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Los Angeles

Minorities' Perceptions of Majority Members' Participation in Minority Spaces: A Critical  
Examination of Ally Behavior

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Management

by

Lyangela J. Gutierrez

2021

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Minorities' Perceptions of Majority Members' Participation in Minority Spaces: A Critical  
Examination of Ally Behavior

by

Lyangela Gutierrez

Doctor of Philosophy in Management

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Miguel M. Unzueta, Chair

My dissertation investigates how minority observers perceive majority members' participation in minority affinity groups. Motivating this work is a proposed solution to advancing organizational diversity & inclusion efforts: engaging majority members, such as White men. The inherent assumption is that majority members' participation is helpful and received positively by minorities. However, I argue that majority members' participation can *backfire* and ironically *perpetuate inequality*. Across four experiments, I show how different levels of Whites' / men's participation (conceptualized as numerical presence and/or passive-active involvement) in racial & gender affinity groups affect how racial minorities and women perceive these groups. Study 1 manipulates presence (low, high) and finds that when there is a high number of Whites / men in a racial or gender affinity group, racial minorities and women perceive more invasiveness, anticipate less inclusion & safe space, and are less attracted to the affinity group and

organization. Study 2 builds upon this by manipulating the percentage of Whites / men in the affinity group (10-50%) and shows a significant linear trend, such that the higher the percentage of Whites men in the group, the more perceived invasiveness, the lower anticipated inclusion & safe space, and the lower affinity group and organizational attraction. In fact, having less than 30% Whites / men in the group is when the negative effects of majority member participation are attenuated. Study 3 recruits White women and manipulates the number of White men in a Women's affinity group leadership team. I find another significant linear trend: the more White men on the leadership team, the more perceived invasiveness White women feel, along with less anticipated inclusion & safe space and less attraction to the group and organization. Finally, Study 4 contends with majority members' involvement in affinity groups—specifically White people in a Black / African American affinity group—and demonstrates that passive involvement elicits the most negative effects in Black people's perceptions (e.g., more perceived invasiveness, less attraction to the affinity group). Altogether, finding a balance in majority member participation in minority affinity groups is crucial to prevent diversity & inclusion efforts from backfiring.

The dissertation of Lyangela Gutierrez is approved.

Sanford E. DeVoe

Margaret Shih

Jennifer A. Whitson

Miguel M. Unzueta, Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2021

## Dedication

Para mis padres santos enmascarados de plata (¡como siempre dice Mami!), porque sin sus sacrificios, no pudiera recibirme de doctora. Mami y Papi, sé que han batallado mucho para darnos una vida mejor, y siempre se los agradezco. Ustedes son mi orgullo y mi inspiración— como dice Buzz Lightyear, los amo “hasta el infinito y más allá.”

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## Curriculum Vitae of Lyangela Gutierrez

### EDUCATION

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- University of California, Los Angeles 2021  
PhD in Management & Organizations
- Rice University 2015  
Bachelor of Arts in Psychology and Spanish & Portuguese Studies  
*Graduated with honors in Psychology*  
*Cum laude*

### RESEARCH INTERESTS

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Racial and gender inequity in organizations; diversity; inclusion; inequality

### PUBLICATIONS AND MANUSCRIPTS UNDER REVIEW

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- Gutierrez, L. J.** & Nguyen, L. T. (forthcoming). Perceptions of diversity in organizations. In R. Gurung (Ed.) *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Psychology in the Real World*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Gutierrez, L. J.**, & Unzueta, M. M. (2021). My kind of guy: Social dominance orientation, hierarchy-relevance, and tolerance of racist job candidates. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*.
- Ubaka, A., Lu, X. X., & **Gutierrez, L. J.** Testing the generalizability of the White leadership standard in the post-Obama era. Submitted for 2<sup>nd</sup> round review at *Leadership Quarterly*.
- Gutierrez, L. J.** & Kellar, S. K. The business versus employee case for inclusion: Implications for organizations. *Revise and Resubmit at Research for Issues in Social Management (V.3): The Future of Diversity & Inclusion*.

### INVITED TALKS

---

- Gutierrez, L. J. (2021, February). Social dominance orientation, hierarchy-relevance, and tolerance of racist job candidates. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.
- Gutierrez, L. J. (2021, March). Social dominance orientation, hierarchy-relevance, and tolerance of racist job candidates. University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA.

### CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

---

- Gutierrez, L. J.**, McClanahan, K. J., Kellar, S. K., & Birnbaum, H. (2021, August). The business case for diversity leads to the dehumanization of racial minorities. *Academy of Management Conference*, virtual.

Ubaka, A., Lu, X. X., & **Gutierrez, L. J.** (2021, February). Is White always the standard? Using replication to revisit & extend what we know about leader prototypes. *Society for Personality and Social Psychology Conference*, virtual.

**Gutierrez, L. J.**, & Kellar, S. K. (2021, February). “For business” versus “for employee well-being”: Justifications for inclusion in organizations. *Society for Personality and Social Psychology Conference*, virtual.

Ubaka, A., Lu, X. X., & **Gutierrez, L. J.** (2020, August). \*Taking another look at race and the American leadership prototype... *Academy of Management Conference*, virtual.  
\*Received AOM Annual Meeting Best Paper Award

**Gutierrez, L. J.** & Unzueta, M. M. (2020, July). “My kind of guy”: SDO predicts tolerance of a racist job candidate. *International Association for Conflict Management*, virtual.

**Gutierrez, L. J.**, & Unzueta, M. M. (2020, February). How the presence of a minority leader affects perceptions of organizational diversity and fairness. *Society for Personality and Social Psychology conference*, New Orleans, LA.

**Gutierrez, L. J.**, & Unzueta, M. M. (2019, August). “My kind of guy”: SDO predicts tolerance of a job candidate with a racist past. *Academy of Management conference*, Boston, MA.

Robinson, A., **Gutierrez, L. J.**, Scroggins, L., Smith, A. N., Whitson, J. A. (2018, November). “Microaggressions: Negative impact on psychological Safety, engagement and turnover intentions.” *Southern Management Association conference*, Lexington, KY.

## **GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND AWARDS**

---

Community Catalyst Grant, Society for Personality and Social Psychology, 2020. (\$1,200)

Dare to Care Award, University of California-Los Angeles, 2020. (\$3,000)

Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, University of California-Los Angeles, 2018. (\$6,000)

Eugene V. Cota-Robles Fellowship, University of California-Los Angeles, 2016-2020. (\$50,000)

Rice Undergraduate Scholars Program (RUSP), Rice University, 2014-2015. (\$1,300)

## INTRODUCTION

*“People of color need their own spaces. Black people need their own spaces. We need spaces in which we can gather and be free from the mainstream stereotypes and marginalization that permeate every other societal space we occupy. We need spaces where we can be our authentic selves without white people’s judgment and insecurity muzzling that expression. We need spaces where we can simply be...”*

-- Kelsey Blackwell

*“There is a different dynamic in groups of [only] women, where...you can feel comfortable to be as expressive as you want...I love that I don’t need to explain, rationalize, defend, educate, nurse my position or censor my words. Instead, I feel encouraged, supported and heard by people with a similar mindset to mine”*

