the model for Experiment 1, which focuses upon the relationship between the three diversity perspectives and the diversity ideologies of multiculturalism, colorblindness, and tokenism. This experiment also aims to solidify the differentiation among diversity perspectives.

H1: Diversity perspectives will be positively related to ideologies of multiculturalism, colorblindness, and tokenism such that those in the integration-and-learning perspective will produce greater perceptions of multiculturalism, whereas the discrimination-and-fairness perspective will produce greater perceptions of colorblindness, and the access-and-legitimacy perspectives will produce greater perceptions of tokenism.

Experiment 2 tests the relationship between the integration-and-learning perspective, the access-and-legitimacy perspective, and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective with the specified organizational outcomes, as seen in Figure 2.

H2: It is hypothesized that there will be an interaction between racial group membership (majority vs. minority) and diversity frame such that both racial groups will respond most favorably (i.e., report greater attraction, trust, P-O fit, and perceived justice) to the integration-and-learning perspective; however, racial minorities will respond less favorably to the discrimination-and-fairness perspective and access-and-legitimacy perspectives than will racial majorities.

Figure 3 provides a visual representation of the anticipated results for the dependent variables for minority and majority groups. A similar trend is expected for each of the four organizational outcomes that are considered in this study.

EXPERIMENT 1

Method

Participants

Participants ($N = 188$) were recruited using a human research applicant pool at a large, urban, Midwestern university. The results of a G*Power (Version 3.1.9.2) analysis suggest using a total sample size of at least 129 participants. The power analysis was conducted using a medium effect size of 0.25 and a power of 80%. In exchange for their participation in the study, the participants were rewarded with experimental credit that is required as a part of their course completion.

Twenty-four respondents did not complete the survey in full, and therefore their data were removed from further analyses. An additional four cases were excluded from analysis due to response sets and likely invalid data. Specifically, one participant answered "strongly agree" to every item included in the survey. Two others admitted to providing "little effort," and one other participant admitted to providing "no effort". These four participants also answered incorrectly to a major attention check item, and thus were removed from the pool of participants. The final number of responses included for analyses was 160.

The mean age of the sample was 20.4 years old. Seventy-eight percent identified as White or Caucasian, six percent reported Hispanic ethnicity, four percent identified as Black or African American, seven percent identified as Asian, one percent identified as Native American, three percent identified as more than one race, one percent identified as other, and one percent did not disclose their race or ethnicity.

Procedure

Companies frequently provide information about their mission, goals, history, and values on their websites. Participants were told that the purpose of the study was to investigate factors related to job applicants' perceptions of a company's website and that the findings may be used to inform organizations' website designs. After providing informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to view a screenshot of a fictitious website containing a letter from the CEO about the company's diversity values. The letter reflected a specific diversity perspective from Ely & Thomas (2001)—the survey design functioned such that each participant would be placed into one of three conditions (integration-and-learning, access-and-legitimacy, or discrimination-and-fairness), reference Appendix A. The letters are similarly worded, with the exception of inserting a minimal number of unique critical phrases and a single image to reflect the respective diversity perspectives. The letter representing the integration-and-learning perspective gives the impression that XYZ Advertising brings a diverse group of people together to best achieve a mission by contributing to and enhancing work processes; members feel they can express their true identities and values. Thus, diversity is seen as a truly held value of the organization. The letter emphasizing the access-and-legitimacy perspective portrays the notion that XYZ Advertising aims to advance profit by creating a diverse workforce to mirror the racial demographic makeup of the communities to which the company markets. Therefore, diversity is seen as a means to an end for the organization's financial goals. The third perspective, discrimination-and-fairness, highlights the belief that a culturally diverse workforce is essentially a moral standard which results in justice; diversity is meant to act as a positive symbol that reflects fair

treatment. Hence, diversity is seen as a moral obligation rather than an intrinsic value.
The wording of the letters was derived from a real diversity themed letter from a Fortune
500 company and from the phrases and terms used in Ely and Thomas' (2001)
explanations of diversity perspectives.

   The letter is positioned under the company's "values" page on the mock website.
The letter representing the respective diversity perspective remained on the screen for 45
seconds to ensure that the participants had ample time to read the letter. In order to verify
that the participants dedicated the time to reading the letter, participants were later asked
to answer a series of questions related to the screenshot of the website page.

   After reading the letter from the CEO, participants completed a scale to measure
the degree to which the participant believes the company is associated with ideologies of
multiculturalism, colorblindness, and tokenism. Distractor items, such as questions
related to the overall aesthetics of the website and the organizational attraction scale were
also included to negate social desirability responses.

   Following the completion of the study, participants were requested to enter their
email addresses; using IUPUI's internal directory and research program, participants who
completed the study were awarded their research credit. The last screen that participants
viewed was an explanation form that provided a short debrief of the study.

Measures

See Appendix A for a full list of the survey items included in Experiment 1.

Multiculturalism and colorblindness ideologies.

To assess the degree to which statements about diversity initiatives would or would not improve the relations between groups, Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas (2007) developed an eight item measure of multiculturalism and colorblindness ideologies (four items pertaining to multiculturalism and four pertaining to colorblindness). Ryan et al. reported a Cronbach's alpha of .78 for the multiculturalism scale and .69 for the colorblindness scale.

The current research is organized in a manner that asks participants to provide their presumptions about a specific company; therefore, in order to adjust the items to better fit the context of this experiment, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which XYZ Advertising reflects the two distinct ideologies. An original colorblindness item from Ryan et al.'s scale reads "Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity", this item was adapted to fit the context of the current study, "XYZ Advertising recognizes that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity." Participants responded using a seven point, Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) and items were delivered randomly.

The eight item measure, four items pertaining to multiculturalism and four pertaining to colorblindness, signified acceptable levels of reliability in this study. Cronbach's alpha for the four multiculturalism items was .77, which meets the commonly held threshold for representation of reasonable internal consistency reliability, but the .68 Cronbach's alpha for the four colorblindness items indicated minimally adequate reliability. The reliability analyses indicated that the removal of items would not increase the scale reliability.

Tokenism ideology.

Participants were prompted to rate the extent to which XYZ Advertising reflects a tokenism ideology. Items were adapted from a measured developed by King, Hebl, George, and Matusik (2009). The items were adapted to remain consistent with the structure of the items representing multiculturalism and colorblindness used in this experiment. For example, an original item reads "People in my company look at me as a representative of all people of my gender" and the adapted version used in this study reads "People at XYZ Advertising would use tokens to represent all people of a race." The internal consistency reliability reported by King, Hebl, George, and Matuisk is .70. The seven point, Likert-type scale ranges from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) and items were delivered randomly. The five items produced a Cronbach's alpha of .69. The reliability analyses indicated that the removal of items would not increase the scale reliability.

Manipulation checks.

Due to the fact that it was critical for participants to truly digest the information from the manipulation (i.e., XYZ Advertising website pages), seven manipulation check items were included in the survey. Four of the items had a static correct answer, regarldess of the condition of the manipulation in which a participant was placed. For example, one static question read "The name of the company is:" with the option answers of: (a) ABC Consulting; (b) XYZ Advertising; (c) Accenture Advertising; and (d) XYZ Technology Services. The correct answers for the three condition-dependent items were dependent upon the condition of the manipulation in which a participant was placed. For example, one of conditional question reads "Why does the company value diversity?"

with the option answers of: (a) It leads to profit; (b) It promotes creativity and innovation; (c) It is all about finding common ground; (d) No information was provided about diversity. If the participant was placed into the integration-and-learning condition, answer (b) would be correct; whereas if the participant was placed into the access-and-legitimacy condition, answer (a) would be correct, and if the participant was placed into the discrimination-and-fairness perspective, answer (c) would be correct.

Attention check.

To mitigate the risk of inattention from the respondents, an attention check item was included in the study. The instructions for the item, adapted from Oppenheimer, Meyvis, and Davidenko (2009), read "In order to facilitate our research on reactions to companies' websites, we are interested in knowing certain factors about you, the participant in this study. Specifically, we are interested in whether you actually take the time to read the directions; if not, then some of our manipulations that rely on changes in the instructions will be ineffective. So, in order to demonstrate that you have read the changes in instructions, please ignore the sports items below. Instead, simply select the next button in order to proceed to the next screen. Thank you." The item itself asked respondents to review a list of seven activities (e.g., Skiing, Swimming, Tennis, etc.) and select all that they engaged in reguarly. Selecting any items served as an indication that the respondent was not fully paying attention.

Demographics.

Respondents were prompted to answer items pertaining to their current employment status, geographic location, gender, race/ethnicity, and age. Although demographic differences among groups was not a primary focus of Experiment 1, these

data points were collected as potential control variables. Participants were also asked to indicate the level of dedication and effort they gave the experiment.

Results

An analysis of the participants suggest a fairly even random placement of participants into the groups of diversity perspectives, as 32% of participants who completed the study were placed into the integration-and-learning perspective, 31% into the access-and-legitimacy perspective, and 37% into the discrimination-and-fairness perspective.

Descriptives and correlations among ideology scales.

As shown in Table 1, the means and standard deviations are within expected ranges for each of the three ideology scales. Also depicted in Table 1 are the correlations between each of the ideology scales; it is noteworthy that the correlation between multiculturalism and colorblindness was significant and in a positive direction ($r = .17$, $p < .05$). Interestingly, this suggests that the participants in the study were not seeing multiculturalism and colorblindness as the opposing ideologies they are often portrayed to be. Given that the majority of the sample was White, this is consistent with past literature, suggesting that Whites typically do not understand why colorblindness upsets minorities, as they sometimes tend to believe that both multiculturalism and colorblindness are fair and just. Interestingly, colorblindness, as it exists in American society today, can be traced to early efforts to increase equality between African Americans and Whites because colorblindness was intended to stand for equal treatment across groups (Rattan & Ambady, 2013).

Analyses

In order to determine whether the three diversity perspectives influenced perceived ideologies of multiculturalism, colorblindness, and tokenism, three univariate analyses of variance were conducted. The eight item multiculturalism/colorblindness scale was treated as two separate measures—four items relating to multiculturalism and four relating to colorblindness. First, with regard to multiculturalism, a statistically significant difference was found, $F(2,157) = 7.085$, $p = .001$, indicating an effect of diversity perspective on perceived multiculturalism. As shown in Figure 4, Tukey's HSD indicates a significant difference between the integration-and-learning perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective ($p = .004$), such that participants viewed the integration-and-learning perspective as reflecting more multicultural values. A statistically significant difference was also found between the access-and-legitimacy perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective ($p = .006$), such that participants perceived the access-and-legitimacy perspective as reflecting more multiculturalism. However, there was not a significant difference between the integration-and-learning and access-and-legitimacy perspectives ($p = .993$). This result supports the hypothesis that the integration-and-learning perspective was written in a way that prompted participants to report higher levels of multiculturalism than the discrimination-and-fairness perspective. However, the hypothesis that the integration-and-learning perspective would prompt participants to report higher levels of multiculturalism than does the access-and-legitimacy perspective was not supported.

For perceived colorblindness, a statistically significant difference was also found, $F(2,157) = 5.331$, $p = .006$. As shown in Figure 5, Tukey's HSD indicates a marginally

significant difference between the discrimination-and-fairness and the integration-and-learning perspective ($p = .064$), such that participants viewed the discrimination-and-fairness perspective as reflecting more colorblindness. A significant difference between the discrimination-and-fairness and the access-and-legitimacy perspective was also found ($p = .006$), such that participants viewed the discrimination-and-fairness perspective as reflecting more colorblindness. However, there was not a significant difference between the integration-and-learning and access-and-legitimacy perspectives ($p = .678$). This result verifies the proposed hypothesis that the discrimination-and-fairness perspective was written in a way that prompted participants to report higher levels of colorblindness than the integration-and-learning and access-and-legitimacy perspectives.

Finally, with regard to tokenism, a statistically significant difference was also found, $F (2,157) = 10.123$, $p < .001$ As shown in Figure 6, Tukey's HSD indicates a significant difference between the access-and-legitimacy perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective ($p = .001$), such that participants viewed the access-and-legitimacy perspective as reflecting more tokenism. A significant difference was also found between the integration-and-learning perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective ($p = .007$) such that participants viewed the integration-and-learning perspective as reflecting more tokenism; however, there was not a significant difference between the access-and-legitimacy and the integration-and-learning perspectives ($p = .423$). This result supports the hypothesis that the access-and-legitimacy perspective was written in a way that prompted participants to report higher levels of tokenism than the discrimination-and-fairness perspective, but not the

hypothesis that the access-and-legitimacy perspective would prompt participants to report higher levels of tokenism than the integration-and-learning perspective.

