

PERCEPTIONS OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL MOTIVATIONS TO
RESPOND WITHOUT PREJUDICE BASED ON APPLICANT RACE

By

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A Thesis Submitted to The Honors College

In Partial Fulfillment of the Bachelors degree
With Honors in

Psychological Science

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

M A Y 2 0 2 1

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Abstract

The current study investigated whether target applicants' race and race disclosure in diversity statements affected the evaluator's perceptions of internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice (PIMS/PEMS). Participants were presented with both a fictitious student applicant profile and diversity statement, posed as written by the applicant. To operationalize race and race disclosure, participants ($N = 265$) were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: (1) a diversity statement by a Black applicant without disclosing race, (2) a diversity statement by a White applicant without disclosing race, (3) a diversity statement by a Black applicant disclosing race, or (4) a diversity statement by a White applicant disclosing race. The results indicated that participants were more likely to perceive Black applicants as more internally motivated than White applicants. Furthermore, White applicants were more likely to be perceived as externally motivated than Black applicants. The findings suggest that methods to increase diversity within institutions may not be as effective as originally thought. There is a risk of focusing primarily on the race of the applicant. Evaluators may favor Black applicants, who are perceived as more internally motivated and "genuinely" motivated, placing more academic pressure on Black students and maintaining the trend of ignoring Black applicants' actual potential as students.

Introduction

Values of diversity have become increasingly important to institutions, reflected in the use of diversity statements to determine whether students are suited to be admitted. Diversity statements are commonly used in graduate school applications, requiring applicants to explain their personal experiences with diversity. Accordingly, some universities aim to evaluate student applicants on how well they express their values for diversity or inclusivity. It may be difficult for evaluators to know if what the writer discusses in the essay is intrinsic to the applicant (i.e., the applicant is *internally motivated* to ___) or to appear desirable (i.e., the applicant is *externally motivated* to ___), especially when the matter at hand is one's commitment to egalitarian values. Because they are unable to measure applicants' true motivations from solely reading statements, evaluators must instead base standards on their own perceptions. Although evaluators are expected to take unbiased, fair approaches in their examinations, they are still susceptible to their preconceived notions and biases.

Several studies have shown that non-relevant factors in the application process, such as race, indeed influence an evaluator's decision during the assessment process, suggesting that race may play a larger role than the contents and quality of the application (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Pager, Bonikowski, & Western, 2009). This is especially an issue when evaluators assess whether applicants are internally or externally motivated to respond without prejudice when describing their experiences with diversity. As a result, evaluators using their perceptions of applicant motivations risk making racially charged decisions when considering applicants' eligibility, rather than the applicant's egalitarian values. Such methods may put particular racial groups at a disadvantage. As such, the current study examines whether an applicant's race and

the disclosure of race within the statement will influence the evaluator's perceptions of the applicant's motivations to respond without prejudice.

Exposure to Race in the Evaluation Process

Studies conducted within the workplace context may provide insight into the potential mechanisms of the graduate application process. In job hiring settings, evaluators can access applicants' demographic information, including race, through application contents, such as *curricula vitae* or statement essays. Although institutions do not have the same means to see a participant's race, materials instructing applicants to disclose personal experiences such as diversity statements can provide insight into the applicant's demographics. Race can play a large role in the applicant evaluation and acceptance process. Hiring bias influenced by racism often puts people of color at a disadvantage compared to their White peers. Past studies have manipulated names on resumes to portray race, such that the content and quality of the resumes remained constant but displayed either a stereotypically White name or a stereotypically Black name. The authors found that resumes with stereotypically White names had significantly higher callback rates than Black names (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). A similar study found that Black and Latine applicants with no criminal record were still less likely to be hired than White applicants who have been to prison (Pager, Bonikowski, & Western, 2009).

These studies suggest that race may play a key role in the application process by influencing an evaluator's assessment of whether an applicant should be accepted. When diversity statements are required as application materials, applicants may discuss the significance of inclusivity, which can include personal experiences with racial diversity. Applicants, especially those who are people of color, may discuss their own identities and experiences as racial minorities. Race salience may activate racial biases, which will put non-White people of

color at a disadvantage. In addition to being influenced by race, evaluators may rely on their perceptions of the applicant's motivations without prejudice to judge the applicants' responses about the significance of racial diversity.

Internal and External Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice

In the context of diversity statements, evaluators must gauge the applicant's motivations in contributing to inclusivity and diversity and why such topics are personally important. Coined by Plant and Devine (1998), internal and external motivations to respond without prejudice measure the extent to which people are motivated to respond without prejudice by the social context and their personal values. Individuals high in the internal motivation to respond without prejudice scale (IMS) tend to act upon their intrinsic or personal beliefs. In contrast, individuals high in the external motivation to respond without prejudice scale (EMS) strive to avoid negative reactions from others around them.