-- Anonymous

Diversity and inclusion in organizations are trending topics in contemporary society (Garnett, 2018; *How Diversity Training Improves Office Culture*, 2017). Indeed, as the United States has become increasingly diverse (Wentling, 2004; Wentling & Palma-Rivas, 1998), organizations have made efforts to hire people from underrepresented backgrounds (e.g., women and racial minorities) and manage a diverse workforce (Richard et al., 2002). In this process, researchers have highlighted the importance not only of building greater “heterogeneity and the demographic composition of groups or organizations” (Roberson, 2006, pp. 227–228), but also of creating environments where diverse employees feel included and their contributions welcomed and valued (Ehrhart, Shore, Dean, Randel, & Chung, 2016; Roberson, 2006; Williams, 2017). By doing so, organizations can have greater diversity within organizations (e.g., numerically and hierarchically; Unzueta & Binning, 2012) *and* supplement this diversity with inclusion. Organizations still face several problems with diversity & inclusion despite attempts to optimize the full potential of their employees. For instance, even with diversity efforts, companies in the technology industry report low numbers of racial minorities and women (Isaac,



2015), and these disparities are further pronounced when considering representation in leadership positions (Berman, 2015; Zarya, 2016). Furthermore, organizations continue to have issues addressing inclusion, such that there are reports of minorities feeling like their contributions and their presence within an organization are undervalued (Simard, 2010).

Part of the solution that has been proposed to advance these organizational diversity & inclusion goals is to engage majority members such as White men in these efforts. Researchers and practitioners alike posit that getting majority members to participate and have general buy-in will help diversity efforts be more successful (Proudman, 2015). After all, as crucial organizational stakeholders (Plaut et al., 2011; Stevens et al., 2008), White men hold a majority of positions of power and prestige (Chesney-Lind & Chagnon, 2016; Eagly & Carli, 2007; Gino, 2017; Wingfield, 2014); thus, they have the resources and status to contribute to these efforts (American Psychological Association, Committee on Women in Psychology, 2017; Gloria et al., 2008). For example, research demonstrates that majority member mentors/sponsors can be essential for addressing barriers to minorities' career advancement and ultimately helping them get ahead (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016; Johnson & Smith, 2018).

However, there are two important pieces missing from the literature on this subject. First, previous research assumes that majority members' participation is *always* a good thing. In fact, most research on majority member allies in the workplace focuses on factors that may predict participation (e.g., Subašić et al., 2018). However, little is known about minorities' reactions to this participation – in essence, a critical evaluation is missing. Second, much of the research that promotes the importance of majority members in this diversity & inclusion process additionally focuses on an individual-level impact (e.g., White male mentors/sponsors for minorities and women, on a dyadic level; Dreher & Cox Jr, 1996). This further illustrates the lack of research

concerning perceptions of and reactions to majority members' participation in *groups* geared toward minorities (i.e., minority spaces). Ultimately, these considerations have implications with respect to inspiring minorities' participation (or lack thereof) in minority spaces, which has downstream consequences for employee outcomes such as organizational commitment (Downey et al., 2015) and turnover intentions (R. A. Friedman & Holtom, 2002). There is a tension inherently present in majority members' participation in minority spaces: they are crucial stakeholders and hold power, yet it is possible that if involved *too much* in minority spaces, majority members' presence may backfire by reducing minorities' anticipated inclusion and safe space perceptions (i.e., "[where people feel that they] will not face criticism that would challenge their expressions of identity"; Rom, 1998). This is illustrated in different opinion pieces around the subject, such as in the quotes above (Blackwell, 2018; Walsh, 2017).

Therefore, my dissertation investigates how racial minorities and women respectively perceive Whites' and men's participation in minority spaces<sup>1</sup> (spaces geared toward minorities). In particular, I use the context of racial and gender affinity groups in organizations, which are voluntary groups that exist to support communities with similar identities (e.g., gender, race) in various ways, such as with social support, resource sharing, and professional development. Below, I discuss previous research concerning majority member participation in minority spaces. I then conceptualize majority member participation through two means: presence (low-high) and involvement (passive-active). After that, I introduce the concept of safe spaces in organizations and provide evidence suggesting minorities perceive minority spaces as safe spaces. Finally, I

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<sup>1</sup> My primary focus is on the *inclusion* component in diversity & inclusion; implicit in this focus is that organizations in question already have at least *some* diversity. However, despite the emphasis on inclusion, the phenomena I investigate still have downstream consequences for current and future organizational diversity.

continue by theorizing about factors that might affect how minority members respond to majority member participation in these spaces, such as what I term perceptions of invasiveness.

This research has clear practical implications in evaluating how certain efforts from majority members are perceived and determining subsequent actions that minority observers may take based on their reactions to this. Considering the benefits that minority spaces in organizations (e.g., minority affinity groups) may have for minorities—like providing formal and informal networking opportunities (Farrow, 2008; R. A. Friedman, 1996), reducing turnover intentions (R. A. Friedman & Holtom, 2002), providing mentoring and support (Kravitz, 2008), facilitating minorities' voice in organizations (Bell et al., 2011), and instilling feelings of belonging (Kirby et al., 2020)—it is crucial to determine what factors may help or hinder minorities' participation in these groups.

### **WHAT ARE MINORITY SPACES?**

I introduce the term *minority spaces* to talk about spaces—whether physical or figurative—that are occupied by and geared toward marginalized groups. Examples of minority spaces include but are not limited to the following: affinity groups (e.g., racial/ethnic affinity groups), multicultural or racial/ethnic centers, social/political movements for marginalized groups (e.g., women's movement), and universities established for minorities (e.g., Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), women's colleges). Minority spaces may come about or be created for several reasons (all of which are not mutually exclusive), such as in order to build a more diverse and inclusive environment (e.g., affinity groups in organizations, multicultural centers), provide access to resources that were not originally available for marginalized communities (e.g., HBCUs and women's-only colleges), work to combat inequality (e.g., social/political movements), and/or give minorities a cohesive group context. Most times,

these spaces exist not only for social and emotional support, but also for disseminating resources to its members. Minority spaces allow marginalized groups to experience something other than a society in which dominant group members are the default (Roestone Collective, 2014). Thus, while there is certainly variation between types of minority spaces, they are created with minority groups in mind.

To reiterate, the minority spaces I focus on in my dissertation are racial and gender affinity groups in organizations. Racial/ethnic and gender affinity groups have become increasingly relevant as a means of improving diversity & inclusion in organizations (Welbourne et al., 2017); however, these groups are relatively unexplored in the literature. Furthermore, though there are slight differences in affinity groups' missions and goals, all are meant to provide social support and professional resources. Considering the potential benefits that affinity groups have, it is crucial to examine what factors may inhibit minorities' participation in these spaces.

### **MAJORITY MEMBERS AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN MINORITY SPACES**

Although there is little research on majority members' participation in minority spaces (i.e., spaces traditionally occupied by and geared toward minorities), some related research areas may provide some evidence for this phenomenon: 1) diversity in organizations, and 2) minority social/political movements. This literature consequently informs my conceptualization of majority member participation, which is characterized by what I term *presence* and *involvement*.

