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Diversity's Dark Side: Dominant Group Blowback to Organizational Diversity Policies

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Diversity's Dark Side:
Dominant Group Blowback to Organizational Diversity Policies

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Management

by

John Morton

Dissertation Committee:
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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Diversity's Dark Side:

Dominant Group Blowback to Organizational Diversity Policies

By

John Morton

Doctor of Philosophy in Management

University of California, Irvine, 2019

Professor Jone Pearce, Chair

As the workforce has become increasingly diverse, many organizations have responded by implementing various approaches to managing workforce diversity, including formal diversity policies. Organizational diversity policies are widespread in organizations; however, scholars are only beginning to examine the impact of diversity policies on the attitudes and behaviors of dominant group employees (i.e., usually White employees). Although diversity policies often target underrepresented groups, dominant groups are still exposed to them and such exposure could impact their attitudes and behavior. This dissertation contributes to the nascent area of study of dominant group reactions to diversity policies by finding support for dominant group blowback to organizational diversity policies. Study 1, an online experiment conducted on Amazon's Mechanical Turk, and Study 2, a field experiment in an organizational setting, found support for such blowback in the form of increased turnover intentions and decreased organizational citizenship behavior for dominant group members. However, such blowback did not take the form of counterproductive work behavior. Study 3, an online experiment conducted on Amazon's Mechanical Turk, did not find any differences in unethical

behavior for dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement. This suggests that the dominant group blowback does not take the form of active harm against the organization. The three studies also did not find differences in justice perceptions when participants were exposed to a diversity policy or neutral mission statement.

Taken together, these research findings suggest that diversity policies can have unintended consequences. The findings of the three studies provide an empirically grounded understanding of the dominant group blowback to diversity policies and make significant theoretical contributions to the fields of diversity in organizations, human resource management, and organizational retaliatory behavior. Theoretical and practical implications of these three studies are discussed, as are limitations and future research directions.

Chapter 1

Reactions to Organizational Diversity Policies

In May 2018, Starbucks closed all of its stores in the United States for unconscious bias training, a popular approach to diversity management. This occurred in response to the arrest of two African American men who were sitting in a Starbucks store in Philadelphia. The arrest of these two men prompted public outcry, and Starbucks responded by instituting the company-wide diversity training day, aimed at decreasing employees' unconscious biases (Calfas, 2018). As the workforce has become increasingly diverse, many organizations have responded in a similar fashion to Starbucks, by implementing various formal approaches to managing workforce diversity (Brady, Kaiser, Major, & Kirby, 2015; Dobbin, 2009; Dobbin, Kim, & Kalev, 2011; Olsen & Martins, 2016). There is wide variation among organizational approaches to managing diversity, as well as differences in the extent to which organizations adopt such approaches (Dobbin et al., 2011; Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006). Examples of such approaches include diversity statements and policies, diversity training programs (as Starbucks implemented), and mentorship and networking programs for minorities. In this dissertation, I focus on organizational diversity policies, as they represent an organization's formal position on its effort to manage diversity. Despite the prevalence of organizational diversity policies, scholars are only beginning to examine the impact of diversity policies on the attitudes and behaviors of potential or actual employees.

Although researchers have found that some diversity policies have minimal or no impact on increasing diversity in the management ranks of organizations (Kalev et al., 2006), others have successfully documented several positive benefits of organizational diversity policies for underrepresented racial minority groups and women. In this dissertation, I use the term

underrepresented to mean members of racial minority groups who are not represented in organizations at the same proportion as they are in society. I focus on African Americans and Hispanic Americans, because many scholars have documented the underrepresentation of and discrimination against these groups in U.S. organizations (Carton & Rosette, 2011; Hosoda, Nguyen, & Stone-Romero, 2012; Sanchez & Brock, 1996).

Scholars have documented the benefits of organizational diversity policies for underrepresented groups, including increased promotions for women and African Americans (Dobbin et al., 2011), increased trust and comfort in the organization for African Americans (Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008), and increased levels of leadership self-efficacy for racial minorities (Gundemir, Dovidio, Homan, & De Dreu, 2016).

Despite the potential benefits of diversity policies for members of underrepresented groups and women, reactions of historically dominant groups to such policies have received scant attention in the literature. By dominant groups, in the American context, I mean Whites, since many researchers have found that members of this group are more likely to be in organizational leadership positions than members of other groups (Carton & Rosette, 2011; Catalyst, 2019; Eagly & Carli, 2007). Drawing on theories of loss aversion and Whites' reactions to and assessments of racial progress, Whites might react negatively to organizational diversity policies and this could affect their turnover intentions, organizational citizenship behavior, counterproductive work behavior, and unethical behavior. There is some evidence that prospective White employees may feel more threatened by organizational diversity messages during the hiring process and may perform more poorly during an interview than prospective White employees applying to an organization with no diversity message (Dover, Major, & Kaiser, 2016). However, this represents a nascent area of study and currently little research exists

that examines the attitudinal or behavioral reactions of current dominant group employees to diversity policies.

It would be beneficial to study dominant group reactions to diversity policies because they are also exposed to such diversity messages and, thus, can be affected by them. Even though diversity policies often target underrepresented groups (Kaiser et al., 2013; Triana & Garcia, 2009), dominant groups are still exposed to them and such exposure could impact their attitudes and behavior. For example, this could influence members of dominant groups when making promotion decisions, since members of these groups are often responsible for deciding which employees get promoted. To the extent that diversity policies create blowback, or unintended, adverse consequences, from dominant groups, organizations should be aware of these reactions when crafting and implementing diversity policies.

In this dissertation, I develop theory of how organizational diversity policies lead to blowback from dominant group members. I test these predictions in three experiments using different samples to provide an empirically grounded understanding of the impact of organizational diversity policies on dominant groups. A strength of this methodological approach lies in two lab studies that explore the causality of the policies and one field study that supports the generalizability of these lab studies in an actual organization. In Chapter 1, I begin by describing the history of diversity programs and evaluating the impact of such programs. I also discuss the extant research on the dominant group reaction to the concept of diversity and to diversity policies, showing that dominant groups are affected by diversity policies and may react negatively to then. In Chapter 2, I present a theory of dominant group blowback to diversity policies, in which I explain the specific types of blowback that dominant group members are proposed to enact in response to organizational diversity policies, including increased turnover

intentions, decreased organizational citizenship behavior, and increased counterproductive work behavior. My theory is based on extensions of theories of loss aversion and Whites' reactions to and assessments of racial progress. I also discuss the mediating role of perceived justice in the relationship between a diversity policy and blowback from dominant group members, drawing on theories of organizational justice and fairness heuristics. In Chapter 3, I discuss Study 1, which is an experiment conducted on Amazon's Mechanical Turk that examines the impact of a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement on the attitudes and behavioral intentions of dominant and non-dominant group participants. Chapter 4 describes Study 2, which is a field experiment conducted on the dominant group employees of an organization that measures their responses to their organization's actual diversity policy or mission statement. In Chapter 5, I describe Study 3, which is an experiment conducted on Amazon's Mechanical Turk that examines the impact of a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement on dominant group members' unethical behavior. Finally, Chapter 6 offers a general discussion of the dissertation, including theoretical and practical contributions, limitations, future research directions, and conclusions.

History and Impact of Diversity Programs

Throughout the over fifty year history of affirmative action and diversity programs in the United States, these programs have undergone significant changes from their inception in the early 1960's to their widespread presence in today's organizations (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998). As I explain in this section, diversity management programs have often replaced what were called affirmative action programs in many organizations, but many of the original policies remain the same. Despite the prevalence of organizational diversity management programs, scholars are

only beginning to study the impact of such programs. Moreover, the conclusions they propose are often inconsistent (Kaiser et al., 2013; Kalev et al., 2006; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998).

The history of affirmative action and diversity programs has beginnings in the American civil rights movement (Raza, Anderson, & Custred, 1999; Weiss, 1997). A central goal of this movement was to end racial segregation and discrimination against African Americans and to ensure federal legal protections for members of this group. Discrimination in employment became illegal in the early 1960's in the United States (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998). In 1961, President Kennedy required federal government contractors to take affirmative action to end discrimination (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998; Weiss, 1997). Three years later and with increased momentum from the civil rights movement, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This Act outlawed discrimination in education, housing, and employment (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998; Raza et al., 1999; Weiss, 1997). Affirmative action programs were thus born and became important realities in organizations, as they were required by law to "take positive steps to end discrimination" (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998, p. 963).

Although affirmative action had implications for other domains, its consequences for employment in organizations were especially important. At its onset, affirmative action was designed to be a temporary measure that favored historically disadvantaged groups in employment as a means to remedy past discrimination (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998). For example, according to the 1950 U.S. Census, about 10 percent of Whites were employed in managerial roles, compared to only 2 percent of African Americans (United States Census Bureau, 1950; Weiss, 1997). Unemployment rates for African Americans were also consistently double those of Whites throughout most of the 1950's (Weiss, 1997). In accordance with an affirmative action program, organizations would to take steps to remedy disproportions in the demographics of

their employees versus that of available labor pools or the general population (Lynch, 1997). For instance, if a company was comprised predominantly of White males, then that company should take steps to hire and promote employees from underrepresented groups so that the demographics of their employees more closely matched those of society.

Due to the growing importance of compliance with affirmative action laws in the 1960's and 1970's, organizational personnel departments, the precursor to human resource departments, introduced three main changes to personnel management. Personnel managers crafted organizational nondiscrimination policies, created recruitment programs for women and members of underrepresented racial minorities (in this case, African Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Asian-Pacific Islanders), and created training programs to encourage these employees to enter management positions (Dobbin, 2009).

Personnel managers also made the case for the importance of using objective criteria for hiring and promotion decisions. Job descriptions and public postings, job and salary classifications, and performance evaluations are some measures personnel managers promoted as objective employment criteria that met affirmative action mandates (Dobbin, 2009). In larger companies, personnel managers became responsible for implementing these measures, thus expanding their role in many organizations. Personnel managers also convinced executives that formal systems would be a means to curb discrimination in their organizations and help them to avoid an employment discrimination lawsuit (Dobbin, 2009). According to the *Harvard Law Review* (1989), the majority of top corporate executives by the end of the 1970's favored affirmative action efforts and believed that "minority hiring did not hamper productivity" (Harvard Law Review, 1989, p.661). This reflected worries about losing government contracts or

being fined if they did not comply with affirmative action mandates (Harvard Law Review, 1989).

The 1980's saw the first major challenges to affirmative action programs. President Reagan curtailed the enforcement of affirmative action laws and appointed many government officials who did not support affirmative action, such as Attorney General William French Smith and Chairman of the Civil Rights Commission Clarence M. Pendleton, Jr. (Weiss, 1997). Affirmative action programs were also challenged on legal grounds (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998). For example, in 1984, the Supreme Court ruled against an affirmative action program in *Firefighters Local Union No. 1784 v. Stotts*. In this case, White firefighters challenged an affirmative action program that protected the jobs of African American firefighters who had less seniority than White firefighters (Weiss, 1997). However, two 1986 Supreme Court cases (*International Association of Firefighters v. City of Cleveland* and *Local 28, Sheet Metal Workers International Association v. EEOC*) upheld affirmative action programs and curtailed the Reagan administration's ability to fight affirmative action programs (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998; Weiss, 1997).

In response to the challenges to affirmative action programs in the 1980's, proponents of these programs, including affirmative action specialists and human resource managers (many organizations renamed "personnel managers" to "human resource managers" in this period), fought for such programs. They often cited efficiency and business arguments as a means to keep them intact. According to these arguments, affirmative action practices could be viewed as an efficient way to formalize and streamline personnel decisions (Dobbin, 2009). As previously discussed, human resource managers cited performance evaluations, standardized job descriptions, and other measures as objective employment criteria that not only helped

organizations meet federal affirmative action mandates, thus protecting them from lawsuits, but also helped to make organizations more efficient because many human resource decisions were formalized. They also introduced grievance and disciplinary mechanisms that were designed to resolve employees' discrimination claims before they became formal lawsuits (Edelman, 1990).

Despite the arguments of human resource managers in support of affirmative action programs, many organizations decreased these programs for women and racial minorities during the 1980's (Dobbin, 2009). For example, organizations in 1985 were less likely to have special recruiting and training programs for women and racial minorities than they were in 1976 (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998). However, many of the objective measures (e.g., standardized performance evaluations and job descriptions) that personnel and human resource managers championed in the 1970's and 1980's became integral parts of many organizations, since they were largely seen as a means to increase organizational efficiency and to protect companies from employment lawsuits (Dobbin, 2009; Harvard Law Review, 1989).

From the late 1980's to the mid 1990's, affirmative action policies continued to receive less support from presidential administrations. Between 1988 and 1996, Presidents Bush and Clinton gave limited support to affirmative action programs. For example, President Bush signed legislation that curtailed affirmative action practices (Civil Rights Act of 1991) and President Clinton cut staff to federal agencies that enforced affirmative action (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998). During the 1990's, affirmative action policies were further challenged in court (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998). For instance, the 1995 Supreme Court case, *Adarand Constructors v. Peña*, limited the use of quotas in employment and placed the burden of proving discrimination on minority workers (Weiss, 1997). In the 1990's, many dominant group members continued to view affirmative action as a controversial policy (Harrison, Kravitz, Mayer, Leslie, & Lev-Arey,

2006). While proponents saw such policies as a remedy for discrimination, opponents saw affirmative action as reverse discrimination and an "attack on the merit system" (Weiss, 1997, p. 235).

In response to these changes, many organizations rebranded their affirmative action programs as part of the broader concept of "diversity management," which has a wider focus and can elicit more positive responses (Dobbin, 2009; Kidder, Lankau, Chrobot-Mason, & Friedman, 2004). For example, executives from companies such as American Airlines, U.S. West, Allstate Insurance Company, and Control Data lauded the benefits of diversity management for their organizations, as well as the benefits of thinking in terms of diversity instead of affirmative action (Dobbin, 2009). Richard McCormick, President and CEO of U.S. West, stated in an interview in 1992:

> I don't even think about equal employment or affirmative action any more. We think in terms of pluralism and diversity—creating a work force that reflects our customers and society….it's [managing diversity] a larger, more positive idea that is not numbers-driven. We have other motives, such as being fair with people and improving our business by understanding our customers. (Conference Board, 1992, p. 14)

Diversity experts continued to cite business reasons for the importance of diversity. In a 1990 article in the *Harvard Business Review*, Thomas made the case that companies needed to change from affirmative action programs to a diversity management approach, as many of the premises that affirmative action was based on in the 1960's were no longer valid in 1990. He stated, "sooner or later, affirmative action will die a natural death" and gave guidelines for organizations to effectively manage diversity, many of which focused on business arguments for diversity (Thomas, 1990, p. 107). Diversity specialists and human resource officers also

emphasized the business case for diversity, i.e., the increase in productivity and the competitive advantage that effective diversity management would bring (Dobbin, 2009). Diversity management was also seen as a strategic way to attract employees from different demographic groups, as the demographics of society were changing and the proportion of White men in the labor force was decreasing (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998). For example, Hispanics increased from 6.9 percent of the labor force in 1986 to 11.7 percent in 2006. During this time, Whites decreased from about 80 percent of the workforce to 73 percent. The *Workforce 2000* (1987) report was also published during this time. A key message of this popular report was that White men would be a minority in the workforce of the twenty-first century, thus further highlighting that White men would not make up the majority of employees in the 2000's. Diversity programs continued to increase in popularity and now are widespread in organizations (Dobbin, 2009; Kalev et al., 2006; Kelly & Dobbin, 1998).

Despite the popularity of organizational diversity programs, diversity policies are widely variable between organizations. However, they typically involve strategies for recruiting and promoting members of underrepresented groups and can be used in conjunction with mentorship or diversity training programs (Brady et al., 2015; Kaiser et al., 2013; Kalev et al., 2006). Diversity policies attempt to present the organization in positive terms and as one that values and promotes diversity (Kaiser et al., 2013). For example, an organization might highlight its diversity awards in the diversity statement used in recruitment materials in an effort to positively showcase the organization and the high value it places on diversity. Organizations generally use one of three broad approaches (or a combination of the three) to manage diversity: diversity training to reduce managerial bias during hiring, promotion, and performance evaluation processes; mentorship or networking programs to increase the integration of female and minority

employees in beneficial networks (Ibarra, 1992; 1995); or establishing organizational responsibility for diversity goals, such as creating diversity staff or task forces who then have the responsibility to meet such goals (Kalev et al., 2006).

Unfortunately, few scholars have investigated the efficacy of these approaches in increasing the number of women and minorities in managerial positions. In one of the few studies to examine the impact of diversity policies, Kalev and colleagues (2006) measured the changes in the managerial demographics of 708 organizations after adopting one of the three broad approaches to managing diversity. The researchers found wide variability in the effectiveness of these diversity management approaches in increasing the number of women and minorities in managerial positions. The most effective approach involved establishing organizational responsibility for diversity, which could take the form of diversity staff or task forces. Mentoring or networking programs for women and racial minorities and diversity training programs to reduce managerial bias were less effective (Kalev et al., 2006).