Discussion

Overall, some of the anticipated trends were discovered in the data; however, not all hypotheses were supported. The three main hypotheses for Experiment 1 indicated that the highest multicultural ratings would be a result of the integration-and-learning perspective, the highest colorblindness ratings would be a result of the discrimination-and-fairness perspective, and the highest tokenism ratings would be a result of the access-and-legitimacy ratings. However, the integration-and-learning and access-and-legitimacy perspectives consistently produced similar relationships with the three diversity perspectives. That is, the participants were not differentiating between the perspectives that were intended to distinguish multiculturalism and tokenism, but they recognized that both perspectives were different from colorblindness. In other words, participants did not see social identities being valued for financial gain as different from social identities being valued for diversity's sake.

One plausible explanation as to why there was not a consistent difference found between multiculturalism and tokenism is attributable to the racial makeup of the study sample—given that over three-fourths of the sample reported to be White/Caucasian. It is likely that those who are White/Caucasian are less sensitive to the diversity ideologies (Rattan & Ambady, 2013). This might especially be the case when it involves differentiating between multiculturalism and tokenism; both ideologies highlight diversity, but for different reasons that may be difficult for Whites to distinguish.

Although there was not clear distinction among the Ely and Thomas' (2001)

coined ideologies as expected, several research goals were met. One goal was to investigate the way in which the adapted items were functioning in this specific study. The scales for the ideologies were adapted from their original state in order to fit the given context. As such, it was crucial to ensure that the scales produced sufficient variability. Across all three measures of diversity ideologies, they did. Additionally, it was a goal to ensure that the scales were producing generally reliable results. The obtained reliabilities were comparable to those obtained in the original samples, but marginally acceptable, which could undermine ability to detect important differences. Despite this limitation, the results suggest that participants attended to the manipulation, even in this brief online experiment, which suggests this is a feasible method of investigation.

Given that lack of diversity in the sample likely contributed to failure to distinguish between multiculturalism and tokenism, a main motivator for conducting a secondary follow-up experiment was to recruit a more racially diverse sample. Therefore, Experiment 2 will build upon the results found in Experiment 1, and further investigate the differences between the diversity perspectives and the ideologies. In addition, Experiment 2 examines the key organizational outcome variables of interest: organizational attraction, trust, P-O fit, and perceived justice.

EXPERIMENT 2

Designed to understand the implications that diversity perspectives can have upon organizational outcomes, Experiment 2 added onto Experiment 1 by prompting participants to complete a larger battery of dependent variables, including organization attraction, trust, P-O fit, and perceived justice. A similar procedure to the one executed in Experiment 1 was used—participants were exposed to one of the three diversity perspectives, followed-up with a survey battery. It was posited that depending upon the participant's racial group membership, he or she would respond differently to the displayed diversity perspectives.

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited via Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform. The survey was described as being open to African Americans who resided within the United States, and was advertised as a study of reactions to organizations' websites. The results of a G*Power (Version 3.1.9.2) analysis suggest using a total sample size of 269 participants. The power analysis was conducted using an effect size of 0.25, a power of 80%, with six groups. In exchange for their full participation in the study, participants received $1.00 USD for completion of the online survey.

Three hundred ten respondents completed the survey in full. Because the focus of the study was to analyze the differences in dependent variable ratings between White and Black participants, only those who self-identified as either White/Caucasian or

Black/African American were included in the final sample. Five attention check items related to the website design and content were included, for example, one attention check item reads "the diversity statement was found on which of the following pages?" Participants were also prompted to indicate the level of effort they gave during the study. The investigation of both the attention check items and the effort question suggested that no respondents were to be removed due to evidence of little motivation or effort. The final sample included 267 respondents.

The mean age of the sample was 38.9 years old. Forty-six percent identified as White or Caucasian and fifty-four percent identified as Black or African American; six percent reported Hispanic ethnicity. The industries reported most frequently are as follows: (a) Retail, 9%; (b) Education, 8%; (c) Healthcare, 7%; (d) Sales, 6%; (e) Manufacturing, 5%; and (f) Information Technology, 5%, whereas the rest of the various reported industries did not add up to a substantial proportion. Table 2 provides the full list of industries. The breakdown of the self-reported highest degree obtained is as follows: (a) High School Diploma, 11%; (b) Some College 30%; (c) Associate's Degree, 12%; (d) Bachelor's Degree, 35%; (e) Master's Degree, 10%; (f) Doctoral Degree, 1%, and (g) Other, 1%. Of those included in the final sample, 30% indicated they receive less than $20,000 a year, 29% between $20,000 and $40,000, 19% between $40,000 and $60,000, 13% between $60,000 and $80,000, 6% between $80,000 and $100,000, and 2% indicated they receive over $100,000 a year, while 1% preferred not to disclose information regarding their annual salary. All participants indicated that they currently reside within the United States.

Procedure

Participants were told that the purpose of the study was to investigate factors related to job applicants' perceptions of a company's website and that the findings may be used to inform organizations' website designs. Confidentiality and anonymity were ensured; as it was stated that no personal information was to be collected from the participants. After providing informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to view a fictitious website containing a letter from the CEO about the company's diversity values—similar to the procedure followed in Experiment 1.

Measures

See Appendix B for a full list of the survey items included in Experiment 2. The ordering of the measures in this section is consistent with the order in which participants viewed and responded to the measures.

 Organizational attraction.

After viewing the webpage screenshot, participants were prompted to rate their perceived attraction to the organization. In order to gauge the perceived levels of organizational attraction, Highhouse, Lievens, and Sinar's (2003) scale was used, which is comprised three subscales, each consisting of five items: General attractiveness, intentions to pursue, and prestige. Respondents provided ratings based upon a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Higher scores were indicative of higher levels of organizational attraction. An item representing the general attractiveness scale reads "A job at this company is very appealing to me"; an item representing the intentions to pursue scale reads "If this company invited me for a

job interview, I would go"; and an item representing the prestige scale reads "This is a reputable company to work for." The fifteen items produced a Cronbach's alpha of .98. The reliability analyses indicated that the removal of items would not increase the scale reliability.

Factor analysis results indicated that all items held together well; therefore, for purposes of this study and consistent with prior use of this measure (Highhouse, Lievens, & Sinar, 2003), all items were averaged together to create one overall organizational attraction score to be used for analysis. Organizational attraction is the primary dependent variable in this study—as the study is essentially a type of recruitment research.

Attention check.

To mitigate the risk of inattention from the respondents, an attention check item was included in the study. The instructions for the item, adapted from Oppenheimer, Meyvis, and Davidenko (2009), read "In order to facilitate our research on reactions to companies' websites, we are interested in knowing certain factors about you, the participant in this study. Specifically, we are interested in whether you actually take the time to read the directions; if not, then some of our manipulations that rely on changes in the instructions will be ineffective. So, in order to demonstrate that you have read the changes in instructions, please ignore the sports items below. Instead, simply select the next button in order to proceed to the next screen. Thank you." The item itself asked respondents to review a list of seven activities (e.g., Skiing, Swimming, Tennis, etc.) and select all that they engaged in reguarly. Selecting any items served as an indication that

the respondent was not fully paying attention. This is the same attention check item used in Experiment 1.

Diversity ideologies.

A single item from each diversity ideology measure used in Experiment 1 was used to represent the three ideologies of interest in this study. These items served as manipulation checks. The item used to represent the multiculturalism ideology reads "This company emphasizes the importance of appreciating group differences between racial groups." The item used to represent the discrimination-and-fairness ideology reads "This company adopts a colorblind perspective in which employees' racial group membership is considered unimportant." The item used to represent the access-and-legitimacy ideology reads "Minority employees would feel that they are 'token' representatives of their race at this company." Ratings were made on a seven-point Likert scale, anchored from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree).

Organizational trust.

Seven items from Robinson and Rousseau (1994) were adapted to tap into participant's perceived level of trust towards XYZ Advertising. Factor analyses conducted by the authors indicate the unidimensionality of the scale. In order to remain constant with the frame of reference, items were adapted to fit the context of this study. An original example item from Robinson and Rousseau (1994) reads, "In general, I believe my employer's motives and intentions are good." For purposes of this study, the item was adapted to read, "In general, I believe *this* employer's motives and intentions are good." The authors of the scale reported a high level of reliability ($\alpha = .93$; Robinson & Rousseau, 1994); strong validity evidence was found as well, such as a Pearson

product-moment correlation of -0.18 ($p < 0.05$) with turnover and .69 ($p < 0.01$) with job

satisfaction. Ratings will be made on a 5-point Likert-type scale, anchored from 1

(strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), with increasing scores indicating increasing

levels of trust toward the company. In this study, the scale produced a Cronbach's alpha

of .90. The reliability analyses indicated that the removal of items would not increase the

scale reliability.

Person-organization fit.

Cable and DeRue's (2002) scale of person-organization fit (P-O fit) was

leveraged to understand the degree to which participants felt like their values would align

with the perceived values of XYZ Advertising. Ratings were made on a seven-point

Likert scale, anchored from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree). Higher scores

indicate increasing levels of perceived P-O fit between the respondent and the company.

Past studies report a Cronbach's alpha of .92, indicating a high level of internal

consistency. Cable and DeRue (2002) also found a significant correlation between this P-

O fit scale and overall job satisfaction (r = .53, $p < .01$). An example item from the P-O

fit scale reads "This organization's values and culture would provide a good fit with the

things I value in life." The three items resulted in a Cronbach's alpha of .97. The

reliability analyses indicated that the removal of items would not increase the scale

reliability.

Perceived justice.

The battery of justice measures combines four distributive justice items, seven

procedural justice items, four interpersonal justice items, and five informational justice

items (Colquitt, 2001). Four items from Colquitt's (2001) scale were used to measure the

perceived levels of justice that participants anticipated receiving from XYZ Advertising. Ratings were made on a seven-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Due to the nature of the study, of particular interest are those items relating to the interpersonal justice construct. Items pertaining to distributive justice, procedural justice, and informational justice are not relevant to the participants' point of reference. Interpersonal justice items are written in a fashion that positions participants to gauge perceived justice; for example, an item reads "To what extent does the company treat you with respect?" In order to remain constant with the frame of reference, items were adapted to be future-oriented; the item used in this study read "To what extent *would this* company treat you with respect?" Colquitt (2001) found a significant correlation between the interpersonal justice scale and group commitment and helping behavior ($p < .05$). A high level of internal reliability was also found, with a Cronbach's alpha of .92. In this study, the four items produced a Cronbach's alpha of .90. The reliability analyses indicated that the removal of items would not increase the scale reliability.

Manipulation checks.

Due to the fact that it was critical for participants to truly digest the information from the manipulation (i.e., XYZ Advertising website pages), four manipulation check items were included in the survey. Two of the items had a static correct answer, regarldess of the condition of the manipulation in which a participant was placed. For example, one static question read "The name of the company is:" with the option answers of: (a) ABC Consulting; (b) XYZ Advertising; (c) Accenture Advertising; and (d) XYZ Technology Services. The correct answers for the other two items were dependent upon

the condition of the manipulation in which a participant was place. For example, one of conditional question read "The letter emphasizes that the company wants a workforce that:" with the option answers of: (a) Lives within the local area; (b) Derives strength from diversity; (c) Embraces similarities; (d) Mirrors the demographics of the clients. If the participant was placed into the integration-and-learning condition, answer (b) would be correct; whereas if the participant was placed into the access-and-legitimacy condition, answer (d) would be correct. If the participant was placed into the discrimination-and-fairness condition, answer (c) would be correct.

Results

Analyses.

An analysis of the participants suggest a fairly even random placement of participants into the groups of diversity perspectives, as 31% of participants who completed the study were placed into the integration-and-learning perspective, 35% into the access-and-legitimacy perspective, and 34% into the discrimination-and-fairness perspective. The participants then responded to a series of items comprising of the dependent variables, manipulation/attention checks, and demographics.

As shown in Table 3, the means and standard deviations are within expected ranges for each of the three ideology scales as well as the four dependent variables. Also depicted in Table 3 are the correlations between each of the ideology scales; it is noteworthy that the correlation between multiculturalism and colorblindness was significant and in a negative direction ($r = -.190$, $p < .01$). This suggests that the participants in the study, in comparison to the mostly White sample in Experiment 1, did acknowledge more of a difference between multiculturalism and colorblindness.

Additionally, a significant correlation was found between colorblindness and tokenism (r = -.302, p < .01). The correlation between tokenism and multiculturalism did not reach a level of significance (r = .042, p > .05).

