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DIVERSITY BROADLY REDUCES PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION BUT ASYMMETRICALLY REDISTRIBUTES ATTENTION

Xiaojie Zhang and Nattavudh Powdthavee

Diversity Broadly Reduces Perceived Discrimination but Asymmetrically Redistributes Attention

Xiaojie Zhang* Nattavudh Powdthavee†

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Abstract

Organizations often treat workforce diversity as evidence of fairness, yet diversity itself may shape how discrimination is recognized. We investigate this possibility in a preregistered experiment with 1,159 U.S. adults using webcam-based eye tracking. Participants evaluated hiring outcomes in which discrimination against a focal racial minority group (Asian American or Black American, assigned between subjects) was held constant while the demographic composition of other selected candidates varied. We find that greater diversity reduced perceived discrimination against both focal groups, but its effects on visual attention were asymmetric. When the focal applicant was the only racial minority selected, Asian American and Black American applicants received comparable attention. As the hiring outcome became more diverse, attention to Asian American applicants declined, whereas attention to Black American applicants was maintained or increased. Exploratory analyses suggest two potential mechanisms: diversity may serve as a signal of fairness, reducing perceived discrimination, while competition for limited attention may disproportionately reduce scrutiny of Asian American applicants. These findings reveal that workforce diversity may not only shape how fair an organization appears, but also whose disadvantage receives attention and whose is overlooked.

Keywords: diversity; discrimination recognition; visual attention; Asian American; eye tracking

*Nanyang Technological University, School of Social Sciences, 639818, Singapore. xiaojie001@e.ntu.edu.sg

†Nanyang Technological University, School of Social Sciences, 639818, Singapore. nick.powdthavee@ntu.edu.sg

1 Introduction

Organizations increasingly highlight the demographic diversity of their workforces and hiring outcomes (Jonsen et al., 2021; Kele and Cassell, 2023). For example, an analysis of S&P 500 corporate websites by Bermiss and Hand (2025) found that the share of firms maintaining dedicated diversity webpages increased from 40% in 2019 to 78% in 2024, with 92% of these webpages featuring photographs of demographically diverse individuals by 2024. Yet diversity does not necessarily imply fairness. Substantial evidence shows that discrimination against underrepresented groups can persist even in organizations that appear diverse (Cox, 1994; Williams and O'Reilly III, 1998; Kalev et al., 2006; Dobbin et al., 2015; Weisshaar et al., 2024; Law and Tan, 2025). This distinction raises an important possibility: Could the perceived diversity of an organizational environment make discrimination against a particular group harder to recognize? If so, when several disadvantaged social groups are present at once, whose disadvantage is more likely to be overlooked?

Research on discrimination recognition has focused largely on the judgments observers ultimately report, leaving little understood about the underlying scrutiny processes. Yet to identify unfair treatment, observers must first attend to information about the potentially disadvantaged group and its treatment. Additionally, attention and ultimate judgments, although related, need not coincide (Orquin and Loose, 2013; Ghaffari and Fiedler, 2018). Examining attention alongside reported judgments therefore provides a more complete account of how discrimination is evaluated.

This distinction is particularly relevant in diverse environments, where multiple underrepresented groups may be present simultaneously. Attention is a scarce cognitive resource: allocating attention to one source of information can limit the resources available for processing others (Loewenstein and Wojtowicz, 2025). As a result, information concerning different underrepresented groups may compete for observers' limited attention. Its allocation therefore provides a process-level indicator of which social targets receive greater cognitive scrutiny during evaluation and which are deprioritized.

To address this gap, we distinguish two dimensions of discrimination recognition. The first is *evaluative recognition*: the extent to which an observer judges the treatment of a group to be discriminatory. The second is *attentional recognition*: the extent to which visual attention is allocated to the group when evaluating an organizational outcome. We examine how diversity affects these two dimensions in a preregistered hiring-evaluation experiment with 1,159 U.S. adults. In a design inspired by Waldfogel et al. (2021), participants review a series of hiring decisions, each represented by a shortlist of selected applicants, and report their evaluations of the hiring outcomes. Across hiring decisions, we hold constant the objective discrimination against a focal racial minority group —Asian American or Black American, assigned between subjects — while varying the demographic diversity of the other selected applicants. We measure evaluative recognition through

participants' reported perceptions of discrimination against the focal group, and attentional recognition through webcam-based eye tracking of their visual attention to the focal group's profile.[1] This design allows us to address two questions: First, does organizational diversity influence the recognition of discrimination against a focal group, even when the objective discrimination remains unchanged? Second, does this effect differ depending on the focal group's perceived societal disadvantage?

Our preregistered results show that diversity broadly reduces *evaluative recognition* of discrimination, while asymmetrically shaping *attentional recognition* across focal groups. Specifically, although participants report lower perceived discrimination against both focal groups in more diverse hiring contexts, their visual attention shifts in opposite directions: attention to Black American applicants increases, whereas attention to Asian American applicants decreases. These patterns hold whether diversity is measured by the presence of additional underrepresented groups or by the continuous degree of perceived societal disadvantage represented in the hiring context. Our exploratory analyses suggest two potential mechanisms: the illusion of fairness and competition for limited attention. Interestingly, the asymmetric redistribution of attention is particularly pronounced among individuals with stronger egalitarian orientations.

We aim to make three contributions to the literature. First, we contribute to research on the recognition of discrimination. Underrecognition distorts public debate, erodes institutional accountability, and diminishes the well-being of those affected Pascoe and Smart Richman (2009); Schmitt et al. (2014); Paradies et al. (2015); Lewis et al. (2015); Emmer et al. (2024). Yet considerable variation exists in whether observers interpret a potentially discriminatory event as discrimination (Major et al., 2002). Existing research has explained such variation by focusing primarily on prototypes of the target group, or "who is evaluated" (Chou and Feagin, 2015; Fiske et al., 2018; Chen et al., 2024; Jun et al., 2026); characteristics of the evaluator, or "who evaluates" (Waldfogel et al., 2021); and features of the organization, particularly formal diversity structures of organizations (Kaiser et al., 2013; Dover et al., 2014; Brady et al., 2015). We introduce the evaluation context, or "who is presented alongside," as an additional determinant of discrimination recognition. Holding the objective evidence of discrimination constant, we show that changing the demographic composition of the surrounding environment changes whether that discrimination is recognized.

Second, we contribute to research on organizational diversity. A substantial literature links di-

[1]Eye tracking provides an objective, process-level measure of attention allocation and is sensitive to salient contextual information (Lahey and Oxley, 2016; Sauter et al., 2022; Yang and Krajbich, 2021). Historically, eye-tracking research has relied on specialized laboratory equipment and highly controlled settings, making large and heterogeneous samples difficult to obtain. Recent advances in webcam-based eye tracking substantially reduce these constraints while achieving increasingly high measurement accuracy (Kaduk et al., 2024; Yang and Krajbich, 2021; Van der Cruyssen et al., 2024; Bogdan et al., 2024). Using these methods enables us to observe real-time visual attention among more than one thousand participants and examine whether diversity shapes the cognitive visibility of disadvantaged groups in ways that are not captured by evaluative judgments alone.

versity and inclusion practices to favorable workplace outcomes, including more equitable human-resource practices, reduced workplace inequality, and narrower demographic disparities (Cohen and Huffman, 2007; McKay et al., 2007, 2008; Nishii, 2013; Tate and Yang, 2015). At the same time, other research highlights a potential paradox: diversity can itself serve as a signal of organizational fairness, making external evaluators and employees less sensitive to unfair treatment (Kaiser et al., 2013; Dover et al., 2014; Brady et al., 2015; Dover et al., 2020). We extend this perspective by conceptualizing diversity not only as a signal of organizational fairness, but also as an attentional environment. Greater diversity introduces multiple potential targets of fairness-related scrutiny, but does not necessarily make each group's disadvantage equally visible. Consequently, increased representation may coexist with unequal scrutiny of discrimination across disadvantaged groups, highlighting a tension between demographic diversity and the equitable recognition of unfair treatment.

Third, we extend research on attention to the recognition of discrimination in organizational evaluations. Attention has long been recognized as a central mechanism in organizational decision-making (Ocasio, 1997, 2011). Related research demonstrates that attention and information processing are selective in social and fairness-related decisions (Fiedler et al., 2013; Cojuharenco et al., 2011; Ganegoda and Folger, 2015; Bartoš et al., 2016; Waldfogel et al., 2021; Amasino et al., 2024). While this literature establishes the importance of selective attention in decision-making, less is known about how attention is distributed across multiple social groups when observers evaluate organizational fairness. By examining both reported discrimination judgments and visual attention during evaluation, we show that similar changes in evaluative judgments can coexist with markedly different patterns of attentional scrutiny across disadvantaged groups. Therefore, disparities in whose treatment receives attention may remain hidden when organizational fairness is assessed solely through observers' ultimate judgments.

2 Theory and Hypothesis Development

Although diversity and equity are commonly discussed together, demographic diversity and equitable treatment are conceptually distinct. Biased treatment can persist even in organizations that are visibly diverse or that explicitly embrace diversity (Williams and O'Reilly III, 1998; Kalev et al., 2006; Dobbin et al., 2015; Weisshaar et al., 2024; Law and Tan, 2025). Research on the *illusion of fairness* shows that organizational diversity structures, including diversity policies, initiatives, training, and awards, can increase perceptions of procedural fairness and reduce sensitivity to evidence of discrimination. For instance, Kaiser et al. (2013) show that the presence of organizational diversity structures leads high-status group members, such as Whites and men, to perceive organizations as procedurally fairer environments for underrepresented groups, even when those groups

have clearly been treated unfairly. Subsequent research documents similar effects across other social groups and organizational diversity structures (Dover et al., 2014; Brady et al., 2015; Dover et al., 2020).

Beyond formal diversity initiatives, organizations also make their workforce diversity salient to external observers through public-facing representations of their employees. Corporate websites and recruitment materials, for example, often feature group photographs of employees or newly admitted members that visibly display demographic diversity across race, gender, disability, and other social identities (Boyer et al., 2006; Bermiss and Hand, 2025). Despite its prevalence, little is known about whether this visible workforce diversity itself shapes observers' recognition of discrimination. Existing research shows that people can rapidly infer group-level properties such as racial diversity from demographic composition (Avery, 2003; Nichols et al., 2023; Phillips et al., 2018). We therefore propose that demographic composition, like formal diversity structures, can serve as a signal of organizational diversity and thereby reduce the likelihood that discriminatory treatment is recognized. This argument leads to our first prediction concerning *evaluative recognition*, or the extent to which observers judge the treatment of a focal group to be discriminatory:

Hypothesis 1a. *Greater demographic diversity reduces evaluative recognition of discrimination against the focal group.*

Greater diversity may also change the social information observers encounter when evaluating an organizational outcome. A more diverse context contains more potentially disadvantaged social groups and, consequently, more potential targets of fairness-related scrutiny. Attention, however, is a scarce and selective cognitive resource. When decision makers cannot fully process all available information, they allocate cognitive resources selectively across features of their environment. Selective attention resolves competition among simultaneously available information by prioritizing information perceived as more relevant or salient. As a result, attention directed toward one source of information can come at the expense of processing competing information (Desimone et al., 1995; Scalf et al., 2013; Kahneman, 2003; Bordalo et al., 2012; Caplin and Dean, 2015; Gabaix, 2019). Behavioral strategy research further suggests that boundedly rational decision makers can develop systematic blind spots when simplifying complex environments through heuristics and mental representations (Liu, 2021).

We extend this logic by considering whether demographic diversity itself changes which socially relevant information remains cognitively visible during organizational evaluation. When a focal group is the only underrepresented group represented in an organizational outcome, information concerning its treatment faces relatively little competition from other potential targets of fairness-related attention. Increasing demographic diversity changes this attentional environment by introducing additional socially relevant targets whose treatment may also warrant scrutiny. Greater diversity may therefore intensify competition for limited attention and divert cognitive resources

away from the focal group. This argument leads to a parallel prediction concerning *attentional recognition*, or the extent to which attention is allocated to the potential target of discrimination:

Hypothesis 1b. *Greater demographic diversity reduces attentional recognition of discrimination against the focal group.*

The magnitude of these effects, however, may depend not merely on the presence of additional underrepresented group members, but also on the social meaning of their identities. Not all group members contribute equally to perceived diversity. Judgments of who "counts" as contributing to diversity are context dependent (Geerling and Chen, 2024), and individuals with intersecting underrepresented identities may be perceived as contributing more strongly to organizational diversity than members of less disadvantaged groups (Geerling and Chen, 2021). Thus, demographic diversity may serve as a stronger signal of organizational fairness when it includes members of groups perceived as more socially disadvantaged, and lead to a greater reduction in evaluative recognition of discrimination.

The perceived disadvantage represented by an additional group may also shape attentional competition. Competition for attention is not resolved uniformly across available targets. Research on social attention suggests that visual attention varies as a function of socially meaningful characteristics such as status (Foulsham et al., 2010; Dalmaso et al., 2011; Roberts et al., 2019). Underrepresented groups differ in the prototypes associated with their social position and disadvantage (Zou and Cheryan, 2017; Fiske et al., 2018). An additional group that is more strongly associated with social disadvantage may therefore constitute a more salient target of fairness-related scrutiny and compete more strongly for limited attention. Accordingly, we expect the effects of diversity on both dimensions of discrimination recognition to become stronger as the surrounding demographic context represents greater perceived social disadvantage:

Hypothesis 2a. *The reduction in evaluative recognition produced by greater demographic diversity becomes larger as the perceived social disadvantage represented in the hiring outcome increases.*

Hypothesis 2b. *The reduction in attentional recognition produced by greater demographic diversity becomes larger as the perceived social disadvantage represented in the hiring outcome increases.*

Just as potential competing targets differ in their association with social disadvantage, the focal group itself may be more or less readily perceived as a target of discrimination. Groups that are strongly associated with social disadvantage may remain salient targets of scrutiny even as additional underrepresented groups enter the environment, whereas disadvantage affecting groups stereotypically associated with relative success or status may become less cognitively prominent.