In a related study, Dobbin and colleagues (2015) investigated the effects of different organizational diversity initiatives on increasing managerial diversity. Some initiatives were more effective than others in increasing diversity in the managerial ranks of organizations. Initiatives that actively engage managers in promoting diversity, such as targeted recruitment of women and minorities or diversity training programs, increased managerial diversity. Similar increases in managerial diversity were found for initiatives such as increasing transparency during the hiring process in the form of job postings or monitoring by diversity managers and federal regulators (Dobbin, Schrage, & Kalev, 2015). However, some of the most common diversity initiatives did not increase managerial diversity. Initiatives such as performance evaluations, job tests, and grievance procedures elicited resistance from managers and did not

produce increases in managerial diversity. Dobbin and colleagues (2015) argue that such initiatives lead to resistance because they limit managerial discretion in decision-making. These types of initiatives are largely in place to control managerial bias; however, they may actually increase it (Dobbin et al., 2015). For example, when managers have to conduct performance evaluations, they often give higher scores to members of their race or gender (Kraiger & Ford, 1985; Pulakos, White, Oppler, & Borman, 1989). This could be indicative of preference for one's in-group (Dobbin et al., 2015). Furthermore, White men generally benefit from such in-group bias, as they are more likely to conduct performance evaluations than any other group (McKay & McDaniel, 2006; Roth, Huffcutt, & Bobko, 2003).

Ironically, the mere presence of organizational diversity policies, such as training programs or diversity statements, can lead men and women to perceive these organizations as fair to members of underrepresented groups, even when an employee is suing the organization for employment discrimination (Brady et al., 2015; Kaiser et al., 2013). For example, Kaiser and colleagues (2013) found that dominant group members believed that racial minorities and women in an organization with a diversity policy were treated more procedurally fair by the organization than when a diversity policy was not present. This occurred despite evidence that underrepresented groups were discriminated against regarding hiring and salaries. This research is important because it shows that dominant groups can also be affected diversity policies, even if such policies are not directly targeted at them. However, the reactions of dominant group members to how diversity policies might affect them personally are understudied in the literature. Yet, White men are more likely to hold leadership positions than women or minorities and they make up a sizeable portion of most organizations (Carton & Rosette, 2011; Eagly & Carli, 2007). Thus, it is important to understand their reactions to diversity policies, as such

policies generally apply to all organizational members. I now turn to a discussion of the possible dominant group reactions to diversity policies, starting with their reactions to the concept of diversity.

Dominant Group Reaction to Racial Diversity

In general, Americans view the concept of societal diversity in a positive manner (Bell & Hartmann, 2007; Dover et al., 2016; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). In a recent poll, 58% of Americans believe that diversity makes America a better place to live (Pew Research Center, 2016). Despite this positive view, recent research supports the notion that members of dominant groups may not endorse organizational efforts at diversity management if they perceive that such diversity efforts will come at their expense (Dover et al., 2016; Eibach & Keegan, 2006). In other words, dominant group members might support diversity in more general, abstract ways, but might withdraw that support if they think diversity efforts will negatively impact them. Furthermore, a poll conducted in 2017 found that 55% of White Americans believe that discrimination against White people exists in the United States today (NPR/Robert Wood Johnson Foundation/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, 2017). While the majority of White Americans believe that discrimination exists today against White people, a smaller percentage of Whites Americans say they have been personally discriminated against because they are White. For example, 19% of Whites believe they have been personally discriminated against because of their race when applying for jobs, while only 13% believe they have been personally discriminated against because of their race when being considered for promotions (NPR/Robert Wood Johnson Foundation/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, 2017). Regardless of their personal experiences, a majority of Whites still believe that discrimination

against Whites occurs in the United States today, which might help to shape their views of diversity policies. In addition, members of dominant groups might also oppose organizational diversity policies to the extent that they see such policies as no longer necessary, due to the progress society has made toward racial equality and the perceived discrimination against Whites. These two reasons for opposing diversity policies may lead members of dominant groups to perceive unfair treatment from their organization if they are subject to such policies.

Attitudes toward racial progress are an important means of shaping a group's views toward diversity policies, as members of different racial groups view the extent to which society has progressed toward racial equality differently. White Americans believe that more progress has been made toward racial equality than do Black Americans (Eibach & Keegan, 2006). In order to explain this finding, Eibach and Keegan (2006) applied Kahneman and Tversky's (1984) concept of loss aversion, which states that individuals tend to give losses more weight than gains. When a party makes a concession, "the conceding party views its concession as a loss and therefore perceives it as more substantial than the recipient does" (Eibach & Keegan, 2006, p. 454). When judging progress toward racial equality, White Americans tend to view such progress as a loss for their group, especially a loss of privilege. Across two experiments, Eibach and Keegan (2006) told participants to think about either loses of privilege that Whites experienced over the past few decades or the gains racial minorities made during this time. The researchers then assessed participants' perceptions of racial progress. In the White losses condition, White participants perceived more racial progress than did non-White participants. In the minority gains condition, there were no significant differences in perceptions of racial progress between White and non-White participants. If Whites view progress toward racial equality as a loss for themselves, then they might respond to organizational diversity policies

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differently than Blacks would. They might perceive such diversity policies as unnecessary and, consequently, as unfair due to their judgments of racial progress.

Norton and Sommers (2011) found further support for the notion that Whites believe more progress has been made toward racial equality than do Blacks. Using a nationally representative sample, the researchers asked participants to indicate how much Whites and Blacks were or are the victims of discrimination in the United States in each decade from the 1950's to the 2000's. Participants selected their answer from a 10-point scale, with 1 meaning *not at all* and 10 meaning *very much*. Overall, respondents saw racism declining over time. However, an important difference emerged between White and Black respondents: while Black participants saw anti-White bias as remaining relatively low and constant over time (remaining under 2 on the 10-point scale) from the 1950's to the 2000's, White participants perceived anti-White bias as increasing sharply, especially within the last two decades (Norton & Sommers, 2011). On the 10-point scale, Whites rated anti-White bias as just under 2 in the 1950's, about 3 in the 1970's, and almost 5 in the 2000's (Norton & Sommers, 2011). Whites now believe that they are experiencing more anti-White bias than in past decades, while they perceive anti-Black bias to have decreased substantially (Whites rated anti-Black bias as a 9 in the 1950's and as a 3.5 in the 2000's). This relationship was not found for Black participants. Whites also believe that anti-White bias is a bigger societal problem than anti-Black bias. This perception of a zero-sum game highlights the importance of Whites' perceptions of racial equality, i.e. that our society has progressed toward racial equality at the expense of White individuals (Norton & Sommers, 2011). This study is in congruence with the poll cited above that the majority of Whites believe that discrimination against White people exists in the United States today (NPR/Robert Wood Johnson Foundation/Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, 2017). If

Whites believe that there has been greater progress toward racial equality than do Blacks and that anti-White bias is a bigger societal problem than anti-Black bias, then Whites might perceive organizational diversity policies as unfairly benefitting minority groups. Whites could perceive such policies as unfair if they believe minorities do not need an extra advantage because of society's progress toward racial equality and the bias against Whites.

In sum, these scholars have contributed to our understanding of dominant group reactions to racial diversity. In general, Whites perceive more progress toward racial equality than do Blacks. Consequently, Whites might also oppose organizational diversity policies if they believe that such policies are no longer necessary. This could lead Whites to perceive unfair treatment from their organization if their organization implements a diversity policy. In the next section, I will build on these ideas about diversity policies and perceptions of fairness as I discuss the relatively small literature related to dominant group reactions to organizational diversity policies.

Dominant Group Reaction to Organizational Diversity Policies

The studies that I discussed in the previous section are important for examining Whites' reactions to diversity in a broad, society-wide manner. However, in an organizational context, scholars have only begun to investigate the reactions of dominant groups to the diversity policies in their own organizations. Given the widespread use of organizational diversity policies and the paucity of research of the effects of such policies on dominant group employees' attitudes and behavior, it is important for scholars to study the effects of diversity policies in organizations. This is important for two central reasons: 1) Dominant groups members are disproportionately in leadership positions in organizations, so they can set the organization's priorities and implement policies; and 2) Whites and men are important stakeholders in organizations because they make

up sizeable portions of many companies. I will next discuss the existing research on dominant group reactions to diversity policies in an organizational context.

There are two general streams of research that have examined dominant group reactions to diversity policies. The first investigates how dominant group members perceive the treatment of underrepresented groups by organizations with diversity policies versus organizations without diversity policies. Although this line of research has not specifically examined how diversity policies might impact dominant group members personally, it is important in establishing a foundation for research in this area and showing that dominant group members are still impacted by diversity policies even though these policies generally do not benefit them. On the other hand, the second stream of research explicitly examines dominant group reactions to diversity policies when such policies will personally impact them. This line of research suggests that dominant groups might respond negatively to diversity policies. I will next discuss these two streams of research in turn.

Several scholars have demonstrated the effects of organizational diversity policies on dominant groups' perceptions of how fairly an organization treats its minority and female members (Dover, Major, & Kaiser, 2014; Kaiser et al., 2013). According to this line of research, diversity policies can actually harm underrepresented groups by creating an "illusion of fairness" (Kaiser et al., 2013, p. 504), whereby members of dominant groups perceive organizations with diversity policies to be fairer environments for underrepresented groups even when minority employees still see discrimination, as reflected in lawsuits. This causes members of dominant groups to be less likely to recognize discrimination against minority groups and to react more negatively to minorities who make such claims.

Kaiser and colleagues (2013) examined the illusion of fairness created by organizational diversity policies using three organizational approaches to managing diversity. Across five experiments, dominant group members believed that racial minorities and women in an organization with a diversity policy (operationalized as a diversity statement, a diversity training program, or a diversity award) were treated more procedurally fair by the organization than when a diversity policy was not present. This occurred despite evidence given in the experiment that showed that underrepresented groups were discriminated against regarding hiring and salaries. When a diversity policy was present, participants also believed that discrimination at the organization was less likely. They further expressed less support for minority or female victims suing the organization for discrimination and were more likely to dislike and derogate such claimants. Perceptions of procedural fairness mediated the relationship between the presence (versus absence) of diversity policy and support for litigation, such that participants in the diversity policy condition perceived those organizations as more procedurally fair for minority and female employees and were less likely to support their litigation (Kaiser et al., 2013). This combination of dominant groups' lowered perceptions of discrimination against minority groups and more negative reactions to discrimination claimants highlights the important effects diversity policies can have on dominant group members. Even though diversity policies often target underrepresented groups (Kaiser et al., 2013; Triana & Garcia, 2009), dominant groups are also exposed to such diversity messages and, thus, can be affected by them.

Replicating this line of research, Dover, Major, and Kaiser (2014) examined the effects of the presence versus absence of a diversity policy in influencing perceptions of fairness for minorities in an organization accused of race-based discrimination. Participants first read a profile about a fictitious organization and the awards (either directly related to diversity or

unrelated to diversity) that it received, then read a newspaper article about a discrimination claim made by a Hispanic employee against the organization. Consistent with Kaiser et al. (2013), Whites perceived the organization as more fair and respectful to minorities when it had won diversity awards (vs. neutral awards). Additionally, this same pattern of results emerged in a study by Brady and colleagues (2015), in which low status group members (women) evaluated claims of gender discrimination in an organization with or without a diversity policy. As predicted, the presence of a diversity policy signaled to female participants that the organization was fairer to women than an organization without a diversity policy. Women were also less likely to support litigation regarding discrimination against female employees when evaluating an organization with a diversity policy (versus no diversity policy).

The studies by Kaiser et al. (2013) and Dover et al. (2014) are important in highlighting the fact that dominant group members are still impacted by diversity policies even if they perceive no direct benefit or cost from them. These studies showed that diversity policies cause dominant group members to perceive these organizations as more fair for minority group members, even when a minority or female employee files a discrimination lawsuit against the organization. Dominant group members also delegitimized discrimination claims brought by minority employees against the organization. However, these studies provide less information on how dominant groups might respond when they are personally impacted by diversity policies in their own organizations. I will now turn to a related stream of research, which examines these reactions.

The second stream of research about dominant group reactions to organizational diversity policies suggests that dominant group members might respond negatively to such policies. In one of the only studies to explicitly examine dominant group reactions to organizational diversity

policies, Dover and colleagues (2016) examined such reactions in a hiring context. Across two experiments, the researchers told participants to imagine that they were applying for a job at a particular company that had either a pro-diversity or a neutral message. The pro-diversity message stated that the company valued diversity, fostered inclusion, and had won a diversity award. The neutral message did not mention diversity or inclusion and stated that the company won a service-related award (Dover et al., 2016). White male and female participants perceived more unfair treatment because of their race and more anti-White discrimination when imagining applying for a job at a company that had a pro-diversity message versus a company that had a neutral message (Dover et al., 2016). Despite these fairness and discrimination concerns, White participants rated their general perceptions of the two companies equally positively. The researchers did not find this pattern for minorities: racial minority participants did not view diversity policies as cues of unfairness and discrimination because of their race, however they also viewed the two companies as equally positive.

In a third experiment, Dover et al. (2016) extended these findings by having White males participate in a hiring simulation that involved an in-person interview with either a pro-diversity company or a neutral company. The researchers used the same experimental manipulation of diversity message in this study as the two studies described above. Results showed that White men who interviewed at a pro-diversity company exhibited a cardiovascular profile characteristic of threat, were more worried about the company discriminating against them because of their race, and made a poorer impression during the interview than White men interviewing at a neutral company (Dover et al., 2016). In other words, White men appear to have been threatened by organizational diversity policies when taking part in a hiring scenario. This study lends

credence to the notion that dominant group employees might react negatively to organizational diversity policies.

Although this study was conducted in the context of hiring, its conclusions might hold for employees in other organizational contexts. For example, an organization that implements a diversity policy might elicit similar negative responses from current dominant group employees. However, once people actually start working in an organization, their experiences there might change their first impressions of the organization. It is possible that the findings of Dover and colleagues (2016) may not generalize to ongoing employee organizational behavior. Therefore, it would be important for scholars to research the dominant group reaction to diversity policies for employees already in organizations and for decisions other than hiring. It would also be important to study different outcome variables, including behavioral measures. For example, the presence of diversity policies could lead dominant group employees to commit unethical acts, such as stealing or lying, in an effort to retaliate against their employer or minority or female employees.

In this chapter, I discussed the dominant group reaction to racial diversity, namely that Whites believe that more progress has been made toward racial equality than Blacks. I also discussed the extant literature examining how dominant groups respond to organizational diversity policies, suggesting that they believe such policies to be unfair. In the next chapter, I will discuss the organizational justice literature and how perceived unfairness can lead to organizational retaliatory behavior, setting the foundation for a theory of dominant group blowback to diversity policies.

Chapter 2

A Theory of Dominant Group Blowback to Diversity Policies

As I discussed in the Chapter 1, employees from historically dominant groups may perceive organizational diversity policies to be unfair. This sense of injustice could lead to blowback from dominant group employees in the form of retaliatory behavior directed at their organization or other employees in an attempt to balance this unfairness. Other researchers have studied dominant group members' immediate perceptions of organizational diversity policies. I will expand on this research by examining whether those immediate perceptions lead dominant group members to action in the form of retaliatory behavior at work. In this chapter, I will first discuss the organizational justice literature and describe how individuals form justice perceptions and how such perceptions influence attitudes and behavior. I will then examine the link between organizational justice perceptions and organizational retaliatory behavior. I will provide a more detailed explanation of the relationship between the presence of a diversity policy and dominant group blowback in the form of retaliatory behavior directed at the organization. Here, I examine how the presence (versus absence) of a diversity policy might lead dominant group members to engage in organization-directed retaliatory behaviors, including increased turnover intentions, decreased organizational citizenship behavior, increased counterproductive work behavior, and increased unethical behavior. I then summarize these arguments in hypotheses and empirically test them across three different studies using different samples.

Organizational Justice

Organizational justice involves employees' perceptions of fairness in their relationship with their employer (Colquitt, Greenberg, & Zapata-Phelan, 2005). Perceptions of fairness are distinct from constructs such as feelings of outcome favorability or satisfaction (Colquitt, 2012; Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001; Skitka, Winquist, & Hutchinson, 2003). Such perceptions also explain unique variance in important organizational attitudes and behaviors, such as task performance, organizational commitment, and counterproductive work behavior (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Colquitt, 2012; Colquitt et al., 2001; Skitka et al., 2003). Some scholars focus on an overall perception of justice, while others distinguish between different types of justice, such as distributive, procedural, interpersonal, and informational (Colquitt et al., 2001). Distributive justice refers to the fairness of the outcomes that a person receives, such as salary or a bonus, while procedural justice refers to the fairness of the procedures used to determine such outcomes (Colquitt, 2012). Interpersonal and informational justice both involve perceptions of interpersonal treatment. The former is related to the extent to which individuals believe they are treated with dignity and respect by those involved in determining outcomes and implementing procedures, while the latter involves the information given to explain allocation decisions (Colquitt et al., 2001).

An important part of the organizational justice literature examines how individuals make fairness judgments and how these judgments can impact the attitudes and behavior of employees. According to fairness heuristic theory, mental shortcuts, or heuristics, are employed when making fairness judgments (Van den Bos, Lind, & Wilke, 2001). These heuristics can influence how individuals view their organization, which can, in turn, influence their attitudes and behavior. Such heuristics are used as shortcuts for individuals to assess their organization as a

whole or when incomplete justice-related information is available. The fairness heuristic involves employees' perceptions of the overall fairness of their organization and the possible responses employees might have to such justice perceptions. When employing a fairness heuristic, the individual dimensions of justice are less important than the overall assessment of justice (Treviño & Weaver, 2001; Van den Bos et al., 2001).

