RESEARCH ARTICLE

An examination of diversity rationales: How instrumental and moral diversity rationales create minority spotlight

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Abstract

Past research has demonstrated that organizations rationalize their commitment to diversity for instrumental or moral reasons that are differentially preferred by marginalized and privileged groups. Across four studies, the present research contends that privileged group members view instrumental diversity contexts as affording them educational opportunities and view moral diversity contexts as expecting them to afford (meta-affordances) marginalized group members inclusion, both resulting in a minority spotlight. Moreover, marginalized group members view these diversity rationales through an inverse lens with moral diversity contexts affording them inclusion and instrumental diversity contexts resulting in education meta-affordances and anticipated minority spotlight. The present findings advance research on implications of diversity rationales, particularly their effect on the attention privileged groups pay to marginalized groups, and marginalized groups' (accurate) anticipation of this attention.

KEYWORDS
affordances, diversity, instrumental, minority spotlight

1 | INTRODUCTION

Although Black and Latinx people remain underrepresented in organizations and academic spaces (e.g., Ashkenas et al., 2017; Cohen & Huffman, 2007), efforts to promote racial diversity in organizations and academia have resulted in the widespread use of ideology cues. Research examining the utility of these cues has primarily focused on a dichotomization of ideologies (colourblind versus multicultural), and how these ideologies impact expected belonging and treatment in such contexts because of perceived prejudices (e.g., Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Ryan et al., 2007). While colourblind racial ideologies focus on commonalities across racial groups, multicultural ideologies focus on recognizing differences across racial ideologies (Dobbin, 2009; Plaut, 2002, 2010) and have been associated with greater belonging, engagement, and performance for marginalized group members (e.g., Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). Notably, multicultural diversity ideologies have at times been found to threaten privileged group members, including White Americans anticipating being devalued in such contexts (e.g., Dover et al., 2016).

Yet, diversity ideologies also vary in their diversity rationales. Diversity rationales include statements or behaviours that signal *why* an organization or person values diversity (Starck et al., 2021). As these diversity rationales make evident that marginalized racial groups are valued at an organization, they may shift privileged group members' attention towards marginalized group members in the context. Thus, the present research examines how and why diversity rationales impact White perceivers' attention to Black speakers in an academic context and how Black and Latinx people anticipate diversity rationales to impact them.

1.1 | Instrumental versus moral diversity rationales

Research and analysis of U.S. universities' diversity messaging indicates two prominent diversity rationales: instrumental and moral (Starck et al., 2021). Instrumental rationales for diversity centre on the benefits of a diverse student body or workforce, while moral rationales focus on the intrinsic values and principles of equality. For example, one

university indicates, 'diversity fosters the best conditions possible to promote dramatic and meaningful growth by exposing us to unfamiliar ideas, perspectives, and cultures … learning from our diverse student body is critical to our success,' signalling that diversity is useful because it provides educational value (i.e., instrumental). Yet, another university indicates 'We respect one another, we look out for one another, and we help one another succeed. These principles are … what we expect of our entire campus community',' signalling that diversity is sought because it is a moral imperative. That is, moral diversity rationales make evident that diversity is valued because it is just to create and ensure equal opportunity and treatment *for* a diverse student body, while instrumental diversity rationales make evident that diversity is valued because people learn *from* a diverse student body.

Moral diversity rationales' focus on equal opportunities and treatment may explicitly or inherently make salient historical and present-day exclusion and oppression of marginalized racial groups by privileged racial groups. In doing so, moral diversity rationales make evident that diversity in the context is meant to benefit marginalized group members by providing them equal opportunities and treatment (including by their White peers). In contrast, instrumental diversity rationales highlight that predominantly White contexts may benefit by including perspectives of marginalized groups (Bowman, 2010; Warikoo, 2016), can signal a more expansive definition of 'diversity' that feels more inclusive to White Americans (Plaut et al., 2011; Trawalter et al., 2016), and may de-centre discrimination, alleviating White identity threat (Vorauer et al., 1998). As such, instrumental diversity rationales may make evident that diversity in the context is meant to benefit privileged racial groups. While diversity rationales may, at times, include a mix of moral and instrumental rationales for diversity, instrumental rationales are more predominant among U.S. universities' messaging (Starck et al., 2021).

Given such divergent focuses of moral and instrumental diversity rationales, privileged and marginalized racial groups perceive these diversity rationales in divergent ways. That is, instrumental rationales are preferred by privileged groups while marginalized groups prefer moral rationales (Starck et al., 2021). Such preferences are likely to stem from differences in anticipated value received from the organization and anticipated belonging at the university. Specifically, White Americans report greater positivity and interest in attending a university with an instrumental diversity rationale relative to a moral diversity rationale, in part because they expect to receive more educational value from and experience greater belonging and less identity threat at an instrumental diversity rationale university. In contrast, Black Americans anticipated less belonging and educational value in an instrumental, compared to moral, diversity context (Starck et al., 2021). These findings demonstrate that privileged and marginalized group members are sensitive to diversity rationales, including whose education is meant to benefit from diversity. While past research demonstrated divergent expectations by diversity rationales, in the present research, we propose that the greater perceived educational value from an instrumental diversity rationale university stems from White group members explicitly viewing Black peers as learning opportunities. That is, we propose that Black students may be seen as affording their White peers learning opportunities in instrumental diversity rationale contexts, and such perceived affordances may shift attention. Moreover, the present research contends that marginalized racial group members are sensitive to the attentional shift created by diversity rationales.

1.2 | Affordances

As noted above, diversity rationales may differentially signal *who* is meant to benefit from the diverse contexts. In doing so, diversity rationales may signal information about the affordances of racially diverse contexts. Interpersonal affordances are opportunities afforded by one person or social group to another (Fiebich, 2014; Gibson, 1979). Assessing affordances enables individuals to navigate social environments to maximize their desired outcomes (Gruenfeld et al., 2008) and goal-relevance shapes perception and evaluation of others (Dietze & Knowles, 2016; McArthur & Baron, 1983; Neel & Lassetter, 2019; Neuberg & Cottrell, 2008). In instances of reciprocity and compatible or shared goals, instrumentalizing others, or seeing others as a means to achieve a goal (Nussbaum, 1995), can be functional for both parties (e.g., Fitzsimons & Shah, 2008; Gruenfeld et al., 2008). Yet, if instrumentalizing is not accompanied by a recognition of people's personhood, such that they have their own autonomy, agency, or subjective experiences, affordance assessments can become objectification (Holland & Haslam, 2013; LaCroix & Pratto, 2015; Nussbaum, 1995).

The present research proposes that, in predominately White contexts, instrumental diversity rationales may signal to White group members that Black peers are instruments for them to learn from. That is, we propose that instrumental diversity rationales signal that Black peers afford White peers educational value. Indeed, White students reported greater educational value in instrumental, compared to moral, diversity rationale contexts (Starck et al., 2021). The present research seeks to advance these past findings by explicitly testing if White group members perceive Black peers as providing learning opportunities that advance their educational value in instrumental contexts. Moreover, while instrumental diversity rationales focus on benefits for privileged racial groups, moral diversity rationales focus on benefits for marginalized racial groups (i.e., the goal of equality and anti-racism; Starck et al., 2021). As such, we posit that moral diversity rationales signal inclusion affordances to Black and Latinx group members such that they expect to be afforded equal treatment and to not experience discrimination from their White peers.

