Doing diversity? Analyzing support for diversity policies with a conjoint experiment

Stückradt, K.; Lancee, B.; Di Stasio, V.

DOI
10.1016/j.ssresearch.2025.103262

Publication date
2026

Document Version
Final published version

Published in
Social Science Research

Social Science Research 133 (2026) 103262

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Social Science Research

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/ssresearch

Doing diversity? Analyzing support for diversity policies with a conjoint experiment

Katharina Stückradt [a,*], Bram Lancee [a], Valentina Di Stasio [b,1]

[a] University of Amsterdam, Nieuwe Achtergracht 166, 1018 WV, Amsterdam, the Netherlands
[b] European University Institute, Via della Badia dei Roccettini, 9, 50014, Fiesole, FI, Italy

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Hiring
Diversity Policies
Policy Support
Hiring Managers
Conjoint Experiment

ABSTRACT

This study examines hiring managers' (i.e., employees with hiring responsibilities) support for hiring policies aimed at increasing diversity. Research has shown that some policies are more helpful in combating discrimination and increasing diversity than others, but we do not know whether those who apply the policies support them. This is surprising, because hiring managers' support for diversity policies is important for the successful implementation of policies. We discuss three motives underlying policy support: the desire for diversity, the goal of meritocratic hiring, and the maintenance of agency. Using data from an original conjoint experiment collected in the Netherlands (N = 512 individuals), we examine the extent to which hiring managers support diversity policies, whether they prefer other hiring policies, or if they favor the absence of regulations altogether. We find that, rather than policies that increase organizational diversity, hiring managers support policies that preserve their autonomy while maintaining established organizational policies. Marginal means analyses and multilevel regression models show that policy support aligns most strongly with the agency motive alongside concerns about fairness and merit-based selection. Hiring managers prefer an unstructured screening process and are reluctant to support hiring quota and the use of standardized or anonymous application forms. These preferences are particularly pronounced in smaller organizations and where little to no formalized hiring policies are in place. Our findings highlight the need for organizations to address hiring managers' complex motivational concerns, including desires for autonomy, fairness, and status quo maintenance, to ensure effective policy implementation.

1. Introduction

In many organizations, eliminating discrimination, fostering diversity, and effectively managing diverse teams are top priorities (Marcinko and Taylor, 2021). Policies serve as powerful tools for organizations to mitigate discrimination and attract a diverse workforce (Dobbin and Kalev, 2017a). However, despite increasing attention to and adoption of diversity policies, hiring discrimination remains severe and persistent in both Europe and the USA (Lippens et al., 2023), (Quillian and Lee, 2023). Meta-analyses of field experiments further show that hiring discrimination has not declined over time (Quillian et al., 2017).

While some studies have explored public support for hiring policies designed to increase diversity in management positions

* Corresponding author. PO Box 15508, 1001 NA, Amsterdam, the Netherlands.
E-mail address: k.e.stuckradt@uva.nl (K. Stückradt).
[1] Until September 2024: Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands.

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2025.103262
Received 5 March 2025; Received in revised form 7 October 2025; Accepted 7 October 2025
Available online 23 October 2025

(Möhring and Teney, 2023), (Teney et al., 2022), this paper investigates hiring managers' (i.e., employees with hiring responsibilities) support for hiring policies. We define policy support as the extent to which individuals endorse, favor, or express preference for a particular policy. A lack of support suggests limited endorsement and may indicate resistance to the policy. Support from within an organization is critical for policy effectiveness (Dobbin et al., 2015), (Harrison et al., 2006), (Kim and Mullins, 2016), (Stainback et al., 2010), especially from hiring managers, since they are directly involved in recruitment and policy implementation. This group includes HR professionals, as well as line managers and team leaders, who are ultimately responsible for building their teams and are the main implementors of hiring policies on the floor (Sikora and Ferris, 2014). To avoid an HR-centric perspective, we consider the policy support of all employees with hiring responsibilities, whom we refer to as hiring managers.

While hiring managers' endorsement of diversity policies can shape the diversity-related behavior of employees within the organization (Avery, 2011), their motivation to implement these policies may be limited if they do not personally support them. In extreme cases, they might even ignore a policy altogether to pursue their own interests (Sikora and Ferris, 2014). For instance, Blommaert and Coenders (Avery, 2011) find that while anonymous application procedures can reduce discrimination, managers' support for these procedures is very low, which is an obstacle to policy implementation.

This study contributes to existing research by examining hiring managers' support not only for individual diversity policies but also for bundles of policies that span multiple stages of the hiring process. This approach moves beyond previous studies that focused on single policies for several reasons. First, when evaluating policy bundles, hiring managers must make trade-offs and one policy may serve as the benchmark against which the others are judged. That is, hiring managers may only recognize the importance they attach to a specific policy when considering it in relation to other policies. Second, studying support for policy bundles better reflects organizational reality, where no policy exists in isolation. Finally, research indicates that organizations are more likely to achieve their diversity goals when they implement a combination of measures that target various stages of the hiring process and address both the organizational level and hiring managers' individual practices (Arslan et al., 2025), (Roberson, 2019), (Quinn et al., 2021).

Our main contribution is to identify which hiring policies are supported by hiring managers and to explore the conditions underlying their support. We consider three motives as well as the role of perceived discrimination. For each policy, we discuss the potential motives that may underlie policy support and the conditions under which policy support might vary.

To study hiring managers' support for hiring policies, we analyze data from an original conjoint experiment collected in the Netherlands (N = 512). Conjoint experiments are particularly well-suited for studying support for diversity policies, as they require respondents to make trade-offs between pairs of hypothetical policy alternatives. In forced-choice designs like the one we employed, respondents cannot indicate the same level of support for all policies and must engage with their preferences when weighing policies against each other (Bansak et al., 2021). This design helps mitigate social desirability bias, a common challenge in survey research on sensitive topics (Auspurg and Hinz, 2014).

The Netherlands provides a relevant context for studying hiring managers' support for diversity policies, as ethnic discrimination in hiring has increased over time (Quillian and Lee, 2023). Understanding the mechanisms underlying the hiring process is key to discovering why discrimination in hiring is still present. By examining hiring managers' support for diversity policies and discussing underlying motives for support, we contribute to a broader understanding of why diversity initiatives have thus far not led to the desired outcomes.

2. Theory

2.1. How hiring policies can contribute to organizational diversity

Hiring policies influence the criteria considered in hiring processes and ultimately determine who gains access to an organization, thereby shaping workforce demographics in important ways. Since policies always exist in combination with other policies and not in a vacuum, it is essential to consider policies that address multiple stages of the hiring process (Arslan et al., 2025), (Roberson, 2019). These stages generally encompass applicant attraction through recruitment materials (e.g., the inclusion of core company values in job advertisements), the application process (e.g., its degree of formalization and standardization), and applicant screening procedures (e.g., preferential hiring). Additionally, while HR manager training does not occur with each individual hire, it serves as a foundational element that shapes the implementation of hiring processes across all recruitment cycles. While applicant attraction happens on the organizational level and does not impact hiring managers directly, the formalization of the application process, preferential hiring and training have direct impact on hiring managers' work. The following section discusses each policy type.

Core company values. Organizations communicate their mission and attract like-minded applicants by embedding core company values in their job advertisements. Job seekers infer information about the organizational climate from job advertisements (Quinn et al., 2021), (Wille and Derous, 2017). Core values work on the organizational level and reflect a company's character as embodied in its behavior and performance (Holtzhausen and Fourie, 2009), shape the organizational culture (Ashikali and Groeneveld, 2015), and impact employer-employee relationships (Holtzhausen and Fourie, 2009).

Diversity-focused values signal inclusion. To attract a diverse pool of applicants and encourage members of underrepresented groups to apply, an organization seeks to project a commitment to diversity (Dover et al., 2020). Research shows that diversity statements have positive effects on potential job applicants from ethnic minority groups (Castilla and Benard, 2010) and people with disabilities (Kurtzberg and Ameri, 2023), (Pike, 2023). Similarly, diversity statements in police job descriptions improve women's perceptions of police work and their motivation to apply (Taniguchi et al., 2023).

Alternatively, organizations may highlight performance-orientated values in their job advertisements to attract career-oriented applicants. Performance-oriented values are articulated to attract, develop and retain the talent organizations need to achieve high-

performance outcomes, and to stimulate (future) employees to conform to a performance-oriented work culture (Özçelik et al., 2016).

While company values help align the applicant pool with organizational goals, they might also have negative consequences for hiring managers' decision-making. According to the meritocracy paradox, explicitly promoting meritocracy as a core value may create the false belief that the organization already operates in a meritocratic way and that no further action is needed. Assuming their organization is bias-free, hiring managers may become less vigilant when making hiring decisions (Castilla and Benard, 2010), (Leslie, 2019). A similar process might be at work for diversity-oriented company values, which can foster a misleading sense of fairness.

Screening of applicants. A second key element is the level of formalization in applicant screening. Formalizing hiring practices, for example, by standardizing or anonymizing application forms (Becker, 1971), (Derous and Ryan, 2019), can limit decision makers' (conscious or unconscious) tendency to fall back on stereotypes and disproportionately favor ingroup members in their hiring decisions (Castilla, 2015), (Kalev, 2009). By providing them with "objective, reliable, and timely information that is directly relevant to job performance" [Reskin, 2000, p: 325], formalized application procedures can minimize the risk that employers rely on applicants' group membership, such as gender or ethnicity, as a proxy for individual productivity, as posited by statistical discrimination theory (Becker, 1971), (Derous and Ryan, 2019).

Research indicates that the use of standardized and anonymized application forms for screening applicants can reduce discrimination at the job entry stage if discrimination was initially present (Blommaert and Coenders, 2023), (Derous and Ryan, 2019), (Bøg and Kranendonk, 2011), (Krause et al., 2012), (Midtbøen, 2015), (Rinne, 2014), (Wood et al., 2009). However, standardized, and anonymous forms are not without possible drawbacks. When certain cues are absent from an application, managers tend to base their decisions on other elements, which might result in statistical discrimination (Doleac and Hansen). Another common concern is that anonymized applications may only delay discrimination to later stages of the hiring process (IZA et al., 2018). Once applicants are interviewed, personal characteristics often become apparent, allowing discrimination to re-emerge. Moreover, even if such tools reduce bias at the initial stage, they may not increase diversity as they do not address underlying structural inequalities (Bonoli and Fossati), (de Larquier and Marchal, 2016), (Hirsh and Cha, 2008). While criticisms of standardization and anonymization are valid, these tools can be effective, especially when combined with other measures or implemented within formalized organizational settings. For example, evidence from a Dutch municipality suggests that anonymous applications led to higher application and hiring rates for minority candidates (Blommaert and Coenders, 2023).