In order to experimentally test hypothesis 2 and determine whether the three diversity perspectives influenced different perceived ideologies of multiculturalism, colorblindness, and tokenism attributable to racial group membership, three univariate analyses of variance were conducted. First, the diversity perspective manipulation on multiculturalism was significant, F (2, 261) = 48.954, p = .000. Racial group membership on ratings of multiculturalism was not significant, F (1, 261) = .245, p = .621. The interaction of diversity perspective manipulations and racial group membership on ratings of multiculturalism was not significant, F (2, 261) = .382, p = .683. Post hoc results indicate that there was not a significant difference on multiculturalism ratings between the integration-and-learning perspective and the access-and-legitimacy perspective (p = .715). There were significant differences between the ratings on multiculturalism between the integration-and-learning perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective (p = .000) and the access-and-legitimacy perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective (p = .000). A means comparison suggests that the integration-and-learning perspective did create a trend in which participants indicated that this perspective was most aligned with multicultural ideologies. However, similar to Experiment 1, participants did not see the integration-and-learning perspective as more greatly valuing multiculturalism than the access-and-legitimacy perspective.

The diversity perspective manipulation on colorblindness was significant, F (2, 261) = 44.637, p = .000. Racial group membership on ratings of colorblindness was not significant, F (1, 261) = 2.226, p = .137. The interaction of diversity perspective manipulations and racial group membership on ratings of colorblindness was significant, F (2, 261) = 5.041, p = .007. Post hoc results indicate that there were significant differences on colorblindness ratings between the integration-and-learning perspective and the access-and-legitimacy perspective (p = .000), the integration-and-learning perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective (p = .001) and the access-and-legitimacy perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective (p = .000). A means comparison suggests that the discrimination-and-fairness perspective did create a trend in which participants indicated that this perspective was most aligned with colorblind ideologies, see Figure 7.

The diversity perspective manipulation on tokenism was significant, F (2, 261) = 13.437, p = .000. Racial group membership on ratings of colorblindness was not significant, F (1, 261) = 0.027, p = .869. The interaction of diversity perspective manipulations and racial group membership on ratings of colorblindness was not significant, F (2, 261) = .742, p = .477. Post hoc results indicate that there were significant differences on colorblindness ratings between the integration-and-learning perspective and the access-and-legitimacy perspective (p = .000) and the access-and-legitimacy perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective (p = .000). The integration-and-learning perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective did not reach a level of significance (p = .982). A means comparison suggests that the

access-and-legitimacy perspective did create a trend in which participants indicated that this perspective was most aligned with tokenism ideologies.

The dependent variables were all significantly and highly correlated with one another. Organizational attraction was correlated with organization trust ($r = .831$, $p > .01$), P-O fit ($r = .877$, $p > .01$), and perceived justice ($r = .828$, $p > .01$,). Organizational trust was correlated with P-O fit ($r = .770$, $p > .01$,) and perceived justice ($r = .833$, $p > .01$). Finally P-O fit was significantly correlated with perceived justice ($r = .779$, $p > .01$). This indicates that all four dependent variables were highly correlated with one another.

It was hypothesized that because the three diversity perspectives coined by Ely & Thomas (2001) would be representative of the corresponding diversity ideologies, such that White/Caucasian participants would respond differently than Black/African American participants. Specifically, an interaction was expected between racial group membership and diversity frame such that both racial groups will respond most favorably to the integration-and-learning perspective; however, Whites will respond more favorably to the access-and-legitimacy and the discrimination-and-fairness perspectives than will Blacks. That is, it was expected that the results would mirror the graph found in Figure 3.

As such, this general trend was expected for all four of the outcome variables—that majorities would favor the access-and-legitimacy perspective more than minorities, and that minorities would favor the discrimination and fairness perspective more than majorities, while the integration-and-learning perspective produces equally favorable results, regardless of racial group membership.

Given that the correlational analyses indicated that the dependent variables (e.g., organizational attraction, organizational trust, P-O fit, and perceived justice) were highly related; in order to assess whether the White and Black participants interpreted the three diversity perspectives in different ways, a multivariate analysis of variance was conducted to test for this interaction. The multivariate interaction was not statistically significant, Wilks' Λ = 0.960, F (2, 267) = 1.321, p = .230. However, the multivariate main effect for diversity perspective was statistically significant, Wilks' Λ = 0.907, F (2, 267) = 3.242, p = .001. This indicates that the diversity perspectives were significantly influencing the perceptions of organizational attraction, organizational trust, P-O fit, and perceived justice. The multivariate main effect for race is also statistically significant, Wilks' Λ = 0.962, F (1, 267) = 2.580, p = .038. This indicates that the perceptions of organizational attraction, organizational trust, P-O fit, and perceived justice were dependent, in part, on the whether or not a participant self-identified as White or Black. The results suggest that individually, the effects of diversity perspective and race on the combination dependent variable are significant, but the interaction is not.

Investigating the main effects between the independent variables and the dependent variables resulted in some findings of statistical significance. Specifically, the diversity perspective manipulation had a statistically significant main effect on the four dependent variables: organizational attraction, F (2, 267) = 7.953, p = .000; organizational trust, F (2, 267) = 5.209, p = .001; P-O fit, F (2, 267) = 8.833, p = .000; and perceived justice, F (2, 267) = 3.983, p = .020.

Regarding organizational attraction, as depicted in Figure 8, Tukey's HSD does not indicate a significant difference between the integration-and-learning perspective and

the discrimination-and-fairness perspective (p = .806). However, a statistically

significant difference was found between the access-and-legitimacy perspective and the

discrimination-and-fairness perspective (p = .007), such that the discrimination-and-

fairness perspective reflected higher ratings of organizational attraction. A statistically

significant difference was also found between the integration-and-learning and access-

and-legitimacy perspectives (p = .001), such that the integration-and-learning perspective

reflected higher ratings of organizational attraction. Racial group membership did not

have a statistically significant main effect on organizational attraction, $F (1, 267) = 2.532$,

p = .113. These results suggest that regardless of their race, participants found the

website that was meant to portray tokenism to be the least favorable. Additionally,

regardless of their race, participants found the websites that were meant to portray

multiculturalism and colorblindness to be equally attractive.

In reference to organizational trust, as shown in Figure 9, Tukey's HSD does not

indicate a significant difference between the integration-and-learning perspective and the

discrimination-and-fairness perspective (p = .893). However, statistically significant

differences were found between the access-and-legitimacy perspective and the

discrimination-and-fairness perspective (p = .005), such that the discrimination-and-

fairness perspective reflected higher ratings of organizational trust. A statistically

significant difference was also found between the integration-and-learning and access-

and-legitimacy perspectives (p = .001), such that the integration-and-learning perspective

reflected higher ratings of organizational trust. Racial group membership did not have a

statistically significant main effect on organizational trust, $F (1, 267) = 0.024$, p = .876.

Identical to the results of the organizational attraction analyses, the results for

organizational trust suggest that regardless of their race, participants found the tokenism-themed website to be the least favorable. Additionally, regardless of their race, participants found the websites that were meant to portray multiculturalism and colorblindness to be equally attractive.

In reference to P-O fit, as shown in Figure 10, Tukey's HSD does not indicate a significant difference between the integration-and-learning perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective ($p = .403$). However, statistically significant differences were found between the access-and-legitimacy perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective ($p = .016$), such that the discrimination-and-fairness perspective reflected higher ratings of P-O Fit. A statistically significant difference was also found between the integration-and-learning and access-and-legitimacy perspectives ($p = .000$), such that the integration-and-learning perspective reflected higher ratings of P-O fit. Racial group membership did not have a statistically significant main effect on P-O fit, F $(1, 267) = 2.255$, $p = .134$. Following the trends found with organizational attraction and organizational trust, the results for P-O fit suggest that regardless of their race, participants found the website that was meant to portray tokenism to be the least favorable. Additionally, regardless of their race, participants found the websites that were meant to portray multiculturalism and colorblindness to be equally attractive.

In reference to perceived justice, as shown in Figure 11, Tukey's HSD does not indicate a significant difference between the integration-and-learning perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective ($p = .954$). There was a marginally significant difference found between the access-and-legitimacy perspective and the integration-and-

learning perspectives ($p = .068$), such that the integration-and-learning perspective reflected higher ratings of perceived justice. Additionally, a statistically significant difference was found between the access-and-legitimacy perspective and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective ($p = .028$), such that the discrimination-and-fairness perspective reflected higher ratings of perceived justice. Racial group membership did not have a statistically significant main effect on P-O fit, $F(1, 267) = 0.095$, $p = .759$. These results suggest that among the four dependent variables, the access-and-legitimacy perspective received the least favorable ratings when it came to perceived justice.

As just described, the diversity perspectives resulted in differences in levels of the reported dependent variables; however, the racial group membership did not have a statistically significant main effect on the four dependent variables.

Discussion

The chief goal of Experiment 2 was to test the relationships between the integration-and-learning perspective, the access-and-legitimacy perspective, and the discrimination-and-fairness perspective with the specified organizational outcomes of organizational attraction, organizational trust, P-O fit, and perceived justice. Partial support of the proposed hypothesis was found.

It was proposed that an interaction would exist between racial group membership (majority vs. minority) and diversity perspectives such that such that participants from both racial groups will respond most favorably to the integration-and-learning perspective whereas racial minorities will respond less favorably to the discrimination-and-fairness perspective and access-and-legitimacy perspectives than will racial majorities.

The results of Experiment 2 suggest that there was not the interaction between racial group membership and diversity perspective that we had predicted. This result can be interpreted such that the effect of the intervention of diversity perspective on the dependent variables was largely the same for both majority and minority group members. The exception was a significant interaction between the diversity perspective manipulations and racial group membership on ratings of colorblindness. This suggests that majority and minority group members reported different ratings of colorblindness depending upon the diversity perspectives in which they were placed. However, when investigating the effects of the diversity perspectives on the organizational outcomes for Experiment 2, the favorability of the access-and-legitimacy perspective was consistently lower than the ratings for the other two diversity perspectives, no matter the participants' racial group membership.

In sum, although we did not find statistical significant differences as hypothesized, we were able to find the general trends we had anticipated in terms of the favorability of the three companies based on their diversity perspectives. A company that projects their diversity culture in an online format that is analogous to tokenism will create the impression that they are neither an attractive nor a trustworthy organization. Furthermore, the trends of tokenism would likely generate the illusion that candidates would not fit well within the organization, nor would they feel a sense of justice from being an employee for that organization. It is not a stretch of the imagination to understand how a candidate looking at an organization's diversity statement, should it be related to tokenism, may feel used for their demographic attributes rather than their personality, skills, abilities, ideas, and background.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

A major takeaway from these experiments surrounds the fact that although the significant differences found did not completely align with what was hypothesized, those differences that were found are important. This suggests that the methods that companies use to market their diversity ideologies can elicit varying degrees of organizational favorability.

Building upon Ely and Thomas' (2001) qualitative research is another key takeaway from this overall study. To the best of our knowledge, this study was the first to place an experimental method to gather quantitative data surrounding the three diversity perspectives coined by Ely and Thomas. This study also builds upon Ely and Thomas' work by investigating the connections between their three coined diversity perspectives and the more recognized diversity ideologies of multiculturalism, colorblindness, and tokenism. Given the lack of strong empirical evidence of the diversity perspective theory found in this particular study, it is possible that Ely & Thomas' coined theory is not able to be replicated outside of the three organizations they studied. It is plausible that the theory they developed is so dependent upon the specific organizational culture of diversity that it is difficult to find similar results. Additionally, Ely and Thomas' work, as well as this study, looked at the effects of diversity from an interdependent and organizational level. It would not be a surprise to learn that the effects are, at least in part, attributable to individual differences. For example, Pinel (1999) argued that certain stable individual differences my impact the extent to which people expect to be stereotyped or discriminated against. Pinel's 1999 work found that

individual's levels of stigma consciousness, or the extent to which individuals expect to be stereotyped, could have an impact on the ways that individuals perceive varying diversity ideologies.

One interesting finding is that the perspective that was consistently producing the most negative reactions was the access-and-legitimacy perspective. Ely and Thomas (2001) found that the access-and-legitimacy perspective, which is intuitively tied to diversity ideologies of tokenism in this study, highlights an organization's diversity with the intent of matching the diversity of the organization to the markets in which the organization operates. This perspective uses diversity as an advantage to financial gains. Organizations that employ this type of diversity perspective only use diversity as a way to connect to a more diverse market—they do not make efforts to incorporate diversity into their core organizational functions. It is understandable that the access-and-legitimacy perspective provoked the lowest levels of organizational attraction, organizational trust, P-O fit, and perceived justice, as this perspective attempts to minimize people's experiences of diversity and rely upon the superficiality of diversity presentations. Therefore, the results of this study, as they relate to the access-and-legitimacy perspective, are in alignment with the findings of Ely and Thomas' (2001) qualitative work.

LIMITATIONS

The research conducted as a part of this study raises a number of questions and insights that future researchers should consider and methodologies they may benefit from using in order to investigate the effects of companies' diversity perspectives on job applicants. The results suggest that, at times, participants struggled to see the difference between diversity perspectives in the ways that Ely & Thomas suggested they would. After the completion of Experiment 1, it was hypothesized that this could be partly attributed to the primarily White sample of participants. For example, both of the letters written to portray the integration-and-learning perspective and the access-and-legitimacy perspective send off the message that the organization values minorities. It was thought that the superficiality of the valuing of diversity may have been difficult for participants to pick up on via the website used as the manipulation in this study. Additionally, the difference in superficiality may be more difficult for Whites to see than for minorities to see. However, the data from Experiment 2, which did include Black participants, told much of the same story—that there were not major differences caused by racial group membership.

