Do Inclusive Norms and Diversity Statements Increase Intended Allyship and Advocacy Against

Discrimination?

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including

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Abstract

Many companies signal support for diversity (e.g., via statements and training) yet show group-based disparities, with people of color or women underrated or underpaid relative to White or male coworkers. For White women, who may experience both race privilege and gender marginalization, what factors motivate action against bias, either as an ingroup advocate or an outgroup ally? In a 3 (company cues) x 2 (pay gap) design, 459 White American women with work experience viewed company mission statements and employee profiles containing weak, mixed, or strong inclusion cues. Next, a salary gap revealed either racial or gender disparities, creating an opportunity for allyship or ingroup advocacy. Although White women were more willing to act against the race (vs. gender) gap, this difference was smaller for women who more strongly identified as White. Also, higher conservatism predicted less willingness to challenge any pay gap, but the inclusive norms condition reduced this difference for certain actions (e.g., alerting other managers about the gap). Finally, inclusive (vs. control) norms lowered fear of backlash, resulting in stronger action intentions.

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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

Despite an ongoing push for gender and racial equality within organizations (Robotham & Cortina, 2019), women and people of colour face continued disparities, including pay gaps (Block et al., 2019; Pelletier et al., 2019), workplace harassment (Robotham & Cortina, 2019), and interpersonal penalties for confronting discrimination (Vaccarino & Kawakami, 2020). Combating these discrepancies in the workplace requires change at three levels: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and organizational (Haine-Bennett et al., 2020; Stephens et al., 2020). At the intrapersonal level, individuals can acknowledge their biases and work to challenge their personally-held stereotypes (Haine-Bennett et al., 2020). Many studies have examined ways to reduce individual prejudices and improve intergroup attitudes (Dovidio et al., 2002; Eberhardt, 2019; Stephens et al., 2020). At the interpersonal level, allyship is critical to ensuring marginalized group members feel greater belonging and experience less frequent discrimination (Haine-Bennett et al., 2020). Indeed, allyship from privileged groups (e.g., White people, men) is encouraged to bring about justice in solidarity with marginalized group members (Erskine & Bilimoria, 2019). Finally, at the organizational level, companies have a responsibility to implement policies and structures to eliminate barriers that marginalized groups face (Haine-Bennett et al., 2020). Organizations are gradually incorporating diversity policies to combat discrimination and increase inclusion (Dobbin et al., 2015; Kalev et al., 2006; Stephens et al., 2020). While changes at these levels may appear positive, they can become performative or inauthentic if not enacted with benevolent intentions (Radke et al., 2020, 2021). Additionally, interventions to increase inclusivity must be multilevel to be effective (Stephens et al., 2020). In the following research, I focus on the organizational and interpersonal levels to understand how

companies can effectively signal a diverse and inclusive environment, and how this may, in turn, facilitate allyship and ingroup advocacy behaviours.

Previous Literature

Allyship and Advocacy

Allyship consists of actions taken by people from powerful, privileged groups in society to support people from marginalized groups (De Souza & Schmader, 2021; Salvanathan et al., 2020). People are more likely to engage in allyship behaviours when they observe these actions from ingroup members (De Souza & Schmader, 2021). Indeed, privileged group members respond more openly to and feel less threatened by ingroup members than outgroup members who confront their prejudiced behaviour (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Czopp et al., 2006). Further, third party witnesses respond more favourably to White people confronting anti-Black discrimination than to confrontations from Black people (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). In addition to aiding in changing discriminatory systems, allyship behaviour benefits people from marginalized groups by improving their belonging (Murrar et al., 2020) and career advancement (Erskine & Bilimoria, 2019). Increasing allyship is a focus of this research.

Barriers to allyship. Despite the importance of allyship, barriers and fears can prevent privileged group members from engaging in movements as allies. First, privileged group members' beliefs about how others will respond to their behaviours can reduce their motivation to engage in allyship behaviour (Adra et al., 2020; Kutlaca et al., 2020; Radke et al., 2020). For instance, marginalized group members may respond negatively if allies appear to dominate or control the movement (Radke et al., 2021). Additionally, there may be a disconnect in willingness (from privileged group members) and desire (for allies from marginalized group members) to do certain behaviours (e.g., attend a protest; Burns & Granz, 2022). Second, people

often show pluralistic ignorance of ingroup members' values, believing that ingroup members do not engage in allyship behaviour, in turn reducing their own motivation to do so (De Souza & Schmader, 2021). Third, privileged group members may fear that benefitting marginalized groups will come at a cost to their ingroup (Kutlaca et al., 2020; Radke et al., 2018). For example, men who believe that feminism will result in men losing rights to women were less willing to collective action for women (Radke et al., 2018). Understanding which circumstances give rise to allyship behaviour, then, requires acknowledging the barriers and fears that may prevent allyship behaviours.

Ingroup advocacy. While privileged group members engage in allyship action, people from marginalized groups who are personally affected by discrimination also advocate for their ingroup. Advocacy can garner positive and negative reactions from others. On the one hand, the psychological standing hypothesis (Ratner & Miller, 2001) posits that, due to the norm of self-interest in Western society, people often prefer to advocate for their ingroup. For example, pro-abortion men are less comfortable attending a pro-abortion event than pro-abortion women, due to lower vested interest (Ratner & Miller, 2001). Thus, people may be more likely to advocate for their ingroup with higher vested interest. On the other hand, the victim derogation hypothesis (Kaiser & Miller, 2001; Vaccarino & Kawakami, 2021) finds that people who speak out against discrimination targeted at their own group can experience backlash in the form of victim-blaming (Lerner, 1980) and perceptions that they are "overreacting" (Czopp & Monteith, 2003) or "complaining" (Kaiser & Miller, 2001). It is, thus, necessary to consider both psychological standing and victim blaming when considering advocacy behaviours. My study sought to understand the circumstances under which one engages in either allyship (for an outgroup) or advocacy (for one's own ingroup) and the factors that facilitate or block such

behaviours. Particularly, how do people within a company react when viewing overt discrimination in the company? Their reactions may depend on the company's diversity structures and norms.

Diversity Structures

Recently, more companies have been implementing policies and programs (e.g., diversity statements, training)—henceforth referred to broadly as diversity "structures"—to increase diversity and address discrimination systemically (Dobbin et al., 2015; Kalev et al., 2006; Stephens et al., 2020). For example, Starbucks has a statement on their website expressing, "We're on a journey to create environments where everyone is welcome and feels a sense of belonging" (Starbucks, n.d.). Additionally, Verizon's website emphasizes their value in diverse employees, stating "We take pride in our talented and diverse team of people who focus on our customers, every day" (Verizon, n.d.). Though these statements may have positive intentions, at times these statements serve a signalling function (Dover et al., 2020). Statements that suggest companies strive for equity, diversity, and inclusion signal that the company is fair, people from marginalized groups will feel greater belonging at the company, and marginalized group members will succeed in the company (Dover et al., 2020). If companies do not live up to their promises (e.g., underrepresentation of women relative to men despite company materials suggesting equal representation), this misalignment can reduce the perceived integrity (Windscheid et al., 2016) and sincerity (Kroeper et al., 2020) of the company, subsequently increasing social identity threat (feeling devalued due to one's identity; Steele et al., 2002) and decreasing interest in the company (Kroeper et al., 2020). Indeed, many statements perpetuate negative stereotypes against women and people of colour or focus solely on the competitive advantage achieved through diversity, arguing for the "business case" (Singh & Point, 2006).

When Diversity Structures Backfire. Even when diversity statements can have benevolent intentions to increase diversity and equity, research is mixed on the effectiveness of diversity structures (Dobbin et al., 2015; Kalev et al., 2006). Some research finds that these statements can backfire for both allyship and advocacy behaviour. Diversity structures such as statements and managerial or anti-harassment training may fail to increase diversity (Kalev et al., 2006; Dobbin & Kalev, 2019), induce resistance to change (Dobbin et al., 2015), and make members of privileged groups more likely to derogate discrimination claimants (Kaiser et al., 2013). When White participants viewed a company with a diversity statement, versus a generic mission statement, they were more likely to see the company as procedurally fair, even when presented with a discrimination lawsuit against the company (Kaiser et al., 2013). This finding extends to men who viewed a diversity training program (Kaiser et al., 2013). The effects of diversity statements held even when male participants saw overt, objective information of discrimination in the form of gender-based wage gaps (Kaiser et al., 2013; Study 3). Further, White people are more likely to support unstandardized interviews (a strategy known to perpetuate biases) when they learn a company won a diversity award, due to greater perceptions that the company is fair to marginalized people (Kirby et al., 2015). Moreover, White people are more likely to believe that companies with diversity initiatives discriminate against White people, compared to companies without these initiatives (Kaiser et al., 2021). Diversity structures, then, can negatively impact allyship behaviours, by fostering the perception that allyship is unnecessary (because no bias against people of colour or women is present).

Diversity structures can also reduce advocacy for one's ingroup (Dover et al., 2014). For example, Latinos higher in system-justifying beliefs were more likely to see companies with diversity structures as procedurally fair. In turn, they were more likely to derogate discrimination

claims from Latino employees at the company (Dover et al., 2014). Additionally, women higher in benevolent sexism were more likely to believe that a company with a diversity training program was fair and, consequently, were less likely to support female discrimination claimants (Brady et al., 2015). Diversity structures can thus reduce action from both privileged and marginalized group members.

Benefits of Diversity Structures. While diversity structures may reduce discrimination confrontation, some research finds positive effects on belonging for marginalized groups (Apfelbaum et al., 2016; Dover et al., 2016; Kalev et al., 2006) provided the company's diversity does not appear inauthentic (Kroeper et al., 2020). For instance, women are more likely to remain at law firms that emphasize their value in differences, while people of colour remain at firms that emphasize their value in equality (Apfelbaum et al., 2016). Likewise, when law firms emphasize their value in equality, people of colour are more likely to continue working at their firms. Further, learning that companies value multiculturalism lead Black people who are numerically underrepresented to feel greater trust in the setting and women of colour to perform better on a math test (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Wilton et al., 2015). Finally, people of colour who perceive an organization as valuing individual differences have greater self-efficacy in their leadership abilities and greater willingness to apply to the company (Gündemir et al., 2017). Greater trust can come at a cost, however; people of colour were less likely to try and "appear White" on job applications when job advertisements used diverse language, yet employers continued to prefer whitened resumés (Kang et al., 2016).

To be effective, companies should treat diversity as a process and not a goal already achieved (Carnes et al., 2019). For example, saying "we are working to achieve an inclusive environment" is more effective than "we do not discriminate." Second, diversity statements

should emphasize personal autonomy to encourage allyship and inclusivity (Carnes et al., 2019). For example, stating "we have a zero-tolerance policy for racism" may lead to greater backlash than "our employees say they value diversity." Finally, as noted, emphasizing colourblindness versus multiculturalism can result in lower belonging for people of colour versus backlash among White people, respectively (Carnes et al., 2019).

Ultimately, the effects of diversity statements on company culture and equitable opportunities are unclear. Potentially, companies stating they have diversity policies in place may be insufficient for signalling that the company is truly inclusive for everyone. Showing that a company has a truly inclusive and accepting culture may involve promoting positive prosocial norms in the workplace.

Norms

The key to promoting action-oriented behaviour in the face of discrimination may lie in norms. Descriptive norms refer to how people in a group behave while prescriptive (or injunctive) norms refer to how people expect others to behave (Brauer & Chaurand, 2010; Cialdini et al., 1990). Norms in an environment can shape people's behaviour and attitudes (Murphy et al., 2018). People are more likely to engage in allyship behaviour when they observe ingroup members doing so (De Souza & Schmader, 2021); therefore, when employees and leaders behave inclusively in an organization, this can signal to new employees that allyship is normative and expected. Seeing information that their peers on a university campus strive to be inclusive signalled to marginalized students that privileged students engage in allyship behaviours (Murrar et al., 2020). These inclusive signals, consequently, improved belonging and school grades for marginalized students. Further, knowing that male employees accept and socially include female counterparts reduces social identity threat and burnout (Hall, Schmader,

Aday, & Croft, 2018) and improves belonging (Cyr et al., 2021) for women in science and engineering fields. Perceiving that one's workplace climate is inclusive and welcoming to people from all backgrounds contributes to greater trust and reduced turnover intentions (Ward et al., 2021). Learning of inclusive norms in a company could potentially encourage advocacy behaviour for one's own group. If people from marginalized groups learn that others generally work for equity and inclusion, this knowledge may reduce people's fear of backlash from challenging discrimination.

