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Diversity Messages That Invite Allies to Diversity Efforts

Kaylene J. McClanahan<sup>1</sup>, Hannah J. Birnbaum<sup>2</sup>, Margaret Shih<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Anderson School of Management, University of California

<sup>2</sup>Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University

Corresponding author:

Kaylene J. McClanahan, PhD  
Anderson School of Management  
110 Westwood Plaza, Cornell Hall D525  
Los Angeles, California 90095

Email: [kaylene.mcclanahan@anderson.ucla.edu](mailto:kaylene.mcclanahan@anderson.ucla.edu)

**Abstract**

Organizational diversity messages are essential for promoting inclusion and diversity. Yet, these messages can backfire because they are often met with noncompliance or resistance from dominant group members. The current research tests whether adding an ally invitation to diversity messages can mitigate this backlash by showing allies the role they can play in organizational diversity efforts. Seven studies ( $n = 6,404$ ) support this theory. Study 1 found that dominant group member employees were more concerned than minority group member employees about whether they belong in and can contribute to diversity efforts in their current workplace. Five experiments then found that tailoring diversity messages to address these concerns (i.e., ally invitation diversity messaging) reduced dominant group members' backlash compared to traditional diversity messages (Studies 2a, 2b, 3, 4, Supplemental Study 1) and no diversity messages (Study 4). Furthermore, ally invitation messaging can increase dominant group members' anticipated involvement in diversity efforts (Study 5). Crucially, minorities responded as positively to the ally invitation message as traditional pro-diversity messages (Study 3). Together, these results suggest that diversity messages that highlight both diversity and the role of allies can effectively garner support from dominant group members and minorities and create more diverse workplaces.

*Keywords:* diversity, inclusion, allies, intergroup relations

### **Diversity Messages That Invite Allies to Diversity Efforts**

It is increasingly rare to find a U.S. organization without diversity messaging. Many organizations extol the virtues of diversity and endeavor to create environments in which people of all social groups can work together effectively (Edelman et al., 2001; Gündemir et al., 2017; Leslie, 2019).<sup>1</sup> Diversity messages have the potential to promote greater workplace diversity and inclusion (Apfelbaum et al., 2016; Meeussen et al., 2014; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Rattan & Ambady, 2013). While diversity messages may be a vital step in signaling inclusion and acceptance to members of historically marginalized racial and ethnic groups (i.e., minorities), these messages often backfire because they fail to successfully engage members of non-minority, privileged groups, such as men and White people (i.e., dominant group members; Kalev et al., 2006; Mannix & Neale, 2005). This is problematic given that dominant group members' privilege and representation in positions of power make them critical gatekeepers in diversity efforts (Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Gardner & Ryan, 2020; James et al., 2001; Leslie, 2019; Shteynberg et al., 2011).

While past work has documented how diversity messages can prompt backlash among dominant group members, we propose that these messages provide an important—but largely overlooked—opportunity to invite dominant group members to join organizational diversity efforts as allies. We present a novel framing for diversity messaging—ally invitation messaging—that highlights an organization's commitment to diversity, but also conveys that an organization's diversity efforts need support and involvement from everyone—including allies from dominant groups. We theorize that this messaging will help dominant group members feel included in diversity efforts and help them feel that they can make a significant contribution to

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<sup>1</sup> While the specific content of diversity messages can vary, we focus on the broad pro-diversity messages (i.e., messages that promote diversity and inclusion) that are widely communicated by U.S. organizations (Dobbin, 2009).

these efforts. We propose that by increasing dominant group members' sense of belonging and contribution to organizational diversity efforts, ally invitation messaging will, in turn, help dominant group members feel more positive about an organization that values diversity and increase their interest in engaging as an ally in diversity efforts. We further test to ensure that ally invitation messaging offers the same benefits for minorities as traditional diversity messaging.

### **1. Organizational Diversity Messaging**

Diversity messages can help organizations attract and retain the most qualified and diverse candidates (Stevens et al., 2008). Diversity messages can also increase minorities' trust and comfort (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008) and feelings of acceptance in organizations (Meeussen et al., 2014). Furthermore, these messages can promote greater engagement in the workplace (Plaut et al., 2009), self-efficacy (Gündemir et al., 2017), job satisfaction (Mor Barak & Levin, 2010), and performance (Birnbaum et al., 2020; Cohen & Steele, 2002) for minorities.

Although diversity messages provide important benefits, dominant group members tend to respond negatively to them, ultimately preventing minorities from reaping these benefits (Dover et al., 2016). Dominant group members may feel less positive toward and less interested in joining an organization that uses diversity messaging in their recruitment process (Dover et al., 2016; Plaut et al., 2018) because they believe that organizations will unfairly discriminate against them to fulfill their diversity goals (Dover et al., 2016, 2020; Jansen et al., 2015; Shteynberg et al., 2011; Unzueta & Binning, 2010). While considerable research has shown that concerns about discrimination against dominant group members are unfounded (e.g., Mays et al., 2007; Nellis, 2016; Quillian et al., 2017, 2020; Roussell et al., 2019), organizations are unlikely to embrace messaging that may alienate the majority of their applicants (i.e., dominant group

members). Thus, by prompting concerns about discrimination, traditional diversity messages can alienate dominant group members in ways that ultimately hurt minorities' experiences in organizations.

## 2. Concerns About Belonging and Contribution

In the present work, we argue that in addition to concerns about discrimination, dominant group members may react poorly to diversity messages because dominant group members may question whether they belong in or can contribute to diversity efforts. These concerns may reduce interest in joining an organization with diversity messages.

Dominant group members may be more likely than minorities to question whether they belong in diversity efforts, in part because diversity efforts are largely enacted by minorities (Dickter & Newton, 2013; Karmali et al., 2019; Kawakami et al., 2009; Sabat et al., 2013). Indeed, an examination of 500 Diversity and Inclusion (D&I) professionals found that less than 5% of people in these roles were White men (Gardner & Ryan, 2020). This underrepresentation implies that many dominant group members have not been involved in diversity efforts in the past, making them inexperienced and unfamiliar with these efforts. When groups are underrepresented, they are less likely to believe that they belong (Cohen & Garcia, 2008; Murphy et al., 2007; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2003; Walton & Cohen, 2007; Fryberg & Townsend, 2008). Therefore, we predict:

**Hypothesis 1a (H1a).** Compared to racial and ethnic minorities, White people will possess greater concerns about belonging in diversity efforts.

In addition to questioning whether they *belong* in diversity efforts, dominant group members may also question whether they can make a *meaningful contribution* to diversity efforts. Traditional diversity messages tend to highlight the importance of an organization's

diversity efforts without mentioning that these diversity efforts are everybody's responsibility and strengthened with the presence of dominant group member allies (Sabat et al., 2013).

Furthermore, recent conversation around diversity and inclusion in the popular press has emphasized a humble approach to allyship from dominant group members. It highlights the need for allies not to co-opt efforts and movements, but rather, to "stop talking and start listening" to members of underrepresented groups (Joseph, 2020; Wuench, 2020). Members of dominant groups are also asked to respect spaces set aside for underrepresented groups (Burns & Granz, 2022; Creary, 2020; Neal-Barnett, 2020). These conversations, which highlight problematic allyship behaviors, are undoubtedly important. However, it is possible that if dominant group members do not understand the motivation underlying these behavioral prescriptions, these prescriptions may cause them to question whether they can meaningfully contribute to diversity efforts. Therefore, we predict:

**Hypothesis 1b (H1b).** Compared to racial and ethnic minorities, White people will possess greater concerns about their own contribution to diversity efforts.

Importantly, a rich history of theory and research in psychology suggests that people want to feel included and useful to others (Charles & Alexander, 2014; Elliott et al., 2014; McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992; Ryan & Deci, 2000). When people feel as though they belong or are relied upon, they are more motivated to help others (Grant & Gino, 2010; Gruenewald et al., 2007; Piliavin & Siegl, 2007). Conversely, feeling a lack of belonging or an inability to contribute thwarts motivation to invest in an organization (Bandura, 1977; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Therefore, if majority groups feel like they do not belong in and cannot contribute to diversity efforts, we expect that they would not want to be part of an organization that espouses such efforts. More formally, we predict:

**Hypothesis 2 (H2).** Perceived belonging in and contribution to an organization's diversity efforts will predict dominant group members' positivity and desire to work at an organization.