Black and Asian Americans provide informative cases in which to examine this possibility. Both groups have experienced substantial racial discrimination in the United States, but they occupy dif-

ferent positions in prevailing societal representations of racial disadvantage. Despite documented discrimination across employment, education, and other social domains (Doàn et al., 2019; Lu et al., 2020; Chavez, 2021; Jun and Wu, 2021; Wong, 2021; Wang and Santos, 2022), Asian Americans are frequently characterized through the "model minority" stereotype as competent, self-sufficient, and relatively successful. Such stereotypes can weaken the perceived association between Asian Americans and social disadvantage (Kinder and Sanders, 1996; Chou and Feagin, 2015; Fiske et al., 2018; Chen et al., 2024; Powdthavee, 2025). Consistent with this account, both public reports and research document that Americans are less likely to recognize substantial discrimination against Asian Americans than against Black Americans (Pew Research Center, 2021; Powdthavee, 2025; Jun et al., 2026). Most closely related to our study, Jun et al. (2026) experimentally held the circumstances of a discriminatory hiring decision constant while varying whether the rejected candidate was Asian or Black. They found that observers viewed the Asian candidate as a less prototypical target of racial discrimination and were correspondingly less likely to attribute the same adverse treatment to discrimination. These findings establish a benchmark recognition gap between Asian and Black Americans under comparable discriminatory circumstances. However, by holding the surrounding demographic context constant, they leave open whether this gap changes as the evaluative environment becomes more diverse and multiple potentially disadvantaged groups are present simultaneously. If Asian American disadvantage is already less strongly associated with racial discrimination, greater diversity may render it particularly vulnerable to attentional competition. We therefore expect diversity to affect attentional recognition asymmetrically across the two focal groups:

Hypothesis 3. *The effect of demographic diversity on attentional recognition is asymmetric across focal groups, with a larger reduction in attention to Asian American than to Black American focal targets.*

Overall, these arguments suggest that demographic diversity may shape discrimination recognition along two distinct dimensions. As an organizational signal, greater diversity may generate a generalized inference of fairness, reducing evaluative recognition of discrimination even when the treatment of the focal group remains unchanged. As an attentional environment, diversity introduces additional socially meaningful targets that compete for limited cognitive resources.

3 Experimental Design

3.1 Sample and Recruitment

We conducted an online experiment using Labvanced and recruited a sample of U.S. adults through Prolific using quotas matched to U.S. population distributions for age, gender, and ethnicity. A total

of 1,347 participants initiated the study, 1,277 completed the experiment, and 1,159 completed the full study and satisfied the preregistered data-quality criteria[2], constituting our final analysis sample. The experiment was preregistered on the Open Science Framework (OSF; https://osf.io/exksw/) prior to data collection. Participants provided informed consent before beginning the study, and the study received approval from the Institutional Review Board.

3.2 Experiment Procedure

Figure 1 summarizes the experimental procedure. Participants assumed the role of evaluators reviewing hiring decisions made by a hypothetical U.S. company. The experiment consisted of an eye-tracking calibration followed by two stages: (1) review applicants' CVs and (2) evaluate hiring outcomes. Webcam-based eye tracking continuously recorded participants' visual attention throughout both stages. After completing the two stages, participants completed a post-task questionnaire.

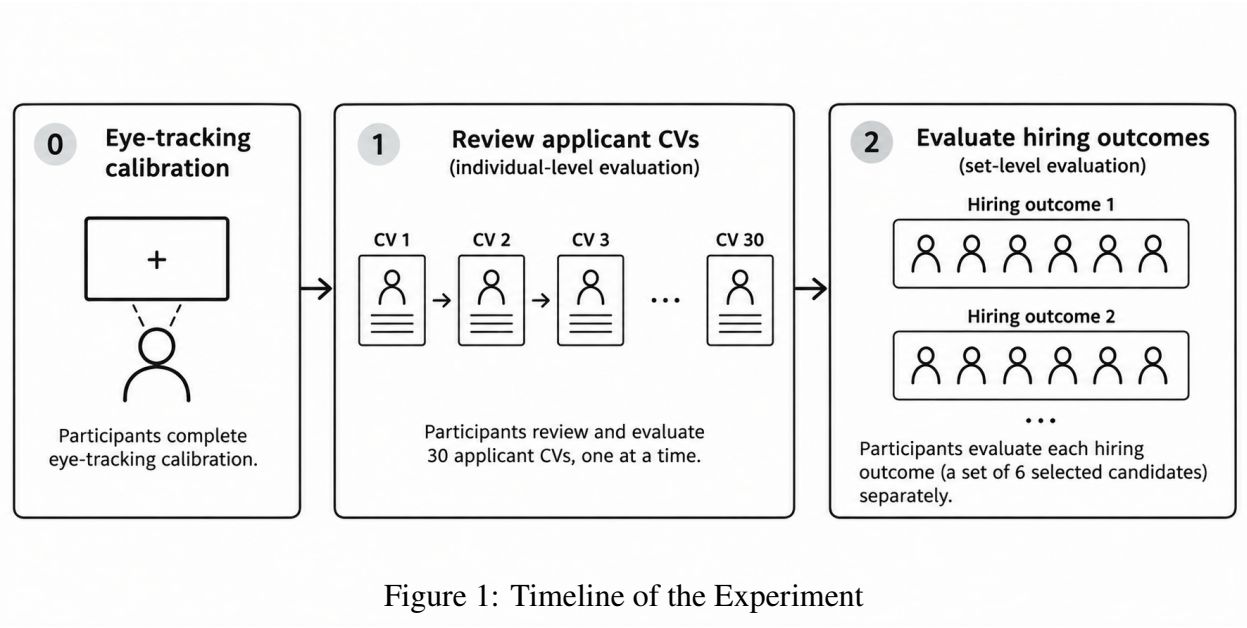


Figure 1: Timeline of the Experiment

Eye-tracking calibration

Participants completed an approximately five-minute webcam-based eye-tracking calibration. The calibration procedure presented 130 fixation points sequentially across the screen and incorporated nine head poses to improve gaze estimation. A subsequent validation procedure assessed spatial accuracy. Participants who did not achieve the prespecified accuracy threshold ($\geq$ 90%) were recalibrated, for up to three attempts.

[2]Following our preregistration, we embedded two attention-check questions throughout the experiment. Participants who failed more than one attention-check question were excluded during data cleaning.

Stage 1: Review applicant CVs

Participants first reviewed the complete pool of 30 job applicants, consisting of 10 Asian American, 10 Black American, and 10 White applicants, equally divided by gender (15 men and 15 women). This stage familiarized participants with the full applicant pool and the distribution of applicant characteristics before they evaluated the subsequent hiring outcomes. Applicants profiles were presented sequentially in randomized order. Each profile contained three pieces of information: (1) an AI-generated facial photograph [3] conveying the applicant's race and gender, (2) grade point average (GPA), serving as a proxy for the applicant's qualifications, and (3) hometown. Each applicant profile remained on screen for up to six seconds, although participants could advance earlier by keypress.

Stage 2: Evaluate hiring outcomes

Participants next evaluated a series of hiring decisions. They were told that each decision had been made by a different panel member of the company's hiring committee, who had selected six applicants from the 30-person applicant pool reviewed in Stage 1. For each decision, the six selected applicants were displayed simultaneously on a single screen.

Participants first evaluated the overall hiring outcome in terms of its qualification and diversity. They then evaluated potential discrimination against Asian, Black, White, female, and male applicants. All evaluations were made on 7-point scales. Finally, participants evaluated the hiring committee member's practices on five additional 7-point items, indicating whether the practices should be investigated, reconsidered, or reviewed, and whether they appeared legitimate.

After completing all evaluations for a given hiring decision, participants proceeded to the next hiring decision and repeated the same evaluation procedure. The order of the hiring decisions was randomized, and within each decision, all applicant profiles were displayed at the same size and assigned to randomized spatial positions.

Post-Task Questionnaire

After completing the hiring evaluations, participants completed a post-task questionnaire measuring Social Dominance Orientation (Ho et al., 2015) and endorsement of the Model Minority Myth (Yoo et al., 2010). They also reported demographic characteristics, including age, gender, race, income, educational attainment, employment status, country of birth, and political affiliation.

[3] Profile photographs were pretested using an independent sample ($N = 100$) to ensure that perceived attractiveness and professionalism were balanced across photographs.

3.3 Experimental Manipulation and Randomization

The experiment employed a mixed 2×4 design, as outlined in Table 1. The between-subjects factor was the focal group condition: Asian Americans or Black Americans (hereafter, the AA and BA conditions). The focal applicant was always male in both conditions to avoid confounding racial group membership with intersecting gender-based disadvantage. The within-subjects factor was the demographic composition of the other applicants selected alongside the focal-group applicant. In every hiring decision, exactly one applicant from the focal racial group was selected. In the baseline condition, this focal applicant was the only member from a disadvantaged demographic group among the six selected applicants, with the remaining five applicants being White men. We use White men as the reference group given their historically advantaged position in U.S. organizations and labor markets (Stainback and Tomaskovic-Devey, 2009; Mobasseri et al., 2024). In the diverse conditions, one White male applicant was replaced by an additional underrepresented applicant: (1) a White female applicant, (2) a male applicant from the non-focal racial minority group, or (3) a female applicant from the non-focal racial minority group.

Inspired by Waldfogel et al. (2021), we constructed the hiring decisions such that applicant qualifications (proxied by GPA) positively predicted selection ($r = +0.27$), whereas membership in the focal racial group negatively predicted selection ($r = -0.20$). Thus, more qualified applicants were more likely to be selected, while focal-group applicants faced a consistent selection disadvantage across hiring decisions, although the focal group was not necessarily the most disadvantaged group within each hiring outcome.

Table 1: Hiring Decision Composition

Demographic Composition	**Focal Group Condition**	
	AA	**BA**
Baseline	1 AM + 5 WM	1 BM + 5 WM
Diverse Context (+ White F)	1 AM + 4 WM + 1 WF	1 BM + 4 WM + 1 WF
Diverse Context (+ Min. M)	1 AM + 4 WM + 1 BM	1 BM + 4 WM + 1 AM
Diverse Context (+ Min. F)	1 AM + 4 WM + 1 BF	1 BM + 4 WM + 1 AF

Note. Each row represents a demographic composition condition, with the corresponding applicant composition shown separately for the two focal-group conditions. Relative to the baseline, each diverse context replaces one White male applicant with an applicant from the indicated demographic group. AA = Asian American condition; BA = Black American condition; AM = Asian Male; AF = Asian Female; BM = Black Male; BF = Black Female; WM = White Male; WF = White Female.

We construct a binary *Diverse Context* indicator that equals zero in the baseline condition and one when an additional member of an underrepresented group is present. We additionally use a continuous *Disadvantage Score* to characterize variation in the perceived social disadvantage represented by the additional applicant. The measure draws on survey estimates from the Pew

Research Center's 2025 report on perceived discrimination in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2025). Each applicant type is assigned a race-specific discrimination value (Black: 0.74; Asian: 0.66; White: 0.38) and a gender-specific discrimination value (women: 0.64; men: 0.34), which are summed to obtain the *Disadvantage Score*. The resulting scores are 0.72 for White men, 1.02 for White women, 1.00 for Asian men, 1.30 for Asian women, 1.08 for Black men, and 1.38 for Black women, with higher values indicating greater perceived social disadvantage. The resulting context-adjusted Disadvantage Score captures the additional applicant's perceived disadvantage relative to the other applicants in the evaluation set, with higher values indicating greater relative disadvantage of selected applicants.

3.4 Measures

Our primary measure of *evaluative recognition* is participants' self-reported judgment of discrimination. Participants rated the statement "This panel member was biased against [group] applicants" on a 7-point scale (1 = Not at all, 7 = Very). The group was Asian Americans in the AA condition and Black Americans in the BA condition. Higher values therefore indicate greater perceived discrimination against the focal group.

Our primary measure of *attentional recognition* is *dwell time*, defined as the total time, measured in milliseconds, that a participant's gaze was directed toward the focal applicant's profile while viewing a hiring decision. We focus on dwell time because the duration of visual engagement is an important locus of competition for limited attention (Bordalo et al., 2012; Krajbich, 2019). We additionally examine fixation duration, fixation probability, and revisit frequency as complementary measures of visual attention.

3.5 Manipulation Check

As a manipulation check, we first examine whether participants perceived hiring outcomes in the diverse contexts as more diverse than those in the baseline context. Participants rated diverse hiring outcomes as substantially more diverse ($\beta = 0.999$, $p < 0.001$), corresponding to an increase of approximately one full point on the 7-point perceived-diversity scale. This increase was observed in both focal-group conditions (Appendix Figure A.1).

4 Results

In this section, we first present our preregistered analyses of how diversity affects two dimensions of discrimination recognition: *evaluative recognition* and *attentional recognition*. We then exam-

ine the organizational relevance of these effects by assessing whether greater diversity influences participants' willingness to scrutinize the organization's hiring practices.

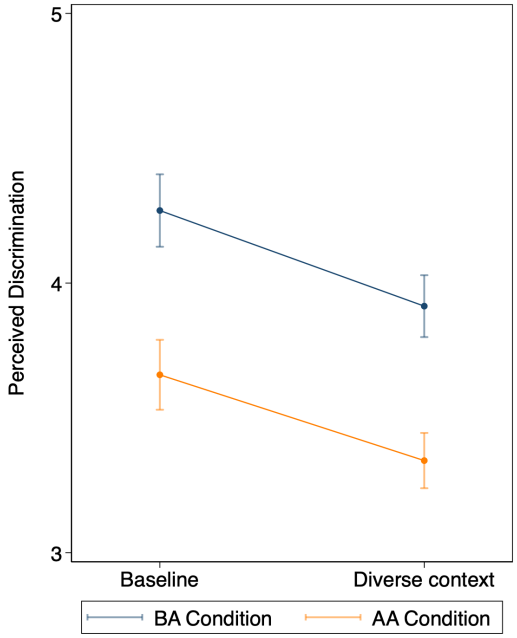
4.1 Diversity and Evaluative Recognition of Discrimination

We first examine whether the demographic diversity of a hiring outcome affects evaluative recognition of discrimination against the focal group. Panels (a) and (b) of Figure 2 present perceived discrimination against the focal group as a function of the binary *Diverse Context* treatment and the continuous *Disadvantage Score*, respectively.

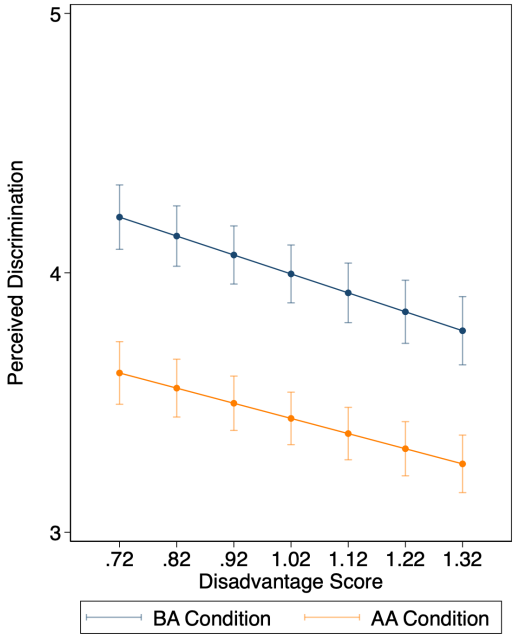
We begin with the baseline context, in which the focal applicant is the only underrepresented applicant in the hiring decision. Although the objective level of discrimination against the focal group is held constant across the two focal-group conditions, participants perceive significantly less discrimination against Asian Americans ($M = 3.660$) than against Black Americans ($M = 4.269$), a difference of 0.609 points (95% CI $[0.422, 0.796]$, $p < 0.001$). This pattern is consistent with recent evidence that discrimination against Asian Americans is less readily recognized than comparable discrimination against Black Americans (Jun et al., 2026).