While research on affordances has been widely established, we propose that people not only seek to understand what opportunities a context provides the self, but also what a context *expects* of a person. That is, we propose people may also ask 'What do they expect *me to afford the context*?', a question we term *meta-affordance*. That is, just as meta-perceptions are beliefs about how others perceive the self (Grutterink & Meister, 2021; Kenny, 1994), we propose meta-affordances are beliefs about what others expect from oneself. As with affordances, we propose that assessments of meta-affordances posit not only what goal(s) others hold, but also how they are expected to behave to facilitate those goals. As such, we posit that the divergent focused goals of

TABLE 1 Proposed model of inverse affordances and meta-affordances by diversity rationales for marginalized and privileged groups

	Moral diversity rationales	Instrumental diversity rationales
Focused goal:	Marginalized group inclusion	Privileged group education
Relevant assessments made by:		
Marginalized group members	Inclusion affordances	Education meta-affordances
Privileged group members	Inclusion meta-affordances	Education affordances

instrumental and moral diversity statements make salient to privileged and marginalized groups whether they are expected to benefit from the focused goal or facilitate goal achievement for others. When the focus goal is aimed at benefiting the ingroup, people will ask 'What does the context afford me?'; in contrast, when the focus goal is aimed at benefiting the outgroup, people will ask 'What does the context expect me to afford others?'

As instrumental diversity rationales centre the educational goals of White group members, we posit that marginalized group members may believe instrumental diversity rationales signal that they are expected to educate their White peers by sharing their opinions and being expected to talk about racism; that is, educational meta-affordances. Further, moral diversity rationales should signal inclusion meta-affordances for White group members. That is, as moral diversity rationales make salient historical and present racial discrimination against marginalized racial groups, and White people are prototypical perpetrators of anti-Black discrimination in the US (e.g., Inman & Baron, 1996), White group members may perceive that they are expected to afford inclusion and equity for marginalized group members leading to greater attention to these peers. Indeed, past research has found that White participants may overcompensate in interracial interactions by smiling and nodding more in efforts to appear inclusive and egalitarian (e.g., Mendes & Koslov, 2013). Thus, the present research also examines perceived meta-affordances from diversity rationales for marginalized and privileged racial groups. Table 1 highlights the proposed process of affordances and meta-affordances based on the goal made salient by these diversity rationales.

1.3 | Minority spotlight

Critically, while instrumental and moral diversity rationales may uniquely shift perceived affordances and meta-affordances for privileged and marginalized groups, with instrumental rationales making salient what marginalized groups afford privileged groups' education, and moral rationales making salient what privileged groups are expected to afford marginalized groups, these hypotheses converge at one point: increasing the attention privileged groups pay to marginalized group members. That is, by discussing the reason for encouraging a racially diverse student body, universities may be signalling to White students that they should attend to students of colour, thus creating a minority spotlight effect. Past research has found that White Americans look to Black peers to assess the situation when race or racism is mentioned in discussions (Crosby & Monin, 2013; Crosby et al., 2008).

For example, after a White person made a comment questioning a Black applicant's qualifications, participants spent more time looking at a Black person who heard the statement compared to when the Black person could not hear the statement (Crosby et al., 2008). Similarly, non-Black participants indicated greater interest in learning how a Black (compared to White) college student would evaluate an anti-Black discrimination lawsuit (Crosby & Monin, 2013). These findings demonstrate that during conversations about racism, people explicitly evaluate, and implicitly attend to, marginalized group members.

While such findings have primarily been examined with regard to discussions of race in classrooms, contextual cues can also signal the racial ideologies endorsed by people in a setting (e.g., Chaney & Sanchez, 2018; Chaney et al., 2016). As such, I proposed that contexts with either moral or instrumental diversity rationales would increase the attention White people pay to Black speakers relative to a context with no diversity rationale, but for divergent reasons. Specifically, I proposed White people would attend to Black speakers in an instrumental diversity rationale context to learn from Black speakers (i.e., educational affordances), while they would attend to Black speakers in a moral diversity rationale context to demonstrate inclusiveness (i.e., inclusion meta-affordances). Critically, in the present research I conceptualized the minority spotlight as more accurate attributions to marginalized group speakers during a Who-Said-What paradigm. While past research on the minority spotlight effect has utilized eye-tracking and time spent looking at marginalized group speakers on a screen (Crosby et al., 2008), the present utilization of the Who-Said-What paradigm demonstrates not simply mere visual attention to marginalized speakers, but also greater encoding and recall of what speakers contribute to a conversation.

Notably, Black students are aware of the minority spotlight phenomenon and report feeling a need to serve as the voice for 'diversity' and people of colour (Crosby et al., 2014). That is, Black students report generally feeling in the 'minority spotlight' when they are the only Black student in a classroom, and this effect is amplified when their race is made salient due to a comment about racism (Crosby et al., 2014). As such, I hypothesized that marginalized racial group members would anticipate greater minority spotlight in response to instrumental diversity rationales due to greater educational meta-affordance concerns.

1.4 | Current research

The present research examined a novel outcome of diversity rationales: minority spotlight. Across two studies, I assessed if White

participants are more likely to view Black speakers as educational instruments and thus are more likely to attend to Black speakers' conversation contributions in instrumental relative to neutral academic contexts via a Who-Said-What paradigm. Specifically, I posited that instrumental diversity rationales signal to privileged groups that members of marginalized groups are instruments to further their education (i.e., educational affordances), leading to White people being better at recalling Black speakers' conversational contributions during a Who-Said-What task. Further, Study 2 examined if moral diversity rational contexts increased White participants' attention to Black speakers via an alternative mechanism: meta-affordances of White inclusive behaviour. That is, I posited that moral diversity rationales signal to White group members that they are expected to be inclusive, thus shifting their behaviour by attending more to Black speakers. Thus, across two experimental studies, I examined how diversity rationales shift White perceivers' attention to Black speakers in a Who-Said-What paradigm, and the contrasting processes by which this attentional shift occurs.

Additionally, Studies 3–4 examined how Black and Latinx participants perceived these diversity rationales, including anticipated minority spotlight stemming from education meta-affordances in instrumental diversity rationale contexts (Studies 3–4) and inclusion affordances stemming from moral diversity rationale contexts (Studies 3–4). As such, Studies 3–4 sought to examine marginalized group members' own sensitivity to affordances and meta-affordances of diversity rationales, and in doing so, demonstrate the inverse affordances and meta-affordances for privileged and marginalized group members in response to diversity rationales. Note, all present studies recruited participants in the U.S. in part because of past research on diversity rationales in U.S. universities (Starck et al., 2021), though such processes are hypothesized to occur in other cultures as well.

All studies were conducted with institutional IRB approval. Data and materials for all studies are available at: https://osf.io/uje8y/. All measures, manipulations, and exclusions are reported and sample sizes were set prior to any data analysis.