According to fairness heuristic theory, individuals form fairness judgments throughout three cognitive phases. The *preformation phase* involves when and why an individual cares about fairness. This phase is especially important in situations of social interdependence when individuals wonder whether they can trust others not to exploit them or exclude them from important relationships or groups (Van den Bos et al., 2001). For example, female employees might wonder why they are treated differently from male employees in the masculine environment of a manufacturing plant. In the second phase, called the *formation phase*, individuals form fairness judgments. It is during the second phase that individuals employ heuristics as a sort of shorthand to assess whether they receive generally fair or unfair treatment from their organization (Van den Bos et al., 2001). In a different example, an employee might believe that he or she is underpaid. These feelings of pay inequity could subsequently contribute to a more general sense of injustice that the employee feels toward his or her organization. The third phase (*post-formation phase*) involves the responses individuals have once they make fairness judgments. Employees' perceived fairness judgments serve as a heuristic that influences how they will interpret subsequent events and how they will respond to them.

Related to this argument, these three phases are important because they highlight the process through which dominant group members might form fairness judgments about diversity policies. The preformation and formation phases are similarly related to making fairness

judgments and thus should operate in the same manner. During these phases, dominant group members might become more attuned to fairness cues due to the presence of diversity policies and might perceive unfair treatment due to them. For example, a dominant group employee might perceive unfair treatment because he was not granted a promotion that instead went to a female or minority employee. During the post-formation phase, dominant group employees might want to "get back" at their organization or coworkers for the perceived unfair treatment they believe they receive due to diversity policies. This could take the form of organizational retaliatory behaviors, such as stealing from the organization or engaging in counterproductive work behavior.

Individuals may respond to the perceived fairness of their organization as a whole or the perceived fairness of coworkers or authority figures (Van den Bos et al., 2001). In applying the fairness heuristic, employees who perceive fair treatment will be more likely to conform to organizational expectations and will "sense no need to balance the scales of justice by looking for opportunities to improve their own outcomes at the organization's expense" (Treviño & Weaver, 2001, p. 652). In contrast, employees who perceive unjust treatment will be more likely to defy organizational expectations and to engage in behaviors that benefit them at the expense of their organization. For example, employees who perceive unfair treatment due to an organizational policy might defy organizational expectations by engaging in unethical behavior in order to "get even" with their organization. Scholars have found that individuals who perceive organizational injustice are more likely to steal (Greenberg 1990; 1993), vandalize (DeMore, Fisher, & Baron, 1988), commit sabotage behavior (Ambrose, Seabright, & Schminke, 2002), engage in counterproductive work behavior (Jones, 2009), and retaliate against the organization (Skarlicki & Folger, 1997). Of importance to this theory is the unique mechanism by which

organizational diversity policies might bring about feelings of injustice for dominant group employees, and how this perceived injustice leads those employees to retaliate against their organization. I will next discuss retaliatory behavior, focusing on its antecedents and consequences for organizations.

Organizational Retaliatory Behavior

Retaliation involves an individual's (the "victim") orientation and motivation to "get even" with someone (a transgressor) who is responsible for committing some action (a transgression) that harms or jeopardizes the victim (Skarlicki & Folger, 1997; Skarlicki & Folger, 2004). When such retaliation occurs in an organization and is a response to organizational transgressions, scholars refer to such behavior as organizational retaliatory behavior (Skarlicki & Folger, 1997; Skarlicki & Folger, 2004). In organizations, transgressors can be individual or collective, including individual people (for example, a coworker), a group of people (for example, the sales team), or a single institution (for example, the organization for which an individual works; Skarlicki & Folger, 2004).

Some scholars conceptualize organizational retaliatory behavior as a counterpart to organizational citizenship behavior, which refers to an organizational member's discretionary behavior that is not formally required by the organization, but positively contributes to the organization (Organ, 1988). Examples of organizational citizenship behavior include offering to help a coworker or volunteering to stay late to complete a work task. Employees may engage in citizenship behaviors as a response to perceived fair and just treatment from their organization. In contrast, employees may engage in organizational retaliatory behavior as a response to their organization's perceived unfair treatment of them. This could manifest in an employee not

engaging in organizational citizenship behavior at all or engaging in such behaviors to a lesser extent because they are discretionary, as I will discuss later in this chapter.

Unlike organizational citizenship behavior, a key component of organizational retaliatory behavior involves employees' responses to perceived *injustice* by their organization (Skarlicki & Folger, 2004). Organizational members engage in retaliatory behavior in order to restore justice and to right a wrong committed against them by their organization. The injustice an individual feels is subjective and is susceptible to individual differences and contextual factors. Nonetheless, perceived unfairness can have an important influence on an individual's retaliatory behavior. In a study that investigated the relationship between perceived organizational injustice and organizational retaliatory behavior, Skarlicki and Folger (1997) found that three types of justice (distributive, procedural, and interactional) interacted to predict employees' retaliatory behavior against their organization. The researchers obtained data from first-line employees of a manufacturing plant by surveying their perceptions of justice in their organization. In order to measure employees' organizational retaliatory behavior, peers rated coworkers using a behavioral observation scale involving a range of retaliatory behaviors, including stealing, lying, and time theft. The measure of retaliatory behavior was calculated as the average of the 17-item scale. Employees who perceived unfair treatment by their organization were more likely to have coworkers who reported they engaged in retaliatory behaviors (Skarlicki & Folger, 1997).

There is a wide range of retaliatory behaviors that individuals can enact in organizations. Many of these behaviors could be considered unethical. However, organizational retaliatory behaviors are unique because employees who in engage in them justify such behaviors to themselves as a means of "getting back" at the organization for some type of injustice. Nevertheless, organizational retaliatory behaviors can take the form of serious unethical actions,

such as theft (Greenberg 1990; 1993) or vandalism (DeMore et al., 1988), to less damaging, subtler actions, such as engaging in counterproductive work behavior (Jones, 2009) or gossiping about one's boss or coworkers (Skarlicki & Folger, 2004). An example of a more serious organizational retaliatory behavior involves employee theft as a retaliatory reaction to underpayment inequity. In a study, Greenberg (1990) examined the theft rate of employees in manufacturing plants before and after a reduction in pay. Employees who had their pay reduced were significantly more likely to report feeling inequitably underpaid and were more likely to steal from the organization (Greenberg, 1990).

In a related laboratory study, Greenberg (1993) found similar results, in which theft was a means of retaliation. In this experiment, 102 undergraduate students performed a clerical task and were either paid fairly or underpaid. When the task was completed, the researcher instructed participants to take their own pay from money left on a table and left the room so that participants could take as much as they wanted without fear of being caught (Greenberg, 1993). Participants who were supposed to receive an unfair payment stole from the researcher and took more money than they were allowed to take, while those paid equitably took exactly the amount they were supposed to take. These two studies show that perceived injustice can influence individuals to act in a retaliatory manner, which can manifest itself in employee theft (Greenberg 1990; 1993).

Retaliatory behavior in response to perceived unfairness can also take the form of less damaging, subtler actions, such as engaging in counterproductive work behavior. Using a self-report survey design, Jones (2009) investigated the relationship between the different dimensions of injustice and counterproductive work behavior. A sample of 424 employed students completed the survey, and Jones (2009) found more unique variance in counterproductive work

behavior directed toward an individual's organization under conditions of procedural injustice. Individuals' desire for revenge against their organization partially mediated this relationship. As another example of more subtle forms of retaliation, employees could also engage in less organizational citizenship behavior. In response to perceived injustice, an individual could choose to not help a coworker or to not volunteer to serve on a committee.

Another important component of the concept of organizational retaliatory behavior involves the organizational actor at whom the retaliatory behavior is directed. Individuals who engage in retaliatory behavior can direct their efforts at the organization as a whole, a group of actors in the organization, or at individual people within the organization (Skarlicki & Folger, 2004). I will focus on organization-directed retaliatory behavior and the cases of theft and counterproductive work behavior that I described in the preceding paragraph are examples of this type of retaliatory behavior. In these examples, those who perceived injustice did not single out individual actors for retaliation, but rather, directed their efforts at the organization as a whole. Organization-directed retaliatory behavior can manifest in different forms, including unethical behavior and counterproductive work behavior. Employees might engage in unethical behavior, such as stealing or lying, in an effort to "get even" with their organization in response to perceived injustice. Such unethical acts can have adverse financial impacts on organizations (Tenbrunsel & Smith-Crowe, 2008; Treviño, Weaver, & Reynolds, 2006; Wimbush & Dalton, 1997). Increasing counterproductive work behavior could also be a retaliatory response directed at the organization. These responses involve putting in less effort on the job and not contributing to the organization or its members in any additional ways. Despite the relatively passive nature of this possible retaliatory response, increased counterproductive work behavior can have important negative effects on organizations.

As I discussed above, organizational diversity policies might lead to blowback from historically dominant group members. They might perceive such policies as unjust and as giving an unfair advantage to certain groups. In order to "even the score," these individuals might engage in retaliatory behavior directed at the organization. Organization-directed retaliatory behavior could manifest in behaviors that actively harm the organization, such as exiting the organization, counterproductive work behavior, and unethical behavior, or in withholding behaviors, such as organizational citizenship behavior, that are important for effective organizational functioning. I will next discuss the mediating effect of perceived justice in leading to organization-directed retaliatory behaviors for dominant group members in response to a diversity policy. I will then discuss each of the possible organization-directed retaliatory behaviors and offer hypotheses for each.

Perceived Justice

As I discussed above, dominant group members might perceive organizational diversity policies to be unfair. Dominant groups believe that more progress has been made toward racial equality than do minority groups. This could lead dominant group members to view diversity policies as unnecessary and, thus, unfair (Eibach & Keegan, 2006; Norton & Sommers, 2011). Furthermore, many Whites believe that anti-White bias is a bigger societal problem than anti-Black bias. This could lead Whites to perceive organizational diversity policies as unfairly benefitting minority groups. Whites could perceive such policies as unfair if they believe minorities do not need an extra advantage because of society's progress toward racial equality and the bias against Whites (Norton & Sommers, 2011). Furthermore, Dover and colleagues (2016) found that dominant group members perceived more unfair treatment and thought they

would be discriminated against because of their race when imagining applying for a job at a company that had a pro-diversity message versus a company that had a neutral message. These individuals also experienced a cardiovascular profile characteristic of threat and made a poorer impression during the interview (Dover et al., 2016).

For non-dominant group members, their experiences in organizations might be different. As some scholars have proposed, perhaps diversity management practices are no more than "window" dressing, whereby organizations engage in impression management to have the appearance of valuing diversity, but do not actually effectively manage it (Dobbin, 2009; Kelly & Dobbin, 1998; Marques 2010). Non-dominant employees might have picked up on these cues and may not be as hopeful that diversity initiatives will actually result in effective diversity management. Such employees might also have been members of organizations with a diversity policy, but did not believe it was of any benefit to them, suggesting that they would not be treated more fairly in an organization with a diversity policy. As a result, I propose:

Hypothesis 1a: Dominant group members will perceive less organizational justice when exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement.

Hypothesis 1b: There will be no differences in perceptions of organizational justice for non-dominant group members when exposed to a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement.

Turnover Intentions

To the extent that dominant group members see diversity policies as unfair, they might be more likely to exit the organization. Rusbult, Farrell, Rogers, and Mainous (1988) defined turnover as when an employee voluntarily leaves an organization by quitting, transferring, or searching for a different job. If dominant group employees perceive diversity policies as unfair, then they might be more likely to exit the organization. This can have harmful effects on organizations, work groups, and individual organizational members. For organizations, turnover can have negative effects on firm performance and organizational effectiveness (Glebbeek & Bax, 2004; Koys, 2001). Furthermore, groups that experience turnover of members are also less productive than groups that do not experience turnover (Argote, Insko, Yovetich, & Romero, 1995). A similar effect is found on the individual level. Those who are left behind by a colleague who quits are less productive than those who did not have a colleague quit (Sheehan, 1993). Although organizations might benefit from having dissatisfied or unproductive workers quit, this would not be beneficial if high performing workers decided to leave the organization or if a large group of workers decided to exit. That is to say, if diversity policies lead dominant group employees to quit, this could lead to negative effects for the organization. On the other hand, diversity policies might not influence non-dominant group members' justice perceptions and, therefore, may have no effect on their turnover intentions, as diversity policies will for dominant group members. Thus, I propose:

Hypothesis 2a: Dominant group members will show greater turnover intentions when exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement.

Hypothesis 2b: There will be no differences in turnover intentions for non-dominant group members when exposed to a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement.

Hypothesis 2c: For dominant group members, the relationship between diversity policies and turnover intentions will be partially mediated by perceived organizational justice, such that the presence of a diversity policy will lead to decreased perceptions of organizational justice and increased turnover intentions.

Organizational Citizenship Behavior

If organizational members perceive diversity policies to be unfair, then they might engage in lower levels of organizational citizenship behavior. Scholars define organizational citizenship behavior as an organizational member's discretionary, extra-role behavior that positively contributes to the organization, but is not formally recognized by the organization (LePine, Erez, & Johnson, 2002; Organ, 1988; Organ & Ryan, 1995). Examples of citizenship behavior include offering to help a coworker or volunteering to stay late to complete a work task. Organizational citizenship behavior can positively contribute to effective organizational functioning and work group performance (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1997). As citizenship behavior can lead to positive outcomes for organizations, many researchers have studied its various predictors, which include job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and leader supportiveness (Fassina, Jones, & Uggerslev, 2008; Organ & Ryan, 1995). Researchers have also investigated the relationship between perceived fairness and organizational citizenship behavior. In two different meta-analyses, researchers found that perceptions of justice predict citizenship behavior (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Colquit et al., 2001). Using meta-analysis and path analysis, Fassina, Jones, and Uggerslev (2008) examined this relationship further and found that perceived fairness explains unique variance in organizational citizenship behavior that is not captured by other constructs.

Related to this argument, if dominant group employees perceive diversity policies as unfair, then they might engage in organizational citizenship behavior to a lesser extent. For example, these employees might be less likely to volunteer to serve on a committee or more likely to find fault with the organization. As scholars have shown the positive relationship between perceived fairness and organizational citizenship behavior (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Colquit et al., 2001; Fassina et al., 2008), perceived injustice could lead to lower levels of citizenship behavior. This could have important implications for organizational functioning and performance. On the other hand, diversity policies might not influence non-dominant group members' justice perceptions and, therefore, may have no effect on their organizational citizenship behavior, as diversity policies will for dominant group members. Thus, I propose the following hypothesis related to organizational citizenship behavior:

Hypothesis 3a: Dominant group members will show lower intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior when exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement.

Hypothesis 3b: There will be no differences in intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior for non-dominant group members when exposed to a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement.

Hypothesis 3c: For dominant group members, the relationship between diversity policies and organizational citizenship behavior will be partially mediated by perceived organizational justice, such that the presence of a diversity policy will lead to decreased perceptions of organizational justice and decreased organizational citizenship behavior.

Counterproductive Work Behavior

  The perceived unfairness of organizational diversity policies for dominant group members could also lead them to engage in counterproductive work behavior. Scholars define counterproductive work behavior as behaviors that are at odds with an organization's legitimate interests and harm the organization (Jones, 2009; Sackett, 2002; Spector et al., 2006). There are five dimensions of counterproductive work behavior: abuse against others, production deviance, sabotage, theft, and withdrawal (Spector et al., 2006). These behaviors are generally regarded as unethical and overlap with other constructs, such as anti-social behavior and workplace deviance (Jones, 2009). Counterproductive work behavior can further be divided into two broad categories: behavior that most directly affects another individual (often a supervisor) or behavior that most directly affects the organization as a whole. By specifying the specific targets of counterproductive work behavior, researchers can more clearly differentiate between its various predictors (Hershcovis et al., 2007; Jones, 2009). Additionally, it is important to differentiate between the targets of counterproductive work behavior because individuals generally direct their response to injustice at the perceived source (Jones, 2009; Masterson, Lewis, Goldman, & Taylor, 2000).

  Many scholars have demonstrated the positive relationship between perceived injustice and engaging in counterproductive work behavior (Eisenberger, Lynch, Aselage, & Rohdieck, 2004; Gouldner, 1960; Jones, 2009). When employees believe that they are treated unfairly, they are more likely to partake in counterproductive behavior. Employees will direct their counterproductive behavior toward the organization when they perceive the organization to be the source of the injustice (Jones, 2009; Lavelle, Rupp, & Brockner, 2007). Such a reaction could be in response to a policy that impacts the whole organization. For example, dominant group

employees might perceive unfair treatment due to a new organizational diversity policy. To the extent that these employees view the organization as the source of this injustice, they will engage in counterproductive work behavior directed at the organization. Individuals that engage in this type of behavior might view it as a way to retaliate against their organization for treating them unfairly. On the other hand, diversity policies might not influence non-dominant group members' justice perceptions and, therefore, may have no effect on their counterproductive work behavior, as diversity policies will for dominant group members. As a result, I propose:

> *Hypothesis 4a: Dominant group members will show greater intentions to engage in counterproductive work behavior when exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement.*
>
> *Hypothesis 4b: There will be no differences in intentions to engage in counterproductive work behavior for non-dominant group members when exposed to a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement.*
>
> *Hypothesis 4c: For dominant group members, the relationship between diversity policies and counterproductive work behavior will be partially mediated by perceived organizational justice, such that the presence of a diversity policy will lead to decreased perceptions of organizational justice and increased counterproductive work behavior.*

Unethical Behavior

An important reason why an organization's diversity message might lead to unethical behavior by dominant group members involves perceived injustice. To the extent that dominant group members perceive organizational diversity policies as unfair, they could engage in unethical behavior in order to "get back" at their organization for the perceived injustice. I will

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focus on the specific unethical behaviors of stealing and lying, as they are widespread in organizations and can be costly to them (Wimbush & Dalton, 1997).