Training for HR managers. A third HR practice directly associated with the hiring process is the training of HR managers. Diversity training aims to raise awareness of bias and equip HR managers with effective strategies to foster inclusivity (Dobbin and Kalev, 2017b), (Kaiser et al., 2013), (Kalev et al., 2006), (Onyeador et al., 2021). Research suggests that, under ideal conditions, such training can reduce hiring bias and increase workforce diversity (Costa, 2024), (Dobbin and Kalev, 2018), (Derous and Ryan, 2019). However, the effectiveness of diversity training has also been subject to criticism. Several studies find no effects, or only short-lived ones (Costa, 2024), (Dobbin and Kalev, 2018). As short-term training is unlikely to have a meaningful impact, repetitive training, or training combined with other measures, might be preferable. Without being part of a broader, coordinated effort, training programs tend to have little lasting effect (Costa, 2024). Outcomes are particularly bad when training is mandatory, as it may be perceived as a limit to HR managers' discretion and autonomy (Quinn et al., 2021), (Dobbin and Kalev, 2017b). Diversity training is most effective when it is voluntary (Dobbin and Kalev, 2017b).

Other than diversity training, organizations may also choose to provide training with the goal of hiring the most qualified candidates. A focus on hiring qualified applicants is positively related to organizational performance: the more qualified the candidates, the less on-the-job training they require and the faster they can contribute to organizational productivity (Vlachos, 2008).

Preferential hiring policies. Another element of the hiring process is the final selection of applicants. One widely debated approach to promoting workplace diversity is the introduction of preferential hiring policies for underrepresented groups, such as women and ethnic minorities (Verbeek and Groeneveld, 2012). A commonly used preferential hiring policy is the tiebreak rule, which grants preference to applicants from underrepresented groups when qualifications are otherwise equal. Another approach is the implementation of quotas, which set specific targets for hiring individuals from underrepresented groups. Both tiebreak rules and quotas aim to increase (numerical) diversity among employees (Hajnal and Scharle, 2023), (Morgenroth and Ryan, 2018) and to enhance the representation of subordinate groups across organizational levels (Besley et al., 2017), (Möhring and Teney, 2020). Research supports the effectiveness of these policies in increasing minority representation (Quinn et al., 2021), (Miller, 2017), (Sabatier, 2015). However, preferential hiring is criticized by some for being a procedurally unfair practice to level the playing field. Even though quotas will result in higher levels of diversity, critics consider them a violation of the meritocratic ideal (Besley et al., 2017), (Fibbi et al., 2021), (Foley and Williamson, 2019), (Scarborough et al., 2019). On a different note, hiring managers might reject preferential hiring policies as they are perceived as too prescriptive (Blommaert and Coenders, 2024).

All policies discussed above have the potential to reduce discrimination and promote diversity in hiring, yet each also carries possible drawbacks. While anonymous application forms and preferential hiring tend to have more immediate and measurable effects on hiring outcomes than company value statements or HR manager training, their effectiveness is maximized when embedded within a comprehensive framework of policies that jointly target multiple stages of the hiring process (Ely and Thomas, 2001). The presence of complementary policies may help mitigate the unintended consequences of individual policies, thereby enhancing their overall impact. No single policy should be relied upon in isolation; rather, their effectiveness is amplified when used in conjunction, as complementary measures can offset each other's weaknesses and reinforce shared goals.

2.2. Hiring managers' support for hiring policies

Hiring managers are likely to favor certain policies over others based on their underlying objectives. Support for a policy can stem

from a variety of overlapping and complex motivations. Scholars have identified three motives that are particularly central: promoting diversity (*diversity motive*), rewarding talent (*merit motive*), and preserving autonomy at work (*agency motive*) (Dobbin and Kalev, 2017b), (Castilla and Ranganathan, 2020). First, being motivated by a commitment to diversity is the most obvious driving factor for why to support diversity policies. However, diversity policies are often considered to be at odds with meritocratic ideals by the public (Ballinger et al., 2023), (Iyer, 2022). While diversity and meritocracy can be combined (Konrad et al., 2021), the perception of both concepts as conflicting is widespread. This makes a focus on merit the most central competing explanation for why hiring managers would not support diversity policies from an ideological point of view (Aberson, 2007), (Bourabain and Verhaeghe, 2022). The agency motive addresses the practical implementation of policies which is especially important to hiring managers as they get to work with the policies. The literature is outspoken about managers preference for agency and the backfiring effects of policies that are perceived as prescriptive (Dobbin et al., 2015), (Dobbin and Kalev, 2018), (Blom-Hansen et al., 2024), (Slemp et al., 2015). These three motives are the most widely cited in the literature, making them especially relevant in our context.[2] Yet, the motives alone may not fully explain variation in support. Whether and how strongly these motives translate into concrete policy preferences likely depends on how hiring managers perceive their organizational context, particularly the extent to which they believe discrimination is present within their organization.

Diversity motive. The 'diversity motive' can be driven by multiple considerations. While the moral or justice case for diversity justifies diversity efforts on moral grounds of fairness and equal opportunities, the signaling case for diversity focuses on the positive effects of demonstrating a commitment to diversity to prospective employees, business partners and the general public. Furthermore, there has been increased emphasis on the economic benefits of diversity within organizations (the business case for diversity), as well as on the growing societal pressure for organizations to become more diverse (for a review of the three perspectives: Dover et al. (2020)). Hiring managers guided by this motive understand that a diverse workforce brings a variety of perspectives, which can enhance creativity and innovation (Wang et al., 2019) and improve teams' ability to catering to a broader customer base, ultimately increasing organizational profitability (Đặng et al., 2020).[3]

While the diversity motive may underlie hiring managers' support for diversity-oriented hiring policies, hiring managers might understand this motive as conflicting with their meritocratic ideals or as constraints to their agency in decision-making. If either is the case, hiring managers' policy preferences may rather be guided by the merit motive or the agency motive.

Merit motive. Hiring managers might hesitate to endorse diversity policies if their primary goal is to secure the most talented candidates. Such reluctance echoes the meritocratic principle that success should only depend on individual talent and effort (Ely and Thomas, 2001). Those who view diversity as a zero-sum game (Ballinger et al., 2023), conflicting with the principles of merit-based recruitment (Foley and Williamson, 2019), (Iyer, 2022), may choose to prioritize skills, qualifications, and individual potential, emphasizing performance-based selection.

Agency motive. Job autonomy is positively associated with job satisfaction and well-being (Slemp et al., 2015), (Chung-Yan, 2010). Research has also demonstrated that efforts to impose control frequently elicit resistance or negative reactions (Dobbin and Kalev, 2018). In line with this, the agency motive suggests that hiring managers may be skeptical of centralized hiring practices, fearing increased administrative burdens and bureaucratic constraints. Accordingly, hiring managers driven by the agency motive tend to favor policies that preserve decision-making discretion and maximize autonomy (Dobbin et al., 2015), (Vinluan et al., 2025). This may reflect a belief that they are able to make the best choices independently and when not restricted by bureaucratic measures. To the extent that hiring managers strive for autonomy, they may perceive diversity policies, such as quotas, to be prescriptive as well as administratively burdensome, and at odds with their decision-making autonomy (Dobbin et al., 2015).

Based on these three motives, we formulate expectations about support for the different hiring policies outlined above. Table 1 provides an overview of the conjoint design and our expectations.

If hiring managers support diversity values, standardized or anonymized application forms, diversity HR training and, finally, tiebreak rules or quotas, their support is likely driven by the **diversity motive**. Conversely, hiring managers who favor performance-oriented company values, prefer standardized- or anonymous application forms, choose performance-oriented HR training and prefer either the absence of a preferential hiring policy or a tiebreak policy are likely driven by the **merit motive**. Finally, the **agency motive** suggests that hiring managers support the absence of any formalization of the screening process more than standardized or anonymized application forms, and the absence of any preferential hiring policy more than a tiebreak rule or quota hiring. When guided by the agency motive, hiring managers are likely indifferent about diversity- or performance-oriented values and training.

Perceptions of discrimination as contextual cues. Whether and how strongly these motives translate into concrete policy preferences likely also depends on hiring managers' perception of discrimination within the organization. Even those who value diversity may be less motivated to invest in diversity policies if they perceive their organization as already diverse and non-discriminatory. By contrast, those who believe that target groups face unfair treatment are more likely to perceive a need for corrective action (Mangum and Block, 2022). Perceptions of discrimination are therefore a critical factor in understanding whether hiring managers view diversity interventions as necessary or redundant. Incorporating this variable allows us to examine whether perceived organizational inequality

[2] Other motives, such as organizational concerns (focusing on benefits for the organization) or instrumental considerations (focusing on personal costs or gains), have also been discussed in prior research, but they are less analytically tractable, as they can lead to divergent predictions depending on managers' subjective expectations.

[3] The moral or justice case for diversity aligns with the prosocial motive, i.e., hiring managers care about their environment and want to create an inclusive workplace. The business case relates to the organizational concern motive, i.e., the belief that increased diversity will benefit the organization as a whole.

Table 1
Conjoint levels and dimensions, support expectations.