### **3. Ally Invitation Diversity Messaging**

In the current research, we argue that diversity messages can be framed in a way that addresses dominant group members' concerns of belonging and contribution while still being attractive to minority groups. Specifically, we start with a traditional diversity message, then add an explicit invitation for allies to join organizational diversity efforts. This highlights that everyone—including dominant group members—should be responsible for helping to create a more diverse, equitable, and inclusive organization. We call this new framing “ally invitation messaging.” The language that varies between the traditional diversity messaging and the ally invitation messaging can be seen in Figure 1.

The ally invitation messaging appears to represent a significant departure from traditional diversity messages. In an exploratory analysis of S&P 500 companies, we found that 80% of these companies had a dedicated diversity message on their website. However, less than 25% of the diversity messages actually mentioned allies or allyship. Moreover, only a handful of those that mentioned allies did so in a way that explicitly invited allies as a part of the organization's commitment to diversity. Instead, most organizations focused exclusively on minority groups' experiences and involvement in diversity efforts.

While these traditional diversity messages are undeniably important, we propose that ally invitation messaging can be beneficial in reducing dominant group members' concerns about belonging and being able to contribute to diversity efforts. As a result, we also argue that ally

invitation messaging will increase dominant group members' interest in working at an organization that values diversity.

**Hypothesis 3 (H3).** The ally invitation message will increase dominant group members' perceived belonging in and perceived contribution to diversity efforts.

**Hypothesis 4a (H4a).** The ally invitation message will increase dominant group members' positivity and desire to work at an organization.

**Hypothesis 4b (H4b).** The ally invitation message will increase dominant group members' positivity and desire to work at an organization via belonging and perceived contribution to diversity efforts.

Beyond this, we theorize that ally invitation diversity messaging has the potential to recruit dominant group members to organizational diversity efforts. Dominant group member involvement in organizational diversity efforts is critical to creating more diverse and equitable organizations. Indeed, as crucial stakeholders with power and prestige, dominant groups have the resources and status to contribute to diversity efforts. Furthermore, if dominant group members fail to get involved as allies in diversity efforts, this unfairly leaves the bulk of diversity work to minorities (Gardner & Ryan, 2020; Jimenez et al., 2019). We predict that because it highlights the role that allies can play in these efforts, the ally invitation message can motivate dominant group members' involvement in diversity efforts:

**Hypothesis 5 (H5).** By increasing dominant group members' perceived belonging and contribution, the ally invitation message will increase dominant group members' anticipated involvement in and support for diversity efforts.

#### **4. What Ally Invitation Messaging is Not: Acknowledging the Unique Experiences of Minorities**



Several studies have proposed alternative diversity message framing in an attempt to reduce dominant group members' backlash. For example, the all-inclusive multiculturalism approach attempts to broaden diversity to include dominant group members, by including "European Americans" in the definition of diversity (Brannon et al., 2018; Jansen et al., 2015; Plaut et al., 2011; Stevens et al., 2008). Ally engagement messages aim to reframe diversity as directly impacting for dominant group members (e.g., by highlighting a superordinate identity; Bliuc et al., 2007; Subašić et al., 2008; Thomas et al., 2012; van Zomeran et al., 2011).

While both approaches may reduce backlash among dominant group members or foster allyship, highlighting the relevance of diversity for dominant group members may blur the distinction between minority and dominant groups. Failing to acknowledge the historical and current differences in power and inequality between these groups may inadvertently perpetuate inequality between groups (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Kteily & McClanahan, 2020). It also may fail to give the needed voice to the unique experiences of minorities. Confirming this, all-inclusive multicultural messaging leads to lower feelings of belonging among racial minorities relative to traditional diversity messaging (Small et al., 2021).

The goal of ally invitation messaging was to reduce dominant group member backlash while still providing the benefits of diversity messaging for minorities. As such, testing minorities' reactions to this was messaging was a priority. On one hand, minorities may appreciate that the ally invitation messaging still explicitly acknowledges and values the unique perspectives and experiences of traditionally underrepresented groups. We also thought that minorities may appreciate the explicit discussion of allyship that this messaging contains, as it may signal that minorities are not the only ones who will be doing the work required to foster an

inclusive culture. That is, ally invitation messaging may be appealing because it suggests that minorities will be supported by their fellow allies and the organization at large.

On the other hand, however, minorities may feel that ally invitation messaging implies that the organization panders to dominant group members and is not genuinely interested in promoting diversity. Minorities may therefore react poorly to the ally invitation messaging. Finally, any strong pro-diversity message may be appealing to minorities whether or not allyship messages are contained within them. Given these competing hypotheses, we asked the following:

**Research Question 1 (RQ1).** Will the ally diversity message be as well-received by minorities as traditional diversity messaging?

## 5. Overview of Research

We test our hypotheses in a set of seven studies.<sup>2</sup> In Study 1, we establish that White people possess greater concerns about belonging in and contributing to diversity efforts compared to racial minorities, and that these concerns uniquely predict positivity toward an organization (H1a, H1b, and H2).

The remaining studies test the conceptual model depicted in Figure 2. Studies 2a and 2b test whether White participants respond more positively to an allyship invitation message compared to a traditional diversity message (H3, H4a, and H4b).<sup>3</sup> Study 3 aims to replicate these effects and examine how racial minorities respond to the ally invitation messaging (RQ1). Study 4 tests how White people react to the ally invitation messaging compared to no messaging on diversity (H3, H4a, and H4b). Finally, Study 5 examines whether ally invitation messaging

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<sup>2</sup> We focus on racial/ethnic minorities and White people to capture minority and dominant group members, respectively.

<sup>3</sup> In the Supplemental Materials, we present an additional study (Supplemental Study 1) that replicates H3 and H4 but suggests that some of the benefits of the ally invitation messaging may be attenuated when the job advertised is very high in status.

effectively increases dominant group members' anticipated involvement in and support for organizational diversity efforts (H5). We then present a meta-analysis synthesizing the results from each of these studies. The study design, hypotheses, sample size, and data analysis plan were preregistered for Studies 2a, 3, 4, 5, and Supplemental Study 1. Materials, data, and code for all studies are available at [tinyurl.com/2eprpfm8](https://tinyurl.com/2eprpfm8).

## **6. Study 1**

In this study, we establish that that perceived belonging in and contribution to diversity efforts represent unique concerns beyond the concern about discrimination documented in prior work (Dover et al., 2016). We also test our hypotheses that White employees experience heightened concerns about belonging in and contribution to diversity efforts relative to racial minorities (H1a & H1b), and that these concerns uniquely predict positivity toward an organization (H2).

### **6.1. Method**

#### ***6.1.1. Participants and Procedure***

Our study was completed by 505 fully-employed participants on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). MTurk has been successfully used as a source for collecting experimental recent data on diversity, allyship, and organizational psychology (e.g., Amit et al., 2022; Chu & Ashburn-Nardo, 2022; Gainsburg & Earl, 2022; Gardner & Ryan, 2020). Following existing recommendations for ensuring quality data with online studies, for all studies including this one, we recruited participants who had a minimum approval rate of 99% (Kennedy et al., 2020; Peer et al., 2014) and who were CloudResearch approved workers. We used Qualtrics survey platform's data security features to prevent multiple submissions and fraudulent responses. Furthermore, consistent with recommendations on data screening (e.g., Aguinis et al., 2020;

Chmielewski & Kucker, 2020; Thomas & Clifford, 2017), for all studies including this one, we excluded participants who either failed manipulation checks or indicated low attention or effort during the study. This left a sample of 485 participants (217 women, 2 non-binary people, 2 declined to report;  $M_{\text{age}} = 38.91$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 10.45$ ). The sample consisted of 211 White participants and 274 racial minority participants (108 Asian, 102 Black, 26 Hispanic/Latinx, 4 Native American, and 34 Multiracial/Other).