2 | STUDY 1

Study 1 recruited a sample of White American participants who viewed a conversation between White and Black students enrolled in a class with either an instrumental diversity rationale or no provided diversity rationale as a first demonstration that diversity rationales signal affordances and create a minority spotlight effect. I hypothesized that White participants would be more successful at correctly recognizing the conversational contributions of Black speakers in a Who-Said-What paradigm due, in part, to greater perceived educational affordances of Black speakers in contexts with instrumental diversity rationales compared to no diversity rationale.

The Who-Said-What paradigm includes seeing (often) eight speakers make a series of comments during a supposed memory task (Taylor et al., 1978). After, a surprise recall task presents each statement from the conversation one at a time and asks the observer to indicate

who said each statement from an array of the speakers' faces. Critically, the Who-Said-What paradigm is most frequently used as a measure to determine if observers implicitly categorize speakers based on a specific social identity, and error rates provide insights on if people were more likely to confuse members of the same category than members of the contrasting category(s) (e.g., Chen et al., 2018; Pietraszewski et al., 2014). Yet, this paradigm can also be employed to determine if people from one category are not attended to (Sesko & Biernat, 2010). That is, the Who-Said-What paradigm can be employed to learn about not only implicit group categorization, but also whose conversation contributions are being attended to. As such, the Who-Said-What paradigm was utilized presently as a measure of minority spotlight. Thus, the primary hypothesis was that participants in the instrumental diversity rationale context would correctly attribute more statements made by Black speakers compared to participants in the control (no diversity rationale) context.

2.1 | Method

2.1.1 | Participants

An a priori power analysis for a two-cell between-subjects design to detect a medium effect ($d = 0.50$) with 80% power indicated a desired sample size of 128. A data collection stop point was set at 150 to account for exclusions. In all, 150 participants were recruited from a US undergraduate participant pool in the Northeast in exchange for partial course credit. While all recruited participants identified as White in a large pre-screen survey, 18 did not identify as White during the survey and were excluded from analyses leaving an analytic sample of 132 ($M_{age} = 19.17$, $SD = 1.84$, range: 18–31; 31 men, 100 women, one non-binary). A sensitivity power analysis indicated that 2-cell between-subject ANOVAs had 80% power to detect a medium effect ($d = 0.50$).

2.1.2 | Procedure

After consenting, participants were asked to review part of a syllabus for a course. Participants were randomly assigned to see either a control or the instrumental syllabus. In both conditions, participants saw a syllabus for an Introduction to Psychology course with meeting days and times, as well as sections on 'Course Description' and 'Course Requirements and Grading'. These sections including generic information about the broad topics for the course, as well as that there would be three exams and a group presentation for students' grades. In the instrumental condition, a third section titled 'Our Course' was included. This section said, 'Our university is strengthened by the diverse identities of our students. Diversity fosters the best conditions possible to promote dramatic and meaningful growth by exposing us to unfamiliar ideas, perspectives, and cultures. At UC, learning from our diverse student body is critical to our success.'

After reviewing the syllabus, participants had to correctly answer two questions about the syllabus content, including the course name

and if a statement was on the syllabus. In the control condition participants were asked if the statement, 'The final exam will not be cumulative' was present (Yes/No), and in the instrumental condition, if the following statement appeared on the syllabus: 'Learning from our diverse student body is critical to our success' (Yes/No). All participants correctly responded to these questions. After, participants completed the Who-Said-What paradigm (Taylor et al., 1978) described in detail below, completed a measure of educational affordances, and then were probed for suspicion and debriefed.

2.2 | Materials

2.2.1 | Who-said-what paradigm

Participants were told they would see a conversation among students enrolled in the course who were working on a group presentation for the class they just learned about. Participants were told they would see an image of students paired with their conversational statements, and each image-statement combination would appear for 7 s before the screen advanced to the next portion of the conversation. The conversation included eight statements made by eight students: four White men and four Black men (images selected from the Chicago Face Database; Ma et al., 2015). White and Black targets did not significantly differ in attractiveness, angry, happy, threatening, or trustworthy ratings (see Supplement).

The conversation involved the students indicating how they would contribute to the group project. For example, one student said, 'That sounds good to me. I'll set up a drive for us to share the resources we find. It will be easier if we keep it all in one place', and the subsequent student said, 'I agree. Maybe it will help if we figure out some key words or resources together and then split them up so we aren't all looking up the same stuff.' To ensure any effects of speaker race were not due to the statements themselves, participants were randomly assigned to see one of two conversation blocks. Specifically, the four statements that were made by White students in one block were made by Black students in the second block, and vice versa. After seeing all eight portions of the conversation, participants were shown each statement from the conversation one at a time with an array of the eight students' pictures. Statements were presented in a random order and participants were simply instructed to click on the person who made the specific statement. Notably, no statements mentioned racism or diversity.

2.2.2 | Education affordances

After completing the Who-Said-What paradigm, participants were asked to imagine they were enrolled in this course and then responded to three researcher-developed items ($\alpha = 0.93$) indicating, 'How likely is it that having a racially diverse classroom ...' 'promotes more creative problem solving', 'improves classroom discussions', and 'enriches conversations and decision making' on a scale from 1 (*Very Unlikely*) to 7 (*Very Likely*).

2.3 | Results

For all studies, correlations between measures are reported in the Supplement.

2.3.1 | Who-said-what attributions

First, analyses of same- and cross-race errors were conducted as preliminary analyses to explore how conditions influenced error rates. Same-race and cross-race errors (e.g., the extent to which incorrectly attributed statements were attributed to someone who was the same race (or not) of the true speaker) were totalled separately. Cross-race errors were multiplied by 0.75 to account for there being four options for cross-race errors and only three options for same-race errors (Pietraszewski, 2018). There was no a priori hypotheses regarding the effect of condition on error rates, but rather expected racial categorization to be salient across conditions, and to replicate past research demonstrating greater same- than cross-race errors (Taylor et al., 1978). A 2 (same- vs cross-race error) $\times$ 2 (condition) mixed ANOVA was conducted. This analysis revealed a main effect of error type, $F(1,130) = 60.69$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.37$, 95% $CI_{meandiff}$ [1.17, 1.97]. Participants made more same-race errors ($M = 3.02$, $SE = 0.14$) than cross-race errors ($M = 1.45$, $SE = 0.11$). There was no effect of condition, $F(1,130) = 2.25$, $p = .14$, $d = 0.33$, 95% $CI_{meandiff}$ [−0.07, 0.51], (Instrumental: $M = 2.13$, $SE = 0.10$; Control: $M = 2.35$, $SE = 0.10$), and the interaction was not significant, $F(1,130) = 0.64$, $p = .43$, $d = 0.14$.

Next, to test the primary hypothesis, we conducted a mixed 2 (condition: instrumental, control) $\times$ 2 (speaker race: Black speaker, White speaker) ANOVA for correct attributions with condition a between-subjects factor and speaker race a within-subjects factor. Analyses revealed no main effect of condition, $F(1,130) = 2.08$, $p = .152$, $d = 0.26$, no main effect of speaker race, $F(1,130) = 3.02$, $p = .085$, $d = .031$, and a significant interaction, $F(1,130) = 5.26$, $p = .023$, $d = 0.40$. Simple effect analyses were explored by speaker race as the primary aim was to examine how conditions effected attributions of Black and White speakers. Participants correctly attributed more statements made by a Black student in the instrumental condition ($M = 1.85$, $SE = 0.13$) compared to the control condition ($M = 1.36$, $SE = 0.13$), $F(1,130) = 6.83$, $p = .010$, $d = 0.46$, 95% $CI_{meandiff}$ [0.12, 0.85]. There was no effect of condition on correctly attributing statements made by a White student (Instrumental: $M = 1.41$, $SE = 0.15$; Control: $M = 1.42$, $SE = 0.15$), $F(1,130) = 0.01$, $p = .94$, $d = 0.02$, 95% $CI_{meandiff}$ [−0.39, 0.42] (see Figure 1).

