Title
Exploring the Ignored: How Diversity Blind Spots Undermine Support for Organizational Diversity Initiatives

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Publication Date
2021

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Exploring the Ignored:

How Diversity Blind Spots Undermine Support for Organizational Diversity Initiatives

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements

for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Management

by

Linda Nguyen

2021

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Exploring the Ignored:

How Diversity Blind Spots Undermine Support for

Organizational Diversity Initiatives

by

Linda Nguyen

Doctor of Philosophy in Management

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Miguel M. Unzueta, Chair

Many organizational diversity initiatives are focused on increasing the number of women and racial minorities in organizations. However, while gender and racial gaps in organizational representation persist, opposition to diversity initiatives is still widespread. I posit that part of people's opposition to diversity initiatives is driven by an inflated perception of organizational diversity, caused by diversity blind spots (i.e., overlooking the absence of subordinated group members). Indeed, across five experiments (N = 3,234), I find that both White and Latinx participants rate an organization as less diverse when the absence of subordinated group members is made salient compared to when it is not made salient—even though the objective demographic composition of the organization is identical across conditions. These findings

suggest that people may oppose diversity initiatives, in part, because they fail to spontaneously notice the absence of subordinated groups. Implications for theory and practice are discussed.

The dissertation of Linda Nguyen is approved.

Jennifer A. Whitson

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Miguel M. Unzueta, Committee Chair

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2021

Dedication

I would like to thank everyone in my dissertation committee for their insightful comments, guidance, and unwavering support.

Miguel, I could not have made it to the end of the tunnel without your constant support. Thank you for taking a chance on me. I am endlessly grateful for all the times you have advocated on my behalf as well as being so understanding for the times life throws unexpected curveballs at us. Your guidance has made me think about the issues we study more critically and focus on what we can do to make things better. I will never forget the lessons I have learned from you, about research and life.

Jenn, thank you for being such a strong source of support and encouragement. I cannot thank you enough for how often you have taken the time to talk with me to give advice when I am stuck or motivate me when I feel discouraged. I feel incredibly blessed to have been in the presence of such an intelligent and kind-hearted person, let alone to have received your guidance throughout this process.

Margaret, I admire you endlessly. Your passion to make systemic changes for the better has always motivated me, even when things happening in the real world hit incredibly close to home. It has been a privilege to learn from you and I am so grateful to have been part of a lab that felt so safe and incredibly inspiring.

Eugene, thank you for your insights. Your perspective has always pushed me to think deeper about my research and has made me a more holistic and critical scholar. I am always amazed at your thought process and strive to follow your example in research. It has been a privilege to have had you on my committee and to be able to seek your guidance and advice over the past several years.

To Jenessa, I am so glad to have known you. You inspire me endlessly and I take every morsel of knowledge and insight you have shared with me in everything I do.

To my fellow PhD colleagues, I could not have done this without your friendship. Our adventures make up some of the fondest memories of my time here. To Ashley Angulo, you have been my role model since the beginning and my life has been all the better because of your advice, your support, and your friendship. I have learned so much from you and I am eternally grateful. To Jieun, you have opened my eyes to so many things and experiences in life. My life is all the richer because of you. I will carry the memories we have shared always.

I also want to thank everyone in our Management and Organizations group at UCLA Anderson. Thank you, Noah, Heather, Hengchen, Sherry, Corinne, Sanford, Craig, Chris, Joseph, and Cynthia for always being so open to lend a helping hand whenever I need it. It has been a wonderful place to develop as a scholar, and I will carry all the lessons I have learned from you with me for the rest of my life.

I am also grateful to so many of my friends, who have been incredible sources of support and guidance. Mikki Hebl, Derek Brown, and Naomi Fa-Kaji, I am so thankful to have you in my life. Mikki, for being an academic mother and role model to me; your generosity and passion for life motivates me every day. Derek, your friendship has kept me so strong at every crossroad I have faced. Naomi, your kind spirit and passion for social justice has always motivated me to be better. I am so blessed to have all of you in my life.

Serena, knowing you has changed the course of my life for the better. I am so immensely grateful for all the light and joy you bring into my life. Your friendship has made me a stronger person and I can never thank you enough for being part of this journey.

Lyangela, my dearest friend. You have been a constant in my life. I cannot tell you the number of times I felt encouraged just knowing I had you by my side. As sad as it makes me to know we are not going to be in the same place anymore, I know you will do amazing, amazing things. I hope I have been half as good of a friend to you as you have been to me. I love you, sister.

Finally, to my family, thank you for your love and support. To Julie, thank you for being my home away from home. Our adventures are the best and I could not have done this without your support. To my parents, thank you for all the sacrifices you have made that have allowed me to get to this point. Your experiences as immigrants were the original inspiration for what I do. I hope I have done you proud. To my sisters, Kathy and Dina, I thank you too for your sacrifices. I could not have been afforded this opportunity without your support and I am so proud and blessed to call you my sisters.

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Acknowledgments

Linda Nguyen is a recipient of the National Science Foundation (NSF) Graduate Research Fellowship.

Curriculum Vitae of Linda Nguyen

EDUCATION

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PUBLICATIONS

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INVITED TALKS

Nguyen, L.T., Does, S., & Unzueta, M.M. "You Can't Fix What You Don't See: Diversity Blind Spots Reduce Support for Diversity Initiatives." (invited talk at Vanderbilt University Owen School of Management, April 16, 2021).

Nguyen, L.T., Does, S., & Unzueta, M.M. "You Can't Fix What You Don't See: Diversity Blind Spots Reduce Support for Diversity Initiatives." (invited talk at University of Austin McCombs School of Business, April 12, 2021).

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UCLA First Generation Fellowship Panel (2019). Served as a panelist for first generation students who received extramural funding, Los Angeles, November 6.

Nguyen, L.T., Does, S., & Unzueta, M.M. "You Can't Fix What You Don't See: Diversity Blind Spots Reduce Dominant Group Members' Support for Diversity Initiatives." Annual meeting at *Trans-Atlantic Doctoral Conference*, London, England.

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CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

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National Science Foundation, Fellow, 2016-2020

National Science Foundation, Honorable Mention, Spring 2015

Exploring the Ignored: How diversity blind spots undermine support for organizational diversity initiatives

In recent years, many organizations have publicly committed to increasing the racial and gender diversity of their workforce (Alba, 2015; Isaac, 2015; Weise, 2014). These proclamations are often coupled with actions such as releasing their diversity numbers, allocating millions of dollars towards diversity efforts, and setting yearly goals of hiring more women and racial minorities (e.g., Castleberry-Singleton, 2018; Williams, 2018). Although this type of transparency allows people to gauge organizations' level of racial and gender diversity, the underrepresentation of women and racial minorities and the overrepresentation of men and Whites persist. For example, despite Twitter's claim that it had exceeded its self-imposed goals of new racial minority and women hires, external reports indicated that Twitter had no Black female employees at all (Lodi, 2015). Additionally, while Facebook has highlighted the strides it has made in increasing the representation of racial minorities on the one hand, and women on the other, the representation of Black and Latinx women at the company has not increased (Guynn, 2018). These examples illustrate that while companies tout their commitment and progress toward increasing the representation of certain groups, the absence of other marginalized social groups—particularly women of color—is often overlooked, even when diversity's focus is explicitly on racial and gender representation.

With so much attention and financial resources dedicated to increasing organizational diversity, why is it that the underrepresentation of women and racial minorities persists? This paper raises the possibility that people may systematically inflate their perceptions of diversity because they tend to overlook the absence of certain groups—a phenomenon we refer to as the *diversity blind spot*. We theorize that perceivers conceptualize diversity by acknowledging the

groups that are *present* within a given context, while overlooking social groups that are *absent*. Thus, we posit that people fail to acknowledge the absence of certain groups which inflates their perceptions of diversity. Inflated perceptions of diversity, in turn, reduce support for diversity-promoting policies and initiatives. After all, it does not make intuitive sense for someone to support a measure that is aimed at redressing a lack of diversity when they do not perceive a lack of diversity in the first place. Accordingly, interventions that highlight which groups are missing may lead people to increase their support for initiatives designed to recruit members of such groups by recalibrating their perceptions of diversity. In our theorizing, we propose a new framework for how people weigh information about group presence and absence, positing two orthogonal characteristics of the information people use to make perceptual judgments of diversity.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE CURRENT LITERATURE

This research contributes to our understanding of how people form diversity perceptions. We contribute to an emerging body of literature that examines how people's perceptions of diversity are subjective, rather than objective judgments. However, whereas past research has found how people's social motivations (such as a person's group membership) can influence their diversity perceptions, the present paper examines whether and how certain cognitive heuristics may *also* influence people's perceptions. Specifically, we investigate a cognitive process that may affect people's perceptions of diversity. Although people's social motivations (e.g., their group membership) can affect how they perceive diversity, we argue that there may also be cognitive factors that impact the formation of people's diversity perceptions. Specifically, we examine how people's tendency to overlook absent groups can affect their diversity perceptions.

Moreover, this paper is the first, to our knowledge, to explore how information about group absence may affect diversity perceptions. (cf. Walters et al., 2017). While Walters and his collaborators (2017) highlight how making participants think explicitly about information they do not know decreases their confidence in their judgments, however, our paper focuses on how increasing the salience of information about group absence can recalibrate people's diversity perceptions. Thus, the concealment of groups that are absent may result in people thinking that organizations that do this are more diverse than they actually are.

Additionally, we examine the effect of participant race on diversity blind spots, responding to recent calls to examine race-based differences, particularly in cognitive psychology. This exploration is of particular importance considering recent research findings suggesting that the cognitive psychology literature very rarely explores whether race-based differences are implicated in the manifestation of psychological biases (Roberts et al., 2020). Specifically, we test whether members of different racial groups respond differently to missing groups, thus exploring whether diversity blind spots are characteristic of Whites, racial minorities, or both.

Finally, this paper explores an understudied phenomenon in the diversity perceptions literature, specifically how subjective perceptions of diversity affect people's attitudes toward diversity-promoting policies. In fact, the evidence on how perceptions of diversity affect support for pro-diversity policies remains scarce. This is particularly important because how diverse people think a company is has been shown to mediate people's attitudes toward redistributive social policies like affirmative action (Unzueta et al., 2012). As such, subjective perceptions of diversity may be central to understanding people's attitudes toward egalitarian-oriented policies.

It seems plausible to assume that support of a measure that is aimed at redressing a lack of diversity depends, in part, on the extent to which a lack of diversity is perceived in the first place.

THEORETICAL ARGUMENT

The Ambiguous Nature of Diversity

The organizational behavior literature often discusses diversity as an objective property of a group (e.g., Mannix & Neale, 2005; van Knippenberg, De Dreu, & Homan, 2004; van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). However, there exists much subjectivity in how people think about diversity (Bell & Hartmann, 2007). Considering how expansive the definition of diversity has become (Edelman et al., 2001), researchers have investigated how and whether this affects people's perceptions of diversity. Past literature has shown how the amorphous nature of diversity lends itself to ambiguity, which in turn serves as a foundation for people's social motivations to influence the formation of their diversity perceptions. In fact, researchers have found how one's racial group membership (Bauman, Trawalter, & Unzueta, 2014; Unzueta & Binning, 2010, Unzueta & Binning, 2012) and concerns about ingroup representation (Chen & Hamilton, 2015) affect people's diversity perceptions.

Additionally, researchers found that a Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Ho et al., 2015; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001), or preference for social inequality also influences perceptions of diversity. One of the fundamental tenets of social dominance theory emphasizes the existence of processes that can either strengthen or destabilize the social hierarchy. Thus, those who prefer social inequality may act and think in ways that will maintain group-based inequality (e.g., racism, sexism). On the other hand, those who prefer social equality will engage and endorse actions and beliefs that will dispel or disrupt group-based inequality in hierarchy-attenuating forces (e.g., anti-racism and feminism; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). Thus, SDO captures the extent

to which people prefer social inequality. Within the context of diversity perceptions, compared to those who were low on SDO (i.e., those who preferred social equality), those who preferred social hierarchy (i.e., were high in SDO) adopted broader definitions of diversity (Unzueta et al., 2012) and also required lower levels of minority representation in an organization before it was deemed sufficiently diverse (Danbold & Unzueta, 2019). In sum, in the absence of concrete benchmarks, research suggests diversity perceptions are formed subjectively and are influenced by perceived social norms (e.g., Chang et al., 2019) or people's social motivations (e.g., Danbold & Unzueta, 2019). Indeed, SDO is one of the key factors in shaping perceptions of, and attitudes toward, diversity. Therefore, we will examine SDO as a potential moderator in the processes outlined in the current work.

Diversity Perceptions: Salient vs Relevant Information

While extant literature has informed us on how socially motivated people's perceptions may be, the evidence on how cognitive biases and heuristics affect the formation of people's diversity perceptions is relatively underdeveloped. We propose a theoretical framework which explains how information is used (or overlooked) when forming diversity perceptions is categorized and can explain how biases and heuristics may affect people's perceptions of diversity in addition to social motivations. Specifically, when it comes to organizational diversity perceptions, we distinguish between two dimensions of information: *relevance* (i.e., the extent to which information is pertinent to people's perceptions) and *salience* (i.e., the extent to which the information is noticeable to the perceiver, see Figure 1). First, there is information about group presence, such as social groups that are represented in the organization. For example, information about the number of Black and Asian women in a given organization helps shape perceptions of how diverse a given organization is. This type of information—information about

who is present in an organization—can be considered *salient and relevant* information because it is pertinent to people's perceptions of the organization's diversity. Second, there is information that may not be relevant to people's organizational diversity perceptions, such as the profitability of the organization. This type of information is *not salient and irrelevant*, such that people do not consider it because it is not pertinent to their perceptions of diversity. Third, *salient but irrelevant* information refers to accessible but non-pertinent information, such as any known information about the composition of the organization on irrelevant dimensions of diversity, such as employees' educational background. This type of information may have a misleading effect on the accuracy of their perceptions of diversity, such as when perceptions of racial diversity are influenced by information regarding the occupational diversity within the organization (Daniels et al., 2017). Finally, there is information that is *relevant but not salient*, because while this information is pertinent to people's perceptions of the organization's diversity, it may not be at the forefront of people's minds when making assessments of the organization's diversity. For example, when an organization's demographic composition consists of Black and White employees, it can be derived that the organization has no Asian, Latinx, or Native American employees. This is the kind of information we will focus on in the current work—as we posit that information about social group absence is often overlooked by people (i.e., the experience of diversity blind spots), but, at the same time, is critical to perceptions of an organization's diversity.

Insert Figure 1 about here

In line with our theory is work on heuristics and biases, which captures people's tendency to rely on *salient* rather than *relevant* information to inform their decisions (Kahneman, 2011). This asymmetry is the underlying mechanism of a variety of cognitive biases (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974, 1975). For example, the availability bias occurs when people estimate higher probabilities for events occurring when they can more easily recall instances of something happening, regardless of the actual likelihood of the event occurring (Tversky & Kahneman, 1975). These findings suggest that these two characteristics of information can be orthogonal; relevant information may not always be salient and salient information may not always be relevant. More specifically, the salience of information may be used as a proxy for how relevant it should be to someone's judgments. However, researchers found that asking people to explicitly consider previously overlooked information allows them to recalibrate their confidence in their judgments, leading to less biased judgments (Walters et al., 2017). Although relevant information may not always be salient, increasing the accessibility of such information may help decrease bias in their judgments and perceptions.

We distinguish diversity blind spots from other heuristics (e.g., availability bias, omission neglect) based on not only on the types of judgments that are made, but also the differential impact of the outcomes. Availability bias, for instance, occurs when making judgments about frequency or probability of an event based on how easily information comes to mind (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). While the underlying mechanisms of diversity blind spots is similar, the outcomes associated with diversity blind spots—making evaluations of how diverse a group is—are qualitatively different. Similarly, omission neglect, or the insensitivity to missing information, is functionally similar to diversity blind spots (Sanbonmatsu et al., 1991). However, we distinguish diversity blind spots from omission neglect as the former manifests when

information is derivable or knowable but is overlooked because of the salience of the relevant information, whereas omission neglect fails to distinguish between knowable and unknowable information. Additionally, diversity blind spots differ from these heuristics due to the domains and context of the judgments being made. In particular, diversity blind spots are heuristics applied to people and social categories, which have important societal consequences.