Significant patterns and trends have been identified with respect to internal and external motivations. Studies have found that, in priming participants with either Black or White faces, the more internally motivated one is the more likely they are to act in an egalitarian manner following exposure to a racial minority's face. Specifically, participants were more likely to reduce activation of racial stereotypes, which was moderated by the willingness to act more egalitarian (Johns, Cullum, Smith, & Freng, 2008). Another study examining the links between motivations and colorblind racial attitudes among White psychology trainees found that those who scored high in IMS were less likely to hold colorblind attitudes and were more aware of blatant and institutional racism as well as White privilege. Conversely, those scoring high in EMS were more likely to deny or minimize institutional racism (Gushue, Walker, & Brewster, 2017). These studies suggest that those high in IMS are more likely to actively act egalitarian in

the presence of racial minorities, as well as be more aware of racial issues. As such, evaluators may be inclined to favor applicants who they perceive as more internally motivated, who might be more likely to communicate their egalitarianism and awareness of social issues surrounding race.

Although Gushue and colleagues (2017) found that those high in EMS were less likely to be aware of institutional racism, research has not shown that EMS predicts a person's prejudice levels. Being externally motivated does not necessarily make one more or less willing to avoid prejudice. Individuals who are high in IMS but low in EMS also intend to be free of prejudice, likely to be interested in lowering both detectable and undetectable forms of prejudice. On the other hand, those who are high in external motivation and low in internal motivation are more interested in reducing detectable prejudice than undetectable prejudice (Plant & Devine, 2009). In other words, those high in EMS are more likely to reduce detectable prejudice, rather than having no interest to reduce prejudice at all. When examining diversity statements, evaluators must use their *perceptions* of such motivations to gauge whether participants are truly interested in diversity or are attempting to distance themselves from prejudice to appear favorable. Evaluator's perceptions, particularly white evaluator's perceptions, may not match applicants' true motivations.

Previous studies have investigated perceptions of motivations, particularly from minority populations' points of view. Due to the historical treatment and attitudes towards people of color in the U.S., minority populations may view non-prejudiced behavior from White people as disingenuous. Indeed, studies have shown that minorities, specifically African American or Black and Hispanic or Latine participants, were more likely to perceive White peoples' behavior as being externally motivated to respond without prejudice (Major, Sawyer, & Kunstman, 2011).

Additionally, minorities are likely to be suspicious of White peoples' motivations to act without prejudice and are often accurate in scoring White people to be externally motivated (LaCosse et al., 2015). However, it is unclear whether White individuals suspect other Whites to be more externally motivated. White people are likely to have different conceptions of race and perceived motivations, perhaps highlighted by the hiring bias studies (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Pager, Bonikowski, & Western, 2009), but research has yet to be conducted in the differences of perceptions of applicant motivations between a racial minority applicant and a racial majority applicant.

IMS/ EMS in Academic Settings

Measuring motivations also depict noticeable correlations in the academic setting. When evaluators were asked to assess the essays of students, Black students were more likely to receive less negative feedback and critique than White students (Croft & Schmader, 2012). Evaluators holding back from giving students critique they need may think they are avoiding racism, but risk misleading students by giving them inadequate critique. Other studies found that possible consequences may include an advisor's "failure to warn." School faculty, such as advisors, may be aware that students who are people of color are often underestimated and discriminated against due to stereotypes regarding their ethnicity or race. As a result, advisors may avoid discouraging remarks or showing doubt that will prevent students from taking on challenging workloads (Monin & Crosby, 2006). Unfortunately, doing so prevents minority students from preparing for the difficulties they may face in future classes. As a result, fear of appearing prejudiced may be holding the student back from improving or reaching their full potential. When assessing diversity statements, evaluators may find themselves attempting to reduce their own prejudices more when faced with a Black applicant than a White applicant. As a result,

evaluators may provide different feedback to Black and White applicants. Withholding critical and necessary feedback from Black students can leave them ill-prepared for their endeavors and create academic struggles. Without receiving the advice needed from mentors, students are unable to improve and excel, even while pursuing their education after being accepted into a program.

The Current Study

Previous research has examined links between motivations and behaviors such as attitudes and bias; however, these processes have not been examined in the context of diversity statements. Hiring bias studies have suggested that race does have the potential to influence an evaluator's decision (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Pager, Bonikowski, & Western, 2009). Internal and external motivations predict a person's bias and attempt to control their prejudice, which can influence their behaviors in guiding applicants within the academic setting (Monin & Crosby, 2006; Croft & Schmader, 2012). White people are also more likely to be perceived as externally motivated by minorities (Major, Sawyer, & Kunstman, 2011). Although past studies have inspected how race influences participants' motivations to appear unprejudiced and racially aware, little to no research has been conducted examining how race may influence evaluators' perceptions of applicant motivations. Furthermore, there is a lack of literature on whether race disclosure, where race is not simply made salient but rather explicitly indicated within application materials, affects perceptions as well. Considering that racially biased decisions may occur in the evaluation process (as seen in hiring bias and internal/external motivation research), and the manner in which race has been found to influence perceptions of egalitarian motives, the current study investigated whether the race of the applicant and race disclosure impacted evaluator's perceived motivations to respond without prejudice. Based on previous studies, we

hypothesized that evaluators would be more likely to perceive the White applicant as more externally motivated and the Black applicant as more internally motivated. We also thought that perhaps self-disclosure of one's race in a diversity statement might exacerbate these perceived motives.