2.3.2 | Education affordances

A one-way ANOVA revealed participants reported greater perceived educational affordances in the instrumental condition ($M = 5.94$, $SE = 0.14$) compared to the control condition ($M = 5.20$, $SE = 0.14$), $F(1,129) = 13.77$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.65$, 95% CI [0.35, 1.14].
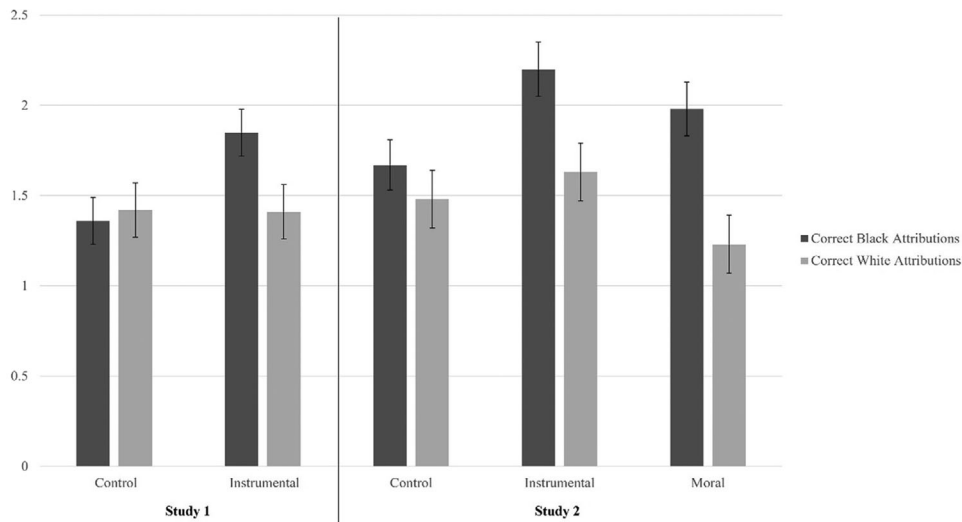
FIGURE 1 Correct attribution to White and Black speakers, Studies 1–2. Note: Error bars are standard errors

2.4 | Discussion

White participants reported greater perceived educational affordances and made more correct attributions to statements made by Black, but not White, students in an instrumental diversity rationale class compared to a control class. These findings suggest that instrumental diversity rationales highlight the educational value of marginalized group members to privileged group members. Further, White people are sensitive to this affordance, resulting in attending more to Black speakers, creating a minority spotlight (Crosby et al., 2014).

Notably, Study 1 included only a control condition in which race was not mentioned, and thus Study 1 findings could be, in part, due to only mentioning race in the instrumental condition. As such, Study 2 sought to replicate these findings and included a more rigorous control condition. Further, Study 1 recruited from an undergraduate student sample who would be most familiar with reviewing a syllabus. This sample was composed primarily of women, however. While I do not expect the present results to be a product of gender, Study 2 sought to recruit a more gender balanced sample.

3 | STUDY 2

Study 1 offered initial evidence that instrumental diversity rationales create a minority spotlight and signal the educational affordances provided by marginalized peers. Study 2 sought to replicate this effect as well as demonstrate that moral diversity rationales similarly create a minority spotlight, but via an alternative mechanism. Specifically, Study 2 examined if moral diversity ideologies make salient that the environment requires White people to create an inclusive climate for racial minorities (i.e., inclusion meta-affordances), leading to greater attention to Black speakers in a Who-Said-What paradigm. As such, it was hypothesized that White participants exposed to either an instrumental or moral diversity rationale would demonstrate more correct

attributions to Black speakers, demonstrating a minority spotlight, in the Who-Said-What paradigm compared to a control condition. Moreover, I hypothesized that White participants would see greater educational affordances provided by their marginalized peers in an instrumental diversity rationale condition (replicating Study 1) and would report greater inclusion meta-affordances in a moral diversity rationale context, relative to a control condition. Importantly, the hypotheses about these alternative pathways to the minority spotlight via educational affordances (for instrumental diversity rationales) and inclusion meta-affordances (for moral diversity rationales) were tested via parallel mediation.

3.1 | Method

3.1.1 | Participants

An a priori power analysis for a three-cell between-subjects ANOVA indicated a desired sample size of 159 to detect a medium effect ($d = 0.50$) with 80% power. A data collection stop point was set at 180 to account for exclusions although 181 participants were ultimately collected. All participants successfully completed instructional attention checks, and thus the analytic sample was 181 ($M_{age} = 42.19$, $SD = 11.63$, range: 21–72; 98 men, 83 women). All participants identified as White Americans at the beginning and end of the survey and were recruited via CloudResearch (Litman et al., 2017). A sensitivity power analysis indicated the 3-cell between-subjects ANOVA had 80% power to detect a medium effect ($d = 0.46$).

3.1.2 | Procedure

As in Study 1, participants first reviewed a syllabus. Participants were randomly assigned to the instrumental syllabus from Study 1, a

modified control syllabus, or a new moral rationale syllabus. The control syllabus was adjusted slightly from Study 1 to ensure it mentioned race. The section on 'Course Assignments' in the control condition now included a sentence that stated, 'I will assign the groups to ensure they are racially diverse.' Additionally, the manipulation check for the control condition was adjusted in Study 2, asking participants to correctly indicate if the syllabus indicated: 'Assigned groups will be racially diverse.' This was done to ensure racial identities of classmates was salient in all conditions to ensure effects in diversity rationale conditions were not merely a product of racial salience. For the moral rationale syllabus, the 'Our Course' section stated, 'Our university is strengthened by the diverse identities of our students. Equal opportunities for all foster the best conditions possible to promote dramatic and meaningful growth.'

After correctly responding to statements about the syllabus, participants completed the Study 1 Who-Said-What paradigm and measure of education affordances ($\alpha = 0.95$). Participants also completed a 3-item measure of inclusion meta-affordances ($\alpha = 0.91$). The inclusion meta-affordance items asked participants to consider they were enrolled in the course, and to indicate how likely it is that they would feel like they were, for example, 'expected to create an inclusive environment for others,' on a scale from 1(*Very Unlikely*) to 7(*Very Likely*). After, participants were probed for suspicion and debriefed.