Participants read that most organizations have diversity efforts that aim to increase the representation of traditionally marginalized groups, and that they would answer questions about these diversity efforts at their own workplace for this study.

### **6.1.2. Measures**

***Perceived belonging in diversity efforts.*** Participants rated how much they “feel included in [their] workplace’s diversity efforts” and their group is “included in [their] workplace’s definition of diversity” (1 = “Not at all” to 7 = “Very much” (Plaut et al., 2011;  $r = .84$ )).

***Perceived contribution to diversity efforts.*** Participants indicated agreement with the statements: “I could make a difference in diversity efforts at my workplace”; “My workplace would find my contributions to diversity efforts valuable”; and “I could contribute to the organizational culture at my workplace” (1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree;  $\alpha = .82$ ).

***Concern about discrimination.*** Participants indicated agreement with the statements: “I would worry that my race/ethnicity would hurt my opportunities at work,” “I would think my managers would evaluate my performance fairly” (reverse-scored), and “I would worry that my race/ethnicity would put me at a disadvantage” (1 = “Strongly disagree” to 7 = “Strongly agree” (adapted from Dover et al., 2016;  $\alpha = .74$ )).

**Positivity toward organization.** Participants indicated how positively they felt toward their organization on a slider scale from 0 = “Extremely negative” to 100 = “Extremely positive” (adapted from Dover et al., 2016).

## 6.2. Results

We conducted an exploratory factor analysis with Oblimin rotation to assess whether our novel concerns (belonging and contribution to diversity efforts) were distinct concerns beyond concerns about discrimination. Eigenvalues and the scree plot pointed to a three-factor solution (see Table 1). One of the items from the concern about discrimination scale did not load onto any of the factors (loading was less than .30), so we excluded this item from analyses. A confirmatory factor analysis based on the results of our exploratory factor analysis indicated that this structure fit the model well: CFI = .993, TFI = .986, RMSEA = .058, SRMR = .021. Each of our scales showed a high degree of internal agreement between items (belonging in diversity efforts:  $r = .84$ ; contribution to diversity efforts:  $\alpha = .89$ ; perceived discrimination:  $r = .90$ ).

We then tested whether these concerns were more common among White or minority employees. Supporting H1a and H1b, White participants reported less belonging in their organization’s diversity efforts ( $t(424.89) = 5.12$ ,  $d = 0.47$ , 95% CI [0.49, 1.11],  $M_{\text{minority}} = 4.90$ ,  $M_{\text{white}} = 4.10$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and were less likely to believe that they could make a contribution to their organization’s diversity efforts compared to minority participants ( $t(457.88) = 4.02$ ,  $d = 0.37$ , 95% CI [0.24, 0.70],  $M_{\text{minority}} = 5.15$ ,  $M_{\text{white}} = 4.68$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Minorities were more concerned than White participants about discrimination in their organization ( $t(468.54) = 4.95$ ,  $d = 0.45$ , 95% CI [0.36, 0.83],  $M_{\text{minority}} = 2.98$ ,  $M_{\text{white}} = 2.39$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Finally, we predicted participants’ positivity toward their organization from these three concerns while controlling for participant gender, years employed, and political orientation on social issues. Supporting H2,

belonging in diversity efforts ( $b = 6.08$ , 95% CI [5.02, 7.15],  $\beta = .39$ ,  $p < .001$ ), perceived contribution to diversity efforts ( $b = 6.36$ , 95% CI [4.88, 7.85],  $\beta = .43$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and concern about discrimination ( $b = -5.72$ , 95% CI [-7.17, -4.27],  $\beta = -.23$ ,  $p < .001$ ) all predicted participants' positivity toward their organization.

### 6.3. Discussion

Study 1 provides support for our hypotheses 1a, 1b and 2. White participants felt less belonging in their organization's diversity efforts relative to racial minority participants (H1a). White participants were also less likely to feel like they could contribute to their organization's diversity efforts (H1b). We also found that perceived belonging in an organization's diversity efforts and perceived contribution to an organization's diversity efforts predicted employee positivity toward their current organization (H2) beyond concern about discrimination.

These results suggest that concern about discrimination is not the only concern that diversity messaging may prompt among White people. Belonging in diversity efforts and contribution to diversity efforts, two previously unidentified concerns, also appear to be unique and meaningful concerns for many White people.

## 7. Study 2a

In Studies 2a and 2b, we experimentally test the impact of the ally invitation messaging by assessing White participants' responses to a traditional diversity message vs. a diversity message that includes an ally invitation. We expected that the ally invitation diversity message would increase dominant group members' perceived belonging in diversity efforts, perceived contribution to diversity efforts (H3), and, in turn, their positivity and desire to work at an organization (H4a and H4b) compared to a traditional diversity message. The preregistration for Study 2a is at <https://tinyurl.com/muzjpeda>.

Consistent with prior literature in this area (e.g., Dover et al., 2016; Kaiser et al., 2021), this study is focused on reactions to diversity messaging in the recruitment context (as opposed to the focus on participants' current organizations in Study 1). That is, participants were placed in the role of potential recruits to an organization that was hiring for a new position.

The aims of Study 2b were the same as Study 2a, but we employed a more engaging and immersive hiring simulation: a recruitment video containing our manipulation, as has been used in previous research on diversity messages (Dover et al., 2016).

## **7.1. Method**

### ***7.1.1. Participants and Procedure***

Given that we did not have an *a priori* effect size with which to calculate a power analysis, we sought a relatively large sample size. Five hundred White participants completed our study online via Mechanical Turk. After exclusions, 487 participants remained in the sample (239 women, 1 non-binary person, 1 declined to report gender;  $M_{\text{age}} = 43.10$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 12.92$ ).

Participants were recruited to a study ostensibly about organizational recruitment. They were randomly assigned to the ally invitation condition or a traditional diversity message condition. In both conditions, participants read a slide deck with information about a fictional organization (CMC) and a specific position for which they were hiring. This slide deck included a diversity message from previous research (Dover et al., 2016). Participants learned that the organization valued diversity and had won an award in recognition of their diversity efforts. The key difference between the two conditions was whether the diversity message included language about the importance of allies in diversity efforts. For instance, in the traditional diversity message control condition participants read, "We need to create and sustain a diverse and inclusive environment," whereas in the ally invitation condition, participants read, "We need

everyone's help to create and sustain a diverse and inclusive environment." After reading CMC's recruitment materials, participants completed an exercise to help them internalize the manipulation (i.e., a *saying-is-believing* exercise; Stephens et al., 2014; Yeager & Walton, 2011). Next, participants completed a survey that included items to assess their concerns and perceptions of CMC, along with manipulation checks.

### **7.1.2. Measures**

***Belonging, contribution, and positivity.*** Participants answered the same measures of perceived belonging in diversity efforts ( $r = 0.84$ ), perceived contribution to diversity efforts ( $\alpha = .93$ ), and positivity toward the organization as Study 1 (items were reworded to capture attitudes about CMC, the organization from the manipulation).<sup>4</sup>

***Perception that CMC values diversity.*** Participants indicated the extent to which "the recruitment material from CMC [made the participant] think the company values diversity" (1 = "Not at all" to 7 = "Very much").

***Control variables.*** We assessed other factors that have been shown to predict attitudes towards diversity statements or recruitment, including gender, social dominance orientation (using the SDO7 scale; Ho et al., 2015;  $\alpha = .93$ ), political orientation on social issues ("How would you describe your political view on social issues (e.g., gay marriage, abortion, death penalty)?" (1 = "Extremely Liberal" to 7 = "Extremely Conservative")); and years of work experience ("How many years of work experience do you have?").

## **7.2. Results**

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<sup>4</sup> We also included measures about concern about discrimination, anti-White and anti-minority bias participants anticipated at CMC. These measures were included in this study (and Studies 2b-4) because these items were of importance in prior work. However, because they ended up not being a part of our conceptual model, we do not report the results in the main text. Full results for these items are in the Supplemental Materials.