Methods

Participants

We pre-registered the study prior to data collection (available at <https://aspredicted.org/blind.php?x=pq3ij6>). A total of 285 participants took the study. Part of the sample included 160 undergraduate students at a large public university, who participated in the study in exchange for course credits. The remaining 125 participants completed the study through Prolific, a website that offers subjects monetary compensation for their time. The sample was limited to self-identified White participants, as prior research suggests that White participants will most likely be influenced by the applicant's stated race (Johns, Cullum, Smith, & Freng, 2008; Li, Cardenas-Iniguez, Correll, & Cloutier, 2016). Out of the 285 participants who took part in the study, 20 participants were excluded for leaving incomplete questions ($N = 265$). As a result, 54 non-white participants were excluded from the sample. The final sample of 211 participants consisted of 131 women, 74 men, 3 trans-men, and 3 non-binary individuals. Participants' average age of 25 years old, ranging from 18 to 70 years old.

Procedure & Materials

Participants completed the study on Qualtrics, an online survey platform. A 2 (applicant race: White vs. Black) x 2 (disclosure: race disclosed in statement vs. race not disclosed in statement) study design was used. Participants were instructed to act as evaluators assessing an undergraduate applicant's diversity statement. A composite diversity statement (created by

integrating common themes pulled from real student diversity statements) was paired with a fictitious student profile that indicated the student's academic standing, accomplishments, and demographic information (see Appendices A-D). Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: (1) a diversity statement written by a Black applicant without race disclosed in statement (Appendix A), (2) a diversity statement written by a White applicant without race disclosed in statement (Appendix B), (3) a diversity statement written by a Black applicant with race disclosed in statement (Appendix C), and (4) a diversity statement written by a White applicant with race disclosed in statement (Appendix D). Each profile includes a fake image of the "applicant." All images were taken from the Face Research Lab's London Set database, with the faces matched for attractiveness (DeBruine & Jones, 2017). The images were also photoshopped with a background showing a spot on campus and to depict the applicant wearing a dress shirt to look like a cover photo (Himanshu, 2019). Participants were told that the images did not depict the actual applicant for anonymity reasons but did match the demographic information of the applicant (i.e., gender and race).

After being presented with the diversity statement, participants were instructed to evaluate the applicant's writing by answering the Evaluations of Statement Quality scale, followed by the Global Statement Quality scale and Global Credential Quality Scale. Participants were also asked to complete an Applicant Recommendation scale to indicate whether they would recommend the applicant to a graduate program and their perceptions of the applicant's ability to contribute to diversity and inclusion goals of a program.

Participants were then asked to answer questions evaluating the student applicant, consisting of the Perceived Internal and External Motivations to Respond without Prejudice (PIMS/PEMS) scales (Major, Sawyer, & Kunstman, 2011). The scales were used to evaluate the

participants' perceptions of the applicant's motivations. Next, participants answered questions examining their own biases and motivations with the Bias Awareness scale and the Internal and External Motivations to Respond Without Prejudice (IMS/EMS) scales, respectively (Perry et al., 2015; Plant & Devine, 1998). The Bias Awareness and IMS/EMS scales were placed at the end of the study in order to account for any potential social desirability biases.

Measures

All of the following measures were provided in the same order, as they were to participants. However, the IMS/EMS and Bias Awareness scales at the end were shown in randomized order to the participants to account for social desirability biases. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions containing a diversity statement and student profile. After being exposed to the diversity statement and student profiles, participants provided statement feedback by completing measures examining statement quality. Participants started with the Evaluation of Statement Quality Scale (Appendix E), which included 7 items with a 6-point-Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Next, the participants were asked to provide an overall score for the applicant's diversity statement with the 1-item Global Statement Quality scale (Appendix F) ranging from 0 (extremely poor) to 100 (excellent). A single-item Global Credential Quality scale (Appendix F) was included to assess the participants' scores for the applicant's credentials, also ranging from 0 (extremely poor) to 100 (excellent). The 4-item Applicant Recommendation scale ($\alpha = 0.818$; Appendix G) included three questions on a 7-point-Likert scale assessing likelihood to recommend the applicant for university admission, likelihood of the applicant to commit to diversity, and likelihood of the applicant to create an inclusive environment for students of other racial/ ethnic minority groups.

There was also one open-ended response question asking participants to note “What aspects of the application had the most impact on your decision?”