3.2 | Results

3.2.1 | Who-said-what attributions

As in Study 1, preliminary analyses on same and cross-race errors were first conducted. Same- and cross-race errors were again separately totalled and cross-race errors were multiplied by 0.75. A 2 (same- vs cross-race error) × 3 (condition) mixed ANOVA was conducted. This analysis revealed a main effect of error type, $F(1,178) = 99.86, p < .001$, $d = 1.50$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [1.38, 2.06]. Demonstrating a reliance on race for categorizations, participants made more same-race ($M = 2.96$, $SE = 0.13$) than cross-race errors ($M = 1.24, SE = 0.09$). There was no effect of condition, $F(2,178) = 2.05, p = .13, d = 0.30$, (Instrumental: $M = 1.91, SE = 0.12$; Moral: $M = 2.19, SE = 0.12$; Control: $M = 2.21$, $SE = 0.12$), and the interaction was not significant, $F(2,178) = 0.15$, $p = .87, d = 0.06$.

Next, to test the primary hypothesis, a 3 (condition: instrumental, moral, control) × 2 (speaker race: Black speaker, White speaker) mixed ANOVA was conducted for correct attributions to Black and White speakers. Analyses revealed a main effect of speaker race, $F(1,178) = 29.53, p < .001, d = 0.81$, no main effect of condition, $F(2,178) = 2.14, p = .121, d = 0.31$, and a significant interaction, $F(2,178) = 3.09, p = .048, d = 0.38$. As in Study 1, simple effect analyses were next conducted by speaker race. There was a main effect of condition on correct attributions of statements made by Black students, $F(2,178) = 3.36, p = .037, d = 0.39$. LSD post hoc tests revealed participants correctly attributed statements made by Black students more in the instrumental condition ($M = 2.20, SE = 0.15$) than the control

condition ($M = 1.67, SE = 0.14$), $t(119) = 2.57, p = .011, d = 0.44$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [0.12, 0.93]. Correct attributions of statements by Black students did not significantly differ between the instrumental and moral rationale condition ($M = 1.98, SE = 0.15$), $t(118) = 1.06, p = .29, d = 0.21$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [−0.19, 0.62], nor between the moral and control conditions, $t(119) = 1.54, p = .13, d = 0.28$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [−0.72, 0.09]. Simple effect analyses for the effect of condition on correct attributions for White students was not significant, $F(2,178) = 1.61, p = 20, d = 0.27$ (see Figure 1). Attributions to the correct White speaker did not significantly vary across condition (Instrumental: $M = 1.63, SE = 0.16$; Moral: $M = 1.23, SE = 0.16$; Control: $M = 1.48, SE = 0.16$).

3.2.2 | Education affordances

A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect, $F(2,178) = 9.98$, $p < .001, d = 0.67$. LSD post hoc analyses revealed that participants reported greater education affordances in the instrumental statement condition ($M = 6.16, SE = 0.14$) than the control condition ($M = 5.27$, $SE = 0.14$), $t(119) = 4.58, p < .001, d = 0.84$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [0.49, 1.28], and the moral condition ($M = 5.62, SE = 0.14$), $t(118) = 2.72, p = .008$, $d = 0.51$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [0.14, 0.94]. There was no significant difference between the moral and control conditions, $t(119) = 1.74, p = .084$, $d = 0.30$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [−0.74, 0.05].

3.2.3 | Inclusion meta-affordances

A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect, $F(2,178) = 7.47$, $p = .001, d = 0.58$. LSD post hoc analyses revealed that participants reported greater inclusion meta-affordances in the moral rationale condition ($M = 5.53, SE = 0.14$) than the control condition ($M = 4.79$, $SE = 0.14$), $t(119) = 3.38, p < .001, d = 0.62$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [0.36, 1.13], and the instrumental condition ($M = 5.05, SE = 0.14$), $t(118) = 2.47$, $p = .015, d = 0.53$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [−010, 0.87]. There was no significant difference between the control and instrumental conditions, $t(119) = 1.33, p = .18, d = 0.24$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [−0.65, 0.12].

3.2.4 | Mediation

A multicategorical parallel mediation was conducted to examine the effect of conditions (Contrast 1: 0 control, 1 instrumental; Contrast 2: 0 control, 1 moral) on correct Black speaker attributions via education affordances and inclusion meta-affordances (see Figure 2). The indirect effect through inclusion meta-affordances was significant for the control vs moral contrast, $B = 0.15, SE = 0.08$, 95% CI$_{boot}$ [0.01, 0.31], but not the control vs instrumental contrast, $B = 0.05, SE = 0.04$, 95% CI$_{boot}$ [−0.03, 0.14]. Further, the indirect effect through education affordances was significant for the control vs instrumental contrast, $B = 0.19, SE = 0.08$, 95% CI$_{boot}$ [0.05, 0.36], but not the control vs moral contrast, $B = 0.08, SE = 0.06$, 95% CI$_{boot}$ [−0.02, 0.22]. This mediation process model is interpreted with caution as the direct effect of moral diversity rationales (compared to the control condition)
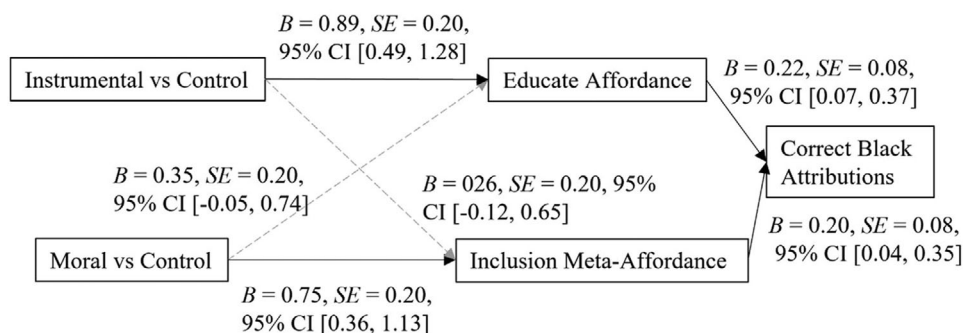
FIGURE 2 Study 2 mediation analysis

3.3 | Discussion

Replicating Study 1, White participants made more correct attributions to Black speakers following exposure to an instrumental diversity rationale compared to a control condition due, in part, to greater perceived education affordances from racially diverse classrooms. Novel to Study 2, White participants reported greater inclusion meta-affordances following exposure to a moral diversity rationale compared to a control condition. While the direct effect of moral diversity rationales on correct Black attributions was not significant, the indirect effect via inclusion meta-affordances was significant, suggesting partial support for a minority spotlight effect from moral diversity rationales.[1]

Together, these findings suggest that diversity rationales, whether moral or instrumental, may create a minority spotlight, increasing White American's attention to Black speakers, but for competing reasons. Specifically, because the moral diversity rationale is seen to cultivate an environment where privileged group members are expected to be inclusive, White participants attended more to Black speakers compared to a neutral environment, though the direct effect was not significant. In contrast, an instrumental diversity rationale signals that Black speakers offer educational value to White people, thus leading to White participants attending to Black speakers more compared to a neutral environment.

Notably, in Studies 1–2 White participants' greater attendance to Black speakers eliminated traditional findings of heightened same-race errors for outgroups (i.e., outgroup homogeneity effects). Moreover, participants actually demonstrated greater same-race errors for the ingroup, relative to the outgroup, in the diversity rationale conditions. These findings may reflect the fact that available cognitive resources

for retaining speaker identification on Black trials mitigated resources for White speaker trials. I encourage future research to further explore how diversity rationales and other intergroup motivations may meaningfully shift attention.