Within the context of diversity perceptions, one potential issue with many diversity programs is that they assume that there are no hurdles in people's understanding and perceptions of minority groups' underrepresentation. However, when companies frame their diversity numbers in terms of the social groups that are present (Wagner, 2018), this may come at the cost of overlooking social groups that are absent. As such, a possible hurdle to people's understanding and perceptions of diversity is that not all relevant information is salient. Information about group absence may not be salient for several reasons. For instance, how organizations present their data may have an impact on what information is salient or not. When an organization reports that the percentages of White, Asian, and Latinx employees, but do not reveal that they have 0% Black employees, it may not be salient to perceivers that there are no Black employees. Thus, although this information may be derived from the available information, the lack of reporting the racial category of Black employees may lead perceivers to overlook this critical piece of information. However, relevant information may also fail to be salient due to the systematic treatment of social identities as mutually exclusive, isolated categories (cf. intersectionality theory, Cole, 2009; Purdie-Greenaway & Eibach, 2008). When demographics about race and gender are reported separately, information about intersectional groups (e.g., women of color) is not only missing, but also is not derivable based on the given

information. Thus, perceivers may also overlook the absence of intersectional groups as this information may be easily concealed.

Thus, in the current work, we test the hypothesis that people are inclined to assess organizational diversity based on relevant as well as salient (e.g., the social groups that are present within the organization), while they overlook information that is relevant but that is not salient (e.g., the social groups that are absent from the organization) unless explicitly prodded to notice the latter type of information. Our central argument is that this oversight of relevant, but non-salient information inflates perceptions of organizational diversity. Consequently, people's resistance to diversity initiatives may, at least in part, be caused by an inflated perception of organizational diversity since people will be less motivated to fix a problem that they do not see.

OVERVIEW OF STUDIES

To our knowledge, this is the first paper to examine how people might overlook not just underrepresentation, but also a complete absence of subordinated groups in organizations. Our central hypothesis is that people will overlook racial groups that are missing from an organization, thereby inflating their perceptions of organizational diversity. It follows that increasing the salience of missing groups can help reduce diversity blind spots. Indeed, people's perceptions of organizational diversity are linked to their support for organizational diversity initiatives (Unzueta et al., 2012). Thus, by making salient the absence of specific groups, people may perceive less organizational diversity and become more supportive of diversity initiatives. Additionally, we argue that the experience of diversity blind spots is a cognitive process, rather than a socially motivated one. Based on previous literature, both participant race (e.g., Bauman et al., 2014) and SDO (e.g., Unzueta et al., 2012) have been found to be important factors underlying divergent diversity perceptions. Thus, we examine participant race as well as

participants' SDO to test if diversity blind spots are the result of social motivations or a cognitive process, or a combination of both.

Our primary focus in studying diversity blind spots was on dominant group members, namely White Americans. The rationale for this primary focus is based on past work which has shown that when it comes to perceptions of diversity, Whites are less attuned to contextual cues than are non-Whites (e.g., Unzueta & Binning, 2010). Whites also have lower thresholds of "sufficient" diversity relative to non-Whites (Danbold & Unzueta, 2019), which suggests that when organizations hit a certain, relatively lower percentage of women and/or racial minorities, Whites may stop searching for information to form their diversity perceptions, as the organization has already "checked off all the boxes." Additionally, research based on signal detection paradigms suggest that White Americans are less accurate than Black Americans in identifying racist events—both isolated events and systemic manifestations of racism (Nelson et al., 2013). Similarly, we argue that Whites' conceptualizations of diversity often fail to consider relevant information pertaining to which social groups are missing and are thus susceptible to diversity blind spots. Moreover, given the overrepresentation of Whites in organizations more generally (Burns et al., 2012; Deloitte, 2018), and in positions of leadership, influence, and power, particularly(Catalyst, 2018; Does et al., 2011; Jones, 2017), there is also great practical importance to understanding the psychology underlying their perceptions of, and attitudes toward, organizational diversity.

As a secondary focus, we examined if group differences arise by exploring racial minorities' susceptibility to the blind spot bias, in particular, Latinx participants. Whereas Whites are more likely to perceive diversity as harmful to the ingroup, racial minorities are more likely perceive diversity to have positive benefits for their ingroup (e.g., Binning & Unzueta,

2013). However, it may be possible that they are similarly susceptible to diversity blind spots. Researchers found that racial minorities rated teams that included ingroup members as more diverse than when their ingroup was not represented (Bauman et al., 2014). However, these findings can also be interpreted in a different way. That is, racial minorities were susceptible to diversity blind spots unless it was their ingroup that was missing. We argue that this phenomenon is separate from social dominance motives, and test this by examining the potential moderator of participant race. We hypothesize that Latinx participants will also recalibrate their diversity judgments upon receiving information about group absence, particularly when their ingroup is already represented.

Finally, to test whether diversity blind spots occur separately from social motivations, we examine whether people's SDO moderates people's perceptions of diversity when being presented with information about absent groups. Extant literature has found that SDO may impact people's perceptions of diversity (Danbold & Unzueta, 2019; Unzueta et al., 2013). Thus, testing whether SDO moderates the effect of participant race on perceived diversity can provide insight on whether diversity blind spots have an effect on people's perceptions of diversity, over and above social dominance motivations.

Across 5 pre-registered studies, we test the extent to which manipulating the salience of missing subordinated groups affect people's diversity perceptions. In Studies 1 and 2, we examine how manipulating the salience of intersectional groups (i.e., Black men and White women in Study 1 and Black women in Study 2) affects Whites' perceptions of organizational diversity and support for diversity initiatives within the organization. In Study 3, we examine the extent to which diversity blind spots are limited to intersectional groups by examining how manipulating the salience of non-intersectional groups (i.e., Latinxs) affect Whites' diversity

perceptions. In Studies 4 and 5, we examine Latinx diversity perceptions, specifically when their group is represented within the organization (Study 4) and when their group is not (Study 5). We conceptualize and manipulate salience in ways that parallel how relevant information may be obscured within organizations, and thus are not salient to perceivers. For instance, in Studies 1-3, some participants are asked to click whether certain racial and gender groups are missing. When framed in this way, participants are not asked to think about the presence or absence of intersectional groups. In Studies 4 and 5, some participants are asked to think about groups that are entirely absent from the organization but not otherwise explicitly mentioned. Finally, we test SDO as a potential moderator in all our studies to show that the blind spot effect holds over and above this social motivation, thus providing a conservative test for the idea that a cognitive process is at play.

Study 1

Study 1 served to provide preliminary evidence for diversity blind spots. Specifically, we hypothesized that participants who were not made aware of absence of Black men and White women (i.e., low salience condition) would rate the organization as more diverse and less likely to support organizational diversity initiatives compared to participants who were made aware of the absence of Black men and White women (i.e., high salience condition).

Method

Study 1 examined whether increasing the salience of missing social groups would affect Whites' perceptions of organizational diversity. We hypothesized that when missing groups are made salient, Whites would be less susceptible to a diversity blind spot, thereby perceiving the organization as less diverse, and being more supportive of diversity initiatives, than when missing groups are not made salient. In this study, we manipulate salience by asking about social

groups separately (e.g., how many Whites, Blacks, men, and women are in the organization) versus intersectionally (e.g., how many White men, White women, Black men, and Black women are in the organization). The former condition simulates how organizations often represent their organizational data, in which race and gender are often reported separately.

Participants. Five hundred and three monoracial White participants were recruited for a pre-registered study through Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) who had a HIT approval rate of 99% or higher with at least 1000 HITs approved. The 78 participants who did not accurately complete the manipulation (i.e., did not respond correctly to whether the social groups were present or not) or failed the attention checks were removed from analyses. The remaining participants were U.S. residents who ranged in age from 19 to 87 (M = 39.97, SD =12.06). The sample consisted of 425 participants: 196 self-identified men, 226 self-identified women, and three people who identified as gender non-binary.

Research Design and Procedure. Study 1 consisted of a single-factor between-subject design. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions which manipulated whether the absence of Black men and White women was made salient (i.e., high salience condition) or not (i.e., low salience condition). All participants were shown an array of figures with a legend to represent an organization that consisted of 70% White men and 30% Black women (see Appendix A). After viewing the organization, participants were asked to click on the social groups that were present within the organization. In the low salience condition, participants were asked to select whether Whites, Blacks, men, and women were represented within the organization (thus always clicking “yes” on Whites, Blacks, men, and women). In the high salience condition, participants were asked to select whether White men, White women, Black men, and Black women were present in the organization (thus having to click “no” for

Black men and White women). Thus, while the information about group absence (i.e., Black men and White women) could be derived from the provided information in both conditions, the salience of missing groups was manipulated. Following the manipulation, participants reported perceived organizational diversity and their support for diversity initiatives (e.g., support for allocation of resources to hire more minorities). Finally, participants answered questions about demographic information.

Measures.

Perceived organizational diversity. To assess perceived organizational diversity, we adapted three items from Unzueta and Binning (2012); "This organization has a high level of diversity," "I consider this organization to be diverse," and "This organization has very little diversity" (reverse-coded, $\alpha = .93$). Participants rated perceived diversity of the organization using 7-point Likert-style scales, ranging from *Strongly Disagree* (1) to *Strongly Agree* (7), such that higher scores related to more perceived organizational diversity.

Support for diversity efforts. To evaluate participants' support for diversity initiatives, a measure consisting of five items to assess participants' support for diversity initiatives within the organization. Participants rated their support for diversity initiatives within the organization on 7-point Likert-style scales, ranging from *Strongly Disagree* (1) to *Strongly Agree* (7) using the following items: "This organization needs to invest in efforts to increase its gender diversity," "This organization needs to address in efforts to increase its racial diversity," "This organization needs to address its lack of racial diversity," "This organization needs to address its lack of gender diversity," and "It would be a waste of this organization's resources to try to recruit more women and racial minorities" [reverse-coded]. High means reflected greater support for diversity initiatives within the organization, $\alpha = .93$.

SDO. We used the SDO-7 scale to tap into people's hierarchical beliefs (Ho et al., 2015). After responding to the dependent variable items, participants rated the extent to which they support inequality between groups using 7-point Likert-style scales, ranging from *Strongly Oppose* (1) to *Strongly Favor* (7). Sample items included "An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom," Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top" (reverse-coded), "Group equality should not be our primary goal," and "We should work to give all groups and equal chance to succeed" (reverse-coded), $\alpha = .92$.

Results

Overall means, standard deviations, and correlations are reported in Table 1.

Perceived organizational diversity. We conducted a one-way ANOVA and found a significant main effect of condition on perceived organizational diversity, F (1, 423) = 7.195, p = .008, η_p^2 = .02. As predicted, participants in the low salience condition (M = 3.17, SD = 1.43) reported higher perceived organizational diversity than those in the high salience condition (e.g., when the missing groups were made salient, M = 2.82, SD = 1.24).

Support for diversity initiatives. We ran a one-way ANOVA and found no significant main effect of condition on participants' support for diversity initiatives, F (1, 423) = 0.338, p = .562.

Insert Table 1 about here

Social Dominance Orientation. We conducted a linear regression analysis in which perceived diversity was regressed on condition (0 = not salient condition, 1 = salient condition), mean-centered SDO, and the interaction of the two variables following (Aiken & West, 1991).

The analyses revealed a significant main effect of condition on perceived diversity, b = -.377, SE = .129, β = -.140, p = .004 and a main effect of SDO on perceived organizational diversity, b = .163, SE = .048, β = .163, p = .001. The interaction between SDO and condition on perceived organizational diversity was not significant, b = .12, SE = .096, β = .079, p = .222. We also regressed support for diversity initiatives on condition, mean-centered SDO, and the interaction variable. There was no significant effect of condition on support for diversity initiatives, b = .174, SE = .117, β = .063, p = .135. Our analysis revealed a significant main effect of SDO on support for diversity, over and above condition, b = -.537, SE = .043, β = -.516, p < .001. Finally, the interaction between SDO and condition was not significant, b = -.074, SE = .09, β = -.048, p = .395, suggesting that the effect of condition on support for diversity initiatives was through an amelioration of a cognitive bias rather than a motivated social cognition.

Mediation analysis. We examined whether the relationship between the salience of missing groups and participants' willingness to support diversity initiatives was mediated by perceived organizational diversity (Hayes, 2013). To test this, a mediation analysis was conducted. Regression analyses revealed that the effects of making missing groups salient on perceived diversity was statistically significant, β = -.348, SE = .130, t(423) = -2.68, p = .008. Additionally, the effect of perceived diversity on support for diversity initiatives was significant, β = -.565, SE = .043, t(423) = -13.231, p < .001. To test the indirect effect of condition on support for diversity initiatives through perceived organizational diversity, we used Hayes (2013)'s bootstrapping PROCESS MACRO with 10,000 bootstrap samples. As predicted, participants' ratings of the organization's diversity mediated the effect of making missing groups salient on participants' support for diversity initiatives, 95% CI [.053, .352], such that the effect

of making missing groups salient reduced perceived organizational diversity, which in turn increased participants' support for diversity efforts (see Figure 2).

Insert Figure 2 about here

Discussion

Consistent with our hypotheses, participants in the low salience condition rated the organization as more diverse than those in the high salience condition. This provides initial evidence of a diversity blind spot in Whites' perceptions of organizational diversity; White respondents, it appears, are not always cognizant of groups that are missing, even when that information can be derived from the information that is made available, which influences their perceptions of organizational diversity. Additionally, although there was not a significant difference in support for diversity initiatives between conditions, there was a significant indirect effect of condition on support for diversity initiatives through perceived organizational diversity. Namely, overlooking the absence of certain groups inflated perceived organizational diversity, which was associated with reduced support for diversity initiatives within an organization. Finally, when testing the effect of SDO, we find that the relationship of salience of missing information and people's perceptions of diversity remains. This suggests that diversity blind spots occur over and above the effect of SDO. It is important to note that there is also a significant effect of SDO on perceived diversity, which suggests that people's motivated reasoning is also in effect when people make diversity perceptions. However, the lack of an interaction between SDO and salience conditions, and the significant effect of salience on perceived diversity suggests, at minimum, that a cognitive process is also at play.

One limitation of Study 1 is that several participants spontaneously noted that the demographic composition of the organization was unusual, given that it consisted of only White men and Black women. Additionally, it could be the case that having additional groups may make it clearer that certain groups are missing. Study 2 addresses these concerns by including White women and Black men in the organization in order to increase the ecological validity of the organization they are assessing.

Study 2

Study 2 addresses the concerns from Study 1 by including White women and Black men in the organization. In doing so, we increased the ecological validity of the organization they are assessing.

Method

Participants. We recruited 510 monoracial White participants through MTurk who had a HIT approval rate of 99% or higher with at least 1000 HITs approved. Participants were U.S. residents who ranged in age from 18-79 years (M = 37.26, SD = 12.47). Participants who did not pass the pre-registered attention checks (e.g., “please click somewhat agree”) or failed to accurately complete the manipulation (i.e., “For each of the social groups below, please answer whether members of the group are present in the organization.”) were excluded from analyses. The final remaining sample of 430 participants consisted of 195 self-identified men, 234 self-identified women, and 1 self-identified non-binary participant.

Research Design and Procedure. In Study 2, participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions in which the absence of Black women was either made salient (i.e., high salience condition) or not (i.e., low salience condition). All participants were shown an array of figures with a legend, representing an organization that consisted of 70% White men, 16% White

women, and 14% Black men (see Appendix B). After being shown the array, participants were asked to indicate (by clicking yes or no) is a given social group was present within the organization. In the low salience condition, participants were asked to click either yes or no for the following groups: Whites, Blacks, men, and women. In the high salience condition, participants always clicked yes for all the groups: White men, White women, Black men, and Black women. Similar to Study 1, only in the high salience condition did participants have to click "no" for any group (for Black women), thus increasing the salience of that group's absence. Following the manipulation, participants reported the perceived diversity of the organization and their support for diversity initiatives (e.g., support for allocation of resources to hire more racial minorities and women).

Measures

Perceived organizational diversity. The same items from Study 1 were used to assess participant ratings of perceived organizational diversity, ($\alpha = .89$).

Support for diversity initiatives. The same items from Study 1 were used to assess participant ratings of support for diversity initiatives ($\alpha = .94$).

SDO. The same items from Study 1 were used to assess participant ratings of SDO ($\alpha = .89$).

Results

Overall means, standard deviations, and correlations are reported in Table 2.

Perceived organizational diversity. A one-way ANOVA showed a significant effect of condition on perceived organizational diversity, F (1,428) = 8.956, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Participants in the low salience condition reported higher perceived organizational diversity (M = 3.55, SD = 1.42) than those in the high salience condition (M = 3.14, SD = 1.38).

Support for diversity initiatives. There was also a significant main effect of condition on participants' support for diversity initiatives within the organization, F (1,428) = 5.991, p = .015, η_p^2 = .014. Participants in the high salience condition were significantly more likely to support diversity efforts within the organization (M = 5.02, SD = 1.53) compared to those in the low salience condition (M = 4.66, SD = 1.51).