Participants were then asked to evaluate the applicant’s perceived motives to respond without prejudice, which was measured with the 10-item PIMS/PEMS (Appendix H) scales using a 7-point-Likert scale from 0 (completely disagree) to 6 (completely agree). Five of the items measured perceived internal motivation ($\alpha = 0.834$) of the applicant, with statements such as “It is personally important to the applicant not to be prejudiced.” The other five measured perceived external motivation ($\alpha = 0.824$) of the applicant, such as “The applicant feels pressure from others to act non-prejudiced” (Major, Sawyer, & Kunstman, 2013). After gathering participants’ perceived motivations, they were presented with the Bias Awareness scale ($\alpha = 0.774$; Appendix J), consisting of 4 items on a 7-point-Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) (Perry, Murphy, & Dovidio, 2015). Participants’ motivations were collected with the 10-item IMS/EMS (Appendix I), which was answered on a 7-point-Likert scale ranging from 0 (completely disagree) to 6 (completely agree). Like the PIMS/ PEMS scale, half of the items measured internal motivation ($\alpha = 0.838$) while the other half measured external motivation ($\alpha = 0.848$; Plant & Devine, 1998).

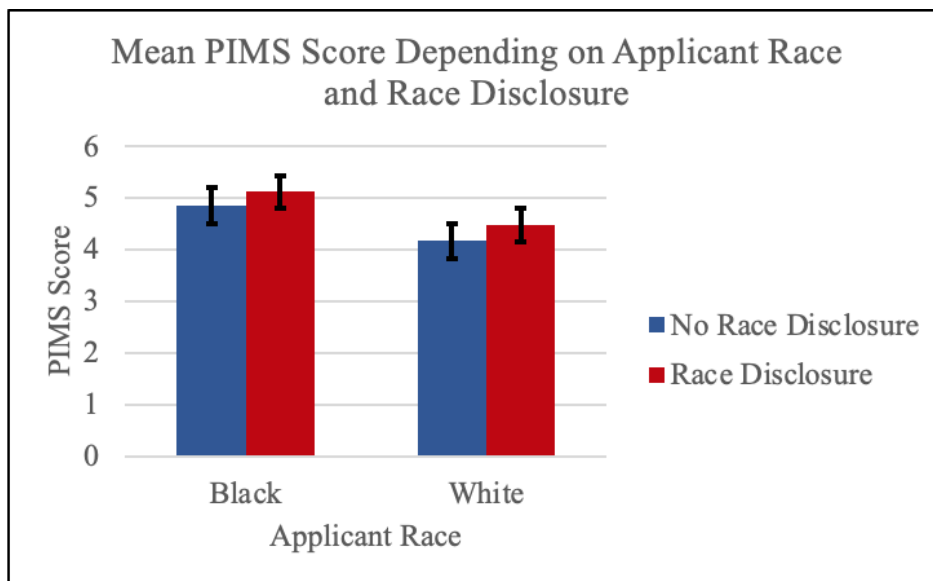
Results

Perceptions of Internal and External Motivation

As pre-registered, a factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to examine whether race and race disclosure within a diversity statement affected perceptions of internal motivation. No race x race disclosure interaction was observed, $F(1, 207) = 0.480, p = 0.826$. Consistent with our hypotheses, there was a significant main effect of race on PIMS, $F(1, 207) = 38.672, p < 0.001$, as well as a significant effect of race disclosure on PIMS, $F(1, 207) = 3.936,$

$p = 0.049$. Participants perceived Black applicants as more internally motivated ($M = 5.02, SD = 0.740$) than White applicants ($M = 4.35, SD = 0.824$). Additionally, those who disclosed their race ($M = 4.80, SD = 0.754$) were seen as more internally motivated than those who did not ($M = 4.58, SD = 0.809$).

Figure 1. Mean PIMS Scores separated by applicants’ race and race disclosure in a diversity statement.

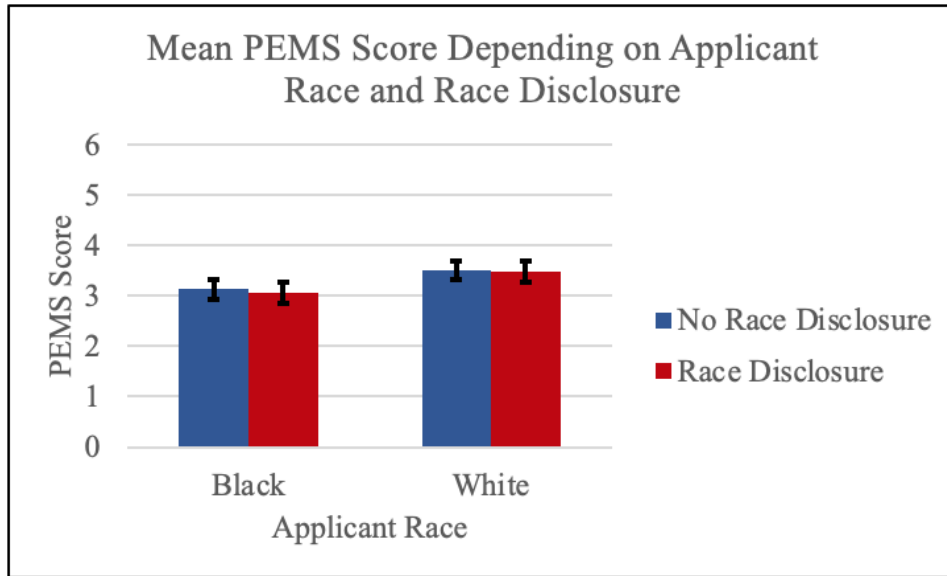


Note: Error bars represent the standard error.