 Signalling Inclusive Norms. Inclusive company norms can be signalled to incoming employees in a variety of ways. First, companies can signal diverse representation through photos of employees posted on the company website. Black participants who viewed organizations with a diverse workforce felt greater trust and comfort in the company and lower fear of racial stigma (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). Second, companies can include graphics demonstrating fairness and equity in the organization. For example, company brochures that contained a bar chart showing employees' agreement that the company is fair and leaders make decisions in line with company values reduced Black participants felt racial stigma and, in turn, increased trust in the company (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). Employee-led signalling can also be achieved on external websites such as *Glassdoor* or *Indeed*, which contain company reviews from current and former employees. Third, companies can ensure they have implemented policies that foster equity and inclusion. For example, in workplaces with more gender-inclusive policies, such as equitable opportunities for women and numeric representation of women, women had more accepting conversations with men, which reduced social identity threat (Hall, Schmader, Aday, Inness, & Croft, 2018). Companies, therefore, have a number of ways they can signal their workplace culture to new employees.

In the following research, I proposed that descriptive norms in addition to diversity statements are fundamental for promoting advocacy and allyship. When a company both provides a diversity statement emphasizing its value in representation and demonstrates through leadership and employee experiences that the company is welcoming, people will be more likely to confront discrimination within the organization.

Group Identification

To examine allyship and advocacy, I sought to recruit people with identities at an intersection between privilege and marginalization. Intersectionality theory proposes that people's experiences are shaped by their various identities under societal discrimination and privilege (Crenshaw, 1991). For example, White women experience privilege due to their racial identity (as White) and barriers due to their gender identity (as women). Shared experiences of barriers can increase understanding of outgroup disadvantages along a different identity dimension to one's own (Cortland et al., 2017; Craig et al., 2020). For example, straight Black and Asian people were more likely to support same-sex marriage if they were primed to recognize similarities in discrimination against their own and the LGBTQ+ outgroup (Cortland et al., 2017). Likewise, White women who read an article about workplace sexism showed less anti-Black bias if they were primed with a similarity-seeking mindset, compared to those without this mindset (Cortland et al., 2017). My research study investigated whether signals that a company is inclusive through diversity policies and allyship norms empower White women to address both a gender salary gap through advocacy and a race salary gap through allyship.

I further hypothesized that advocacy and allyship among White women would be moderated by gender and racial identification. Greater identification with one's marginalized group can foster greater advocacy toward the group's cause (Derks et al., 2016; Kaiser &

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Spalding, 2015). Women who had stronger gender identification were more likely to support and uplift other women in a male-dominated field (Kaiser & Spalding, 2015) whereas women with low gender identification were more likely to distance themselves from other women to ensure their own advancement in the workplace (Derks et al., 2016). By contrast, greater identification with a privileged group can result in reduced or less effective allyship behaviour and less support for policies that benefit marginalized groups (Adra et al., 2020; Brown & Craig, 2020; Lowery et al., 2006; Radke et al., 2020). For instance, White people highly identified as White and believing that Black people perceive Whites as inactive in racial equity movements are less likely to engage in collective action (Adra et al., 2020). Further, men with high gender identification engaged in collective action for women only to the extent that they learned women's issues were pervasive (Iyer & Ryan, 2009). Thus, I predicted that higher gender identification would encourage White women's advocacy and allyship, but higher racial identification would discourage allyship.

System Justification

A final potential contributing variable to advocacy and allyship is system justification. People high in system-justifying beliefs defend the status quo and are more supportive of societal maintenance (Osborne et al., 2018), rather than restructuring. System justification is associated with conservatism (Jost, 2020) and lowered support of disruptive protests that challenge the status quo (Osborne et al., 2018). As noted earlier, people from marginalized groups who are high in system justifying beliefs are less likely to take action to support their group. While White people saw companies with diversity structures as fair to marginalized groups regardless of system-justifying beliefs (supporting previous research, Kaiser et al., 2013), only Latinos high in system-justifying beliefs perceived company fairness and derogated discrimination claimants

(Dover et al., 2014). Thus, I proposed that system justification would moderate the effects of diversity cues on allyship and advocacy such that those higher in system-justifying beliefs would be less likely to act.

CHAPTER TWO: Current Research and Main Hypotheses

In the following study, participants imagined they were new employees at a start-up technology company, JetTech. In Part 1, participants were randomly assigned into three groups with varying levels of inclusion signals. Depending on their condition, participants saw either a diversity statement or a generic mission statement (without diversity cues). Next, participants saw indications of either inclusive norms or control norms (without inclusion cues) in the form of company leader profiles and *Glassdoor* reviews. I manipulated the number of diversity cues with which participants were presented. They either saw no diversity cues (control condition), a diversity statement cue with no norm cues (mixed cues condition), or a diversity statement cue plus inclusive norms cues (inclusive condition). In Part 2, participants saw a gender or race salary gap where women or people of colour earned about 80% of what men or White people earned. Overall, participants were assigned to one of six conditions in 3 (company inclusion cues: control, mixed, and inclusive) by 2 (salary gap: gender or race) factorial design.

Due to time constraints, my hypotheses were not pre-registered. I hypothesized that key variables (perceptions of leaders and employees valuing diversity, perceptions of company norms, procedural justice, participants' ratings of likelihood of enacting inclusive behaviours, willingness to confront discrimination, and job appeal) would increase when participants were presented with multiple cues of diversity in a fictional company (i.e., diversity statement and inclusive norms; in line with Murrar et al., 2020). I further predicted that in conditions where participants were presented with only a diversity statement, procedural justice and perceptions of diversity values would increase but action intentions would remain around the level of the control group (similar to Kaiser et al., 2013).

I also predicted that psychological standing and fear of backlash would mediate the relationship between diversity cues and action intentions. Specifically, I hypothesized that White women who see a diversity statement and inclusive norms would feel lower fear of backlash and greater psychological standing and, thus, would intend to engage in inclusive behaviours. As an exploratory analysis, I tested whether the mediation differed by gap type.

Finally, I predicted that gender and racial identification, and system justification, would moderate the relationship between the study manipulations and action intentions. I hypothesized that participants higher in gender identification (as women) would be more likely to take action against the gender salary gap while those higher in racial identification (as White) would be less likely to take action against the race salary gap (in line with previous research; Adra et al., 2020; Lowery et al., 2006). I also predicted that those higher versus lower in system justification would be less likely to engage in actions against the salary gap (in line with Dover et al., 2014). Finally, as *action intentions* is a new measure created for this study, I intended to factor analyze the measure and examine additional moderators including conservatism and age.

Method

Participants

I aimed to recruit 500 adult White American women from Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) through CloudResearch.com. Individuals on MTurk were asked to only participate only if they currently or worked, or had previously worked, in an office, business, or corporate setting. Due to a procedural error, slightly more than 500 individuals completed the survey: 538 participants (excluding duplicate submissions). After the necessary exclusion of 79 participants (15%; detailed subsequently), 459 participants were retained for analysis.

I had estimated that about 10% of the data would be low-quality and subject to exclusion from analyses, as is typical with MTurk samples (Barends & de Vries, 2019), yielding a sample size close to 450 participants. Retaining 450 participants would mean 150 participants per company inclusion cues condition, providing 80% power to detect a small-to-medium difference ($d = 0.32$, two-tailed) between any two of these conditions, and 225 per pay gap condition, providing 80% power to detect a small difference ($d = 0.26$) between the race and gender pay gap conditions. Assigning about 75 participants to each combination of company inclusion and pay gap meant that only medium-sized differences ($d = 0.46$) between cells could be detected with 80% power. The sample size needed to detect interactions with 80% power varies greatly—more than tenfold—based on the specific shape of the predicted interaction (da Silva Frost & Ledgerwood, 2020), so these estimates were not used to determine sample size.

Procedure and Materials

This research was approved by the University of Waterloo Research Ethics Board (protocol #44384). The study used a 3 (company inclusion cues: control, mixed, and inclusion) X 2 (salary gap: gender or race) factorial design. See Appendix A for all manipulations as shown in the study. American spellings were used on all materials. Participants were informed on MTurk of a study about perceptions of workplace culture, including how people anticipate feeling and acting within a company. Upon consenting, participants were instructed to imagine that they work at JetTech, a start-up technology company, as a recently hired project manager at JetTech. Instructing participants to imagine they work in a mid-level position intended to influence participants' perceptions of responsibility and power to realistically take action. In Part 1 of the survey, participants read through JetTech's diversity statement (experimental condition) or generic mission statement (control condition). The statements were adapted from real

companies' mission statements (e.g., Verizon, n.d.) and previous research (Dover et al., 2016;

Kaiser et al., 2013, Kroeper et al., 2022; Murrar et al., 2020). The diversity statement

emphasized the company's efforts for inclusion and indicated that all managers completed

diversity training (terms in boldface were emphasized in the original via an apparent hyperlink

underline):

> JetTech strives for a diverse and inclusive workforce.
> At JetTech we believe that creativity and innovation result exclusively from cooperation between people with different experiences, perspectives, and cultural backgrounds. To cultivate an inclusive and equitable culture, we value perspectives from people of all races, cultures, genders, sexual orientations, ages, and religions.
> All our managers have completed **diversity training** and recruit employees who understand the cultural demands of a global marketplace and value inclusive behaviors. We hold ourselves accountable for change and strive to promote an environment of respect, trust, and belonging between employees.
> At JetTech, no matter your department, you are part of one team. We take pride in our diverse and talented employees who make client satisfaction a priority. We believe, and our employees agree, that our strong support for employees makes their experience rewarding and our company great.

The generic mission statement emphasized goals for innovation and indicated that the managers

had all completed leadership training:

> JetTech strives for an innovative and thriving workforce.
> At JetTech we believe that creativity and innovation result exclusively from cooperation between people with unique personalities, experiences, and talents. To cultivate an [*sic*.] cohesive and unified culture, we value the perspectives from people of all work, training, and learning styles.
> All managers have completed **leadership training** and work to cultivate a sense of productivity and ingenuity among employees. We hold ourselves accountable to the community and strive to provide cutting-edge technology and services at a competitive advantage to the global marketplace.
> At JetTech, no matter your department, you are part of one team. We take pride in our creative and talented employees who make client satisfaction a priority. We believe, and our employees agree, that our rigorous attention to technology advancement makes their experience rewarding and our company great.

Following the statements, participants read six profiles from leaders at the company. The profiles consisted of pictures of six executives at the company and descriptions of their role, education, leadership, and passions. The pictures, roles, and educational attainments were the same across conditions. In the inclusive norms condition, the executives engaged in leadership activities that alluded to allyship and advocacy (e.g., participating in the anti-racism task force and the diversity and inclusion committee). Their passions were focused on promoting an inclusive culture such as ensuring everyone gets a voice in decisions and hearing diverse employees' innovative ideas. In the control condition, the executives engaged in leadership that did not allude to inclusion efforts (e.g., participating in the net neutrality task force and the young leaders committee). Control leaders' passions included accelerating the company's growth and working in a fast-paced environment.

Following the profiles, participants read a series of *Glassdoor* reviews from current and former employees at the company. On a displayed dashboard ostensibly summarizing employee ratings, JetTech's highest-rated dimension (4.9 out of 5) was its culture and values in the inclusive norms condition. In the control condition, the ratings expressed positive impressions of the company, unrelated to the company culture, including having fair working hours and learning opportunities. The highest-rated dimension was compensation and benefits.

Review content came from previous research (Dow, 2017). In each condition, nine employee reviews described JetTech as having largely positive features: either a positive and welcoming environment with employees feeling respected and valued (in the inclusive norms condition) or other good qualities unrelated to the interpersonal culture. Sets of reviews were selected using ratings from a previous sample of 100 raters who assessed each review on 5-point bipolar scales for valence (*positive* to *negative*), helpfulness (*unhelpful* to *helpful*), relevance

(*relevant* to *irrelevant*), fairness (*biased* to *fair*), rationality (*emotional* to *rational*), and typicality (*typical* to *uncommon*). Across both conditions, the ratings were matched on (a) negativity, (b) helpfulness, and (c) relevance (all $ts < 1$). The control condition was slightly higher in rationality, $t(12) = -3.05$, $p = .010$, M(inclusion) = 3.27, M(control) = 3.83, and typicality, $t(12) = -2.21$, $p = .048$, M(inclusion) = 2.23, M(control) = 2.64, which may reflect perceptions of interpersonal dynamics as "soft skills" (Matteson et al., 2020). Reviews related to interpersonal dynamics in workplace culture may thus be more subjective (Das Swain et al., 2020) and rarer than compensation or management reviews.