Dimensions		Levels	Diversity	Merit	Agency
1	Core company value in job advertisement	Commitment to a diverse workforce	+	–	?
		Commitment to a performance-oriented workforce	–	+	?
2	Process of applicant screening	Based on review of cover letters and resumes	–	–	+
		Letters and resumes sent *via* email (no form)			
		Based on the match between applicant's profile and job; Standardized application form	+	+	–
		Based on the match between applicant's profile and job; Anonymous application form (without gender, ethnicity, and age)	+	+	–
3	Training of HR managers	Diversity training on recruiting a diverse workforce	+	–	–
		Training on selecting the most qualified applicants	–	+	–
4	Preferential hiring ethnic minority	No preferential policy; Most qualified candidate is hired	–	+	+
		In case of equal suitability preference for applicants from ethnic minority group/ female applicant	+	+	–
		Binding quota on the number of ethnic minority/female employees at all levels in your organization	+	–	–
5	Preferential hiring gender	No preferential policy; Most qualified candidate is hired	–	+	+
		In case of equal suitability preference for applicants from ethnic minority group/ female applicant	+	+	–
		Binding quota on the number of ethnic minority/female employees at all levels in your organization	+	–	–

activates support for diversity-oriented policies - even among those who might otherwise prioritize values like merit or individual autonomy. From this perspective, perceived discrimination serves as a contextual cue that moderates the alignment between underlying motives (diversity, merit, or agency) and policy preferences. Hiring managers who do not perceive any unfair treatment may see diversity policies as conflicting with the meritocratic or agency-based ideal, while those who do perceive discrimination may view such policies as a legitimate response and support diversity policies (Möhring and Teney, 2023), (Harrison et al., 2006), (Scarborough et al., 2019), (Möhring et al., 2019). Empirical evidence from previous studies supports our expectation of a positive relationship between perceived discrimination and support for diversity-focused core company values, diversity training, and preferential hiring (Umanzor et al., 2024), (Zehnter and Nater, 2025). By including perceived discrimination as an independent variable, we thus aim to capture an important scope condition that can shape how underlying motives are translated into concrete policy support.

3. Data and method

3.1. Experimental design

We used original data from a paired-conjoint experiment with forced choice (Lancee et al., 2024), also referred to as a discrete choice experiment (Hainmueller et al., 2014), (Hainmueller et al., 2015). In a forced-choice design, respondents are presented with descriptions of hypothetical scenarios (in our case, policy packages) in tabular form and asked to indicate the scenario they prefer.

Each hypothetical scenario consists of several dimensions (policy types) with randomly varied levels (policy content). The randomization of all dimensions comes with two advantages: first, respondents are less likely to detect the aim of the study than they would be with single-item questions and are, hence, less likely to give socially desirable answers (Auspurg and Hinz, 2014). This is particularly important when researching a topic prone to social desirability, such as support for organizational diversity (Wulff and Villadsen, 2019). Furthermore, the randomization of dimensions allows researchers to causally identify the determinants of policy support (Bansak et al., 2021), (Auspurg et al., 2017). Another benefit of conjoint experiments is that, like all survey experiments, they combine the generally high external validity of traditional surveys with the high internal validity of experiments.

In our conjoint experiment, respondents were told that their organizations wanted to implement a new set of hiring policies. They were presented with a series of hypothetical pairs of policy packages and asked to indicate which one they would pick for implementation at their organization. Even though the choices are hypothetical, the information gained is valuable. For example, Hainmueller et al. (2015) showed that findings from conjoint experiments on support for immigrant naturalization are consistent with behavioral data from a natural experiment. However, the ecological validity of survey experiments is highly content-specific. For example, survey experiments that tried to replicate ethnic hiring discrimination, as established by field experiments, have remained unsuccessful (Wulff and Villadsen, 2019), (Forster and Neugebauer, 2024). Unlike experiments that ask respondents to make hiring decisions about specific applicants, which differ significantly from real hiring contexts due to their hypothetical nature, our study focuses on organizational policy preferences. This approach involves evaluating abstract institutional principles rather than making interpersonal judgments about individual candidates. Policy decision-making is inherently conceptual and strategic, creating psychological distance from potentially sensitive person-specific evaluations. Moreover, organizational policy choices naturally occur at an abstract level in real-world contexts, making the hypothetical nature of our experiment less problematic. In this context, respondents can more authentically express their views on policy principles without the pressure of appearing to discriminate against specific groups of individuals. Consequently, hypothetical bias is substantially reduced.

As shown in Table 1, our conjoint design includes five hiring policies with two or three levels each (amounting to a total of 108 possible combinations). To mimic the order in which they affect the hiring process, we did not randomly vary the order of the dimensions. The first dimension captures the **core company value stated in the job advertisement** with the levels of *pursuing a diverse workforce* vs. *pursuing a performance-oriented workforce*. The second dimension refers to the degree to which **the screening of applicants** is formalized. We distinguished between three degrees of formalization: non-formalized screening *based on a review of cover letters and resumes, with letters and resumes sent via e-mail*; formalized screening *based on the match between the applicant and the job profile, employing a standardized applicant form*; and a highly formalized screening procedure *based on the match between the applicant and the job profile, employing an anonymized applicant form*. The third dimension involves the **training that HR managers receive** and distinguishes between *training focused on recruiting a diverse workforce* and *training focused on selecting the most qualified applicants*. The fourth and fifth dimensions both capture the degree to which the selection of applicants is guided by **priority hiring policies for ethnic minorities** (dimension 4) and for **women** (dimension 5). Both dimensions contain three levels distinguishing between: *no preferential policy: the most qualified candidate is hired*; a tiebreak policy stating that, *in case of equally qualified applicants, preference is given to ethnic minorities (dimension 4) or women (dimension 5);* and a strict *binding quota on the number of ethnic minority employees (dimension 4)/ female employees (dimension 5) at all levels of the organization.*

We used a full-factorial design, and each respondent was randomly assigned to 16 pairs of policy packages[4]. Bansak et al. (2018) show that respondents can complete up to 30 choice tasks without fatigue effects. Following a power analysis, a minimum of 16 tasks were deemed necessary to detect variation in the choice and rating of policy bundles across respondents. We carried out robustness checks considering only the first six choices of respondents to ensure our results were not driven by respondent fatigue (see appendix Tables A2 and A3).

The data we use are part of a larger data collection carried out by I&O Research in January 2022, sampling respondents between the age of 25 and 64 from their representative panel. For our analysis, we selected respondents with hiring experience from the larger dataset. This resulted in a sample of N = 512 respondents who were either involved in hiring processes "sometimes" or "often" or held human resource tasks in their current position. In total, the analytical sample consists of 16.348 observations (=512*2*16). Our results are robust even when the sample is restricted to those who reported being involved in hiring processes "often" (N = 166 respondents).

In our sample, 57 % of hiring managers identified as male, while 43 % identified as female. About 20 % of respondents fell into one of three age categories: 25–34 years, 35–44 years, and 45–54 years. 37 % of the respondents were 55 years old or older. Regarding education, 4 % of the respondents had completed lower than secondary education, 16 % had completed secondary education, and the majority (80 %) had completed tertiary education. Four-fifths of the respondents were Dutch and did not have a migration background, while one-fifth had a migration background. Almost half the respondents had been working in their current job for eight years or more. The majority of respondents worked in large organizations with 250 employees or more. In terms of their perceptions of discrimination at their organizations, 68 % of our sample did not perceive ethnic discrimination (rated 1–2 on a 7-point scale), while 13 % did perceive ethnic discrimination (rated 6–7 on a 7-point scale). Similarly, 64 % felt that their organization does not discriminate against women, while 10 % felt that women are discriminated against. A table summarizing the descriptive information can be found in the appendix, Table A1.

As this study was designed at a time when pre-registrations were not a common standard in sociology, the hypotheses were not pre-registered. Below, we transparently report the results for all vignette dimensions and interpret them in relation to the three main motives under study. However, as the motives remain unmeasured, our interpretation of the findings remains theory-driven, though admittedly speculative.

3.2. Variables

3.2.1. Outcome variables

In the conjoint experiment, the binary choice of a policy package is our outcome variable. An alternative outcome variable typically used in conjoint experiments is a rating scale for each policy package. Treger (2023) states that rating outcomes might be more in line with reality for many research questions, where individuals can support different scenarios simultaneously. In our case, this does not hold because the levels of the policy dimensions cannot coexist; for example, an organization cannot work without standardized application forms and simultaneously introduce standardized application forms. We chose to use the binary outcome because it does not allow respondents to be indifferent to the policy options.

3.2.2. Independent variables

The independent variables are the levels of the conjoint experiment, treated as dummies, and perceived discrimination against ethnic minorities and against women, both measured on seven-point Likert scales.

[4] We acknowledge that readers might find some combinations of levels unrealistic. However, all combinations of policy dimensions are feasible in theory. For example, one could think of a scenario where organizations do not have a screening form but ask applicants to self-identify in a later step of the hiring process. It is perhaps not very efficient, as one would need to reconsider the applicants if not enough members of the underrepresented group apply, but it is still logically possible

3.3. Estimation strategy

We estimate marginal means (MMs) with clustered standard errors at the respondent level. MMs convey information about the probability of a profile (policy package) being selected when it contains a specific policy. For a forced-choice conjoint experiment, with respondents obliged to decide between two policy packages, an MM of 0.5 means that the policy did not influence the respondents' choice of a policy package (Leeper et al., 2020). An MM higher (lower) than 0.5 means that the policy positively (negatively) impacted respondents' choices. For example, a hypothetical MM of 0.6 for *core company value diversity* would mean that a policy package promoting *diversity* as a core value was chosen in 60 % of all cases. MMs have the attractive feature that they are independent of the chosen reference category. As recommended in the methodological literature on conjoint studies (Treger, 2023), we report both marginal means (MMs) and average marginal component effects (AMCEs). AMCEs can be interpreted as the causal effect of the different levels of a given dimension relative to the reference category.

In addition to MMs, we estimated multilevel mixed-effects models for the binary outcome variable. The answers are nested within individuals, and a random intercept and slope are included to test whether differences in policy support depend on perceived discrimination. To account for multiple hypothesis testing, we report adjusted p-values with all estimates (Liu and Shiraito, 2023). Bonferroni adjusted p-values are conservative, but may lead to false-negative findings, while Benjamini-Hochberg (BH) adjusted p-values are less susceptible to false-negatives but may not eliminate all false-positives findings. Since both adjustments complement each other, we report both.

4. Results

4.1. General results

Our results are structured in two parts. We first report the results on overall support for the policy levels and examine whether managers' preferences align with one or more of the three motives. In the second step, we investigate between-individual differences in policy support due to perceptions of discrimination.