#### **Diversity in organizations**

In the last few decades, diversity and inclusion issues within organizations have centered around minorities, especially the recruitment and retention of racial minorities and women (Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998; Roberson, 2006; Shore et al., 2009). Implicit in this particular focus is the notion that organizational diversity & inclusion conceptions and spaces emerged to handle

underrepresented minorities within organizations. Therefore, conceptions of organizational diversity & inclusion can be indirectly considered as a minority space, in that these concepts and efforts traditionally came about for minorities. The research below, then, demonstrates majority members and their inclusion in spaces geared toward minorities, like in conceptions of diversity & inclusion. Specifically, I discuss research on the broadening of diversity ideologies and definitions of diversity to include majority members.

**Diversity ideologies.** Diversity ideologies are “societal beliefs and attitudes about non-dominant racioethnic groups, their status, and how they should be incorporated into the society or nation” (Nkomo & Hoobler, 2014, p. 246). Essentially, these interethnic ideologies emerged to address divisiveness associated with group memberships and provide a guide for intergroup relations. Throughout history and even today, diversity ideologies manifest themselves in organizations, such as in how workplaces describes their culture (Plaut et al., 2009; Rattan & Ambady, 2013).

Two of the most prominent diversity ideologies are colorblindness and multiculturalism (Apfelbaum et al., 2016; Plaut et al., 2009; Rattan & Ambady, 2013). Colorblindness focuses on ignoring and minimizing group differences between people, while multiculturalism focuses on acknowledging and embracing group differences. Both ideologies take different approaches toward intergroup interactions and are thus preferred by different groups of people (C. S. Ryan et al., 2007); for this reason, in organizational contexts, “neither approach is received by all employees as a positive affirmation of their belongingness in an organization” (Stevens et al., 2008, p. 122). In fact, although endorsing multiculturalism is associated with some positive outcomes, such as positive outgroup evaluations and affirmation of group identities among minorities (Verkuyten, 2005), there is still backlash against multiculturalism from majority

members (Plaut et al., 2011; Stevens et al., 2008). This backlash emerges because majority members (Whites) feel excluded from conceptions of multiculturalism (Plaut et al., 2011). To ameliorate these feelings of exclusion, the researchers proposed a strategy called *all-inclusive multiculturalism*. This brand of multiculturalism acknowledges the importance of differences and in addition explicitly recognizes that non-minorities (e.g., Whites) play an important role in workplace diversity. In this way, the strategy not only still draws on the positives from multiculturalism, but also addresses concerns of exclusion and disadvantage from majority members (Stevens et al., 2008). A few empirical tests of this strategy support these claims, suggesting that *all-inclusive multiculturalism* makes majority members feel more included and prompts them to increase their support for organizational diversity efforts (Jansen et al., 2015; Plaut et al., 2011). Overall, this research provides indirect evidence and examples for the inclusion of majority members in traditionally minority spaces (in this case, conceptions of diversity).

**Broadened definitions of diversity.** Another example of the inclusion of majority members in traditionally minority spaces is evident through definitions of diversity. In research and practice, conceptions of diversity in the last 50 years have generally focused on race and gender and other protected demographics (e.g., age), as motivated by the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998; Shore et al., 2009). Over time, the definition of diversity has broadened and as a result indirectly includes majority members (Kapoor, 2011). There have even been critiques that debates on diversity in organizations need to conceptualize and analyze men as a social category (Hearn & Collinson, 2009) and include and listen to White men (Wittenberg-Cox, 2016). This occurred because, in order not to alienate part of their workforce, “companies began adopting a more broadly defined approach to diversity

management, which critics now fear has diluted the original intent [of diversity management] as tool for creating opportunities for women and minorities in America” (Kapoor, 2011). Indeed, diversity initiatives in contemporary society do not address inequality between groups nor systematic discrimination (Nkomo & Hoobler, 2014) and human resource management also continues to take a colorblind approach (Roberson, 2006). This illustrates the dilution of diversity (Linnehan & Konrad, 1999). Thus, even in defining what diversity means within organizations, which traditionally would include and focus on underrepresented minorities (racial minorities and women), now even majority members are included in these conceptions (Edelman et al., 2001).

### **Minority social/political movements**

The presence of majority group member allies in minority social/political movements also illustrates majority members’ participation in minority spaces. For instance, White people get involved in #BlackLivesMatter and men get involved in the feminist movement. Most research on majority member allies discusses strategies to engage allies or factors that predict allyship (Casey, 2010; Fingerhut, 2011). However, there are a few articles that talk about *perceptions* of these majority member allies’ involvement, particularly from the minorities’ perspective. For instance, Droogendyk and colleagues (2016) investigate how majority member allies’ interactions with minority members can harm (rather than help) minorities’ resistance movements (Droogendyk et al., 2016). They also measure group identification and show that lowly-identified minority members may welcome and laud efforts by majority member allies, but highly-identified minority members—who are likely to scrutinize majority member allies’ efforts—may criticize and reject them (Droogendyk et al., 2016). Ultimately, even well-intentioned majority member allies can ironically detract from social movements instead of

enhancing them with their privilege and power. Indeed, they may “take over work that would have otherwise been done by members of the disadvantaged group, may co-opt and in so doing obfuscate or trivialize the movement’s message, may actively seek to become a leader or spokesperson within a movement, and may offer unwanted and/or unneeded advice on strategy and tactics” (Droogendyk et al., 2016, p. 321). For these invasive actions and other reasons, minority member activists—likely those who are highly-identified with their group—would react negatively toward majority member allies.

Another line of research investigates men’s participation in women’s movements and is informative for gauging women’s reactions to this participation. Linder and Johnson (2015) asked women about their experiences working with men allies in the feminist movement. While the women did identify positive experiences, they also highlighted negative experiences, such as experiencing microaggressions, that colored their reactions toward men’s participation in the feminist movement. Furthermore, the Roestone Collective (2014) reports the debate surrounding men’s participation in the Take Back the Night march in Washington DC. Take Back the Night is a feminist movement protesting sexual assault. The march provoked debate as to whether participation in the march should be open to men allies or be a women-only march. This suggests the inclusion of majority members in the movement was contested and potentially provoked negative reactions, as some women were “worried that men, no matter how well intentioned, would dominate the march if they were allowed to participate” (Roestone Collective, 2014, p. 1351).

Finally, work published recently investigates how racial minorities *and* women perceive majority members that lead social justice efforts that benefit their respective groups (Iyer & Achia, 2020). In four studies, the authors showed minority participants the leadership team for a



non-profit organization seeking to address gender or racial inequality. They found that when minorities saw more majority members on the leadership team (vs. less), they reported lower levels of collective action intentions, particularly because minorities believed the majority members on the team had lower awareness of inequality. An important implication of this work is that the presence of majority member leaders in social justice efforts may discourage minorities from joining these efforts that presumably benefit their ingroup. Therefore, this provides more evidence to suggest that even well-intentioned majority members can ironically detract from social justice efforts.

Although research in the sphere of minority social/political movements covers minority member reactions to a certain extent, they do so in a highly politicized minority space, which is not the focus of my dissertation. Instead, my dissertation centers on minority spaces within organizations, such as through minority affinity groups or employee resource groups based on social identity. In this respect, the literature does not provide evidence to show exactly how minorities will react to majority member participation in organizational minority spaces. Before delving into the mechanisms behind minorities' reactions to majority member participation, it is crucial to define what characterizes participation and demonstrate the role of different components in explaining reactions.