Employee theft continues to be a serious problem for many organizations (Wimbush & Dalton, 1997). It is difficult to quantify the exact financial loss organizations experience due to employee theft because many instances of theft are undetected or unreported to organizational authorities. Because of this, scholars propose different estimates for the total losses attributed to employee theft, ranging from $6 billion to $200 billion annually (Camara & Schneider, 1994; Jones, Ash, & Soto, 1990; Lipman & McGraw, 1988; Wimbush & Dalton, 1997). A recent survey found that United States retailers are losing over 60 billion dollars per year due to product loss, and employee theft is the single biggest cause of this loss (Retail Knowledge, 2015). Undoubtedly, employee theft can have important financial consequences for organizations. Employees might be motivated to steal for a number of reasons, including financial or retaliatory motivations. For example, an employee might steal supplies from work in order to sell them and use the money to support his or her family. Employees might also steal in retaliation against unfair or poor treatment at work (Greenberg 1990; 1993). When employees perceive low levels of organizational justice, they might be motivated to "get back" at their organization by stealing from it.

Along with theft, employee lying is also a serious unethical behavior with important implications for organizations. Individuals lie when they intentionally deceive another party by providing a false statement (Grover, 1997). The lying parties know the information they are providing is false, want to intentionally mislead the other party, and engage in the behavior proactively (Bok, 1978). Most explanations of lying involve an individual's self-interest (Grover, 1993). People deceive others in order to maximize outcomes that are related to their self-interest.

For example, individuals in organizations might lie in order to control resources or to attain preferential outcomes in negotiation (Schein, 1979). Individuals might also lie as retaliation against perceived unfairness. When employees are treated unfairly, they might pay more attention to looking out for their own self-interests at the expense of the organization's interests. This could manifest in lying at work, especially when such lying is seen as "getting back" at the organization for a perceived injustice.

In the context of this dissertation, if dominant group employees perceive diversity policies to be unfair, then they might retaliate by stealing from their organization or lying to other organizational members to maximize their self-interests. Instances of employee theft could range from pilfering office supplies (a relatively minor instance of theft) to stealing equipment or embezzling money from the company (a serious type of theft), while employee lying could range from minor white lies (e.g., calling in sick when not ill) to more serious instances of deception (e.g., falsifying an expense report or a safety report). Stealing or acting with deceit could be ways for these employees to "get even" with their organization, thereby balancing the scales and restoring justice. Thus, I propose the following two hypotheses related to unethical behavior:

Hypothesis 5a: Dominant group members will be more likely to commit an unethical act when exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement.

Hypothesis 5b: For dominant group members, the relationship between diversity policies and unethical behavior will be partially mediated by perceived organizational justice, such that the presence of a diversity policy will lead to decreased perceptions of organizational justice and increased unethical behavior.

For a summary of the hypotheses tested in this dissertation, please see Table 1.

Table 1

List of Hypotheses for the Studies

DOMINANT GROUP MEMBERS When exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement, dominant group members will:	Studies 1 & 2: • Perceive less organizational justice (*H1a*) • Show greater turnover intentions (*H2a*) • Show lower intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior (*H3a*) • Show greater intentions to engage in counterproductive work behavior (*H4a*) Study 3: • Show greater unethical behavior (*H5a*)
NON-DOMINANT GROUP MEMBERS For non-dominant group members, exposure to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement will lead to no differences in:	Study 1: • Perceptions of organizational justice (*H1b*) • Turnover intentions (*H2b*) • Intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior (*H3b*) • Intentions to engage in counterproductive work behavior (*H4b*)

Overview of Studies

Across three experiments using different samples, I examine the dominant group blowback reactions to organizational diversity policies. In Study 1, I experimentally manipulate a diversity policy and measure participants' attitudinal and behavioral reactions to the policy. Participants from dominant (White) and non-dominant (African American and Hispanic American) groups are included to show that dominant group members respond more negatively to diversity policies than do non-dominant group members. In this study, I predict that dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy (vs. a neutral mission statement) will perceive lower overall justice and this will lead to increased blowback in the form of increased turnover intentions, decreased intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior directed at the organization, and increased intentions to engage in counterproductive work behavior directed at the organization. I hypothesize that justice perceptions will mediate the relationship between diversity policy condition and each dependent variable. For non-dominant group members, I predict that the presence versus absence of an organizational diversity policy will have no effect on justice perceptions or blowback. In Study 1, I will test Hypotheses 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 2c, 3a, 3b, 3c, 4a, 4b, and 4c.

In Study 2, I test the extent to which the laboratory effect generalizes to ongoing organizational behavior by examining how organizational members perceive their organization's formal diversity policy and how these perceptions are associated with their attitudes and behavior. In Study 2, I focus only on dominant group employees to examine whether the lab effect generalizes to a real organization. Using a sample of employees of a real organization, I investigate the relationship between dominant group employees' perceptions of their organization's formal diversity policy and their blowback behavior directed at their organization.

I predict that a diversity policy (versus a neutral mission statement) will be associated with blowback from dominant group participants in the form of lower levels of overall justice, greater turnover intentions, lower levels of organizational citizenship behavior directed at the organization, and greater counterproductive work behavior directed at the organization. I also hypothesize that justice perceptions will mediate the relationship between a diversity policy and each dependent variable. In Study 2, I will test Hypotheses 1a, 2a, 2c, 3a, 3c, 4a, and 4c.

In Study 3, I extend the findings of Studies 1 and 2 by focusing on a task where participants have the opportunity to act unethically. Using an experimental design, I again test the mediating influence of participants' justice perceptions, and I also measure the extent to which participants will behave unethically on a work task (an expense report). I chose this task as it represents an actual organizational activity and provides participants with a realistic situation in which to engage in blowback behavior directed against the organization. I predict that dominant group members will perceive more unfair treatment when exposed to a diversity policy (vs. a neutral mission statement), and this will lead to blowback in the form of higher levels of unethical behavior. In this study, I will test Hypotheses 1a, 5a, and 5b. Taken together, these three studies will provide an empirically grounded understanding of the impact of organizational diversity policies on the attitudes and behavior of dominant group members.

Chapter 3

Dominant Group Blowback to Diversity Policies in a Laboratory Setting: Study 1

Research Design and Methods: Study 1

In Study 1, I examine the dominant group blowback to organizational diversity policies in an experiment. I experimentally manipulate a diversity policy and measure participants' attitudinal and behavioral reactions to the policy. Participants from dominant (White) and non-dominant (African American and Hispanic American) groups are included to show that dominant group members respond more negatively to diversity policies than do non-dominant group members.

Sample

I recruited the sample from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), which is an online platform for recruiting participants for social science research. Researchers have found that data obtained via Mturk is high-quality and at least as reliable as data obtained via traditional methods (Berinsky, Huber, & Lenz, 2012; Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). Six hundred fifty-seven participants completed the study on MTurk. Of these participants, 25 did not correctly answer at least one of two attention checks, and were excluded from further analyses. I identified 99 participants who identified as African American or Hispanic American and these participants made up the non-dominant group. There were 56 African American and 43 Hispanic American participants. Following Dover and colleagues (2016), I then sampled 99 White participants at random from the larger sample to ensure that there were equivalent sample sizes between dominant and non-dominant participants. For this study, I excluded data from Asian American

participants, as members of this minority group are not generally thought to benefit from diversity policies (Bauman, Trawalter, & Unzueta, 2014; Dover et al., 2016). The 198 participants in the final sample were 40% women, were aged 20–73, with an average age of 36, and 52% reported having managerial work experience.

Procedure

As a cover story, I told participants that the researchers were interested in how people evaluate organizations based on their formal policies and that they would randomly receive one policy to read and evaluate. I then instructed participants to imagine that they worked for this corporation and that the policy would be instituted at that company. Finally, I instructed participants to review the provided background information on the organization, read the policy, and answer items about their reaction to the policy. Please see Appendix A for the full procedure and measures.

Policy manipulation. Participants randomly received one of two versions of an organization's mission statement, adapted from materials used by Kaiser et al. (2013). In the diversity policy condition, participants read a statement about an organization that values diversity and is committed to nondiscrimination. In the neutral policy condition, participants read the same statement, however it did not mention diversity or nondiscrimination. In crafting these statements, Kaiser and colleagues (2013) modeled them after real diversity policies from American organizations.

Manipulation check. After reading the policy and completing the full survey, participants were directed to a different page and were instructed to answer three questions that served as a manipulation check. I gave the manipulation check at the end of the survey to ensure that I did not cue participants to the manipulation. A question related to the diversity

manipulation was given with two other neutral questions to further ensure that participants were not cued to the manipulation. The three questions read: "To what extent does Jones & Miller Corporation value diversity?," (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *to a great extent*) "What does Jones & Miller Corporation specialize in?," (Apparel & Clothing, Food Processing, Investment Firm, Law Firm, Marketing Firm) and "How important is environmental sustainability to Jones & Miller Corporation?" (1 = *not very important*; 7 = *very important*). Participants were then directed to the final page and told to complete demographic items (age, gender, race, and management experience).

Measures

      Justice perceptions. I measured justice perceptions by adapting the Perceived Overall Justice (POJ) scale (Ambrose & Schminke, 2009; Holtz & Harold, 2009). As previously mentioned, participants were told to imagine that they work for Jones & Miller Corporation. The six items read: "Overall, I would be treated fairly by this organization," "In general, I could count on this organization to be fair," "In general, the treatment I would receive around here is fair," "Usually, the way things work in this organization are not fair" (reverse scored), "For the most part, this organization would treat its employees fairly," and "Most of the people who work here would say they are often treated unfairly" (reverse scored). Participants reported their agreement with each statement on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The scale had an adequate degree of reliability (α = .81).

      Turnover intentions. I measured turnover intentions by adapting items from a scale developed by Rusbult and colleagues (1988). The four items read: "I would think about quitting my job," "I would give notice that I intended to quit," "I would accept an alternative job offer,"

and "I would quit my current job." The scale was anchored by 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 7 (*strongly agree*) and had an adequate degree of reliability ($\alpha = .84$).

Organizational citizenship behavior-organization. I measured participants' intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior directed at the organization by adapting items from a scale developed by Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman, and Fetter (1990). The six items read: "I would not take extra breaks" (reverse scored), "I would obey company rules and regulations even when no one is watching," "I would consume a lot of time complaining about trivial matters" (reverse scored), "I would often find fault with what the organization is doing" (reverse scored), "I would attend meetings that are not mandatory, but are considered important," and "I would attend functions that are not required, but help the company image." Participants selected their answer from a 7-point Likert scale, anchored by 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 7 (*strongly agree*). The scale had an adequate degree of reliability ($\alpha = .72$).

Counterproductive work behavior-organization. I measured participants' intentions to engage in counterproductive work behavior directed at the organization by adapting five items from the Organizational Retaliatory Behavior Scale (Skarlicki & Folger, 1997). Items read: "I would waste company materials," "I would try to look busy while wasting time," "I would take an extended coffee or lunch break," "I would intentionally work slower," and "I would spend time on personal matters while at work." I provided participants with a 7-point Likert scale from which to select their answer. The scale was anchored by 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 7 (*strongly agree*) and had an adequate degree of reliability ($\alpha = .92$).

Demographics. I collected the following demographic information: age, gender, race, and whether they had management experience.

Means, standard deviations, and correlations among the Study 1 variables are listed in Table 2.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Among Study 1 Variables

Variable	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Policy	0.51	0.50							
2. Dominant	0.51	0.50	-.03						
3. Age	36.04	10.86	-.08	.06					
4. Gender	0.40	0.49	.01	-.10	.04				
5. Justice	5.50	0.94	-.06	-.09	.02	.02			
6. Turnover	2.79	1.17	.11	-.13	-.13	.09	-.40**		
7. OCB[a]	5.46	0.75	-.12	.14	.24**	-.05	.31**	-.34**	
8. CWB[b]	2.42	1.24	.00	-.08	-.22**	.08	-.17*	.26**	-.49**

$N = 198$. For type of policy, 0 = neutral, 1 = diversity. For dominant, 0 = dominant, 1 = non-dominant. For gender, 0 = male, 1 = female. For all other measures, higher numbers indicate a higher degree of the variable.
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$
[a] Organizational citizenship behavior
[b] Counterproductive work behavior

Results: Study 1

Manipulation check. After responding to the survey questions, participants responded to a manipulation check to confirm the manipulation of the policy. In order to reduce social desirability and not alert participants to the purpose of the study, this question was embedded between other questions that asked participants to recall information about the company. The question was, "To what extent does Jones & Miller Corporation value diversity?," (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *to a great extent*). The results of an analysis of variance (ANOVA) conducted on this question suggest that the policy manipulation was successful. Specifically, participants exposed to the diversity policy (*M* = 6.07) viewed the company as valuing diversity to a greater extent than participants exposed to the neutral mission statement (*M* = 5.38), $F(1, 195) = 15.29$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. I also tested a second question to show that the effect of the manipulation was isolated to the diversity item. This question read: "How important is environmental sustainability to Jones & Miller Corporation," (1 = *not at all important*; 7 = *extremely important*). The results of an ANOVA again suggest that the manipulation was isolated to the diversity item. Specifically, participants exposed to the diversity policy (*M* = 4.38) or the neutral mission statement (*M* = 4.46) did not differ in the extent to which they believed environmental sustainability was important to the company $F(1, 195) = .20$, $p = .66$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$.

Justice perceptions. I conducted a 2 (Policy: diversity vs. neutral) x 2 (Group Membership: dominant vs. non-dominant) ANOVA with justice perceptions as the dependent variable; however, no significant results were found. The interaction between policy and group membership was not significant, $F(1, 195) = .07$, $p = .799$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$. Hypothesis 1a predicted that dominant group members would perceive less overall justice when exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement. However, there were no significant differences in

justice perceptions between dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy ($M = 5.51$) versus a neutral mission statement ($M = 5.65$), $F(1,195) = .572$, $p = .450$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$. Hypothesis 1b predicted that there would be no differences in perceptions of overall justice for non-dominant group members when exposed to a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement. Consistent with Hypothesis 1b, there were no differences in justice perceptions between non-dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy ($M = 5.38$) versus a neutral mission statement ($M = 5.45$), $F(1,195) = .163$, $p = .686$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$. A weak manipulation in this laboratory setting could have contributed to this pattern of results, i.e. results not consistent with Hypothesis 1a, but consistent with Hypothesis 1b.

Because there were no differences in justice perceptions for dominant or non-dominant groups regardless of type of policy, mediation analyses were not conducted on any of the dependent measures in Study 1 described below. Therefore, I could not test justice perceptions as a mediator for turnover intentions (Hypothesis 2c), organizational citizenship behavior directed at the organization (Hypothesis 3c), or counterproductive work behavior directed at the organization (Hypothesis 4c) in Study 1.

Turnover intentions. I conducted a 2 (Policy: diversity vs. neutral) x 2 (Group Membership: dominant vs. non-dominant) ANOVA with turnover intentions as the dependent variable (see Figure 1). Results revealed no significant main effect of policy, $F(1, 195) = 2.44$, $p = .120$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, nor a significant main effect of group membership, $F(1, 195) = 3.28$, $p = .072$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. However, there was a significant interaction between policy and group membership, $F(1, 195) = 4.18$, $p = .042$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. In line with Hypothesis 2a, the results of follow-up simple effects tests indicated that dominant group members had higher turnover intentions when exposed to a diversity policy ($M = 3.23$) versus a neutral mission statement ($M = 2.64$), $F(1,195)$

= 6.41, $p = .012$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Consistent with Hypothesis 2b, there were no differences in turnover intentions for non-dominant group members when exposed to either a diversity policy ($M = 2.60$) or a neutral mission statement ($M = 2.68$), $F(1,195) = .118$, $p = .732$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$.

FIGURE 1. Turnover Intentions as a Function of Group Membership
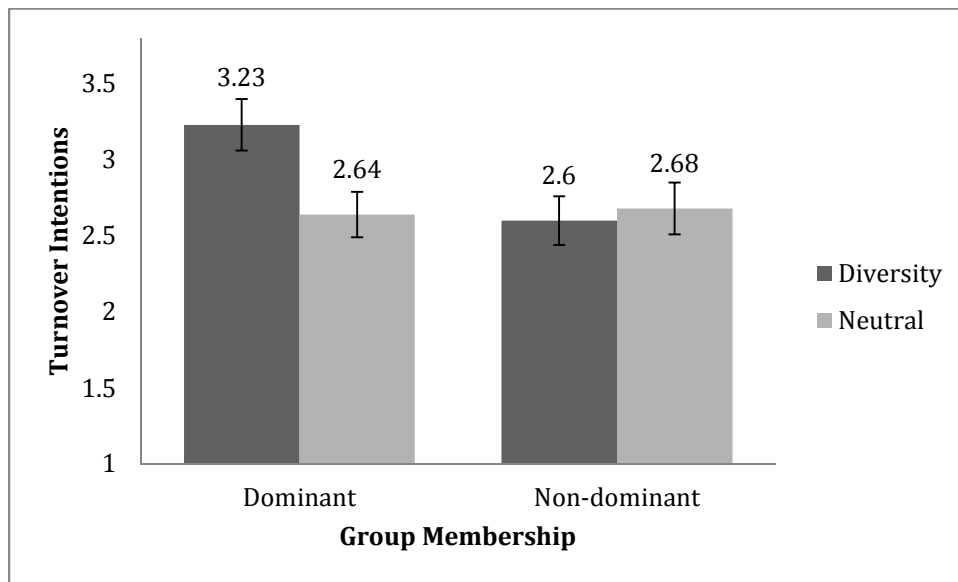
Fig. 1. Means for turnover intentions for dominant group (White) and non-dominant group (African American and Hispanic) participants when exposed to a diversity policy or neutral mission statement (Study 1). Error bars represent standard errors (*SEs*).