MMs and AMCEs are displayed in Fig. 1. The full tables can be found in the appendix in Tables A2 and A3. Whether the core company values mentioned in the job advertisement are oriented toward diversity (MM = 0.5, p = 0.905) or performance (MM = 0.5, p = 0.905) does not impact respondents' choice of a policy package. With respect to the standardization of applicant screening, hiring managers preferred policy packages without any standardization form (MM = 0.53, $p < 0.001$). Standardized (MM = 0.49, p = 0.024) or anonymized (MM = 0.49, p = 0.093) application forms decrease the probability that hiring managers choose a given policy package by four percentage points. Hiring managers prefer policy packages with performance-oriented hiring training (MM = 0.52, $p < 0.001$) over diversity training (MM = 0.48, $p < 0.001$), again by four percentage points. Larger effects occur with respect to preferential hiring for ethnic minorities. Hiring managers are more likely to choose a policy package that does not specify any preferential policy (MM = 0.59, $p < 0.001$) or a tiebreak policy (MM = 0.53, $p < 0.001$). A quota for ethnic minority applicants significantly decreases hiring managers' likelihood of choosing a policy package (MM = 0.38, $p < 0.001$) by 21 percentage points compared to the absence of any preferential hiring for ethnic minorities. In the case of preferential hiring policies for women, hiring managers again prefer the absence of any preferential policy (MM = 0.58, $p < 0.001$). While hiring managers are indifferent regarding tiebreak policies for women (MM = 0.5, p = 0.590), they are 16 percentage points less likely to choose a policy package when a quota for women is specified (MM = 0.42, $p < 0.001$) as opposed to a policy package without preferential hiring for women. AMCE show the same results. For coefficients, see Table A3. As we test multiple hypotheses simultaneously, we also report Bonferroni adjusted p-values and BH adjusted p-values (Table A2). Results remain statistically significant with either adjustment, confirming that the policy preferences of hiring managers are driven by the merit and agency motives.

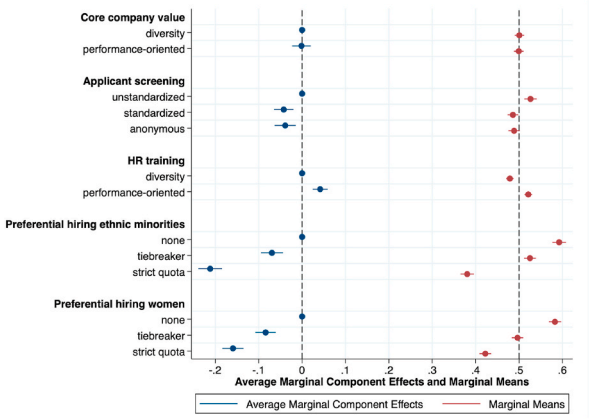

Fig. 1. Average marginal component effects and marginal means.

Fig. 2 shows a specification curve depicting the average levels of support for all 108 unique combinations of policies (Krähmer, 2023). The top panel shows the percentage of hiring managers who chose this policy bundle over the other option that was presented to them in the forced-choice condition. The bottom panel shows which policies were combined in the specific policy bundle. The bundles are colored according to the motive with which they align: combinations that align with diversity are red, those that align with merit are blue and those that align with agency are yellow. Policy combinations that deviate from the motives are shown in grey. For the agency motive, we do not derive specific predictions regarding values or HR training. In the policy bundles aligning with agency, values and HR training may take either form, as long as applicant screening and preferential hiring remain unstructured.

The specification curve shows that overall support for diversity policy bundles is lower than for merit-based bundles. Policy bundles including HR diversity training receive less support than those emphasizing performance-oriented training. Bundles with strict quotas receive the least support, while those without preferential hiring rules receive the most. The most supported bundles are those that align with the agency motive combining unstructured screening and the absence of preferential hiring. Only when those policies are combined and their agency is granted, hiring managers are willing to endorse diversity values and HR diversity training. Differently put, diversity is only supported when it takes the form of soft policies with limited direct impact.

Overall, policy support is most in line with the agency motive. At both the screening and final selection stages, hiring managers resist constraints to their decision-making discretion, favoring unstandardized application forms and opposing preferential hiring policies. However, the MMs also indicate that hiring managers are supportive of tiebreak rules for ethnic minority applicants and are indifferent to their use for female applicants. While not their favorite policy, tiebreak policies are not opposed, which can be interpreted as slight support for both merit and diversity motives. Other than that, we find no evidence that policy support aligns with diversity motive expectations.

Are hiring managers more likely to support diverse (meritocratic and agency) policies if they perceive their organization as discriminatory? To investigate this question, we estimated mixed-effects models with cross-level interaction terms between the policy dimensions and the perception of ethnic discrimination (Table 2)/gender discrimination (Table 3) and a random slope for the policy dimension. We estimated models with interaction terms separately for each policy.

The interaction terms between perceived ethnic discrimination and diversity values ($b = 0.049$, $p = 0.001$), tiebreak hiring for ethnic minority applicants ($b = 0.087$, $p < 0.001$) and quota hiring for ethnic minority applicants ($b = 0.105$, $p < 0.001$) are positive and statistically significant. The interaction between values and perceived discrimination remains significant with BH adjusted p-values, but not with Bonferroni adjusted p-values. However, this does not substantially change the finding given that BH correction is specifically designed to balance Type I and Type II error risks. Interactions between preferential hiring and perceived diversity remain significant with both Bonferroni and BH adjusted p-values (Table 2). This implies that support for these three policies, all of which are designed to increase diversity, increases relative to the baseline when hiring managers believe that ethnic discrimination exists within their organization (Figs. 3 and 4). Note that, on a 7-point Likert scale, the mean of perceived discrimination is 2.7 ($SD = 1.8$). Only 12 % of our sample perceive ethnic discrimination at their organizations to be strong or very strong (answered 6 or 7 on a 7-point Likert scale). Put differently, most hiring managers do not consider ethnic discrimination a problem at their organizations and generally do not support diversity policies.

Ten percent of the hiring managers in our sample considered women to be discriminated against at their organizations (answered 6 or 7 on a 7-point Likert scale). The cross-level interaction terms between perceived gender discrimination and diversity ($b = 0.051$, $p = 0.001$), tiebreak hiring for women (0.074, $p < 0.001$) and women's quota (0.082, $p < 0.001$) are positive and statistically significant, also with Bonferroni and BH adjusted p-values (Figs. 3 and 4, Table 3).

However, results indicate that support for preferential policies remains limited even among those who perceive ethnic minorities or women to face discrimination in their organizations. The unpopularity of quotas is so pronounced that they fail to gain acceptance even among those most aware of discrimination. Even at the highest level of perceived discrimination (7 on a 7-point scale), respondents still oppose strict quotas for ethnic minorities ($b = -0.433$, $p < 0.001$) and women ($b = -0.302$, $p = 0.004$) or, at best, are indifferent to tiebreaker rules for ethnic minorities ($b = 0.081$, $p = 0.408$) and women ($b = -0.022$, $p = 0.832$) (see Fig. 4). Ultimately, perceived

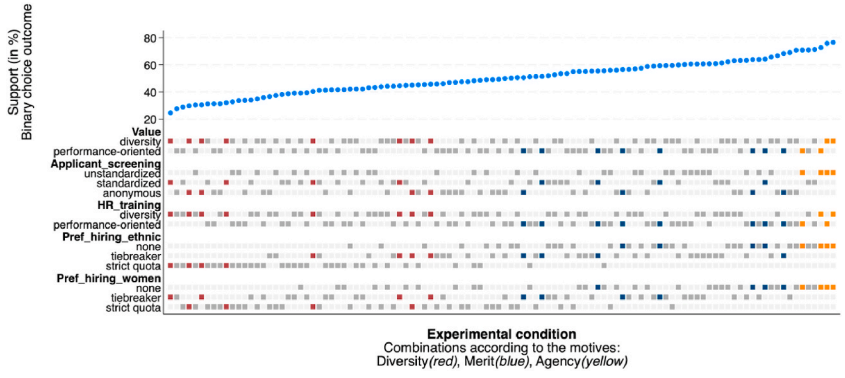

Fig. 2. Rate of binary policy choice across all 108 unique combinations of policy levels. Policy combinations are colored in line with the three motives diversity (D), merit (M), agency (A).[51].

Table 2
Interactions of policy support with 'there is **ethnic** discrimination where I work' Multilevel mixed effects model, DV Binary choice variable - **With adjusted p-values**.

VARIABLES	(1) Values: diversity				(2) Application: standardized				(3) Application: anonymized			
		p-values				p-values				p-values		
		Unadj.	Bonf	BH		Unadj.	Bonf	BH		Unadj.	Bonf	BH
Policy	−0.127*	0.027	0.297	0.033	−0.265***	<0.001	0.002	<0.001	−0.263***	<0.001	0.002	<0.001
	(0.0576)				(0.0707)				(0.0706)			
Interaction x	0.049**	0.005	0.058	0.007	0.032	0.140	1	0.187	0.036	0.090	1	0.135
Perc ethnic disc	(0.0174)				(0.0215)				(0.0214)			
Constant	0.993***				0.989***				0.989***			
	(0.0622)				(0.0669)				(0.0669)			
Observations	16,384				16,384				16,384			
Number of groups	512				512				512			
Controls for other policies	YES				YES				YES			
VARIABLES	(4) Training: diversity				(5) Priority: tiebreaker				(6) Priority: quota			
		p-values				p-values				p-values		
		Unadj.	Bonf	BH		Unadj.	Bonf	BH		Unadj.	Bonf	BH
Policy	−0.242***	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	−0.527***	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	−1.171***	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001
	(0.0576)				(0.0700)				(0.0722)			
Interaction x	0.024	0.168	1	0.230	0.087***	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	0.105***	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001
Perc ethnic disc	(0.0174)				(0.0211)				(0.0216)			
Constant	0.960***				1.103***				1.103***			
	(0.0623)				(0.0671)				(0.0671)			
Observations	16,384				16,384				16,384			
Number of groups	512				512				512			
Controls for other policies	YES				YES				YES			

Standard errors in parentheses.
Unadjusted p-values ***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05, two-tailed tests.

Table 3
Interactions of policy support with 'there is **gender** discrimination where I work' Multilevel mixed effects model, DV Binary choice variable – **With adjusted p-values**.