An additional factorial ANOVA was similarly conducted to examine whether race and race disclosure within a diversity statement affected perceptions of external motivations. Once again, no significant interaction was observed between race x race disclosure, $F(1, 207) = 0.017, p = 0.895$. There was not a significant effect of disclosure on PEMS $F(1, 207) = 0.143, p = 0.706$. However, and consistent with our hypotheses, there was a significant main effect of race on PEMS, $F(1, 207) = 5.614, p = 0.019$. Participants were more likely to perceive White

applicants ($M = 3.49, SD = 1.170$) as more externally motivated than Black applicants ($M = 3.09, SD = 1.275$).

Figure 2. Mean PEMS Scores separated by applicants' race and race disclosure in a diversity statement.



Note: Error bars represent the standard error.

Exploratory Analyses: Applicant Recommendations

Additional exploratory factorial ANOVAs yielded a race x disclosure interaction effect on statement quality, $F(1, 207) = 5.716, p = 0.018$. Probing of the interaction revealed that the effect was driven by White applicants, such that participants gave White applicants who disclosed their race ($M = 81.72, SD = 12.156$) higher scores on statement quality rather than those who did not disclose race ($M = 72.28, SD = 18.505$). However, participants still gave Black applicants ($M = 84.56, SD = 11.996$) higher overall scores than White applicants ($M = 76.86, SD = 16.371$).

There was also a significant main effect of race on likelihood to recommend the applicant to a University graduate program, $F(1, 207) = 18.294, p < .001$. Participants were more likely to recommend Black applicants ($M = 5.75, SD = 0.996$) rather than White applicants ($M = 5.05, SD = 1.346$). A significant main effect of race was found on likelihood of the applicant who would positively contribute to diversity if admitted, $F(1, 207) = 89.777, p < .001$. Participants rated Black applicants ($M = 6.27, SD = 0.781$) as more likely to contribute to diversity to the university compared to White applicants ($M = 4.70, SD = 1.520$). Finally, a significant main effect of race was found on how likely the applicant would be to create a University environment that is more inclusive to students of other minority racial/ ethnic groups, $F(1, 207) = 91.377, p < .001$. Participants perceived Black applicants ($M = 6.33, SD = 0.854$) as more likely to create an inclusive environment for other minority racial/ ethnic groups compared to White applicants ($M = 4.92, SD = 1.288$).

Discussion

The results supported the hypothesis that White participants were more likely to perceive Black applicants as higher in internal motivation compared to White applicants, whereas White applicants were more likely to be perceived as higher in external motivation compared to Black applicants. In other words, participants perceived Black applicants as more personally motivated to respond without prejudice and White applicants as more likely to avoid prejudice in order to appear favorable. Participants also perceived applicants who disclosed their race as more internally motivated. However, race disclosure did not significantly influence perceived external motivations. This could be a result of the diversity statement's contents discussed diversity and inclusion, prompting participants to be more likely to rate White applicants as internally motivated ($M = 4.35, SD = 0.824$) rather than externally motivated ($M = 3.49, SD = 1.170$).

Furthermore, racial disclosure in the form of racially coded words (i.e., “inner-city”) that trigger negative racial stereotypes might play a larger role than the one-sentence, simple race disclosure employed in the current study (Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005).

Race and race disclosure also interacted to a point where participants provided higher scores to White applicants who disclosed their race compared to Whites who did not disclose their race. This may be a case of ingroup bias, where making race salient created favorable attitudes in the participant towards White applicants (Castano, Yzerbyt, Paladino, & Sacchi, 2002). However, participants still gave Black applicants higher scores of statement quality, indicating that positive bias may have had a stronger effect. Furthermore, results indicated participants were more likely to: recommend Black applicants to a graduate program, find Black applicants more likely to contribute to diversity, and more likely to believe that Black applicants would create a diverse environment for other minority students in comparison to White applicants.

These results reflected similar findings with previous research that observed White people tend to react positively in intergroup interactions by overcorrecting their biased responses in attempts to appear non-prejudiced to the minority group (Mendes & Koslov, 2013). Whites may attempt to overcompensate by rating Black applicants more positively in comparison to White applicants. Such methods may appear positive, in that Whites are actively mindful of attempting to control their biases to avoid racial prejudice. However, seemingly positive methods can backfire.