### **Majority member participation: presence and involvement**

Previous work examining majority members in minority spaces approaches the discussion of participation in different ways. For instance, the terms “involvement” or “engagement” are frequently used (Droogendyk et al., 2016; Iyer & Achia, 2020; Linder & Johnson, 2015; Radke et al., 2020), while “presence,” “composition,” or “number” appear at times as well (Droogendyk et al., 2016; Iyer & Achia, 2020). Sometimes the articles use these

terms interchangeably to describe majority member participation, but do not necessarily define each term. Furthermore, the research on majority member participation in minority spaces primarily uses survey or qualitative methods to gauge minorities' reactions concerning their participation (cf. Iyer & Achia, 2020). To integrate these perspectives, I posit that majority member participation can be understood through examining *presence* and/or *involvement*. Below, I discuss *presence* and *involvement* in further detail, as these characterize the relevant aspects of majority member participation.

Presence refers to the numerical amount of majority members within a minority space—it is the aspect that people may see first. Presence is on a continuum, such that there can be varying levels of presence (from low<sup>2</sup> to high). The level of presence is likely relative to the number of minorities in the minority space, such that two majority members can be considered 'low' in a group with thirty minorities, but 'high' in a group of four or five minorities). Majority members' presence does not necessarily have to be physical presence (e.g., presence in an online group), but will usually manifest in this way. Iyer & Achia (2020) talk about majority member participation using presence, specifically the leader composition of a social justice effort non-profit. While they report minorities' reactions to the numerical presence of majority members on the leadership team, they only show 'extreme' values of the presence continuum (e.g., most of the team composed of majority members versus minority members, which indicates high majority member presence versus low majority member presence).

Involvement describes majority members' engagement (or lack thereof) in the minority space. Like presence, involvement is also on a continuum, although involvement—examined through behavior or role—is from passive to active. Majority members' level of involvement

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<sup>2</sup> In minority spaces, it is unlikely that majority member presence will be "none," considering the pervasive nature of dominant groups in different domains in society. For this reason, the continuum starts at "low."

likely is interpreted subjectively, or relative to a certain reference point. Take “listening” as an example. Some might say that “listening” is a passive behavior because it requires no interaction with the group per se (one-way communication; Kruijkemeier et al., 2014; Sims, 1986; Trifiro & Gerson, 2019); however, others might see “listening” as *relatively* more active involvement than simply showing up to a minority space. Uncertainty reduction theory would indirectly support this point (Goldsmith, 2001; R. M. Kramer, 1999), considering it is a theory about interpersonal communication and discusses different strategies to gain information and knowledge about others, ranging from passive to active. Droogendyk and colleagues (2016) talk about majority member participation through involvement; while they do not use the passive-active framework to describe involvement, they detail majority member allies’ range of behaviors in social movements, which can be characterized along this continuum.

### **HOW MINORITIES PERCEIVE MINORITY SPACES**

In wanting to examine perceptions of majority involvement in minority spaces, first we must gather evidence for how minorities see these spaces. Adjacent literature on this subject on campus affinity groups and minority spaces sheds light on how these spaces may be perceived. Below, I argue that minorities see minority spaces as safe spaces, or physical/figurative places where they can express their whole selves and feel supported in their identity. I review the literature on safe spaces in different domains, tie in safe spaces with feelings of inclusion, and then discuss how social identity, belonging, and authenticity play a role in this view.

#### **Minority spaces as safe spaces**

The concept of safe spaces arose in the women’s movement during the twentieth century (Roestone Collective, 2014), and referred to the “physical and metaphorical safety of separatist female spaces and cultures” (Ardener, 1993; Hunter, 2008, p. 7). In social/political movements

for marginalized groups, safe spaces are thought to provide space for minorities to be free from violence, expressions of intolerance, and/or discrimination (Hunter, 2008; Roestone Collective, 2014). Since its emergence and use in this domain, the concept of safe spaces has expanded and is discussed in the education literature and in organizations by practitioners.

**Safe spaces in education settings.** The literature that develops and defines the concept of safe spaces explores this in educational settings (e.g., classrooms, university campus). Safe spaces are defined in several nuanced ways, but the general consensus is that these spaces elicit feelings of belonging, acceptance, and authenticity; people in these spaces do not feel isolated, threatened, or intimidated (Rom, 1998). The literature also mentions that safe spaces are created mainly to accommodate minorities (e.g., racial minorities, women), which many times are underrepresented or disadvantaged in society. In accommodating marginalized groups, safe spaces allow people to “present themselves openly and to speak freely, without fear of censure, ridicule, or exploitation. The ‘space’ is ‘safe’ when individuals and groups know that they will not face criticism that would challenge their expressions of identity...” (Rom, 1998, pp. 406–407).

One example of safe spaces examined in the literature are minority student organizations, such as racial/ethnic organizations. Research demonstrates that members of these organizations recognize the value in these spaces: they can serve as buffers from the broader environment and provide a place to share common experiences with similar others (e.g., Deo, 2013; Zhou, 1997). This is important particularly because marginalized groups may be excluded from the mainstream, White environment (Deo, 2013; Solorzano et al., 2002) so these student organizations have the potential to bolster belonging. One scholar argues that a key component

of these spaces is to bring together marginalized individuals and provides a space away from majority members—in other words, serve as safe space ‘buffers’ (Deo, 2013).

In a similar vein, research on multicultural centers on university campuses demonstrates that these centers are considered safe havens for minority students on predominantly White campuses (L. Jones et al., 2002; Palmer & Shuford, 2004; Patton, 2010). Staff working in these offices offer students of color (and students from other marginalized groups) academic advising, share resources for professional development, and provide social support (Doan, 2011). Indeed, these minority spaces on campuses contribute to the persistence and the retention of racial minority students (McShay, 2017), especially those in White homogenous campuses. However, it is important to note that these, and other minority spaces (e.g., campus affinity groups), are not exclusive or exclusionary—majority member students can participate in these spaces. One study on race/ethnic-specific law student organizations found that 20% of white students join these race-related organizations even though they do not identify as members of that racial group (Deo, 2013). In her analysis, the author stated that “even these safe spaces [for racial minorities] are not truly sovereign, as they are open to ‘infiltration’ from white students seeking professional benefits for themselves” (Deo, 2013, p. 103). This excerpt reveals that there may be some hostile or mixed feelings with respect to majority member involvement in minority spaces.

**Safe spaces in organizational settings.** Although little empirical work has investigated the conception of minority spaces by minorities (or even majority members), working professionals involved in diversity & inclusion talk about minority spaces in organizations as safe spaces. For instance, several articles mention that minority affinity groups in organizations provide ‘safe spaces’ for minorities (Brown, 2017; Davis, 2018; Dunlap, 2018; Gittens-Ottley, 2017; Strother et al., 2017). Furthermore, professionals posit that diversity & inclusion efforts

should foster spaces that “allow employees to feel safe and supported in their identities...[and] to feel comfortable being themselves in work environments that often strip individuality from what I deemed as ‘professional’” (Davis, 2018); doing this will increase inclusion and make the organization more hospitable for minorities. Safe spaces in these organizational snapshots of minority spaces seem to be valued in their potential to foster innovation (Welbourne & McLaughlin, 2013), give employees a platform to discuss issues they may not feel comfortable exploring in general spaces (Davis, 2018), build networks, and have development opportunities (Strother et al., 2017). Indeed, some argue that safe spaces in organizations can be conducive to minority employees’ well-being (e.g., Cadet, 2020). While most of these discussions are not in empirical articles (cf. Welbourne & McLaughlin, 2013), they are written by human resource professionals within organizations. These articles all together suggest that minority spaces in organizations are considered safe spaces.