After reading through these materials, participants completed the Part 1 measures. Participants estimated the extent to which JetTech leaders and employees value diversity, perceptions of inclusive norms at the company, and procedural justice. Participants also indicated whether they would act in inclusive ways and confront discrimination. Part 1 of the study, then, examined the differential effects on these outcomes of presenting minimal diversity and inclusion cues (control) condition, mixed cues (a diversity statement but no indication of inclusive norms based on profiles and reviews), and inclusion (a diversity statement and inclusive norms).

In Part 2 of the survey, participants saw a graph indicating a salary gap among 11 employees in the team that the participant ostensibly would manage. Participants either learned that the women earned $10,044 less on average than men (a gender salary gap), or that people of colour earned $10,044 less on average than White people (a race salary gap). In both conditions, the salary gap accounted for position and years worked at the company and explicitly showed the average earnings of women or people of colour as lower than the average of men or White

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people. To ensure that participants remembered the gap, the following question also explicitly referenced this salary gap of approximately $10,000.

After viewing the salary gap, participants answered the remaining measures about their concern for and believed pervasiveness of the salary gap, their actions as a response to the salary gap (asked as both open-ended and closed-ended questions), their perceptions of psychological standing to take action, the backlash they perceive they would experience, and the extent to which the job is appealing. Participants then answered suspicion probes, manipulation checks, questions on demographics, and calls for feedback before being thanked, debriefed, and paid.

Measures

All measures are in Appendix B. Part 1 measures were presented prior to the salary gap; Part 2 and holistic measures were presented after the salary gap. I also collected three open-ended measures (not analyzed here as systematic coding is ongoing): initial impressions of the company, anticipated actions regarding the salary gap, and reasons for (in)action.

Part 1

Perceptions of Valuing Diversity. Participants indicated how many JetTech leaders and employees each valued diversity from 1 (*none*) to 7 (*all*).

Perceptions of Company Norms. Participants indicated on a 6-item measure ($\alpha = .68$) how many JetTech employees engaged in behaviours for inclusion from 1 (*none*) to 7 (*all*), adapted from Murrar et al. (2020). For example, participants estimated the number of employees who do their best to behave inclusively.

Procedural Justice. Participants completed a 6-item measure of procedural justice ($\alpha = .92$) adapted from Kaiser et al. (2013). Participants indicated agreement to statements such as

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"JetTech applies personnel procedures consistently across all employees, irrespective of race or gender" from -3 (*strongly disagree*) to 3 (*strongly agree*).

Inclusive Behaviours. Participants completed an 8-item measure (α = .78) adapted from Murrar et al. (2020) of how often they would expect to do inclusive behaviours at the company (e.g., "make a point to attend a meeting where diversity issues are going to be discussed"). Participants reported frequency from 1 (*never*) to 6 (*daily*).

Confronting Discrimination. Participants completed a 6-item measure (α = .86) adapted from Murrar et al. (2020) of how often they will confront discrimination if it occurs (e.g., "if I notice gender or racial bias in the hiring process, I will advocate for changing the process"). Participants reported frequency from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*).

Part 2

Concern for Salary Gap. Participants indicated how concerned they are about the salary gap from -3 (*extremely unconcerned*) to 3 (*extremely concerned*).

Perceived Pervasiveness. Participants indicated whether they believe the salary gap is a broader issue at the company from -3 (*extremely unlikely*) to 3 (*extremely likely*).

Psychological Standing. Participants indicated on a 5-item measure (α = .87) from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much so*) the extent to which they believe they have proper standing to act in response to the salary gap (e.g., "you are the right person to talk about the salary gap"). This measure was adapted from Sherf et al. (2017).

Perceived Backlash. Participants estimated the extent to which they would receive backlash for acting on the salary gap from their coworkers at JetTech on a 5-item scale (α = .72; e.g., "share your concern" or "see you as a troublemaker or complainer") from 1 (*not at all*) to 5

(*very much so*). This scale was adapted from Kaiser and Miller (2001), Thai et al. (2021), and Moss-Racusin and Rudman (2010).

Action Intentions. Participants reported their likelihood of engaging in 13 actions (α = .90; e.g., "discuss this salary gap with your supervisor" and "organize a walk-out/strike for pay equity") from -3 (*extremely unlikely*) to 3 (*extremely likely*).

Job Appeal. Participants completed a 6-item measure of job appeal (α = .90; e.g., "JetTech seems like a great place to work"), adapted from Gaucher et al. (2011), measured from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*).

Holistic Measures

Suspicion Probe and Manipulation Checks. Participants noted whether they were suspicious of the study's hypotheses and completed six manipulation checks based on (a) their role in the company, (b) the information they read in the mission statement, (c) the leadership roles JetTech leaders held, (d) the highest-rated dimension in the *Glassdoor* reviews, (e) the salary distribution for people on the team, and (f) the size of the salary gap.

Demographics, Moderators, and Feedback. The study concluded with participants reporting their gender, race, age, and political leanings (on a 1-7 scale from *very liberal* to *very conservative*). Additionally, participants completed gender and racial identification measures adapted from Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) Collective Self-Esteem Scale. Participants answered two items about gender identification (α = .67; e.g., "my gender is an important part of my self-image") and two items about racial identification (α = .64; e.g., "my racial/ethnic background is an important part of my self-image") from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). Gender and racial identification were positively correlated ($r = .55$, $p < .01$). Participants also completed a 7-item system justification measure (α = .85) from -3 (*strongly disagree*) and 3 (*strongly*

agree), adapted from Kay & Jost (2003**;** e.g., "society is set up so that people usually get what they deserve"). System justification correlated somewhat with age ($r = .27, p < .01$) and moderately with conservatism ($r = .47, p < .01$). Both system justification and conservatism correlated more strongly with racial identification (rs = .35-.37) than gender identification (rs = .15-17; all ps < .01). Finally, participants indicated their engagement and distraction with the study on a 3-item composite ($\alpha = .61$; e.g., "how distracted were you during this study") from 1 (*not at all*) to 4 (*very*) and provided feedback.

<div align="center">

Results

</div>

Exclusions

All exclusion criteria were finalized prior to hypothesis testing. Of 537 initial participants (excluding duplicates and non-consenters), I excluded 79 participants (15%), leaving 459 participants randomly assigned to one of six conditions (ns = 68–81; see Table 1). The 79 exclusions were based on individuals not identifying as both White and a woman ($n = 17$), demonstrating either careless responding and missed an attention check ($n = 45$), being multivariate outliers ($n = 14$), or expressing suspicion about the study's hypotheses ($n = 2$). Rates of exclusion did not vary across the company inclusion cues conditions, $\chi^2(2) = 1.48, p = .477$, or the pay gap conditions, $\chi^2(1) = 0.64, p = .425$.

Table 1
Number of Participants per Condition

Company	Gender gap	Race gap	Total
Control	68	76	144
Mixed	75	80	155
Inclusive	81	79	160
Total	224	235	459

Careless Responding

Participants were considered careless responders if they showed a combination of fast responding, lack of engagement, and missed attention checks. Participants ($n = 33$) were flagged if they answered the survey in less than half the median completion time (median = 19.35 min). Participants ($n = 7$) were flagged as disengaged if they demonstrated they were distracted or disengaged on the engagement scale. I took a composite of the three items (reverse-coding the distraction item) and flagged participants who scored below 2.5 on this composite (i.e., self-reporting more distracted than engaged and honest responding). Finally, I identified inconsistent responders ($n = 67$) using the squared discrepancy procedure (Litman et al., 2015; Robinson et al., 2019) on the job appeal scale. This scale was designed to contain three pairs of items that had opposite meanings, with one item from each pair reverse-coded. Each participant received a squared discrepancy score (SDS) indicating the extent to which their answers on each item pair were discrepant, indicating lack of attention to the nature of the questions. While Litman et al. (2015) used a normalized SDS cut-off of 2.0 or 70% discrepancy, I used a less conservative cut-off of 1.0 to retain more of the sample.

Manipulation Checks

Participants passed each of six manipulation checks if they answered correctly (for the leader profiles, participants were considered incorrect if they identified fewer than 50% of leaders' roles correctly). Because rates of passing manipulation checks significantly differed by condition (see Table 2), I excluded only participants who failed multiple manipulation checks.

Table 2

Rates of Passing the Manipulation Checks by Condition

Manipulation Check	Company inclusion cues (%)				Pay gap (%)		
	Control	Mixed	Inclusive	χ^2	Gender	Race	χ^2
Assigned role	31.8	33.7	34.5	2.00	50.8	49.2	0.47
Statement type	24.6	36.9	38.5	67.83***	49.0	51.0	2.14
Profiles	31.2	32.6	36.2	9.44**	50.2	49.8	0.11
Reviews	29.6	25.1	45.3	45.51***	49.5	50.5	0.26
Salary gap	33.1	33.7	33.3	4.97†	51.1	48.9	2.81†

Note. $N = 545$.

†$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Univariate and Multivariate Outliers

Using all 15 predictors (including 12 key outcomes and 3 proposed moderators), I excluded 14 participants as multivariate outliers. According to a chi-square analysis, the Mahalanobis distance cut-off for constituting an outlier at the $p < .001$ level is 37.70 with 15 predictors. After accounting for other exclusions, 35 participants gave responses identified as univariate outliers for falling more than 3 standard deviations from the mean on one or more variables (almost all in an "anti-inclusion" direction). These responses included: leaders valuing diversity ($n = 13$), employees valuing diversity (8), gap pervasiveness (9), perceptions of norms (5), procedural justice (6), inclusive behaviours (1), confronting discrimination (7), action intentions (5), fear of backlash (3), and system justification (2). These individual outlying data points were winsorized to fall within 3 standard deviations of the mean and retained for analyses.

Analytic Strategy

I analyzed the results using two sets of orthogonal contrasts. In the first set, the first "overall statement" contrast compared the diversity statement conditions (each coded 1) to the generic statement conditions (coded -2) while the second "specific norms" contrast compared the

inclusive norms (coded 1) to control norms (coded -1) within the diversity statement condition (with the generic statement condition coded 0 to exclude it from this contrast). I extended analyses with a second set of contrasts, with the first "overall norms" contrast comparing the inclusive norms (coded 2) to both control norms conditions (each coded -1) and the second "specific statement" contrast comparing the diversity statement (coded 1) to the generic statement (coded -1) within the control norms condition (with the inclusive norms condition coded 0 to exclude it from this contrast). To test for second-order interactions, I included pay gap as an effects-coded moderator, then dummy coded pay gap to test simple effects. I could not use a 3 x 2 analysis of variance for this design without partially confounding the effects of the statement and norms manipulations, which were not manipulated factorially. Contrast analyses allow me to compare the unique effects of each manipulation, controlling for the other manipulations. In each case, the "overall" contrast has the most power because it compares both levels of a given manipulation across all three company inclusion cue conditions (ignoring variation based on the other manipulation), whereas the "specific" contrast more narrowly compares only the two conditions that are otherwise identical (on the other manipulation).