We used linear regression to test the effect of the ally invitation (vs. traditional diversity message) condition on dominant groups' attitudes. As shown in Table 2, participants in the ally invitation condition were more likely to report that they belonged in and could contribute to CMC's diversity efforts when compared to participants in the traditional diversity message control condition. Furthermore, participants in the ally invitation condition had a greater desire to work at CMC and felt more positively toward CMC in general.<sup>5</sup>

### **7.2.1. Mediation**

While not preregistered, we also tested mediation models to test H4b. In the first model, we predicted positivity towards CMC from condition through the simultaneous, indirect effects of belonging in diversity efforts and perceived potential contribution in diversity efforts. The second model was identical but predicted the desire to work at CMC (instead of positivity towards CMC). The results from these models were supportive of H4b, with significant indirect effects via belonging in diversity efforts and perceived contribution to diversity efforts (see Table 6).

## **8. Study 2b**

Study 2a provided initial support for Hypotheses 3a-4b. Study 2b sought to replicate these results using a slightly different method (video manipulations).

### **8.1. Method**

#### **8.1.1. Participants, Procedure, and Measures**

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<sup>5</sup> We preregistered additional analyses that we do not include here for the sake of brevity, including a manipulation check (which varied by condition in the predicted direction), moderation by gender and SDO (which was not supported by the data), and analyses without the control variables described above (which produced a similar, though attenuated, pattern of results). We also found that participants in both conditions perceived that CMC valued diversity to a similar degree. These results and zero-order correlations for all studies are available in the Supplemental Materials.

Two hundred fifty White participants completed this study on MTurk, with  $n = 234$  after exclusions (111 women, 2 non-binary;  $M_{\text{age}} = 40.87$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 13.16$ ). The procedure was the same as Study 2a, but participants viewed a video manipulation presenting the same content rather than reading it.

Participants completed the same measures as Study 2a: perceptions that CMC valued diversity, belonging in diversity efforts ( $r = 0.88$ ), contribution at CMC ( $\alpha = .95$ ), positivity toward CMC, their desire to work at CMC ( $\alpha = .93$ ), and perceptions of how much the organization valued diversity.

## **8.2. Results**

Results replicated the patterns found in Study 2a (see Table 2); participants in the ally invitation condition reported higher perceived belonging and contribution in CMC's diversity efforts, and more positivity toward and a stronger desire to work at CMC compared to those in the traditional diversity message control condition. As in Study 2a, there was not a significant difference between conditions in terms of how much participants thought that CMC valued diversity.

As in Study 2a, belonging, contribution, and concerns about discrimination mediated the effect of the ally invitation message on positivity toward and desire to work at CMC (see Table 6). There were significant indirect effects on positivity and desire to work at the company through perceived contribution to diversity efforts. The indirect effects through belonging in diversity efforts were non-significant but trending in the expected direction.

## **8.3. Studies 2a and 2b Discussion**

Studies 2a and 2b provided evidence that the ally invitation messaging may be an effective way to increase White people's positivity toward an organization by increasing feelings

of belonging and potential to make a significant contribution to diversity efforts. Indeed, perceived contribution to diversity efforts may be a critical pathway, given that the indirect effects via belonging were not statistically significantly in Study 2b.

In sum, these studies provide evidence for Hypotheses 3, 4a, and 4b: it appears that inviting allies to diversity efforts can alleviate concerns that diversity messaging can evoke among White potential applicants without undermining an organization's perceived commitment to diversity.

## 9. Study 3

While Studies 2a and 2b provided evidence that ally invitation diversity messaging can reduce backlash from White people, a crucial and unanswered question is how this messaging might impact racial minorities. Thus, the goal of Study 3 was two-fold: we aimed to replicate our results with White participants (H3, H4a, and H4b) while simultaneously testing how ally invitation messaging is perceived by racial minorities (RQ1). The preregistration for this study is available at <https://tinyurl.com/3ehw73bm>.

### 9.1. Method

#### 9.1.1. *Participants*

We determined our sample size by conducting an *a priori* power analysis based on the effect sizes from Study 2a (see preregistration for more information). This study was completed on MTurk by 1,590 participants, and 1,532 participants remained after exclusions (861 women, 15 non-binary people, and 15 declined to report gender;  $M_{\text{age}} = 37.78$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 12.03$ ). Of these, 758 were White, and 773 were racial minorities (275 Asian, 291 African American/Black, 52 Hispanic/Latinx, 148 Multiracial or other).

#### 9.1.2. *Procedure and Measures*

The procedure was identical to Study 2b: participants were randomly assigned to watch a recruitment video about an organization that used either the ally invitation message or the traditional diversity message. They then answered the same measures as in Studies 2a and 2b (with scales showing good reliability: belonging:  $r = .86$ , contribution:  $\alpha = .88$ ; desire to work at organization:  $\alpha = .88$ ).<sup>6</sup>

## 9.2. Results

Because we were primarily interested in the effect of diversity messaging for both White and racial minorities (rather than focusing on whether the strength of the effect varied for White vs. minority participants), our preregistration specified that we would focus on the simple slopes of diversity messaging for White participants and racial minority participants. These results (plus the main effect of condition for the total sample) are in Table 3. The full interaction results can be seen in the Supplemental Materials.

Supporting H3 and H4a, the ally invitation message produced more favorable results for White participants. For racial minority participants, there was not a difference between the ally invitation and traditional diversity message control conditions on any of our dependent variables.

We tested the same mediation models as in prior studies (see Table 6). When predicting positivity toward and desire to work at the organization, diversity message condition had significant indirect effects through contribution and belonging, supporting H4b.<sup>7</sup>

## 9.3. Discussion

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<sup>6</sup> We also asked participants about perceptions of organizational diversity dishonesty and perceived organizational support as we thought this may explain any potential differences between the conditions for racial minorities. There were no significant differences on these variables for racial minorities; see Supplemental Materials for full results.

<sup>7</sup> Mediation results were conducted using the whole sample. Mediation analyses calculated with only White participants reflected the same pattern reported here. For racial minority participants, indirect effects via belonging in diversity efforts were in the expected direction but non-significant (positivity:  $b = 1.20$ ,  $p = .091$ ; desire to work:  $b = .071$ ,  $p = .115$ ), and indirect effects via perceived contribution were marginally significant (positivity:  $b = .87$ ,  $p = .070$ ; desire to work:  $b = .07$ ,  $p = .054$ ).

Study 3 further supports our hypotheses that ally invitation messaging helps prevent backlash from White individuals (relative to traditional diversity messaging). Relative to a traditional diversity message, ally invitation messaging resulted in higher sense of belonging in diversity efforts, higher perceived contribution to diversity efforts, and more positivity and desire to work at the organization (consistent with H3 and H4a). We again saw that the effects of the ally invitation messaging on positivity toward and desire to work at the organization were driven by increased belonging and perceived contribution to diversity efforts (H4b).

Most importantly, Study 3 suggests that these benefits for White individuals do not come at the expense of racial minorities. In a sample of 773 racial minorities, the ally invitation messaging did not lead to worse outcomes than traditional diversity messaging. Indeed, while not statistically significant, racial minorities were directionally more favorable toward the ally invitation messaging, assuaging concerns that the racial minorities would have viewed ally invitation messaging more negatively than traditional diversity messaging if we had higher statistical power.

#### **10. Study 4**

Study 4 builds on prior studies by comparing the ally invitation diversity messaging with both a traditional diversity messaging condition and a no diversity message control condition. Given that prior research indicates that White people can feel threatened by diversity messages, we anticipated that any mention of diversity would lead to more negative perceptions of an organization. Thus, we preregistered the following hypotheses. First, we predicted that the ally invitation diversity messaging would be more favorable than traditional diversity messaging (per H3, H4a, and H4b). Second, although ally invitation messaging appears to be more favorable than traditional diversity messaging, we predicted that White people would still most prefer

recruitment materials that do not contain any diversity messaging. In short, we predicted that the ally invitation messaging would mitigate some—but not all—of the backlash that diversity messaging might evoke among White people.

Study 4 also features an additional behavioral measure of participants' interest in the organization: participants were asked whether they were willing to have CMC contact them with additional information about available positions.<sup>8</sup> The preregistration for this study is available at the following link: <https://tinyurl.com/42vf8wan>.