White evaluators allowing race to influence their perceptions of applicants reduces the goal of increasing egalitarianism in institutions. Diversity statements aim to assess prospective graduate students on their abilities to uphold values of diversity according to the institution’s

standards. Evaluating Black applicants, who are perceived to appear to intrinsically value diversity, differently than White applicants can risk positive bias. Furthermore, admitting more Black students can potentially increase the racial diversity of an institution. Historically, and currently, Black students are severely underrepresented in public universities (Education Trust, 2019). However, simply admitting students based on race alone does not offer a solution to issues of equity and inclusion. Institutions that accept students based on race to increase the diversity of the student population only sets up a guise that the institution appears diverse but does not guarantee an egalitarian environment for students. Making decisions based on perceived evaluations that are influenced by race maintains a trend of disregarding the capability of Black students. Students are instead accepted based on their race, not their qualifications and academic potential. Black students deserve to benefit at institutions that recognize their academic potential and will offer them an equal opportunity to pursue their academic endeavors.

Focusing on applicants' race takes away from the original goal of evaluating applicants based on their ability to demonstrate their experiences of diversity in their application. Such methods can also potentially hinder Black and other minority students. Studies found similar results where teachers showed positive bias when evaluating Black and Latine students. Teachers were more likely to provide more positive feedback to Black and Latine students compared to their White peers. Positive bias may result in consequences such as less academic growth and encouragement to improve (Harber et al., 2012). Minority groups might also assume that positive appearances from Whites are disingenuous or suspicious (Kunstman, Tuscherer, Trawalter, & Lloyd, 2016). Similarly, positive bias in higher education was shown through White evaluators scoring Black applicants higher on statement quality. Positive bias in evaluating Black student's works so prevents Black applicants from receiving necessary feedback (Croft & Schmader,

2012). Similarly, White evaluators may apply similar techniques when assessing Black students' diversity statements. Students will be prevented from receiving the necessary feedback to improve their writing or academic work, thus stagnating their growth. Whites' disingenuous evaluations only add to the conflicts minorities face in academia.

Black students must constantly navigate through discrimination in higher education, which can come in the form of microaggressions, such as invalidations or racial isolation. Facing racial discrimination results in consequences has been found to affect Black graduate students' mental well-being, resulting in lowered self-esteem or heightened perceived stress (Torres, Driscoll, & Burrow, 2010). Assuming that Black students would be more likely to endorse values of diversity, as well as make a more inclusive environment for other students, places added pressure on Black students. Graduate admissions processes should ensure that all students are capable of upholding the institution's diversity values, instead of disproportionately burdening Black students with such responsibilities.

Limitations

The sample population had a wide range of participants with varied experiences. A majority of participants do not have much experience with diversity statements and needed to evaluate based on limited knowledge about diversity statements. However, past studies have used similar methods of evaluations where participants assessed student essays or works and found significant results (Crosby & Monin, 2006; Croft & Schmader, 2012). Other studies also found that making race salient to participants is still effective in finding differences in perceived internal and external motivations (Major, Sawyer, & Kunstman, 2013).

Future Directions

The study results indicate that race may influence the graduate school application process. Evaluators may be able to restructure or improve upon their methods to ensure a fair, anti-racially biased approach. In interracial interactions, for instance, White individuals often worry about appearing prejudiced or offensive (Goff, Steele, Davies, & Dovidio, 2008). Ruscher and colleagues attempted to reduce such feelings of anxiety by reassuring White evaluators of their low prejudice through a fabricated Implicit Bias Association Test (IAT) score. Results found that White evaluators were able to provide more helpful feedback to Black students after receiving affirmations of a low IAT score (Ruscher et al., 2010). The method of affirmation allowed Whites to worry less about appearing prejudiced when providing feedback on a Black student's essay, resulting in lowered positive bias. Implementing similar methods while evaluating diversity statements might ensure that evaluators are examining each essay fairly, regardless of race.

Levels of feedback and critique should not differ by race to emphasize a just evaluation process. Specific methods of providing critical feedback to students can also endorse growth and improvement for students, as well as prevent a hostile environment towards Black and minority students. Black students responded more positively when receiving professional feedback that invoked high standards, which indicated that the grading process was strict and evaluated with high expectations, and assurance that the student was capable of meeting those standards (Cohen, Steele, & Ross, 1999). Ensuring fair and unbiased criticism not only reassures students of minority status but also encourages academic advancement and growth.

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Appendix A

Applicant Information



University Standing: Junior (3rd year)
Major: Psychology
Gender: Male
Extracurriculars: Camp counselor, Student government
GPA: 3.2
Age: 21
Race: Non-Hispanic Black

Applicant Diversity Statement

Throughout my undergraduate career, I have constantly incorporated diversity into my life. I am highly aware of the importance of inclusivity. My high school was populated with students of different cultures, religions, and racial and ethnic backgrounds. As a result, I was familiar and comfortable with the concept of diversity in my teenage years. Once I got to college, I decided to expand and incorporate more diversity into my life through volunteering and studying abroad.