Organizational citizenship behavior-organization. I conducted a 2 (Policy: diversity vs. neutral) x 2 (Group Membership: dominant vs. non-dominant) ANOVA with organizational citizenship behavior directed at the organization as the dependent variable (see Figure 2). Results revealed no significant main effect of policy, $F(1, 195) = 2.72$, $p = .100$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, nor a significant main effect of group membership, $F(1, 195) = 3.59$, $p = .060$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. However, there was a significant interaction between policy and group membership, $F(1, 195) = 3.99$, $p = .047$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Simple effects tests indicated a pattern of results similar to that of turnover

intentions. In line with Hypothesis 3a, the results of follow-up simple effects tests indicated that dominant group members had lower self-reported organizational citizenship behavior when exposed to a diversity policy ($M = 5.18$) versus a neutral mission statement ($M = 5.55$), $F(1, 195) = 6.55$, $p = .011$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Consistent with Hypothesis 3b, there were no differences in organizational citizenship behavior for non-dominant group members when exposed to either a diversity policy ($M = 5.58$) or a neutral mission statement ($M = 5.54$), $F(1, 195) = .06$, $p = .804$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$.

FIGURE 2. Organizational Citizenship Behavior as a Function of Group Membership
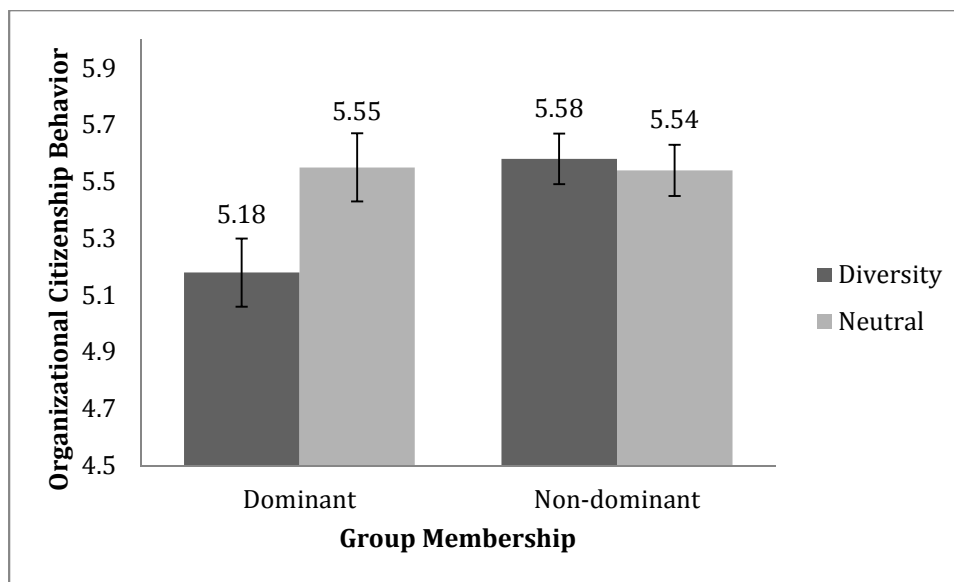
Fig. 2. Means for organizational citizenship behavior for dominant group (White) and non-dominant group (African American and Hispanic) participants when exposed to a diversity policy or neutral mission statement (Study 1). Error bars represent standard errors (*SEs*).

Counterproductive work behavior-organization. I conducted a 2 (Policy: diversity vs. neutral) x 2 (Group Membership: dominant vs. non-dominant) ANOVA with counterproductive work behavior directed at the organization as the dependent variable; however, no significant

results were found. The interaction between policy and group membership was not significant, $F(1, 195) = 3.16$, $p = .077$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Hypothesis 4a predicted that dominant group members would show greater intentions to engage in counterproductive work behavior when exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement. However, there were no significant differences in counterproductive work behavior between dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy ($M = 2.67$) versus a neutral mission statement ($M = 2.35$), $F(1, 195) = 1.65$, $p = .201$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Hypothesis 4b predicted that there would be no differences in intentions to engage in counterproductive work behavior for non-dominant group members when exposed to a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement. Consistent with Hypothesis 4b, there were no differences in counterproductive work behavior between non-dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy ($M = 2.18$) versus a neutral mission statement ($M = 2.48$), $F(1, 195) = 1.51$, $p = .220$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. A weak manipulation in this laboratory setting could have contributed to this pattern of results, i.e. results not consistent with Hypothesis 4a, but consistent with Hypothesis 4b.

Discussion: Study 1

This experiment tested the effects of group membership (dominant versus non-dominant) on the response to organizational diversity policies. Results from this study provided some support for the dominant group blowback in response to diversity policies. However, I did not find that perceived organizational justice was affected by a diversity policy. Therefore, there are four key findings from this study: (1) Organizational diversity policies lead to dominant group blowback in the form of increased turnover intentions and decreased organizational citizenship behavior; (2) There were no differences in perceptions of fairness in response to a diversity

policy or neutral mission statement; (3) Organizational diversity policies did not lead to dominant group blowback regarding counterproductive work behavior; and finally (4) The non-dominant group response to the policy manipulation (diversity or neutral) needs further exploration.

Study 1 provides evidence for the notion that organizational diversity policies can lead to blowback from dominant group members. More specifically, dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy reported higher turnover intentions and decreased intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior than those exposed to a neutral mission statement. This finding builds on prior research about the attitudinal and behavioral effects of diversity policies, which has demonstrated that dominant group members react to diversity policies even if they perceive no direct benefit or cost from them (Brady et al., 2015; Kaiser et al., 2013). This study also builds on prior research that shows that diversity policies lead to negative reactions from dominant group members in the context of hiring (Dover et al., 2016). The results from Study 1 extend these finding by demonstrating the blowback effect of diversity policies on dominant group members' behavioral intentions in an organizational context and by focusing on different outcome variables that are of significance to organizations, namely turnover intentions and organizational citizenship behavior. Dominant group members exposed to organizational diversity policies reported higher turnover intentions and lower intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior than those exposed to a neutral mission statement. These findings support Hypothesis 2a and Hypothesis 3a. These findings have important implications for organizations, as there are many costs associated with turnover. Turnover can be disastrous for organizations because it is costly and time-consuming to hire, train, and socialize new employees. Furthermore, organizational citizenship behavior is important for effective

organizational functioning and work group performance (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1997). To the

extent that a diversity policy leads dominant group employees to engage in lower levels of

organizational citizenship behavior, this could have negative effects on organizations.

Although Study 1 is important in demonstrating that diversity policies can lead to

blowback from dominant group members, it did not provide an explanation for this relationship.

I hypothesized that dominant group members would perceive more unfair treatment when

exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement. However, no differences in

perceptions of fairness were found between Whites and African Americans and Hispanic

Americans. I also hypothesized that perceptions of fairness would mediate the relationship

between type of policy and blowback behavior, such that dominant group members exposed to a

diversity policy would perceive more unfair treatment and this would lead to greater blowback.

However, mediation analyses were not conducted, so Hypotheses 2c, 3c, or 4c could not be

tested. This result is puzzling for two reasons. First, much of the literature on organizational

retaliatory behavior demonstrates that unfair treatment can lead to retaliation (Skarlicki &

Folger, 1997; 2004). Perceptions of fairness can lead to such diverse outcomes as theft,

vandalism, and lowered job attitudes (DeMore et al., 1988; Greenberg 1990; 1993; Jones, 2009).

However, perhaps the somewhat artificial nature of Study 1 (conducted online using Amazon's

Mechanical Turk and with participants who imagined they were part of an organization) could

have lead to the non-significant results.

Although I found no differences in perceptions of fairness in response to a diversity

policy or neutral mission statement in Study 1, this is also puzzling because other researchers

have found such an effect. Dover and colleagues (2016) found that dominant group members

were more concerned about unfair treatment when imagining they were applying to a company

with a pro-diversity message versus a company with a neutral message. However, Dover and colleagues (2016) conducted their study in the context of hiring, while the present study was conducted in an organizational setting. The hiring context might lead dominant group participants to be more attuned to perceptions of fairness. Furthermore, the unfairness measure used by Dover and colleagues (2016) included items that specifically addressed how the participants' race/ethnicity might lead them to be treated unfairly by the organization. This suggests that their measure may have served as a prompt to focus on race/ethnicity. The fairness scale I used in Study 1 did not mention participants' race/ethnicity because it was a perceived overall fairness scale. Furthermore, attitudes do not always lead to behavior. The reliance on attitudinal measures in previous research may have led to stronger results than those that I found in this study. What is more, few other researchers have examined the dominant group blowback to diversity policies, so it is difficult to speculate why fairness perceptions did not differ for participants exposed to either a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement in Study 1 and how different fairness scales might perform in this context. This represents an important area for further study and future researchers should consider other possible mediators of this relationship, such as inclusion, disengagement, or organizational commitment.

Although Study 1 demonstrated that diversity policies can lead to certain forms of blowback from dominant group members, there was no effect on intentions to engage in counterproductive work behavior. I hypothesized that dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy would report engaging in higher levels of counterproductive work behavior than when exposed to a neutral policy. However, no support was found for this hypothesis (Hypothesis 4a). Although scholars have demonstrated the positive relationship between perceived unfairness and higher levels of counterproductive work behavior (Eisenberger et al.,

2004; Gouldner, 1960; Jones, 2009), there were no differences in perceptions of fairness for dominant group members exposed to a diversity or neutral policy in Study 1. To the extent that counterproductive work behavior is caused by perceptions of unfair treatment, this could explain the non-significant finding. On the other hand, there might also be no significant relationship between type of policy and self-reports of counterproductive work behavior. Perhaps the effect of diversity policy on blowback for dominant group members is only significant for other variables, such as turnover or organizational citizenship behavior, that do not actively harm the organization, as counterproductive work behaviors do. Counterproductive work behavior also represents a category of actions that could potentially lead to punishment. An employee could be more severely punished for engaging in counterproductive work behavior than for withholding organizational citizenship behaviors. For example, an employee might be punished more severely for wasting company materials (an example of counterproductive work behavior) than for not volunteering to serve on a committee (an example of withholding an organizational citizenship behavior). Furthermore, 52% of participants in this study had management experience. Employees at the managerial level might be more aware of behaviors that could lead to punishment and thus were less likely to engage in counterproductive work behavior. Additionally, social desirability may lead to less self-reporting of counterproductive work behavior.

Although this dissertation focuses on the dominant group reaction to diversity policies, it was also important to measure the non-dominant reaction to such policies to show that blowback to diversity policies occurs as a function of group membership. As already discussed, the dominant group blowback to organizational diversity policies took the form of increased turnover intentions and decreased organizational citizenship behavior. Study 1 also demonstrated

that the type of policy (diversity versus neutral) had no effect on the attitudes or behavioral intentions of non-dominant group members. Consistent with Hypotheses 1b, 2b, 3b, and 4b, I found that there were no differences in turnover intentions, organizational citizenship behavior, counterproductive work behavior, or fairness perceptions for non-dominant group members when exposed to a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement. Although I did not find these differences in Study 1, this could be due to a weak experimental manipulation or other measurement issues. The non-dominant group response to type of policy (diversity or neutral) clearly needs further exploration.

As some scholars have proposed, perhaps diversity management practices are no more than "window" dressing, whereby organizations engage in impression management to have the appearance of valuing diversity, but do not actually effectively manage it (Dobbin, 2009; Kelly & Dobbin, 1998; Marques 2010). For example, Marques (2010) states that "a large number of major corporations in the United States are going out of their way to post diversity statements on their Web sites and to collect diversity-based awards from numerous minority-promoting organizations, but they overlook one small aspect: walking their talk" (p. 435). Non-dominant employees might have picked up on these cues and may not be as hopeful that diversity initiatives will actually result in effective diversity management. Such employees might also have been members of organizations with a diversity policy, but did not believe it was of any benefit to them, which could lead to cynicism toward diversity initiatives. The literature on the non-dominant employee reaction to organizational diversity policies is limited and represents another fruitful avenue for future research.

Taken together, the findings from Study 1 provided support for the modest dominant group blowback in response to organizational diversity policies. Such blowback took the form of

increased turnover intentions and decreased self-reported organizational citizenship behavior. Yet, organizational diversity policies did not lead to dominant group blowback regarding counterproductive work behavior, nor were there any differences in fairness perceptions. Finally, I found no difference for non-dominant group members for any of the dependent variables regardless of type of policy (diversity or neutral). Despite these results documenting the dominant group blowback to organizational diversity policies, Study 1 was conducted in a laboratory environment and participants were not members of a real organization. This represents an important limitation and raises concerns about the generalizability of the findings to real organizations. To combat this potential threat to external validity, I will conduct a similar experiment in a field setting in Study 2, which I discuss in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

Dominant Group Blowback to Diversity Policies in an Organizational Setting: Study 2

Having demonstrated that organizational diversity policies can lead to blowback from dominant group members in a laboratory setting, the generalizability of these findings remains uncertain. Different reactions could occur when real employees react to their organization's actual diversity policy or neutral mission statement. Therefore, in this chapter, I address this concern and in Study 2, I test the effects of a diversity policy on dominant group member blowback in a field setting.

In Study 1, I demonstrated the negative impact of diversity policies on dominant group members' attitudes and behavior, leading to increased turnover intentions and decreased intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior. For non-dominant participants, there were no differences in reactions to a diversity or neutral policy. In Study 1, I experimentally manipulated the diversity policy that participants imagined their organization had implemented. However, I did not measure employees' perceptions of their actual organization's diversity policies and how these perceptions might influence their attitudes and behavior. Therefore, it is not known whether the results of the laboratory experiment will hold true in a field setting. Furthermore, to the extent that the laboratory effect generalizes to an organizational setting, this would provide further strength for the results and for the notion that diversity policies can lead to blowback from dominant group members.

Research Design and Methods: Study 2

In Study 2, I test the theory of dominant group blowback to diversity policies by examining how organizational members perceive their organization's formal diversity policy and how these perceptions influence their attitudes and behavior. In Study 2, I focus only on dominant group employees, as I found no effect for type of policy (diversity versus neutral) on the attitudes and behavioral intentions of non-dominant group participants. Furthermore, the organizational sample did not contain enough non-dominant group members to conduct statistical analyses. Using a sample of employees of a real organization, I investigate the relationship between dominant group employees' perceptions of their organization's formal diversity policy and their blowback behavior directed at their organization. I predict their organization's diversity policy (versus their organization's neutral mission statement) will lead to blowback from dominant group participants in the form of lower levels of perceived organizational justice, greater turnover intentions, lower levels of self-reported organizational citizenship behavior directed at the organization, and greater self-reported counterproductive work behavior directed at the organization. I also hypothesize that justice perceptions will mediate the relationship between a diversity policy and each dependent variable. In this study, I will test Hypotheses 1a, 2a, 2c, 3a, 3c, 4a, and 4c.

Sample

I collected data from 109 employees of a large healthcare organization in the Western United States. I identified 84 White participants and 25 non-White participants (23 Asian Americans, 2 African Americans). I excluded data from 8 participants (6 White, 2 Asian American) who failed the following manipulation check: "What type of policy did you read at the start of the survey?" (Attendance Policy, Diversity Policy, Mission Statement, Vacation

Policy). Only the data from the 78 White participants who passed the manipulation check were analyzed, due to the small sample size and the theoretical focus on dominant group blowback. Of the 78 White participants in the final sample, the average age was 45, 38% were women, and 64% had management experience.

Procedure

I told participants that the researchers were interested in how they view the current organization for which they work. I randomly assigned participants to read one of their organization's formal policies: either their organization's diversity policy or its mission statement. I then instructed participants to respond to different attitude and behavioral intention measures. I ensured participants that their responses would be anonymous. Please see Appendix B for the full procedure and measures.

Policy manipulation. Participants randomly received either their organization's diversity policy or neutral mission statement. Due to restrictions from the Institutional Review Board (IRB), the diversity policy and mission statement cannot appear in this dissertation.

Measures

Justice perceptions. I used the same items from Study 1 measuring justice perceptions, ($\alpha = .83$).

Turnover intentions. I used the same items from Study 1 measuring turnover intentions, ($\alpha = .87$).

Organizational citizenship behavior-organization. I used the same items from Study 1 measuring organizational citizenship behavior, ($\alpha = .72$).

Counterproductive work behavior-organization. I used the same items from Study 1 measuring counterproductive work behavior, ($\alpha = .93$).

Demographics. I collected the following demographic information: age, gender, race, and management experience. Only data for dominant group employees are reported here.

Means, standard deviations, and correlations among the Study 2 variables are listed in Table 3.