Insert Table 2 about here

Social Dominance Orientation. We regressed perceived diversity on condition, mean-centered SDO, and the interaction between SDO and condition. Results showed a significant main effect of condition on perceived diversity, b = -.361, SE = .128, β = -.127, p = .005, and SDO, b = .356, SE = .048, β = .335, p < .001, but there was no significant interaction between SDO and condition on perceived diversity, b = .104, SE = .096, β = .156, p = .280. We also regressed support for diversity initiatives on condition, mean-centered SDO, and the interaction between SDO and condition. Results showed a significant main effect of condition on support for diversity initiatives, b = .267, SE = .113, β = .087, p = .018, as well as a significant main effect of SDO on support for diversity initiatives, b = -.734, SE = .042, β = -.640, p < .001. Also, there was a marginally significant interaction between SDO and condition on support for diversity initiatives, b = -.162, SE = .084, β = -.225, p = .056. Following Aiken and West (1991), we plotted support for diversity initiatives for the two levels of condition (i.e., salient versus not salient) using Hayes (2013)'s Process MACROv3.2. When decomposing the interaction, we found that the effect of condition on support for diversity initiatives was significant for those relatively low in SDO (i.e., - 1 SD below the mean) participants (b = .483, SE = .159, p = .003;

95% CI [.171, .791]), but not for high SDO (i.e., + 1 SD above the mean) participants, b = .052, SE = .159, p = .745, 95% CI [-.260, .364]. This finding suggests that while low SDO participants were more likely to support diversity efforts when missing groups were made salient compared to when they were not salient, high SDO participants were less likely to support diversity initiatives, regardless of condition (see Figure 4).

Mediation analysis. As in Study 1, we predicted that participants' perceived diversity of an organization would mediate the relationship between conditions and their support for diversity initiatives. To test the indirect effect (Hayes, 2013), we used a bootstrapping procedure with 10,000 bootstrap samples to estimate the size of the indirect effects of condition on support for diversity initiatives. In line with our hypotheses, participants' ratings of the organization's diversity mediated the effect of making missing groups salient on participants' support for diversity initiatives, 95% CI [.093, .456], such that the effect of making missing groups salient reduced perceived organizational diversity, which in turn increased participants' support for diversity efforts (see Figure 3).

Insert Figure 3 about here

Discussion

Study 2 provides corroborating evidence that making missing groups salient to Whites is associated with reduced perceptions of organizational diversity and increased levels of support for diversity initiatives. Thus, Studies 1 and 2 provide corroborating evidence that Whites experience a diversity blind spot when making perceptions of organizational diversity, such that they overlook missing minority groups. However, increasing the salience of missing groups

resulted in increases in their support for diversity initiatives. We also find that although perceived diversity is affected by a person's SDO—such that people with high SDO tend to see more diversity than people with low SDO—our effect holds over and above SDO, suggesting that Whites' perceptions of organizational diversity may be susceptible to the diversity blind spot, regardless of their ideological motives. However, people's support for diversity initiatives were more likely to vary as a function of their SDO. This is likely the case because efforts to improve an organization's diversity via policies may be perceived as being hierarchy-relevant – i.e., as a direct attempts to affect the current hierarchy of the organization (Unzueta et al., 2014). Taken together, these results suggest that even those who are egalitarian and endorse social equality are just as likely to fall prey to diversity blind spots as those who endorse social inequality. However, their support for diversity initiatives increases when they are provided full information on missing groups.

Up to this point, our manipulation has consisted of making missing intersectional groups salient. Namely, in an organization in which the demographic composition consists of Black and White men and women, we either did or did not make salient that some intersection of those groups was missing (e.g., Black men were present, but Black women were absent). This approach builds on work on intersectional invisibility, which refers to the experience of being overlooked that certain subgroups (e.g., women of color) experience as non-prototypical members of their racial and gender groups (i.e., the prototypical racial minority is a man, the prototypical racial majority member is a woman; Purdie-Greenaway & Eibach, 2008).

However, it is possible that diversity blind spots extend beyond intersectional invisibility. To test this, we set out to examine whether the diversity blind spot would also occur for minority groups that are not intersectional. Indeed, Whites may simply fail to acknowledge any minority

group that is missing, including racial groups that are not represented in an organization at all, regardless of their intersections with gender (i.e., Latinx people of all genders in an organization that contains Black and White men and women).

Study 3

We designed Study 3 to test whether the diversity blind spot is specifically a manifestation of intersectional invisibility, or if it captures a broader failure to acknowledge missing subordinated groups.

Method

Participants. Four hundred and ninety-seven monoracial White participants from MTurk, all of whom had a HIT approval rating of at least 99% and had at least 1000 approved HITs. The 76 participants who did not accurately complete the manipulation or failed the attention checks were removed from analyses, resulting in a final sample consisting of 421 White participants (M = 38.06, SD = 11.65; of which 176 self-identified men and 245 self-identified women).

Research Design and Procedure. Participants were recruited to participate in a study consisting of a 2 (Intersectional Salience: High, Low) x 2 (Non-intersectional Salience: High, Low) between-subjects factorial design. The intersectional salience conditions were operationalized as in Studies 1 and 2 (i.e., manipulating the salience of absent intersectional groups, such as Black women). In the non-intersectional salience conditions, we manipulated the salience of non-intersectional groups that were not represented within the organization at all (e.g., Latinxs regardless of gender).

Similar to Study 2, participants viewed an array of figures, ostensibly of an organization, that was comprised of 70% White men, 16% White women, and 14% Black (see Appendix C). They were then randomly assigned to one of four conditions and were asked to indicate whether certain groups were represented within the organization. In the low intersectional salience/low non-intersectional salience conditions, participants were asked to click either yes or no for the following groups: Whites, Blacks, men, and women (i.e., none of the missing groups were made salient). In the high intersectional salience/low non-intersectional salience conditions, participants were asked to click either yes or no for the following groups: White men, White women, Black men, and Black women (i.e., the absence of Black women, an intersectional group, was made salient). In the low intersectional salience /high non-intersectional salience condition, participants were asked to click yes or no for the following groups: Whites, Blacks, Latinxs, men, and women were present (i.e., the absence of Latinxs, regardless of gender, was made salient). Finally, participants in the high intersectional salience/high non-intersectional salience were asked to click yes or no for the following groups: White men, White women, Black men, Black women, Latinx men, and Latina women were present (i.e., the absence of Black women, Latinx men, and Latina women were made salient). After completing the manipulation, participants were asked to provide their ratings of the organization's diversity and support for diversity initiatives within the organization.

Measures.

Perceived organizational diversity. Perceived diversity items were identical to Studies 1 and 2 ($\alpha = .89$).

Support for diversity initiatives. In addition to the four items in Study 2, we edited one item that mentioned both race and gender into two items mentioning race and gender separately,

for a total of six items. New items were “It would be a waste of this organization’s resources to try to recruit more racial minorities” (reverse-coded), and “It would be a waste of this organization’s resources to try to recruit more women” (reverse-coded; $\alpha = .95$).

SDO. Items to assess SDO were identical to previous studies ($\alpha = .91$).

Insert Table 3 about here

Results.

Overall means, standard deviations, and correlations are reported in Table 3.

Perceived organizational diversity. We conducted a 2x2 factorial ANOVA in order to assess the effect of condition on participants’ perceptions of the organization’s diversity. As predicted, results showed a significant main effect of intersectional salience, F (1, 417) = 12.754, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .030$, such that White participants in the low intersectional salience condition reported higher perceptions of organizational diversity (M = 3.24, SD = 1.37) than those in the high intersectional salience condition (M = 2.78, SD = 1.27). Additionally, and as predicted, there was also a significant main effect of non-intersectional salience on perceived organizational diversity, F (1, 417) = 7.817, p = .005, $\eta_p^2 = .018$. Participants in the low non-intersectional salience condition (M = 3.19, SD = 1.39) reported higher perceptions of organizational diversity than those in the high non-intersectional salience condition (M = 2.83, SD = 1.26). Additionally, these results were not qualified by an Intersectional Salience x Non-Intersectional Salience interaction, F (1, 417) = .346, p = .557.

Support for diversity initiatives. We conducted a 2x2 factorial ANOVA in order to test the effect of our conditions on participants' support for diversity initiatives. Results showed a significant main effect of intersectional salience on participants' support for diversity initiatives, F (1, 417) = 12.049, p = .001, η_p^2 = .028, such that participants in the high intersectional salience condition (M = 5.15, SD = 1.43) were more likely to support diversity initiatives than when those in the low intersectional salience condition (M = 4.66, SD = 1.50). However, the effect of non-intersectional salience was not statistically significant, F (1, 417) = 1.966, p = .162. Likewise, the Intersectional Salience x Non-Intersectional Salience interaction was not a statistically significant, F (1, 417) = .414, p = .520.

Social Dominance Orientation. We regressed perceived diversity on our two variables (intersectional salience and non-intersectional salience), mean-centered SDO, the three two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction variables of these factors. Results showed statistically insignificant three-way interaction (p = .951) and two-way interactions (p > .10). We thus dropped these variables from the model, finding significant main effects of intersectional salience (b = -.364, SE = .118, β = -.136, p = .002), non-intersectional salience (b = -.293, SE = .118, β = -.110, p = .013), and SDO (b = .381, SE = .045, β = .377, p < .001) on perceived diversity.

We regressed participants' support for diversity initiatives on intersectional salience, non-intersectional salience, mean-centered SDO, and the corresponding interaction terms. Results showed no significant three-way interaction (p = .697) or two-way interactions (p > .10). We thus dropped these variables from the model and found significant main effects of intersectional salience (b = .321, SE = .109, β = .108, p = .003) and SDO (b = -.720, SE = .041, β = -.643, p <

.001) on support for diversity initiatives. However, there was no significant main effect of non-intersectional salience (b = .078, SE = .109, β = .026, p = .471).

Mediation analyses. We predicted that participant ratings of perceived organizational diversity would mediate the relationship between conditions and their support for diversity initiatives, particularly when more groups were made salient to participants. To test this hypothesis, we ran a moderated mediation model (Hayes, 2013), using a bootstrapping procedure with 10,000 bootstrap samples to estimate the size of the indirect effects of intersectional groups (low intersectional salience = 0, high intersectional salience = 1) on support for diversity initiatives (low non-intersectional salience = 0, high non-intersectional salience = 1). We ran the analysis, specifying intersectional salience as the independent variable, support for diversity initiatives as the dependent variable, perceived diversity as the mediator, and non-intersectional salience as the moderator. Results showed that the moderated mediation model was not significant, 95% CI [-.253, .477]. However, looking at the contrasts, the analyses revealed significant conditional indirect effects of intersectional salience on support for diversity initiatives through perceived diversity, such that the indirect effect of salience of non-intersectional groups on support for diversity initiatives is more pronounced when the salience of non-intersectional groups is high (95% CI [.134, .649]) than when the salience of non-intersectional groups is low (95% CI [.0112, .554]) (see Figure 5). When the salience of non-intersectional groups is high, the effect of making missing groups salient reduced perceived organizational diversity, which in turn increased participants' support for diversity efforts (see Figure 5).

Insert Figure 5 about here

Discussion

Our results also showed that participants reported lower perceived organizational diversity when an organization lacked intersectional groups and non-intersectional groups were made salient. Additionally, participants were more likely to support diversity efforts when intersectional groups were made salient compared to when they were not made salient. There was no significant effect of salience of non-intersectional groups on support for diversity initiatives. Overall, Study 3 provided evidence that the diversity blind spot pertains not only to intersectional groups, but also non-intersectional groups with social identities that are absent from the organization.

Study 4

While the first three studies examine the extent to which Whites experience diversity blind spots, and how manipulating the salience of missing groups recalibrate their diversity perceptions, we continue our exploration of diversity blind spots by examining whether racial minorities similarly experience diversity blind spots. We hypothesize that Latinx participants will be less susceptible to diversity blind spots, such that there will be a significant interaction between participant race and salience condition on perceived diversity and support for diversity initiatives. Additionally, we focus the salience of missing groups to missing racial groups within the organization.

Method

Participants. One thousand one hundred and three participants were recruited from Prolific, an online participant platform, all of whom had an approval rating of at least 95% and were from the United States. The 171 participants who did not accurately complete the

manipulation or failed the attention checks were removed from analyses, resulting in a final sample consisting of 932 total participants (M_{age} = 31.70, SD_{age} = 12.23), 541 of whom identified as monoracial, non-Latinx White participants and 391 of whom identified as non-White Latinx. Of these participants, 52.2% self-identified as men, 45.9% self-identified as women, 1.3% self-identified as nonbinary, and .3% of the participants did not disclose their gender.

Research Design and Procedure. Participants were recruited to participate in a study consisting of a 2 (Participant Race: White, Latinx) x 2 (Salience Condition: Low Salience, High Salience) between-subjects factorial design. White and Latinx participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions in which they were asked about which social groups were present. In the low salience condition, participants were asked whether Whites and Latinxs were present. In the high salience condition, they were asked whether Blacks and Asians were present. All participants were shown an array of figures with a legend, representing a 100-person organization consisting of 77% White employees and 23% Latinx employees (see Appendix D). After being shown the array, participants were asked to indicate (by clicking yes or no) whether a given social group was present within the organization. Following the manipulation, participants reported the perceived diversity of the organization and their support for racial diversity initiatives.

Measures.

Perceived organizational diversity. Perceived diversity items were identical to previous studies (α = .92).

Support for diversity initiatives. We used three items that reflected support for diversity initiatives for racial minorities. Specifically, participants rated their support for diversity initiatives within the organization on 7-point Likert-style scales, ranging from *Strongly Disagree*

(1) to *Strongly Agree* (7) using the following items: "This organization needs to address in efforts to increase its racial diversity," "This organization needs to address its lack of racial diversity," and "It would be a waste of this organization's resources to try to recruit more racial minorities" [reverse-coded]. High means reflected greater support for diversity initiatives within the organization, $\alpha = .88$.

SDO. Items to assess SDO were identical to previous studies ($\alpha = .88$).

Insert Table 4 about here

Results.

Overall means, standard deviations, and correlations are reported in Table 4.

Perceived organizational diversity. We conducted a 2x2 factorial ANOVA to assess the effect of condition on participants' perceptions of the organization's diversity. As predicted, results showed a significant main effect of participant race, F (1, 928) = 6.899, p = .009, η_p^2 = .007, such that White participants reported higher perceptions of organizational diversity (M = 3.83, SD = 1.53) than Latinx participants (M = 3.57, SD = 1.53). Additionally, and as predicted, there was also a significant main effect of salience condition on perceived organizational diversity, F (1, 928) = 160.43, $p < .001$, η_p^2 = .147. Participants in the low salience condition (M = 4.35, SD = 1.44) reported higher perceptions of organizational diversity than those in the high salience condition (M = 3.15, SD = 1.38). However, these results were not qualified by an interaction between participant race and salience condition, F (1, 928) = .473, p = .492.

Support for diversity initiatives. We conducted a 2x2 factorial ANOVA to test the effect of our conditions on participants' support for diversity initiatives. Results showed a

significant main effect of participant race on participants' support for diversity initiatives for racial minorities, F (1, 928) = 17.757, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .019$, such that White participants (M = 4.59, SD = 1.49) were less likely to support diversity initiatives than Latinx participants (M = 5.00, SD = 1.43). Additionally, there was also a significant main effect of salience condition on support for diversity initiatives for racial minorities, F (1, 928) = 21.340, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .022$. Participants in the low salience condition (M = 4.53, SD = 1.49) were less likely to support diversity initiatives for racial minorities compared to those in the high salience condition (M = 4.97, SD = 1.44). However, the interaction between participant race and salience condition was not statistically significant, F (1, 928) = .002, $p = .963$.

Social Dominance Orientation. We regressed perceived diversity on our two variables (salience and participant race), mean-centered SDO, the three interactions, and the three-way interaction variables of these factors. Results showed statistically insignificant three-way interactions ($p = .768$) and two-way interactions ($p > .10$). We thus dropped these variables from the model, finding significant main effects of salience (b = -1.221, SE = .09, β = -.398 $p < .001$), participant race (b = -.19, SE = .091, β = -.061, $p = .038$), and SDO (b = .280, SE = .039, β = .211, $p < .001$) on perceived diversity.

We regressed participants' support for diversity initiatives on participant race, salience condition, mean-centered SDO, and the corresponding interaction terms. Results showed main effects of salience (b = .504, SE = .081, β = .170, $p < .001$), participant race (b = .281, SE = .082, β = .094, $p = .001$), and SDO (b = -.662, SE = .035, β = -.517, $p < .001$) on support for diversity initiatives. Additionally, there were no significant two-way interactions ($p > .10$). However, these results were qualified by a marginally significant 3-way interaction between participant race, salience condition, and SDO on support for diversity initiatives (b = .275, SE = .151, β =

.088, p = .069). To decompose the interaction, we started by plotting support for diversity initiatives using Hayes (2013) Process MACROv3.2 and analyzed the interaction by looking at participant race. Specifically, for White participants, there was no significant main effect between salience and SDO on support for diversity initiatives (b = -.01, SE = .084, β = -.006, p = .906). However, there was a main effect of salience (b = .513, SE = .105, β = .172, p < .001) as well as a main effect of SDO (b = -.665, SE = .042, β = -.557, p < .001) on White participants' support for diversity initiatives. For Latinx participants, results showed a significant main effect of salience (b = .520, SE = .127, β = .182, p < .00) as well as a main effect of SDO (b = -.798, SE = .092, β = -.559, p < .001) on support for diversity initiatives. However, these results were qualified by a significant interaction between salience and SDO on support for diversity initiatives for Latinx participants (b = .265, SE = .126, β = .136, p = .037). Simple effects analyses show that while there was no effect of salience condition on support for diversity initiatives for Latinx participants with low SDO (i.e., -1 SD below the mean, b = -.076, SE = .298, β = -.027, p = .798), Latinx participants with high SDO (i.e., +1 SD above the mean) supported diversity initiatives more when they were aware about missing groups than when they were not aware of the missing groups (b = 1.117, SE = .324, β = .390, p = .001). In sum, these results suggest that knowing that groups were absent were critical to increasing people's support for diversity initiatives (see Figure 6).