Introducing an additional underrepresented applicant reduces perceived discrimination against the focal group even though the underlying discriminatory treatment of the focal group remains unchanged. As shown in Panel (a), perceived discrimination decreases by 0.355 points in the diverse context (95% CI $[0.252, 0.458]$, $p < 0.001$), approximately 9% relative to the baseline level. This effect does not differ significantly between the AA and BA conditions ($b = 0.036$, 95% CI $[-0.108, 0.181]$, $p = 0.621$). Panel (b) examines whether this pattern varies with the perceived social disadvantage represented by the additional applicant. As the *Disadvantage Score* increases, perceived discrimination against the focal group declines in both the AA and BA conditions. A one-unit increase in the score reduces perceived discrimination by 0.730 points in the BA condition (95% CI $[-0.939, -0.521]$, $p < 0.001$) and by 0.584 points in the AA condition (95% CI $[-0.772, -0.396]$, $p < 0.001$). The difference between these slopes is not statistically significant ($b = 0.146$, 95% CI $[-0.136, 0.427]$, $p = 0.310$). The reduction in evaluative recognition therefore becomes larger as the additional applicant represents greater perceived disadvantage, but this relationship is again similar across the two focal groups.

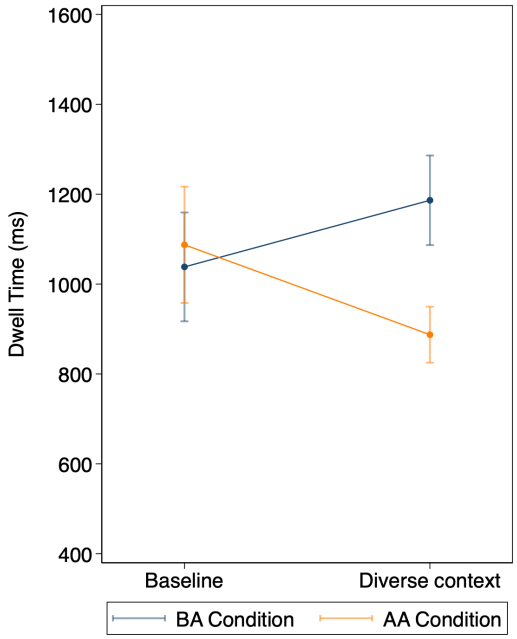
Table A.1 of Appendix reports the corresponding OLS estimates. Columns (1) and (2) use the binary *Diverse Context* indicator, while columns (3) and (4) use the continuous *Disadvantage Score*; columns (2) and (4) additionally include individual-level controls. The estimates are substantively unchanged with the inclusion of controls. Across specifications, participants in the AA condition report lower perceived discrimination overall, while both greater demographic diversity and greater perceived disadvantage of the additional applicant reduce perceived discrimination against the focal



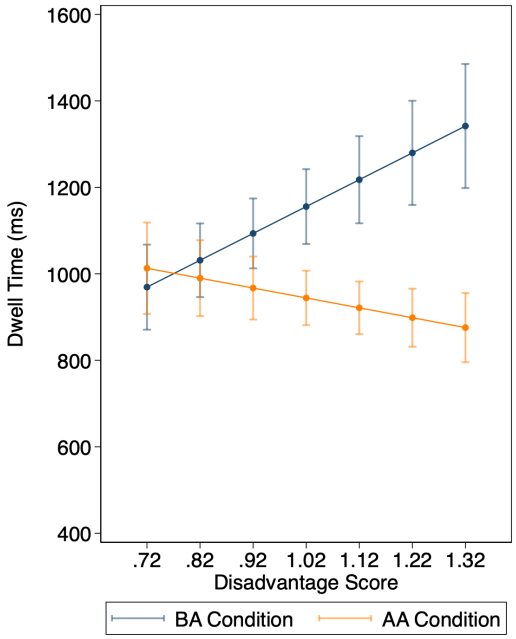
(a) Evaluative recognition: diverse context



(b) Evaluative recognition: disadvantage score



(c) Attentional recognition: diverse context



(d) Attentional recognition: disadvantage score

Notes: Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 2: Effects of Diversity on Recognition of Discrimination of the Focal Group

group.

Result 1. *In line with Hypotheses 1a and 2a, increasing the diversity of the hiring outcome reduces evaluative recognition of discrimination against a particular group. This reduction occurs for both Asian American and Black American applicants and becomes larger as the perceived disadvantage represented by the additional applicant increases.*

4.2 Diversity and Attentional Recognition

We next examine whether the demographic diversity of a hiring outcome affects attentional recognition of discrimination against the focal group. Whereas diversity reduces perceived discrimination similarly across the two focal-group conditions, visual attention exhibits a different pattern. Panels (c) and (d) of Figure 2 present dwell time on the focal applicant as a function of the binary *Diverse Context* treatment and the continuous *Disadvantage Score*, respectively. We again begin with the baseline context. Participants allocate similar levels of visual attention to Black American and Asian American focal applicants: mean dwell time is $1,038.23$ ms in the BA condition and $1,087.40$ ms in the AA condition, a difference that is not statistically significant ($b = 49.17$ ms, 95% CI $[-128.07, 226.41]$, $p = 0.586$). Thus, when the focal applicant is the only underrepresented group member in the hiring outcome, we find no evidence that visual attention differs across the two focal groups.

As shown in Panel (c), introducing a diverse context reduces dwell time on the focal applicant by 200.00 ms in the AA condition (95% CI $[-333.18, -66.83]$, $p = 0.003$), but increases it by 148.18 ms in the BA condition (95% CI $[6.10, 290.26]$, $p = 0.041$). The difference between these effects is statistically significant ($b = -348.19$, 95% CI $[-542.93, -153.45]$, $p < 0.001$). Consequently, in the diverse context, Asian American focal applicants receive an average of 887.39 ms of attention, compared with 1,186.41 ms for Black American focal applicants (difference = −299.01 ms, 95% CI $[-416.54, -181.48]$, $p < 0.001$). Therefore, whereas we detect no significant difference in attention between the two focal groups in the baseline context, a substantial attention gap emerges when additional underrepresented applicants are present.

Panel (d) shows that this divergence becomes more pronounced as the perceived disadvantage of the additional applicant increases. A one-unit increase in the *Disadvantage Score* increases dwell time on Black American focal applicants by 621.01 ms (95% CI $[329.88, 912.14]$, $p < 0.001$), whereas dwell time on Asian American focal applicants tends to decline by 228.67 ms (95% CI $[-460.58, 3.24]$, $p = 0.053$). The difference between these slopes is statistically significant ($b = -849.68$, 95% CI $[-1,221.89, -477.47]$, $p < 0.001$). Thus, the more disadvantaged the additional applicant is perceived to be, the more attention to the two focal groups diverges.

Table A.2 of Appendix reports the corresponding OLS estimates. Columns (1) and (2) use the

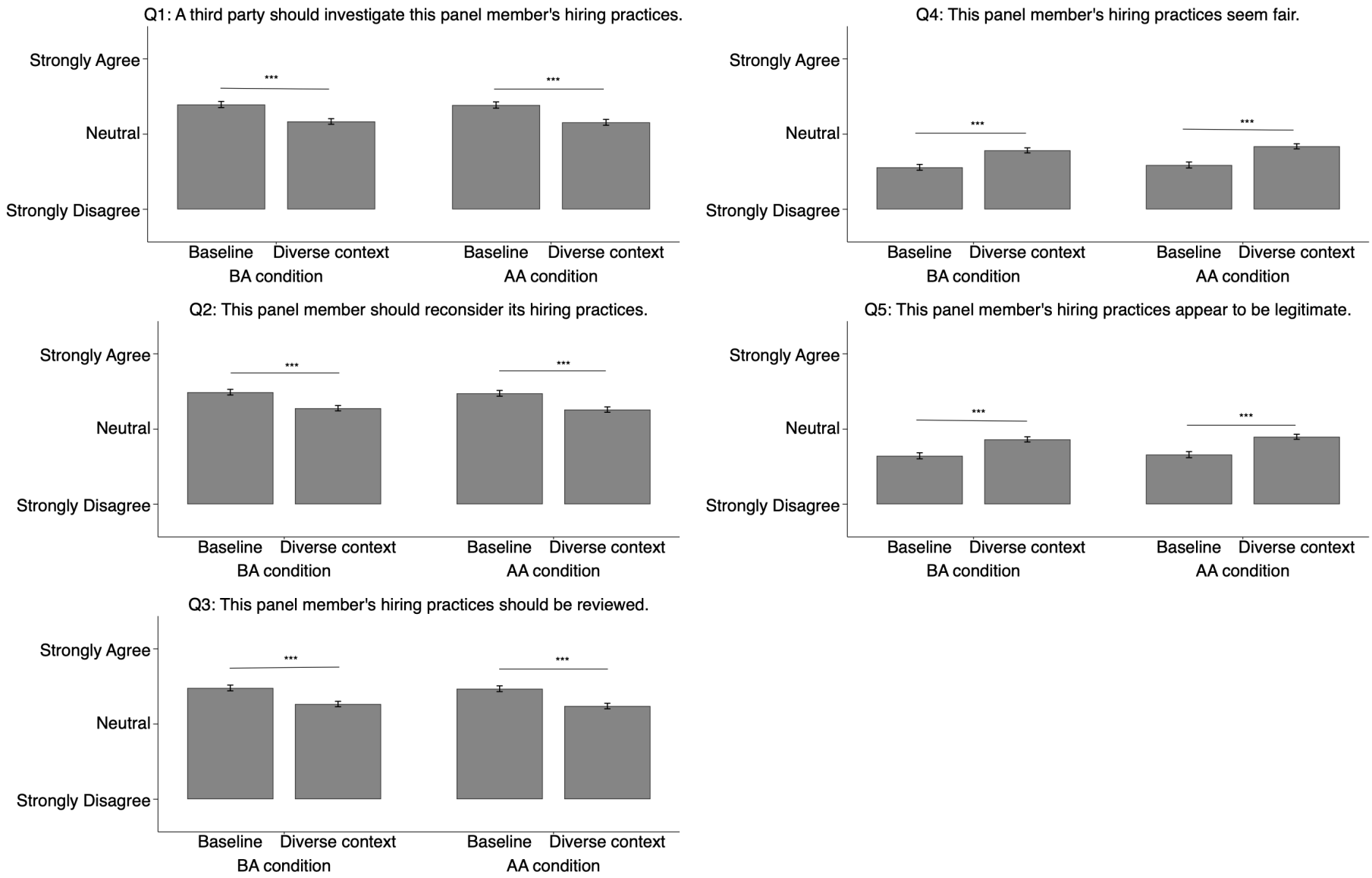
binary *Diverse Context* indicator, while columns (3) and (4) use the continuous *Disadvantage Score*; columns (2) and (4) additionally include individual-level controls. The estimates are substantively unchanged with the inclusion of controls. Across specifications, diversity shifts attention toward the focal applicant in the BA condition but away from the focal applicant in the AA condition, and the difference between these treatment effects is statistically significant. The same asymmetric pattern emerges when diversity is characterized by the perceived disadvantage represented by the additional applicant.

Result 2. *The preregistered prediction of a general reduction in attentional recognition (Hypotheses 1b and 2b) is not observed uniformly across focal groups. Instead, consistent with the asymmetric effect predicted in Hypothesis 3, greater demographic diversity decreases attention to Asian American focal applicants but increases attention to Black American focal applicants, and this divergence becomes larger as the perceived disadvantage represented by the additional applicant increases.*

4.3 Diversity and Organizational Scrutiny

The confirmatory results show that greater demographic diversity reduces perceived discrimination against the focal group in both the AA and BA conditions, while its effect on visual attention is asymmetric: attention to Asian American applicants declines, whereas attention to Black American applicants increases. We next examine, as an exploratory analysis, whether diversity also affects how participants evaluate the organization's hiring practices.

Figure 3 presents participants' evaluations of the panel member's hiring practices across five measures of organizational scrutiny and perceived fairness, separately for the Black American (BA) and Asian American (AA) conditions. Relative to the baseline context, participants evaluating diverse hiring outcomes expressed less support for investigating, reconsidering, or reviewing the hiring practices, while rating those practices as fairer and more legitimate (all $p < 0.001$). Thus, greater demographic diversity was associated with lower willingness to scrutinize the organization's hiring practices. Together with the reduction in perceived discrimination documented above, these findings suggest that demographic diversity may not only make discrimination harder to recognize, but also weaken observers' willingness to challenge potentially discriminatory practices. Such reduced scrutiny could, in turn, make discrimination against disadvantaged groups less likely to be investigated and addressed.



Notes: Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Figure 3: Effect of Diversity on Organizational Scrutiny

5 Discussion

The preregistered results show that demographic diversity affects evaluative and attentional recognition in different ways. To better understand these patterns, in this section, we report a series of exploratory analyses examining potential mechanisms and sources of heterogeneity, assess robustness across alternative measures of attention, consider alternative explanations, and discuss the limitations of the study.

5.1 Diversity as a Generalized Fairness Signal

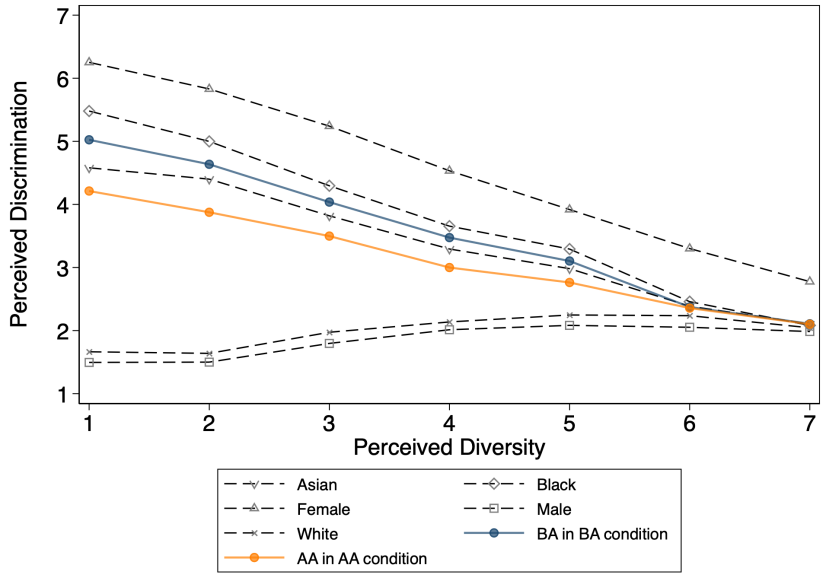
One explanation for the broad reduction in evaluative recognition is that diversity provides a generalized signal about the fairness of the organization. If observers infer organizational fairness from demographic diversity, then greater perceived diversity should be associated with lower perceived discrimination across the demographic groups being evaluated.