While Ely and Thomas (2001) sought to develop the theory behind people's experiences in culturally diverse workforces, the present study was employed with the goal of verifying the theory. The environments that Ely and Thomas described cannot be fully captured from a scientific study using websites as the main manipulation. Looking forward, a similar study could employ an experimental design in order to again test the theory developed by Ely and Thomas, perhaps by making use of a different manipulation

method that could more strongly create the differences between the three diversity perspectives. Perhaps a video clip representing the diversity perspectives could increase the overall fidelity of the scenario, thereby increasing the potency and realism of the diversity perspectives, which could in turn produce the hypothesized differences attributable to racial group membership.

Another potential study design may involve asking workers to recall working for a company that aligned with one of the three diversity perspectives. Participants could represent the integration-and-learning perspective if they had experienced an organization that used group members' insights, skills, and unique experiences due to cultural disparate as an advantage. Organizations that employ the integration-and-learning perspective bring together a diverse group of people who share the desire to combine differences in order to best achieve a mission. Other participants' workplace experience may align more strongly with the discrimination-and-fairness perspective. In this type of workplace, a culturally diversified workforce is regarded as a moral standard. Participants who have worked in a discrimination-and-fairness type of environment may feel that their company believed a diverse work group is meant to act as a positive symbol to reflect fair treatment. Or, a participant may indicate that they have worked in a workplace environment that most closely aligns with the access-and-legitimacy perspective. Here, the organization leverages workplace diversity as a mechanism to advance profit. Once the participants have been matched with an appropriate diversity perspective, the participants could be asked to make ratings about the favorability of the organization (organizational attraction, organizational trust, P-O fit, and justice) in a retroactive frame of mind. This approach would be relying up real-world examples,

including the collaborative, workgroup nature of the workplace, rather than manipulations on an individual level, to gauge the overall favorability of organizations. Ely and Thomas' work was conducted in a context where people work together in groups, whereas this study did not have any workgroup components.

Another noteworthy finding from this project involves the finding that the four dependent variables (organizational attraction, organizational trust, P-O fit, and perceived justice) included in Experiment 2 were very highly correlated. This makes intuitive sense; for example, if a participant felt that they felt like the company was a safe and trustworthy environment, it is unlikely that the participant would also indicate that the company was not an attractive place to work. Future studies may consider using a single organizational factor as a main dependent variable, as very little differences were found amongst the four dependent variables used in this study. In addition, these constructs may need further clarification, as they are presumed to be related, but distinct in the literature. The cause of the high correlations among the dependent variable may be specific to the sample or experimental design used in this project; however, the correlations are strong enough that we encourage future researchers to explore the relationship further.

Looking forward, it would be an interesting undertaking to conduct a similar research study using documents that depict diversity statements from an existing company. Using the company's real diversity information as a resource, it could be interesting to see if the employees' perceptions of the company's diversity perspective— whether it be integration-and-learning, discrimination-and-fairness, or access-and-legitimacy, is aligned to the viewpoints of the company's leadership team.

IMPLICATIONS

The focus of this overall study was to investigate the ways in which the portrayal of a company's diversity perspective can influence job seekers' thoughts about the company. We were manipulating the diversity perspectives as the independent variable in this experimental study. Diversity perspectives are a serious aspect of a company, given that they concern the ways in which employees interpret and act upon their experiences of cultural identity differences within a workforce. It is critical that a company truly captures and represents the company's viewpoint on diversity. Misrepresenting the diversity perspectives of a company, whether intentionally or unintentionally, could result in issues such as turnover due to a lack of person-organization fit, a lack of trustworthy culture, and feelings of injustice. Therefore, it is essential that should companies choose to represent their viewpoint on diversity, they do so in a manner that is accurate.

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TABLES

Table 1

Descriptives and Correlations among the Ideology Scales in Experiment 1

	α	N	M	SD	Multiculturalism	Colorblindness	Tokenism
Multiculturalism	0.77	160	5.19	1.20	1.00		
Colorblindness	0.68	160	4.84	1.20	.170*	1.00	
Tokenism	0.69	160	3.57	1.01	-0.008	-0.322*	1.00

*Correlation is significant at $p < .05$ (2-tailed)   **Correlation is significant at $p < .01$ (2-tailed)

Table 2
Reported Industries for Experiment 2 (N=267)

Reported Industry	Count	Reported Industry	Count
Accounting	2	Security	2
Arts & Entertainment	7	Self-Employed	2
Automotive	2	Services	5
Business	3	Software	2
Construction	6	Student	2
Crowdsourcing	2	Technology	4
Custodial	2	Telecommunications	4
Customer Service	6	Unemployed	3
Education	21	No Response	13
Engineering	3	Other	41
Finance	12		
Food Services	11		
Government	3		
Healthcare	19		
Hospitality	2		
Information Technology	13		
Insurance	4		
Management	3		
Manufacturing	13		
Marketing	3		
Non-Profit	2		
Publishing	4		
Real Estate	3		
Restaurant	3		
Retail	23		
Sales	17		

Table 3

Descriptives and Correlations among All Scales in Experiment 2

	α	N	M	SD	Org Att	Org Trust	P-O Fit	Justice	MC	CB	TOK
Org Att	.98	267	5.09	1.37	1						
Org Trust	.90	267	3.65	.85	.831**	1					
P-O Fit	.97	267	4.87	1.63	.877**	.770**	1				
Justice	.90	267	5.32	1.24	.828**	.833**	.779**	1			
MC	-	267	4.70	1.99	.270**	.206**	.281**	.249**	1		
CB	-	267	4.57	1.98	.383**	.355**	.384**	.348**	-.190**	1	
TOK	-	267	3.65	1.95	-.487**	-.527**	-.464**	-.468**	.042	-.302**	1

*Correlation is significant at *p* < .05 (2-tailed)   **Correlation is significant at *p* < .01 (2-tailed)