Mediation analyses. We predicted that participant ratings of perceived organizational diversity would mediate the relationship between participants' salience conditions and their support for diversity initiatives, particularly if they were racial minorities. To test this hypothesis, we ran a moderated mediation model (Hayes, 2013), using a bootstrapping procedure with 10,000 bootstrap samples to estimate the size of the indirect effects of salience condition (low

salience = 0, high salience = 1) on support for diversity initiatives and included participant race (Whites = 0, Latinxs = 1). We ran the analysis, specifying salience condition as the independent variable, support for diversity initiatives as the dependent variable, perceived diversity as the mediator, and participant race as the moderator. Results showed that the moderated mediation model was not significant, 95% CI [-.3135, .1462]. However, looking at the contrasts, the analyses revealed significant conditional indirect effects of salience on support for diversity initiatives through perceived diversity, such that both the indirect effect of salience condition on support for diversity initiatives for Whites (95% CI [.6157, .9499]) and Latinxs (95% CI [.5091, .8934]) are statistically significant (see Figure 7). Specifically, the effect of making missing groups salient reduced perceived organizational diversity, which in turn increased participants' support for diversity efforts for both Latinx and White participants (see Figure 7).

Insert Figure 7 about here

Discussion

Consistent with the findings of the previous studies, we found that increasing the salience of absent groups not only decreased people's perceptions of organizational diversity, but also increased their support for diversity initiatives. Building on those results, we also find that Latinx participants responded similarly to our manipulation as Whites, suggesting that minorities may also experience diversity blind spots, at least when their social group is also represented within the organization. However, the results also suggest that while Latinx participants may be susceptible to diversity blind spots, their overall ratings for perceived organizational diversity were significantly lower than Whites, and their support for diversity initiatives were significantly

higher than Whites. These results suggest that both motivated reasoning and cognitive processes may be at work. Corroborating this assertion, the interaction between SDO, participant race, and salience on support for diversity initiatives shows that both cognitive processes (i.e., salience of missing information and the experience of diversity blind spots) and socially motivated processes (i.e., group interests and preference for social inequality) affect people's support for diversity initiatives, particularly because increasing diversity within an organization can be perceived as a hierarchy-attenuating process. In particular, the findings show that for Latinx perceivers, particularly those who are high in SDO, increased their support for diversity initiatives particularly when they were aware of groups that were missing.

Although we anticipated that Latinx participants may have been less susceptible to diversity blind spots, this may have been due to the fact that their ingroup was already represented in the organization. Because of this, they may not have been as attuned to the absence of other racial minority outgroups.

Study 5

In Study 5, we examine how racial minorities respond when their social groups are not represented within the organization. We predict that, in the absence of their ingroup, racial minorities will be less susceptible to the diversity blind spot.

Method

Participants. One thousand two hundred and twelve participants were recruited from Prolific, all of whom had an approval rating of at least 95% and were from the United States. The 186 participants who did not accurately complete the manipulation or failed the attention checks were removed from analyses, resulting in a final sample consisting of 1026 total participants (M_{age} = 31.98, SD_{age} = 12.18), 571 of whom identified as monoracial, non-Latinx White

participants and 455 of whom identified as non-White Latinx. Of these participants, 49.7% self-identified as men, 48.5% self-identified as women, 1.3% self-identified as nonbinary, and .5% of the participants did not disclose their gender.

Research Design and Procedure. Participants were recruited to participate in a study consisting of a 2 (Participant Race: White, Latinx) x 2 (Salience Condition: Low Salience, High Salience) between-subjects factorial design. White and Latinx participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions in which they were asked about which social groups were present. In the low salience condition, participants were asked whether Whites and Asians were present. In the high salience condition, they were asked whether Blacks and Latinxs were present. All participants were shown an array of figures with a legend, representing a 100-person organization consisting of 77% White employees and 23% Asian employees (see Appendix E). After being shown the array, participants were asked to indicate (by clicking yes or no) whether a given social group was present within the organization. Following the manipulation, participants reported the perceived diversity of the organization and their support for racial diversity initiatives.

Measures.

Perceived organizational diversity. Perceived diversity items were identical to previous studies ($\alpha = .90$).

Support for diversity initiatives. Support for diversity initiatives items were identical to Study 4, $\alpha = .90$.

SDO. Items to assess SDO were identical to previous studies ($\alpha = .877$).

Insert Table 5 about here

Results.

Overall means, standard deviations, and correlations are reported in Table 5.

***Perceived organizational diversity*.** We conducted a 2x2 factorial ANOVA to assess the effect of condition on participants' perceptions of the organization's diversity. As predicted, results showed a significant main effect of participant race, F (1, 1022) = 59.291, $p < .001$, η_p^2 = .055, such that White participants reported higher perceptions of organizational diversity (M = 3.38, SD = 1.47) than Latinx participants (M = 2.74, SD = 1.37). Additionally, and as predicted, there was also a significant main effect of salience condition on perceived organizational diversity, F (1, 1022) = 157.60, $p < .001$, η_p^2 = .134. Participants in the low salience condition (M = 3.64, SD = 1.55) reported higher perceptions of organizational diversity than those in the high salience condition (M = 2.58, SD = 1.16). However, these results were not qualified by an interaction between participant race and salience condition, F (1, 1022) = 1.729, p = .189.

Support for diversity initiatives. We conducted a 2x2 factorial ANOVA to test the effect of our conditions on participants' support for diversity initiatives. Results showed a significant main effect of participant race on participants' support for diversity initiatives for racial minorities, F (1, 1022) = 16.405, $p < .001$, η_p^2 = .016, such that White participants (M = 5.09, SD = 1.53) were less likely to support diversity initiatives than Latinx participants (M = 5.46, SD = 1.35). Additionally, there was also a significant main effect of salience condition on support for diversity initiatives for racial minorities, F (1, 1022) = 22.883, $p < .001$, η_p^2 = .022. Participants in the low salience condition (M = 5.03, SD = 1.48) were less likely to support diversity initiatives for racial minorities compared to those in the high salience condition (M =

5.46, *SD* = 1.42). However, the interaction between participant race and salience condition was not statistically significant, F (1, 1022) = .043, p = .835.

Social Dominance Orientation. We regressed perceived diversity on our two variables (salience and participant race), mean-centered SDO, the three two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction variables of these factors. Results showed no significant three-way interaction (p = .353) or two-way interactions (p > .10). We thus dropped these variables from the model, finding significant main effects of salience (b = -1.077, *SE* = .079, β = -.368, p < .001), participant race (b = -.566, *SE* = .080, β = -.192, p < .001), and SDO (b = .372, *SE* = .036, β = .279, p < .001) on perceived diversity.

We also regressed participants' support for diversity initiatives on participant race, salience condition, mean-centered SDO, and the corresponding interaction terms. Results showed significant main effects of salience (b = .546, *SE* = .099, β = .186, p < .001), participant race (b = .284, *SE* = .107, β = .096, p = .008), SDO (b = -.678, *SE* = .061, β = -.508, p < .001) on support for diversity initiatives. While there was no significant interaction between SDO and salience and salience and race (p > .1), the results were qualified by a significant two-way interaction between participant race and SDO (b = -.239, *SE* = .101, β = -.107, p = .018) as well as a significant three-way interaction (b = .387, *SE* = .140, β = .125 p = .006). To examine the three-way interaction, we started by plotting support for diversity initiatives using Hayes (2013) Process MACROv3.2 and analyzed the interaction by looking at participant race. Specifically, for White participants, there was no significant interaction between salience and SDO on support for diversity initiatives (b = -.111, *SE* = .089, β = -.062, p = .213). However, there were significant main effects of SDO (b = -.736, *SE* = .045, β = -.563, p < .001) and of salience b = .536, *SE* = .105, β = .175, p < .001) on support for diversity initiatives. For White participants,

when controlling for their SDO, seeing information about groups that were missing increased their support for diversity initiatives.

For Latinx participants, there was also a significant main effect of SDO (b = -.917, SE = .074, β = -.671, p < .001) and salience (b = -.01, SE = .084, β = -.006, p = .906) on support for diversity initiatives. However, these results were qualified by a conditional two-way interaction between SDO and salience on support for diversity initiatives, b = -.276, SE = .103, β = .145, p = .008. Simple effects tests showed that while low SDO Latinx participants did not differ in their support for diversity initiatives (b = -.149, SE = .225, β = -.055, p = .507), high SDO Latinx participants were more likely to support diversity initiatives when they were made aware of missing groups (b = .980, SE = .245, β = .364, p < .001) (see Figure 8).

Insert Figure 8 about here

Mediation analyses. We predicted that participant ratings of perceived organizational diversity would mediate the relationship between participants' salience conditions and their support for diversity initiatives, particularly if they were racial minorities. To test this hypothesis, we ran a moderated mediation model (Hayes, 2013), using a bootstrapping procedure with 10,000 bootstrap samples to estimate the size of the indirect effects of salience condition (low salience = 0, high salience = 1) on support for diversity initiatives and included participant race (Whites = 0, Latinxs = 1). We ran the analysis using Model 8, specifying salience condition as the independent variable, support for diversity initiatives as the dependent variable, perceived diversity as the mediator, and participant race as the moderator. Results showed that the moderated mediation model was not significant, 95% CI [-.3646, .0733]. However, looking at

the contrasts, the analyses revealed significant conditional indirect effects of salience on support for diversity initiatives through perceived diversity, such that both the indirect effect of salience condition on support for diversity initiatives for Whites (95% CI [.6035, .9400]) and Latinxs (95% CI [.4564, .7916]) are statistically significant (see Figure 9). In other words, the effect of making missing groups salient reduced perceived organizational diversity, which in turn increased participants' support for diversity efforts (see Figure 9). This was true for both White and Latinx participants.

Insert Figure 9 about here

Discussion

Consistent with the findings of the previous studies, we found that increasing the salience of absent groups not only decreased people's perceptions of organizational diversity, but also increased their support for diversity initiatives. Consistent with the previous study, we find that Latinx participants responded similarly to our manipulation as Whites, even when their ingroup is missing. This may be because it was not only their missing ingroup that was made salient, but also other minority outgroups, which further recalibrated their diversity perceptions. This, in combination with the interaction between participant race, salience, SDO on support for diversity initiatives again shows evidence of both motivated and cognitive processes occurring simultaneously. Similar to the previous study, we find that for Latinx perceivers, increasing the salience of groups that were missing increased their support for diversity initiatives, especially when they were anti-egalitarian.

In sum, although group membership has an impact on their ratings of perceived diversity and support for diversity initiatives, the significant effect of salience suggests that both White and Latinx people are susceptible to diversity blind spots; in addition to the social motivations that come from their group membership or preference for social inequality, diversity blind spots also affected their perceptions of diversity.

General Discussion

We investigated whether people incorporate information about group absence into their diversity perceptions and how this affects their support for diversity efforts. To do so, we created a framework that categorizes the information people use (or overlook) when making diversity judgments. Specifically, we found that information that is relevant to people's diversity perceptions, but not necessarily salient, is often not incorporated into their diversity perceptions. We found evidence across five studies, that the same objective information about the demographic composition of an organization shapes perceptions of organizational diversity as a function of whether information about group absence is made salient.

Additionally, we find evidence that while group membership may impact the extent to which people perceive diversity and support diversity initiatives, both majority and minority members were susceptible to diversity blind spots. This suggests that over and above certain social dominance motives that affect diversity perceptions (e.g., Unzueta et al., 2012), there are also cognitive biases that affect people's diversity perceptions across group membership. Furthermore, the effects of salience of group information on perceived diversity and support for diversity initiatives remain even controlling for a person's desire for group-based inequality (i.e., SDO).

Throughout the paper, SDO has a consistent main effect on perceptions of diversity and support for diversity initiatives, although the relative magnitude of the effect of SDO compared to the salience of group absence is not consistent throughout the studies. This suggests that the formation of diversity perceptions is not solely a motivated or cognitive bias, but rather an interplay between both factors. Based on the findings, we are cautiously optimistic that the effect of condition on support for diversity initiatives was through an amelioration of a cognitive bias. People across the full spectrum of SDO recalibrated their perceptions of diversity and as a result, increased their support for diversity initiatives. While Studies 1, 3-5 showed no interaction between SDO and condition, we did observe an interaction in Study 2 between SDO and condition, such that SDO magnified the effects of condition on perceived diversity. Together, these findings suggest that cognitive biases that we define as diversity blind spots can be ameliorated with relatively simple interventions, regardless of harder to change social dominance motives. While the current focus is on uncovering the ways in which this process is a cognitive bias, we are interested in future work that examines how social dominance motives and diversity blind spots might interact.

While other studies have found SDO to be an important role in determining diversity blind spots, our results do not show the same effects. We argue that when effects of diversity are clear and straightforward (i.e., when you can determine the ratio of minority employees relative to White employees, as in Danbold & Unzueta, 2019), the effects of SDO are more likely to arise. When the consequences of participants' responses in terms of maintaining versus challenging intergroup hierarchy are evident, their responses may be more likely to be influenced by deliberate motives, such as SDO. We theorize that the main reason why prior work observed the SDO moderating effect, and we did not, is because in the current work, participants'

responses were dependent not only on their deliberate motives, but also on their attunement to information about group absence. Because the current work's design is less direct and more nuanced, the direct implications of responses to intergroup hierarchy become less evident, and thus the role of SDO becomes less clear. When someone is high in SDO, it does not mean that they are more or less likely to pay attention to information about group absence than someone who is low in SDO. In fact, this is what makes diversity blind spots so relevant to study. We argue that even those individuals in support of more egalitarian relationships between social groups may not support diversity initiatives because of an inflated perception of diversity, driven by the inattention to information about group absence. Thus, understanding how perceptions of diversity are influenced not only by people's motivated reasoning but also their cognitive biases is critical to developing effective interventions to potentially increase diversity within organizations.

The current work focuses on how perceivers (including laypeople and employees within the organization who are not necessarily familiar with the demographic information for the organization as a whole), and how they form diversity judgments form these perceptions, as opposed to organizational decision makers (e.g., employees in HR) who would have complete knowledge of the breakdown of the organization by race, gender, and status. Understanding how their perceptions are formed based on present (but not absent) information is crucial to whether organizational diversity policies gain buy-in employees at all levels of the organization. As such, our low salience condition is framed in a way that organizations commonly present data (i.e., race and gender reported separately). In contrast, our high salience conditions simulate another way in which information could be present, in which all relevant pieces of information are salient. We see diversity perceptions as a critical antecedent to people's pro-diversity policy

attitudes. As such, our primary research interest was what impact the recalibration of diversity perceptions has on people's attitudes toward egalitarian policies.

Theoretical Implications

We argue that diversity perceptions are based on information that can be characterized in two orthogonal dimensions: relevance and salience. This theoretical framework can be used to explain not only how diversity perceptions are formed, but also when biases in these perceptions are likely to occur. While our findings suggest that people overlook relevant information when it is not salient, past findings have also found how salient, but not relevant information can bias their diversity perceptions (Daniels et al., 2017). This implies that salient information tends to override information that is relevant, which parallels seminal work on cognitive biases (e.g., Kahnemann & Tversky, 1974), such as how we often base our judgments on information that is readily available to us (i.e., availability bias).

This framework also helps explain why diversity perceptions differ between members of different racial groups. For instance, while racial majority members may only look at numerical representation (i.e., the overall number of minorities within an organization) to make diversity judgments, racial minority group members consider the total number of minorities in leadership positions (i.e., hierarchical representation; Binning & Unzueta, 2013) to be relevant information in addition to their numerical representation, which often leads to divergent perceptions of diversity. Thus, this framework not only advances our knowledge in how diversity perceptions are formed, it can also be used as a lens to understand past findings as well. Differences in the perceived relevance of information for making a diversity judgment may account for why minority group members tend to adopt more multi-dimensional conceptions of diversity than Whites. Additionally, we find evidence that people's perceptions of diversity are linked to their

support for diversity initiatives. Although there may be many underlying mechanisms for people's motivation to support diversity initiatives, our research suggests that understanding and perceiving that there is a lack of diversity in a given environment is a critical catalyst in people's support for egalitarian policies.