To examine this possibility, we use participants' ratings of the perceived diversity of each hiring outcome and their corresponding judgments of discrimination against Asian American, Black American, White, female, and male applicants. Figure 4 presents correlational evidence linking perceived diversity to perceived discrimination across these demographic groups. The dashed lines show discrimination judgments for each demographic group pooling across all participants, whereas the solid orange and navy lines show perceived discrimination against the focal group within the AA and BA conditions, respectively.

Among the underrepresented groups in our setting, namely Asian American, Black American, and female applicants, greater perceived diversity is consistently associated with lower perceived discrimination. In contrast, perceived discrimination against White and male applicants increases slightly as hiring outcomes are perceived as more diverse. Thus, as perceived diversity rises, participants' discrimination judgments become less differentiated across demographic groups: perceived discrimination against underrepresented groups declines, while perceived discrimination against overrepresented groups rises modestly. This pattern, consistent with diversity operating as an organization-level fairness signal, is not confined to the focal group whose treatment was experimentally held constant, but appears across participants' evaluations of multiple demographic groups within the same hiring outcome.

5.2 Attention as a Competitive Resource

We next examine whether attention operates as a limited resource that is redistributed across socially relevant targets. If underrepresented applicants compete for attention within a hiring outcome, then greater attention to a newly introduced applicant should coincide with reduced attention to the focal



Notes: Dashed lines show evaluative recognition of discrimination against applicants from each demographic group, pooling across all participants. Solid lines show perceived discrimination against the focal applicant group within the AA and BA conditions.

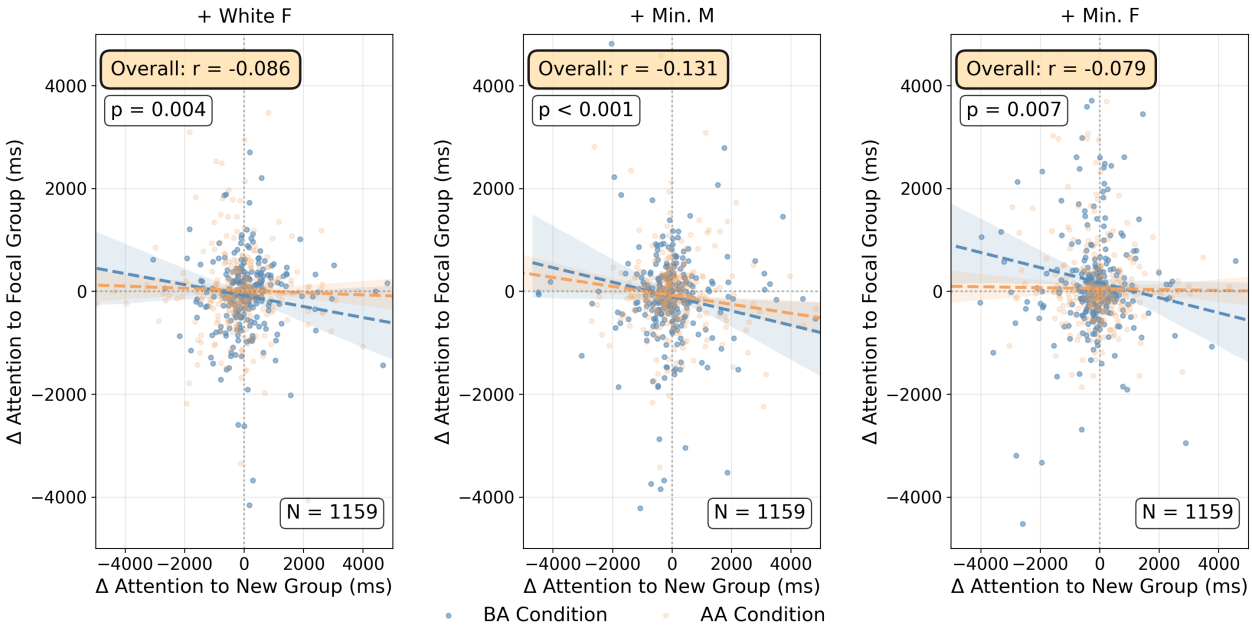
Figure 4: Perceived Diversity and Evaluative Recognition of Discrimination

applicant.

To examine this possibility, we conduct an exploratory within-participant analysis of attention allocation across the three diverse-context conditions. For each participant, we calculate deviations from their mean attention to the focal applicant and to the newly added applicant across the non-baseline conditions. This approach captures whether, in a given hiring decision, a participant allocates relatively more or less attention than usual to each of the two applicants. Figure 5 shows the relationship between deviations in attention to newly added group members and deviations in attention to focal disadvantaged applicants across diverse context conditions [4].

Across all three conditions, greater attention to the newly added applicant is associated with lower attention to the focal applicant: +*White F* ($r = -0.086$, $p = .004$), +*Min. M* ($r = -0.131$, $p < .001$), and +*Min. F* ($r = -0.079$, $p = .007$). Thus, when participants allocate more attention than usual to the newly added applicant, they also tend to allocate less attention than usual to the focal applicant. Although these associations are modest in magnitude, their consistent direction

[4]Deviations are computed by subtracting, for each participant, their mean attention to the focal group and to the newly added group across all non-baseline trials. These participant-specific means represent each individual's typical attention allocation when additional group members are present. Negative values on the y-axis indicate a reallocation of attention away from the focal group relative to that participant's typical attention level, rather than lower absolute levels of attention. In absolute terms, attention to some focal groups may remain higher than to others despite larger negative deviations. Thus, deviation scores capture how attention in a given decision departs from a participant's own typical attention norm.



Notes: Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 5: Within-person attention competition by treatment condition

across all three diverse-context conditions is consistent with visual attention being competitively allocated across applicants.

This pattern explains why attentional recognition responds differently from evaluative recognition. Adding underrepresented applicants changes how attention is distributed among multiple social groups present in the hiring outcome. Limited attentional resources create competition among social groups, in which the social meaning attached to different groups may shape attentional priority. This interpretation is consistent with our theoretical account of diversity as an attentional environment: greater representation can increase the number of potential targets of fairness-related scrutiny without making each target equally cognitively visible.

5.3 Individual Differences in Responses to Diversity

We next examine whether responses to diversity vary with evaluators' prior social beliefs and orientations. We focus on two individual differences measured in the post-task questionnaire: Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) which measures preference for group-based hierarchy and inequality, and endorsement of the Model Minority Myth (MMM) which measures stereotypical beliefs about Asian Americans' success and disadvantage-denial. Factor analyses supported a unidimensional SDO scale and a two-factor MMM structure. We therefore construct one standardized SDO index, where lower values indicate stronger egalitarian orientation, and two standardized MMM indices: Success Stereotypes (MMM1) and Discrimination Denial (MMM2).

The moderation patterns differ across the two dimensions of discrimination recognition. We find little evidence that MMM beliefs moderate the effects of diversity on visual attention or that SDO moderates its effects on perceived discrimination ($p > 0.05$ for all corresponding interaction terms; $BF_{10} = 0.006$–0.094). Instead, the exploratory analyses below suggest that egalitarian orientation is associated primarily with heterogeneity in attentional responses, whereas beliefs about discrimination against Asian Americans are associated with heterogeneity in evaluative responses.

5.3.1 Egalitarian Orientation and Attentional Recognition

Panel A of Figure A.2 plots changes in dwell time relative to the baseline context across the three diverse-context conditions as a function of evaluators' SDO. In the AA condition, participants with lower SDO scores—indicating stronger egalitarian orientation—show substantial reductions in attention to the focal applicant in the *+White F* and *+Min. M* conditions. At approximately two standard deviations below the mean of SDO, these reductions approach 500 ms, whereas the corresponding changes become substantially smaller at higher levels of SDO. In the BA condition, the clearest pattern occurs in the *+Min. F* condition: participants with lower SDO scores increase attention to the focal Black American applicant by approximately 650 ms, with the increase diminishing as SDO rises.

These patterns suggest that the asymmetric redistribution of attention documented in Section 4 is particularly pronounced among more egalitarian evaluators. Evaluators who are more oriented toward group equality appear especially responsive to the surrounding social context, allocating attention differently across potential targets of disadvantage. This pattern is consistent with prior evidence that egalitarian individuals can respond differently to inequality depending on which groups are perceived as disadvantaged (Waldfogel et al., 2021).

5.3.2 Model Minority Beliefs and Evaluative Recognition

Panels B and C of Figure A.2 examine heterogeneity in perceived discrimination as a function of the two dimensions of Model Minority Myth endorsement. We find little evidence of systematic moderation by Success Stereotypes (MMM1). Discrimination Denial (MMM2), however, moderates the change in perceived discrimination in the AA condition. Participants with lower MMM2 scores—indicating greater recognition that Asian Americans experience discrimination—show larger reductions in perceived discrimination when additional underrepresented applicants are present. For example, in the *+Min. M* and *+Min. F* conditions, participants at approximately two standard deviations below the mean of MMM2 reduce perceived discrimination by roughly 0.8 points relative to baseline, whereas the corresponding reduction is approximately 0.2 points and not statistically distinguishable from zero among participants at two standard deviations above the mean.

This pattern suggests that the reduction in evaluative recognition is not driven primarily by participants who initially deny discrimination against Asian Americans. Rather, the diversity effect is larger among participants who are more inclined to recognize such discrimination. One possible interpretation is that these evaluators have greater scope to update their judgments when the surrounding hiring outcome provides a competing signal of organizational fairness.

5.4 Robustness and Alternative Explanations

We conduct several additional analyses to assess the robustness of the main findings and consider alternative explanations for the observed attentional patterns.

First, we examine whether the asymmetric attention effect is robust to differences in overall viewing time and extends to alternative measures of visual attention. Column (1) of Appendix Tables A.3 and A.4 reports results using relative dwell time, defined as the share of total dwell time allocated to the focal applicant. Introducing an additional underrepresented applicant reduces the relative attention allocated to Asian American focal applicants by 2.84 percentage points ($p < 0.001$), while producing no significant change for Black American focal applicants. The difference between the two conditions is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). The divergence becomes more pronounced when using the continuous *Disadvantage Score*. As the disadvantage represented among selected applicants increases, the share of attention allocated to Black American focal applicants increases ($b = 5.78$, $p < 0.01$), whereas the share allocated to Asian American focal applicants decreases ($b = -3.81$, $p < 0.05$); the difference between these relationships is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). These results indicate that the asymmetric dwell-time effect reflects differences in the allocation of visual attention rather than simply differences in overall viewing time.

Columns (2)–(4) examine whether this pattern extends to other dimensions of visual attention. The clearest corresponding pattern emerges for revisit frequency, which captures the extent to which evaluators repeatedly redirect their attention to the focal applicant after looking elsewhere. Introducing an additional underrepresented applicant increases revisit frequency for Black American focal applicants but decreases it for Asian American focal applicants ($p < 0.05$ for both effects), with a significant difference between the two conditions ($p < 0.01$). The continuous *Disadvantage Score* produces an even clearer divergence: greater disadvantage is associated with longer fixation duration and more frequent revisits for Black American focal applicants, whereas neither relationship is statistically significant for Asian American focal applicants; the differences between the two conditions are significant for both measures ($p < 0.001$). Fixation probability, by contrast, shows little systematic response under either specification. Therefore, the results across measures suggest that diversity primarily shapes how attention is allocated and repeatedly directed toward focal applicants.

Second, the main findings are robust to alternative model specifications. Appendix Table A.5 compares models without individual-level controls, models including the preregistered controls, and specifications that distinguish among the identities of the newly added applicants rather than combining them into the binary *Diverse Context* indicator. Across these specifications, the central patterns remain substantively similar: diversity reduces perceived discrimination against the focal group, while its effect on visual attention differs between the AA and BA conditions.

Finally, we examine whether the attentional asymmetry could reflect pre-existing differences in Stage 1 where participants viewed all 30 applicant profiles individually. Average dwell time did not differ significantly across the six race-by-gender applicant groups (White male, White female, Black male, Black female, Asian male, and Asian female; joint F-test, $p = 0.094$). We also find no systematic differences in overall Stage 1 dwell-time patterns between participants assigned to the AA and BA conditions. The asymmetric attention pattern therefore appears to emerge when applicants are evaluated jointly within a hiring outcome.

5.5 Limitations and Future Directions

Our findings should be considered in light of several limitations that also suggest directions for future research.

First, we interpret attentional recognition as capturing the cognitive visibility of a potential target of discrimination during evaluation. Our measures do not directly identify the psychological meaning of visual attention. Greater attention to a focal applicant may reflect perceived unfair treatment, but it could also reflect perceived advantage, comparative evaluation, salience, or other forms of contextual processing. Several features of the evidence nevertheless suggest that the observed gaze patterns are meaningfully related to discrimination processing. For instance, attention to Asian American and Black American focal applicants is similar in the homogeneous baseline but diverges as the diversity context changes, indicating that the attention allocation is context-dependent. Moreover, participants with stronger egalitarian orientations spent more time visually evaluating the hiring outcomes, providing additional evidence that attention allocation covaries with attitudes relevant to fairness evaluation. Our design does not directly manipulate the attentional process. Prior evidence that experimentally directing visual attention can influence moral judgment suggests that such a pathway is plausible (Pärnamets et al., 2015). Future research could directly manipulate attentional allocation—for example, through experimentally controlled exposure or fixation—to test whether changes in attention causally affect the recognition of discrimination.

Second, our experimental setting necessarily simplifies organizational hiring decisions. Applicant qualification is represented through GPA, and participants evaluate relatively streamlined applicant profiles and hiring outcomes. This design allows us to hold the objective evidence of

discrimination constant while varying demographic composition, but real hiring decisions involve richer and more ambiguous information about applicant quality. Future studies could examine whether the effects documented here persist when evaluators encounter more complex resumes or multiple dimensions of qualification. Such settings may also reveal whether diversity becomes more or less influential as a fairness signal when objective evidence of discrimination is more ambiguous.