## 10.1. Method

### 10.1.1. *Participants and Procedure*

Based on an *a priori* power analysis, we recruited 1,424 White participants from Prolific Academic to complete this study. After our preregistered exclusion criteria, 1,335 participants remained in our sample (695 women, 24 non-binary people, 3 declined to report gender;  $M_{\text{age}} = 38.78$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 13.56$ ).

This study utilized the same procedure as Study 2b, but with the addition of a no diversity message control condition that presented a version of CMC's recruitment materials that did not contain any diversity messaging. This no diversity message control condition—adapted from Dover and colleagues (2016)—emphasized other organizational values (e.g., excellence, commitment to employees) instead of diversity.

### 10.1.2. *Measures*

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<sup>8</sup> We also tested whether ally invitation messaging was effective simply because it expanded the definition of diversity to include White people. We did this by measuring whether White participants thought CMC would consider them a “diversity hire.” We did not find evidence that this was driving our effects; see Supplemental Materials.

*Measures from prior studies.* Participants completed measures of perceptions that CMC valued diversity; belonging ( $\alpha = 0.85, p < .001$ ); contribution at CMC ( $\alpha = .88$ ); positivity toward CMC; and desire to work at CMC ( $\alpha = .91$ ).

*Behavioral interest.* As an additional metric of participants' interest in working at CMC, participants were asked, "Are you interested in CMC contacting you with more information about open positions? If so, they will reach out to you at the email address associated with your Prolific account." Participants could respond yes or no. In our analysis with this measure, we controlled for participants' interest in a new job in general and their current income level.

*Definition of diversity.* To measure whether participants saw themselves as part of the "diversity" that CMC was hoping to hire and promote, we asked participants, "To what extent did the recruitment material from CMC make you think that you would be considered a 'diversity hire?'" (1 = "Not at all" to 7 = "Very much").

## 10.2. Results

Results from Study 4 can be seen in Table 4. As in all prior studies, and further supporting H3, the ally invitation message increased White participants' sense of belonging and contribution to diversity efforts relative to the traditional diversity message. Furthermore, the ally invitation message increased belonging and contribution relative to the no diversity message condition. There was no significant difference between the traditional diversity message and the no diversity message in terms of belonging or contribution.

Contrary to H4a and unlike all previous studies, there was not a significant direct effect of condition on positivity toward CMC nor the desire to work at CMC. Condition also did not significantly impact our behavioral measure of desire to work at the organization (whether or not participants opted to give their email to the organization for recruiting purposes).

Unsurprisingly, participants in both the ally invitation and the traditional diversity condition believed the organization valued diversity more than the no diversity message control condition. The ally invitation and traditional diversity message control conditions did not differ.

### ***10.2.1. Mediation***

There was a significant indirect effect of the ally invitation messaging on positivity toward and desire to work at CMC via belonging in diversity efforts relative to both the traditional diversity message control condition and the no diversity message control condition. As with perceived belonging in diversity efforts, we also found indirect effects via perceived contribution to diversity efforts compared to both the traditional diversity message control and no diversity message control conditions (see Table 6). This provides support for H4b.

There were no significant indirect effects when comparing the two control conditions. This suggests that, relative to both control conditions, the ally invitation condition may have increased participants' positivity toward and desire to work at the organization by increasing people's sense of belonging and contribution to diversity efforts.

## **10.3. Discussion**

Study 4 provided additional support for the efficacy of the ally invitation diversity messaging. Results from this study were even more favorable than we hypothesized: White participants responded more positively to the ally invitation diversity message than both a traditional diversity message and no diversity message. This suggests that ally invitation messaging not only reduced concerns that White people might feel when faced with diversity messaging, but also led to more favorable reactions—including increased belonging and contribution—than not mentioning diversity at all.



These results do come with a caveat: we did not find evidence for Hypothesis 4a as expected. We failed to see a direct effect of condition on positivity and desire to work at the organization. Given that we found these effects in all other studies, we anticipate that this lack of direct effect may have been a statistical anomaly, a relatively common phenomenon in psychological research (Maner, 2014). Consequently, we address this inconsistency in a meta-analysis of our studies. Furthermore, as predicted, the ally invitation message condition had a significant indirect effect on both positivity and desire to work at the organization through increased belonging in and contribution to diversity efforts compared to the traditional diversity message control condition and no diversity message control condition, supporting Hypothesis 4a.

## **11. Study 5**

Study 5 tests whether ally invitation messaging motivates dominant group members to participate in organizational diversity efforts (H5). We specifically tested whether participants in the ally invitation message condition anticipated more involvement in organizational diversity efforts and whether they were more supportive of the company investing more resources for organizational diversity efforts (compared to those in the traditional diversity message control condition). This study is preregistered at <https://tinyurl.com/3xrktxjp>.

### **11.1. Method**

#### ***11.1.1. Participants and Procedure***

An *a priori* power analysis based on the effect sizes from Study 2a indicated that a sample of 858 would yield 80% statistical power (see preregistration). We recruited 921 White, U.S.-based participants to complete this study on MTurk; this yielded a sample of  $n = 858$  after our preregistered exclusions (493 women, 12 non-binary people; 4 declined to report gender). The procedure for this study was the same as prior studies.

### ***11.1.2. Measures***

***Belonging and contribution.*** Participants completed the same measures of belonging in CMC's diversity efforts ( $r = .89$ ) and perceived contribution to CMC's diversity efforts ( $\alpha = .91$ ) as in prior studies.

***Support of organizational diversity efforts.*** Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with statements indicating that "CMC should spend additional resources on...": bias training, employee resources groups, and mentoring programs for underrepresented groups (1 = "Strongly Disagree" to 7 = "Strongly Agree"). These three items were averaged ( $\alpha = .89$ ).

***Anticipated involvement in diversity efforts.*** Participants answered the extent to which they agreed that they would want to be involved with bias training, employee resources groups, mentoring programs for underrepresented groups (1 = "Strongly Disagree" to 7 = "Strongly Agree"). These three items were averaged ( $\alpha = .86$ ).

## **11.2. Results**

Results for Study 5 can be seen in Table 5. As in prior studies, the ally invitation message led to more feelings of belonging in organizational diversity efforts and more perceived contribution to these efforts relative to the traditional diversity message. Contrary to hypotheses, we did not find that the ally invitation message impacted participants' support for additional resources for organizational diversity efforts relative to the traditional diversity message. However, as predicted, we did find that participants who received the ally invitation message anticipated being more involved in organizational diversity efforts than participants who received the traditional diversity message.

### ***11.2.1. Mediation***

We hypothesized that the ally invitation diversity message might indirectly increase anticipated involvement in diversity efforts and support for diversity efforts via belonging and contribution to diversity efforts. We ran mediation models to test these hypotheses. When predicting anticipated involvement in diversity efforts, there was a significant, positive indirect effect of condition via both belonging in diversity efforts ( $b = .09$ , 95% CI [0.04, 0.15],  $p = .002$ ) and perceived contribution to diversity efforts ( $b = .12$ , 95% CI [0.05, 0.19],  $p = .001$ ).

When predicting support for additional resources for diversity efforts, there was a significant, positive indirect effect of condition via belonging in diversity efforts ( $b = .05$ , 95% CI [0.01, 0.10],  $p = .016$ ) and perceived contribution to diversity efforts ( $b = .09$ , 95% CI [0.04, 0.15],  $p = .001$ ). In sum, ally invitation messaging increased perceived belonging in and contribution to diversity efforts which, in turn, increased anticipated involvement in diversity efforts and support for additional resources for these diversity efforts.

### **11.3. Discussion**

Study 5 provides an important extension to prior studies. As established, ally invitation messaging leads dominant group members to feel more belonging and contribution to diversity efforts. In this study, ally invitation messaging also increased dominant group members' anticipated involvement in organizational diversity efforts, supporting Hypothesis 5.