Practical Implications

These results also have implications for when and why people support diversity initiatives within an organization. Increasing the salience of absent groups may serve as an effective intervention to increase people's support for organizational diversity initiatives, particularly for racial majorities, who are overrepresented in positions to make important decisions about personnel. For instance, people may be more likely to support policies that mitigate racial and gender disparities when they are acutely aware of how many and/or how severe the underrepresentation of certain social groups actually is. Although this may be moderated by the extent to which people *want* to see more diversity within their organizations, it may still be a critical factor in increasing support among allies who would otherwise not see the full extent of disparities in racial and gender representation. Thus, this highlights the need to make people explicitly aware of groups that are missing from organizations, as well as a new venue for research looking to increase policy support that does not entirely rely on changing people's diversity ideologies.

Researchers and laypeople alike have a general tendency to treat social categories in isolation (Cole, 2009; Purdie-Greenaway & Eibach, 2008) which may result in the tendency to overlook certain subgroups. In recent years, many organizations have begun to release demographic information in terms of race and gender as separate categories. Although this type of transparency allows people to gauge organizations' level of racial and gender diversity,

people's general tendency to overlook absent intersectional groups (as seen in Studies 1 and 2) may leave persisting disparities unquestioned. Even if companies self-impose goals of new racial minorities and women hires to increase their diversity, it must be done carefully, as these goals may make it easier to unintentionally overlook certain subgroups, such as women of color.

Our studies also explore the ways in which the salience of relevant information can be obscured. First, by presenting information in separate social categories (e.g., race and gender), information about the intersections of these groups remain hidden. It may be particularly easy for people to overlook the underrepresentation or complete absence of groups because the information cannot be derived. Additionally, when social groups or dimensions are omitted altogether, it may also become easy for this information to go overlooked, as people's conceptualizations may not include information that is not accessible to them, even if it can technically be derived. It is beyond the scope of our paper to disentangle whether organizations intentionally choose to present their demographic data as separate categories in this way in order to boost how diverse they are perceived to be. However, our research suggests that representing demographic data in this way can hinder the success of diversity initiatives by leading people to overestimate the amount of diversity within their ranks. If the aim is to elicit support for diversity initiatives, our results reveal that the reporting of demographic information is most impactful if it includes absent groups that have 0% representation in the organization. This is particularly important as our findings suggest that perceivers tend to ignore groups that are missing. Although organizations seldom release explicit information about group absence (Beckwith, 2017), this information may be critical in not only motivating support for diversity initiatives within their ranks, but also creating a more complete picture of the gender and racial disparities that exist within a given organization.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the present research provides a unique perspective on factors that impact people's diversity perceptions, there are a few noteworthy limitations. First, our studies focus specifically on race and gender. While our results were consistent for intersectional and non-intersectional groups, future research should explore whether the phenomenon is applicable to other categories, such as disability or sexual orientation. Second, although our results showed that racial minorities are similarly susceptible to experiencing diversity blind spots, we did not have sufficient power to examine whether certain groups (e.g., women of color) were resilient to this effect. It may be possible that certain groups, such as those who have multiple subordinated identities, are more attuned to groups that are missing, as they may be more sensitive to cues of inclusion (see Supplemental Materials for exploratory analyses). Similarly, our results may also differ depending on the relative social status of the perceivers. For instance, it is unclear whether Asian American perceivers may be susceptible to diversity blind spots; while they are also racial minorities, they are often higher status than Latinx participants. This also brings into consideration which groups are most associated with diversity, and how that may have played a role in how people form diversity perceptions. In fact, some researchers have found that while racial minority groups are more commonly associated with diversity compared to Whites, there is still a lot of variance in how strongly associated each minority group is with diversity (Unzueta & Binning, 2010).

As with most self-report studies, the issue of social desirability is relevant here. However, given the significant effects of social dominance motivations throughout the paper, we argue that the likelihood of social desirability driving our results is unlikely. Seeing as there is significant variance explained in diversity perceptions by participants' preference for inequality between

social groups parallels past findings, our design does not seem to be one that demands socially desirable responses from participants. In fact, observing significant effects of condition over and above social dominance motives speaks to the robustness of this effect, and how much it operates outside people's conscious control.

Additionally, it is important to consider the boundary conditions of our paradigm. Researchers have found that certain groups require lower thresholds of minorities in an organization to be achieved before they consider it to be sufficiently diverse (Danbold & Unzueta, 2019). In a similar vein, perhaps there is a critical mass of minority groups that are present within the organization that the effect of increasing the salience of other groups becomes increasingly minimal. However, considering the racial and gender disparities in representation that persist in modern-day organizations, our paradigm may be effective at reducing inflated perceptions of organizational diversity and thus garnering support for diversity initiatives. Finally, it is important for future work to consider the conditions under which the absence of outgroups is more or less salient to people. For example, companies under public scrutiny may be more attuned to which groups are absent. Understanding the factors that eliminate or magnify diversity blind spots will be important to developing effective future interventions.

While the data presented here paint a clear picture that diversity blind spots are reduced by explicitly pointing out information about group absence, future work should examine diversity blind spots more directly. For example, such studies might include probing natural observations of an environment—without an experimental manipulation like the current work—to see if people are indeed more likely to notice information about group presence than about group absence. Such work, we expect, would provide corroborating evidence for our central claim that diversity blind sports are real, and that they influence important downstream

consequences, such as support for policy. Nevertheless, the paper focuses on shedding light on the effect diversity blind spots can have in terms of organizational diversity perceptions and support for diversity initiatives. Rather than showing that diversity blind spots exist, our focus is on showing the consequences of the tendency to overlook information about absent groups, as people tend to anchor their perceptions on present groups.

There are also many other potential outcomes that could be affected by diversity perceptions. While our measure of support for diversity initiatives is more aligned with general hiring of racial minorities into organizations, we argue that diversity blind spots can also affect support for diversity initiatives in a multitude of organizational contexts. Future work should examine how diversity blind spots shape perceptions of hierarchical diversity (i.e., the number of underrepresented minorities in different levels of the organization). Does support for diversity initiatives, as observed in the current work, extend to support for promoting racial minorities to hire ranks in the organization? And are diversity blind spots more likely to occur at the lower rather than higher levels of an organizational structure? By answering these questions, future work will help further the understanding of the processes we have begun to outline here: diversity blind spots shape perceptions of organizational diversity and can shape subsequent support for diversity initiatives.

Future work should also examine behavioral consequences of diversity blind spots. For example, are people aware of absent social groups within their networks more likely to engage directly with efforts to increase the diversity in their organizations? Additionally, are those more aware of their diversity blind spots more likely to hire members from those social groups than when they are not aware of their absence? And which behaviors are most effective in including groups once it is salient that they are missing? Indeed, we see a rich research agenda for

exploring questions related to diversity blind spots that can help illuminate some of the more pressing questions of our time.

Additionally, while our measure of support for diversity initiatives is more aligned with general hiring of racial minorities into organizations, we argue that diversity blind spots can also affect support for diversity initiatives in a multitude of organizational contexts. For example, future work should examine how diversity blind spots shape perceptions of hierarchical diversity (i.e., the number of underrepresented minorities in different levels of the organization). Does support for diversity initiatives, as observed in the current work, extend to support for promoting racial minorities to hire ranks in the organization? And are diversity blind spots more likely to occur at the lower rather than higher levels of an organizational structure? By answering these questions, future work will help further the understanding of the processes we have begun to outline here: diversity blind spots shape perceptions of organizational diversity and can shape subsequent support for diversity initiatives.

Conclusion

The present research offers a new perspective on, and possible intervention to redress, people's opposition to diversity initiatives. We show that people tend to experience a blind spot when it comes to perceiving diversity, particularly because information that is pertinent (i.e., highly relevant to diversity perceptions) is not always accessible to perceivers (i.e., highly salient to perceivers). However, by making relevant information about who is missing more salient, people will recalibrate not only their diversity perceptions, but also their level of support for organizational diversity initiatives. The current work suggests that people can fail to acknowledge missing social groups, which may hinder efforts to mitigate racial and gender

disparities within organizations. After all, to fix a problem, one must first be able to see the problem.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics, Study 1

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2
1. Perceived diversity	3.00	1.35		
2. Support for diversity initiatives	4.87	1.40	-.54**	
3. SDO	2.49	1.34	.15**	-.51**

Note: $N = 425$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 2. Descriptive statistics, Study 2

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2
1. Perceived diversity	3.34	1.42		
2. Support for diversity initiatives	4.85	1.53	-.63**	
3. SDO	2.500	1.33	.34**	-.64**

Note. $N = 430$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics, Study 3.

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2
1. Perceived diversity	3.01	1.34		
2. Support for diversity initiatives	4.91	1.48	-.67**	
3. SDO	2.52	1.32	.40**	-.66**

Note. $N = 421$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics, Study 4

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2
4. Perceived diversity	3.72	1.53		
5. Support for diversity initiatives	4.76	1.48	-.61**	
6. SDO	2.25	1.16	.20**	-.52**

Note. $N = 932$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 5. Descriptive statistics, Study 5

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2
7. Perceived diversity	3.10	1.46		
8. Support for diversity initiatives	5.25	1.46	-.62**	
9. SDO	2.05	1.09	.29**	-.56**

Note. $N = 1026$. ** $p < .01$.

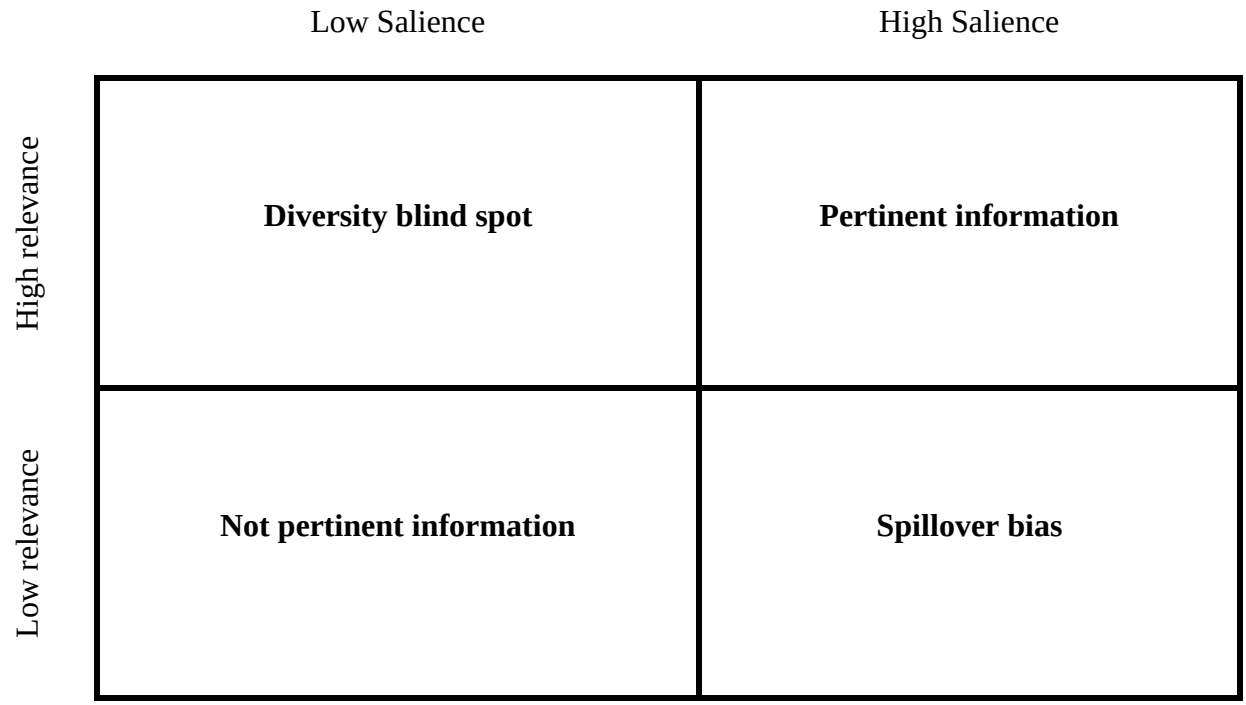


Figure 1: Theoretical categorization of information used in diversity perceptions along the orthogonal dimensions of relevance and salience.

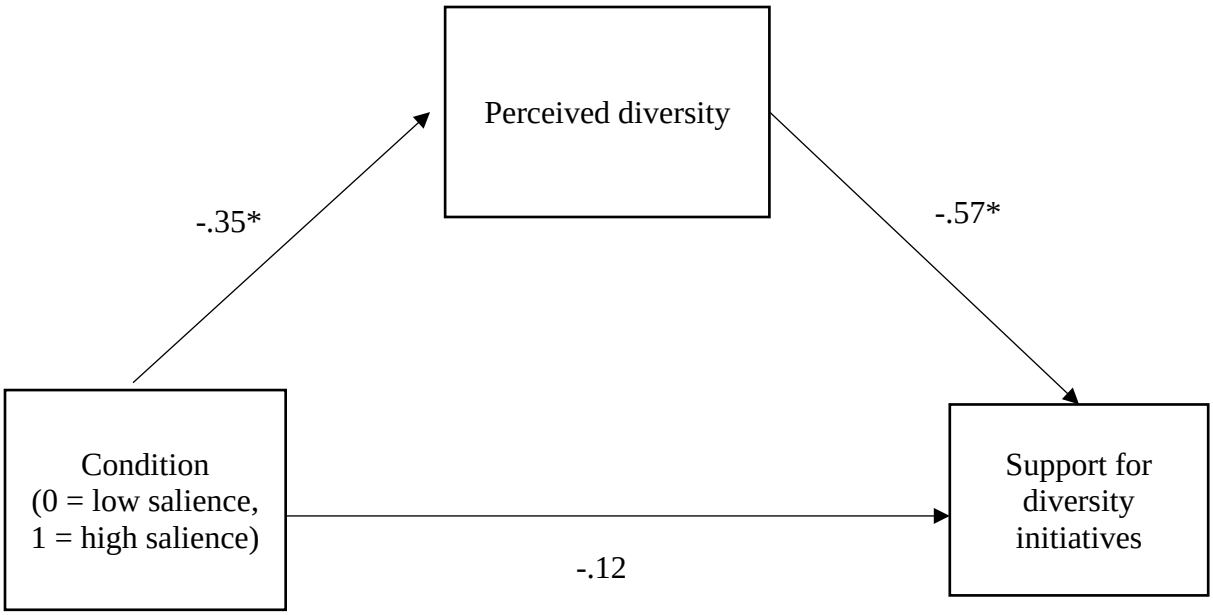


Figure 2. Mediation model from Study 1. The relationship between condition and support for diversity initiatives is mediated by perceived diversity.

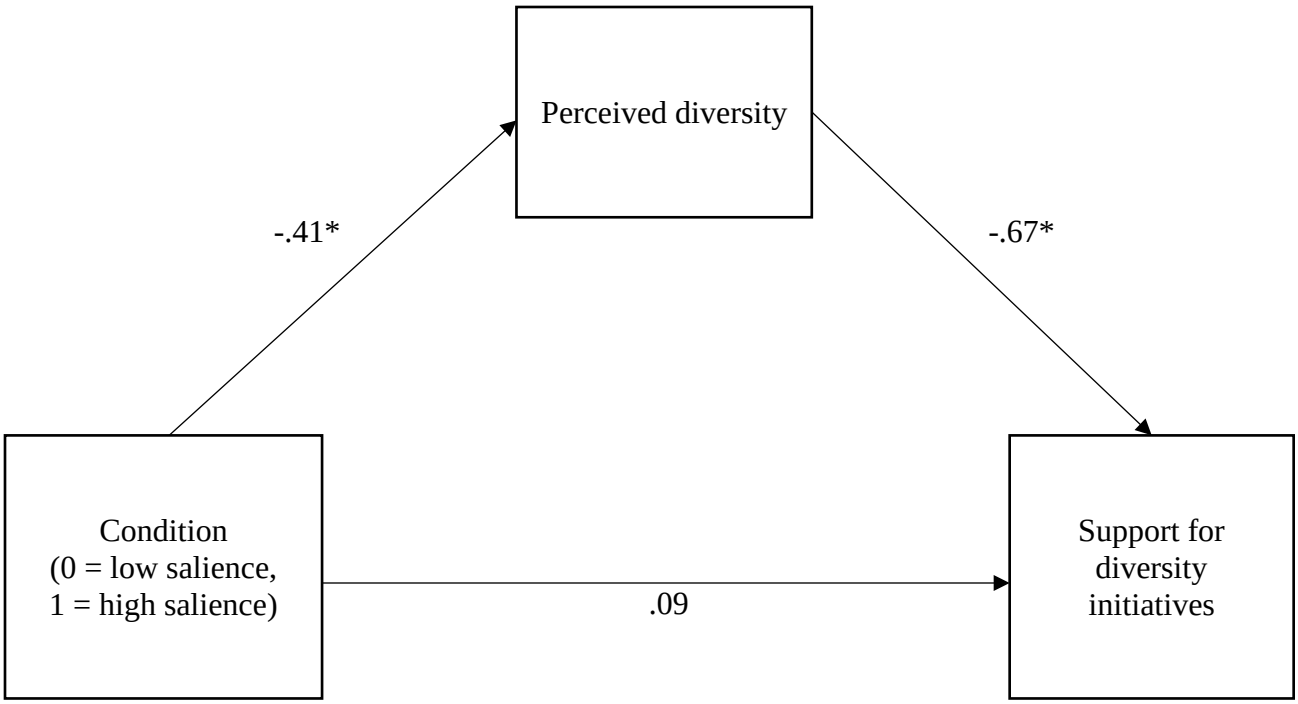


Figure 3. Mediation model from Study 2. The relationship between condition and support for diversity initiatives is mediated by perceived diversity.