4 | STUDY 3

Having demonstrated that, for White participants, moral and instrumental diversity rationales, compared to a control condition, resulted in greater inclusion meta-affordances and educational affordances, respectively, Study 3 examined if participants from marginalized racial and ethnic groups anticipated greater education meta-affordances (e.g., expected to educate peers) in an instrumental compared to a moral or control context. Critically, based on the proposed model of goals signalled by these diversity rationales, it was hypothesized that Black and Latinx participants would anticipate greater educational meta-affordances from an instrumental condition relative to a moral condition, but greater inclusion in the moral condition compared to the instrumental condition. Notably, Study 3 adjusted to an organizational context as the organizational context may be more relatable to adult online samples than the academic context. Lastly, Studies 3–4 expand consideration of marginalized group members to include Black and Latinx participants. While past research on diversity rationales primarily focused on Black and White perceivers (Starck et al., 2021), Latinx people are stereotyped as similarly low-status and as more foreign than Black people in the US (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). As such, it was hypothesized that Latinx and Black participants would perceive comparable affordances and meta-affordances due to similar social status.[2]

4.1 | Method

4.1.1 | Participants

An a priori power analysis for a three-cell between-subjects ANOVA indicated a desired sample size of 159 to detect a medium effect

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[1] Supplement Study 1 replicates the effect of moral diversity rationales on inclusion meta-affordances for White Americans.

[2] Studies were not powered to test for differences between Black & Latinx Americans. I encourage future research to consider how divergent stereotype content (e.g., Zou & Cheryan, 2017) may impact meta-affordances.

($d = 0.50$) with 80% power. In all, 160 participants were recruited from MTurk but 40 participants failed three instructional attention checks and were excluded, leaving an analytic sample of 120 participants ($M_{age} = 36.08$, $SD = 10.26$; range: 19–68). The sample was primarily Black (87 Black, 33 Latinx/Hispanic) and male (69 men, 51 women). A sensitivity power analysis indicated the sample had 80% power to detect a medium-large effect ($d = 0.57$) for the 3-cell between-subjects ANOVA.

4.1.2 | Procedure

After consenting and providing demographics, participants were informed they would be reviewing information about a company and then providing their impressions. All participants saw a main page of a website for 'Smith & Simon Corporation' indicating it was a finance and insurance company with a brief profile and background (see Chaney et al., 2016; Kaiser et al., 2013). Participants saw an 'Employees' page of the website that varied by condition. In the control condition, participants read a statement on this page stating 'our community is strengthened by our employees . We are proud to have diverse employees.' In the instrumental condition, this statement was adjusted to say, 'Our community is strengthened by the diverse identities of our employees … exposing us to unfamiliar ideas, perspectives, and cultures we know the importance of learning from our diverse employees.' Finally, in the moral condition, the statement was adjusted to say, 'Our community is strengthened by the diverse identities of our employees … equal opportunities for all fosters the best conditions possible to promote dramatic and meaningful growth.'

After seeing these two pages, participants were asked to answer questions about the company, including the company's name, field, and to indicate if a statement appeared on the website as an attention check. For example, in the instrumental condition, the statement was 'We know the importance of learning from our diverse employees.' All participants correctly responded to these questions and thus advanced in the survey. Participants were then asked to complete measures of education meta-affordances and inclusion affordances before being probed for suspicion and being debriefed.

4.2 | Materials

4.2.1 | Education meta-affordances

Participants completed four researcher-developed items assessing the extent to which they believed they would be expected to enrich and educate their colleagues if they were employed at this company ($\alpha = 0.89$). On a scale from 1 (*Very Unlikely*) to 7 (*Very Likely*), participants completed items such as, 'How likely it is that you would feel like …' 'You need to provide a unique perspective for your colleagues.'

4.2.2 | Inclusion affordances

Participants completed a 6-item sense of inclusion measure ($\alpha = 0.92$) when thinking about how they would feel if they were employed by the company (adapted from Chaney et al., 2016). Participants responded to items such as, 'I would feel like I would be accepted at the company,' on a scale from 1(*Strongly Disagree*) to 7(*Strongly Agree*).

4.3 | Results

4.3.1 | Education meta-affordances

A one-way ANOVA revealed a main effects of condition, $F(2,117) = 6.58$, $p = .002$, $d = 0.67$. LSD post hoc tests revealed that participants in the instrumental condition reported greater education meta-affordances ($M = 5.53$, $SE = 0.19$) than participants in the control condition ($M = 4.78$, $SE = 0.19$), $p = .005$, $d = 0.70$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [0.24, 1.28], and compared to participants in the moral condition ($M = 4.67$, $SE = 0.18$), $p = .001$, $d = 0.76$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [0.36, 1.38]. Education meta-affordances did not differ between the control and moral conditions, $p = .67$, $d = 0.09$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [−0.62, 0.40].

4.3.2 | Inclusion affordances

A one-way ANOVA revealed a main effect of condition, $F(2,117) = 9.62$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.81$. LSD post hoc tests revealed that participants in the instrumental condition reported significantly less inclusion affordances ($M = 4.35$, $SE = 0.19$) than participants in the moral condition ($M = 5.54$, $SE = 0.19$), $p < .001$, $d = 0.96$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [0.65, 1.72], and the control condition ($M = 4.99$, $SE = 0.19$), $p = .023$, $d = 0.49$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [0.09, 1.18]. Participants reported greater inclusion affordances in the moral condition than the control condition, $p = .044$, $d = 0.50$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [0.01, 1.08].

4.4 | Discussion

In line with hypotheses, Black and Latinx participants reported lower inclusion affordances and greater education meta-affordances in an instrumental compared to a moral or control diversity rationale context. Additionally, moral diversity rationales were associated with greater inclusion affordances compared to the control condition but did not significantly differ in education meta-affordances.

5 | STUDY 4

Together, findings from Studies 1–3 support the assertion that diversity rationales signal affordances, and their inverse meta-affordances, to which marginalized and privileged social groups are sensitive. Study

4 had two final aims. First, Study 4 sought to demonstrate that not only do Black and Latinx participants report greater educational meta-affordances from instrumental diversity rationales, but these educational meta-affordances are associated with a greater sense of minority spotlight. That is, as past research has found that Black participants report feeling a minority spotlight, for example, needing to serve as the voice for 'diversity', particularly in conversations around race (Crosby & Monin, 2013; Crosby et al., 2008, 2014), Study 4 examined if educational meta-affordances from instrumental diversity rationales increase minority spotlight anticipation. The second aim of Study 4 was to test if the educational meta-affordances and proposed minority spotlight anticipation stemming from an instrumental diversity rationale may be ameliorated in a more racially diverse context. That is, when there is greater representation of marginalized racial groups, feelings of minority spotlight should dampen for marginalized racial groups.

Thus, Study 4 sought to replicate findings of Black and Latinx participants' education meta-affordances stemming from instrumental diversity rationales identified in Study 3, as well as to examine if these related to anticipated minority spotlight, *only in a racially homogenous context*. As the focus was on ameliorating these negative outcomes of instrumental diversity rationales, Study 4 included only the instrumental and a control diversity rationale context.