6 Conclusion

Using a preregistered hiring-evaluation experiment, we show that demographic diversity shapes the recognition of workplace discrimination. Holding discriminatory treatment of a focal racial group constant, increasing the demographic diversity of the surrounding hiring outcome reduces perceived discrimination against that group. Visual attention, however, responds asymmetrically across focal groups. In more diverse evaluation contexts, participants allocate greater attention to Black American focal applicants but less attention to Asian American focal applicants. Diversity therefore changes not only how discriminatory treatment is evaluated, but also how cognitive scrutiny is distributed across its potential targets. We view these findings as contributing to both theory and practice in several ways.

Theoretically, our findings distinguish between evaluative and attentional recognition of discrimination and highlight attention as an independently informative dimension of discrimination recognition. Attention is a scarce mental resource. Decades of research on selective attention show that information can be perceptually available yet fail to receive meaningful cognitive processing when attention is directed elsewhere (James et al., 1890). Indeed, Loewenstein and Wojtowicz (2025) argue that attention should be treated as a core productive resource because its allocation across competing uses entails opportunity costs. Although it is commonly assumed that attention and final evaluations move together, our results show that what observers ultimately conclude about discrimination need not correspond to how cognitive scrutiny is allocated across its potential targets. Attention allocation therefore provides a unique process-level indicator of which social targets receive greater cognitive scrutiny during evaluation and which are deprioritized.

Practically, our findings also have important implications for organizations. Demographic diversity may serve as a generalized signal of organizational fairness, making discrimination less likely to be recognized even when the discriminatory treatment of the focal group remains unchanged. These perceptual consequences may matter for organizational accountability and the well-being of employees (Pascoe and Smart Richman, 2009; Schmitt et al., 2014; Paradies et al., 2015; Lewis et al., 2015; Emmer et al., 2024; Jun et al., 2026). When external observers fail to recognize discriminatory treatment, they may be less likely to question or seek changes to the practices that produced it. Indeed, our experiment shows that participants are less likely to support further scrutiny

of potentially discriminatory hiring decisions in more diverse contexts. For groups whose discrimination is less readily recognized, employees and job applicants may also face a greater burden in demonstrating that biased treatment has occurred. This possibility is particularly relevant to recent concerns surrounding symbolic or tokenistic representation, in which visible diversity can communicate inclusiveness without necessarily implying equitable treatment across groups (Law and Tan, 2025).

Additionally, greater diversity can redistribute cognitive scrutiny across groups in ways that vary with their perceived social disadvantage. In our setting, this redistribution is particularly pronounced among more egalitarian observers. Thus, a stronger egalitarian orientation does not necessarily imply that cognitive scrutiny is distributed equally across different forms of disadvantage. For organizations, the implication is that a more diverse environment can simultaneously make some forms of disadvantage more cognitively prominent while making others easier to overlook. We document this pattern for Asian Americans, whom prior research identifies as less prototypical targets of racial discrimination (Powdthavee, 2025; Jun et al., 2026). The broader implication may extend to other marginalized groups whose disadvantage is less prototypical or salient to observers.

To combat these issues, rather than inferring equity from the overall diversity of hiring, promotion, or other personnel outcomes, organizations may benefit from evaluating the treatment of different demographic groups separately. Organizations may also need to complement visible diversity with practices that direct attention toward group-specific treatment, particularly for groups whose disadvantage is less prototypical or salient. More structured evaluation procedures that explicitly prompt decision makers to consider whether each potentially disadvantaged group has been treated equitably could likewise reduce the risk that some forms of disadvantage receive insufficient scrutiny in diverse environments. Such practices may help ensure that greater representation is accompanied not only by perceptions of inclusion, but also by sustained scrutiny of whether different groups are treated fairly.

In conclusion, visible diversity may create a dual challenge for organizational accountability: reducing the perceived need to investigate discrimination while concentrating scrutiny on some disadvantaged groups at the expense of others. Addressing this challenge may require organizations to look beyond overall demographic representation and adopt evaluation practices that systematically examine how different social groups are treated.

AI Usage

Artificial intelligence tools, including ChatGPT (OpenAI) and Claude, were used to polish language, enhance clarity, and organize content in the manuscript. No AI tools were used to produce scientific findings or perform analysis. All outputs were carefully reviewed and verified by the authors.

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Tables

Table A.1: The effect of diversity on evaluative recognition of discrimination

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Main Estimates				
AA condition	-0.609***	-0.601***	-0.706***	-0.702***
	(0.095)	(0.094)	(0.166)	(0.166)
Diverse context	-0.355***	-0.357***		
	(0.052)	(0.053)		
AA condition × Diverse context	0.036	0.039		
	(0.074)	(0.074)		
Disadvantage score			-0.730***	-0.732***
			(0.107)	(0.107)
AA condition × Disadvantage score			0.146	0.152
			(0.143)	(0.144)
Constant	4.269***	4.391***	4.740***	4.862***
	(0.068)	(0.086)	(0.119)	(0.131)
Panel B: Implied Effect by Focal Group				
Focal Group = BA	-0.355***	-0.357***	-0.730***	-0.732***
	(0.052)	(0.053)	(0.107)	(0.107)
Focal Group = AA	-0.318***	-0.318***	-0.584***	-0.580***
	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.096)	(0.097)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Clustered SEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4,636	4,604	4,636	4,604

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses. Controls include Model Minority Myth, Social Dominance Orientation, and political ideology, as preregistered. $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$.

Table A.2: The effect of diversity on attentional recognition of discrimination

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Panel A: Main Estimates				
AA condition	49.174	69.039	655.359***	662.777***
	(90.335)	(90.546)	(194.209)	(194.998)
Diverse context	148.181*	152.755*		
	(72.416)	(72.923)		
AA condition × Diverse context	-348.186***	-356.278***		
	(99.255)	(99.931)		
Disadvantage score			621.013***	609.047***
			(148.384)	(148.118)
AA condition × Disadvantage score			-849.682***	-843.150***
			(189.709)	(190.035)
Constant	1038.226***	976.662***	522.139***	476.091**
	(61.705)	(73.854)	(141.561)	(146.244)
Panel B: Implied Effect by Focal Group				
Focal Group = BA	148.181*	152.755*	621.013***	609.047***
	(72.416)	(72.923)	(148.384)	(148.118)
Focal Group = AA	-200.005**	-203.524**	-228.669	-234.104*
	(67.879)	(68.326)	(118.202)	(119.056)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Clustered SEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4,636	4,604	4,636	4,604

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses. Controls include Model Minority Myth, Social Dominance Orientation, and political ideology, as preregistered. $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$.

Table A.3: The effect of diverse context on attentional recognition of discrimination

	Relative Dwell Time b/se	Fixation Duration b/se	Fixation Prob b/se	Revisit Count b/se
Panel A: Main Estimates				
AA condition	0.482	0.451	0.019	0.116
	(1.039)	(65.276)	(0.084)	(0.302)
Diverse context	0.880	96.692	0.077	0.481*
	(0.869)	(51.978)	(0.062)	(0.237)
AA condition × Diverse context	-3.718**	-193.718**	-0.114	-0.974**
	(1.202)	(72.332)	(0.084)	(0.333)
Constant	16.272***	724.550***	0.814***	3.575***
	(0.812)	(51.271)	(0.072)	(0.237)
Panel B: Implied Effect of Diverse Context				
Focal Group = BA	0.880	96.692	0.077	0.481*
	(0.869)	(51.978)	(0.062)	(0.237)
Focal Group = AA	-2.838***	-97.026	-0.038	-0.494*
	(0.830)	(50.302)	(0.058)	(0.234)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Clustered SEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4,579	4,604	4,604	4,604

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses. Controls include Model Minority Myth, Social Dominance Orientation, and political ideology, as preregistered. $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$.

Table A.4: The effect of disadvantage score on attentional recognition of discrimination

	Relative Dwell Time b/se	Fixation Duration b/se	Fixation Prob b/se	Revisit Count b/se
Panel A: OLS/Probit Estimates				
AA condition	7.536**	415.167**	0.213	2.206***
	(2.493)	(142.611)	(0.181)	(0.653)
Disadvantage Score	5.781**	426.708***	0.183	2.141***
	(1.904)	(108.278)	(0.134)	(0.494)
AA condition × Disadvantage Score	-9.594***	-549.593***	-0.273	-2.768***
	(2.432)	(138.284)	(0.169)	(0.634)
Constant	11.093***	366.094***	0.687***	1.773***
	(1.943)	(106.309)	(0.145)	(0.486)
Panel B: Implied Effect of Disadvantage Score				
Focal Group = BA	5.781**	426.708***	0.183	2.141***
	(1.904)	(108.278)	(0.134)	(0.494)
Focal Group = AA	-3.813*	-122.885	-0.090	-0.627
	(1.514)	(86.014)	(0.104)	(0.397)
Control variables	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Clustered SEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4,579	4,604	4,604	4,604

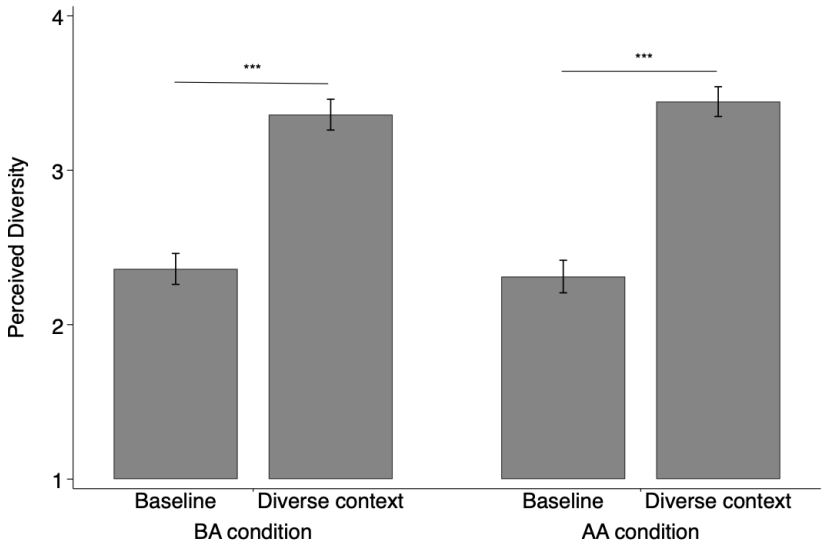
Notes: Standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses. Controls include Model Minority Myth, Social Dominance Orientation, and political ideology, as preregistered. $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$.

Table A.5: Robustness Check: Treatment Effects across Alternative Specifications

	No Controls b/se	Base Controls b/se	Full Treatment b/se	No Controls b/se	Base Controls b/se	Full Treatment b/se
	Panel A: Dwell Time			**Panel B: Perceived Bias**		
AA condition	49.174	69.039	69.039	-0.609***	-0.601***	-0.601***
	(90.335)	(90.546)	(90.585)	(0.095)	(0.094)	(0.094)
Diverse Context	148.181*	152.755*		-0.355***	-0.357***	
	(72.416)	(72.923)		(0.052)	(0.053)	
AA condition × Diverse Context	-348.186***	-356.278***		0.036	0.039	
	(99.255)	(99.931)		(0.074)	(0.074)	
+ White F			64.892			-0.146*
			(91.959)			(0.063)
+ Min. M			40.545			-0.488***
			(98.389)			(0.064)
+ Min. F			352.827***			-0.437***
			(85.909)			(0.062)
AA condition × + White F			-237.112*			-0.006
			(117.879)			(0.089)
AA condition × + Min. M			-334.145**			0.046
			(124.770)			(0.091)
AA condition × + Min. F			-497.578***			0.077
			(116.355)			(0.089)
Constant	1038.226***	976.662***	976.662***	4.269***	4.391***	4.391***
	(61.705)	(73.854)	(73.886)	(0.068)	(0.086)	(0.086)
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Clustered SEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	4,604	4,604	4,604	4,604	4,604	4,604

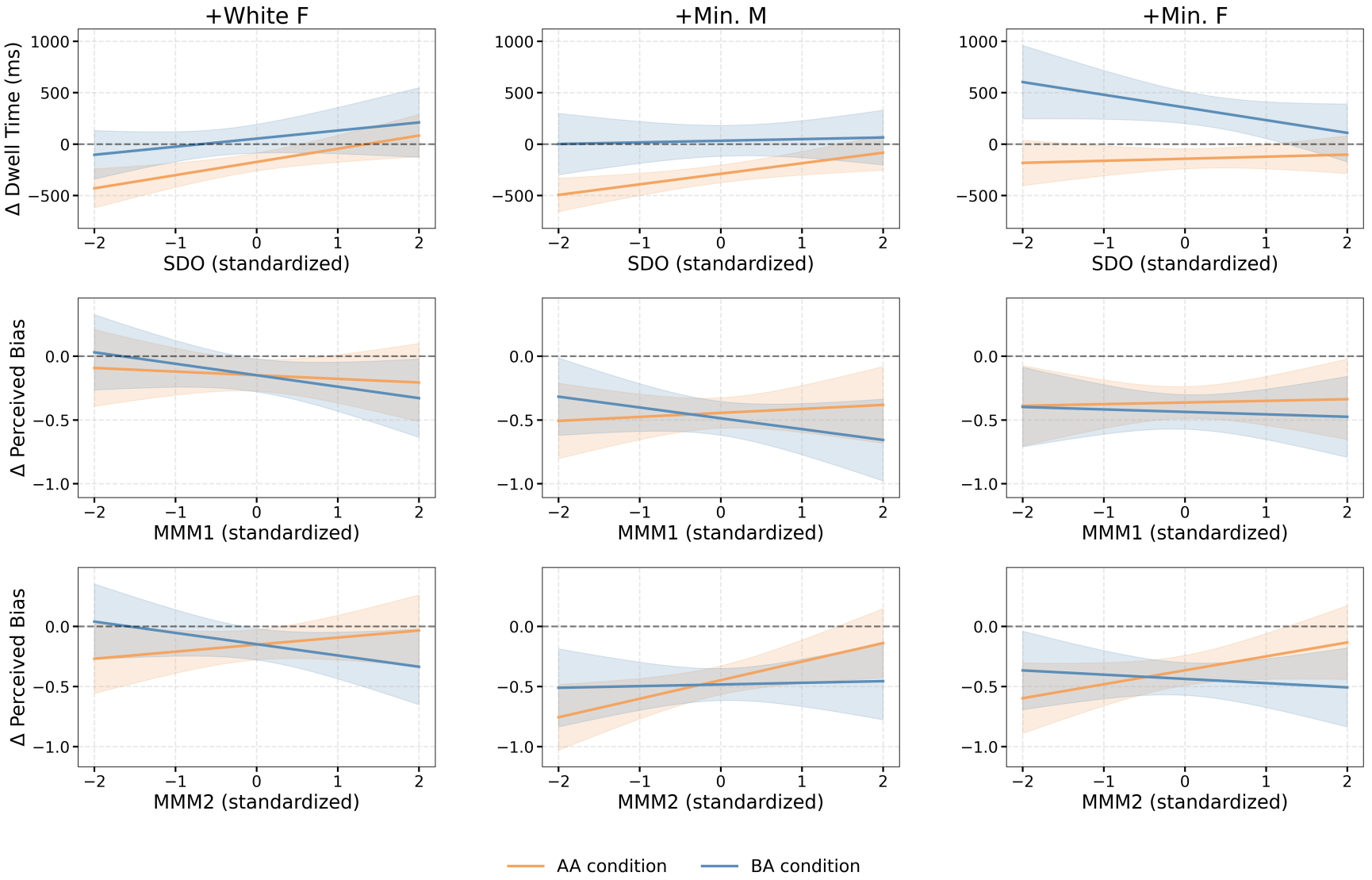
Notes: Standard errors clustered at the individual level are reported in parentheses. Controls include Model Minority Myth, Social Dominance Orientation, and political ideology, as preregistered. $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$.