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Among Study 2 Variables

Variable	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Policy	0.54	0.50						
2. Age	38.25	12.19	.03					
3. Gender	0.28	0.45	.06	.12				
4. Justice	5.48	0.83	.04	.07	.04			
5. Turnover	2.92	1.35	.22	-.04	-.14	.10		
6. OCB[a]	5.70	0.93	-.23*	-.05	.06	.16	.25*	
7. CWB[b]	2.69	1.32	.16	-.03	-.19	.04	.76**	.03

$N = 78$. For type of policy, 0 = neutral, 1 = diversity. For gender, 0 = male, 1 = female. For all other measures, higher numbers indicate a higher degree of the variable.
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$
[a] Organizational citizenship behavior
[b] Counterproductive work behavior

Results: Study 2

  Justice perceptions. I conducted a one-way ANOVA with justice perceptions as the dependent variable and policy (diversity vs. neutral) as the independent variable; however, no significant results were found. Hypothesis 1a predicted that dominant group members would perceive less overall justice when exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement. However, there were no significant differences in justice perceptions between dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy ($M = 5.53$) versus a neutral mission statement ($M = 5.44$), $F(1, 77) = .200$, $p = .656$, $\eta_p^2 = .00$. Thus, I did not find support for Hypothesis 1a.

  As in Study 1, because there were no differences in justice perceptions for dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement, mediation analyses were not conducted on any of the dependent measures in Study 2 described below. Therefore, I could not test justice perceptions as a mediator for turnover intentions (Hypothesis 2c), organizational citizenship behavior directed at the organization (Hypothesis 3c), or counterproductive work behavior directed at the organization (Hypothesis 4c).

  Turnover intentions. I conducted a one-way ANOVA with turnover intentions as the dependent variable and policy (diversity vs. neutral) as the independent variable (see Figure 3). Results revealed a significant main effect of policy, $F(1, 77) = 4.55$, $p = .036$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. In line with Hypothesis 2a, dominant group members had higher turnover intentions when exposed to a diversity policy ($M = 3.24$) versus a neutral mission statement ($M = 2.60$).

FIGURE 3. Turnover Intentions for Dominant Group Members
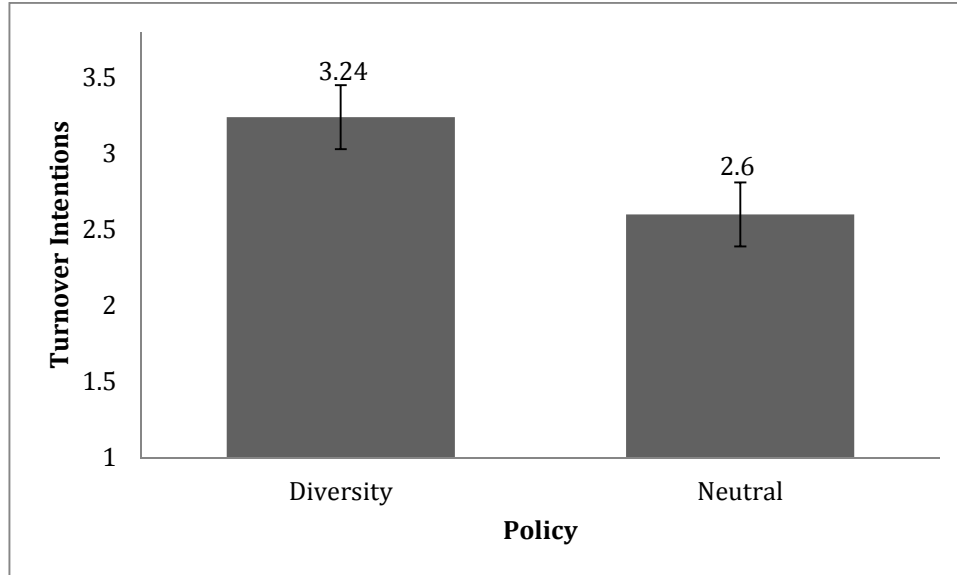
Fig. 3. Means for turnover intentions for dominant group participants when exposed to a diversity policy or neutral mission statement (Study 2). Error bars represent standard errors (*SEs*).

Organizational citizenship behavior-organization. I conducted a one-way ANOVA with organizational citizenship behavior directed at the organization as the dependent variable and policy (diversity vs. neutral) as the independent variable (see Figure 4). Results indicated a pattern of results similar to that of turnover intentions. There was a significant main effect of type of policy, $F(1, 77) = 4.51$, $p = .037$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Consistent with Hypothesis 3a, dominant group members had lower organizational citizenship behavior when exposed to a diversity policy ($M = 5.49$) versus a neutral mission statement ($M = 5.94$).

FIGURE 4. Organizational Citizenship Behavior for Dominant Group Members
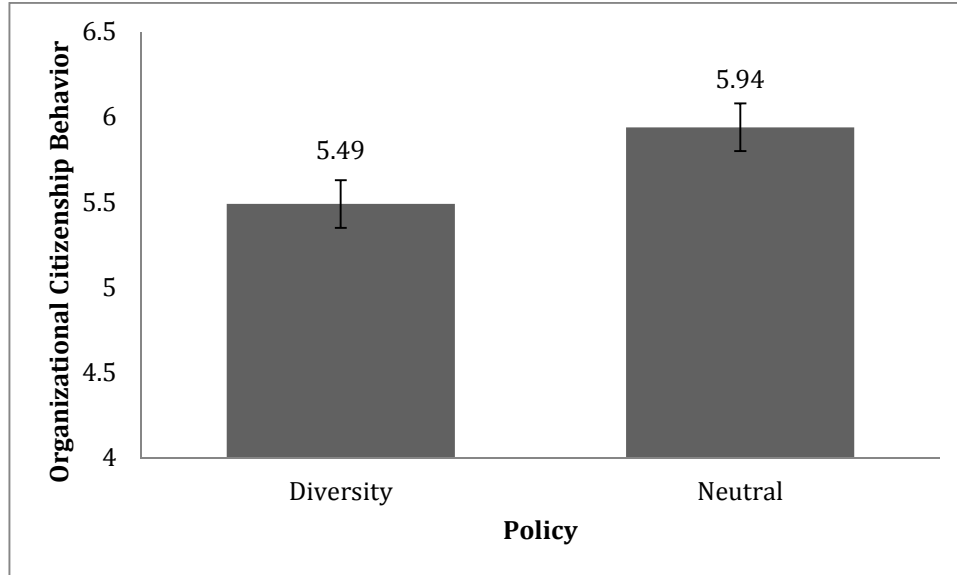
Fig. 4. Means for organizational citizenship behavior for dominant group participants when exposed to a diversity policy or neutral mission statement (Study 2). Error bars represent standard errors (*SEs*).

Counterproductive work behavior-organization. I conducted a one-way ANOVA with counterproductive work behavior directed at the organization as the dependent variable and policy (diversity vs. neutral) as the independent variable; however, no significant results were found. Hypothesis 4a predicted that dominant group members would show greater intentions to engage in counterproductive work behavior when exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement. However, there were no significant differences in counterproductive work behavior for dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy ($M = 2.92$) or a neutral mission statement ($M = 2.46$), $F(1, 77) = 2.49$, $p = .119$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. Thus, I did not find support for Hypothesis 4a.

Discussion: Study 2

This field experiment tested the effects of organizational diversity policies on the blowback behavior of dominant group members in an organizational setting. Results from this study provided some support for the dominant group blowback in response to diversity policies in a real organization using the organization's actual diversity policy and mission statement. Furthermore, the findings from this study are in congruence with the findings from Study 1. There are three key findings from this study: (1) Organizational diversity policies lead to dominant group blowback in the form of increased turnover intentions and decreased organizational citizenship behavior for employees of a real organization; (2) There were again no differences in perceptions of fairness in response to a diversity policy or neutral mission statement; and finally (3) Organizational diversity policies did not lead to dominant group blowback regarding counterproductive work behavior for employees of a real organization.

Study 2 provides evidence that organizational diversity policies can lead to blowback from dominant group members in the form of increased turnover intentions and decreased organizational citizenship behavior for employees of a real organization, even in complex field settings with many other factors. Not only does this finding build on prior research of the potentially negative dominant group reaction to diversity policies (Brady et al., 2015; Dover et al., 2016; Kaiser et al., 2013), it is also in congruence with the findings from Study 1. The results from Study 2 extend the findings of previous researchers and those of Study 1 by demonstrating that the blowback effect of diversity policies on dominant group members' behavioral intentions occurs in an actual organizational context. Dominant group employees in Study 2 reacted in a similar manner as dominant group participants did in Study 1: When exposed to their organization's actual diversity policy or a neutral mission statement, dominant group employees

showed higher turnover intentions and lower intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior. These findings support Hypothesis 2a and Hypothesis 3a. As previously discussed, these findings have important implications for organizations, as there are many costs associated with turnover, and organizational citizenship behavior is important for effective organizational functioning and work group performance (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1997).

As I found in Study 1, the results of Study 2 also show that there were no differences in perceptions of fairness in response to a diversity policy or neutral mission statement. I hypothesized that dominant group members would perceive more unfair treatment when presented with their organization's diversity policy versus its neutral mission statement. However, no differences in perceptions of fairness were found between these two groups. I also hypothesized that perceptions of fairness would mediate this relationship, such that dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy would perceive more unfair treatment and this would lead to greater blowback. However, mediation analyses were not conducted and I could not test Hypotheses 2c, 3c, or 4c. Although this finding stands in contrast to the findings of other researchers (e.g., Dover et al., 2016), it is congruent with the results of Study 1. Future researchers should continue to explore other mediators of this relationship, which I will discuss in detail in the Future Research Directions section of Chapter 6.

Again, consistent with the results of Study 1, I also found in Study 2 that diversity policies did not lead to dominant group blowback in the form of counterproductive work behavior. I hypothesized that dominant group employees exposed to their organization's diversity policy would show higher intentions to engage in counterproductive work behavior than dominant group employees exposed to their organization's neutral mission statement. However, no support was found for this hypothesis (Hypothesis 4a). Given the non-significant

results of Study 1 and Study 2 for this variable, there might be no significant relationship between type of policy and counterproductive work behavior. As previously discussed, counterproductive work behavior represents a category of actions that are damaging to organizations and that could potentially lead to punishment. An employee could be more severely punished for engaging in counterproductive work behavior than for withholding organizational citizenship behaviors. Furthermore, as in Study 1, the majority of participants (64%) in Study 2 had management experience and might be more aware of behaviors, such as counterproductive work behaviors, that could lead to punishment. This could help to explain the null effect of type of policy on counterproductive work behavior.

Taken together, the findings from Studies 1 and 2 provided support for the dominant group blowback in response to organizational diversity policies. Study 2 was conducted in an organizational setting where I exposed real employees to their organization's actual diversity policy. A major strength of this study is that the field results of Study 2 were in congruence with the laboratory results of Study 1: organizational diversity policies lead to blowback from dominant group employees in the form of increased turnover intentions and decreased organizational citizenship behavior. As in Study 1, the results of Study 2 also showed that organizational diversity policies did not lead to dominant group blowback regarding counterproductive work behavior, nor were there any differences in fairness perceptions. Although the organization's diversity policy and neutral mission statement could have been known by participants prior to the study, I still found the hypothesized effect for turnover intentions and organizational citizenship behavior. Despite these results documenting the dominant group blowback to organizational diversity policies, Study 1 and Study 2 measured attitudes and behavioral intentions, not actual behavior. This represents a potential limitation of

Studies 1 and 2, and raises questions about whether behavioral intentions actually result in that behavior. Furthermore, negative behaviors, such as unethical behavior, might be more apparent in an actual task versus a measure of intentions. To address this potential limitation, I will conduct a similar experiment in Study 3, in which I employ a behavioral dependent variable of unethical behavior. I discuss Study 3 in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5

Unethical Behavior as Dominant Group Blowback to Diversity Policies:

Study 3

A central purpose of this dissertation is to examine the dominant group blowback to organizational diversity policies. Having demonstrated this dominant group blowback in the form of increased turnover intentions and decreased organizational citizenship behavior intentions in both the laboratory (Study 1) and field (Study 2), a few important questions remain. It is still unclear whether the dominant group blowback to organizational diversity policies will result in changes to actual behavior. In Studies 1 and 2, I only measured attitudes and behavioral intentions, not actual behavior. Furthermore, I did not measure unethical behavior as a possible dominant group blowback response to diversity policies. Much of the literature on blowback and organizational retaliatory behavior focuses on various aspects of unethical behavior, including stealing, cheating, and lying. Therefore, in this chapter, I address the question of whether organizational diversity policies lead dominant group members to engage in unethical behavior. In Study 3, I experimentally manipulate an organization's diversity policy and measure dominant group participants' unethical behavior in the form of simulated expense report fraud.

Research Design and Methods: Study 3

In Study 1 and Study 2, I demonstrated the dominant group blowback to diversity policies. In Study 3, I extend these findings by focusing on a task (an expense report) where participants have the opportunity to behave unethically. I will again use an experimental design and measure participants' justice perceptions. This task was used in experimental research by

Mayer, Hardin, and Bauman (2016). I chose the particular task because it represents an actual organizational activity and provides participants with a realistic situation in which they can retaliate against the organization. Although I will conduct this study under controlled experimental conditions, I will instruct participants to imagine that they work for the organization and that they are bound by the policies that they will read. I predict that dominant group members will perceive lower overall justice when exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement, and this will lead to blowback in the form of higher levels of unethical behavior. In this study, I will test Hypotheses 1a, 5a, and 5b.

Sample

I recruited the sample from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). One hundred sixteen workers participated in the study. I identified 86 White participants and 30 non-White participants (11 African Americans, 9 Hispanic Americans, and 10 Asian Americans). Only the data from the 86 White participants were analyzed, as they are members of the dominant group. I excluded data from 2 participants who failed an attention check. Of the 84 White participants in the final sample, the average age was 33, 30% were women, and 46% had management experience.

Procedure

As a cover story, I told participants that the researchers were interested in how people evaluate organizations based on their public policies and that they would randomly receive one policy to read and evaluate. I then instructed participants to imagine that they work for Jones & Miller Corporation and that the policy was instituted at that company. I then instructed participants to review the provided background information on the organization and read the diversity policy or neutral mission statement. Once participants read the policy, they were taken

to the next page where they completed the unethical behavior task. The task gave participants the opportunity to commit expense report fraud and has been used by previous researchers to document unethical behavior (Mayer et. al, 2016). Please see Appendix C for the task and the full survey.

Participants were told that their manager wants them to complete an expense report for a recent business trip. Participants read a description of the company's expense report policy and were given maximum amounts that they can report for each item, as well as company average amounts for each item. Expense report items included taxi, breakfast, lunch, dinner, and snack. Participants then read a description of their day on the business trip, including the $42.75 in expenses that they incurred. Next, participants completed an expense report in which they had the opportunity to behave unethically by over-reporting their expenses. In addition to the baseline payment, participants were told that they would receive a bonus payment dependent on the total amount they claimed on the expense report. As a bonus, participants received 1% of the total amount of their expense report. Finally, participants were instructed to answer items about perceived justice and give demographic information.

Policy manipulation. I provided participants with the same policies used in Study 1.

Manipulation check. After reading the policy and completing the full survey, participants were directed to a different page and were instructed to answer one question that served as a manipulation check. I gave the manipulation check at the end of the survey to ensure that I did not cue participants to the manipulation. The question read: "To what extent does Jones & Miller Corporation value diversity?," (1 = not at all; 7 = to a great extent). Participants were then directed to the final page and told to complete demographic items (age, gender, race, and management experience).

Measures

      Justice perceptions. I used the same items measuring justice perceptions used in Study 1, (α = .93).

      Unethical behavior. I measured unethical behavior by the amount that participants expensed over the amount they spent given in the description. The amount of expenses incurred was $42.75 and the maximum amount they could expense was $100. The amount expensed over $42.75 was the measure of unethical behavior. In this study, the average participant falsified their expense report by over $9, with a range from $0-$18.95.

      Demographics. I collected the following demographic information: age, gender, race, and management experience.

Means, standard deviations, and correlations among the Study 3 variables are listed in Table 4.

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Among Study 3 Variables

Variable	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4
1. Policy	0.56	0.50				
2. Age	32.76	9.01	-.06			
3. Gender	0.30	0.46	.00	.10		
4. Justice	4.54	1.36	-.19	-.03	.04	
5. Unethical Behavior	9.87	27.85	-.09	.18	-.10	.08

N = 84. For type of policy, 0 = neutral, 1 = diversity. For gender, 0 = male, 1 = female. For all other measures, higher numbers indicate a higher degree of the variable.
*p < .05; **p < .01

Results: Study 3

  Manipulation check. After responding to the survey questions, participants responded to

a manipulation check to confirm the manipulation of the diversity statement. The question was,

"To what extent does Jones & Miller Corporation value diversity?," (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *to a great*

extent). The results of an ANOVA conducted on this question suggest that the diversity

manipulation was successful. Specifically, participants exposed to the diversity policy (*M* = 5.78)

viewed the company as valuing diversity to a greater extent than participants exposed to the

neutral mission statement (*M* = 5.23), $F(1, 83) = 6.36$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$.

  Justice perceptions. I conducted a one-way ANOVA with justice perceptions as the

dependent variable and policy (diversity vs. neutral) as the independent variable; however, no

significant results were found. Hypothesis 1a predicted that dominant group members would

perceive less overall justice when exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission

statement. However, there were no significant differences in justice perceptions between

dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy (*M* = 4.83) versus a neutral mission

statement (*M* = 4.31), $F(1, 83) = 3.14$, $p = .08$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Thus, I did not find support for

Hypothesis 1a.