In examining how safe spaces fit within the organizational literature, it is important to distinguish it from a concept that is commonly mistaken as redundant: psychological safety (Edmondson, 1999). Edmondson (1999) discusses psychological safety in team settings and defines it as a shared belief that it is safe to engage in interpersonal risk taking. Psychological safety is relevant when discussing (team) learning behavior and performance-related contexts. Teams that foster psychological safety will not “embarrass, reject, or punish someone for speaking up [or making a mistake]” (Edmondson, 1999, p. 354) and should ultimately facilitate learning behavior. Thus, contexts that foster psychological safety are not spaces where people will always feel comfortable or have their thoughts unchallenged. This indicates that psychologically safe spaces are *not* the same as safe spaces (Edmondson, 2020). While it may certainly be true that people within a minority space can foster psychological safety if there are

tasks relevant to learning behavior and performance (e.g., suggesting ideas for a fundraiser), psychologically safe spaces are not meant to be safe spaces.

### **Safe spaces and inclusion**

Safe spaces thus far have been conceptualized as physical or figurative spaces that are tied with feelings of belonging, acceptance, and expressing one's identity however they want. Previous literature makes these associations salient. In examining campus student organizations, Doan (2011) reports how students of color felt in their respective racial/ethnic organizations. For instance, many Black students join the Black student association seeking a sense of belonging and a place where they can talk about common experiences. Furthermore, Asian American students Doan (2011) interviewed stated that membership in the Asian American student association helps them feel more secure on campus and bolsters their sense of belonging in interacting with others who share their identity. Other work echoes the crucial role that such spaces on campus play for marginalized students' feelings of belonging (Park, 2008; Patton, 2006); since humans inherently desire a sense of belonging, these spaces serve an important purpose (Park, 2008). Research outside of the education domain also supports the idea that safe spaces can foster belonging and authentic expressions of identity (Day, 1999; Roestone Collective, 2014). Because these spaces may provide separation from broader environments for marginalized groups, feminist and queer scholars state that this provides an opportunity to claim a shared identity and build coalitions (Roestone Collective, 2014). In organizations, safe spaces allow employees, who might otherwise not be comfortable opening up and expressing themselves, a chance to do so and feel accepted (Girardin, 2019). Girardin (2019) recommends encouraging affinity groups in organizations as ways to create safe spaces at work, as these

groups “give people a chance to voluntarily meet with others who understand their experiences...[and give minority employees] a place to be heard, believed, and supported.”

**Social identity, belonging, and authenticity.** Something inherent in minority spaces is expressing one’s identity within a group of similar others. Examining the role of identification with a minority group in this context necessitates foregrounding this in social identity theory. Social identity theory describes intergroup relations, group memberships, and the self. Tajfel and Turner (1979) stated that the self is not only defined in terms of individuating characteristics that distinguish one from others, but also is extended to include social groups (Hogg, 2003; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). In general, people are motivated to see themselves and the groups to which they belong positively (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). When someone identifies with a group, their self psychologically merges with the group, which “leads individuals to see the self as similar to other members of the collective, to ascribe group-defining characteristics to the self, and to take the collective’s interest to heart...” (Van Knippenberg & Sleebos, 2006, p. 572). However, identification with the group should only affect someone’s attitudes and behavior when the social identity is salient (Van Knippenberg, 2000). In organizational minority spaces, where the purpose of the group is to have minorities gather based on their shared identity, social identity should be salient.

The common theme surrounding these minority spaces—and safe spaces generally—is what minorities anticipate or feel within them: belonging and authenticity. Not only do people want a space where they feel like they can belong, they also want to be able to express their ‘true selves’ with similar others (Day, 1999; Park, 2008; Roestone Collective, 2014). Authenticity and belonging are key determinants of a person’s fit with an environment, according to the State Authenticity as Fit to Environment (SAFE) Model (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). The SAFE



model explores the role of social identity in what is termed state authenticity, or “the sense of feeling that one is currently in alignment with one’s true or genuine self; that one is being their real self” (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018, p. 3). The model proposes three ways that environments may be a fit to the self: self-concept fit, goal fit, and social fit. For my dissertation, the type of person-environment fit most relevant is social fit, which is the degree to which people in the environment accept and validate a person’s sense of who they are. This type of fit is pertinent when people expect to have social interactions in the environment and because it covers actual or perceived validation and acceptance from others (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). Social fit may be evident from interactions with people in the environment or from cues that would suggest the existence of validating identities. Thus, even when observing a group of people or an environment, social or environmental cues may be able to convey interpersonal validation and acceptance (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). In fact, seeing similar others in an environment in and of itself can signal a tacit acceptance of a person’s identity (Avery, 2003; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). Strong social fit with an environment occurs when a person experiences belonging and can express themselves without needing to attend to others’ expectations or other social constraints.

In minority spaces, people who belong to marginalized identities may look to the minority space for cues that suggest they can express their authentic selves and feel like they belong. Marginalized group members may be especially attentive of the environment because they often contend with lack of acceptance and inauthenticity (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). In other words, minorities want to ensure they feel inclusion within minority spaces. Inclusion has been conceptualized as a sense of belonging with a group and also being valued for unique characteristics and personality (Shore et al., 2011). Jansen and colleagues (2014) expand upon

this conceptualization and refine the ‘uniqueness’ component of inclusion. Through integrating optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991) and self-determination theory (R. M. Ryan & Deci, 2000), Jansen and coauthors conclude that the second component of inclusion should be perceived *authenticity* rather than perceived uniqueness (Jansen et al., 2014). Considering this conceptualization of inclusion as belonging and authenticity, it appears that safe spaces facilitate inclusion.

### **PERCEPTIONS OF MAJORITY MEMBER PARTICIPATION IN MINORITY SPACES**

There is little information in the literature on how majority members are perceived when they get involved in diversity efforts geared toward minorities (cf. Hekman et al., 2017). However, there are a number of suggestively relevant studies around perceptions of majority members who engage in efforts surrounding minorities’ outcomes. For instance, there is work on perceptions of confronting prejudice on behalf of a targeted individual; there is also some research on perceptions of majority members who advocate for minority members’ rights. My paper is different from these bodies of work in several ways. First, someone’s participation in a minority space (especially one created for diversity & inclusion purposes) is not necessarily about fighting negative experiences but rather fostering positive ones; the work on confronting prejudice, on the other hand, inherently always involves fighting a negative action or experience. Second, the research on majority members who advocate for women’s rights covers a subject that is extremely politicized and polarizing (Joffe, 2013; Ratner & Miller, 2001); however, my scope examines diversity & inclusion, which although is a topic for which people have positive and negative associations (e.g., Plaut et al., 2011), organizations generally seem to emphasize and value it anyway. Ultimately, the phenomenon and mechanisms are very different. Still,

despite the differences, due to the proximities in topic, these other bodies of work will still help illuminate potential processes relevant to majority members.