A Figures



Notes: Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Figure A.1: Effect of Hiring-Outcome Composition on Perceived Diversity



Notes: Lower SDO = stronger egalitarianism. Lower MMM1 = stronger Asian success stereotypes. Lower MMM2 = stronger belief Asians face discrimination. Shaded regions: 95% CIs. All changes relative to baseline. Dashed lines: no change.

Figure A.2: Individual differences in evaluative and attentional responses to diversity.

Experimental Interface Screenshots

All screenshots display the actual interface as presented to participants. Webcam-based eye-tracking data were collected throughout the experiment.

Consent Form

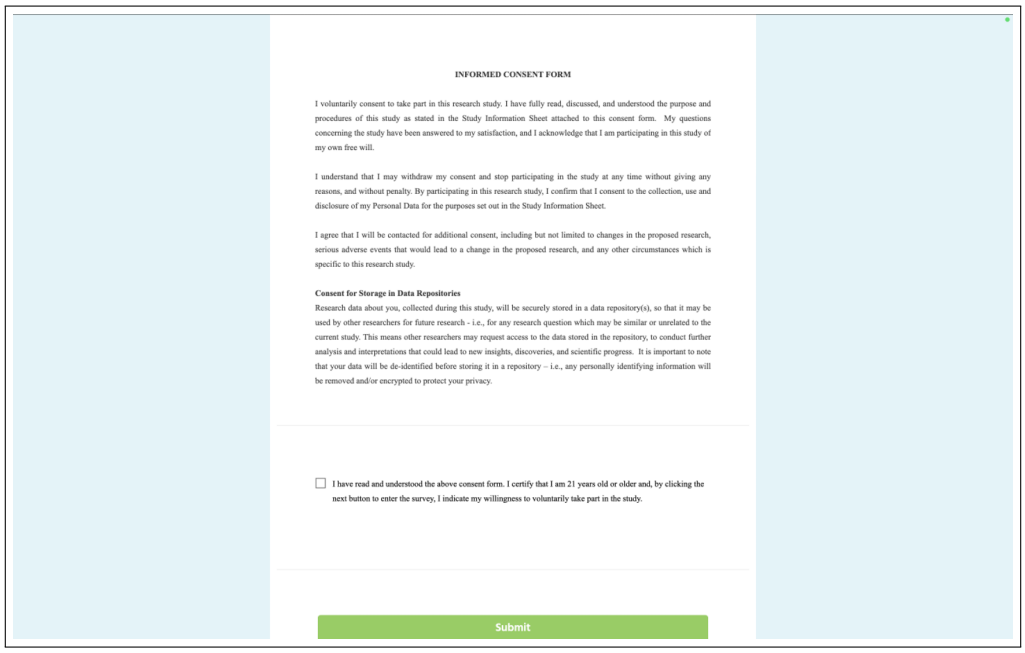


Figure A.3: Informed consent form.

Overview

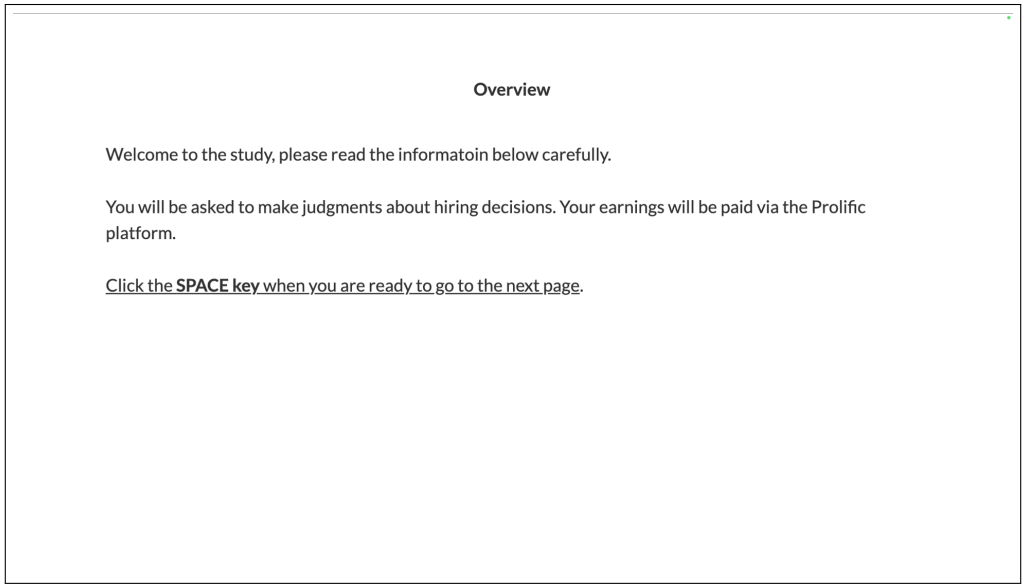


Figure A.4: Study overview screen.

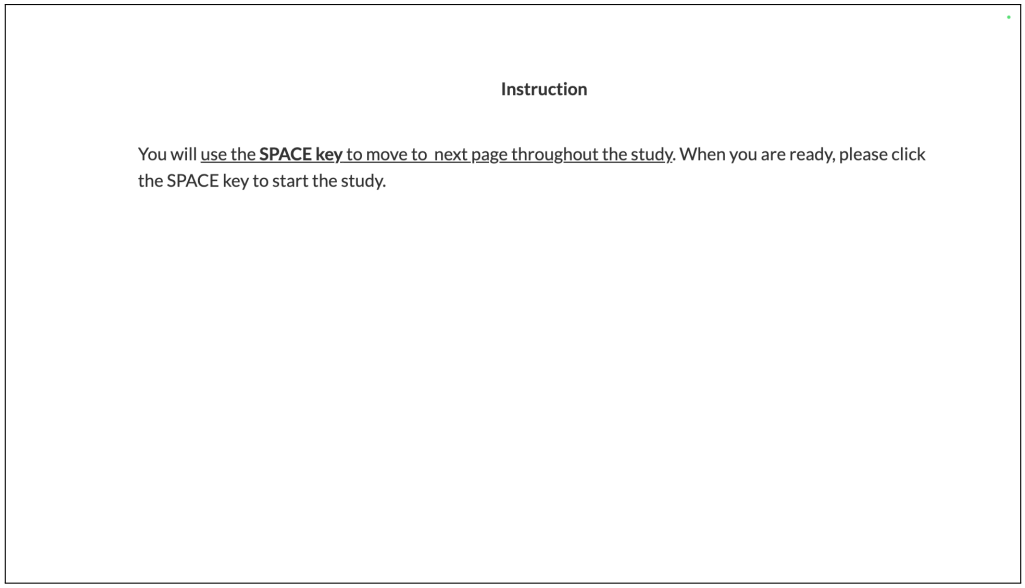


Figure A.5: Study overview screen.

Stage 1

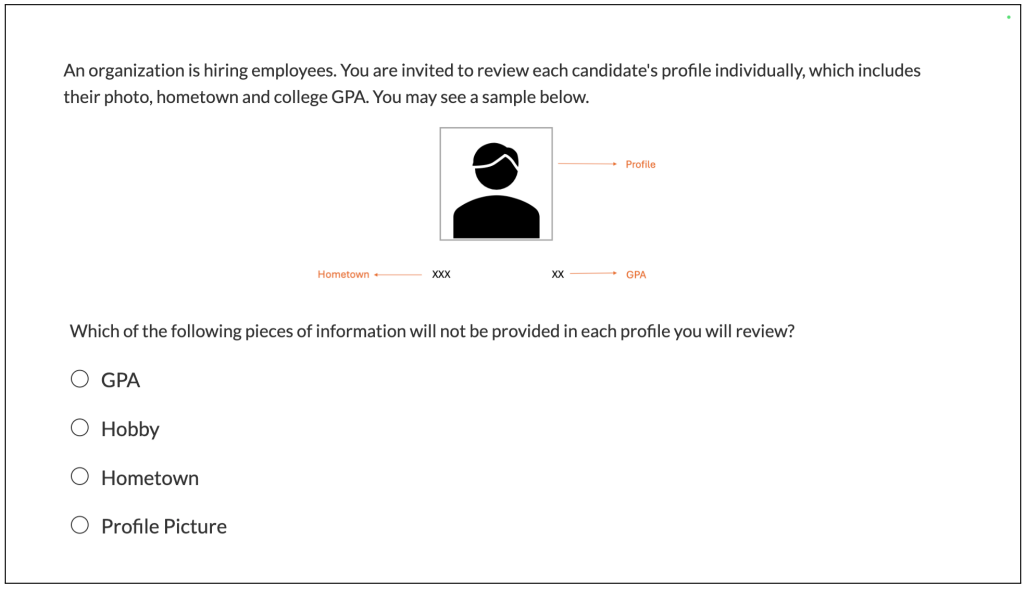


Figure A.6: Comprehension check question embedded in instructions.

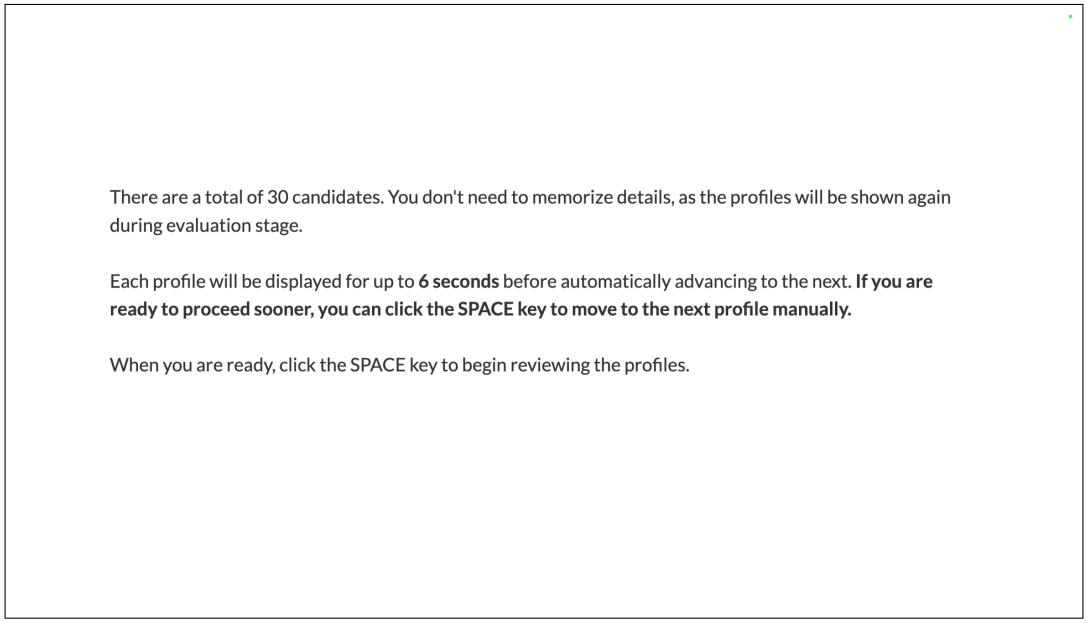
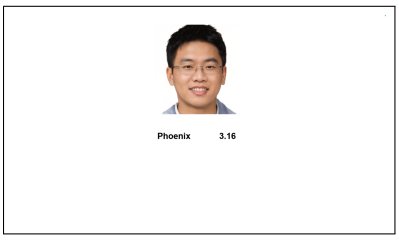
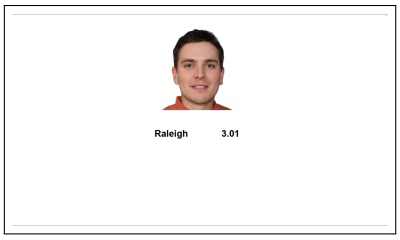


Figure A.7: Stage 1 instructions.



(a) Asian male applicant



(b) White male applicant



(c) White female applicant

Figure A.8: Example applicant profiles from Stage 1.

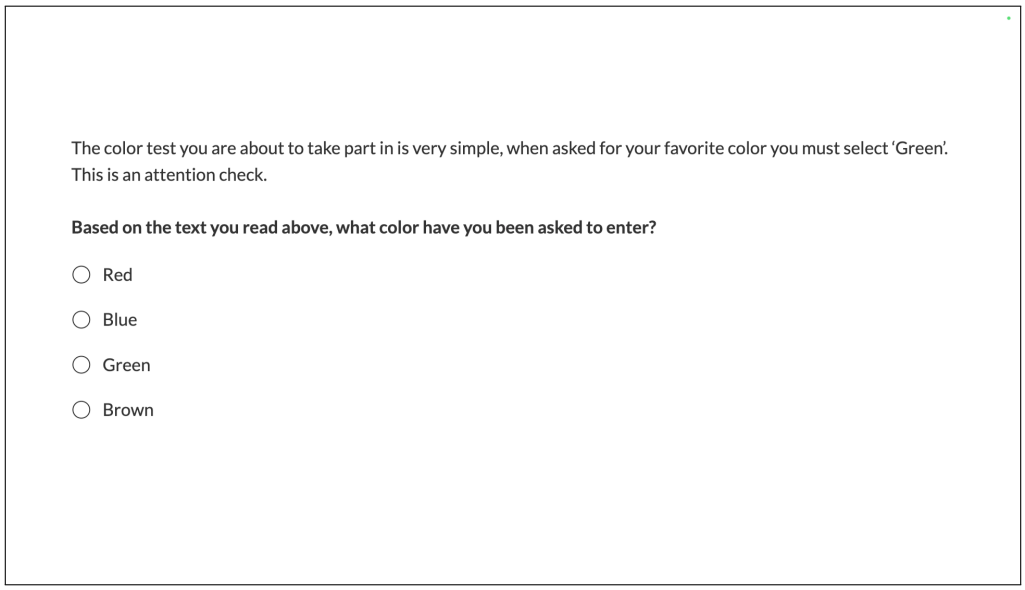


Figure A.9: Attention check.