5.1 | Method

5.1.1 | Participants

An a priori power analysis for a 2 (diversity rationale: instrumental, control) × 2 (diversity: racially homogenous, racially diverse) between-subjects design indicated a desired sample size of 128 to detect a medium effect ($d = 0.50$) with 80% power. In anticipation of exclusions, a data collection stop point was set at 180, although data collection ended at 184 participants due to an error. Participants were recruited from Prolific and 10 were excluded from analysis for failing three instructional attention check questions leaving an analytic sample of 174 ($M_{age} = 30.46$, $SD = 10.48$, range: 18–70). The sample included 90 men, 82 women, and two non-binary participants, and 87 participants identified as Latinx/Hispanic, 83 identified as Black/African-American, and four identified as Black-Latinx biracial.

5.1.2 | Procedure

As in Study 3, participants consented, provided demographics, and learned they would be viewing information about a company. Participants were then randomly presented with either the control or instrumental company from Study 3. However, prior to completing the attention check items, participants were presented with a third page of the website that presented a bar graph of the employee demographics at the company. Participants were randomly assigned to see a company that was either racially diverse or not. In both conditions, bar graphs

indicated that the company's employees were 65% men (35% women) and 52% were over 45 years of age. In the not racially diverse condition, participants saw that 83% of the company's employees were White, 4% were Black, and 3% were Latinx (with 10% not provided). In the racially diverse condition, participants saw that 22% of the employees were Black, 22% were Latinx, and 56% were White.[3] Participants then completed True/False questions about the racial and age demographics of the employees in addition to the attention check items from Study 3.

After, participants completed Study 3 education meta-affordances ($\alpha = 0.88$) and inclusion affordances ($\alpha = 0.91$) measures. Lastly, participants completed a measure of minority spotlight (Crosby et al., 2014) before being probed for suspicion and debriefed.[4] Participants completed a 4-item measure of minority spotlight ($\alpha = 0.87$; Crosby et al., 2014). For this measure, participants were asked to consider what it would be like to be an employee at this company and responded to items indicating how likely it is that for example, 'you are the focus of your colleagues' attention, as if there was a "spotlight" on you' on a scale from 1(*Very Unlikely*) – 7(*Very Likely*).

5.2 | Results

5.2.1 | Education meta-affordances

A 2 × 2 between-subjects ANOVA revealed no main effect of diversity rationale condition, $F(1,170) = 0.62$, $p = .43$, $d = 0.13$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [−0.49, 0.21], a significant effect of diversity, $F(1,170) = 5.32$, $p = .022$, $d = 0.35$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [0.06, 0.76], and a significant diversity rationale × diversity interaction, $F(1,170) = 8.20$, $p = .005$, $d = 0.44$. Simple effect analyses by organizational diversity revealed no effect of diversity rationale in the racially diverse organization (Instrumental: $M = 4.47$, $SE = 0.20$; Control: $M = 4.84$, $SE = 0.20$), $F(1,86) = 1.77$, $p = .19$, $d = 0.29$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [−0.18, 0.92]. There was a significant effect of diversity rationale in the not racially diverse organization, $F(1,84) = 8.66$, $p = .004$, $d = 0.64$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [0.21, 1.09], such that participants reported greater education meta-affordances in the instrumental ($M = 5.39$, $SE = 0.15$) than the control statement organization ($M = 4.74$, $SE = 0.16$). See Figure 3.

5.2.2 | Inclusion affordances

The 2 × 2 between-subjects ANOVA revealed a main effect of diversity rationale condition, $F(1,170) = 5.32$, $p = .022$, $d = 0.35$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [0.05, 0.70], a main effect of organizational diversity, $F(1,170) = 40.43$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.97$, 95% CI$_{meandiff}$ [0.71, 1.36], and a significant interaction, $F(1,170) = 4.09$, $p = .045$, $d = 0.31$. Simple effect analyses analysed by organizational diversity revealed no effect of diversity rationale in the racially diverse organization (Instrumental: $M = 4.83$, $SE = 0.16$;

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[3] Other groups were not included to focus on racial minority groups that reflected participants' racial groups.
[4] Participants also completed a measure of 'true commitment to diversity'. Results are presented in the Supplement.
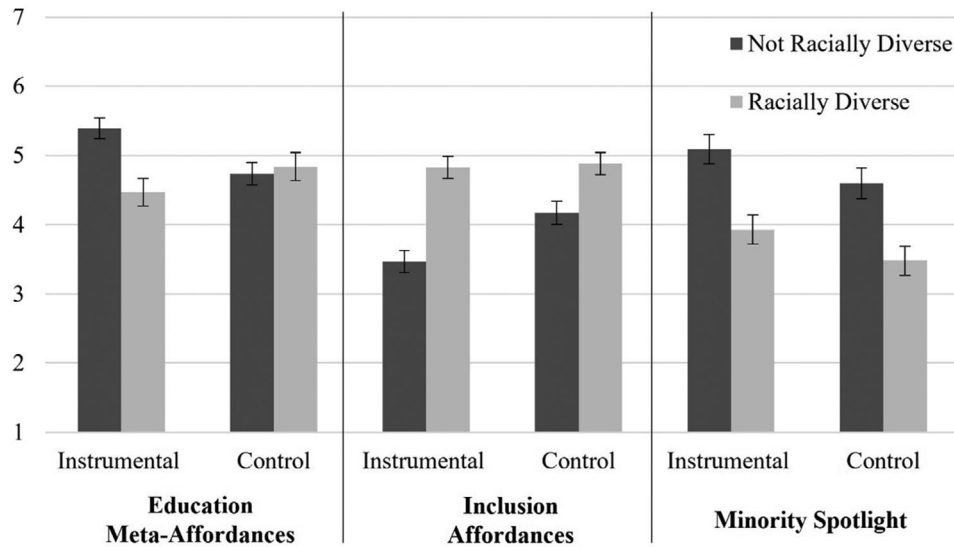
FIGURE 3 Study 4 condition effects

Control: $M = 4.88$, $SE = 0.16$, $F(1,86) = 0.03$, $p = .86$, $d = 0.06$, 95% $CI_{meandiff}$ [−0.48, 0.57]. There was a significant effect of diversity rationales in the less racially diverse organization condition, $F(1,84) = 13.71$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.81$, 95% $CI_{meandiff}$ [0.33, 1.08]. Participants reported lower inclusion affordances in the instrumental ($M = 3.47$, $SE = 0.16$) than the control statement condition ($M = 4.17$, $SE = 0.17$).

5.2.3 | Minority spotlight

The 2×2 between-subjects ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of diversity rationale, $F(1,170) = 5.04$, $p = .026$, $d = 0.35$, 95% $CI_{meandiff}$ [0.06, 0.90], and a main effect of organizational diversity, $F(1,170) = 28.67$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.82$, 95% $CI_{meandiff}$ [0.72, 1.56]. Participants anticipated that they would be in the spotlight more in the instrumental condition ($M = 4.51$, $SE = 0.15$) than in the control condition ($M = 4.04$, $SE = 0.15$), and that they would be in the spotlight more in the not racially diverse organization ($M = 4.85$, $SE = 0.15$) than in the racially diverse organization ($M = 3.71$, $SE = 0.15$). The interaction was not significant, $F(1,170) = 0.01$, $p = .92$, $d = 0.02$.