VARIABLES	(1) Values: diversity				(2) Application: standardized				(3) Application: anonymized			
		p-values				p-values				p-values		
		Unadj.	Bonf	BH		Unadj.	Bonf	BH		Unadj.	Bonf	BH
Policy	−0.124*	0.024	0.266	0.030	−0.221**	0.001	0.013	0.002	−0.250***	<0.001	0.003	<0.001
	(0.0551)				(0.0676)				(0.0676)			
Interaction x	0.051**	0.004	0.040	0.005	0.017	0.437	1	0.524	0.034	0.118	1	0.177
Perc ethnic disc	(0.0176)				(0.0216)				(0.0215)			
Constant	0.992***				0.968***				0.968***			
	(0.0612)				(0.0651)				(0.0651)			
Observations	16,384				16,384				16,384			
Number of groups	512				512				512			
Controls for other policies	YES				YES				YES			
VARIABLES	(4) Training: diversity				(5) Priority: tiebreaker				(6) Priority: quota			
		p-values				p-values				p-values		
		Unadj.	Bonf	BH		Unadj.	Bonf	BH		Unadj.	Bonf	BH
Policy	−0.206***	<0.001	0.002	<0.001	−0.540***	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	−0.875***	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001
	(0.0551)				(0.0677)				(0.0680)			
Interaction x	0.012	0.497	1	0.683	0.074***	0.001	0.007	0.001	0.082***	<0.001	0.002	<0.001
Perc ethnic disc	(0.0176)				(0.0215)				(0.0216)			
Constant	0.940***				1.059***				1.059***			
	(0.0609)				(0.0655)				(0.0655)			
Observations	16,384				16,384				16,384			
Number of groups	512				512				512			
Controls for other policies	YES				YES				YES			

Standard errors in parentheses.
Unadjusted p-values ***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05, two-tailed tests.

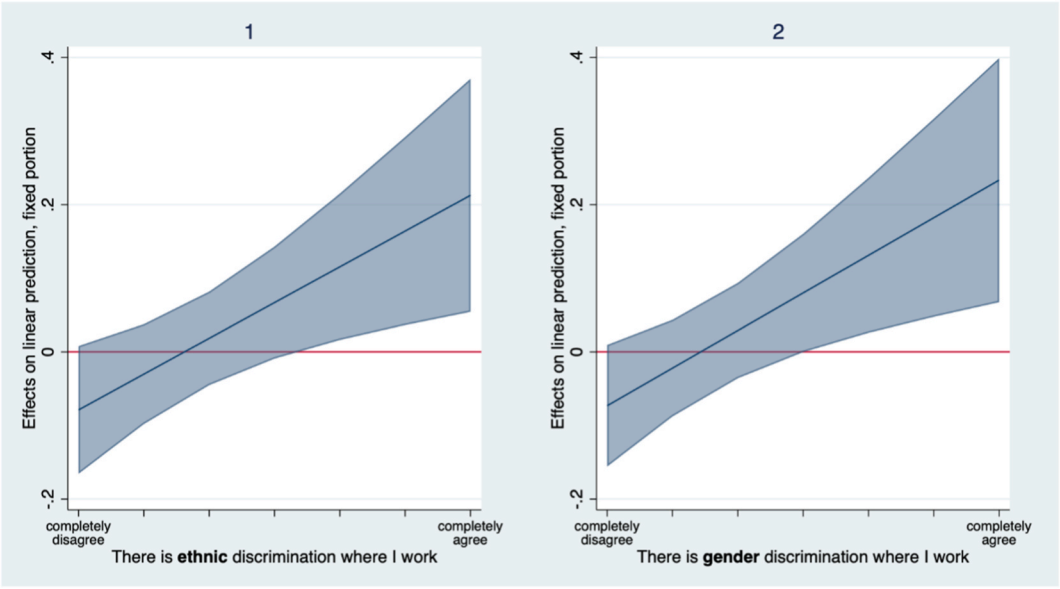

Fig. 3. Policy support for **diversity values** by perception of (1) ethnic and (2) gender discrimination.

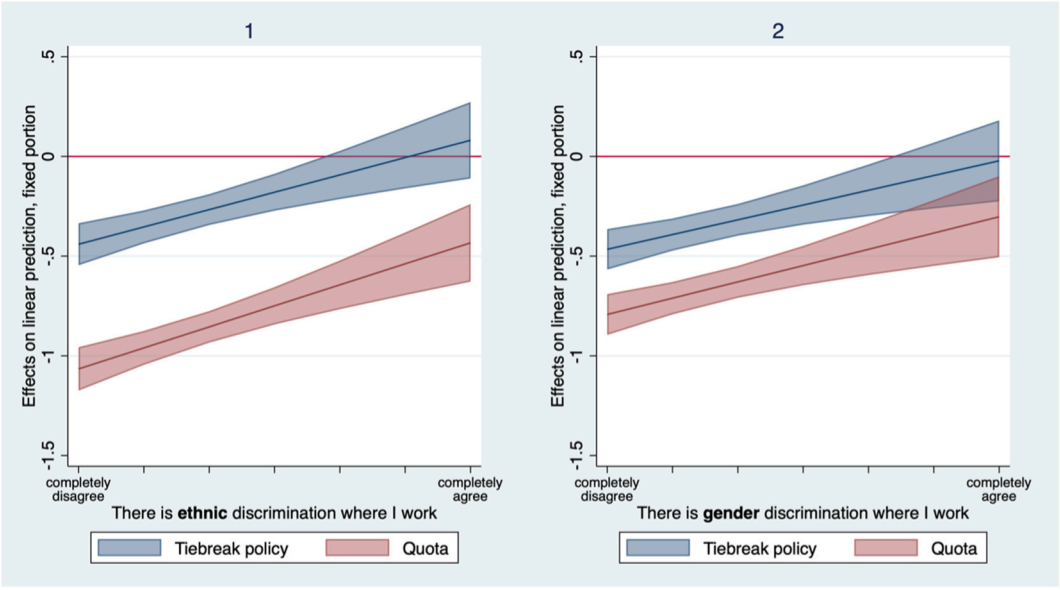

Fig. 4. Policy support for **preferential hiring** by perception of (1) ethnic and (2) gender discrimination.

discrimination improves but does not overcome what appears to be a deeply felt resistance to preferential hiring policies, once again suggesting that the maintenance of own agency is hiring managers' driving motive.

4.2. Exploratory analyses

So far, we have interpreted the rejection of anonymous application forms and preferential hiring as indicative of an opposition against agency-restricting policies. However, an alternative possibility is that managers might perceive these policies as unfair or might

[5] Only policy combinations that are exactly aligned with one of the three motives, diversity (D), merit (M), or agency (A), are colored. Combinations that deviate from these motives are shown in grey. For the agency motive, values and HR training were not decisive and can take either form in policy combinations aligned with this motive

simply prefer to maintain the status quo, if unfamiliar with these measures. We estimated additional mixed-effects models with cross-level interaction terms between the agency-restricting policy dimensions and perceptions of policy fairness (Table A4), and between the agency-restricting policy dimensions and a variable indicating if such policies are currently in place at the respondent's organization (Table A5).

Interactions between policy levels and perceived policy fairness are positive and significant (also with Bonferroni and BH adjusted p-values) for standardized screening forms, anonymous screening forms, tiebreak rule and quota for ethnic minorities, as well as tiebreak rule and quota for women (Table A4). However, the interaction effects are too small to flip the negative main effects. In other words, hiring managers' rejection of standardized and anonymous applicant screening, and of preferential hiring, persists even among those who consider these policies fair.

The presence of the respective policy within the respondent's organization increases hiring managers' support for standardized screening forms, and tiebreak rules for ethnic minorities and women, while no such effect is present for anonymized application forms or quota hiring for either group. Except from the interaction with the tiebreak policy for ethnic minorities and its presence at the organization, all significant results are robust to Bonferroni and BH adjustment (Table A5). The interaction effect is large enough to flip the negative main effect towards a positive one for standardized application forms and the tiebreak rule for female applicants. This means that, in addition to the agency motive, policy support might partly be driven by a desire to maintain the organization's status quo. However, this does not apply to the most prescriptive policies, namely, anonymous application forms and quota hiring.

Further, exploratory analyses show that the findings of the Marginal Means analysis vary depending on the organizational context. Hiring managers who work in large organizations (over 1000 individuals) and in organizations with highly formalized personnel procedures tend to be less reluctant of formalized hiring practices. They are indifferent to the use of unstandardized, standardized, or anonymous application forms, unlike managers in smaller or less formalized organizations, who prefer unstandardized forms and reject anonymous applications. This pattern is particularly strong for hiring managers in organizations with fewer than 50 employees, who also differ from those in larger organizations, in their preference for performance-oriented core company values and their rejection of diversity values (Figs. 5 and 6). Hiring managers who hold a formal qualification in personnel management, however, do not differ from their colleagues without formal qualifications (Fig. 7). Results are always robust to the use of BH adjusted p-values and mostly robust to the use of Bonferroni adjusted p-values (see Tables A6, A7, A8 for interaction models).

Employees in smaller and less formalized organizations are not only less supportive of structured policies but also perceive discrimination as less urgent. Exploratory analyses show small but significant differences in perception of discrimination by organizational context: perceived ethnic and gender discrimination is higher in organizations with at least 250 employees, and in organizations with more formalized hiring procedures. This is concerning in light of previous research showing that discrimination tends to be higher or even concentrated in smaller and less formalized organizations (Kline et al., 2021). We do not find similar patterns comparing respondents with and without formal qualification in personnel management (Figs. A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, A6).

4.3. Robustness checks

To make sure that our results are not driven by fatigue effects, we repeated the main analyses considering only the first six choice tasks and found comparable results (Tables A2 and A3).

We also repeated the analysis with a stricter definition of our respondent population. While the sample for our main analyses consist of respondents who indicated to be involved in hiring in their job sometimes or often, we repeated the analysis with those who answered "often" (N = 166 respondents). We find only one difference. Hiring managers who are only occasionally involved in hiring are indifferent about the applicant screening procedure, whereas hiring managers regularly involved in hiring prefer an unstructured screening process and reject the use of anonymous applications (Fig. A7). We interpret this finding as again supportive of the agency motive: the more time hiring managers spend on hiring, the more their agency would be restricted if anonymous application forms were in place.