The research in this section focuses on others' perceptions of majority members' efforts in the betterment of minorities' outcomes. For instance, research on perceptions of majority members who confront prejudice on behalf of targets (i.e., racial minorities or women) seems to suggest that these majority members are evaluated positively. In fact, men who confronted sexism were evaluated more positively, and overall were perceived as more legitimate and less of a complainer compared to women who confronted sexism (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Drury & Kaiser, 2014; Gervais & Hillard, 2014); similar results were found with Whites who confronted racism (Czopp & Monteith, 2003). Some researchers propose that it is due to perceptions of self-interest, where men who confront take "an unexpected position that violates self-interest, which may cause surprise and positive regard" (Czopp et al., 2006; Gervais & Hillard, 2014, p. 656).

Another avenue of related research focuses on perceptions of majority members advocating for minorities' rights. These findings seem to contradict the relatively positive evaluations of the majority member in the confronting prejudice literature. In fact, a few studies found that majority members face backlash if they participate in a cause that they should not have a stake in. In particular, when men promoted women's rights, both men and women responded with surprise and anger toward these men (Ratner & Miller, 2001). This could indicate that minority member perceivers reading about majority member participation in a minority space may react negatively toward them. Cheng and colleagues' (2019) work also adds to the idea that majority members advocating for minorities may be perceived negatively. The scholars conduct research on women's perception of male allies in the workplace using a qualitative critical incident approach. While they do not directly examine women's reactions—

rather, they measure the perceived effectiveness of ally behaviors—the examples of participants’ responses relay that in some circumstances, women would prefer that majority members not participate. Ultimately, reactions to men’s participation was conditional upon what the men did (or did not do); for example, if men tried to advocate for them and “hindered, rather than supported, [the women’s] career success” (Cheng et al., 2019, p. 46).

### **Majority member participation and social identity threat**

Previous research on majority member participation suggests that there are instances when minorities perceive this participation negatively. What explains these negative reactions? Here, I draw inspiration from social identity threat (i.e., the threat of being devalued due to being a part of a marginalized social group; Schmader & Sedikides, 2018; Steele et al., 2002) and social identity contingencies to predict negative reactions. Purdie-Vaughns and colleagues (2008) posit that environmental cues may indicate that the way a person is treated will be contingent upon one of their social identities. Thus, they define social identity contingencies as “possible judgments, stereotypes, opportunities, restrictions, and treatments that are tied to one’s social identity in a given setting” (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008, p. 615). Like in the SAFE Model (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018), cues from the environment can determine the extent to which a person will feel comfortable, accepted, and able to be authentic. Those who are from marginalized groups may be more vigilant to these cues because of their group status (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018)—these people want to make sure that spaces they are entering (or are considering entering) do not constitute a threat to belonging (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Steele et al., 2002).

**Perceptions of invasiveness.** While social identity threat and social identity contingencies are informative for providing a foundation and evidence to examine minorities’

reactions to majority member participation, these concepts do not quite cover how majority members' presence and involvement in minority spaces is perceived. In examining previous work on majority members in minority social/political movements, minority participants often questioned the appropriateness of participation or how 'infiltrative' it felt (Deo, 2013; Droogendyk et al., 2016). Minority spaces are unique in that they are spaces geared toward minorities—thus, evaluating participation in these spaces is different than evaluating contexts generally for cues of belonging and authenticity. There is a tendency for marginalized group members to gravitate toward spaces with similar others, not only for the shared experience, but also to potentially offer protection from biases and discrimination from majority group members (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). Because minority spaces are usually meant to be safe spaces (i.e., physical or figurative spaces that provide a space away from mainstream society, contain others who understand your experiences, and allow people to be authentic), an important characteristic is the “exclusivity” of the space. Safe spaces would be “impossible to preserve if the broader [community] participated in the groups in significant numbers...in order to have a safe space within an otherwise unwelcoming larger space, the larger community cannot all be invited to participate” (Deo, 2013, p. 113). While it is unlikely that minority spaces are completely “free” of majority members, previous research would seem to suggest that having a space particularly for interactions with similar others can be important to marginalized individuals. Consequently, majority member participation in minority spaces (such as affinity groups) seems infiltrative, inappropriate, and may elicit feelings of discomfort from minorities—it presents a threat to the safety and sanctity of the space. To conceptualize this, I coin the term *perceived invasiveness*. Perceived invasiveness captures the threat that minority members feel when majority members participate in a space meant for minorities. With outgroup members

present in a space that should provide respite from broader, majority-member-oriented society, the benefits the space provides may be in jeopardy. In other words, when minorities perceive invasiveness, they do not feel majority member participation is appropriate, feel uncomfortable, and feel that the space is being encroached upon.

In examining majority member presence, then, a high number of majority members in a minority space may be threatening and perceived as invasive to minorities. This may be because the conception of the minority space as a safe space—one in which they can be with similar others and feel comfortable—is being violated. With high amounts of majority members involved in minority spaces, it may feel like the group is being co-opted or infiltrated. Therefore, I predict that *majority member presence will be associated with more perceived invasiveness* (see Figure 1). Participation can also be characterized through involvement (passive-active). As mentioned in the conceptualization of majority member involvement, passive behaviors are characterized as showing no direct engagement with others (e.g., listening, reading; Kruikemeier et al., 2014; Trifiro & Gerson, 2019). If majority members are passively involved in a minority space, then not only are they potentially ‘infiltrating’ the space, but they are also not doing anything particularly to justify their presence, such as provide resources or add to the goals of the group. Therefore, I predict that *majority member involvement (i.e., passive involvement) will be associated with more perceived invasiveness* (see Figure 1).

**Connection to safe spaces & inclusion.** Because I posit that minority spaces are perceived as safe spaces, wherein minorities’ experiences and identities are validated, minorities are likely to choose to participate in minority spaces. This possibility is further supported by social identity theory’s assertion that people are motivated to see their identities and social groups positively, and want to feel included in these groups (Brewer, 1991). However, by

definition, if someone feels like a setting or environment is being infiltrated and feels uncomfortable with dominant outgroup members, this indicates that it is no longer a “safe space,” or a place where people can express their identity authentically and feel like they belong. Indeed, by being of the dominant, default identity in society, majority members most times cannot relate to experiences that minorities have. With majority member participation, a space is no longer one in which everyone “gets it” and minorities do not have to explain everything about their marginalized experiences (Doan, 2011); in other words, the space is not conducive to feeling high inclusion (belonging, authenticity) and perceiving it as a safe space. This suggests that *perceptions of invasiveness in a minority space will predict less anticipated inclusion and lower perceptions of the minority space as a safe space* (see Figure 1).

**The role of minority group identification.** Social identity theory addresses the social nature of people’s self-concept (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel et al., 1971); people form their social identity based on the social categories in which they feel are most relevant to them and their self-concept (Hogg et al., 1995). Part of the motivation underlying social identity theory is the need for validation and similarity to others (Brewer, 1991). Those higher on minority group identification will likely be more affronted by majority member participation in a safe space (i.e., perceive it as more invasive) and anticipate less inclusion & safe space because of this (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). This means that *minority group identification will moderate the relationship between majority member participation and perceived invasiveness*; along the same lines, *minority group identification will moderate the relationship between majority member participation and anticipated inclusion & safe space perceptions*.