At the same time, one aspect of this preregistered hypothesis was not supported by this study. We found that ally invitation messaging did not impact dominant group members' beliefs that the organization's diversity efforts should receive additional resources. This may be the case for a few reasons. First, ally invitation messaging may increase dominant group members' desire to get personally involved in organizational diversity efforts, but not necessarily their broader beliefs about how much institutional support such efforts receive. Another explanation relates to

the question wording, which focused on *additional* resources for diversity efforts. Participants might think that an organization that employs ally invitation messaging has more advanced/extensive/effective diversity efforts than an organization that employs a traditional diversity message, which may lead them to believe these diversity efforts are less in need of *additional* resources. Consistent with this explanation, Study 3 found that dominant group members saw the organization with the ally invitation message (vs. traditional diversity message) as valuing diversity *more*, which supports the idea that an ally invitation organization might be seen as better at supporting diversity at baseline.

Indeed, despite the nonsignificant *direct* effect, we did find that the ally invitation messaging *indirectly* led to more support for diversity efforts via increasing belonging in and contribution to these efforts. This indicates that despite a positive indirect effect of the ally invitation messaging via belonging and contribution, a countervailing force reduced perceptions that organizational diversity efforts should receive additional resources. This countervailing force may be the belief that diversity efforts were already well-supported.

## 12. Meta-Analysis

In addition to the studies presented above, we ran an additional study to test whether these results were moderated by job status (full results presented in Supplemental Materials).<sup>9</sup> To evaluate the overall effectiveness of ally invitation messaging while taking this supplemental study into account, we ran an internal “mini” meta-analysis (Goh et al., 2016; McShane & Böckenholt, 2017). We meta-analyzed a total of six effects: the effect of ally invitation condition vs. traditional diversity message control condition from Study 2a, Study 2b, Study 3, Study 4,

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<sup>9</sup> Results were largely consistent with the pattern observed in other studies and indicated potential moderation by job status. However, we identified significant methodological limitations which prevent us from drawing strong conclusions about how job status might moderate the effects of ally invitation messaging.

and Supplemental Study 1, plus the effect of ally invitation condition vs. no diversity control condition from Study 4.<sup>10</sup> For the belonging and contribution dependent variables, Study 5 was also included for a total of seven effects. Because the study design was similar across studies, we ran a fixed effect meta-analysis (Borenstein et al., 2010; Harrer et al., 2019; Poole & Greenland, 1999).

Meta-analytic results can be seen in Figure 3. Across studies, ally invitation messaging increased perceived belonging in and contribution to diversity efforts (belonging:  $SMD = 0.20$ , 95% CI [0.15, 0.25],  $z = 7.88$ ,  $p < .001$ ; contribution:  $SMD = 0.26$ , 95% CI [0.21, 0.31],  $z = 10.24$ ,  $p < .001$ ). It also increased positivity toward the organization and the desire to work there (positivity:  $SMD = 0.07$ , 95% CI [0.02, 0.13],  $z = 2.68$ ,  $p = .007$ ; desire to work:  $SMD = 0.08$ , 95% CI [0.03, 0.14],  $z = 3.07$ ,  $p = .002$ ). The organization with ally invitation messaging was seen as more committed to diversity ( $SMD = 0.23$ , 95% CI [0.18, 0.29],  $z = 8.57$ ,  $p < .001$ ).<sup>11</sup>

### 13. General Discussion

Across several experiments and a meta-analysis, we find that subtle changes to the framing of diversity messages can improve dominant group members' reception to diversity messaging to help create more diverse and equitable workplaces. Specifically, ally invitation messaging, which highlights the importance of allies in diversity efforts, helps White people feel that they belong and contribute to these efforts (relative to traditional diversity messaging). It also increased White people's positivity toward an organization and their anticipated involvement in diversity efforts. Mediation models found that ally invitation messaging

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<sup>10</sup> The effect size from Study 3 includes White and racial minority participants.

<sup>11</sup> This effect size should be taken with caution. Indeed, the size of this effect is likely inflated by the inclusion of the no diversity message control vs. ally invitation messaging comparison from Study 4. In this study, there was a large effect of condition on perceptions of how much the organization seemed to value diversity because the no diversity control condition did not contain any diversity messaging whatsoever. When meta-analyzed without this effect, the ally invitation messaging still led to perceptions that the organization valued diversity more than a traditional diversity message, but, as expected, the effect was smaller ( $SMD = 0.10$ , 95% CI [0.04, 0.16],  $z = 3.30$ ,  $p = .001$ ).

increased positivity towards the organization, desire to work at the organization, anticipated involvement in diversity efforts, and support for diversity efforts at the organization. Perceived contribution to diversity efforts appeared to be particularly important, as it mediated the effects of ally invitation messaging in all studies (although these models featured cross-sectional mediation, which prohibits us from making any causal claims about these indirect effects).

Crucially, ally invitation messaging conveyed an organizational commitment to diversity equal to or greater than traditional diversity messaging and was not seen as diluting the definition of diversity to include White people; this suggests that such messaging appropriately emphasizes the unique experiences of historically marginalized minority groups. We found that racial minorities reacted as positively to the ally invitation messaging as to traditional diversity messaging. Thus, ally invitation messaging does not appear to prioritize unity without acknowledging existing inequities, an important criterion for effective diversity interventions (Kteily & McClanahan, 2020).

Past work found concerns about discrimination driving backlash from dominant group members towards diversity messages (Dover et al., 2016; Kaiser et al., 2021). The current research finds that dominant group members' concerns about belonging and the ability to contribute to organizational diversity efforts also create backlash and that these concerns were more prevalent among White people than minorities. Moreover, these concerns lowered positivity toward one's organization, and anticipated involvement in diversity efforts. Fortunately, we found that ally invitation messaging consistently alleviated these concerns.

### **13.1. Limitations and Future Directions**

While we consistently found positive effects of ally invitation messaging for dominant group members, there are some limitations that should be addressed in future research. Although

we embedded our manipulation in a realistic recruitment video, our studies rely on hypothetical situations. These methodological choices enabled us to cleanly manipulate diversity messaging and recruit enough participants to ensure well-powered studies, but it is difficult to say whether similar results would emerge in different, non-hypothetical contexts. To address this, in a separate pilot study of 123 full-time employees, we found that employees' self-reported belonging in and contribution to diversity efforts was correlated with self-reported involvement in organizational diversity efforts. This evidence suggests that these constructs may indeed influence ally behavior in non-hypothetical contexts. Nonetheless, further consideration of the effects of ally invitation messaging in "real world" settings is an important next step for this work.

While our theorizing was based on dominant vs. minority group members' reactions to diversity messaging, our studies focused on White people vs. racial minorities. Future work should investigate dominant vs. minority group members based on different social identities, including, for example, gender, sexual orientation, social class, or disability status.

Along this vein, it is unclear how ally invitation messaging might shape or interact with dominant group members' ideologies and beliefs about diversity. Our theory largely assumed that, given the proper framing, most dominant group members would be interested in furthering diversity efforts. We nonetheless acknowledge that overt racism is still alive, and some dominant group members have no interest in increasing diversity. This raises questions about how this messaging is interpreted by dominant group members who are not invested in being allies.

### **13.2. Contributions**

This work makes several important contributions to our understanding of diversity messaging, dominant group members' reactions to diversity, and motivation more broadly. First,

our work suggests that diversity messaging need not be zero-sum (Ballinger et al., 2020; Earle & Hodson, 2019). Indeed, we find that diversity messaging can be framed in a way that is supportive of minorities while mitigating threat from dominant group members. Our work also points out that organizational diversity messages provide an important opportunity to help shape dominant group members' interest and involvement in diversity efforts, which may ultimately help create more inclusive organizations. At present, most organizations are failing to take advantage of this opportunity (only 25% of S&P diversity statements even mentioning allies). Nevertheless, our results suggest that minor changes to diversity messages—which would be easy to implement—could make significant differences in dominant group members' reactions. For example, in our study, we saw benefits from extremely subtle modifications to traditional diversity messaging (changing only 15 of 296 total words).

Second, we identify novel barriers to allyship for dominant group members: relative to minorities, dominant group members feel that they do not belong in and cannot make a meaningful contribution to diversity efforts. This is consistent with the notion that group membership in dominant vs. marginalized group shapes psychology in important ways that need to be considered when designing diversity interventions (Kteily & McClanahan, 2020). Importantly, we show that these barriers to ally engagement appear to be relatively malleable.