FIGURES
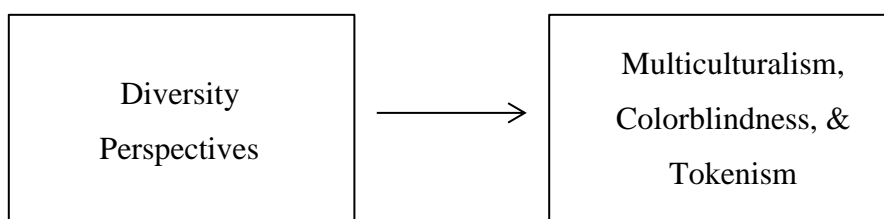
Figure 1. Hypothesized model for Experiment 1.
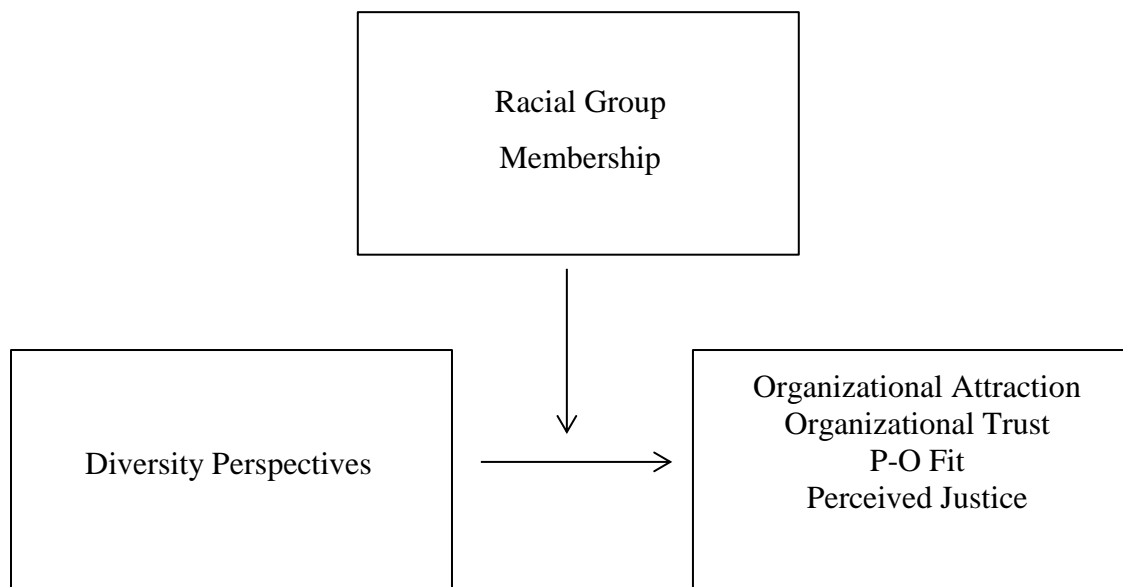
Figure 2. Hypothesized model for Experiment 2.
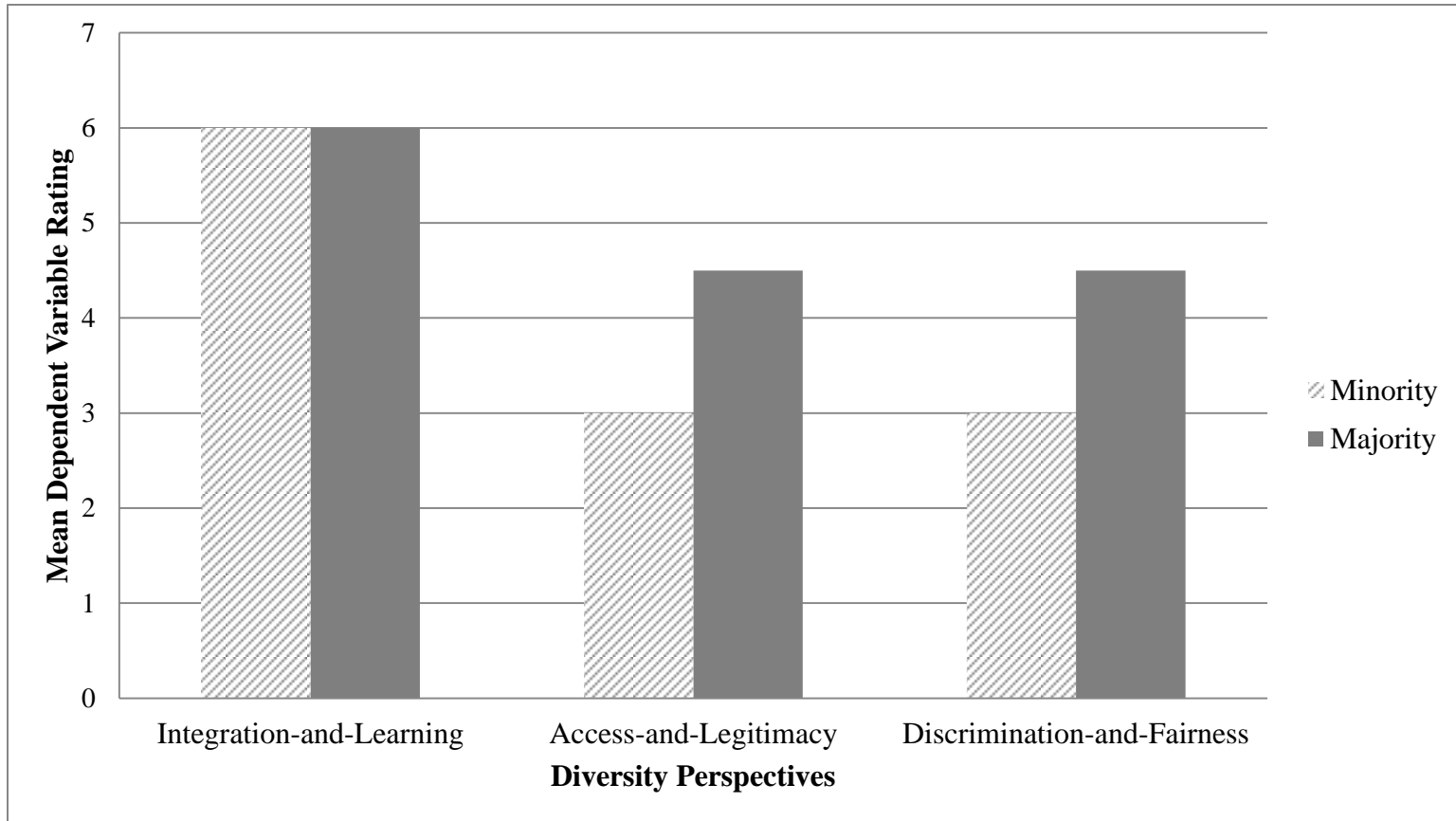
Figure 3. Expected Trend of Dependent Variables by Diversity Perspective and Racial Group for Experiment 2.
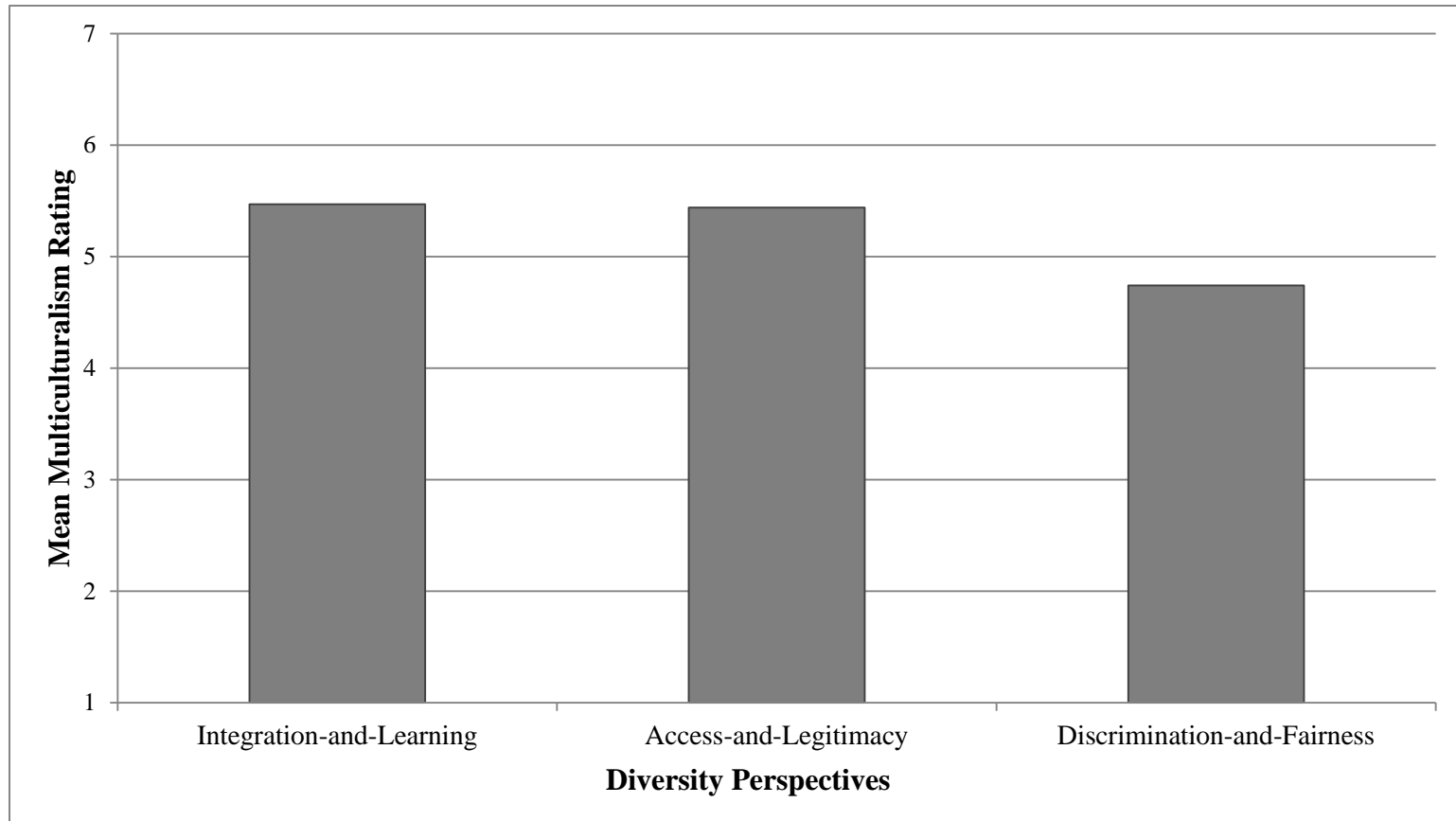
Figure 4. Overall Diversity Ideology Ratings by Diversity Perspectives, Experiment 1. Mean multiculturalism rating by diversity perspective.
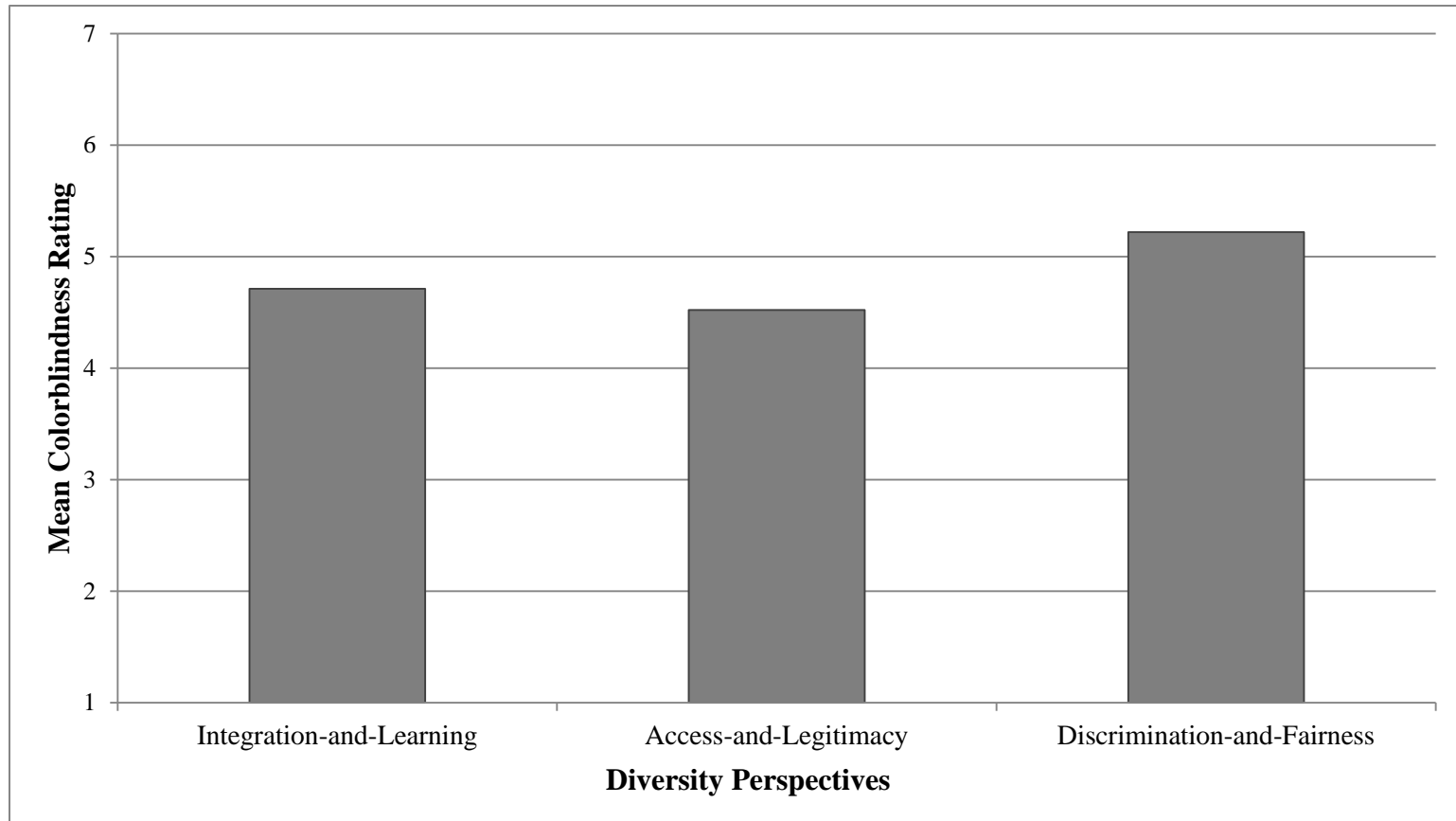
Figure 5. Overall Diversity Ideology Ratings by Diversity Perspectives, Experiment 1. Mean colorblindness rating by diversity perspective.
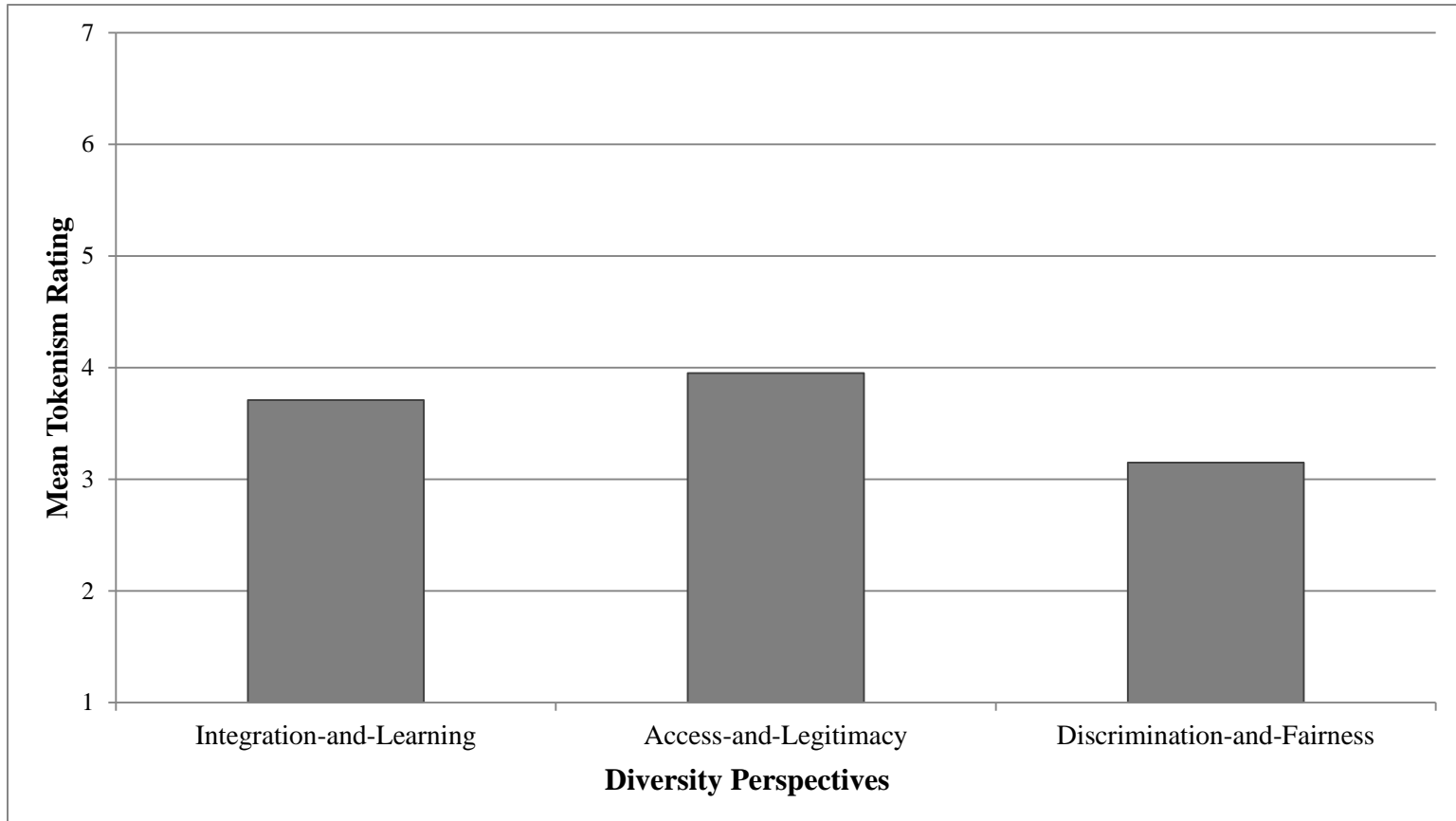