## **DOWNSTREAM CONSEQUENCES OF MAJORITY MEMBER PARTICIPATION IN MINORITY SPACES**

An important consequence that I will be exploring in my dissertation is minorities' willingness to join the minority space and the organization. The SAFE Model (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018) posits that authenticity is one key predictor of the tendency to approach or avoid an environment. In examining social fit between person and environment, social fit is strong when a person experiences belonging and can express their identity without constraints. However, if a person and an environment are a contextual misfit, this may cause a lack of engagement and predict an avoidance of that environment (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). Social or environmental cues may be used to determine the level of social identity threat or general mismatch that will occur in a situation. For instance, high majority member presence in a minority space may act as a cue about the extent to which minorities can be their 'true selves' among others with similar experiences. Furthermore, seeing high majority member presence would feel like 'infiltration' and a dilution of the space, as the space would not be as much of a safe space with people from the dominant group there. Thus, I predict that *majority member presence will be associated with lower minority space attractiveness*. Since organizational minority spaces are situated within the broader organizational environment, it is possible that the experiences concerning a minority space can inform how minorities will react to the organization as a whole. Since it is possible that the minority space characteristics would provide the most information about potential belonging and authenticity, the reactions to the minority space may spill over to perceptions of the organization. Therefore, I predict that *majority member presence will also be associated with lower organizational attractiveness*.

Majority member involvement in the minority space can also provide cues on the extent to which minorities belong and can be authentic in their expressions of identity. Involvement may involve behaviors ranging from passive to active. Usually, passive behaviors display one-



way communication and no direct engagement with another party, such as listening, reading, or signing a petition (Kruikemeier et al., 2014; Trifiro & Gerson, 2019). If majority members are passively involved in a minority space, the implication is that they are more like spectators rather than actors. This lack of direct engagement in the minority space can potentially give minorities the feeling of being monitored, constraining their potential expression of identity. Considering this, I predict that *majority member involvement (i.e., passive involvement) will be associated with lower minority space attractiveness*. To the extent that the minority space characteristics are used to make inferences about the organization, I also hypothesize that *majority member involvement (i.e., passive involvement) will be associated with lower organizational attractiveness*.

Social identity theory and the SAFE model theorize that people have a need for validation and similarity to others (Brewer, 1991; Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). Those higher in identification with their group will likely be more attentive to social and environmental cues concerning validation and authenticity (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). This indicates that *minority group identification will moderate the relationship between majority member participation and minority space attractiveness* (see Figure 1). Furthermore, *minority group identification will moderate the relationship between majority member participation organization attractiveness*.

## **MINORITY AFFINITY GROUPS AS A SPECIFIC EXAMPLE OF ORGANIZATIONAL MINORITY SPACES**

Minority spaces exist within organizations not only to support minorities by giving them a voice and a space to feel comfortable in, but also to provide career advancement and networking/mentoring (Welbourne et al., 2017). Prominent organizational minority spaces that

illustrate the phenomenon are affinity groups, also called employee resource groups (ERGs) in organizations.

In the organizational behavior literature, affinity groups are at the forefront due to their background, prominence, and importance in organizational settings today. Affinity groups are voluntary, employee-led groups in organizations that exist to support communities with similar identities (e.g., gender, race) in various ways, such as with social support, resource sharing, and professional development. Originally, these ERGs started as “race-based employee forums that were created in response to the racial conflict that exploded during the 1960s” (Deo, 2013). Since then, they have evolved to be not only a place for similar people to come together and discuss relevant issues, but also to be aligned with organizational goals and diversity efforts, such as minority recruitment and retention (Foster, 2016; Welbourne et al., 2017). However, they are open to everyone, not just the employees that fit the profile that the affinity group is based upon. This means that majority members can join ERG minority spaces.

ERGs have been gaining a lot of traction in companies lately, and they are prominent: 90% of Fortune 500 Companies have affinity groups (Welbourne, Rolf, & Schlachter, 2017; Foster, 2016). As previously mentioned, ERGs may help retention because employees in them have higher engagement scores than employees who are not (Brown, 2017). Thus, membership in these groups—especially for employees for which the ERG is meant for—is important because they provide potential opportunities for professional development, network building, and career advancement in the organization.

Although there might be specific ERGs/affinity groups in companies, such as African American’s group or women’s group, group membership in these affinity groups is voluntary and open to all employees interested in the group’s mission. Thus, there is a possibility for

people who are not from the background of the affinity group to join (e.g., White men joining African American or women's affinity group).

## OVERVIEW OF STUDIES

I test my theoretical model (see Figure 1) in four studies, which assess if minorities' willingness to join an affinity group and organization differs as a function of majority member participation in the group. In Study 1, I recruit racial minorities and White women and manipulate the dimension of majority member presence (low, high) in a hypothetical affinity group. Study 2 explores how different *percentages* of majority members in the group affects willingness to join an affinity group and organization, and exploratorily, how it affects perceptions of organizational diversity. In Study 3, I indirectly introduce the dimension of involvement by looking at how the numerical composition of White men in a Women's affinity group's leadership team (roles which by definition necessitate active involvement) is perceived by White women. Finally, Study 4 investigates majority member involvement, demonstrating how minorities perceive majority member's passive or active involvement within the affinity group. All measures and manipulations used in the studies are available for viewing in the Appendix.

### STUDY 1

Study 1 examines if minority observers' reactions to majority members' participation in an affinity group would differ as a function of the number of majority members present. I expect a negative relationship between majority member participation and willingness to join an identity-relevant affinity group and an organization when majority member presence is high. In other words, I predict that when there are a lot of majority members present (versus few) in a minority affinity group, minorities will be less willing to join the group and less attracted to the

organization. Finally, I posit that perceived invasiveness and anticipated inclusion & feeling of a safe space will mediate the relationship between majority member presence and our outcome variables, particularly when minority group identification is high.

## **Method**

**Participants.** Since I am only interested in looking at reactions from minority observers, I recruited racial minorities of all genders and White women for this study. Specifically, I recruited 737 participants on TurkPrime (Litman et al., 2017; 144 men, 589 women, 3 people who identified as non-binary). Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 75 years ( $M = 39.95$ ,  $SD = 11.83$ ). There were 470 Whites, 71 Hispanics/Latinos, 107 African Americans, 6 Native Americans, and 83 Asians/Pacific Islanders. Power analyses indicate this is a sufficient sample size to detect a small-to-medium effect size,  $f = .12$ , at 90% power (given  $\alpha = .05$ ).

**Research Design and Procedure.** Study 1 consisted of a single factor (two-cell) between-subjects design. After indicating their consent to take the survey, participants who qualified for the study were told that the research team wanted to know how people perceive groups in organizations, particularly affinity groups. Subsequently, they read the following: "*Affinity groups in organizations (also called Employee Resource Groups) are formed around a shared interest or common goal; for example, the Veterans Network at Google, or Women @ Facebook. After reading a brief scenario, you will answer some questions about a group and about yourself.*" Once they read this description, participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: (1) reading about an affinity group with two Whites/men (low), or (2) reading about an affinity group with seventeen Whites/men (high). The affinity group presented to participants in the vignette matched one of their social identities; likewise, the type of majority member present matched their social identity category. For instance, White women saw prompts

about a Women’s affinity group and a small or large number of men, whereas Black participants saw prompts about a Black/African American affinity group and a small or large number of Whites.<sup>3</sup> After completing the measures and indicating demographic information, participants were compensated with \$1.25.