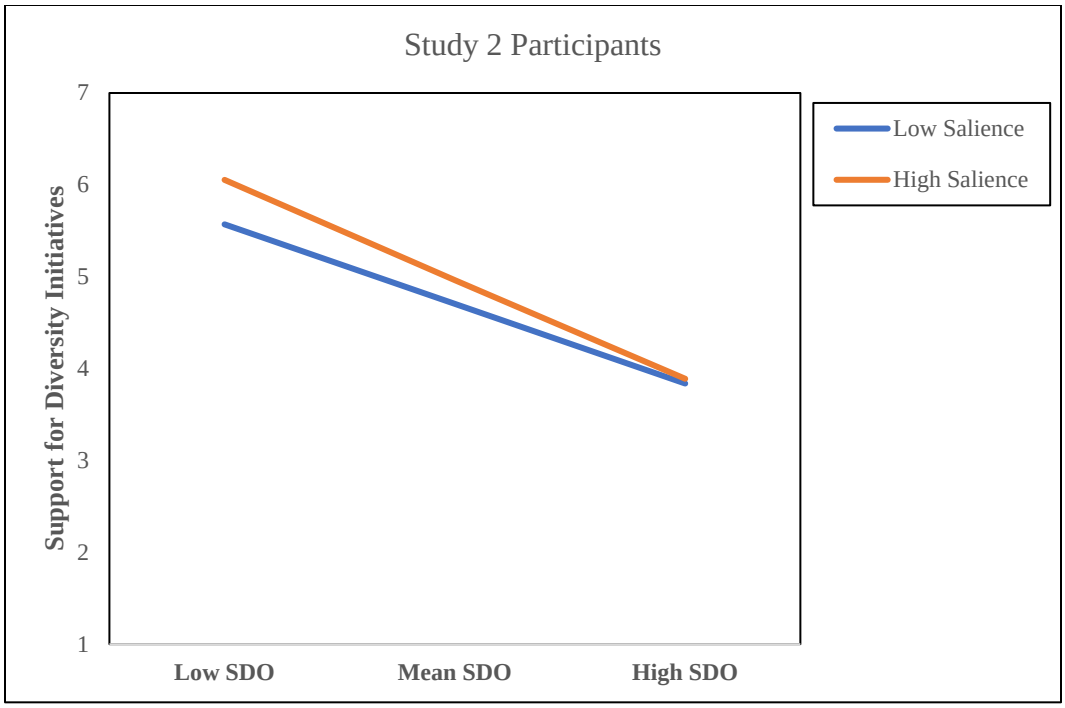


Figure 4: Moderating effect of SDO on the relationship between salience condition and support for diversity initiatives in Study 2. High and low SDO are operationalized as +/- 1 *SD* from M_{SDO}.

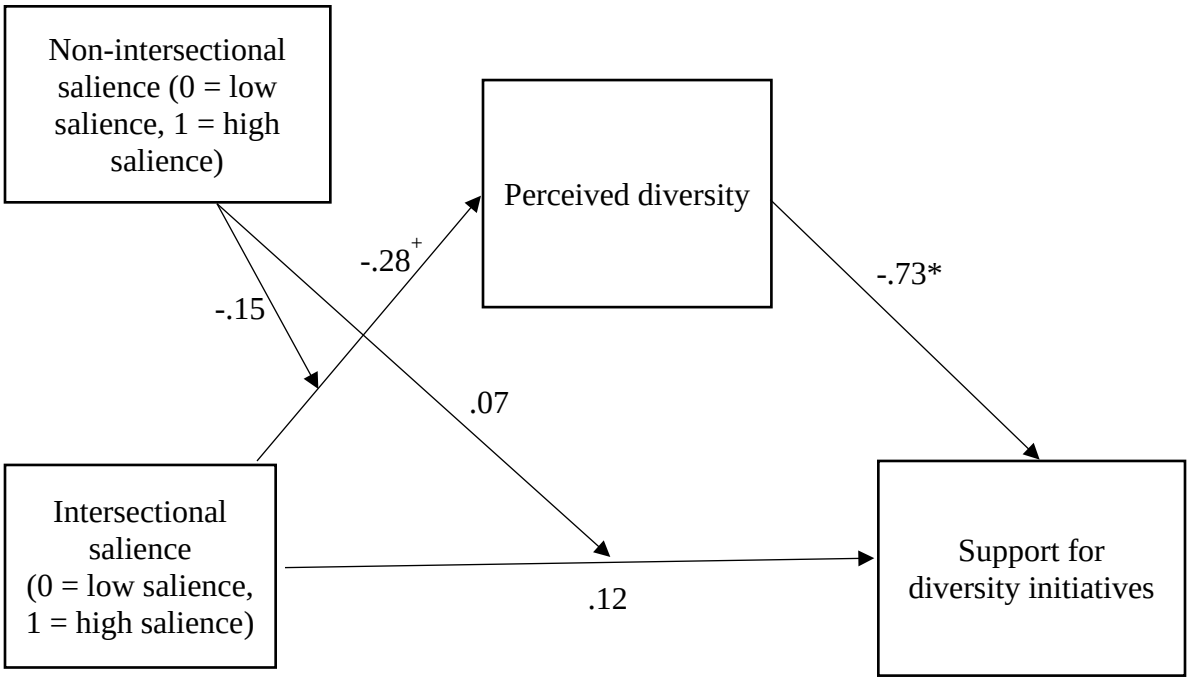


Figure 5. Moderated mediation model from Study 3.

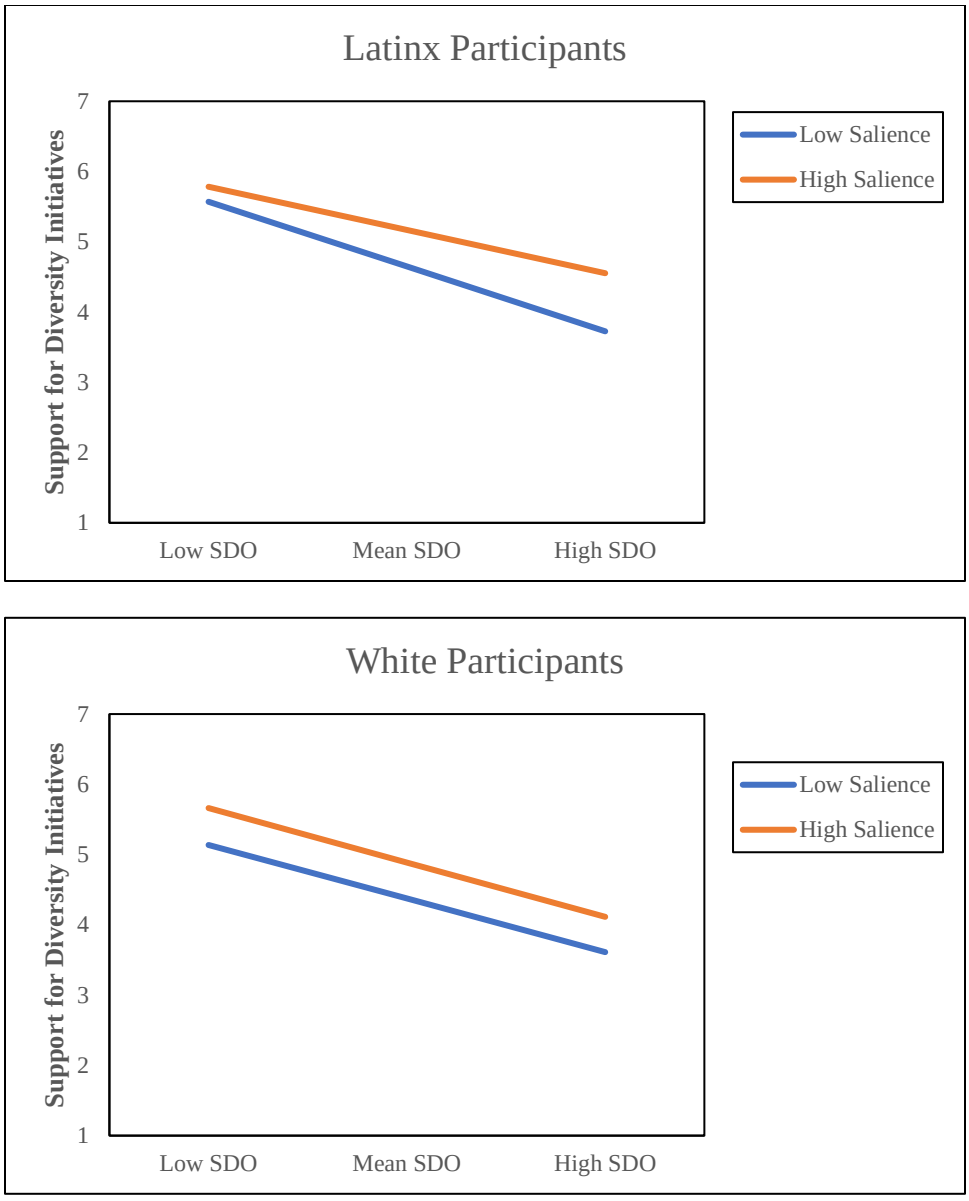


Figure 6. 3-way interaction between SDO, participant race, and salience on support for diversity initiatives, Study 4. High and low SDO are operationalized as +/- 1 *SD* from M_{SDO}.

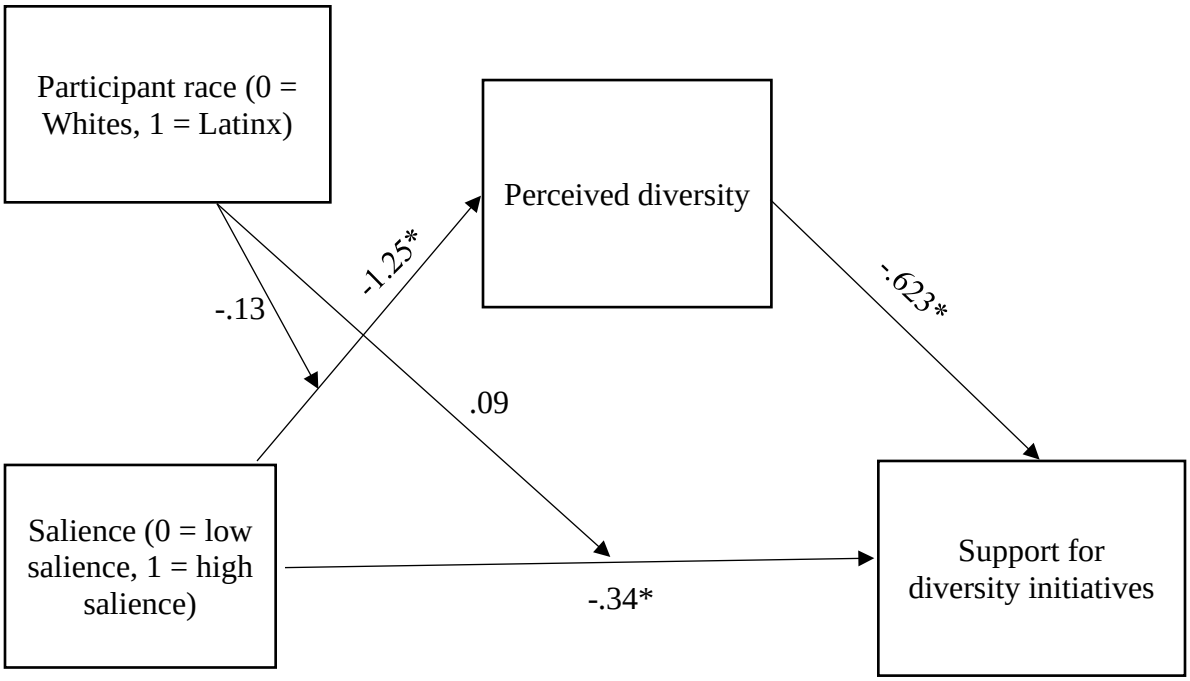
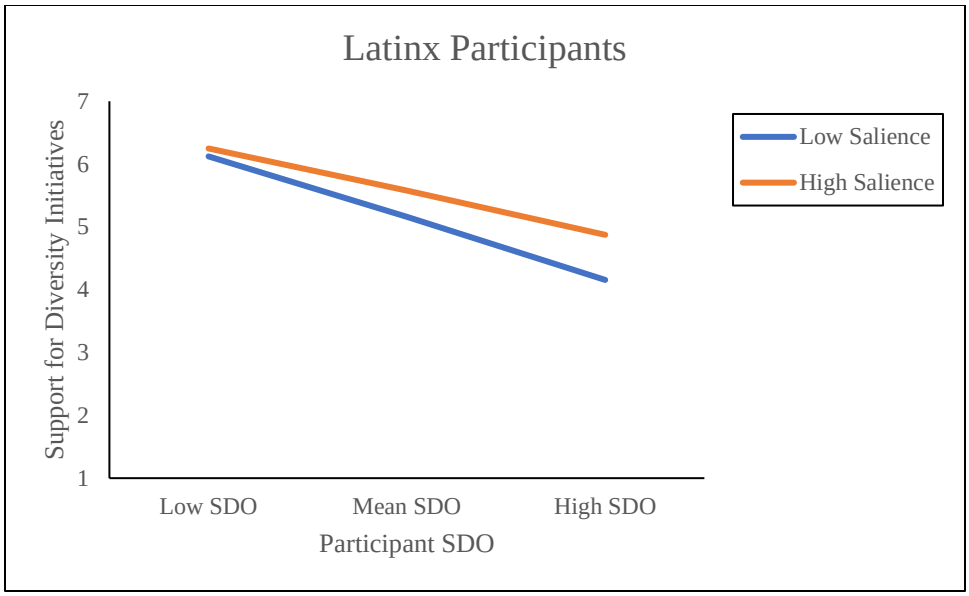


Figure 7. Moderated mediation model from Study 4.



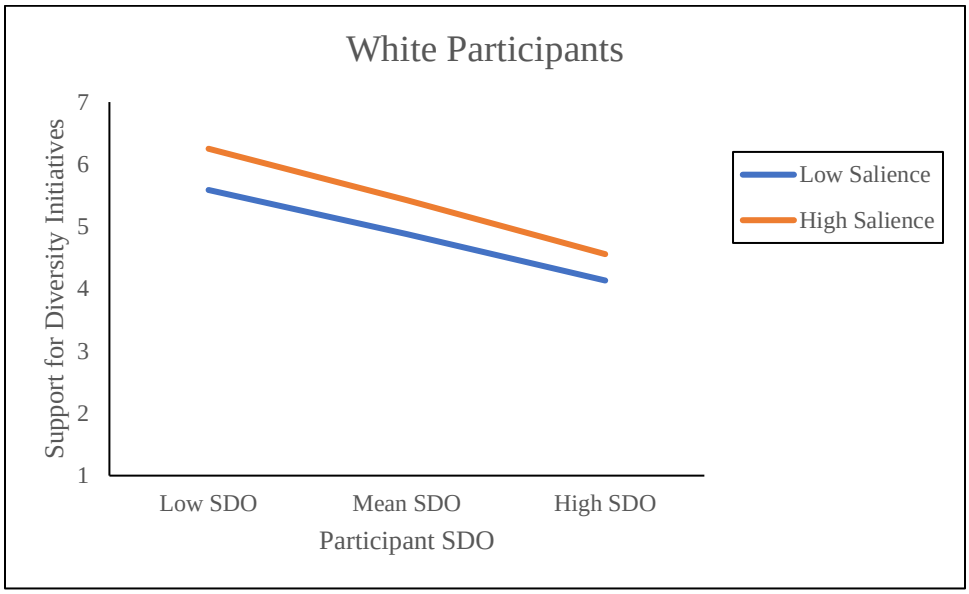


Figure 8. 3-way interaction between SDO, participant race, and salience on support for diversity initiatives, Study 5. High and low SDO are operationalized as +/- 1 *SD* from M_{SDO}.