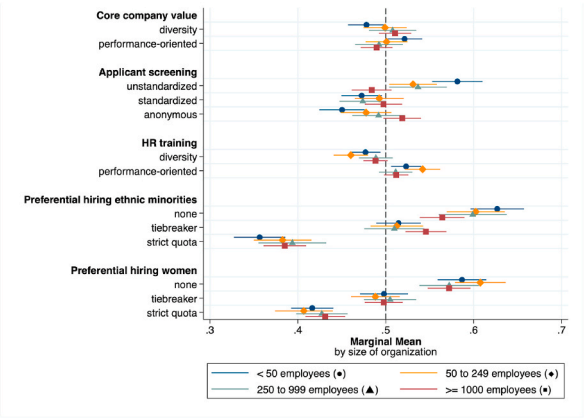

Fig. 5. Marginal means for binary choice outcome by size of organization.

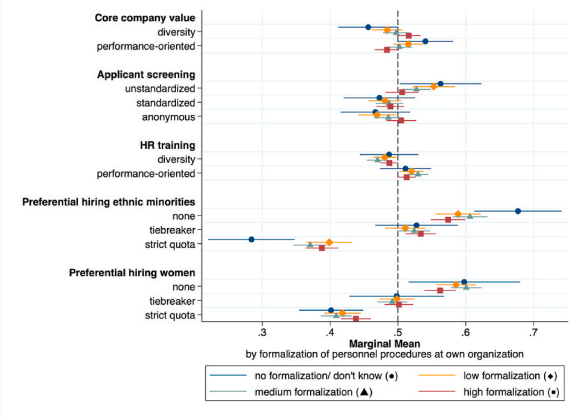

Fig. 6. Marginal means for binary choice outcome by formalization of personnel management at organization.

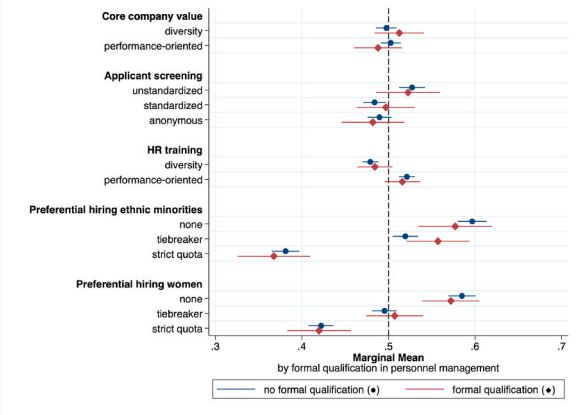

Fig. 7. Marginal means for binary choice outcome by qualification in personnel management.

We also estimated models controlling for hiring managers' gender, migration background and the sector of their organization and results were robust to all controls (Table A9).

5. Discussion and conclusion

Despite increasing organizational attention to diversity (Marcinko and Taylor, 2021), ethnic discrimination in hiring has been increasing in the Netherlands (Lippens et al., 2023), (Quillian and Lee, 2023). One explanation is that diversity policies lack support from hiring managers. While much research has focused on diversity policies themselves (Dobbin et al., 2015), (Leslie, 2019), (Kalev et al., 2006), (Dobbin et al., 2011), less is known about how these policies are perceived within organizations. Our study addressed this gap through a conjoint experiment with 512 hiring managers in the Netherlands, who evaluated bundles of hiring policies spanning multiple stages of the hiring process.

To explain (the lack of) support for diversity policies, we discussed three different motives frequently highlighted in the literature: the diversity motive, the merit motive, and the agency motive. The diversity motive suggests that hiring managers may endorse policies for reasons of fairness and equal opportunity, productivity, or signaling. Yet diversity policies are often perceived as conflicting with meritocratic ideals (Ballinger et al., 2023), (Iyer, 2022). This makes a focus on merit the most central competing explanation for why hiring managers would not support diversity policies from an ideological point of view (Aberson, 2007), (Bourabain and Verhaeghe, 2022). Finally, the agency motive captures hiring managers' preference for discretion in decision-making. Research consistently shows that hiring managers respond negatively to prescriptive policies restricting autonomy can backfire (Dobbin et al., 2015), (Dobbin and Kalev, 2018), (Blom-Hansen et al., 2024), (Slemp et al., 2015).

The pattern of policy support that we find is inconsistent with the diversity motive and partly aligns with the merit and the agency motives. Hiring managers supported policies that preserve discretion and rejected those that curtail it. By and large, standardized and anonymized application forms reduce support. While preferences vary somewhat across organizational contexts – with managers in smaller, less formalized organizations more strongly resisting formalized screening procedures – support for formalization remains lukewarm, at best as high as support for unstructured screening.

A second key finding concerns quotas. Across organizational contexts, hiring managers consistently opposed hiring quotas. The opposition was especially pronounced among hiring managers in smaller and less formalized organizations. At the same time, hiring managers demonstrated a more nuanced stance toward preferential hiring policies in the form of tiebreak rules. Across organizational contexts, hiring managers were indifferent toward tiebreak rules for women and mildly supportive of tiebreak rules for ethnic minority applicants. These policies maintain the principle of merit-based selection while still promoting underrepresented groups. This finding resonates with Konrad et al.'s (Konrad et al., 2021), "both-diversity-and-meritocracy duality approach" (Ballinger et al., 2023), which frames diversity and merit as mutually reinforcing rather than conflicting (see also (Putnam et al., 2016), (Farjoun, 2010), (Park and Liang, 2020), (Gündemir et al., 2017)). Our results suggest that policies combining both goals may be more acceptable to managers than those perceived as advancing diversity at the expense of merit. Future research could examine a broader selection of dual-goal policies and analyze when and how they gain support across a wider range of contexts.

We investigated whether policy support was influenced by hiring managers' perception of discrimination. Yet the majority of hiring managers believed that discrimination against ethnic minorities or women was not a problem in their organizations (see also (Blommaert and Coenders, 2023)). This belief was shared by 63 % of managers in large organizations with formalized personnel procedures and 74 % of managers in small, less formalized ones. Field experiments show that hiring discrimination is prominent in the Netherlands (Quillian and Lee, 2023), (Thijssen et al., 2019), making it highly unlikely that ethnic discrimination is truly absent in two-thirds of the organizations represented in our sample. We find that perceiving discrimination only modestly increases support for tiebreak rules and quotas. This suggests that perceptions of discrimination can shape support to some extent but do not override the central role of agency concerns.

Our study highlights further alternative explanations for managers' reluctance to support diversity policies, such as a preference for maintaining the organizational status quo, which often means preserving existing levels of managerial agency. The presence of a policy at the hiring manager's organization increases support for the respective policy only for standardized application forms and a tiebreak rule for women. Another explanation is fairness. While perceiving a policy as fair slightly increases support, this effect is not strong enough to change the strong rejection of policies that restrict autonomy. Taken together, these findings suggest that both inertia and fairness perceptions are additional explanation next to the agency motive but by no means replace it. Another possible explanation for opposition towards agency-restricting policies lies in concerns about administrative burdens. Employers' associations in the Netherlands recently voiced such concerns in response to a draft legislation requiring more structured recruitment procedures, leading the government to abandon the proposal. In our study, hiring managers in smaller, less formalized organizations, which are also the ones most directly exposed to new burdens, were particularly resistant to structured processes. Administrative concerns therefore may reinforce agency and merit considerations in shaping resistance and could be examined in future studies.

This study is not without limitations. As with any conjoint experiment, the policy packages presented to the hiring managers are hypothetical, which may raise concerns about ecological validity. Experimental studies, especially those on issues as sensitive as discrimination, can be subject to social desirability bias (Forster and Neugebauer, 2024). However, our results run counter to what would be socially desirable: hiring managers clearly opposed structured procedures despite political debates emphasizing their role in reducing discrimination. Furthermore, we did not directly measure the reasons underlying managers' support for specific policies, leaving open the possibility that opposition reflects a combination of agency, fairness concerns, organizational inertia, and concerns about the administrative burden.

Future research can build on our study in several ways. First, experimental studies can test respondents' motivations for support directly, for example, by asking respondents to rate policy packages as restrictive, unfair, or at odds with merit-based selection. Second, as correctly pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, research can go beyond examining single motives in isolation and investigate "multi-motive resistance". Different motives likely interact and amplify each other to produce compound forms of resistance. Finally, future work can explore whether policies that explicitly combine diversity and merit can provide a template for designing acceptable diversity interventions.

In conclusion, our study reveals that hiring managers do not support hiring policies intended to increase diversity, particularly in smaller and less formalized organizations. We interpret this finding as reflecting a preference for agency in decision-making, but also other interrelated motives, namely perceptions that such policies are unfair or undermine merit-based selection, a desire to maintain the organizational status quo, and concerns about administrative burdens. Organizations may benefit from engaging managers in dialogue about policy design and implementation, thereby fostering a sense of ownership and reducing concerns about loss of autonomy. By doing so, organizations can better navigate tensions around merit, agency, and diversity, and ultimately move toward more inclusive hiring practices.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Katharina Stückradt: Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Formal analysis, Conceptualization. **Bram Lancee:** Writing – review & editing, Funding acquisition, Conceptualization. **Valentina Di Stasio:** Writing – review & editing, Conceptualization.

Data statement

The data is deposited at DANS Data Station Social Sciences and Humanities and can be found under Lancee, B., Sachs, T. and Stückradt, K. (2024). *Human Resources, Hiring and Discrimination (HHD)*. https://doi.org/10.17026/SS/766GAK, DANS Data Station Social Sciences and Humanities. Replication files are available at Open Science Framework: https://osf.io/asmzn.

Declaration of generative AI and AI-assisted technologies in the writing process

During the preparation of this work the authors used ChatGPT in order to improve the readability and language of the manuscript. After using this tool, the authors reviewed and edited the content as needed and take full responsibility for the content of the publication.

Funding

This work was supported by The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), (016.Vidi.185.041). Valentina Di Stasio was supported by an ERC-Starting Grant funded by the European Research Council (TARGETS, project n. 101041908). Views and opinions expressed are however those of the author only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Research Council Executive Agency. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interests.

Acknowledgements

The authors thank the participants of the ECSR 2022 and ACES 2022 for fruitful discussions. The authors further thank I&O research for the good collaboration during the data collection. The authors thank Daniel Krähmer for adjusting his user-written Stata command mfcurve specifically for the purpose of our paper.

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2025.103262.