5.3 | Discussion

In Study 4, instrumental diversity rationales signalled educational meta-affordances that were associated with greater anticipated minority spotlight, demonstrating an awareness of White attention on marginalized group members evidenced in Studies 1–2. Moreover, instrumental diversity rationales were associated with greater education meta-affordances and fewer inclusion affordances *only* in a context that was not racially diverse. This pattern of effects suggests that while marginalized group members anticipate feeling more in the spotlight in an instrumental diversity rationale context regardless of the demographics of the context, instrumental diversity rationales only con-

tributed to decreased inclusion affordances and greater educational meta-affordances in contexts that were not racially diverse. That is, greater representation of marginalized group ameliorated feelings that they personally were expected to educate their privileged counterparts and boosted inclusion.

6 | GENERAL DISCUSSION

Past research has demonstrated that organizations may rationalize their support for diversity for either instrumental or moral reasoning (Starck et al., 2021). Instrumental diversity rationales focus on the educational value gained from a diverse group, while moral diversity rationales focus on principles and values which support diversity and inclusion. In doing so, instrumental diversity rationales make salient that diversity is meant to boost the educational value of the context (i.e., the addition of marginalized racial group members to a predominately White context offers educational value) while moral diversity rationales make salient that diversity is meant to offer equal opportunities (i.e., provide equitable opportunities for marginalized racial groups). While past research has demonstrated that White Americans prefer instrumental rationales and Black Americans prefer moral rationales (Starck et al., 2021), the present research sought to demonstrate how diversity rationales shift privileged and racial group members' perceptions of what they are expected to offer the context and what they are expected to gain from the context.

In two studies, the present research found that White people attended to Black speakers, operationalized as correct attributions to Black speakers during a Who-Said-What paradigm, more in contexts with an instrumental diversity rationale, and indirectly with a moral diversity rationale, compared to a control condition. These findings support past research on a minority spotlight effect, such that when racism is mentioned, White participants attend to Black speakers (Crosby & Monin, 2013; Crosby et al., 2008). Yet, the present

research demonstrated a context cue that highlighted that racial diversity, namely diversity rationales, created a minority spotlight. Moreover, past research on the minority spotlight effect has argued that this attention on racial minorities after mentions of racism occurs because of targeted social referencing (Crosby et al., 2008). That is, White onlookers view racial minorities as 'experts' on matters related to racism, and thus seek information from them to assess potentially ambiguous situations (Crosby & Monin, 2013).

Yet, the present research argues that White people may look to marginalized group members not just to learn how to navigate an ambiguous racial situation, but because of a narrative about the educational value of diversity (Bowman, 2010) or because of expected inclusive and egalitarian norms. Specifically, instrumental diversity rationales signalled to White people that Black speakers were useful instruments in furthering their education (i.e., signalled educational affordances; Studies 1–2), which in turn was associated with greater attention paid to Black speakers. In contrast, moral diversity rationales signalled to White people that they were expected to facilitate creating an inclusive context (i.e., signalled inclusive meta-affordances; Study 2), which in turn was associated with greater attention paid to Black speakers. Thus, while both diversity rationales indirectly increased White people's attention to Black speakers, instrumental diversity rationales did so because White people viewed Black speakers as instruments, while moral diversity rationales did so because White people were seeking to be (or appear) inclusive. Such effects in response to moral diversity rationales are in line with past research that has found that White participants may overcompensate in interracial interactions by smiling and nodding more in efforts to appear inclusive and egalitarian (e.g., Mendes & Koslov, 2013). That is, in an attempt to be more inclusive, White participants may increase engagement with marginalized racial group members, demonstrated here by greater attention to Black speakers (Study 2).

Importantly, the present research found that Black and Latinx participants were similarly sensitive to inverse affordances and meta-affordances. That is, while White people perceived educational affordances, Black and Latinx people perceived educational meta-affordances from instrumental diversity rationales; while White people perceived inclusion meta-affordances, Black and Latinx people perceived inclusion affordances from moral diversity rationales. Moreover, White participants demonstrated greater attention to Black speakers, and Black and Latinx participants anticipated greater attention on them (i.e., minority spotlight) in instrumental diversity rationale contexts. Importantly, greater racial diversity in contexts ameliorated expectations for marginalized racial group members that they needed to serve as educators for their peers and increased inclusive affordances in instrumental diversity rationale contexts.

6.1 | Implications and future research

The present research offers a critical downstream consequence of diversity rationales: greater White attention to Black speakers. Notably, as past research has found that people do not often attend to

outgroup or marginalized speakers at the same rate as ingroup or privileged speakers (e.g., Greenstein et al., 2016; Sesko & Biernat, 2010), the present findings could be construed as a positive. That is, diversity rationales may work to amplify Black voices to White peers, an effect which could educate White people on the perspectives of marginalized group members.

Yet, this greater attention can have negative implications for marginalized racial group members. For example, greater self-reported feelings of the minority spotlight effect were associated with more negative emotions for Black Americans (Crosby et al., 2014). Similarly, viewing Black Americans as instruments for learning could mitigate awareness of the humanness of Black Americans, representing a form of dehumanization (LaCroix & Pratto, 2015). Lastly, research on interracial interactions has found that White Americans most often focus on being perceived as moral and Black Americans focus on being perceived as competent in Black-White interactions (Bergsieker et al., 2010). As such, moral diversity rationales could amplify White people's moral concerns and instrumental diversity rationales could amplify marginalized group members' competency concerns. Importantly, research has found that performance goals (which could be intensified by instrumental diversity rationales) increase identity threat for Black Americans engaging in interactions with White Americans relative to learning goals (Green et al., 2021). Moreover, White Americans' increased efforts to demonstrate positivity to marginalized groups (which could occur under moral diversity rationales) are not always effective or ultimately positive (e.g., Dupree & Fiske, 2019). As such, the creation of a minority spotlight via diversity rationales may ultimately lead to more negative intergroup outcomes.

Further research is therefore needed to better understand the implications of diversity rationales for not only Whites' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours directed at marginalized racial groups, but also the effects of this language and White peoples' shifting gaze on marginalized group members' well-being and cognition. Indeed, the present research found that moral diversity rationales were associated with greater feelings of inclusion for marginalized racial groups relative to instrumental or control contexts. This effect reflects expectations of others: caregivers and college admissions workers expected Black students would be happier, healthier, and perform better in a moral compared to an instrumental diversity rationale context (Starck et al., 2021). Thus, it is imperative for future research to ascertain more clearly the motivations for organizations' use of these varied diversity rationales given their divergent outcomes for marginalized racial group members, and to understand how these diversity rationales shape day-to-day behaviour of privileged and marginalized group members in such contexts.

7 | CONCLUSION

Across four studies, the present research demonstrated that instrumental diversity rationales signal that marginalized racial groups afford privileged racial groups educational opportunities while moral diversity rationales signal that privileged racial groups were expected to

create an inclusive environment. Marginalized racial group members also attended to these diversity rationales in inverse ways: perceiving greater inclusion opportunities with moral diversity rationales and greater expectations to provide educational opportunities for others with instrumental diversity rationales. Via these divergent pathways, diversity rationales created a minority spotlight on Black speakers to which marginalized racial group members were sensitive. This research extends research on perceptions of diversity rationales (Starck et al., 2021) and considers downstream implications.

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