Figure 6. Overall Diversity Ideology Ratings by Diversity Perspectives, Experiment 1. Mean tokenism rating by diversity perspective.
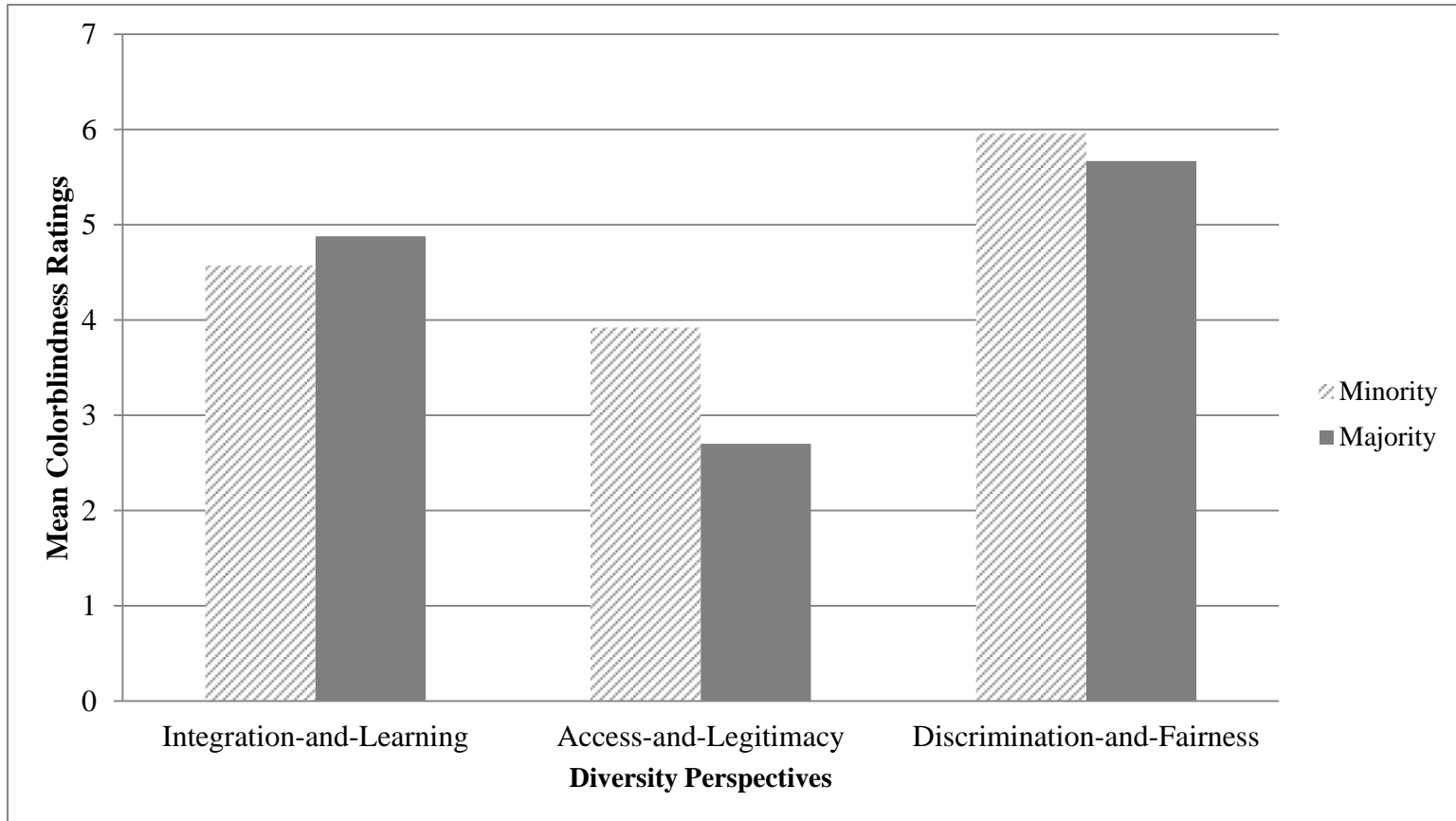
Figure 7. Interaction of diversity perspective and racial group membership on colorblindness ratings.
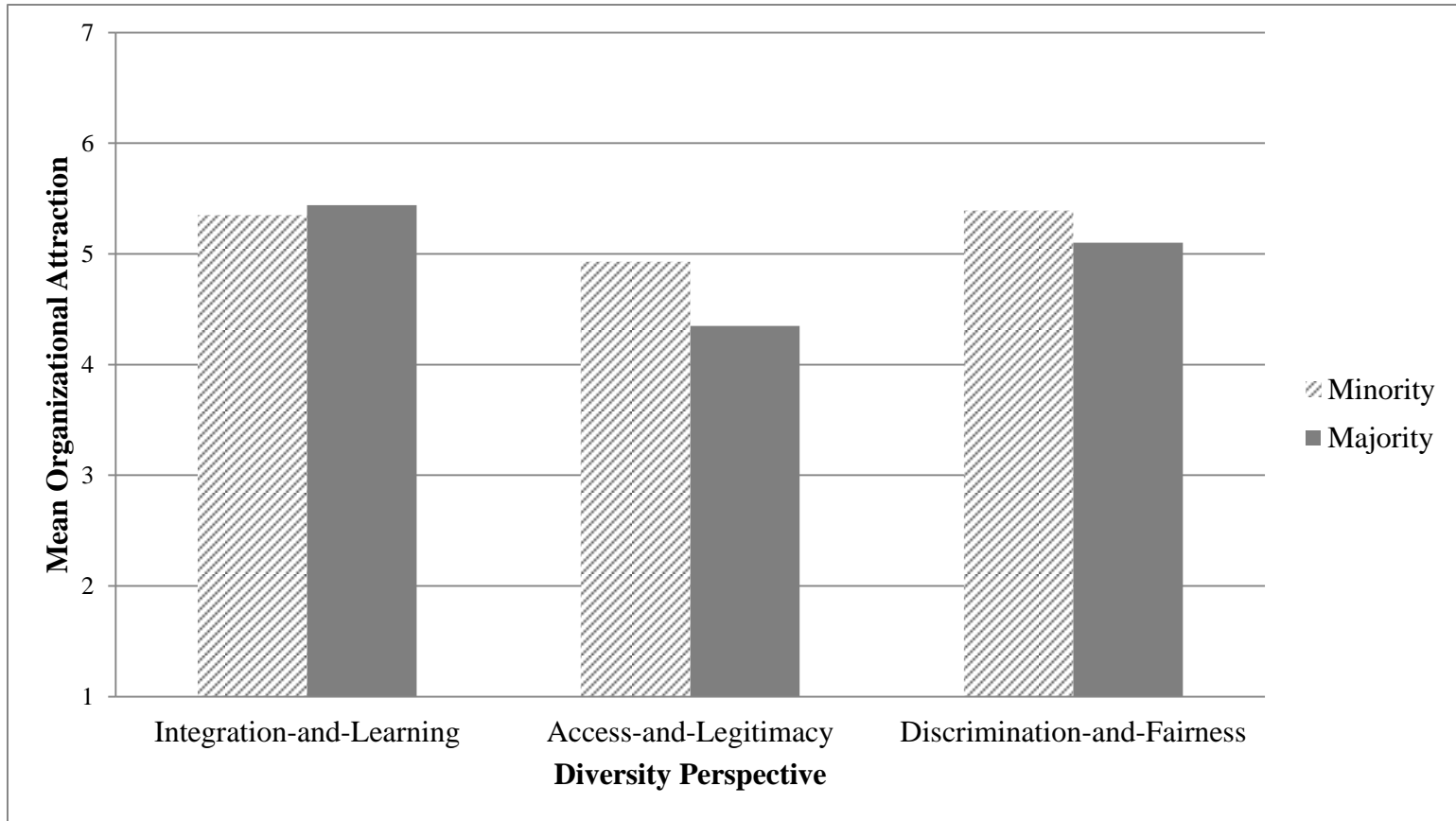
Figure 8. Observed Organizational Attraction Ratings by Diversity Perspective and Racial Group for Experiment 2.
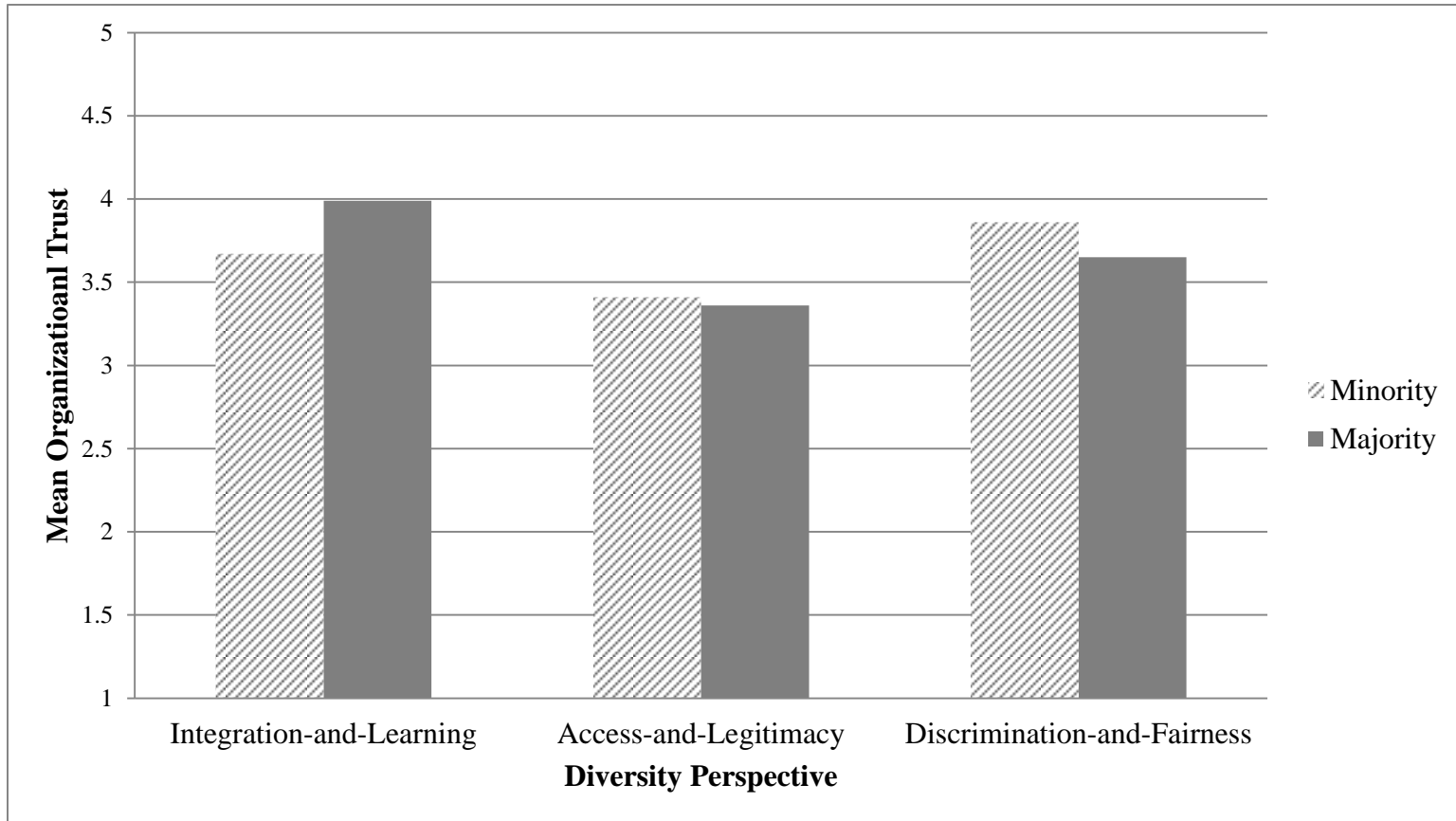
Figure 9. Observed Organizational Trust Ratings by Diversity Perspective and Racial Group for Experiment 2.
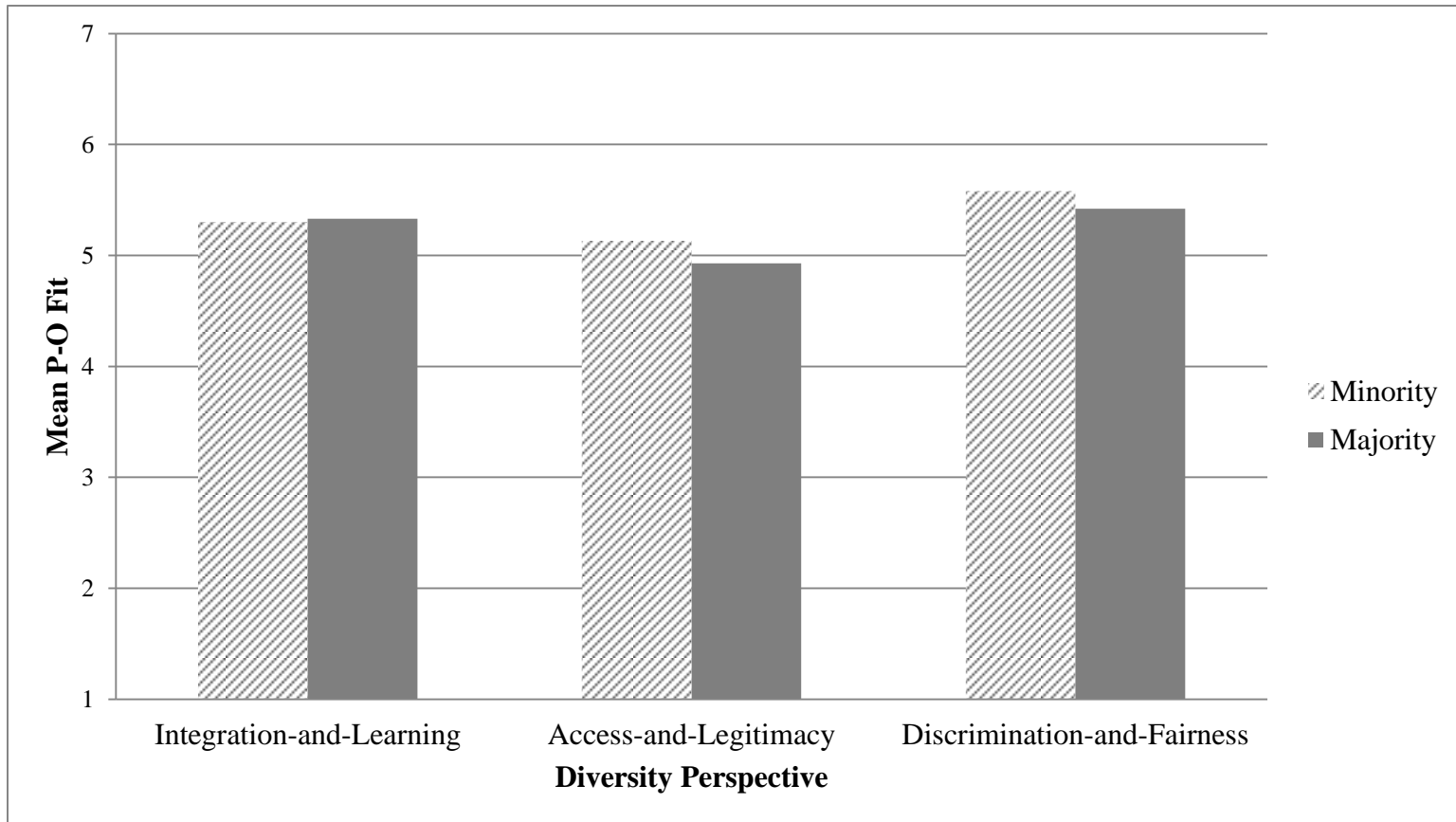
Figure 10. Observed P-O Fit Ratings by Diversity Perspective and Racial Group for Experiment 2.
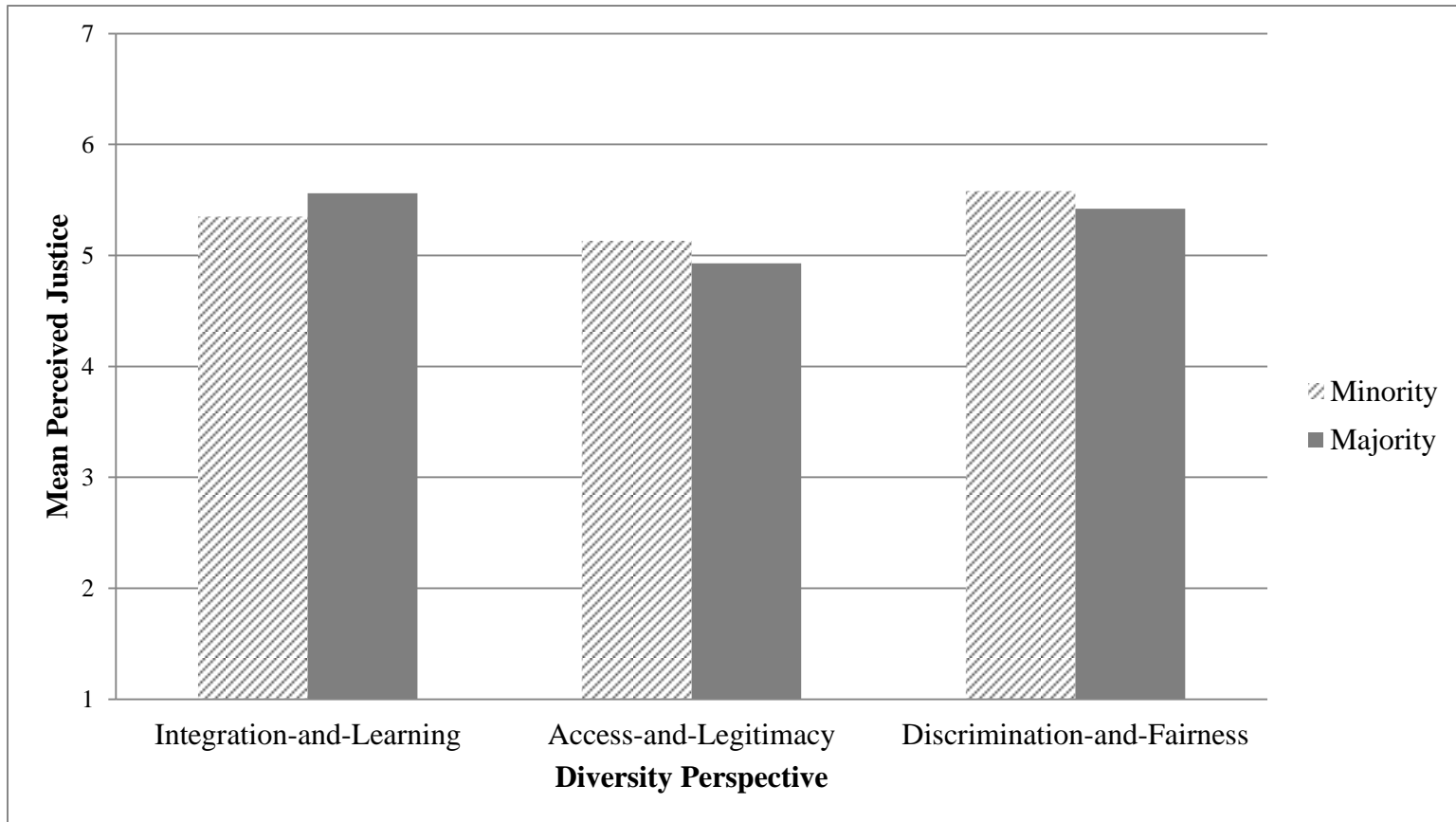
Figure 11. Observed Perceived Justice Ratings by Diversity Perspective and Racial Group for Experiment 2.