  As in Studies 1 and 2, because there were no differences in justice perceptions for

dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement, mediation

analyses were not conducted. Therefore, I could not test justice perceptions as a mediator for

unethical behavior (Hypothesis 5b).

  Unethical behavior. I conducted a one-way ANOVA with unethical behavior as the

dependent variable and policy (diversity vs. neutral) as the independent variable; however, there

was no significant main effect of type of policy, $F(1, 83) = .64$, $p = .428$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Hypothesis

5a predicted that dominant group members would be more likely to commit an unethical act when exposed to a diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement. However, there were no significant differences in unethical behavior for dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy ($M = 12.60$) or a neutral mission statement ($M = 7.71$). Thus, I did not find support for Hypothesis 5a.

Discussion: Study 3

This online experiment tested the effects of organizational diversity policies on the blowback behavior of dominant group members, as operationalized as unethical behavior. Results from this study did not provide support for the dominant group blowback in response to diversity policies in the form of unethical behavior. Regardless, the findings from this study are in congruence with the findings from Study 1 and Study 2, namely that diversity policies do not lead dominant group members to actively seek to harm their organization. There are two key findings from this study: (1) Organizational diversity policies did not lead to dominant group blowback in the form of unethical behavior; and (2) Perceptions of fairness for dominant group members again did not differ in response to a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement.

Consistent with the results of Study 1 and Study 2, I also found in Study 3 that diversity policies did not lead to dominant group blowback in the form of their active harm to the organization. For Study 1 and Study 2, I measured counterproductive work behavior, while in Study 3, I measured unethical behavior. I hypothesized that dominant group employees exposed to an organizational diversity policy would show higher unethical behavior than dominant group employees exposed to a neutral mission statement. However, no support was found for this hypothesis (Hypothesis 5a). Given the non-significant results of Study 1, Study 2, and Study 3,

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there may well be no significant relationship between type of policy and counterproductive work behavior or unethical behavior more generally. As previously discussed, unethical behavior represents a category of actions that actively harm the organization and that could potentially lead to punishment. An employee could be more severely punished for engaging in unethical behavior than for withholding organizational citizenship behaviors. Furthermore, the dominant group blowback to diversity policies may not take the form of active harm to the organization, but might be subtler, as in withholding extra-role behaviors that are important for effective organizational functioning, i.e. organizational citizenship behaviors. The null findings of Study 3 could also be due to a weak manipulation or measure of unethical behavior.

As I found in Study 1 and Study 2, the results of Study 3 also show that fairness perceptions did not differ for dominant group members regardless of the type of policy. I hypothesized that dominant group members would perceive more unfair treatment when presented with an organizational diversity policy versus a neutral mission statement. However, no differences in perceptions of fairness were found between these two groups. I, again, found no support for Hypothesis 1a. I also hypothesized that perceptions of fairness would predict unethical behavior, such that dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy would perceive more unfair treatment and this would lead to greater unethical behavior. However, mediation analyses were not conducted and I could not test Hypothesis 5b. Although this finding is surprising, it is consistent with the results of Study 1 and Study 2. However, this could be due to a weak experimental manipulation or measurement issues. This provides a fruitful avenue for future theory building and research, which I will discuss in detail in Chapter 6.

In sum, the findings from Study 3 did not provide support for the dominant group blowback in response to organizational diversity policies in the form of unethical behavior. It is

noteworthy that the results were in congruence with those of Study 1 and Study 2: organizational

diversity policies do not lead to blowback from dominant group employees in the form of active

harm against the organization. In this study, dominant group members were not more likely to

engage in unethical behavior when exposed to a diversity policy, despite the possibility of

obtaining a benefit and findings in previous studies that did result in expense report over-

claiming (Mayer et. al, 2016). As with Study 1 and Study 2, the results of Study 3 also showed

that there were no differences in fairness perceptions for dominant group members exposed to

either an organizational diversity policy or a neutral mission statement. I will provide a general

discussion of the theoretical contributions of this dissertation, as well as the practical

implications, limitations, and future research directions in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

General Discussion and Conclusions

Taken together, the three studies of this dissertation found support for the modest dominant group blowback to organizational diversity policies. As a result of three experiments using different samples (laboratory and organizational), I found that dominant group members respond negatively to diversity policies in the form of increased turnover intentions and decreased intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior. However, dominant group members did not respond by reporting that they engaged in higher levels of counterproductive work behavior or actual unethical behavior, nor did they perceive more unfair treatment from the organization.

In an experiment using an online sample (Study 1) and an experiment using an organizational sample (Study 2), I found congruent support for the dominant group blowback to organizational diversity policies in the form of increased turnover intentions and decreased intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior. I did not find any differences in counterproductive work behavior or fairness perceptions in response to a diversity policy. In Study 3, I did not find support for the dominant group blowback in the form of unethical behavior. Regardless, the findings from Study 3 are in congruence with the findings from Study 1 and Study 2, namely that diversity policies do not lead dominant group members to actively harm their organization. Congruence in the results across two settings (online and organizational) lends credence to the notion that diversity policies can lead to certain types of blowback from dominant group members.

In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical contributions of this work to the fields of diversity in organizations, human resource management, and organizational retaliatory behavior. I then provide a discussion of the practical implications of this dissertation. I conclude with the limitations of these three studies and discuss future research directions.

Theoretical Contributions

The collective findings of this dissertation make significant theoretical contributions to the fields of diversity in organizations, human resource management, and organizational retaliatory behavior. Specifically, this research: (1) Highlights the importance of dominant group reactions to diversity policies in organizations; (2) Explains how human resource policies might have unintended consequences for organizations due to unexpected perceptions of such policies by employees; and (3) Shows that perceived unfairness is not always an accurate motivator of organizational retaliatory behavior.

Diversity in organizations: The importance of dominant group reactions to diversity initiatives.

The findings of this dissertation support a modest dominant group blowback to organizational diversity policies. This manifested in increased turnover intentions and decreased intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior, which was found across two different settings (laboratory and organizational). The results presented here build upon current active research in this area, which has only recently begun to examine the dominant group reaction to organizational diversity initiatives. The contribution made by these three studies represents an

important step toward building a more comprehensive theoretical framework for understanding how dominant groups respond to organizational diversity initiatives.

Prior diversity researchers have documented employee responses to diversity initiatives; however, the dominant group reaction is not well understood. Dover and colleagues (2016) have begun to document the dominant group reaction to diversity initiatives. They found that dominant group members exposed to a pro-diversity organizational message expressed more concerns about anti-White discrimination, exhibited greater cardiovascular threat, and made a poorer impression during an interview. Despite these findings, this represents a nascent area of study and few other scholars have researched this topic. The current research helps to extend these findings in order to shed light on the importance of dominant group reactions to the field of diversity in organizations. The findings of this dissertation contribute to a better understanding of the dominant group reaction to diversity policies by documenting that some blowback can occur in response to such policies among current employees. By focusing on variables that have great importance to organizations (i.e., turnover, organizational citizenship behavior, and counterproductive work behavior), this dissertation extends the findings of previous researchers and highlights the importance of these findings for management scholars.

A key strength of this dissertation is the field study (Study 2) because it was conducted in an organizational setting and the majority of the sample had management experience. Much prior research in this area has been conducted in a laboratory environment, where employees were not exposed to their actual organization's diversity policies or mission statements (Brady et al., 2015; Dover et al., 2016; Kaiser et al., 2013). By conducting a field experiment, I found that the modest dominant group blowback also occurs in a real organization in response to their organization's diversity policy, which is congruent with my findings from the online experiment

(Study 1). To my knowledge, this is the first field study to document the dominant group blowback to diversity policies. This represents a significant contribution to the field of diversity in organizations by showing that the laboratory effect generalizes to an organizational setting. Future researchers should take measures to ensure that laboratory experiments are also conducted in organizational settings.

Another important strength of Study 2 in this dissertation involves the majority manager sample. In Study 2, the majority (64%) of participants in the field study had management experience. These employees represent the decision-makers in organizations, so their reactions are especially important. Managers are often allowed to show discretion in their decision-making. To the extent that managers from the dominant group dislike diversity policies, this might influence the decisions that they make, especially with regards to future diversity initiatives. What is more, I found in Study 2 that dominant group members exposed to a diversity policy were less likely to intend to engage in organizational citizenship behavior, which represents a category of behaviors that are highly discretionary, yet important for effective organizational functioning. It would be potentially damaging for organizations if these managers were withholding other important behaviors or engaging in damaging behaviors as blowback to a diversity policy. Additionally, managers often have more work experience and education than non-managerial workers, so this makes them more costly to replace if they exit the organization. This holds important practical implications for organizations and provides fruitful avenues for future research, which I address in later sections of this general discussion.

Although a key strength of this dissertation is the field study and majority manager sample, this could have led to the results that I found in these studies, which differ from those of previous research. Most previous research in this area has been conducted in a laboratory setting

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often using a sample that did not have managerial experience, while the current three studies had a high percentage of managers in the sample. Managers might react differently to diversity policies than non-managerial employees. Although I found that diversity policies led dominant group members to have higher turnover intentions and lower organizational citizenship behavior, they did not commit active harm against the organization in the form of increased counterproductive work behavior or unethical behavior. Managerial employees may have learned that organizational diversity initiatives are simply "window" dressing and that their organization does not actually care about effective diversity management. Because of this, such managers may not react in certain negative ways to diversity policies. They might lower certain behaviors (e.g., organizational citizenship behaviors) or just ignore the diversity policy altogether, thinking that the policy is just rhetoric and will not actually be enforced. This could help to explain why diversity policies have been so ineffective at increasing managerial diversity over the years. To the extent that managers do not react to diversity policies, then such managers might not actively promote increasing the diversity of the management ranks in their organization. This also might help to explain why previous researchers have found certain effects and I have not, as most previous researchers have not used samples with high percentages of managers.

This dissertation also contributes to the field of diversity in organizations by highlighting the importance of dominant group reactions in crafting diversity initiatives. Dominant group reactions to diversity in a general sense and to diversity initiatives, more specifically, have been understudied in the diversity literature. A sizable portion of the diversity literature has focused on the minority experience in organizations, documenting such phenomena as discrimination, bias in evaluations, and reactions to diversity policies. While this stream of research is undoubtedly important to our understanding of diversity in organizations, it does not shed light

on how dominant groups react to organizational diversity or diversity policies. This dissertation provides a first step in filling this gap by focusing on dominant group reactions and documenting the specific ways in which dominant groups respond negatively to diversity policies. Perhaps a better understanding of the dominant group reaction to organizational diversity might shed light on ways to combat discrimination and bias in organizations, which could go a long way in helping minority organizational members.

Human resource management: How employees perceive and respond to human resource policies.

This dissertation also contributes broadly to the field of human resource management. More specifically, here I have examined the possible unintended consequences of a certain type of human resource policy, i.e. a diversity policy. Diversity policies are generally instituted to help organizations manage their diverse workforce or to help shield the organization from an employment discrimination lawsuit. However, the results of this dissertation show that diversity policies can also have unintended consequences for organizations, namely, leading dominant group members to intend to exit the organization and to be less likely to intend to engage in organizational citizenship behavior.

These findings are important for organizations for two main reasons. First, diversity policies are widespread in organizations and costly to implement and maintain (Kalev et al., 2006). From a resource perspective, it is vital for organizations to be aware that their diversity policies might be leading to unintended consequences for certain employees. With this information, organizations could direct resources to creating diversity policies and initiatives that decrease potential blowback. Furthermore, organizations often are not aware of how effective

their diversity policies are. As affirmative action policies became rebranded as diversity policies, as I discussed in Chapter 1, many organizations started adopting such policies until they have become ubiquitous in modern organizations. However, many organizations were not accurately measuring the effectiveness of those diversity policies. Furthermore, management scholars have only begun to study the effectiveness of such policies (Dobbin et al., 2015; Kalev et al., 2006). While studies of this nature should be encouraged, it would also be important to the field of human resource management and to organizations in general to study the effectiveness of other types of human resource policies and practices. The results of such studies could shed more light on which policies and practices are the most effective. Although there has been little research on the effectiveness of diversity policies, this dissertation provides initial evidence for the notion that diversity policies in their current form can cause unintended harm to organizations.

Second, the findings from this dissertation highlight an understudied aspect of the field of human resource management, namely, how employees perceive and respond to human resource policies and practices in a general sense. Organizations spend billions of dollars in human resource activities, such as training, performance management, and policy creation (Gavino, Wayne, & Erdogan, 2012). One of the main goals of such activities is to align employee behavior with organizational objectives in order to encourage behaviors that benefit the organization. Therefore, it is important for organizations to know which human resource practices are most effective in encouraging such organizationally beneficial employee behaviors. It is also important for organizations to be aware of what causes or deters these behaviors.

An important motivator of such behavior might be how employees perceive and respond to human resource policies. To the extent that employees perceive and respond to a human resource policy negatively, then that policy might be less effective at doing its original purpose.

For example, if dominant group employees perceived a diversity policy to not be inclusive of their group, then they might respond simply by not following the policy or, more seriously, by disengaging or lowering their performance. More research needs to be done on the employee response to human resource policies in order to create a framework for how employees respond to certain policies and under which conditions. Such a framework would be important for human resource scholars and practitioners in being able to better predict and measure the effectiveness of human resource policies, as well as suggest ways in which organizations could get employee buy-in for human resource initiatives.

Organizational retaliatory behavior: Perceived unfairness is not always an accurate predictor of organizational retaliatory behavior.

The findings of this dissertation also contribute to the literature on organizational retaliatory behavior. When exposed to a diversity policy, dominant group members reported increased turnover intentions and decreased intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior. These results were consistent across an online and an organizational setting. Despite these results, I did not find differences in perceived fairness for dominant group members in response to a diversity policy or a neutral mission statement in any of the studies in this dissertation. However, in much of the literature on organizational retaliatory behavior, perceived fairness is an important predictor of retaliatory behavior. Although I found support for dominant group members engaging in certain retaliatory behaviors (i.e., turnover and withholding organizational citizenship behavior), I found no differences in perceptions of fairness in response to a diversity policy or neutral mission statement. Perhaps, there are other variables that could

predict retaliatory behavior, especially such behavior by dominant groups in response to diversity policies. I will discuss the possible mediator of inclusion below.

The concept of inclusion has received increased attention in the fields of organizational behavior and human resource management in recent years (Shore, Cleveland, & Sanchez, 2018). Feelings of being included in the organization can enhance employees' work satisfaction (Jansen, Otten, van der Zee, & Jans, 2014), psychological safety (Nembhard & Edmondson, 2006), work performance (Pearce & Randel, 2004), and creativity (Jansen et al., 2014). Previous researchers have also found that inclusion can be an important predictor of support for diversity policies for both dominant and non-dominant group members. For example, non-dominant groups seem to be aware of inclusion-related cues that diversity policies and programs can convey to such employees (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). Such inclusion-related cues are also important in predicting non-dominant group members' support for certain diversity initiatives. For dominant group members, perceived inclusion is also important in predicting support for certain types of diversity practices (Jansen, Otten, & van der Zee, 2015; Jansen, Vos, Otten, Podsiadlowski, & van der Zee, 2016; Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011).

Inclusion is an important predictor of support for diversity policies for both dominant and non-dominant groups. Despite these findings, researchers have only begun to explore how not feeling included in diversity initiatives might impact dominant group employees. To the extent that dominant groups feel excluded from diversity policies and programs, this might lead to blowback from such employees. The findings of modest blowback from this dissertation could possibly be predicted by perceived exclusion from diversity policies. This is an area ripe for

study and future researchers should examine how inclusion might help to explain this relationship. I will discuss this further in my future research directions section below.

Practical Implications

The findings of this dissertation also have important practical implications for organizations. To the extent that diversity policies cause blowback from dominant group members, organizational managers and human resource professionals should be aware of such negative reactions and the potential impact such reactions might have on their organizations. Therefore, there are three key practical implications from this dissertation: (1) Organizations need to be cognizant of the fact that diversity policies may lead to unintended consequences; (2) Organizations need to clarify what they hope to achieve with diversity policies and programs by weighing the benefits and drawbacks of each; and (3) Organizations might benefit from exploring new and novel types of diversity policies and programs.

First, organizations need to be aware that diversity policies may lead to unintended consequences. The findings of this dissertation show that the presence of a diversity policy leads to modest blowback from dominant group members, in the form of increased turnover intentions and decreased organizational citizenship behavior. Turnover can have important financial implications for organizations because it is costly and time-consuming to hire, train, and socialize new employees. There are also negative effects of turnover on those who are left behind: groups that experience turnover of members are less productive than groups that do not experience turnover (Argote et al., 1995). In a similar vein, organizational citizenship behavior can positively contribute to effective organizational functioning and work group performance (Podsakoff & MacKenzie, 1997). Furthermore, lower levels of organizational citizenship

behavior could lead to passive noncooperation with diversity policies and could help to account for the poor results of such policies in increasing minority and female representation in the managerial ranks of organizations. Given the drawbacks of turnover and the benefits of organizational citizenship behavior, a policy that leads to turnover or decreases organizational citizenship behavior might have financial implications for organizations. This dissertation sheds light on an important drawback of diversity policies, namely the dominant group blowback to them.