Third, our work points to the importance of feeling needed as a motivational force. Although efficacy is an important theme in the literature on motivation, influence, and persuasion, we are not aware of prior work that identifies one's perceived contribution as a unique motivator above and beyond belonging. This as an important distinction worth consideration in the psychology of motivation and influence. Indeed, ally invitation messaging



may tap into a broader influence tactic that could be applied across a variety of situations and domains.

This distinction is also relevant to work on discrimination, group identities, and intergroup relations. The lion's share of this research has focused on belonging. While we see belonging as vitally important, our work suggests that being able to make a unique contribution is a separate and important predictor of one's group-based motivations, which can have important implications for intergroup interventions.

### **13.3. Conclusion**

Diversity messaging is important in signaling a more inclusive organization. Unfortunately, some dominant group members find such messages threatening, undermining the efficacy and adoption of diversity messages. We tested a novel framework for diversity messaging that retains the benefits of diversity messaging for minorities while mitigating sources of threat for dominant group members.

Ally invitation messaging alleviates concerns about belonging in and ability to contribute to diversity efforts by stating that all individuals play an important role in organizational diversity efforts. Compared to traditional diversity messaging, ally invitation messaging more successfully recruited dominant group members into organizational diversity efforts. This messaging also provided the same benefits as traditional diversity messaging for racial minorities. This suggests that diversity messages that can highlight the importance of diversity and invite potential allies in diversity efforts are likely to contribute to the overall success of organizational diversity efforts.

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**Table 1***Factor Loadings from Exploratory Factor Analysis, Study 1*

Item	Theorized Scale	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
To what extent do you feel included in your workplace's diversity efforts?	Belonging		.896	
To what extent is your group included in your workplace's diversity efforts?	Belonging		.922	
I could make a difference in diversity efforts at my workplace.	Contribution	.871		
My workplace would find my contributions to diversity efforts valuable.	Contribution	.781		
I could contribute to the organization culture at my workplace.	Contribution	.867		
I would worry that my race/ethnicity would hurt my opportunities at work.	Discrimination			.913
I would think managers would evaluate my performance fairly (reverse coded).	Discrimination			
I would worry that my race/ethnicity would put me at a disadvantage.	Discrimination			.982

*Note.* Factor loadings < .30 have been trimmed.

**Table 2***Effect of Experimental Condition, Studies 2a and 2b*

Study 2a							
Dependent Variable	Diversity Control <i>M</i>	Ally Invitation <i>M</i>	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Cohen's <i>D</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Belonging in Diversity Efforts	4.97	5.29	0.32	[0.04, 0.61]	.20	2.23	.027
Contribution to Diversity Efforts	5.05	5.52	0.47	[0.24, 0.70]	.37	4.09	< .001
Positivity Toward Organization	69.68	73.85	4.17	[0.28, 8.06]	.19	2.11	.036
Desire to Work at Organization	4.74	5.04	0.29	[0.01, 0.58]	.18	2.01	.045
Organization Values Diversity	6.45	6.56	0.12	[-0.03, 0.26]	.14	1.57	.118
Study 2b							
Dependent Variable	Diversity Control <i>M</i>	Ally Invitation <i>M</i>	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Cohen's <i>D</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
Belonging in Diversity Efforts	5.02	5.46	0.44	[0.01, 0.87]	.27	2.04	.043
Contribution to Diversity Efforts	5.16	5.66	0.50	[0.14, 0.87]	.36	2.70	.007
Positivity Toward Organization	71.41	79.11	7.70	[1.59, 13.80]	.33	2.48	.014
Desire to Work at Organization	4.88	5.28	0.40	[-0.03, 0.83]	.25	1.85	.065
Organization Values Diversity	6.32	6.49	0.17	[-0.10, 0.44]	.17	1.27	.206

*Note.* All effects control for participant gender, political views on social issues, SDO, and years of work experience. Reported means are the estimated marginal means.

**Table 3***Effect of Experimental Condition, Study 3*

Dependent Variable	Sample	Diversity Control <i>M</i>	Ally Invitation <i>M</i>	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Cohen's <i>D</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Belonging in Diversity Efforts	Full Sample	5.01	5.33	0.32	[0.18, 0.47]	.22	4.30	< .001
	Racial Minority	5.55	5.68	0.13	[-0.08, 0.34]	.06	1.23	.220
	White	4.47	4.99	0.52	[0.31, 0.73]	.25	4.89	< .001
Contribution to Diversity Efforts	Full Sample	4.94	5.33	0.26	[0.15, 0.37]	.33	4.68	< .001
	Racial Minority	5.69	5.82	0.13	[-0.02, 0.29]	.12	1.68	.094
	White	4.96	5.36	0.40	[0.24, 0.55]	.37	4.96	< .001
Positivity Toward Organization	Full Sample	68.68	72.28	3.60	[1.44, 5.75]	.17	3.28	.001
	Racial Minority	71.61	74.11	2.50	[-0.53, 5.53]	.08	1.62	.106
	White	65.76	70.48	4.71	[1.67, 7.76]	.16	3.03	.002
Desire to Work at Organization	Full Sample	4.31	4.69	0.25	[0.10, 0.41]	.24	3.22	.001
	Racial Minority	4.97	5.09	0.12	[-0.10, 0.34]	.08	1.05	.295
	White	4.32	4.72	0.39	[0.17, 0.61]	.26	3.52	< .001
Organization Values Diversity	Full Sample	6.08	6.23	0.14	[0.02, 0.26]	.12	2.35	.019
	Racial Minority	6.10	6.16	0.06	[-0.10, 0.23]	.04	0.74	.461
	White	6.07	6.30	0.22	[0.05, 0.39]	.13	2.60	.010

*Note.* All effects control for participant gender, political views on social issues, SDO, and years of work experience. Results for racial minorities and White participants reflect the simple slopes for each of those subsamples.

**Table 4***Difference between Ally Invitation, Diversity Control, and No Diversity Control Conditions, Study 4*

Dependent Variable	Ally Invitation <i>M</i>	Diversity Control <i>M</i>	Non-Diversity Control <i>M</i>	Ally Invitation vs. Diversity Control	Ally Invitation vs. No Diversity Control	Diversity Control vs. Non-Diversity Control
Belonging in Diversity Efforts	4.90	4.52	4.56	$b = 0.38, t = 3.46^{***}$	$b = 0.34, t = 3.10^{**}$	$b = -0.04, t = -0.36$
Contribution to Diversity Efforts	5.30	5.02	5.04	$b = 0.29, t = 3.55^{***}$	$b = 0.26, t = 3.22^{**}$	$b = -0.03, t = -0.33$
Positivity Toward Organization	69.40	71.03	69.81	$b = -1.63, t = -1.10$	$b = -0.42, t = -0.28$	$b = 1.22, t = 0.83$
Desire to Work at Organization	4.68	4.70	4.69	$b = -0.01, t = -0.11$	$b = -0.01, t = -0.10$	$b = 0.00, t = 0.01$
Organization Values Diversity	6.20	6.14	4.83	$b = 0.06, t = 0.52$	$b = 1.37, t = 15.65^{***}$	$b = 1.32, t = 15.01^{***}$

*Note.* All effects control for participant gender, political views on social issues, SDO, and years of work experience. Means are the estimated marginal means.  $^{***} p < .001$ ,  $^{**} p < .01$ ,  $^{*} p < .05$ ,  $^{\dagger} p < .10$ .



**Table 5***Effect of Experimental Condition, Study 5*

Dependent Variable	Diversity Control <i>M</i>	Ally Invitation <i>M</i>	<i>b</i>	95% CI	Cohen's <i>D</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Belonging in Diversity Efforts	4.55	5.06	0.52	[0.29, 0.74]	.32	4.59	< .001
Contribution to Diversity Efforts	4.99	5.33	0.34	[0.18, 0.51]	.29	4.13	< .001
Anticipated Involvement in Diversity Efforts	4.43	4.64	0.20	[0.01, 0.39]	.15	2.11	.035
Support for Additional Resources for Diversity Efforts	4.71	4.70	-0.01	[-0.18, 0.15]	-.01	-0.14	.886

*Note.* All effects control for participant gender, political views on social issues, SDO, and years of work experience. Means are the estimated marginal means.