APPENDIX A

Materials used in Experiment 1

IRB STUDY #1503071387

INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDY INFORMATION SHEET FOR

Reactions to Companies' Websites

You are invited to participate in a research study of job applicants' thoughts about a company's website design. We ask that you read this screen and contact the researcher with any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

The study is being conducted by Leslie Ashburn-Nardo, Ph.D., a faculty member in the IUPUI Department of Psychology, and her graduate student, Kelsey Stephens.

STUDY PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to investigate factors related to job applicants' perceptions of a company's website. Findings may be used to inform organizations' website designs.

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY

If you agree to be in the study, you will be asked to complete an online survey, which can be accessed by clicking the button below. You will be asked to pretend to be a job seeker throughout the study, and you will be prompted to view and evaluate a company's website, whether you would apply for a job in the company, etc. You will then be asked to provide some information regarding your demographic characteristics and your attitudes. The survey is a one-time commitment and should take approximately 15 minutes to complete.

CONFIDENTIALITY

This survey is entirely anonymous and confidential; we will not collect any personal information from you. Organizations that may inspect and/or copy your research records for quality assurance and data analysis include groups such as the study investigator and her research associates, the Indiana University Institutional Review Board or its designees, and (as allowed by law) state or federal agencies, specifically the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP), who may need to access your research records.

PAYMENT

You will receive credit for taking part in this study. Specifically, you will receive 0.5 units of experimental credit.

CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

For questions about the study, contact the researcher, Dr. Leslie Ashburn-Nardo, at lashburn@iupui.edu. For questions about your rights as a research participant or to discuss problems, complaints or concerns about a research study, or to obtain information, or offer input, contact the IU Human Subjects Office at (317) 278-3458 or (800) 696-2949 or by email at irb@iu.edu.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF STUDY

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part or may leave the study at any time. Leaving the study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled.

Letters from the CEO of XYZ Advertising: Webpage representing the integration-and-learning perspective in Experiment 1.

Letters from the CEO of XYZ Advertising: Webpage representing the access-and-legitimacy perspective in Experiment 1.

Letters from the CEO of XYZ Advertising: Webpage representing the discrimination-and-fairness perspective in Experiment 1.

After viewing the website screenshot, participants will be asked to complete the following measures.

Ideologies

Multiculturalism. Items adapted from Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, and Casas (2007). Items delivered randomly. Instructions: On a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), please indicate the extent to which you believe the following about XYZ Advertising.

1. This company adopts a multicultural perspective.
2. This company recognizes that there are differences between racial groups.
3. This company emphasizes the importance of appreciating group differences between racial groups.
4. This company accepts each racial group's positive and negative qualities.

Colorblindness. Items adapted from Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, and Casas (2007). Items delivered randomly. Instructions: On a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), please indicate the extent to which you believe the following about XYZ Advertising.

1. This company judges employees as individuals rather than members of a racial group.
2. This company recognizes that all people are basically the same regardless of their race.
3. This company recognizes that all people are created equally regardless of their race.
4. This company adopts a colorblind perspective in which employees' racial group membership is considered unimportant.

Tokenism. Items adapted King, Hebl, George, and Matusik (2009). Items delivered randomly. Instructions: On a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), please indicate the extent to which you believe the following about XYZ Advertising.

1. People at this company would look at minority employees as representatives of all people of their race.
2. Minority employees would feel that they are "token" representatives of their race at this company.
3. Minority employees at this company would feel they have to represent the perspective of their race at this company.
4. Minority employees would have to explain the perspective of their race to others at this company.
5. Minority employees would feel accepted as individuals rather than as token members of their race at this company.*
    *Represents a reverse scored item

Organizational Attraction
Items from Highhouse, Lievens, and Sinar (2003). Instructions: Please rate items from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) as they relate to XYZ Advertising.

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 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.

Prestige
11. Employees are probably proud to say they work at this company.
12. This is a reputable company to work for.
13. This company probably has a reputation as being an excellent employer.
14. I would find this company a prestigious place to work.
15. There are probably many who would like to work at this company.
    *Represents a reverse scored item

Manipulation check items
Correct answers to the items below depend on the condition to which participants are randomly assigned.

1. The name of the company is:
    a. ABC Consulting
    b. XYZ Advertising
    c. Accenture Advertising
    d. XYZ Technology Services

2. The letter from the CEO was found on which of the following pages?
    a. News and events
    b. About us
    c. Our values
    d. Blog

3. The letter states that the company:
    a. Strives to foster mutual respect among their employees
    b. Won a diversity award
    c. Believes diversity is a good business sense
    d. Emphasizes employees' similarities, not differences

4. To ensure your attention and participation, please select 'Finance'
   a. Marketing
   b. Finance
   c. Business
   d. Brokerage

5. The CEO of the company and author of the letter is named:
   a. Riley Williams
   b. Whitney Woodrow
   c. Ronald Montgomery
   d. William Bernstein

6. The letter emphasizes that the company wants a workforce that:
   a. Lives within the local area
   b. Promotes thinking outside the box
   c. Adapts to the company's ideas
   d. Matches the customer base

7. Why does the company value diversity?
   a. It leads to profit
   b. It promotes creativity and innovation
   c. It is all about finding common ground
   d. No information was provided about diversity

Attention Check Item

Item adapted from Oppenheimer, Meyvis, and Davidenko (2009)

Instructions: In order to facilitate our research on reactions to companies' websites, we are interested in knowing certain factors about you, the participant in this study. Specifically, we are interested in whether you actually take the time to read the directions; if not, then some of our manipulations that rely on changes in the instructions will be ineffective. So, in order to demonstrate that you have read the changes in instructions, please ignore the sports items below. Instead, simply select the next button in order to proceed to the next screen. Thank you.

1. Which of the following activities do you engage in regularly? (Click all that apply)

   a. Skiing
   b. Soccer
   c. Snowboarding
   d. Football
   e. Swimming
   f. Tennis
   g. Hockey

Distractor Items

Instructions: Please rate items from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) as they relate to XYZ Advertising's website.

1. The colors used on the company website are bright.
2. The colors used on the company website are cheerful.
3. The font size used on the company website was ideal.
4. The font used on the company website was outdated.
5. The font used on the company website was easy to read.
6. This company's website is appealing.
7. This company's website is professional.
8. This company's website is informative.