Stage 2: Hiring Decision Evaluation

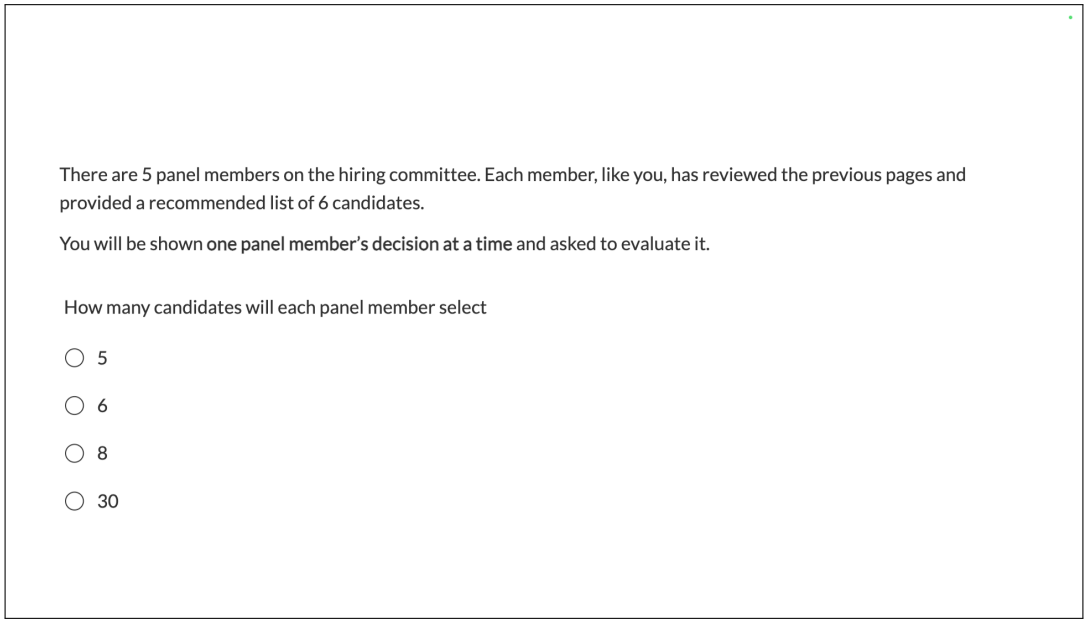


Figure A.10: Stage 2 introduction screen, Page 1.

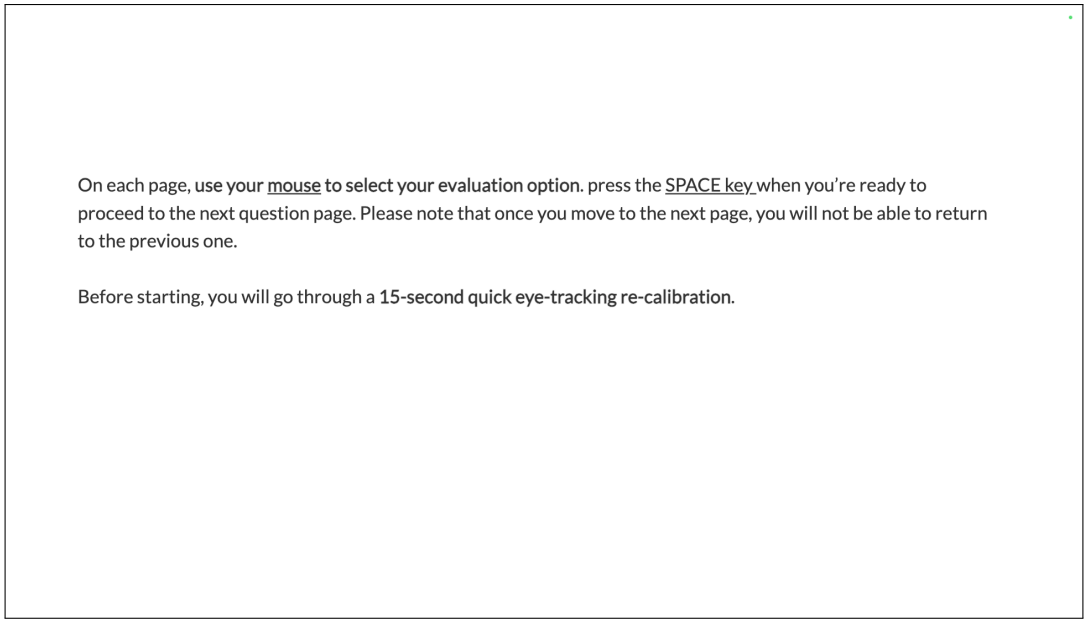


Figure A.11: Stage 2 introduction screen, Page 2.



Figure A.12: Panel member evaluation transition screen.

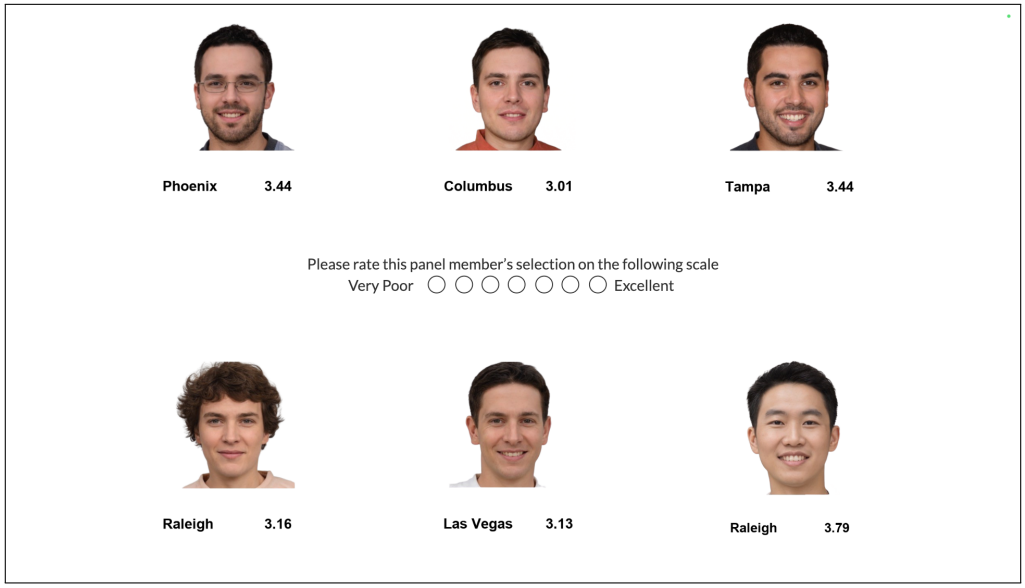


Figure A.13: Stage 2, Step 1: Qualification assessment interface.

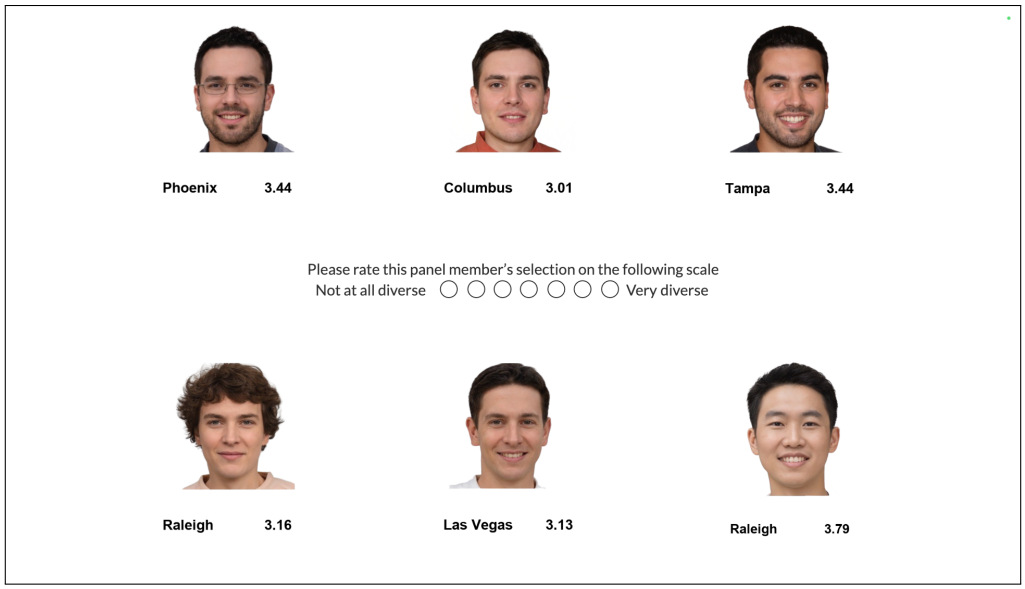


Figure A.14: Stage 2, Step 1: Diversity assessment interface.



Figure A.15: Stage 2, Step 2: Bias perception questions.

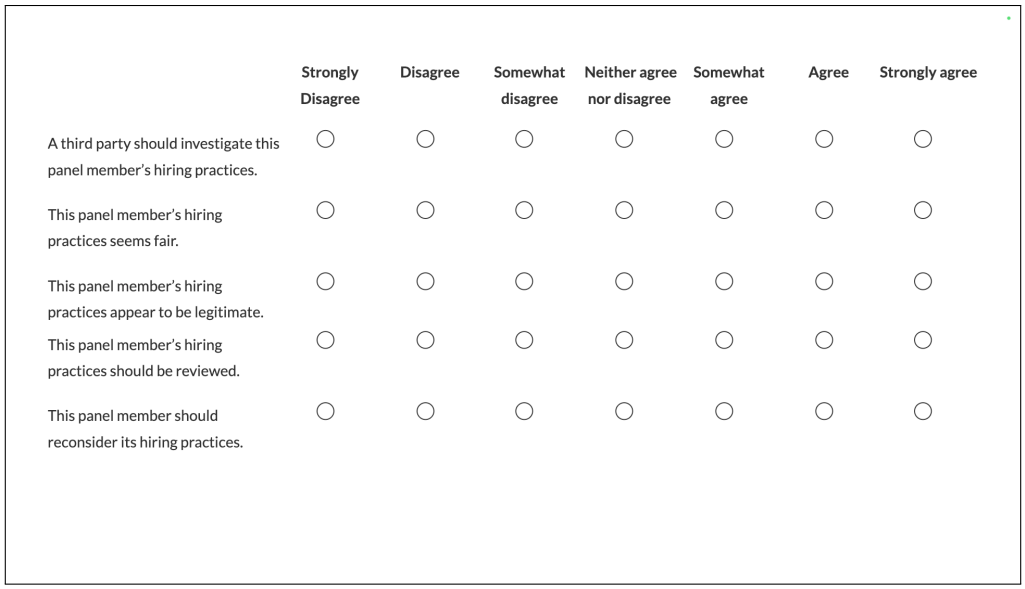


Figure A.16: Stage 2, Step 2: Additional fairness evaluation questions.

Post-Questionnaire

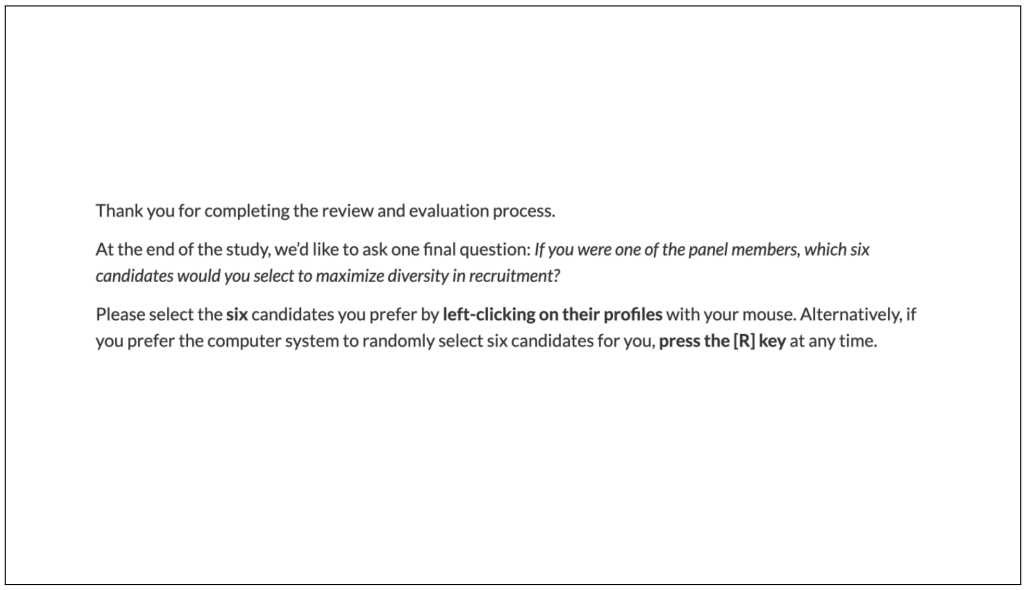


Figure A.17: Diversity hiring selection task instructions.



Figure A.18: applicant pool display for diversity selection task.

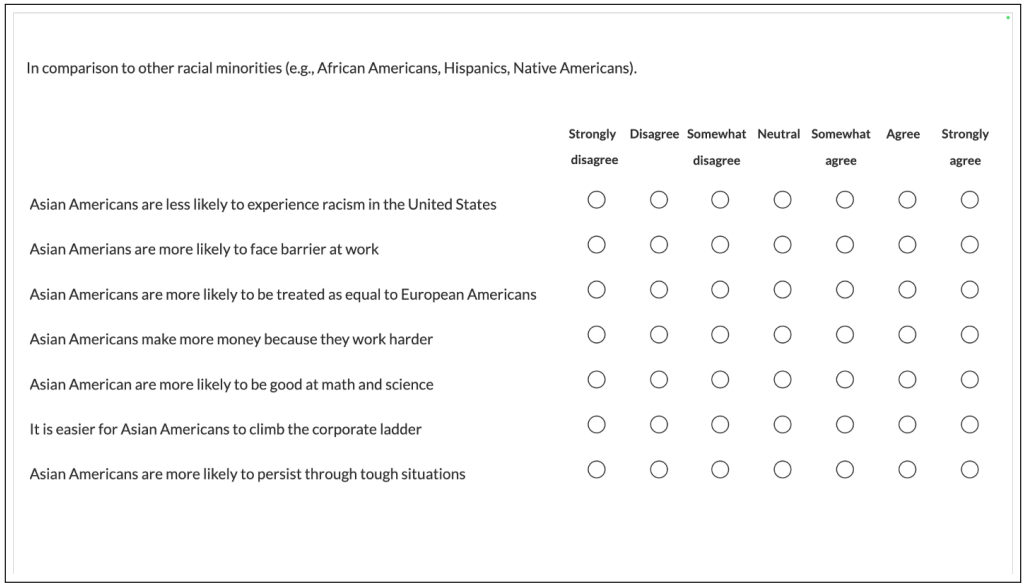


Figure A.19: Model Minority Myth scale, Page 1.