Descriptives and correlations for outcome variables, as well as potential moderators, are reported in Table 3. Absolute levels of skew and kurtosis for all variables were below cut-offs of 3 and 10, respectively (Kline, 1998), so I did not perform any data transformations.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Outcome Variables (and with Potential Moderators)

Variable	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Outcome variables													
1. Leaders value diversity	5.95 (0.96)	–											
2. Employees value Diversity	5.76 (0.90)	.70**	–										
3. Perceptions of norms	5.69 (0.70)	.61**	.57**	–									
4. Procedural justice	1.90 (0.81)	.64**	.54**	.67**	–								
5. Inclusive behaviours	4.69 (0.85)	.26**	.32**	.33**	.40**	–							
6. Confront discrimination	4.48 (0.69)	.25**	.21**	.27**	.26**	.14**	–						
7. Gap concern	1.53 (1.82)	<.01	.04	.01	.02	.11*	.18**	–					
8. Gap pervasiveness	1.38 (1.53)	-.02	-.05	-.09	-.08	<.01	.13**	.52**	–				
9. Psychological standing	3.76 (0.96)	.12**	.14**	.13**	.12**	.21**	.27**	.38**	.35**	–			
10. Fear of backlash	2.08 (0.68)	-.31**	-.31**	-.29**	-.30**	-.20**	-.29**	-.12*	-.04	-.26**	–		
11. Action intentions	0.96 (1.19)	<.01	.10*	.06	.06	.28**	.26**	.32**	.32**	.55**	-.15**	–	
12. Job appeal	3.49 (0.91)	.34**	.31**	.29**	.36**	.18**	.08	-.08	-.18**	-.07	-.28**	-.06	–
Potential moderators													
13. Gender identification	3.69 (1.02)	.22**	.14**	.20**	.22**	.22**	.11*	-.02	.03	.05	-.11*	-.07	.12*
14. Racial identification	3.01 (1.14)	.09	.07	.07	.11*	.07	-.09	-.09	-.04	-.10*	.01	-.18**	.12**
15. System justification	2.61 (1.18)	.08	.06	.06	.10*	-.07	-.22**	-.17**	-.24**	-.25**	.01	-.38**	.20**
16. Age	42 (13)	.07	.03	.04	.03	-.11*	.07	.03	.02	-.04	.02	-.21**	.14**
17. Conservatism	3.7 (1.9)	.03	.01	.02	.10*	-.02	-.10*	-.18**	-.22**	-.21**	.06	-.31**	.09*

Note. N = 459. Variables 1-3 and 17 were measured on a 1-7 scale. Variables 4, 7, 8, 11, and 15 were measured on a -3 to 3 scale. Variables 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, and 14 were measured on a 1-5 scale. Variable 5 (Inclusive Behaviours) was measured on a 1-6 scale.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Part 1 Main Analyses

Main Effects

Pay gap effects are not reported because the pay gap manipulation came after the Part 1 measures. Unexpectedly, pay gap showed a main effect on procedural justice where participants rated procedural justice higher when there was a gender salary gap than a race salary gap: $b = 0.07$, $SE = 0.03$, $p = .0496$. As procedural justice was measured prior to the salary gap, this indicates a potential failure of random assignment. I therefore included procedural justice as a covariate in all moderation and mediation analyses. Notably, all other models retained pay gap, confirming that it did not significantly influence or moderate the effects of company inclusion cues on any other reported outcomes.

Regression results for basic effects of company inclusion cues, tested with each set of contrasts in turn, are reported in Table 4. The overall statement contrast indicated that in the two conditions with diversity statements, relative to the generic mission statement, participants believed that the leaders valued diversity more ($b = 0.08$, $p = .009$, $d = 0.25$) and company norms were more inclusive ($b = 0.04$, $p = .050$, $d = 0.18$); however, no such differences emerged for the specific statement contrast (comparing the two conditions with control norms, which differed only with respect to the mission statement, ts < 1, both ds < 0.05). In contrast, both the overall and specific norms contrasts revealed robust increases (all ps < .001) in the inclusive norms condition (i.e., relative to both conditions with control norms or just the control norms condition that also featured a diversity statement) for perceptions of leaders valuing diversity (overall: $b = 0.14$, $d = 0.44$; specific: $b = 0.19$, $d = 0.36$) and perceived inclusive norms (overall: $b = 0.10$, $d = 0.44$; specific: $b = 0.16$, $d = 0.40$).

Unexpectedly and contrary to results from Kaiser et al. (2013), viewing a diversity (vs. generic) statement did not boost perceptions of procedural justice in the overall statement contrast ($b = 0.04$, $p = .157$, $d = 0.13$), and the specific statement contrast (estimated within the two conditions with control norms) yielded a non-significant effect in the opposite direction ($b = -0.06$, $p = .161$, $d = -0.13$). Instead, perceptions of procedural justice varied primarily based on the norms manipulation (both ps $< .001$), whether assessed with the overall ($b = 0.13$, $d = 0.51$) or specific ($b = 0.23$, $d = 0.51$). Seeing a company with inclusive norms (reflected in leader profiles and employee reviews) rather than control norms increased participants' expectations of procedural justice.

Participants' ratings of employees valuing diversity, inclusive behaviours, and intent to confront discrimination did not differ by company inclusion cue condition (see Table 4).

Table 4

Regression Estimates for Company Inclusion Cues

Outcome variable	Contrast set 1		Contrast set 2	
	Statement (overall)	Norms (specific)	Statement (specific)	Norms (overall)
Part 1				
Leaders value diversity	**0.08 (0.03)****	**0.19 (0.05)*****	0.02 (0.05)	**0.14 (0.03)*****
Employees value diversity	0.02 (0.03)	0.05 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	0.04 (0.03)
Perceived norms	**0.04 (0.02)***	**0.16 (0.04)*****	-0.01 (0.04)	**0.10 (0.02)*****
Procedural justice	0.04 (0.03)	**0.23 (0.04)*****	-0.06 (0.04)	**0.13 (0.02)*****
Inclusive behaviours	0.02 (0.03)	0.08 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.05 (0.03)†
Confronting discrimination	0.02 (0.02)	<0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)
Part 2				
Gap concern	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.10)	-0.08 (0.10)	-0.06 (0.06)
Gap pervasiveness	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.09)	-0.08 (0.05)†
Standing	-0.03 (0.03)	<0.01 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.03)
Fear of backlash	**-0.08 (0.02)*****	-0.04 (0.04)	**-0.10 (0.04)****	**-0.06 (0.02)****
Action intentions	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.09 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.04)
Low-risk	0.04 (0.04)	<0.01 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	0.02 (0.04)
High-risk	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.12 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)	-0.08 (0.05)
Private	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.15 (0.08)†	-0.01 (0.08)	**-0.10 (0.05)***
Job appeal	**0.10 (0.03)****	**0.13 (0.05)****	0.08 (0.05)	**0.11 (0.03)*****
Gender identification	0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	<0.01 (0.03)
Racial identification	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.06)	0.01 (0.07)	0.01 (0.04)
System justification	0.05 (0.04)	0.07 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	0.06 (0.04)

Note. Regression estimates are unstandardized *b*s with *SE*s in parentheses. Boldface indicates significant effects. Positive values reflect higher scores in conditions with a diversity (vs. generic) mission statement and inclusive (vs. control) norms in company profiles and reviews.
†$p < .1$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Part 2 Main Analyses

Statement and Norms Main Effects

As noted in Table 4, both the overall and specific statement contrasts indicated that those who saw the diversity statement, compared with the control statement, were less fearful of experiencing backlash for speaking out against the salary gap (overall: $b = -0.08$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.35$; specific: $b = -0.10$, $p = .008$, $d = -0.25$). The overall contrast also revealed a positive increase in job appeal for those that saw the diversity statement ($b = 0.10$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.31$), but this did not replicate for the specific contrast (comparing within the two conditions with control norms; $p > .1$).

Both the overall and specific norms contrast revealed that those who saw inclusive norms were more likely than those who saw control norms to find the job appealing (overall: $b = 0.11$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.37$; specific: $b = 0.13$, $p = .009$, $d = 0.25$). Additionally, the overall norms contrast (comparing the inclusive norms condition with the other two control conditions) revealed a negative effect of inclusive norms on fear of backlash ($b = -0.06$, $p = .005$, $d = -0.27$), but this effect did not emerge for the specific contrast ($p > .1$). Finally, the overall norms contrast revealed that those who saw the inclusive norms were marginally less likely than those who saw control norms to believe the salary gap was an issue: $b = -0.08$, $p = .083$, $d = -0.16$. This latter finding may be due to participants believing that, because the company is inclusive, the salary gap is either not related to discrimination or will be resolved quickly, in line with research from Kaiser et al. (2013). There were no other main effects for the norms or statement contrasts.

Pay Gap Main Effects

The pay gap manipulation influenced all measures except fear of backlash and job appeal (even, unexpectedly, hypothesized moderators such as racial identification), as indicated in Table

5. Participants who saw the gender pay gap, rather than the race pay gap, perceived this gap as more concerning ($b = 0.21$, $p = .009$, $d = 0.25$) and pervasive ($b = 0.21$, $p = .002$, $d = 0.29$). As expected, participants (all White women) felt greater standing to challenge the gender gap than the race gap ($b = 0.22$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.49$), in line with research on psychological standing (Ratner & Miller, 2001). Despite these findings, participants indicated greater likelihood of taking action against the race pay gap than the gender pay gap ($b = -0.11$, $p = .036$, $d = -0.20$). Thus, although participants indicated greater concern and pervasiveness of the gender salary gap, as well as greater personal standing to address it, they were more likely to engage in allyship for the race gap than advocacy for the gender gap. I will address this finding in the discussion.

There were unexpected main effects of the salary gap on gender and racial identification and system justification. Participants in the gender gap condition, compared to the race gap condition, reported marginally stronger gender identification ($b = 0.08$, $p = .078$, $d = 0.17$), stronger racial identification ($b = 0.14$, $p = .008$, $d = 0.25$), and marginally stronger system justification ($b = 0.10$, $p = .056$, $d = 0.18$). Plausibly, White women felt greater gender identification after viewing the gender gap due to an understanding of gender-based discrimination. Additionally, racial identification may have been lower after viewing a race salary gap as greater identification as White predicts less support for people of colour (Adra et al., 2020). Finally, system justification may have been lower after viewing the race gap as system justification is negatively associated with allyship action (Osborne et al., 2018).

Table 5

Regression Estimates for Pay Gap Effects and Interactions with Company Inclusion Cues

Variable	Pay gap	Contrast set 1		Contrast set 2	
		Statement (overall) x Pay gap	Norms (specific) x Pay gap	Statement (specific) x Pay gap	Norms (overall) x Pay gap
Gap concern	**0.21 (0.08)****	0.06 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.10)	0.11 (0.10)	0.01 (0.06)
Gap pervasiveness	**0.21 (0.07)****	0.06 (0.05)	0.01 (0.08)	0.09 (0.08)	0.04 (0.05)
Standing	**0.22 (0.04)*****	-0.01 (0.03)	0.09 (0.05)†	-0.06 (0.05)	0.04 (0.03)
Fear of backlash	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	<0.01 (0.02)
Action intentions	**-0.11 (0.05)***	-0.06 (0.04)	0.05 (0.06)	-0.11 (0.07)†	<0.01 (0.04)
Low-risk	<0.01 (0.05)	<0.01 (0.04)	0.06 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.03 (0.04)
High-risk	**-0.16 (0.07)***	-0.10 (0.05)†	0.09 (0.09)	**-0.19 (0.09)***	<0.01 (0.05)
Private	**-0.17 (0.07)***	-0.07 (0.05)	<0.01 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.05)
Job appeal	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.03)
Gender identification	0.08 (0.05)†	-0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)	<0.01 (0.03)
Racial identification	**0.14 (0.05)****	<0.01 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.06)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.04)
System justification	0.10 (0.05)†	-0.07 (0.04)†	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.07)	**-0.08 (0.04)***

Note. Regression estimates are unstandardized *b*s with *SE*s in parentheses. Boldface indicates significant effects. Positive values for the pay gap contrast reflect higher scores in the gender pay gap than the race pay gap condition. Part 1 measures are not included because they preceded the pay gap manipulation.
†*p* < .1. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Interactions

As shown in Table 5, I found only marginal interactions between the conditions on psychological standing, system justification, and action intentions. There was a marginal interaction between the salary gap and the specific norms contrast for psychological standing (*b* = 0.09, *p* = .070, *d* = 0.17) but not the overall norms contrast (*b* = 0.04, *p* = .145, *d* = 0.14). Inclusive norms in the specific norms contrast (comparing control to inclusive norms within the

diversity statement conditions) had a marginal negative effect on standing in the race gap condition (b = -0.13, SE = 0.07, p = .087), and a nonsignificant positive effect in the gender gap condition (b = 0.07, SE = 0.07, p = .349). Though neither of the simple effects were significant, they were trending in different and expected directions for the race and gender pay gaps, suggesting that inclusive norms may make White women feel greater standing to challenge a gender salary gap, but less standing to challenge a race gap. Thus, in a company with inclusive norms, White women may perceive that they have limited power to take action against a race gap, potentially due to beliefs that people of colour have greater standing to take action against a race gap and less need for allies.