Demographic questions

1. Did you give your best effort on this study? Please note that you will receive research credit regardless of your answer.
   a. I gave my best effort
   b. I gave partial effort
   c. I gave minimal effort
   d. I gave no effort

2. What is your gender?
   (Open-ended text box response)

3. With which racial/ethnic groups do you identify?
   (Open-ended text box response)

4. How old are you (in years)?
   (Open-ended text box response)

5. Throughout your working life, how much experience do you have working in part-time positions?
   a. No experience
   b. 1-3 years
   c. 3-5 years
   d. 5-10 years
   e. 10-15 years
   f. 15+ years

6. Throughout your working life, how much experience do you have working in full-time positions?
   a. No experience
   b. 1-3 years
   c. 3-5 years
   d. 5-10 years

     e.   10-15 years
     f.   15+ years

7. How long have you lived in the United States?
     a.   Less than 1 year
     b.   1-5 years
     c.   6-10 years
     d.   11-15 years
     e.   16-20 years
     f.   more than 20 years

8. How would you describe your current household economic situation?
     a.   I often struggle to make ends meet in order to have the basics (food, clothing, shelter).
     b.   I don't struggle to make ends meet in order to have the basics (food, clothing, shelter), but I don't have excess income to spend on luxuries (e.g., expensive clothing, cars, vacation homes) either.
     c.   I am very comfortable financially; there are few things I cannot buy or do if I want to.

APPENDIX B

Materials used in Experiment 2

IRB STUDY #1505717620

INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDY INFORMATION SHEET FOR

Job Applicant Reactions to Companies' Websites

You are invited to participate in a research study of job applicants' thoughts about a company's website design. You were selected as a possible subject because you are a working adult on Amazon's Mechanical Turk. We ask that you read this screen and contact the researcher with any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

The study is being conducted by Leslie Ashburn-Nardo, Ph.D., a faculty member in the IUPUI Department of Psychology, and her graduate student, Kelsey Stephens. It is internally funded.

STUDY PURPOSE
The purpose of this study is to investigate factors related to job applicants' perceptions of a company's website. Findings may be used to inform organizations' website designs.

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY
If you agree to be in the study, you will be asked to complete an online survey, which can be accessed by clicking the button below. You will be asked to pretend to be a job seeker throughout the study, and you will be prompted to view and evaluate a company's website, whether you would apply for a job in the company, etc. You will then be asked to provide some information regarding your demographic characteristics. The survey is a one-time commitment and should take approximately 15 minutes to complete.

CONFIDENTIALITY
This survey is entirely anonymous and confidential; we will not collect any personal information from you. Organizations that may inspect and/or copy your research records for quality assurance and data analysis include groups such as the study investigator and her research associates, the Indiana University Institutional Review Board or its designees, and (as allowed by law) state or federal agencies, specifically the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP), who may need to access your research records.

PAYMENT
You will receive payment for taking part in this study. Specifically, you will receive 1 dollar ($1.00) in USD.
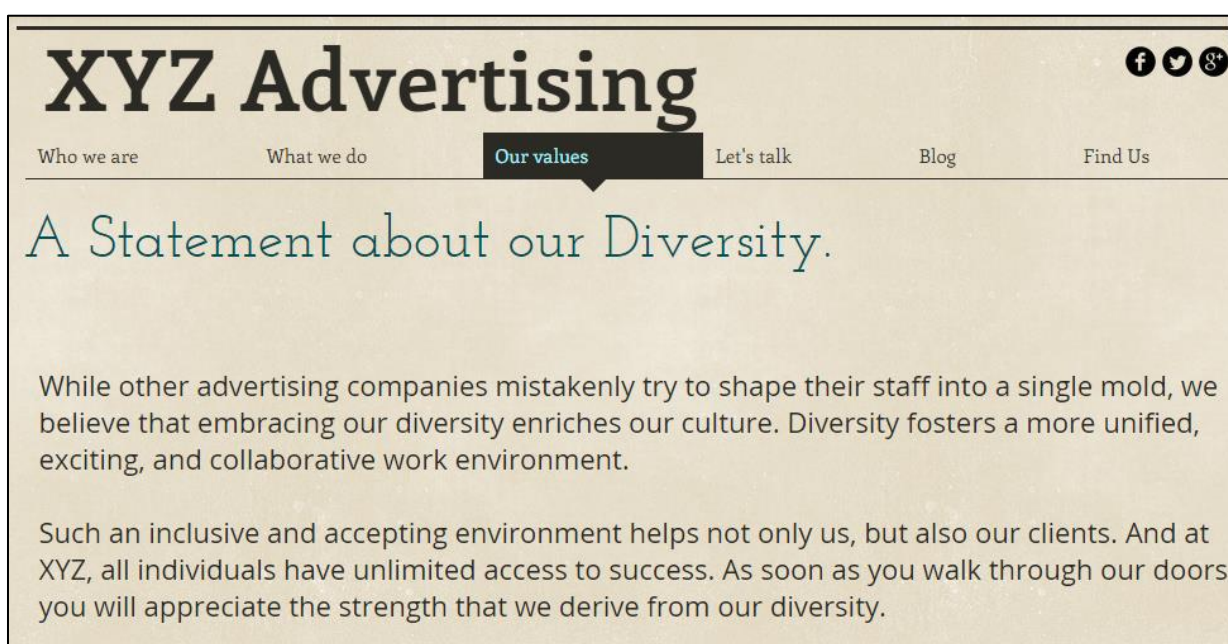
CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

For questions about the study, contact the researcher, Dr. Leslie Ashburn-Nardo, at lashburn@iupui.edu. For questions about your rights as a research participant or to discuss problems, complaints or concerns about a research study, or to obtain information, or offer input, contact the IU Human Subjects Office at (317) 278-3458 or (800) 696-2949 or by email at irb@iu.edu.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF STUDY
Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part or may leave the study at any time. Leaving the study will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled.

Thank you for agreeing to participate in our research. Before you begin, please note that the data you provide may be collected and used by Amazon as per its privacy agreement. Additionally, this research is for residents of the United States over the age of 18; if you are not a resident of the United States and/or if you are under the age of 18, please do not complete this survey.

Letters from the CEO of XYZ Advertising: Webpage representing the integration-and-learning perspective in Experiment 2.

Letters from the CEO of XYZ Advertising: Webpage representing the access-and-legitimacy perspective in Experiment 2.

Letters from the CEO of XYZ Advertising: Webpage representing the discrimination-and-fairness perspective in Experiment 2.

After viewing the website screenshot, participants will be asked to complete the following measures.

Organizational Attraction
Items from Highhouse, Lievens, and Sinar (2003). Instructions: Please rate items from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) as they relate to XYZ Advertising.

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 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.

Prestige
11. Employees are probably proud to say they work at this company.
12. This is a reputable company to work for.
13. This company probably has a reputation as being an excellent employer.
14. I would find this company a prestigious place to work.
15. There are probably many who would like to work at this company.
    *Represents a reverse scored item

Attention Check Item
Item adapted from Oppenheimer, Meyvis, and Davidenko (2009)
Instructions: In order to facilitate our research on reactions to companies' websites, we are interested in knowing certain factors about you, the participant in this study. Specifically, we are interested in whether you actually take the time to read the directions; if not, then some of our manipulations that rely on changes in the instructions will be ineffective. So, in order to demonstrate that you have read the changes in instructions, please ignore the sports items below. Instead, simply select the next button in order to proceed to the next screen. Thank you.

1. Which of the following activities do you engage in regularly? (Click all that apply)

   a. Skiing
   b. Soccer
   c. Snowboarding
   d. Football
   e. Swimming
   f. Tennis
   g. Hockey

Ideologies

Multicultural and colorblindness items adapted from Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, and Casas (2007); tokenism item adapted from King, Hebl, Georg, and Matuisk (2009). Instructions: On a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), please indicate the extent to which you believe the following about XYZ Advertising.

Multiculturalism
1. This company emphasizes the importance of appreciating group differences between racial groups.

Colorblindness
2. This company adopts a colorblind perspective in which employees' racial group membership is considered unimportant.

Tokenism
3. Minority employees would feel that they are "token" representatives of their race at this company.

Organizational Trust

Items adapted from Robinson and Rousseau (1994). Instructions: Please rate items from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) as they relate to XYZ Advertising.

1. I am not sure I would fully trust this employer.*
2. This employer would be open and upfront with me.
3. I believe this employer has high integrity.
4. In general, I believe this employer's motives and intentions are good.
5. I don't think this employer would always be honest and truthful.*
6. I don't think this employer would treat me fairly.*
7. I would expect this employer to treat me in a consistent and predictable fashion.
     *Represents a reverse scored item

Person-Organization Fit

Items adapted from Cable and DeRue (2002). Instructions: Please rate items from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) as they relate to XYZ Advertising.

1. The things I value in life are very similar to the things that the organization seems to value.
2. My personal values would match the organization's values and culture.
3. The organization's values and culture would provide a good fit with the things I value in life.

Justice

Items adapted from Colquitt (2001). Instructions: Please rate items from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) as they relate to XYZ Advertising.

Interpersonal justice.
1. This company would treat me in a polite manner.
2. This company would treat me with dignity.
3. This company would treat me with respect.
4. This company would refrain from improper remarks or comments.

Distractor Items
Instructions: Please rate items from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) as they relate to XYZ Advertising's website.

9. The colors used on the company website are bright.
10. The colors used on the company website are cheerful.
11. The font size used on the company website was ideal.
12. The font used on the company website was outdated.
13. The font used on the company website was easy to read.
14. This company's website is appealing.
15. This company's website is professional.
16. This company's website is informative.

Manipulation check items
Correct answers to the items below depend on the condition to which participants are randomly assigned.

1. The name of the company is:
   a. ABC Consulting
   b. XYZ Advertising
   c. Accenture Advertising
   d. XYZ Technology Services

2. The diversity statement was found on which of the following pages?
   a. News and events
   b. About us
   c. Our values
   d. Blog

3. The letter emphasizes that the company wants a workforce that:
   a. Lives within the local area
   b. Derives strength from diversity
   c. Embraces similarities
   d. Mirrors the demographics of the clients

4. To ensure your attention and participation, please select 'Finance'
   a. Marketing
   b. Finance
   c. Business
   d. Brokerage

5. What happens as soon as an employee walks through XYZ Advertising's doors?
   a. An employee will appreciate the strength derived from the diversity
   b. An employee will be featured as a representative of their race, ethnicity, gender, or religion
   c. An employee's race, ethnicity, gender, and religion becomes irrelevant
   d. No information was provided about diversity

Demographic questions
1. Did you give your best effort on this study? Please note that your M-Turk ratings will not be impacted by this answer and you will receive your payment regardless of your response.
   a. I gave my best effort
   b. I gave partial effort
   c. I gave minimal effort
   d. I gave no effort

2. What is your gender?
   (Open-ended text box response)

3. What is your race?
   (Open-ended text box response)

4. What is the highest degree you have obtained?
   a. High School
   b. Some College
   c. Associate's
   d. Bachelor's
   e. Master's
   f. Doctoral
   g. Other (Open-ended text box response)

5. How old are you (in years)?
   (Open-ended text box response)

6. In what range is your yearly salary?
   a. Less than $20,000
   b. $20,000-$40,000
   c. $40,000-$60,0000
   d. $60,000-$80,000
   e. $80,000-$100,000
   f. More than $100,000

7. What type of work do currently you do?
   a. Shift work
   b. Part-time work

      c. Full-time work
      d. Contract work
      e. Other (Open-ended text box response)

8. Throughout your working life, how much experience do you have working in part-time positions?
      g. No experience
      h. 1-3 years
      i. 3-5 years
      j. 5-10 years
      k. 10-15 years
      l. 15+ years

9. Throughout your working life, how much experience do you have working in full-time positions?
      g. No experience
      h. 1-3 years
      i. 3-5 years
      j. 5-10 years
      k. 10-15 years
      l. 15+ years

10. In what industry do you work?
(Open-ended text box response)

11. In which region of the United States do you live?
      a. Northeast
      b. Midwest
      c. South
      d. West

12. In which state do you live?
(Select from dropdown of 50 states)

Explanation Form
Job Applicant Reactions to Companies' Websites

You completed several tasks during this study to help us understand people's reactions to the ways in which organizations portray their diversity values on their websites. As organizations in the US become increasingly diverse, it is critical to understand how their portrayal of diversity can have an effect on job seekers' perceptions of the organization and their intent to apply for jobs within the organization. Ultimately, this research aims to help organizations as they design recruitment and marketing documents.

Thank you for participating in this study. It would not be possible to continue psychological research without the help of individuals like you. If you would like to learn

more about this research, you may contact the investigator, Dr. Leslie Ashburn-Nardo (317-274-6766; lashburn@iupui.edu), or you may consult the references listed below.

Brown, D. J., Cober, R. T., Keeping, L. M., & Levy, P. E. (2006). Racial tolerance and reactions to diversity information in job advertisements. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 36*(8), 2048-2071.

Purdie-Vaughns, V., Steele, C. M., Davies, P. G., Ditlmann, R., & Crosby, J. R. (2008). Social identity contingencies: How diversity cues signal threat or safety for African Americans in mainstream institutions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 94*(4), 615-630.