References

Aberson, C.L., 2007. Diversity, merit, fairness, and discrimination beliefs as predictors of support for affirmative-action policy Actions1. J. Appl. Soc. Psychol. 37 (10), 2451–2474. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2007.00266.x.

Arslan, C., Chang, E.H., Chilazi, S., Bohnet, I., Hauser, O.P., 2025. Behaviorally designed training leads to more diverse hiring. Science 387 (6732), 364–366. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.ads5258.

Ashikali, T., Groeneveld, S., 2015. Diversity management for all? An empirical analysis of diversity management outcomes across groups. Pers. Rev. 44 (5), 757–780. https://doi.org/10.1108/PR-10-2014-0216.

Auspurg, K., Hinz, T., 2014. Factorial Survey Experiments. SAGE Publications.

Auspurg, K., Hinz, T., Sauer, C., 2017. Why should women get less? Evidence on the gender pay gap from multifactorial survey experiments. Am. Sociol. Rev. 82 (1), 179–210. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416683393.

Avery, D.R., 2011. Support for diversity in organizations: a theoretical exploration of its origins and offshoots. Organ. Psychol. Rev. 1 (3), 239–256. https://doi.org/10.1177/2041386611402115.

Ballinger, T., Jiang, T., Crocker, J., 2023. Lay theories of diversity initiatives: theory and measurement of zero-sum and win-win beliefs. Group Process. Intergr. Relat., 13684302231193320 https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302231193320.

Bansak, K., Hainmueller, J., Hopkins, D.J., Yamamoto, T., 2018. The number of choice tasks and survey satisficing in conjoint experiments. Polit. Anal. 26 (1), 112–119. https://doi.org/10.1017/pan.2017.40.

Bansak, K., Hainmueller, J., Hopkins, D.J., Yamamoto, T., 2021. Conjoint survey experiments. In: Druckman, J., Green, D.P. (Eds.), Advances in Experimental Political Science, first ed. Cambridge University Press, pp. 19–41. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108777919.004.

Becker, G.S., 1971. The Economics of Discrimination. University of Chicago, Chicago.

Besley, T., Folke, O., Persson, T., Rickne, J., 2017. Gender quotas and the crisis of the mediocre man: theory and evidence from Sweden. Am. Econ. Rev. 107 (8), 2204–2242. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20160080.

Blom-Hansen, J., Serritzlew, S., Villadsen, A.R., 2024. Do managers make use of increased autonomy? Evidence from large scale organizational reform. Publ. Perform. Manag. Rev. 47 (6), 1453–1481. https://doi.org/10.1080/15309576.2024.2378468.

Blommaert, L., Coenders, M., 2023. The effects of and support for anonymous job application procedures: evidence from a large-scale, multi-faceted study in the Netherlands. J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud. 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2023.2282385.

Blommaert, L., Coenders, M., 2024. Understanding public support for workplace diversity and antidiscrimination policies in Europe. Front. Sociol 9. https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2024.1256751.

Bøg, M., Kranendonk, E., 2011. Labor Market Discrimination of Minorities? Yes, but Not in Job Offers, p. 68.

G. Bonoli and F. Fossati, "Fighting Discrimination from Within. Strategies to Reduce Job Market Access Disadvantage for Ethnic Minorities.," p. 20.

Bourabain, D., Verhaeghe, P.-P., 2022. Equality for all? Support for equal opportunity among professors in Europe. Soc. Compass, e13039. https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.13039.

Castilla, E.J., 2015. Accounting for the gap: a firm study manipulating organizational accountability and transparency in pay decisions. Organ. Sci. 26 (2), 311–333. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2014.0950.

Castilla, E.J., Benard, S., 2010. The paradox of meritocracy in organizations. Adm. Sci. Q. 55 (4), 543–676. https://doi.org/10.2189/asqu.2010.55.4.543.

Castilla, E.J., Ranganathan, A., 2020. The production of merit: how managers understand and apply merit in the workplace. Organ. Sci. 31 (4), 909–935. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2019.1335.

Chung-Yan, G.A., 2010. The nonlinear effects of job complexity and autonomy on job satisfaction, turnover, and psychological well-being. J. Occup. Health Psychol. 15 (3), 237–251. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0019823.

Costa, E., 2024. Examining the effectiveness of interventions to reduce discriminatory behavior at work: an attitude dimension consistency perspective. J. Appl. Psychol. 109 (11), 1669–1692. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0001215.

Đặng, R., Houanti, L., Reddy, K., Simioni, M., 2020. Does board gender diversity influence firm profitability? A control function approach. Econ. Modell. 90, 168–181. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econmod.2020.05.009.
de Larquier, G., Marchal, E., 2016. Does the formalization of practices enhance equal hiring opportunities? An analysis of a French nation-wide employer survey. Soc. Econ. Rev. mwv034. https://doi.org/10.1093/ser/mwv034.
Derous, E., Ryan, A.M., 2019. When your resume is (not) turning you Down: modelling ethnic bias in resume screening. Hum. Resour. Manag. J. 29 (2), 113–130. https://doi.org/10.1111/1748-8583.12217.
Dobbin, F., Kalev, A., 2017a. Why Diversity Programs Fail, p. 10.
Dobbin, F., Kalev, A., 2017b. Are diversity programs merely ceremonial? evidence-free institutionalization. In: The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism, 1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road London EC1Y 1SP. SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 808–828. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446280669.n32.
Dobbin, F., Kalev, A., 2018. Why doesn't diversity training work? The challenge for industry and academia. Anthropol. Now. 10 (2), 48–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/19428200.2018.1493182.
Dobbin, F., Kim, S., Kalev, A., 2011. You can't always get what you need: organizational determinants of diversity programs. Am. Sociol. Rev. 76 (3), 386–411. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122411409704.
Dobbin, F., Schrage, D., Kalev, A., 2015. Rage against the iron cage: the varied effects of bureaucratic personnel reforms on diversity. Am. Sociol. Rev. 80 (5), 1014–1044. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122415596416.
J. L. Doleac and B. Hansen, "The Unintended Consequences of 'Ban the Box': Statistical Discrimination and Employment Outcomes when Criminal Histories are Hidden".
Dover, T.L., Kaiser, C.R., Major, B., 2020. Mixed signals: the unintended effects of diversity initiatives. Soc. Issues Policy Rev. 14 (1), 152–181. https://doi.org/10.1111/sipr.12059.
Ely, R.J., Thomas, D.A., 2001. Cultural diversity at work: the effects of diversity perspectives on work group processes and outcomes. Adm. Sci. Q. 46 (2), 229–273. https://doi.org/10.2307/2667087.
Farjoun, M., 2010. Beyond dualism: stability and change as a duality. Acad. Manag. Rev. 35 (2), 202–225. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.35.2.zok202.
Fibbi, R., Midtbøen, A.H., Simon, P., 2021. Migration and Discrimination: IMISCOE Short Reader. Springer Nature.
Foley, M., Williamson, S., 2019. Managerial perspectives on implicit bias, affirmative action, and merit: managerial perspectives on implicit bias, affirmative action, and merit. Public Adm. Rev. 79 (1), 35–45. https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.12955.
Forster, A.G., Neugebauer, M., 2024. Factorial survey experiments to predict real-world behavior: a cautionary tale from hiring studies. Sociol. Sci. 11, 886–906. https://doi.org/10.15195/v11.a32.
Gündemir, S., Homan, A.C., Usova, A., Galinsky, A.D., 2017. Multicultural meritocracy: the synergistic benefits of valuing diversity and merit. J. Exp. Soc. Psychol. 73, 34–41. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2017.06.002.
Hainmueller, J., Hopkins, D.J., Yamamoto, T., 2014. Causal inference in conjoint analysis: understanding multidimensional choices via stated preference experiments. Polit. Anal. 22 (1), 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1093/pan/mpt024.
Hainmueller, J., Hangartner, D., Yamamoto, T., 2015. Validating vignette and conjoint survey experiments against real-world behavior. Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. 112 (8), 2395–2400. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1416587112.
Hajnal, Á., Scharle, Á., 2023. What works for whom? What theories may predict about the effectiveness of measures against employment discrimination. Int. J. Sociol. Soc. Pol. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSSP-12-2022-0318 ahead-of-print, no. ahead-of-print.
Harrison, D.A., Kravitz, D.A., Mayer, D.M., Leslie, L.M., Lev-Arey, D., 2006. Understanding attitudes toward affirmative action programs in employment: summary and meta-analysis of 35 years of research. J. Appl. Psychol. 91 (5), 1013–1036. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.91.5.1013.
Hirsh, C.E., Cha, Y., 2008. Understanding employment discrimination: a multilevel approach. Soc. Compass 2 (6), 1989–2007. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2008.00157.x.
Holtzhausen, L., Fourie, L., 2009. Employees' perceptions of company values and objectives and employer-employee relationships: a theoretical model. Corp. Commun. Int. J. 14 (3), 333–344. https://doi.org/10.1108/13563280910980104.
Iyer, A., 2022. Understanding advantaged groups' opposition to diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) policies: the role of perceived threat. Soc. Personal. Psychol. Compass. https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12666.
IZA, Germany, Rinne, U., 2018. Anonymous Job Applications and Hiring Discrimination. IZA World Labor. https://doi.org/10.15185/izawol.48.v2.
Kaiser, C.R., Major, B., Jurcevic, I., Dover, T.L., Brady, L.M., Shapiro, J.R., 2013. Presumed fair: ironic effects of organizational diversity structures. J. Pers. Soc. Psychol. 104 (3), 504–519. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030838.
Kalev, A., 2009. Cracking the glass cages? Restructuring and ascriptive inequality at work. Am. J. Sociol. 114 (6), 1591–1643. https://doi.org/10.1086/597175.
Kalev, A., Dobbin, F., Kelly, E., 2006. Best practices or best guesses? Assessing the efficacy of corporate affirmative action and diversity policies. Am. Sociol. Rev. 71 (4), 589–617. https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240607100404.
Kim, T., Mullins, L.B., 2016. How does supervisor support and diversity management affect employee participation in work/family policies? Rev. Publ. Person. Adm. 36 (1), 80–105. https://doi.org/10.1177/0734371X14553883.
Kline, P.M., Rose, E.K., Walters, C.R., 2021. Systemic Discrimination Among Large U.S. Employers. National Bureau of Economic Research, 29053. https://doi.org/10.3386/w29053.
Konrad, A.M., Richard, O.C., Yang, Y., 2021. *Both* diversity *and* meritocracy: managing the diversity-meritocracy paradox with organizational ambidexterity. J. Manag. Stud., joms.12752 https://doi.org/10.1111/joms.12752.
Krähmer, D., 2023. MFCURVE: Stata Module for Plotting Results from Multifactorial Research Designs. Stata. Boston College Department of Economics [Online]. Available: https://EconPapers.repec.org/RePEc:boc:bocode:s459224. (Accessed 1 October 2025).
Krause, A., Rinne, U., Zimmermann, K.F., 2012. Anonymous job applications in Europe. IZA J. Eur. Labor Stud. 1 (1), 5. https://doi.org/10.1186/2193-9012-1-5.
Kurtzberg, T.R., Ameri, M., 2023. Beyond compliance: a randomized trial of DEI statements and subsequent signals for job seekers with disabilities. Disabil. Health J, 101513. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dhjo.2023.101513.
Lancee, B., Sachs, T., Stückradt, K., 2024. Human Resources, Hiring and Discrimination (HHD). DANS Data Station Social Sciences and Humanities. https://doi.org/10.17026/SS/766GAK.
Leeper, T.J., Hobolt, S.B., Tilley, J., 2020. Measuring subgroup preferences in conjoint experiments. Polit. Anal. 28 (2), 207–221. https://doi.org/10.1017/pan.2019.30.
Leslie, L.M., 2019. Diversity initiative effectiveness: a typological theory of unintended consequences. Acad. Manag. Rev. 44 (3), 538–563. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2017.0087.
Lippens, L., Vermeiren, S., Baert, S., 2023. The state of hiring discrimination: a meta-analysis of (almost) all recent correspondence experiments. Eur. Econ. Rev. 151, 104315. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.euroecorev.2022.104315.
Liu, G., Shiraito, Y., 2023. Multiple hypothesis testing in conjoint analysis. Polit. Anal. 31 (3), 380–395. https://doi.org/10.1017/pan.2022.30.
Mangum, M., Block, R., 2022. Perceived racial discrimination, racial resentment, and support for affirmative action and preferential hiring and promotion: a multi-racial analysis. Polit. Groups Identities 10 (4), 674–695. https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2021.1892781.
Marcinko, A.J., Taylor, C., 2021. Employee reactions to positive action policies in the United Kingdom: does the organization's justification matter? J. Econ. Psychol. 87, 102453. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.joep.2021.102453.
Midtbøen, A.H., 2015. The context of employment discrimination: interpreting the findings of a field experiment: the context of employment discrimination. Br. J. Sociol. 66 (1), 193–214. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12098.
Miller, C., 2017. The persistent effect of temporary affirmative action. Am. Econ. J. Appl. Econ. 9 (3), 152–190. https://doi.org/10.1257/app.20160121.
Möhring, K., Teney, C., 2020. Equality prescribed? Contextual determinants of citizens' support for gender boardroom quotas across Europe. Comp. Eur. Polit. 18 (4), 560–589. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41295-019-00199-w.