For the overall norms contrast, there was a significant interaction with the salary gap on system justification (b = -0.08, p = .042, d = -0.19), such that inclusive norms had a significant positive association with system justification in the race gap condition (b = 0.12, SE = 0.06, p = .032) but not the gender gap condition (b = -0.03, SE = 0.05, p = .596). Thus, those in the race gap condition who saw inclusive norms may have been more likely to justify the system. Finally, there was a marginal statement by pay gap interaction on action intentions for the specific statement contrast (b = -0.11, p = .087, d = -0.16), but not the overall statement contrast (p > .1), such that seeing a diversity statement nonsignificantly increased intentions after seeing the race gap (b = 0.14, SE = 0.10, p = .152) but decreased intentions after seeing the gender gap (b = -0.09, SE = 0.09, p = .328).

Action Intentions

Factor Analysis. I factor analyzed action intentions (see Table 6) into three factors which I labelled as public low-risk, public high-risk, and private actions. Public low-risk actions (α = .81) primarily entailed working alongside the organization and other coworkers and had the

lowest risk of backlash (e.g., discussing the salary gap with other project managers). Public

high-risk actions (α = .86) involved working outside the organization (bypassing organizational

reporting chains) and challenging the status quo with higher risk of backlash (e.g., organizing a

walk-out for pay equity). Private actions (α = .82) include those done "behind-the-scenes," with

limited visibility to others (e.g., volunteering for a diversity training course). One item,

"investigate redistributing your annual bonus to the underpaid team members," loaded similarly

on both the public high-risk and private factors, potentially because redistributing a bonus both

challenges the status quo and can be done in private. I included the item on the public high-risk

factor as it loaded slightly more strongly on this factor.

Table 6

Rotated Component Matrix of Factor Analysis for Action Intentions

Action intentions item	Factor loading		
	Low-risk	High-risk	Private
Discuss this salary gap with your supervisor	**.82**		
Discuss this salary gap with other project managers	**.74**		
Submit a memo to company leaders about the salary gap	**.74**		
Collaborate with other managers to create a pay equity action plan	**.74**		
Organize a strike/walk-out for pay equity		**.91**	
Join a coworker-organized strike/walk-out for pay equity		**.87**	
Start a petition to promote pay equity	.43	**.73**	
Sign a coworker's petition to promote pay equity	.44	**.54**	
Investigate redistributing your annual bonus to the underpaid team members		**.53**	.42
Volunteer for an hour-long diversity training course during work hours (paid)			**.80**
Nominate a person of color for a promotion	.34		**.76**
Volunteer for an hour-long diversity training course outside work hours (unpaid)			**.74**
Nominate a woman for a promotion	.38		**.70**

Note. $N = 459$. The extraction method was principal components factoring with a varimax rotation. Factor loadings above .50 are bold.

Main Effects. As shown in Table 4, there was an unexpected significant main effect for both the overall and specific norms contrast where those who saw the inclusive norms were less likely to take private actions than those in the control condition: (overall: $b = -0.10$, $p = .031$, $d = -0.20$; specific: $b = -0.15$, $p = .066$, $d = -0.17$). Thus, seeing inclusive norms may have

discouraged actions done "behind-the-scenes." Further, as shown in Table 5, there was a significant main effect of the salary gap for both public disruptive actions and private actions such that those who saw the gender gap were less likely to take these actions compared to those who saw the race gap (for public high-risk actions: b = -0.16, p = .031, d = -0.20; for private actions: b = -0.17, p = .012, d = -0.24), explaining the main effect for the overall action intentions measure.

Interactions. As shown in Table 5, there was a marginally significant interaction between the overall statement contrast and pay gap conditions for public, high-risk actions (b = -0.10, p = .076, d = -0.17) and this interaction was significant for the specific statement contrast (b = -0.19, p = .044, d = -0.19). Following the specific statement contrast (see Figure 1), though nonsignificant, seeing a diversity statement had a slight positive effect on willingness to do high-risk behaviours in the race gap condition (b = 0.21, SE = 0.13, p = .123) but a slight negative effect in the gender gap condition (b = -0.16, SE = 0.13, p = .206). This finding is in line with the statement by pay gap interaction for the overall action intentions measure and demonstrates that the diversity statement may have differential effects for White women regarding allyship versus advocacy.

Figure 1

*Public, High-Risk Action Intentions by Company Inclusion Cues and Pay Gap*
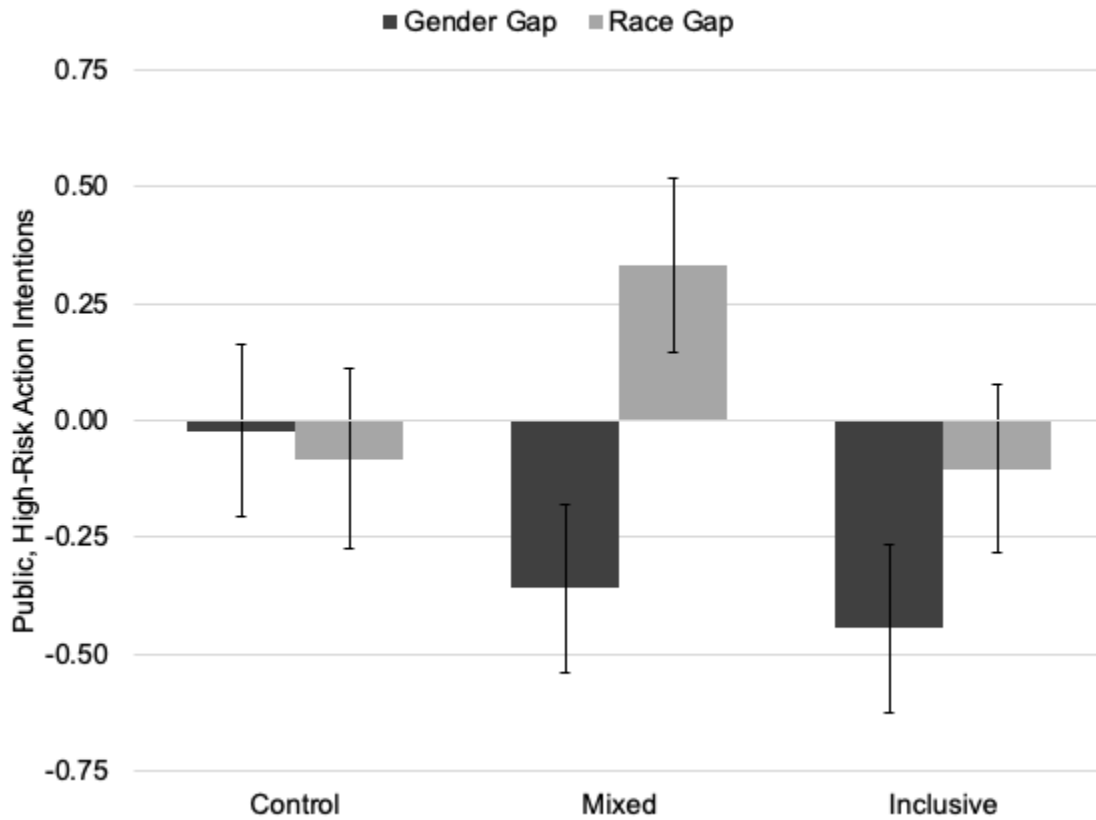
Note. Estimated marginal means are plotted with error bars representing ± 1 *SE*. (Means above versus below zero indicate that actions were likely versus unlikely, respectively.)

Racial, but not gender, identification moderated the relationship between the pay gap on public low-risk ($b = 0.14$, $SE = 0.05$, $p = .006$) and high-risk ($b = 0.17$, $SE = 0.08$, $p = .021$) actions (see Figure 2). In the gender pay gap condition, racial identification did not influence intent to take low-risk ($b = 0.01$, $SE = 0.07$, $p = .922$) or high-risk ($b = -0.14$, $SE = 0.10$, $p = .167$) actions. In the race pay gap condition, however, higher identification as White was associated with less willingness to take low-risk ($b = -0.28$, $SE = 0.08$, $p < .001$) and high-risk ($b = -0.49$, $SE = 0.11$, $p < .001$) actions against race-based salary discrimination.

Figure 2

High- and Low-Risk Action Intentions by Pay Gap and Racial Identification
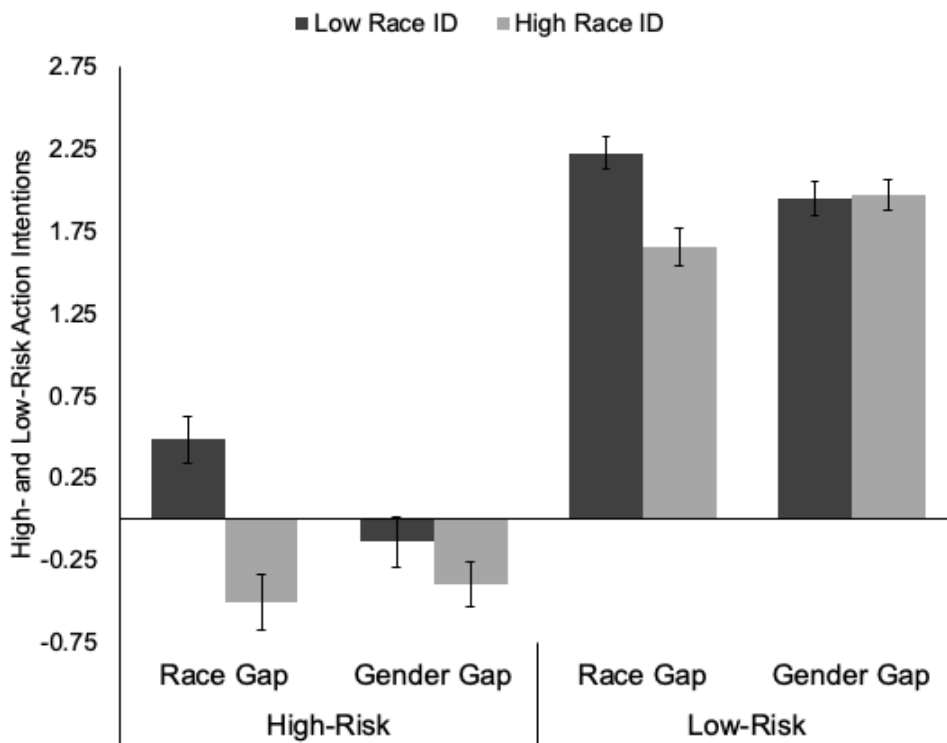
Note. Estimated marginal means are plotted with error bars indicating ± 1 *SE*. (Means above versus below zero indicate that actions were likely versus unlikely, respectively.) Racial identification (as White) is plotted at 1 *SD* below (low racial ID; *M* = 1.86) and 1 *SD* above (high racial ID; *M* = 4.14) the mean. High-risk and low-risk actions were analyzed separately but graphed together for ease of reference.

Conservatism moderated the effect of company inclusion cues on low-risk action intentions in the omnibus model, $b = 0.16$, $SE = 0.06$, $p = .014$ (see Figure 3a) and this was driven by the interaction of conservatism with the overall norms contrast ($b = 0.09$, $SE = 0.04$, $p = .019$). Scoring higher on conservatism predicted weaker intentions to challenge a salary gap through lower-risk actions (e.g., discussing gap with other managers) in both conditions with generic norms (control: $b = -0.39$, $SE = 0.09$, $p < .001$; mixed: $b = -0.27$, $SE = 0.09$, $p = .001$),

but this difference disappeared in the inclusive norms condition (b = -0.06, SE = 0.09, p = .499).

Thus, when more conservative participants saw the diversity statement combined with inclusive norms, they became as likely as participants lower in conservatism to take low-risk actions against the pay gap.