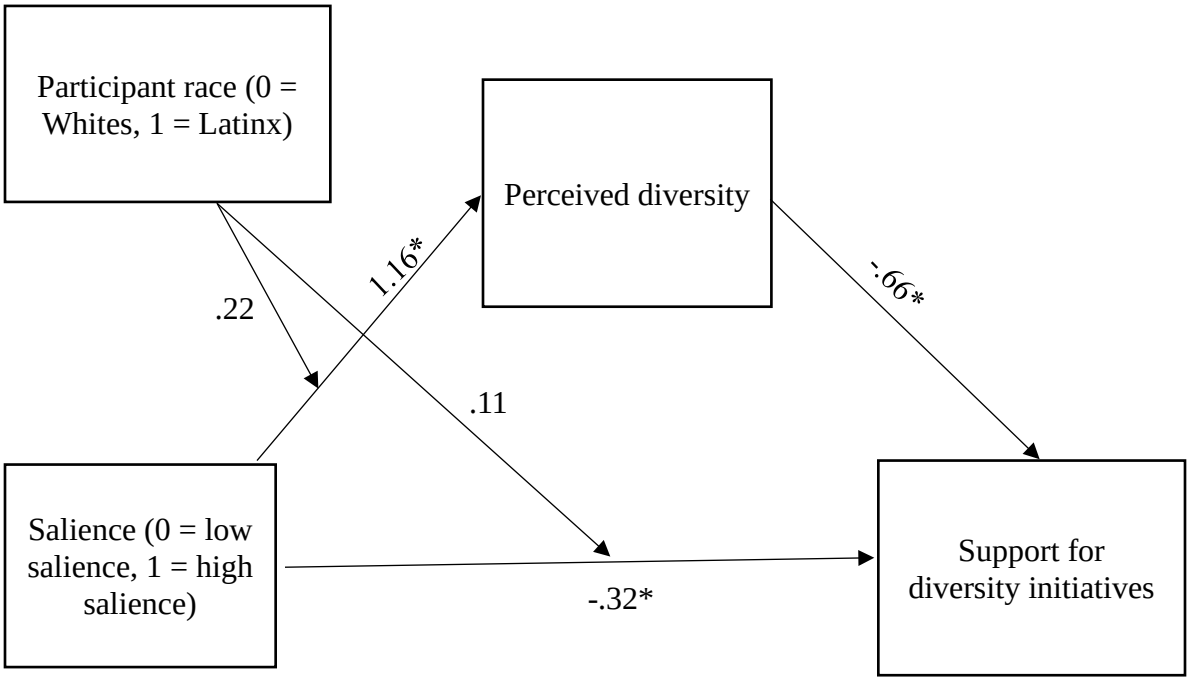
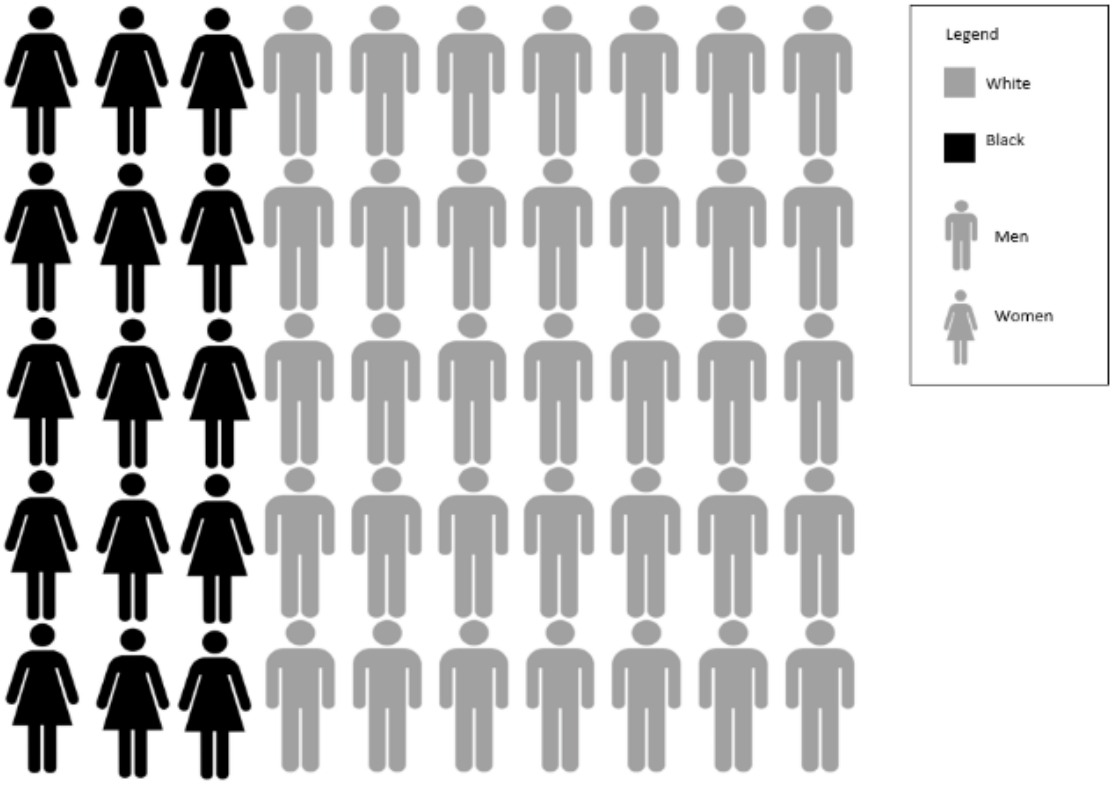


Figure 9. moderated mediation model from Study 5.

Appendix A

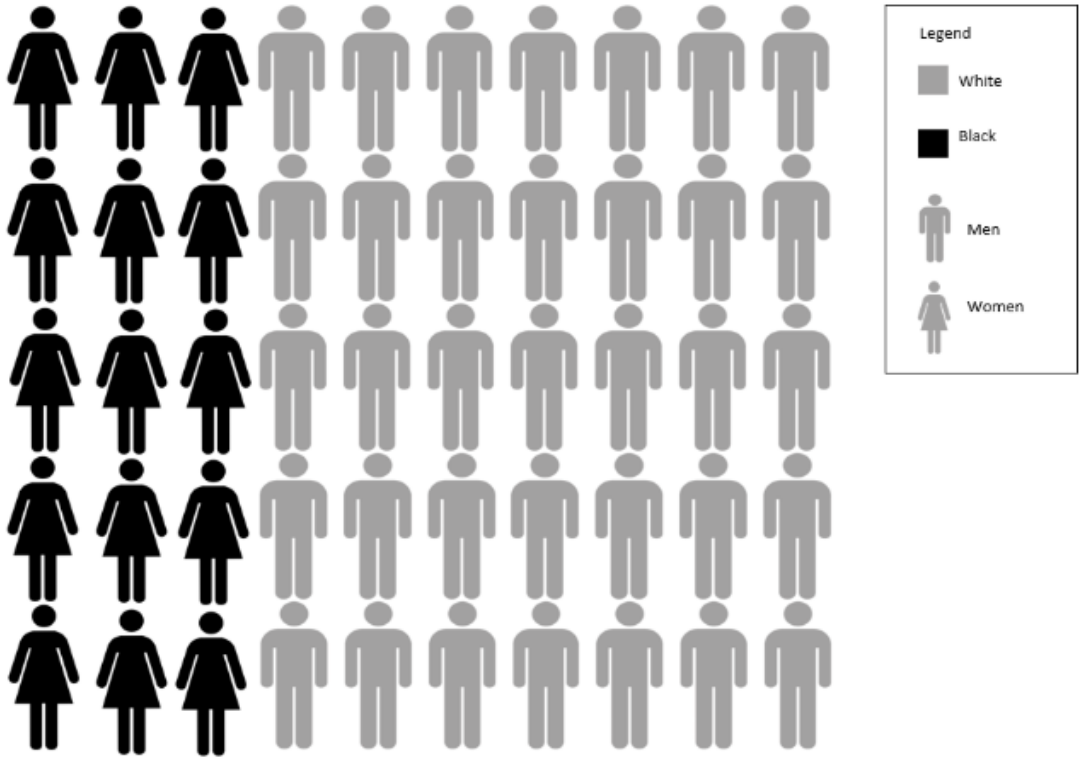
Study 1 low salience condition



For each of the social groups below, please answer whether members of the group are present in the organization.

	Yes	No
Blacks	☑	☐
Whites	☑	☐
Women	☑	☐
Men	☑	☐

Study 1 high salience condition

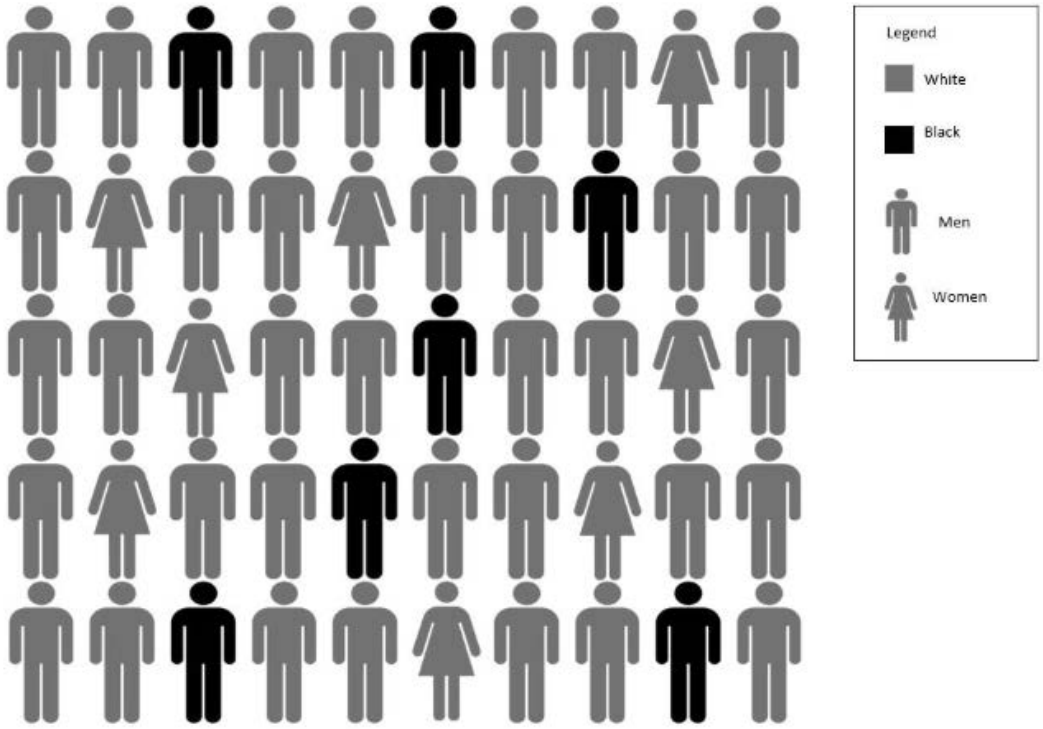


For each of the social groups below, please answer whether members of the group are present in the organization.

	Yes	No
Black women	☑	☐
White women	☐	☑
Black men	☐	☑
White men	☑	☐

Appendix B

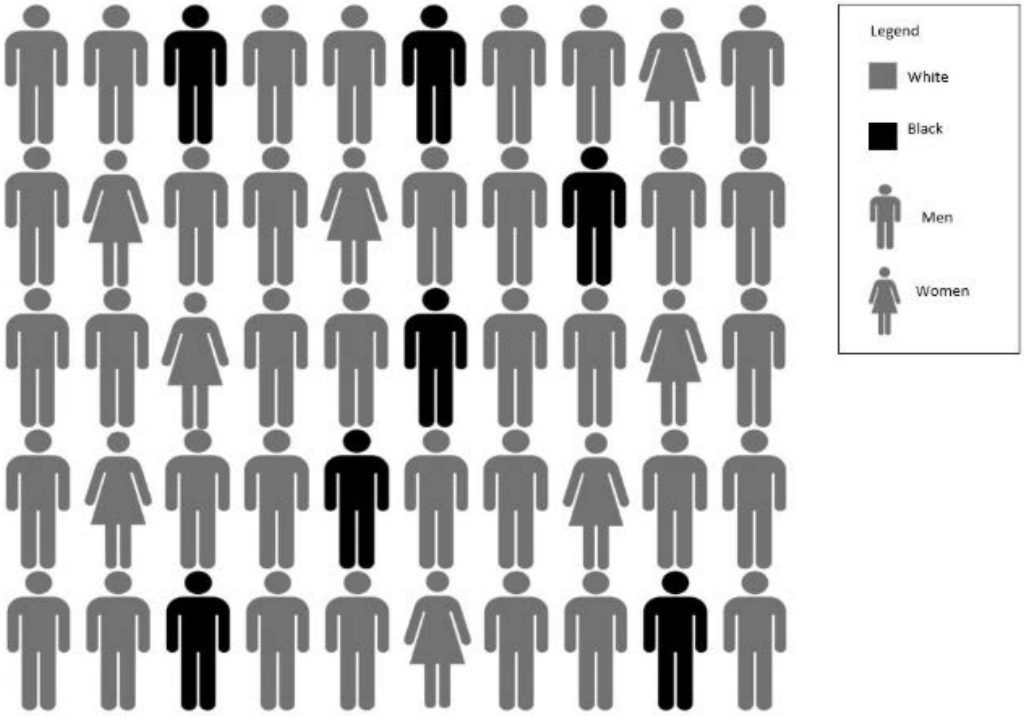
Study 2 low salience condition



For each of the social groups below, please answer whether members of the group are present in the organization.

	No	Yes
Men	☐	☑
Blacks	☐	☑
Women	☐	☑
Whites	☐	☑

Study 2 high salience condition

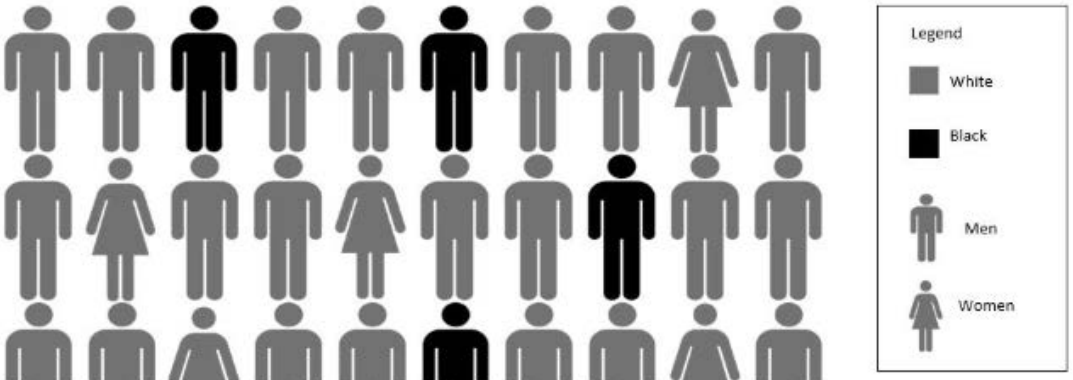


For each of the social groups below, please answer whether members of the group are present in the organization.

	Yes	No
White men	☑	☐
Black women	☐	☑
Black men	☑	☐
White women	☑	☐

Appendix C

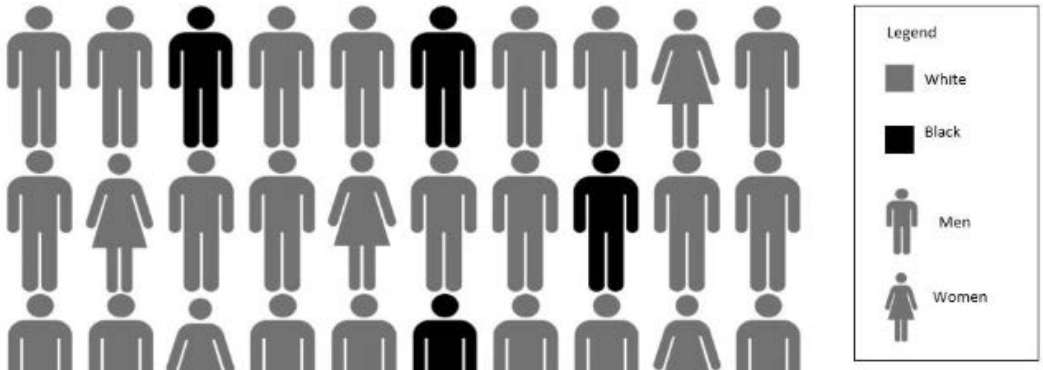
Study 3 low intersectional salience/low non-intersectional salience condition



For each of the social groups below, please indicate whether or not members of the group are present in the organization.