During my freshman year of college, I volunteered at a local food bank that served disadvantaged populations in the community. Through preparing food for, serving, and holding conversations with the visitors, I learned much about those who were underprivileged in my community. I came to the realization that many visitors lacked several resources to support themselves, such as access to medical care and education. Through volunteering, I was introduced to diversity by meeting new people, and learned more about social disparities through the lens of community outreach.

I also enhanced my understanding of diversity by studying abroad in Europe. I made new friends with many of the locals and tour guides that aided the visiting students and staff on the trip. We explored many cities in different European countries. I was educated about the different customs, beliefs, religions, and values of many countries. Studying abroad revealed a world of diverse and different cultures that broadened my understanding of diversity.

After finishing my undergraduate education, I wish to work in the healthcare field. Not only is diversity significant and necessary in the healthcare team, but the team members must also be well-versed and familiar with diversity. Patients will benefit from a healthcare team and system that makes them feel comfortable and represented. My experiences and skills from volunteering and studying abroad allowed me to gain an understanding of diversity that will help me both add diversity to the healthcare field and establish inclusiveness within the field.

Appendix B

Applicant Information



University Standing: Junior (3rd year)

Major: Psychology

Gender: Male

Extracurriculars: Camp counselor, Student government

GPA: 3.2

Age: 21

Race: Non-Hispanic White

Applicant Diversity Statement

Throughout my undergraduate career, I have constantly incorporated diversity into my life. I am highly aware of the importance of inclusivity. My high school was populated with students of different cultures, religions, and racial and ethnic backgrounds. As a result, I was familiar and comfortable with the concept of diversity in my teenage years. Once I got to college, I decided to expand and incorporate more diversity into my life through volunteering and studying abroad.

During my freshman year of college, I volunteered at a local food bank that served disadvantaged populations in the community. Through preparing food for, serving, and holding conversations with the visitors, I learned much about those who were underprivileged in my community. I came to the realization that many visitors lacked several resources to support themselves, such as access to medical care and education. Through volunteering, I was introduced to diversity by meeting new people, and learned more about social disparities through the lens of community outreach.

I also enhanced my understanding of diversity by studying abroad in Europe. I made new friends with many of the locals and tour guides that aided the visiting students and staff on the trip. We explored many cities in different European countries. I was educated about the different customs, beliefs, religions, and values of many countries. Studying abroad revealed a world of diverse and different cultures that broadened my understanding of diversity.

After finishing my undergraduate education, I wish to work in the healthcare field. Not only is diversity significant and necessary in the healthcare team, but the team members must also be well-versed and familiar with diversity. Patients will benefit from a healthcare team and system that makes them feel comfortable and represented. My experiences and skills from volunteering and studying abroad allowed me to gain an understanding of diversity that will help me both add diversity to the healthcare field and establish inclusiveness within the field.

Appendix C

Applicant Information



University Standing: Junior (3rd year)
Major: Psychology
Gender: Male
Extracurriculars: Camp counselor, Student government
GPA: 3.2
Age: 21
Race: Non-Hispanic Black

Applicant Diversity Statement

Throughout my undergraduate career, I have constantly incorporated diversity into my life. As a Black man, I am highly aware of the importance of inclusivity. My high school was populated with students of different cultures, religions, and racial and ethnic backgrounds. As a result, I was familiar and comfortable with the concept of diversity in my teenage years. Once I got to college, I decided to expand and incorporate more diversity into my life through volunteering and studying abroad.

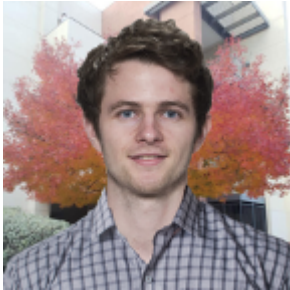
During my freshman year of college, I volunteered at a local food bank that served disadvantaged populations in the community. Through preparing food for, serving, and holding conversations with the visitors, I learned much about those who were underprivileged in my community. I came to the realization that many visitors lacked several resources to support themselves, such as access to medical care and education. Through volunteering, I was introduced to diversity by meeting new people, and learned more about social disparities through the lens of community outreach.

I also enhanced my understanding of diversity by studying abroad in Europe. I made new friends with many of the locals and tour guides that aided the visiting students and staff on the trip. We explored many cities in different European countries. I was educated about the different customs, beliefs, religions, and values of many countries. Studying abroad revealed a world of diverse and different cultures that broadened my understanding of diversity.

After finishing my undergraduate education, I wish to work in the healthcare field. Not only is diversity significant and necessary in the healthcare team, but the team members must also be well-versed and familiar with diversity. Patients will benefit from a healthcare team and system that makes them feel comfortable and represented. My experiences and skills from volunteering and studying abroad allowed me to gain an understanding of diversity that will help me both add diversity to the healthcare field and establish inclusiveness within the field.