Figure 3

Public, Low-Risk Action Intentions by Company Inclusion Cues and Conservatism or Age
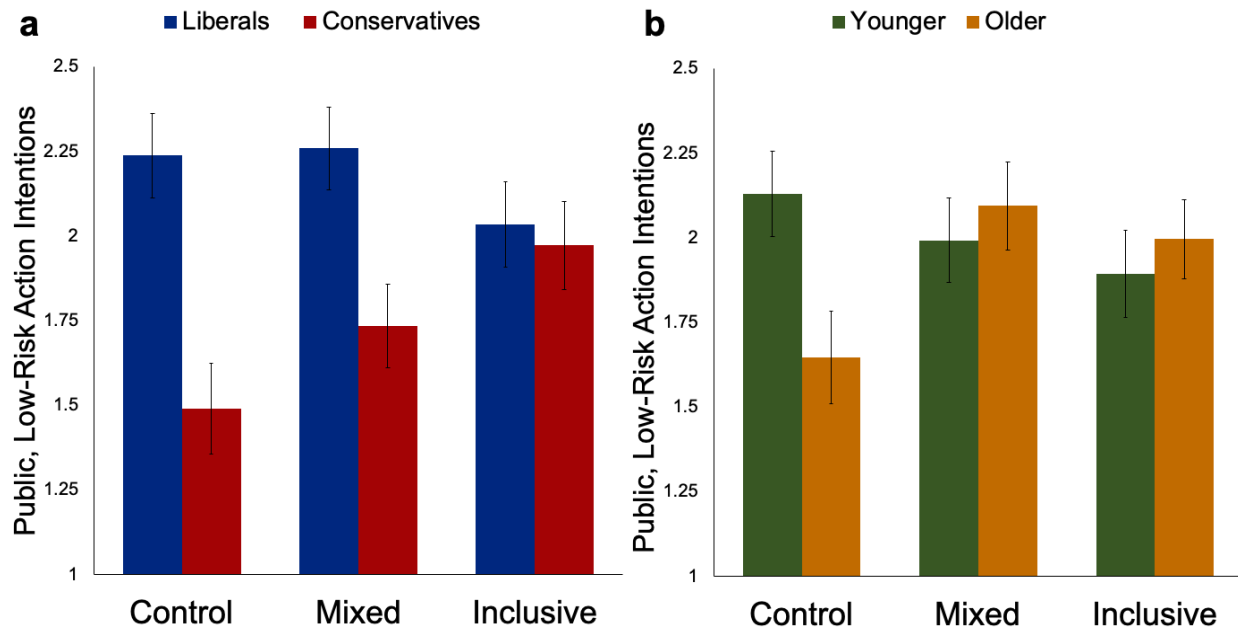
Note. Estimated marginal means are plotted with error bars indicating ± 1 *SE*. Conservatism (panel a) and age (panel b) are plotted at 1 *SD* below (Conservatism M = 1.8; Age M = 30) and above (Conservatism M = 5.6; Age M = 55) the mean.

Age interacted with company inclusion cues for low-risk action in the omnibus model (b = 0.14, SE = 0.06, p = .027; see Figure 3b), and this effect was driven by the statement contrast (overall: b = 0.10, SE = 0.04, p = .009; specific: b = 0.15, SE = 0.07, p = .025). Older people were less likely than younger people to do low-risk actions in the control condition (b = -0.24,

SE = 0.09, *p* = .011) but there was no effect of age in the mixed condition (*b* = 0.05, *SE* = 0.09, *p* = .551) or the inclusive condition (*b* = 0.06, *SE* = 0.08, *p* = .491).

System justification marginally interacted with company inclusion cues on private action intentions in the omnibus model (*b* = 0.16, *SE* = 0.08, *p* = .051; see Figure 4) and this was driven by the norms contrast (overall: *b* = 0.11, *SE* = 0.04, *p* = .017; specific: *b* = 0.16, *SE* = 0.07, *p* = .030). Scoring higher on system justification predicted lower intent to take private actions in all three conditions, but this difference was smallest in the inclusion condition (control: *b* = -0.54, *SE* = 0.12, *p* < .001; mixed: *b* = -0.60, *SE* = 0.10, *p* < .001; inclusion: *b* = -0.27, *SE* = 0.11, *p* = .012). This effect, however, appears to be driven by a drop in low system justifiers' willingness to do private actions in the inclusion condition, not an increase among high system justifiers.

Figure 4

System Justification by Company Interaction for Private Actions
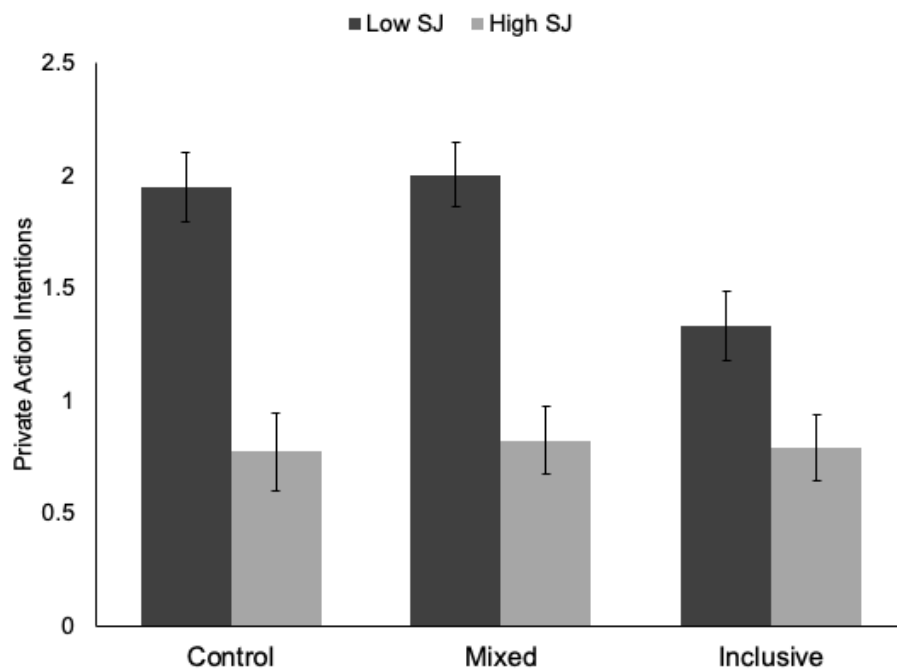
Note. Error bars represent ±1 *SE*. System justification is plotted at 1 *SD* below (*M* = 1.41) and above (*M* = 3.74) the mean.

Mediation

I used Process 4.0 (Hayes, 2013; 2022) with 5000 bootstrap estimates and 95% confidence intervals (CI) to test whether fear of backlash mediated the effect of inclusive company cues (specifically seeing a diversity vs. generic mission statement, given that norms did not reliably influence fear of backlash) on action intentions. Covarying for procedural justice and the specific norms contrast, fear of backlash mediated the overall statement effect on action intentions (see Figure 5a). The relationship between the statement contrast and fear of backlash (path *a*) indicated that participants who saw the diversity (vs. generic) statement were less likely to fear backlash from others for acting against the salary gap: $b = -0.07$, $SE = 0.02$ $p = .001$. Additionally, fear of backlash predicted action intentions (path *b*), such that participants with less fear said they were more likely to act: $b = -0.28$, $SE = 0.09$, $p = .002$. The indirect (*ab* path) effect was significant: $b = 0.02$, $SE = 0.01$, 95% CI [<0.01, 0.04]. The direct effect ($b = -0.04$, $SE = 0.04$, $p = .285$) and the total effect ($b = -0.02$, $SE = 0.04$, $p = .562$) were nonsignificant.

Figure 5

Fear of Backlash Mediating Statement Effect on Action Intentions
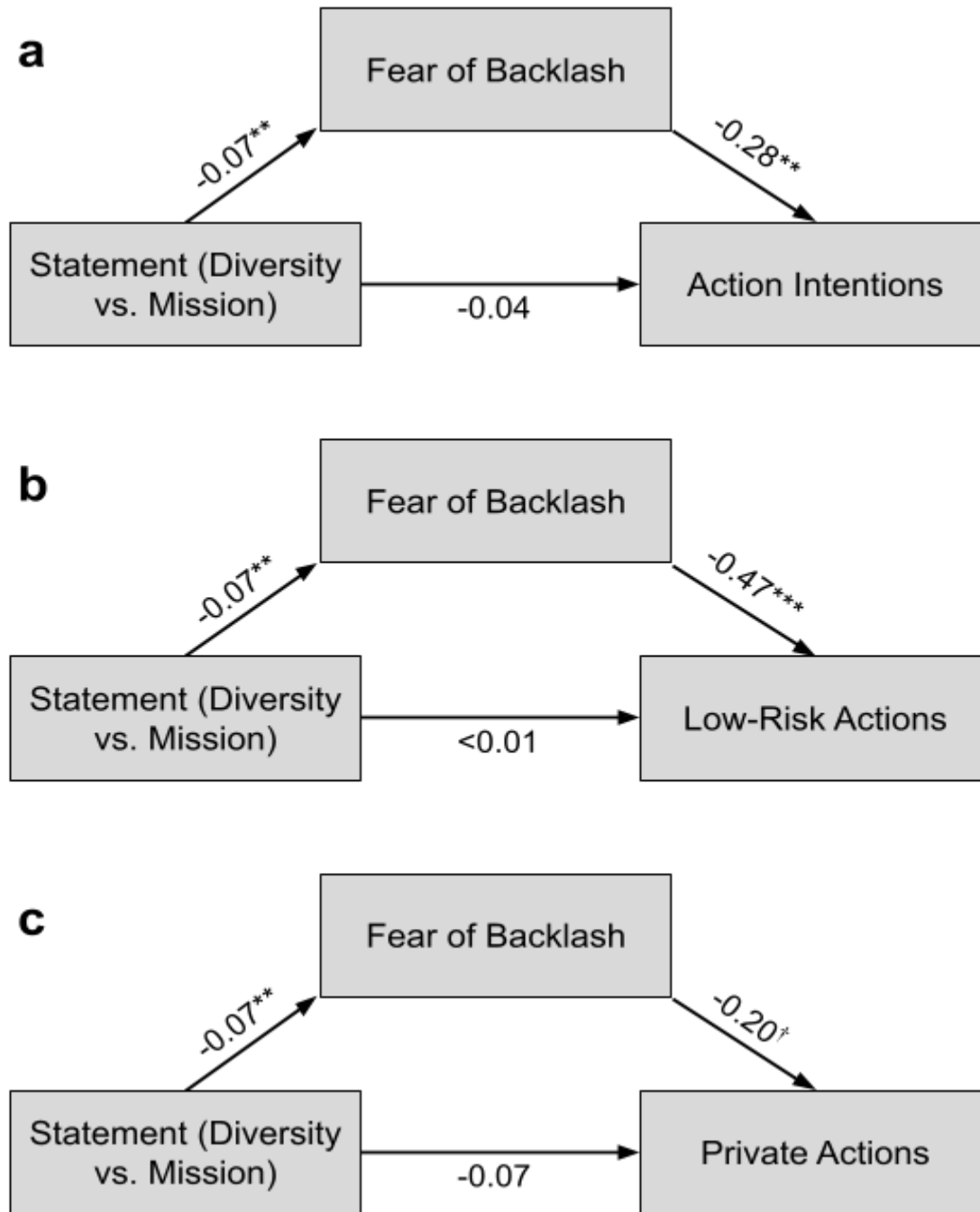
Note. Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*s) are plotted for overall action intentions (panel a), public, low-risk actions (panel b), and private actions (panel c).

p < .05. **p* < .01. ***p* < .001.

The mediating effect of backlash was specific to intent to take low-risk (see Figure 5b) and private (see Figure 5c) actions. Fear of backlash negatively predicted intent to take low-risk actions (b = -0.47, SE = 0.08, p < .001) and (marginally) private actions (b = -0.20, SE = 0.11, p = .072). The direct paths and total effects between the study condition and both low-risk (direct: b < 0.01, SE = 0.04, p = .947; total: b = 0.03, SE = 0.04, p = .419) and private (direct: b = -0.07, SE = 0.05, p = .131; total: b = -0.06, SE = 0.05, p = .215) actions were not significant. Thus, my hypothesis that the diversity statement would increase action through reduced fear of backlash was supported.

I further built on the previous model, adding the salary gap condition as a moderator (see Figure 6). Pay gap significantly moderated the relationship between fear of backlash and action intentions, $F(1, 453)$ = 5.67, p = .018, such that only participants in the race condition were more willing to act (overall, across action types; see Figure 6a) following lower fear of backlash (race gap: b = -0.48, SE = 0.12, p < .001; gender gap: b = -0.08, SE = 0.12, p = .481). The direct effect (b = -0.04, SE = 0.04, p = .290) and the indirect effects for both pay gaps (race gap: b = 0.02, SE = 0.02, 95% CI [-0.003, 0.07]; gender gap: b = 0.01, SE = 0.01, CI [-0.02, 0.03]) were not significant.