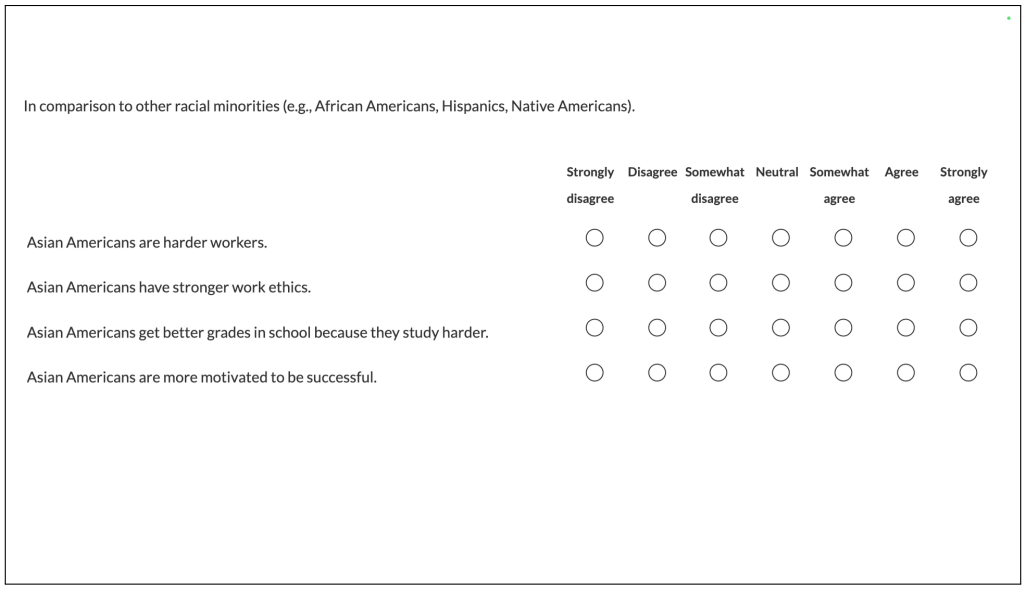


Figure A.20: Model Minority Myth scale, Page 2.

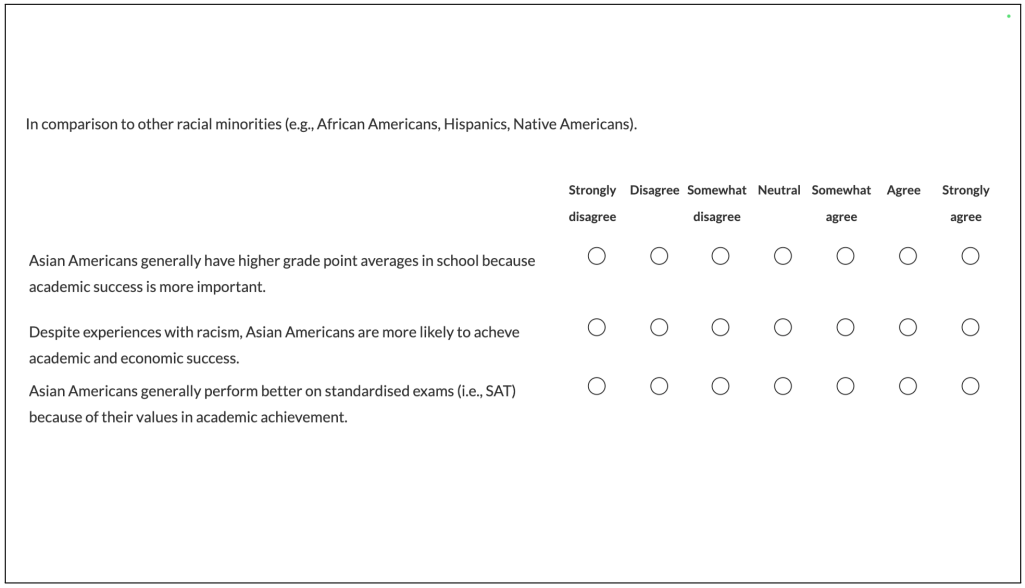


Figure A.21: Model Minority Myth scale, Page 3.

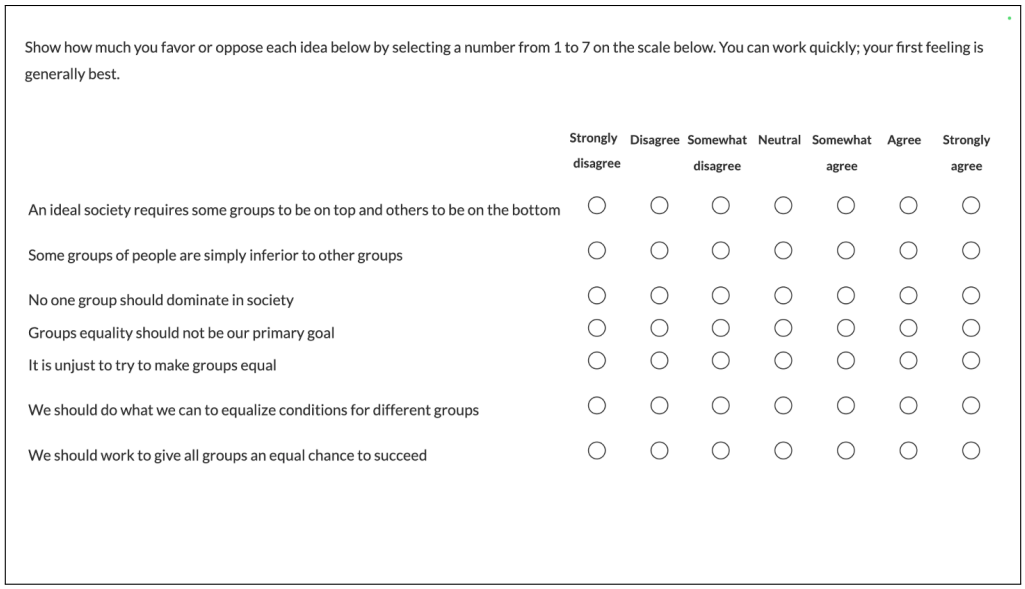


Figure A.22: Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale.

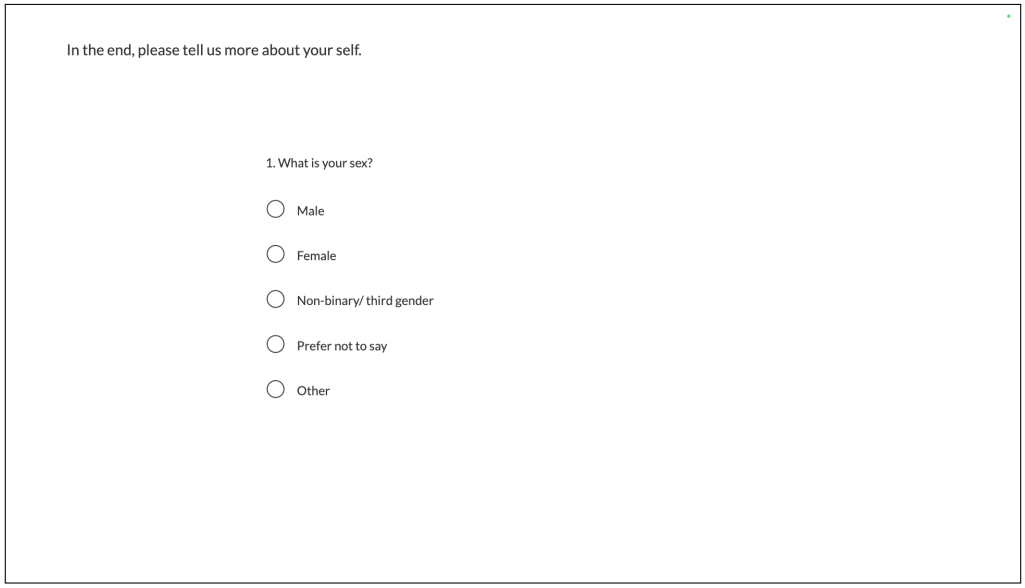


Figure A.23: Demographic question: Sex.



Figure A.24: Demographic question: Marital status.

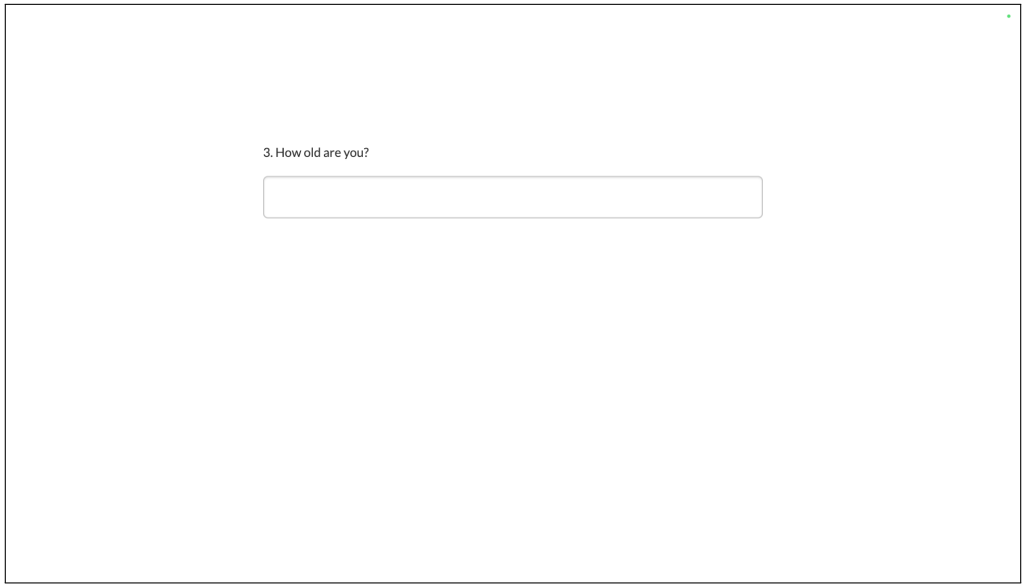


Figure A.25: Demographic question: Age.

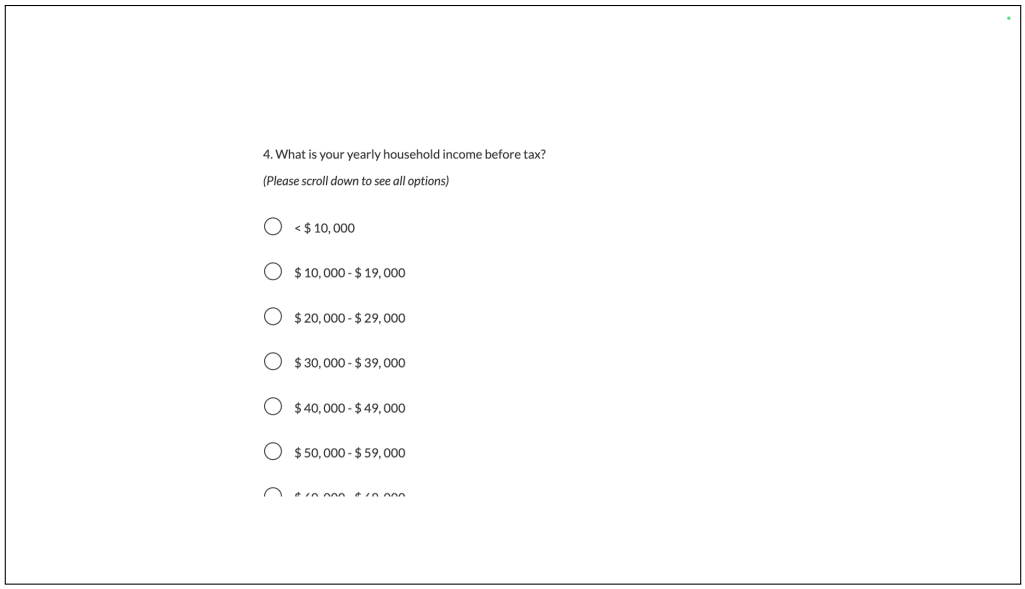


Figure A.26: Demographic question: Household income.

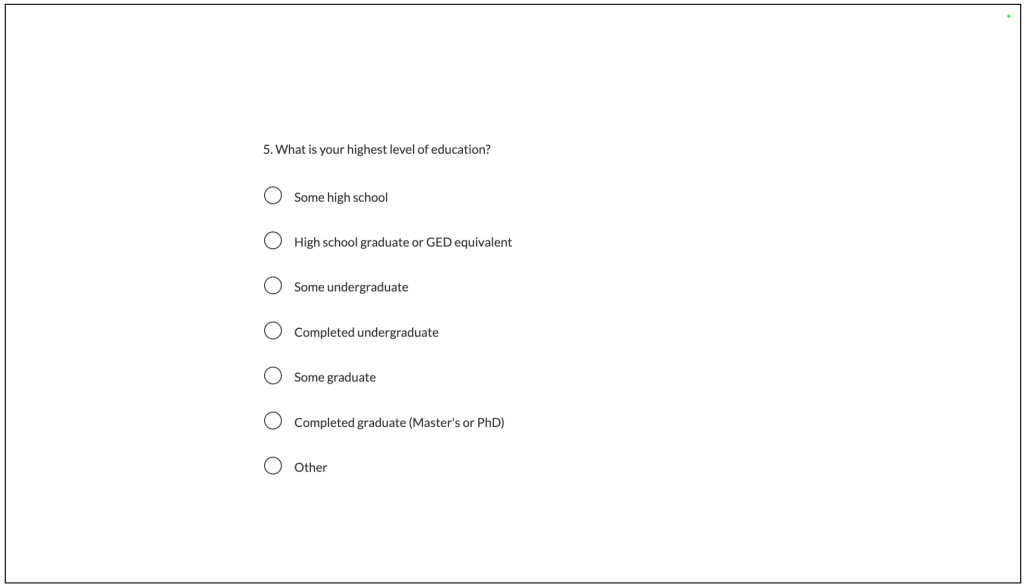


Figure A.27: Demographic question: Education level.



Figure A.28: Demographic question: Race/Ethnicity.



Figure A.29: Demographic question: Political affiliation.