Appendix D

Applicant Information



University Standing: Junior (3rd year)
Major: Psychology
Gender: Male
Extracurriculars: Camp counselor, Student government
GPA: 3.2
Age: 21
Race: Non-Hispanic White

Applicant Diversity Statement

Throughout my undergraduate career, I have constantly incorporated diversity into my life. As a White man, I am highly aware of the importance of inclusivity. My high school was populated with students of different cultures, religions, and racial and ethnic backgrounds. As a result, I was familiar and comfortable with the concept of diversity in my teenage years. Once I got to college, I decided to expand and incorporate more diversity into my life through volunteering and studying abroad.

During my freshman year of college, I volunteered at a local food bank that served disadvantaged populations in the community. Through preparing food for, serving, and holding conversations with the visitors, I learned much about those who were underprivileged in my community. I came to the realization that many visitors lacked several resources to support themselves, such as access to medical care and education. Through volunteering, I was introduced to diversity by meeting new people, and learned more about social disparities through the lens of community outreach.

I also enhanced my understanding of diversity by studying abroad in Europe. I made new friends with many of the locals and tour guides that aided the visiting students and staff on the trip. We explored many cities in different European countries. I was educated about the different customs, beliefs, religions, and values of many countries. Studying abroad revealed a world of diverse and different cultures that broadened my understanding of diversity.

After finishing my undergraduate education, I wish to work in the healthcare field. Not only is diversity significant and necessary in the healthcare team, but the team members must also be well-versed and familiar with diversity. Patients will benefit from a healthcare team and system that makes them feel comfortable and represented. My experiences and skills from volunteering and studying abroad allowed me to gain an understanding of diversity that will help me both add diversity to the healthcare field and establish inclusiveness within the field.

Appendix E

Evaluations of Statement Quality

Complete the following evaluation form for the applicant's diversity statement. (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree).

1. In general, this statement contains few spelling errors.
2. In general, this statement contains many grammatical errors.
3. In general, this statement is well-written.
4. In general, the applicant of this statement displays poor vocabulary skills.
5. In general, the applicant of this statement is proficient in English.
6. In general, the applicant's writing could be clearer.
7. In general, this statement is easy to read.

Appendix F

Global Statement Quality

Please provide an overall score for the applicant's **diversity statement** by dragging the slider below. (0 = Extremely Poor, 100 = Excellent).

Global Credential Quality

Please provide an overall score for the applicant's **credentials** (e.g., extracurriculars, GPA) by dragging the slider below. (0 = Extremely Poor, 100 = Excellent).

Appendix G

Applicant Recommendation

1. How likely are you to recommend that the applicant be accepted for University admission? (1 = Very Unlikely, 7 = Very Likely)
2. What aspects of the application had the most impact on your decision?
3. If admitted, how likely is it that the applicant would positively contribute to the diversity of the University? (1 = Very Unlikely, 7 = Very Likely)
4. If admitted, how likely is it that the applicant would help create a University environment that is more inclusive to students of other racial/ethnic minority groups? (1 = Very Unlikely, 7 = Very Likely)

Appendix H

Perceived Internal and External Motivation to Avoid Prejudice Scales (Major et al., 2013)

When the applicant acts in a nonprejudiced way toward members of racial/ethnic minority groups, it is because. . . (0 = Completely disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 6 = Completely agree).

1. The applicant wants to avoid negative reactions from others.
2. It is personally important to the applicant not to be prejudiced.
3. It is in accordance with the applicant's personal values to be unprejudiced.
4. The applicant believes it is wrong to use stereotypes about members of racial/ethnic minority groups.
5. The applicant feels pressure from others to act nonprejudiced.
6. The applicant thinks other people would be angry with them if they acted prejudiced.
7. The applicant is personally motivated by their beliefs.
8. The applicant wants to avoid disapproval from others.
9. It is important to the applicant's self-concept to be unprejudiced.
10. The applicant is trying to act politically correct.

Appendix I

Internal and External Motivation to Avoid Prejudice Scales (Plant & Devine, 1998)

Please give your response according to the scale below (0 = Completely disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 6 = Completely agree).

1. Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear nonprejudiced toward Black people.
2. I try to hide any negative thoughts about Black people in order to avoid negative reactions from others.
3. If I acted prejudiced toward Black people, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.
4. I attempt to appear nonprejudiced toward Black people in order to avoid disapproval from others.
5. I try to act nonprejudiced toward Black people because of pressure from others.
6. I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways toward Black people because it is personally important to me.
7. According to my personal values, using stereotypes about Black people is OK.
8. I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced toward Black people.
9. Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about Black people is wrong.
10. Being nonprejudiced toward Black people is important to my self-concept.

Appendix J

Bias Awareness (Perry et al., 2015)

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree).

1. Even though I know it's not appropriate, I sometimes feel that I hold unconscious negative attitudes toward Black people.
2. When talking to Black people, I sometimes worry that I am unintentionally acting in a prejudiced way.
3. Even though I like Black people, I still worry that I have unconscious biases toward Blacks.
4. I never worry that I may be acting in a subtly prejudiced way toward Black people.