Figure 6

Fear of Backlash Mediating Statement Effect on Action Intentions Moderated by Pay Gap
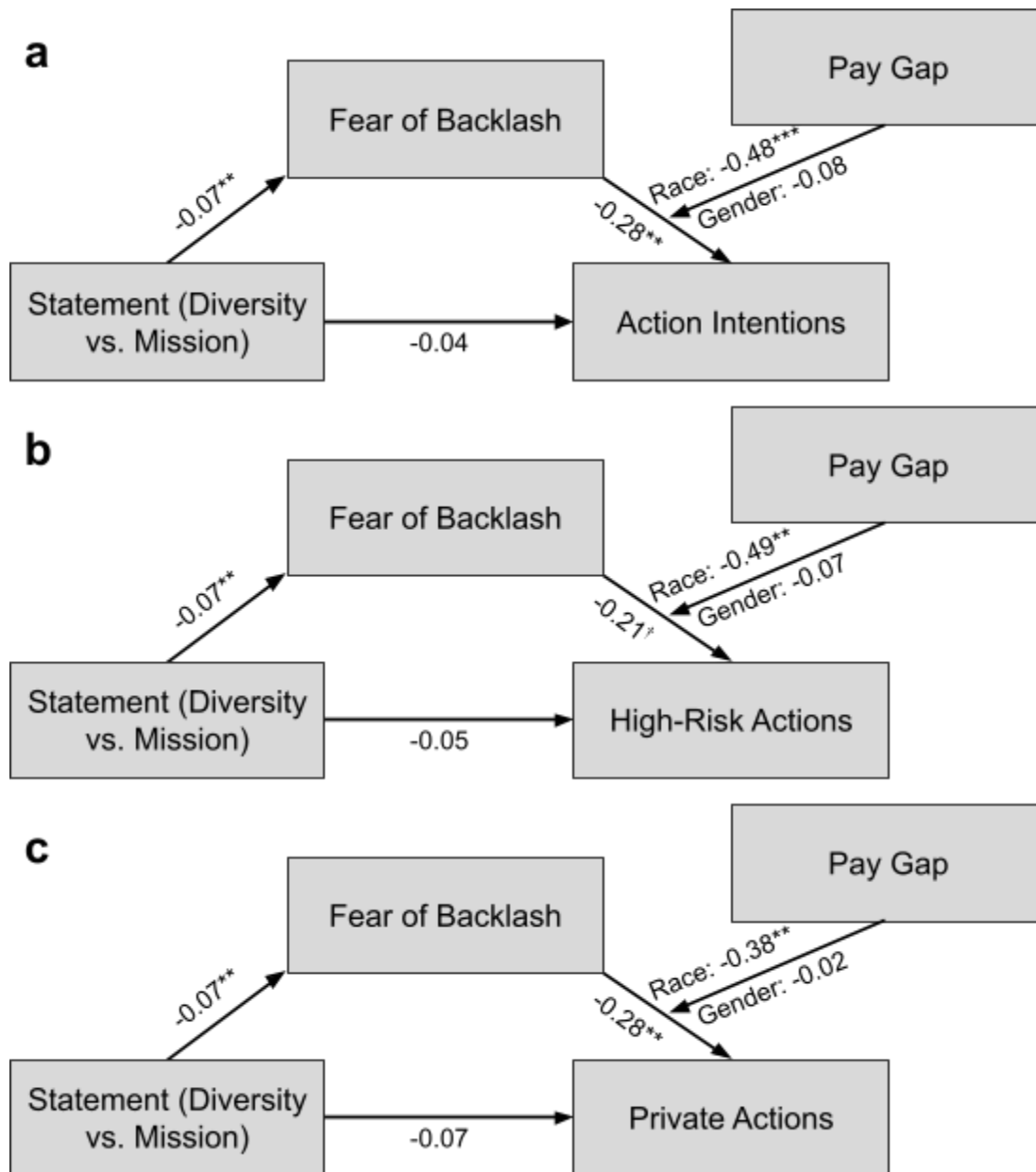
Note. Unstandardized regression coefficients (*b*s) are plotted for overall action intentions (panel a), public, high-risk actions (panel b), and private actions (panel c).

p < .05. **p* < .01. ***p* < .001.

Looking at the action intentions subscales, the moderated mediation was driven by high-risk (see Figure 6b) and private actions (see Figure 6c). Pay gap moderated the fear of backlash and action intentions, high-risk: $F(1, 453) = 5.63$, $p = .018$, private: $F(1, 453) = 3.18$, $p = .075$, such that those who saw the race gap, compared to gender gap, were significantly more influenced by reduced fear of backlash to do high-risk actions (race gap: $b = -0.49$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .005$; gender gap: $b = 0.07$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .686$) and moderately for private actions (race gap: $b = -0.38$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = .012$; gender gap: $b = -0.02$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = .898$). The indirect effects for high-risk (gender: $b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [-0.05, 0.03]; race: $b = 0.02$, $SE = 0.02$, CI [-0.004, 0.07]) and private (gender: $b < 0.01$, $SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [-0.03, 0.03]; race: $b = 0.02$, $SE = 0.02$, CI [-0.003, 0.06]) actions were both significant. The direct effects for high-risk ($b = -0.05$, $SE = 0.05$, $p = .389$) and private ($b = -0.07$, $SE = 0.05$, $p = .125$) were not significant.

I tested the hypothesis that inclusive norms would increase job appeal which would, in turn, increase action. The diversity statement in the first contrast analysis and inclusive norms in the second contrast analysis positively influenced job appeal (statement contrast: $b = 0.08$, $SE = 0.03$, $p = .003$; norms contrast: $b = 0.06$, $SE = 0.03$, $p = .030$). Job appeal, however, had a marginally negative effect on action intentions ($b = -0.12$, $SE = 0.07$, $p = .065$), and this was significant for high-risk behaviours ($b = -0.32$, $SE = 0.09$, $p = .001$). While the overall statement and norms contrasts increased job appeal, this ultimately reduced willingness to take action.

Finally, when covarying for procedural justice and the statement contrast, the norms condition did not significantly affect fear of backlash and thus there was no mediation with the overall or specific norms contrast. Further, there was no significant mediation through psychological standing for the statement or norms contrasts. Thus, my hypotheses that inclusive norms would influence action through lower backlash and greater standing were not supported.

CHAPTER THREE: Discussion

Under what conditions will people enact allyship behaviour for an outgroup or advocacy behaviour for an ingroup? How is action influenced by group identification? Through an experimental design, I showed how diversity statements and inclusive norms can influence White women's intention to act as an ally for people of colour or an advocate for women. In a 3 (company inclusion cues: control, mixed, and inclusive) X 2 (salary gap: gender or race) design, I found that participants who less strongly identified as White were more likely to challenge a race than a gender salary gap, despite participants in general seeing the gender gap as more pervasive and concerning. As White women, participants might be more concerned about the gender pay gap because it could personally disadvantage them. Perhaps, however, since the murder of George Floyd, sparking Black Lives Matter protests worldwide and calls for allyship from White people (Ibrahim, 2020), White people are focused on how to be better allies (Radke et al., 2020).

Contrary to prior research from Kaiser et al. (2013), higher perceptions of procedural justice did not arise from seeing a diversity (vs. generic) statement, nor did procedural justice perceptions (measured prior to learning about the salary gap) mediate (in)action against the salary gap. Thus, my predictions that seeing a diversity statement would increase perceived procedural justice, which would in turn, decrease action were not supported. Rather, viewing a diversity statement reduced fear of backlash which, in turn, increased action intentions to take low-risk actions and (marginally) private "behind-the-scenes" actions, consistent with prior theorizing about the fear of backlash (Kaiser & Miller, 2001). Pay gap additionally moderated the effect of backlash on high-risk and private actions as fear of backlash was reduced only for those who viewed the race salary gap.

Viewing inclusive company norms increased job appeal, supporting prior research about the appeal of inclusive settings (Murrar et al., 2020). Job appeal did not, however, increase willingness to act against the gap. Additionally, for those older or higher on conservatism, inclusive norms increased willingness to take low-risk actions. Thus, inclusive norms and diversity statements may have more pronounced effects in catalyzing action among those who are intially less likely to enact allyship or advocacy against discrimination.

Limitations

Due to budget constraints, the sample size was limited to approximately 75 participants per cell (150 per company inclusion cue condition) and hence low power to detect small effects (e.g., 23-40% power to detect a cell or condition difference of magnitude $d = 0.20$). This low sample size may explain why I was unable to replicate findings from Kaiser et al. (2013). I intend to replicate my study design using men of colour to understand whether they respond similarly to White women to a salary gap based on gender (an opportunity for allyship) versus race (an opportunity for advocacy). An additional limitation was that I measured action intentions in a fictional scenario, limiting external validity. This design does not measure actual behaviour in a real setting. For greater generalizability, however, I used a sample of American MTurk participants who were asked to only participate if they work, or had previously worked, in an office, business, or corporate setting. Future research should examine behavioural changes over time within companies and businesses with participants who work as mid-level managers or in similar-status positions. Finally, this study used a self-report design which may be subject to social desirability bias (Krumpal, 2013; Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). Future research should use self-report in conjunction with behavioural and more subtle measures to more fully understand advocacy and allyship.

As this study examines those who are in both a privileged and marginalized identity category (i.e., White women), it does not address intersectionality within marginalized groups (e.g., Black women). Salary gaps and social exclusion in science and engineering fields are often a combination of gender, race, disability, and sexuality discrimination (Cech, 2022). LGBTQ+ Indigenous, Black, and Latina women with disabilities reportedly experience the greatest pay inequity and exclusion (Cech, 2022). Further, groups tend to have prototypic members that are stereotypically associated with the group's interest (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). For example, ethnocentrism describes how the prototype woman is stereotyped to be a White woman (Purdie-Vaughs & Eibach, 2008). Feminist movements have been criticized for only benefitting White women at the expense of women of colour (i.e., "White feminism"; Moon & Holling, 2020). Thus, measuring allyship behaviour requires a nuanced understanding of intersectionality and prototypicality. As a final note, people of colour are not a homogenous group and looking at salary gaps for people of colour overall ignores differences between non-White racial groups. As this study intended to get an initial understanding of allyship facilitators and barriers, using overarching categories (e.g., people of colour) ensured ample power and sample size to detect effects. Future research, however, should examine allyship for specific groups.

Future Directions

Responses to open-ended questions were also included in the survey but I have not yet analyzed these responses due to time constraints. Participants were asked (a) of their initial impressions of the company, (b) which specific action they would take as a response to the salary gap, and (c) why they would or would not take action to challenge the gap. Currently, research assistants are coding these responses which will then be analyzed for inter-rater reliability. Responses to these questions will aid in understanding of the barriers people face regarding

allyship and advocacy action. For instance, perhaps a participant's initial impression of the company was that the diversity seemed inauthentic, leading them away from allyship action under the pretense that they will not be able to change the gap.

As noted, I plan to conduct a follow-up study with men of colour to understand the similarities and differences they may share with White women in responding to a gender or race salary gap. Men of colour are also at an intersection of privilege (through gender) and marginalization (through race). For men of colour, the race gap would be an opportunity for advocacy and the gender gap would be an opportunity for allyship.

Allyship and advocacy are likely influenced by other variables not measured in this study including identity and motivation. How one construes their identity, as personal, collective, or superordinate can influence the motivations behind which one enacts allyship behaviour (Radke et al., 2020; Turner et al., 1987). Relatedly, Radke et al. (2020) proposed a model of allyship that included four possible motivations for acting on behalf of an outgroup: personal (acting to improve one's own standing), ingroup-focused (acting to improve one's ingroup's standing), out-group focused (acting to improve conditions for the marginalized outgroup), and moral motivation (acting as it is the morally right thing to do). These motivations map onto reasons for acting or not acting as an ally.