	Yes	No
Blacks	☑	☐
Women	☑	☐
Whites	☑	☐
Men	☑	☐

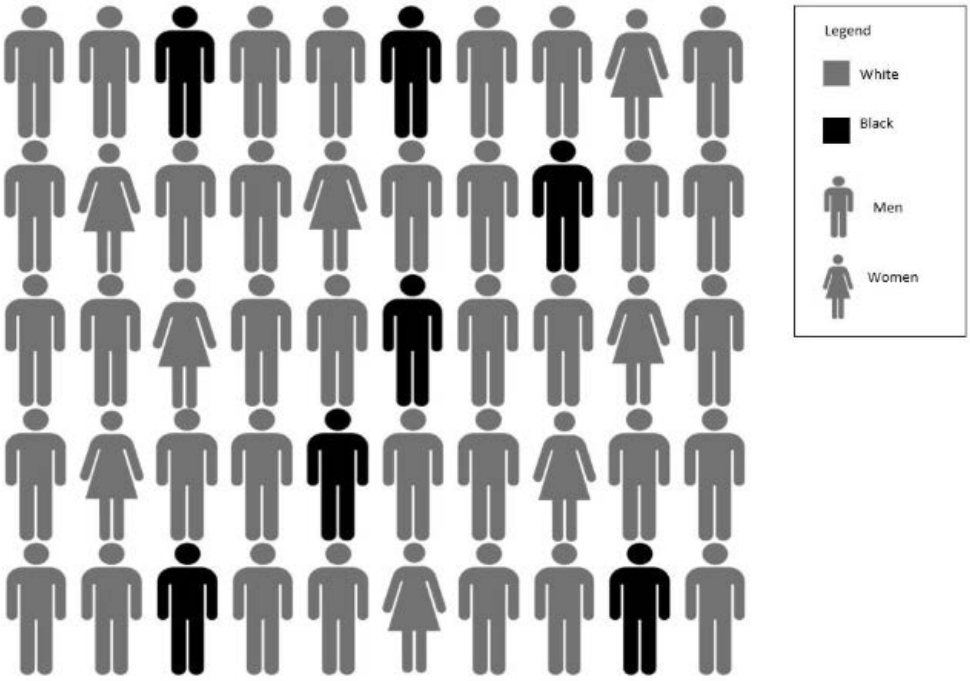
Study 3 high intersectional salience/low non-intersectional salience condition



For each of the social groups below, please indicate whether or not members of the group are present in the organization.

	Yes	No
Black men	☑	☐
Black women	☐	☑
White women	☑	☐
White men	☑	☐

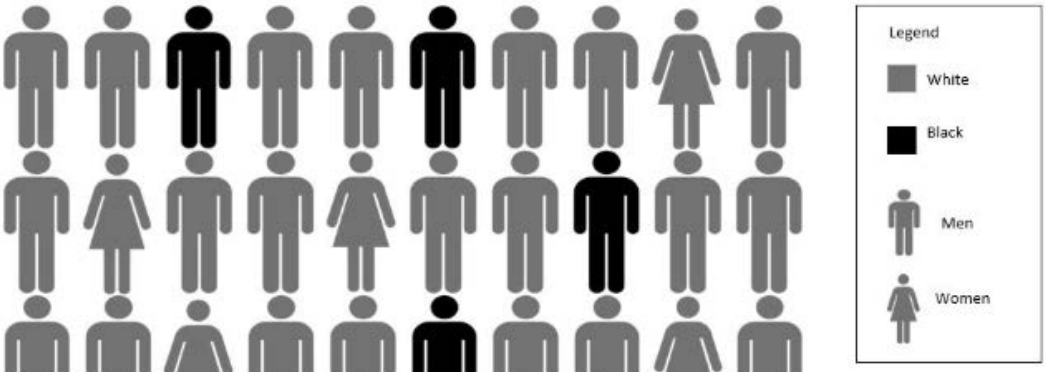
Study 3 low intersectional salience/high non-intersectional salience condition



For each of the social groups below, please indicate whether or not members of the group are present in the organization.

	No	Yes
Latinos	☑	☐
Blacks	☐	☑
Men	☐	☑
Whites	☐	☑
Women	☐	☑

Study 3 high intersectional salience/high non-intersectional salience condition



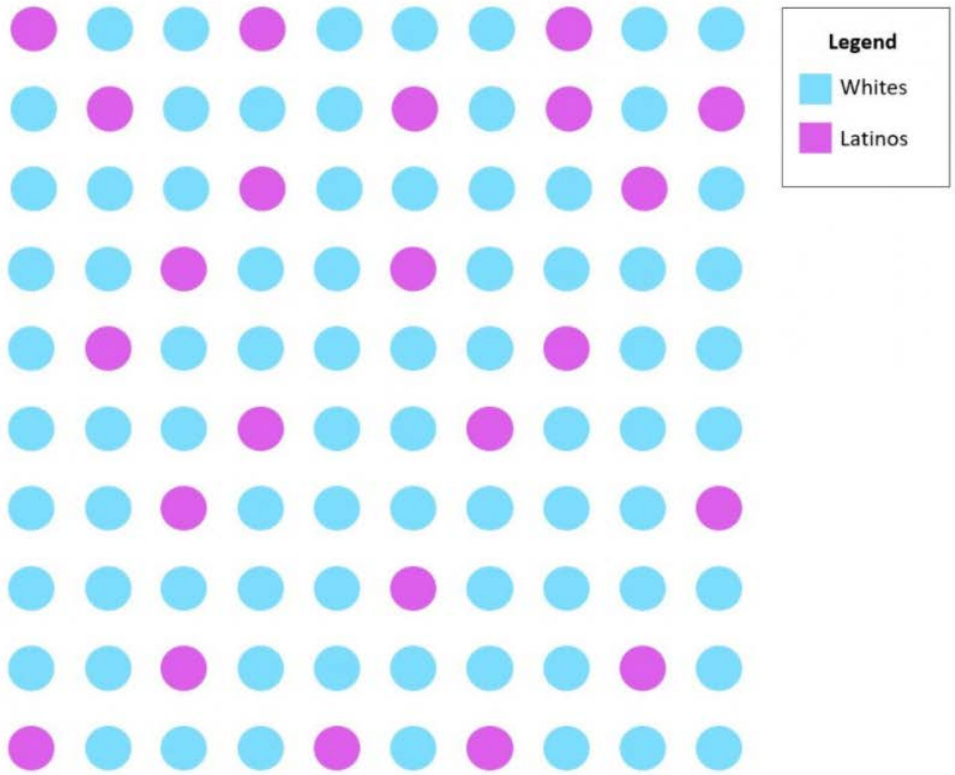
For each of the social groups below, please indicate whether or not members of the group are present in the organization.

	Yes	No
Black women	☐	☑
White men	☑	☐
White women	☑	☐
Latina women	☐	☑
Black men	☑	☐
Latino men	☐	☑

Appendix D

Study 4 low salience condition

The organization pictured below is a US-based consulting firm that has various branches in different cities across the United States. Their headquarters are based in a major metropolitan city. Below is an overview of all 100 people working for this organization. Each dot represents one employee.

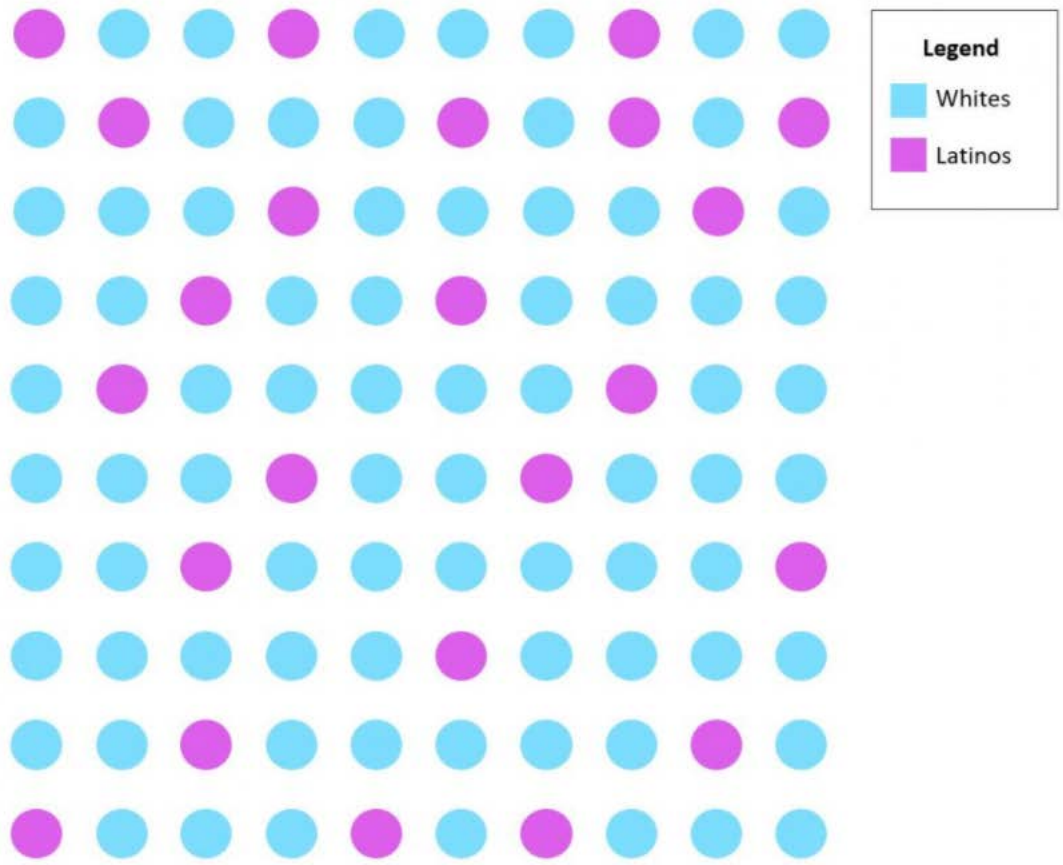


Looking at the dots above, please answer whether members of each racial/ethnic groups are represented in this organization.

	Yes	No
Latinos	●	○
Whites	●	○

Study 4 high salience condition

The organization pictured below is a US-based consulting firm that has various branches in different cities across the United States. Their headquarters are based in a major metropolitan city. Below is an overview of all 100 people working for this organization. Each dot represents one employee.



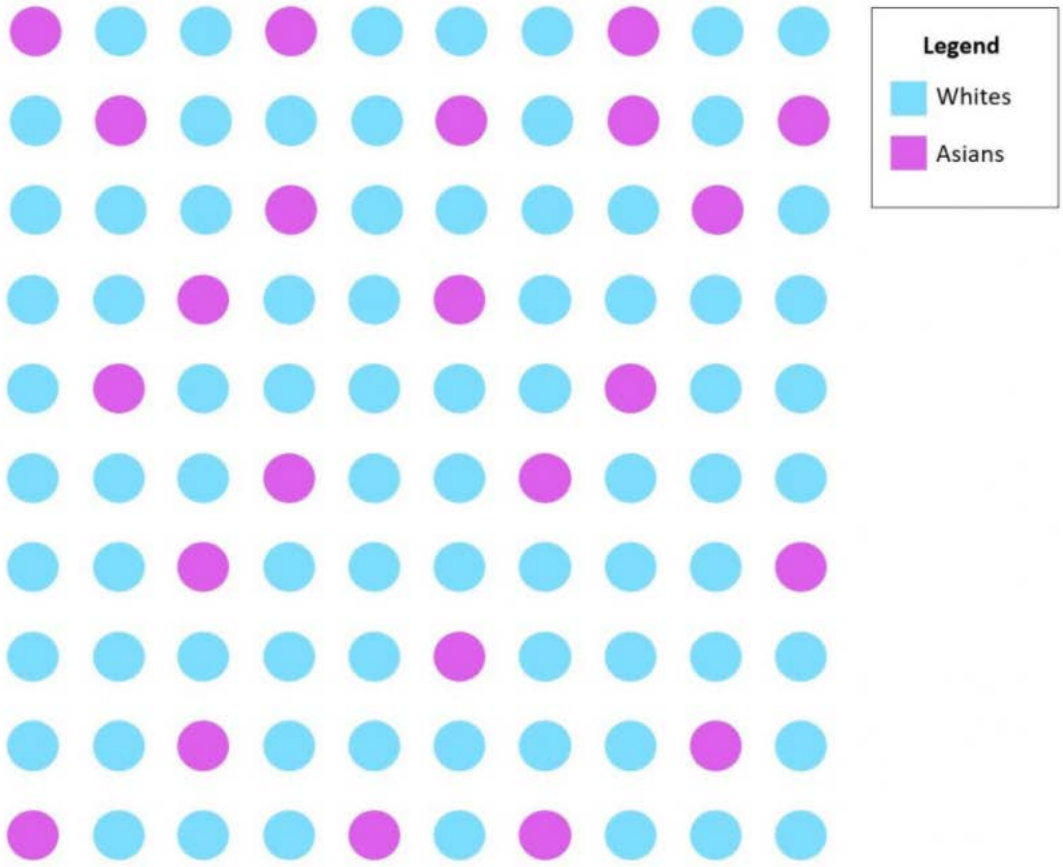
Looking at the dots above, please answer whether members of each racial/ethnic groups are represented in this organization.

	No	Yes
Asians	●	○
Blacks	●	○

Appendix E

Study 5 low salience condition

The organization pictured below is a US-based consulting firm that has various branches in different cities across the United States. Their headquarters are based in a major metropolitan city. Below is an overview of all 100 people working for this organization. Each dot represents one employee.

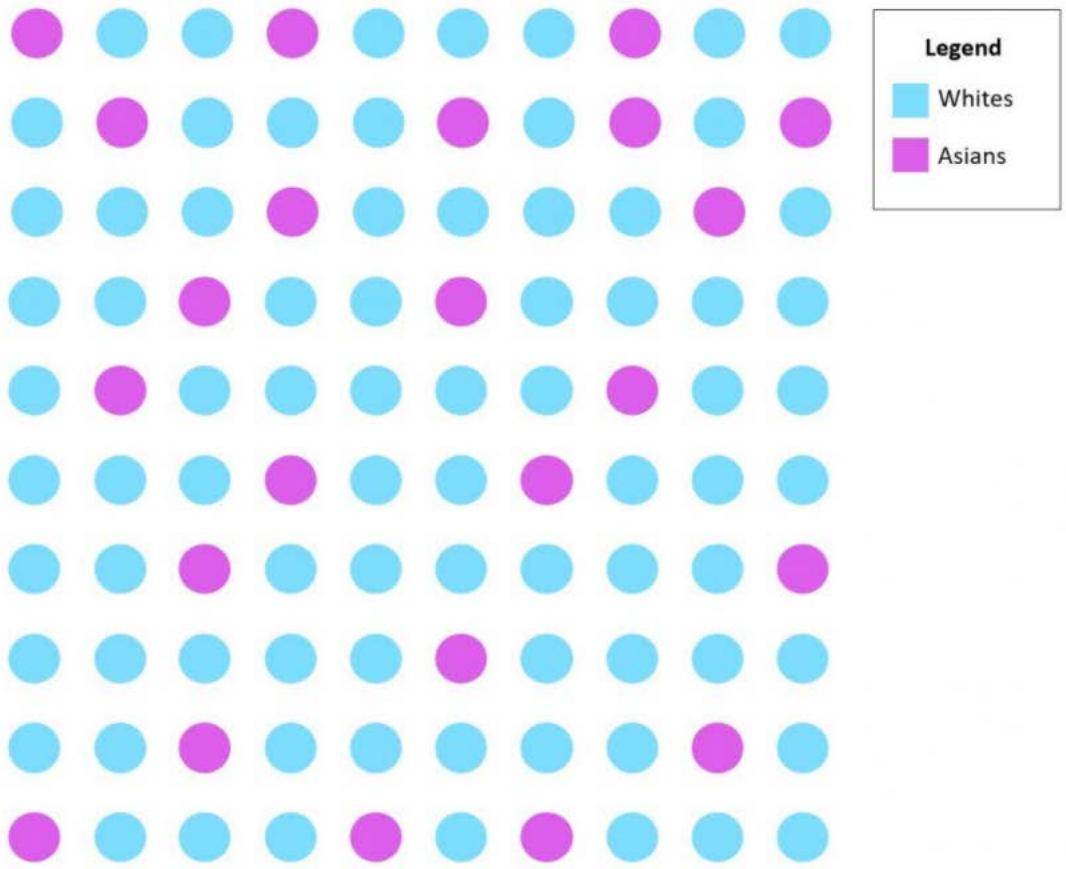


Looking at the dots above, please answer whether members of each racial/ethnic groups are represented in this organization.

	No	Yes
Asians	○	●
Whites	○	●

Study 5 high salience condition

The organization pictured below is a US-based consulting firm that has various branches in different cities across the United States. Their headquarters are based in a major metropolitan city. Below is an overview of all 100 people working for this organization. Each dot represents one employee.



Looking at the dots above, please answer whether members of each racial/ethnic groups are represented in this organization.

	No	Yes
Latinos	●	○
Blacks	●	○

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