Möhring, K., Teney, C., 2023. Public support for affirmative action policies favouring women and migrants in recruitment processes: an international survey experiment. Acta Sociol., 000169932311634 https://doi.org/10.1177/00016993231163416.
Möhring, K., Teney, C., Buss, C., 2019. Who supports gender quotas for company leadership? An empirical analysis of determinants of support and rejection among German citizens. Soz. Welt 70 (2), 121–143. https://doi.org/10.5771/0038-6073-2019-2-121.
Morgenroth, T., Ryan, M.K., 2018. Quotas and affirmative action: understanding group-based outcomes and attitudes. Soc. Personal. Psychol. Compass 12 (3), e12374. https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12374.
Onyeador, I.N., Hudson, S.T.J., Lewis, N.A., 2021. Moving beyond implicit bias training: policy insights for increasing organizational diversity. Policy Insights Behav. Brain Sci. 8 (1), 19–26. https://doi.org/10.1177/2372732220983840.
Özçelik, G., Aybas, M., Uyargil, C., 2016. High performance work systems and organizational values: resource-based view considerations. Proced. Soc. Behav. Sci. 235, 332–341. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2016.11.040.
Park, S., Liang, J., 2020. Merit, diversity, and performance: does diversity management moderate the effect of merit principles on governmental performance? Public Pers. Manag. 49 (1), 83–110. https://doi.org/10.1177/0091026019848459.
Pike, M., 2023. Are They Really Just Words? Detecting the Presence and Impact of Physical Disability Bias in Job Advertisements. University of Guelph [Online]. Available: https://hdl.handle.net/10214/27749. (Accessed 14 September 2023).
Putnam, L.L., Fairhurst, G.T., Banghart, S., 2016. Contradictions, dialectics, and paradoxes in organizations: a constitutive approach. Acad. Manag. Ann. 10 (1), 65–171. https://doi.org/10.5465/19416520.2016.1162421.
Quillian, L., Lee, J.J., 2023. Trends in racial and ethnic discrimination in hiring in six Western countries. Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. 120 (6), e2212875120. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2212875120.
Quillian, L., Pager, D., Hexel, O., Midtbøen, A.H., 2017. Meta-analysis of field experiments shows no change in racial discrimination in hiring over time. Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. 114 (41), 10870–10875. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1706255114.
Quinn, E., Mccullough, E., Enright, S., Mcginnity, F., curristan, sarah, McCullough, E., 2021. Measures to Combat Racial Discrimination and Promote Diversity in the Labour Market: A Review of Evidence. https://doi.org/10.26504/sustat110.
Reskin, B.F., 2000. The proximate causes of employment discrimination. Contemp. Sociol. 29 (2), 319. https://doi.org/10.2307/2654387.
Rinne, U., 2014. Anonymous Job Applications and Hiring Discrimination. IZA World Labor.
Roberson, Q.M., 2019. Diversity in the workplace: a review, synthesis, and future research agenda. Annu. Rev. Organ. Psychol. Organ. Behav. 6 (Volume 6), 69–88. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-012218-015243, 2019.
Sabatier, M., 2015. A women's boom in the boardroom: effects on performance? Appl. Econ. 47 (26), 2717–2727. https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.2015.1008774.
Scarborough, W.J., Lambouths, D.L., Holbrook, A.L., 2019. Support of workplace diversity policies: the role of race, gender, and beliefs about inequality. Soc. Sci. Res. 79, 194–210. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2019.01.002.
Sikora, D.M., Ferris, G.R., 2014. Strategic human resource practice implementation: the critical role of line management. Hum. Resour. Manag. Rev. 24 (3), 271–281. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hrmr.2014.03.008.
Slemp, G.R., Kern, M.L., Vella-Brodrick, D.A., 2015. Workplace well-being: the role of job crafting and autonomy support. Psychol. Well-Being 5 (1), 7. https://doi.org/10.1186/s13612-015-0034-y.
Stainback, K., Tomaskovic-Devey, D., Skaggs, S., 2010. Organizational approaches to inequality: inertia, relative power, and environments. Annu. Rev. Sociol. 36 (1), 225–247. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-120014.
Taniguchi, T.A., Rineer, J.R., Hoogesteyn, K., Wire, S., Mangum, L., 2023. Recruiting women into policing: experimentally testing the effectiveness of recruiting materials. Polic. J. Policy Pract. 17, paad049. https://doi.org/10.1093/police/paad049.
Teney, C., Pietrantuono, G., Möhring, K., 2022. Who Supports Whom? Citizens' Support for Affirmative Action Policies in Recruitment Processes Toward Four Underrepresented Groups. https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/ezw72.
Thijssen, L., Lancee, B., Veit, S., Yemane, R., 2019. Discrimination against Turkish minorities in Germany and the Netherlands: field experimental evidence on the effect of diagnostic information on labour market outcomes. J. Ethnic Migrat. Stud. 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1622793.
Treger, C., 2023. Changing the Lens: the Added Value of Analyzing Marginal Means and Using the Rating Outcome in the Analysis of Conjoint Experiments, 4406473. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4406473. Rochester, NY.
Umanzor, M.J., Guerrero, D.J.R., Osborne, R.E., McField, A.A., Oberle, C.D., 2024. Attitudes on affirmative action targeted to help black and Hispanic individuals: the roles of knowledge, race, and perceived discrimination. Anal. Soc. Issues Public Policy 24 (3), 734–756. https://doi.org/10.1111/asap.12428.
Verbeek, S., Groeneveld, S., 2012. Do 'hard' diversity policies increase ethnic minority representation?: an assessment of their (in)effectiveness using administrative data. Pers. Rev. 41 (5), 647–664. https://doi.org/10.1108/00483481211249157.
Vinluan, A.C., Smith, A.L., Chang, E.H., Kirgios, E.L., 2025. Structured evaluation processes are associated with higher levels of employee belonging. Sci. Rep. 15 (1), 13289. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-025-97901-8.
Vlachos, I., 2008. The effect of human resource practices on organizational performance: evidence from Greece. Int. J. Hum. Resour. Manag. 19 (1), 74–97. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585190701763933.
Wang, J., Cheng, G.H.-L., Chen, T., Leung, K., 2019. Team creativity/innovation in culturally diverse teams: a meta-analysis. J. Organ. Behav. 40 (6), 693–708. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2362.
Wille, L., Derous, E., 2017. Getting the words right: when wording of job ads affects ethnic minorities' application decisions. Manag. Commun. Q. 31 (4), 533–558. https://doi.org/10.1177/0893318917699885.
Wood, M., Hales, J., Purdon, S., Sejersen, T., Hayllar, O., 2009. A Test for Racial Discrimination in Recruitment Practice in British Cities, vol 607. Department for Work and Pensions Research Report, Norwich.
Wulff, J.N., Villadsen, A.R., 2019. Are survey experiments as valid as field experiments in management research? An empirical comparison using the case of ethnic employment discrimination. Eur. Manag. Rev., emre.12342 https://doi.org/10.1111/emre.12342.
Zehnter, M.K., Nater, C., 2025. Beyond being beneficiaries: two mechanisms explain why women have more favourable attitudes towards gender quotas than men. Eur. J. Soc. Psychol. 55 (1), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.3113.