A second practical implication involves the need for organizations to clarify what they hope to achieve with diversity policies and programs by weighing their benefits and drawbacks. As discussed in Chapter 1, different strategies to managing diversity might lead to different results. Diversity management practices have been shown to shield organizations from lawsuits, provide some positive benefits for minorities, including increased trust and comfort toward the organization and increased levels of leadership self-efficacy, and, under certain conditions, increase managerial diversity (Gundemir et al., 2016; Kaiser et al., 2013; Kalev et al., 2006; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). The findings of this dissertation add a fourth result: the potentially costly dominant group blowback. These results may have positive or negative effects on organizations, and organizations should clarify what their most important goals are in implementing a diversity policy or program. As such, organizations should weigh the various benefits and drawbacks of different diversity management practices before implementing them.

For example, an organization that has been accused of employment discrimination might implement a new diversity policy to shield itself from future lawsuits. An organization such as this one might be less concerned with the dominant group blowback to diversity policies than it is with avoiding a costly employment discrimination lawsuit. In another example, an

organization whose goal is to effectively manage its diverse workforce might find it more important to weigh the benefits of diversity programs, such as increased minority trust in the organization, with the drawbacks, such as costly dominant group blowback. Given the potential positive and negative effects of diversity policies, such an organization might seek a novel diversity management practice, which is the third key practical implication of this dissertation.

Finally, because diversity policies often do little to increase organizational diversity and such polices can lead to negative reactions (i.e., dominant group blowback), it would be important for organizations to explore novel ways to effectively manage diversity. Organizations should explore new diversity management practices, such as inclusion programs, that continue to highlight the importance of diversity, while minimizing potential blowback. For example, as scholars are beginning to explore the distinctions between the concepts of diversity and inclusion (e.g., Roberson, 2006; Shore et al., 2011), organizations might want to implement programs that highlight both diversity and inclusion. This represents a fruitful avenue for future scholars, which I will discuss in more detail in the next section.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

The findings of this dissertation provide a broad framework for understanding how dominant groups respond to organizational diversity policies. Despite the theoretical and practical contributions of this dissertation, the three studies possess some limitations. Although I am confident that these three studies collectively make contributions to the fields of diversity, human resource management, and organizational retaliatory behavior, it is important to discuss the limitations of these studies and how future researchers might address these limitations.

An important limitation of the studies involves the experimental materials. In Study 1 and Study 3, I provided participants with a diversity policy that was developed by other researchers and based on the wording of real organizational diversity policies in the United States (Kaiser et al., 2013). Despite the authenticity of the policy, it was written in general terms. Because of this, I was only able to measure participants' reactions to diversity in a very general manner, not their reactions to a specific type of diversity. For example, I did not measure Whites' reactions to diversity policies specifically related to race or men's reactions to gender-related diversity policies. Despite this limitation, I found consistent results across Study 1 and Study 2, where I used an organizational sample. In Study 2, I exposed employees to their organization's real diversity policy, which was written in similarly general terms. Regardless, this represents a fruitful area for future researchers to investigate. It would be worthwhile to investigate different dominant groups and their reactions to diversity policies related to a specific dimension of diversity (e.g., Whites' reactions to race-related diversity policies or men's reactions to gender-related diversity policies). Furthermore, as the effective management of employees from sexual minorities has become increasingly important to organizations, future researchers might investigate the heterosexual reaction to diversity policies geared toward lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) employees.

Another related limitation of the studies was the reliance on a diversity *policy* to stimulate blowback from dominant group members. Although diversity policies are ubiquitous in modern organizations, they are not the only type of diversity initiative to which employees are exposed (Dobbin, 2009; Kalev et al., 2006; Kelly & Dobbin, 1998). For example, many organizations require their employees to take part in diversity training programs or might publicize diversity awards that they have won (Dover et al., 2015; Kaiser et al., 2013). The findings of this

dissertation would be strengthened if researchers found similar dominant group blowback to other types of diversity initiatives or their cumulative impact. On a related note, Dobbin and colleagues (2015) found that diversity initiatives that engage managers in promoting diversity, such as special recruitment, actually increase employee diversity in organizations. Instead of focusing solely on the blowback to diversity initiatives, future researchers might explore the mechanisms of how certain initiatives minimize dominant group blowback and increase diversity.

Another limitation of the studies was their inability to explain why the dominant group blowback to diversity policies occurred. A major strength of this dissertation is establishing that dominant group members respond in certain negative ways to organizational diversity policies. However, an explanation of this relationship was not found. Grounded in literature on diversity and organizational retaliatory behavior, I hypothesized that dominant group members would perceive more unfair treatment from organizations with diversity policies and that such lowered perceived fairness would lead to blowback. However, the measure I used for fairness perceptions failed to reach statistical significance in each of the three studies. Future researchers should focus on different attitude and affective measures to explain the mechanism of dominant group blowback to diversity policies, as something must be driving these documented effects. For example, perhaps dominant group employees feel lowered commitment to or lowered trust in organizations with diversity policies, which, in turn, leads to blowback. Such employees might also not feel included in diversity efforts, which could lead to blowback.

This dissertation, and the design of the three studies, also did not measure blowback related to any interpersonal consequences of diversity policies. Instead, I focused on blowback directed at the organization. It is possible that dominant group members exposed to a diversity

policy might also direct their blowback behavior at other individuals in the organization. For example, blowback could manifest in dominant group members retaliating against those who are seen as unfairly advantaged by diversity policies. This could take the form of lowered performance evaluations, interpersonal disliking, or decreased promotion opportunities for non-dominant group members. Furthermore, as dominant group members are likely to be in leadership positions in organizations, they will also likely have some discretion in the promotion, hiring, and performance evaluation processes. To the extent that dominant group members evaluate non-dominant group members negatively as blowback to a diversity policy, this might help to explain why diversity policies often do not increase diversity in the managerial ranks. This represents a fruitful avenue for future researchers, as little research exists that explains why organizational diversity policies are largely ineffective at increasing managerial diversity.

Finally, this dissertation did not investigate any possible interventions that could mitigate the dominant group blowback to diversity policies. Diversity policies, as organizations commonly espouse them, can lead to dominant group blowback in the form of increased turnover intentions and decreased organizational citizenship behavior. Thus, research is needed that identifies interventions that can decrease such blowback. The framing of diversity policies (e.g., Kidder et al., 2004) or the promotion of inclusive multiculturalism (e.g., Stevens, Plaut, & Sanchez-Burks, 2008) might decrease such blowback, although more research is needed in this area. Future researchers should also investigate how to make different types of diversity initiatives more appealing to dominant groups, while continuing to highlight the importance of diversity and inclusion. This line of research is sorely needed and would provide important practical implications for real organizations and their human resource departments.

Conclusion

Organizational diversity practices are ubiquitous in modern organizations. However, they are not always effective at increasing managerial diversity. Although there are many reasons why this occurs, an under-researched explanation involves the dominant group blowback to diversity initiatives. To the extent that dominant groups react negatively to diversity initiatives, this could help to explain why they are not always effective in their current form. Across three experiments, I found support for the modest dominant group blowback to organizational diversity policies. Using different samples (laboratory and organizational), I found that dominant group members respond negatively to diversity policies in the form of increased turnover intentions and decreased intentions to engage in organizational citizenship behavior. Lower levels of organizational citizenship behavior could lead to the passive noncompliance of employees with diversity policies and this could help to explain why diversity policies are not always successful at increasing minority and female representation in the managerial ranks of organizations. However, dominant group members did not respond by reporting they engage in higher levels of counterproductive work behavior or unethical behavior, nor did they perceive more unfair treatment from the organization. By examining the effects of human resource policies on attitudinal and behavioral outcomes, this dissertation has developed new theory that will enable scholars to better understand the ways in which diversity policies and other human resource policies influence employees at work.

Taken together, these studies provide an empirically grounded understanding of the unintended consequences of organizational diversity policies. The empirical questions this dissertation addresses build upon existing knowledge in this area and the findings of this dissertation make novel theoretical contributions to the fields of diversity in organizations,

human resource management, and organizational retaliatory behavior. This dissertation also makes impactful practical contributions for organizational managers and human resource professionals when implementing diversity initiatives, as such practices are widespread in organizations, yet costly to implement. Finally, the dominant group reaction to organizational diversity policies examined in this dissertation represents a nascent area of study. The initial findings of this dissertation suggest many important avenues for future research and support the continued study of the dominant group reaction to diversity policies by future scholars.

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Appendix A

Study 1: Diversity Manipulation and Experimental Materials

Page 1

Welcome! Researchers are interested in how people evaluate organizations based on their public policies. You will randomly receive one policy from Jones & Miller Corporation to read and evaluate.

For this study, imagine that you work for Jones & Miller Corporation and that the new policy will be instituted at that company. Please review the provided background information on the organization, read the policy, and answer items that follow about your reaction to the policy.

Please click on the button below to begin.

Page 2

Background Information

Jones & Miller Corporation is a midsized American investment firm headquartered in New York City. Its goal is to provide clients with a personalized investment plan that maximizes their future earnings.

(Participants will randomly receive either the Mission Statement or Diversity Statement)

Mission Statement
Jones & Miller Corporation holds the belief that creativity and innovation result exclusively from cooperation between people with different experiences, perspectives, and backgrounds. Our policies and practices are built on this philosophy. To better serve our customers and create a united workforce we strive to:

- Promote trust, mutual respect and dignity between employees.
- Attract, develop, promote and maintain a talented workforce.
- Encourage collaboration among employees with different work and learning styles.

In accordance with our philosophy, Jones & Miller Corporation motivates our employees to contribute their best and provide us with a competitive advantage.

Diversity Statement
Jones & Miller Corporation holds the belief that creativity and innovation result exclusively from cooperation between people with different experiences, perspectives, and cultural backgrounds. Our policies and practices are built on this philosophy. To better serve our customers and create a united workforce we strive to:

- Promote trust, mutual respect and dignity between employees.

• Attract, develop, promote and maintain a talented diverse workforce.
• Encourage collaboration among employees from diverse backgrounds, cultures, and ethnicities.

In accordance with our philosophy, Jones & Miller Corporation motivates our employees to contribute their best and provide us with a competitive advantage.

Page 3

Again, imagine that you work for Jones & Miller Corporation and that the new policy will be instituted at that company. Please respond to the following items about your reaction to the policy.

Overall, I would be treated fairly by this organization.

1		2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree							strongly agree

In general, I could count on this organization to be fair.

1		2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree							strongly agree

In general, the treatment I would receive around here is fair.

1		2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree							strongly agree

Usually, the way things would work in this organization are not fair.

1		2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree							strongly agree

For the most part, this organization would treat its employees fairly.

1		2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree							strongly agree

Most of the people who work here would say they are often treated unfairly.

1		2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree							strongly agree

I would think about quitting my job.

1		2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree							strongly agree

I would give notice that I intended to quit.

1		2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree							strongly agree

I would accept an alternative job offer.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would quit my current job.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would not take extra breaks.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would obey company rules and regulations even when no one is watching.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would consume a lot of time complaining about trivial matters.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would often find fault with what the organization is doing.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would attend meetings that are not mandatory, but are considered important.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would attend functions that are not required, but help the company image.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would waste company materials.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would try to look busy while wasting time.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would take an extended coffee or lunch break.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would intentionally work slower.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would spend time on personal matters while at work.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

Page 4

How important is environmental sustainability to Jones & Miller Corporation?

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

not very important   very important

To what extent does Jones & Miller Corporation value diversity?

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

not at all   to a great extent

What does Jones & Miller Corporation specialize in?

Apparel & Clothing, Food Processing, Investment Firm, Law Firm, Marketing Firm

Page 5

What is your age? _____ years

What is your gender?
      Male
      Female

What is your race?
      White
      African American
      Hispanic American
      Asian American
      Other

Do you have management experience?
      Yes
      No

Appendix B

Study 2: Experimental Materials

Page 1

Welcome! We are interested in how you view the current organization for which they work. Please review your company's policy and then answer items that follow. Your responses will be anonymous and confidential.

Page 2

(Participants will randomly receive either the organization's actual Mission Statement or actual Diversity Statement. According to the provisions of my IRB, I cannot provide the statements here, as that would violate the privacy of the participants and the organization.)

Page 3

Please respond to the following items about your reaction to your company's policy.

Overall, I would be treated fairly by this organization.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

In general, I could count on this organization to be fair.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

In general, the treatment I would receive around here is fair.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

Usually, the way things would work in this organization are not fair.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

For the most part, this organization would treat its employees fairly.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

Most of the people who work here would say they are often treated unfairly.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would think about quitting my job.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would give notice that I intended to quit.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would accept an alternative job offer.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would quit my current job.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would not take extra breaks.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would obey company rules and regulations even when no one is watching.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would consume a lot of time complaining about trivial matters.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would often find fault with what the organization is doing.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would attend meetings that are not mandatory, but are considered important.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would attend functions that are not required, but help the company image.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would waste company materials.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would try to look busy while wasting time.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would take an extended coffee or lunch break.

1		2	3	4	5	6	7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would intentionally work slower.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

I would spend time on personal matters while at work.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

strongly disagree   strongly agree

Page 4

What is your age? _____ years

What is your gender?
        Male
        Female

What is your race?
        White
        African American
        Hispanic American
        Asian American
        Other

Do you have management experience?
        Yes
        No

What type of policy did you read at the start of the survey?
        Attendance Policy
        Diversity Policy
        Mission Statement
        Vacation Policy

Appendix C

Study 3: Diversity Manipulation and Experimental Materials

Page 1

In this study you will be asked to make several decisions that employees often make at work.

Imagine that you work for Jones & Miller Corporation. Before you begin making the work-related decisions, please read the following policy that all employees of Jones & Miller Corporation are bound to:

(Participants will randomly receive either the Mission Statement or Diversity Statement)

Mission Statement
Jones & Miller Corporation holds the belief that creativity and innovation result exclusively from cooperation between people with different experiences, perspectives, and backgrounds. Our policies and practices are built on this philosophy. To better serve our customers and create a united workforce we strive to:

- Promote trust, mutual respect and dignity between employees.
- Attract, develop, promote and maintain a talented workforce.
- Encourage collaboration among employees with different work and learning styles.

In accordance with our philosophy, Jones & Miller Corporation motivates our employees to contribute their best and provide us with a competitive advantage.

Diversity Statement
Jones & Miller Corporation holds the belief that creativity and innovation result exclusively from cooperation between people with different experiences, perspectives, and cultural backgrounds. Our policies and practices are built on this philosophy. To better serve our customers and create a united workforce we strive to:

- Promote trust, mutual respect and dignity between employees.
- Attract, develop, promote and maintain a talented diverse workforce.
- Encourage collaboration among employees from diverse backgrounds, cultures, and ethnicities.

In accordance with our philosophy, Jones & Miller Corporation motivates our employees to contribute their best and provide us with a competitive advantage.

Again, imagine that you work for Jones & Miller Corporation, which is a highly profitable company. You like your job but do not always think management treats its employees fairly. For example, employees tend to get paid less than at competitor companies.

Your job requires frequent travel. At the end of every day, you report your work-based expenses from the day and are reimbursed for them. Most employees tend to exaggerate their expenses because you do not have to submit receipts for items under $75 and no employees have been reprimanded for "over-expensing." Flights and hotels are charged to a company account so you are only responsible for reporting meals, snacks, and transportation to and from the airport.

For each item, there is a maximum amount that can be spent. The chart below shows (1) an average day of expenses for an individual in your organization, as well as (2) the maximum that can be spent on each line item:

	Company Average	Maximum Allowance
Taxi to/from airport	$32.00	$40.00
Breakfast	$6.35	$10.00
Lunch	$10.25	$15.00
Dinner	$15.40	$25.00
Snack	$3.75	$10.00

While getting ready to leave Monday morning, you heard there was a massive traffic jam on the highway to the airport, so you decided to take public transport, spending only $2.50 as opposed to the usual $35 spent on a taxi. You grabbed a coffee and bagel in the airport for $8.25. Upon landing, your coworker picked you up from the airport in her rental car and you swung by Chipotle for lunch, and you got a burrito and chips with guacamole for $9.50. You were quite full from lunch, so you did not have a snack during the day. The team went to dinner together at an Italian restaurant after working for the day, your portion of the bill coming to $22.50.

Please fill out the expense report below for your Monday as described above. As an MTurk bonus, you will be receiving 1% of what you expense in this report in addition to the baseline payment you are already receiving for doing this study. For example, if you report the maximum allowance that would come to $100 and you would receive 1% of that amount which is $1.

Taxi to/from airport	Enter amount: $_____
Breakfast	Enter amount: $_____
Lunch	Enter amount: $_____
Dinner	Enter amount: $_____
Snack	Enter amount: $_____
Total	Enter amount: $_____

Page 3

Please respond to the following items about how you think you would be treated at Jones & Miller Corporation.

Overall, I would be treated fairly by this organization.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

In general, I could count on this organization to be fair.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

In general, the treatment I would receive around here is fair.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

Usually, the way things would work in this organization are not fair.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

For the most part, this organization would treat its employees fairly.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

Most of the people who work here would say they are often treated unfairly.
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
strongly disagree   strongly agree

Page 4

To what extent does Jones & Miller Corporation value diversity?
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
not at all   to a great extent
What is your age? _____ years
What is your gender?
    Male
    Female
What is your race?
    White
    African American
    Hispanic American
    Asian American
    Other
Do you have management experience?
    Yes   No