Another element of concern is the perception of allies. Allies may be perceived negatively if they appear to be co-opting or taking over a movement (Iyer & Achia, 2021; Radke et al., 2021) or appear insincere in their intentions (Burns & Granz, 2022). Additionally, White people's allyship provision does not always agree with what people of colour perceive as helpful (Burns & Granz, 2022). Finally, White people's impression management goals and desire to appear unprejudiced can have negative outcomes in attitudes and behaviour during interracial

interactions (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Vorauer, 2013). Thus, perceptions of allyship from those that allyship intends to benefit are important to study as perceptions may differ from intentions.

Conclusion

With corporations making diversity and inclusion policies (Dobbin et al., 2015; Kalev et al., 2006; Stephens et al., 2020) and people from privileged groups striving to be allies to marginalized groups (Radke et al., 2020, 2021), understanding how allyship and organizational policies work in conjunction ensure that they work effectively. I found that White women were more willing to enact allyship behaviours than ingroup advocacy behaviours when challenging a salary gap, but this tendency was moderated by their racial identification and mediated by a reduced fear of backlash for speaking up. Further, showing that companies have inclusive norms and diversity policies influenced White women who are older, higher in conservatism, or higher in system justifying beliefs to engage in low-risk actions on behalf of people of colour and women. This study demonstrates the value of interpersonal norms—more so than mere diversity statements—in shaping actions, particularly among those less likely to do allyship behaviours (e.g., conservatives). Thus, companies that want to encourage inclusion and belonging among all employees, particularly at the interpersonal level, should work to ensure (and convey) that their company culture and norms are welcoming and friendly. With the caveats noted above, such norms can empower employees to challenge and reduce discrimination, if and when discrimination occurs.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Statements

Diversity

JetTech strives for a diverse and inclusive workforce

At JetTech we believe that creativity and innovation result exclusively from cooperation between people with different experiences, perspectives, and cultural backgrounds. To cultivate an inclusive and equitable culture, we value perspectives from people of all races, cultures, genders, sexual orientations, ages, and religions.

All our managers have completed diversity training and recruit employees who understand the cultural demands of a global marketplace and value inclusive behaviors. We hold ourselves accountable for change and strive to promote an environment of respect, trust, and belonging between employees.

At JetTech, no matter your department, you are part of one team. We take pride in our diverse and talented employees who make client satisfaction a priority. We believe, and our employees agree, that our strong support for employees makes their experience rewarding and our company great.

Main office is located in New York City, New York, U.S.

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JetTech strives for an innovative and thriving workforce.

At JetTech we believe that creativity and innovation result exclusively from cooperation between people with unique personalities, experiences, and talents. To cultivate an cohesive and unified culture, we value the perspectives from people of all work, training, and learning styles.

All managers have completed leadership training and work to cultivate a sense of productivity and ingenuity among employees. We hold ourselves accountable to the community and strive to provide cutting-edge technology and services at a competitive advantage to the global marketplace.

At JetTech, no matter your department, you are part of one team. We take pride in our creative and talented employees who make client satisfaction a priority. We believe, and our employees agree, that our rigorous attention to technology advancement makes their experience rewarding and our company great.

Main office is located in New York City, New York, U.S.

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Leader Profiles

Inclusive Norms

Michael Smith, PhD in Business Administration
Chair, Chief Executive Officer

Role: Transforming the company to be a leader in technology and commerce

Leadership: Co-chair of Diversity and Inclusion Committee, Co-founder of Anti-Racism Task Force

Passion: Ensuring everyone gets a voice in decisions

Naveed Mohamed, PhD in Business Administration
Vice-Chair, Chief Financial Officer

Role: Oversees all accounting, administrative, and financial operations

Leadership: Co-chair of the Work Management Transformation Group

Passion: Bridging differences between teammates

Patricia Watson, BA in Human Resources
Director of Human Resources

Role: Leads human resource strategies

Leadership: United Nations' Sustainable Development Solutions Network

Passion: Working in a team to implement innovative, new solutions to problems

Debra Johnson, BA in Communications
Head of Policy and Communications

Role: Drives all external communications and media relations, both domestic and international

Leadership: Co-founder of Women in Leadership Task Force

Passion: Learning from coworkers and understanding different views

Frank Jeong, MS in Computer Science
Head of Data Management

Role: Collects, processes, and analyzes large data sets

Leadership: Women in Leadership Task Force

Passion: Working in a collaborative environment

Gregory Lewis, BS in Data Science
Chief Technical Officer

Role: Oversees all activities related to the company's computer and information systems

Leadership: Co-founder of the Anti-Racism Task Force

Passion: Hearing diverse employees' innovative ideas

Main office is located in New York City, New York, U.S.
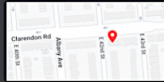
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Control Norms

Michael Smith, PhD in Business Administration
Chair, Chief Executive Officer

Role: Transforming the company to be a leader in technology and commerce

Leadership: Co-chair of Sustainability Committee, Co-founder of Net Neutrality Task Force

Passion: Accelerating the company's growth and building a high-performance culture

Naveed Mohamed, PhD in Business Administration
Vice-Chair, Chief Financial Officer

Role: Oversees all accounting, administrative, and financial operations

Leadership: Co-chair of the Work Management Transformation Group

Passion: Personal advancement and success

Patricia Watson, BA in Human Resources
Director of Human Resources

Role: Leads human resource strategies

Leadership: United Nations' Sustainable Development Solutions Network

Passion: Working independently and productively

Debra Johnson, BA in Communications
Head of Policy and Communications

Role: Drives all external communications and media relations, both domestic and international

Leadership: Co-executive sponsor of the annual Ride to Conquer Cancer
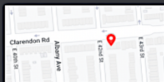
Passion: Working in a fast-paced environment

Frank Jeong, MS in Computer Science
Head of Data Management

Role: Collects, processes, and analyzes large data sets

Leadership: Member of Young Leaders committee

Passion: Making an impact in technological advancement and progress

Gregory Lewis, BS in Data Science
Chief Technical Officer

Role: Oversees all activities related to the company's computer and information systems

Leadership: Member of Privacy and Security Council

Passion: Working creatively on new, innovative projects and assignments

Main office is located in New York City, New York, U.S.

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Reviews

Inclusive Norms

Control Norms

Salary Gap

Gender Gap

Women Average $77,363 — Men Average $86,584

Team Members (sorted by position and years at company)

- Emily Williams (Software Engineer, 7y)
- David Yu (Software Engineer, 6y)
- Ahmed Ibrahim (Data Analyst, 7y)
- Leah Westbrook (Data Analyst, 7y)
- Tyrone Jackson (Data Analyst, 5y)
- Melinda Jones (Technical Co-Lead, 5y)
- Donald Goode (Technical Co-Lead, 4y)
- Ashley Wells (IT Analyst, 4y)
- Ken Wu (IT Analyst, 4y)
- Tanesha Idowu (D&I Manager, 3y)
- Steve Derrick (Outreach Coordinator, 2y)

Annual Salary (USD)

Race Gap

People of color Average $75,468 — White people Average $87,408

Team Members (sorted by position and years at the company)

- David Yu (Software Engineer, 7y)
- Emily Williams (Software Engineer, 6y)
- Donald Goode (Data Analyst, 7y)
- Tyrone Jackson (Data Analyst, 7y)
- Leah Westbrook (Data Analyst, 5y)
- Ahmed Ibrahim (Technical Co-Lead, 5y)
- Melinda Jones (Technical Co-Lead, 4y)
- Ken Wu (IT Analyst, 4y)
- Ashley Wells (IT Analyst, 4y)
- Tanesha Idowu (D&I Manager, 3y)
- Steve Derrick (Outreach Coordinator, 2y)

Annual Salary

66

Appendix B

Part 1 Measures

Open-Ended Initial Impressions
Based on the information you have reviewed about JetTech, please briefly describe (in 1- 2 sentences) your initial impressions of the workplace culture at JetTech.
Please estimate how many _____ personally value diversity:
1. JetTech *leaders*
2. JetTech *employees*

Perceptions of Company Norms
(Murrar et al., 2020)
1. Do their best to behave inclusively.
2. React negatively if someone says something discriminatory.
3. Welcome employees from all backgrounds.
4. Interact with people from many different groups at JetTech.
5. Be motivated to address instances of discrimination upon learning of their presence.
6. Disregard an employee's alert to discrimination. [R]

Procedural Justice
(Kaiser et al., 2013)
1. Women are able to express their views and feelings about their treatment at JetTech.
2. People of color have influence over the outcomes they receive at JetTech.
3. JetTech applies personnel procedures consistently across all employees, irrespective of race or gender.
4. JetTech values diverse opinions.
5. JetTech treats everyone with respect.
6. JetTech is receptive to issues employees raise.

Inclusive Behaviours
(Murrar et al., 2020)
1. Talk to a coworker with a different background about their experiences.
2. Choose to work closely with a coworker from a different background on a project or assignment.
3. Make a point to attend a meeting where diversity and inclusion issues are going to be discussed.
4. Invite a coworker from a different background to spend time with you socially.

Confronting Discrimination
(Murrar et al., 2020)
1. If I see someone racially discriminate against another employee, I will say something.
2. If my boss says something racist or sexist, realistically, I probably will not say anything. [R]
3. I will intervene if I see employees being treated unfairly because of their gender.
4. If I see blatant discrimination, I will report it to the proper authority.
5. If I notice gender or racial bias in the hiring process, I will advocate for changing the process.
6. If I notice discrimination in promotion decisions at JetTech, I will ignore it. [R]

Part 2 Measures

Open-Ended Action
As a manager, how would you react to this information? Please briefly describe (in 1-2 sentences) **specific, realistic actions** you would take, if any.

Concern for Gap
To what extent are you concerned or unconcerned about this salary gap?

Gap Pervasiveness
How likely or unlikely is it that this type of salary gap is a broader issue at JetTech?

Psychological Standing
(Sherf et al., 2017)
1. It is your place to speak up about the salary gap
2. It is appropriate for you to speak up about the salary gap
3. You are the right person to talk about the salary gap
4. You have a personal stake in JetTech's efforts to address the salary gap
5. You are personally affected by the salary gap

Fear of Backlash
(Kaiser & Miller, 2001; Moss-Racusin & Rudman, 2010; Thai et al., 2021)
1. share your concern [R]
2. dislike you
3. believe you are motivated by a personal agenda
4. see you as a troublemaker or complainer
5. actively support or join your efforts [R]

Action Intentions
1. Discuss this salary gap with other **project managers**
2. Discuss this salary gap with your **supervisor**
3. Submit a memo to company leaders about the salary gap
4. **Start** a petition to promote pay equity
5. **Sign a coworker's** petition to promote pay equity
6. Nominate a **person of color** for a promotion
7. Nominate a **woman** for a promotion
8. **Organize** a strike/walk-out for pay equity
9. Join a **coworker- organized** strike/walk-out for pay equity
10. Volunteer for an hour-long diversity training course during work hours (**paid**)
11. Volunteer for an hour-long diversity training course outside work hours (**unpaid**)
12. Investigate redistributing your annual bonus to the underpaid team members
13. Collaborate with other managers to create a pay equity action plan

Open-Ended Why Act
Reflecting on your answers to the previous question, please briefly explain (in 2-3 sentences) why you would be likely or unlikely to take these actions (or other actions not listed).

Job Appeal
(Gaucher et al., 2011)
1. Working at JetTech is desirable to me.
2. JetTech is not somewhere I would want to keep working. [R]

3. I'm similar to the people who work at JetTech.
4. JetTech seems like a great place to work.
5. Working at JetTech is unappealing. [R]
6. My values and JetTech's values are very different. [R]

Company Culture
(not included in analyses)
1. Your current (or most recent) job
2. A typical technology company

Gender and racial identification
(Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992)
1. My gender is an important part of my self- image.
2. My gender has little to do with how I feel about myself. [R]
3. My racial/ethnic background is an important part of my self-image.
4. My racial/ethnic background has little to do with how I feel about myself. [R]

System Justification
(Kay & Jost, 2003)
1. In general, I find society to be fair.
2. In general, the American political system operates as it should.
3. American society needs to be radically restructured. [R]
4. America is an open society where anyone can achieve higher status, regardless of race or gender.
5. Our society is getting worse every year. [R]
6. Society is set up so that people usually get what they deserve.
7. Differences in status based on race or gender are the result of injustice. [R]

Engagement
(used as an exclusion criterion)
1. How DISTRACTED were you during this study? [R]
2. How ENGAGED were you during this study?
3. How HONEST/ACCURATE were your answers?