**Table 6***Indirect Effects of Condition, Studies 2a-4*

	<i>Positivity Toward Company</i>		<i>Desire to Work at Company</i>	
	via Belonging	via Contribution	via Belonging	via Contribution
Study 2a	$b = 1.77$ , 95% CI [0.13, 3.41], $p = .033$	$b = 3.07$ , 95% CI [1.46, 4.98], $p < .001$	$b = 0.08$ , 95% CI [0.01, 0.17], $p = .045$	$b = 0.28$ , 95% CI [0.15, 0.45], $p < .001$
Study 2b	$b = 2.61$ , 95% CI [0.14, 5.90], $p = .070$	$b = 3.77$ , 95% CI [1.15, 7.09], $p = .012$	$b = 0.16$ , 95% CI [0.01, 0.35], $p = .074$	$b = 0.24$ , 95% CI [0.06, 0.49], $p = .024$
Study 3	$b = 1.93$ , 95% CI [1.09, 2.92], $p < .001$	$b = 1.71$ , 95% CI [0.97, 2.47], $p < .001$	$b = 0.12$ , 95% CI [0.06, 0.18], $p < .001$	$b = 0.13$ , 95% CI [0.07, 0.20], $p < .001$
Study 4 Ally Invitation vs. Diversity Control	$b = 1.80$ , 95% CI [0.83, 2.99], $p < .001$	$b = 1.89$ , 95% CI [0.84, 3.13], $p < .001$	$b = 0.14$ , 95% CI [0.06, 0.23], $p < .001$	$b = 0.13$ , 95% CI [0.06, 0.22], $p < .001$
Study 4 Ally Invitation vs. Non-Diversity Control	$b = 1.61$ , 95% CI [0.62, 2.69], $p < .001$	$b = 1.72$ , 95% CI [0.70, 2.97], $p < .001$	$b = 0.13$ , 95% CI [0.04, 0.21], $p = .003$	$b = 0.12$ , 95% CI [0.05, 0.20], $p = .001$
Study 4 Diversity vs. Non-Diversity Control	$b = 0.18$ , 95% CI [-0.82, 1.23], $p < .001$	$b = 0.16$ , 95% CI [-0.87, 1.24], $p < .001$	$b = 0.01$ , 95% CI [-0.06, 0.09], $p = .71$	$b = 0.01$ , 95% CI [-0.07, 0.08], $p = .74$

*Note.* All effects control for participant gender, political views on social issues, SDO, and years of work experience.

**Figure 1**

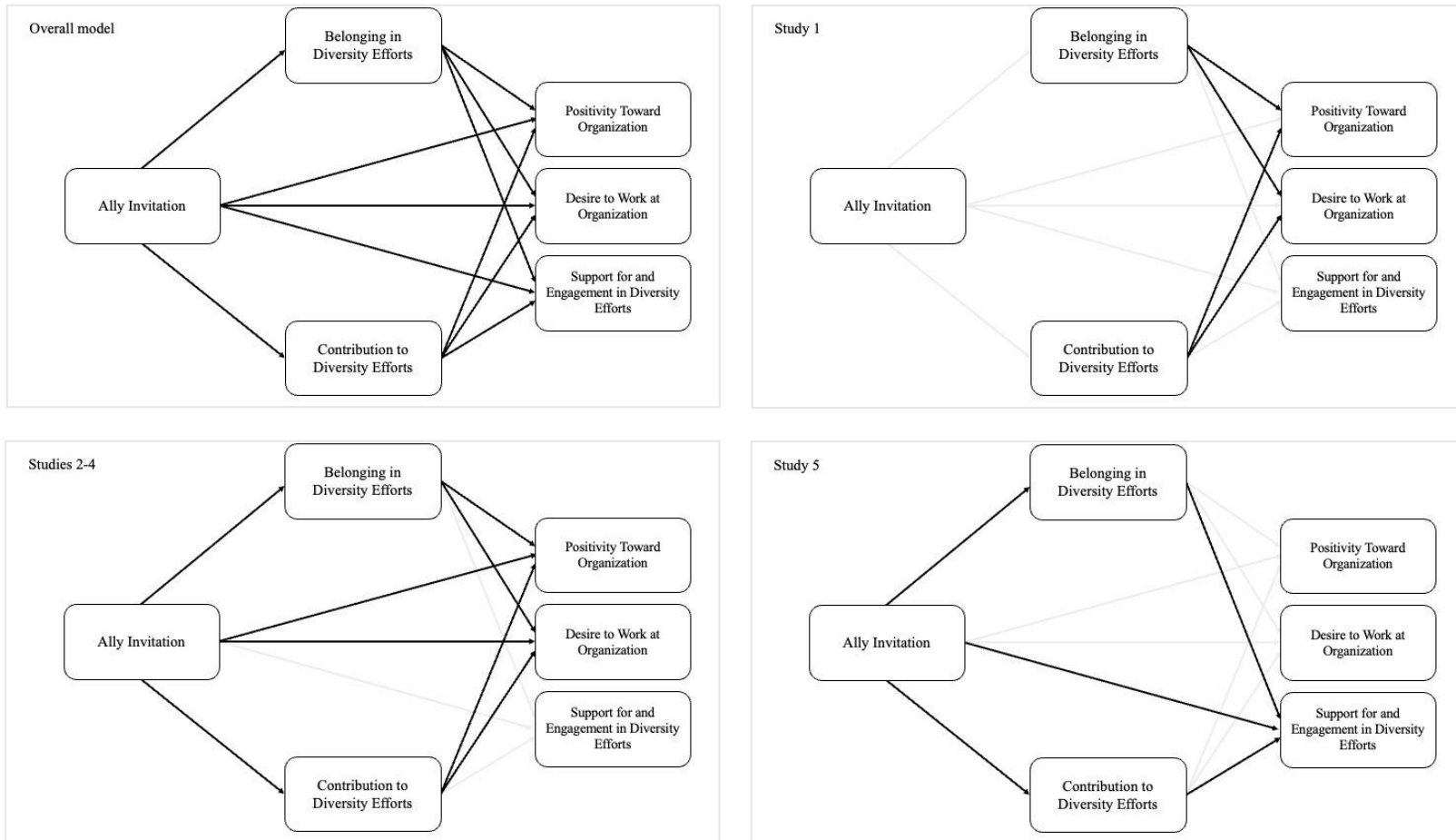
*Content that Differed between the Ally Invitation Condition and the Traditional Diversity Message Control Condition*

Ally Invitation	Traditional Diversity Message Condition
<p><b>We look for employees who...</b></p> <p><b>Are receptive</b> to the cultural demands of a global marketplace</p> <p>Contribute to our diversity and <b>support our diversity efforts</b></p> <p>Thrive in a corporate culture that values inclusion</p> 	<p><b>We look for employees who...</b></p> <p><b>Understand the cultural demands</b> of a global marketplace</p> <p><b>Contribute to our diversity</b></p> <p>Thrive in a corporate culture that values inclusion</p> 
<p><b>Our company is only successful with people who support diversity</b></p> <p><b>We need everyone's help</b> to help create and sustain a diverse and inclusive environment.</p> <p>We need both individuals with diverse backgrounds and experiences and <b>supportive allies</b> in our organizations.</p> <p>We cannot create a truly diverse and inclusive environment <b>without everyone's efforts.</b></p> 	<p><b>Our company is only successful with diversity</b></p> <p><b>We need</b> to create and sustain a diverse and inclusive environment.</p> <p>We need individuals with <b>diverse backgrounds and experiences</b> in our organizations.</p> <p>We cannot create a truly diverse and inclusive environment <b>without diverse employees.</b></p> 

Note: In addition to the information in Figure 1, participants read additional information about the organization's diversity efforts that did not vary between conditions.

**Figure 2**

*Conceptual Model*



Note: Conceptual models represent anticipated effects for dominant group members only.

**Figure 3**

*Meta-Analytic Results*