## Measures

***Perceived Invasiveness.*** In order to capture the construct I term “perceived invasiveness,” I (along with the help of a subject matter expert) created a total of four items. Participants saw the following question prompt: “In the scenario you just read, you saw that there were [White employees / men] present at the affinity group meeting. Now, answer the questions below.” After this, we listed the four items: “The [White employees’ / men’s] presence in the affinity group is appropriate” (reverse-coded), “The [White employees’ / men’s] presence in the affinity group makes me feel uncomfortable”, “The [White employees / men] are occupying the space meant for [racial minority / women] employees”, and “The [White employees / men] are ruining the purpose of the affinity group” ( $\alpha = .91$ ).<sup>4</sup> Ratings were from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

***Anticipated Inclusion.*** I adapted a sixteen-item scale to determine participants’ anticipated inclusion in the affinity group (Jansen et al., 2014). Sample items include: “The affinity group would give me the feeling that I belong,” “The affinity group would appreciate

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<sup>3</sup> I decided to have only White women get the prompt about the women’s affinity group. This is because women’s groups tend to be primarily filled with White women (e.g., Roestone Collective, 2014; Tulshyan, 2019) and I did not want to confound concerns that racial minority women might have with fitting in to such a group.

<sup>4</sup> I conducted an exploratory factor analysis (EFA), including all the items I used in the survey (i.e., not only the four items measuring perceived invasiveness, but also items on inclusion, willingness to join affinity group, etc.), using varimax rotation and maximum likelihood estimation extraction. This EFA revealed that the four items loaded onto one factor (factor loadings: item 1 = 0.713, item 2 = -0.843, item 3 = -0.859, item 4 = -0.888). Furthermore, the four items had high internal consistency ( $\alpha = .91$ ). Together, these pieces of evidence suggest that this scale is distinct from other measures in this survey and is internally reliable.

me,” “The affinity group would allow me to be authentic,” and “The affinity group would allow me to present myself the way I am” ( $\alpha = .982$ ). Ratings were on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale.

***Feeling of a Safe Space.*** To determine how participants felt about the affinity group as a safe space, I gave the participants a definition from an article about safe spaces in the article by Rom (1998). Specifically, the question was as follows: “*Safe spaces are defined as places in which ‘people should be able to present themselves openly and to speak freely, without fear of censure, ridicule, or exploitation. The space is safe when individuals and groups know that they will not face criticism that would challenge their expressions of identity.*” Based on this definition, to what extent is the affinity group in the scenario a safe space?” Ratings were from 1 (not at all a safe space) to 7 (an extremely safe space).<sup>5</sup>

***Affinity Group Attraction.*** To gauge participants’ willingness to join and participate in the affinity group in the scenario, I adapted the organizational attractiveness scale by Aiman-Smith & colleagues (2001). Sample items include, “This would be a good affinity group for me to join,” and “I would like to participate in this affinity group” ( $\alpha = .945$ ). Ratings were from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

***Organizational attractiveness.*** To assess participants’ interest in joining the hypothetical organization, I used the five-item measure from research by Turban and Keon (1993). Sample items include: “I am interested in pursuing an application with the company,” “I would like to

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<sup>5</sup> This item loaded onto the inclusion scale items in the exploratory factor analysis (item loading = .41) and correlates highly with the inclusion scale ( $r = .625, p < .01$ ). This is true for all of the studies in my dissertation (Study 2 item loading = .47,  $r = .623, p < .01$ ; Study 3 item loading = .59,  $r = .726, p < .01$ ; Study 4 item loading = .44,  $r = .492, p < .01$ ). This seems to suggest that the concepts of safe spaces and inclusion are closely interrelated (e.g., people would experience high belonging and authenticity in a truly safe space). Therefore, I combined them together to form the “anticipated inclusion & safe space” variable.

work for the company,” and “I would not be interested in the company except as a last resort” (reverse-coded;  $\alpha = .886$ ). Ratings were on a 1 (not at all) to 7 (a great deal) scale.

**Group Identification.** I assessed participants’ minority group identification using one item, as recommended by Postmes et al., (2013): “I identify with my [minority group].” There was one item about racial/ethnic group identification (i.e., I identify with my racial/ethnic group) and one about gender identification (i.e., I identify with my gender).<sup>6</sup>

## Results

Means, standard deviations, and correlations are in Table 1.

I computed a one-way ANOVA, using majority member presence (low, high) as the between-subjects factor. Consistent with my predictions, I found that racial minority and women participants report more perceived invasiveness when there were a high number of majority members present ( $M = 4.40$ ,  $SD = 1.66$ ) compared to when there were fewer present ( $M = 3.68$ ,  $SD = 1.56$ ),  $F(1, 735) = 36.648$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.047$ . Furthermore, participants anticipate less inclusion & safe space when there are a high number of majority members present ( $M = 4.40$ ,  $SD = 1.33$ ) compared to a low number of majority members ( $M = 5.34$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ),  $F(1, 735) = 112.747$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.133$ . Finally, results show that participants were less willing to join the affinity group ( $M_{high} = 4.55$ ,  $SD_{high} = 1.46$  versus  $M_{low} = 5.43$ ,  $SD_{low} = 1.19$ ) and the organization ( $M_{high} = 4.79$ ,  $SD_{high} = 1.34$  versus  $M_{low} = 5.37$ ,  $SD_{low} = 1.11$ ) when there were a high number of majority members present,  $F(1, 735) = 81.634$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.10$  and  $F(1, 735) = 41.478$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.053$ , respectively (see Figure 2).

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<sup>6</sup> For White women participants, I measured minority group identification using the gender item, whereas for racial minority participants, I used the racial/ethnic group item.

***Moderated Mediation Analyses.*** I examined if perceived invasiveness and anticipated inclusion & safe space mediated the relationship between majority member presence and willingness to join the affinity group (Hayes' PROCESS, Model 85). Analyses demonstrate that the index of moderated mediation had lower and upper bootstrapped confidence intervals that contain zero (point estimate = -0.006; 95% CI = [-0.08, 0.06]). However, the conditional indirect effects at the mean, one standard deviation below the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean have confidence intervals that do not contain zero (see Table 2); this makes sense considering that the average group identification score was very high (~6 on a 1-7 scale) and there was not much variance on the measure. In looking at the Johnson-Neyman output (Spiller et al., 2013), which estimates the conditional effects of majority member presence on affinity group attractiveness at different levels of minority group identification, it is evident that confidence intervals did not contain zero when minority group identification was high (i.e., 6.3 or higher on a 1-7 scale; effect = -.13,  $p = .05$ ) and when minority group identification was low (i.e., 2.8 or lower on a 1-7 scale; effect = .40,  $p = .05$ ).

We did the same analysis to test a moderated mediation model using organizational attractiveness as the outcome variable. Again, the index of moderated mediation had lower and upper bootstrapped confidence intervals that contain zero (point estimate = -0.004; 95% CI = [-0.05, 0.04]). However, the conditional indirect effects have confidence intervals that do not contain zero (see Table 2). The Johnson-Neyman output demonstrates that confidence intervals did not contain zero when minority group identification was above the midpoint (i.e., 4 or higher on a 1-7 scale; effect = -.34,  $p = .04$ ).

## **Discussion**



Study 1 provides evidence for the predictions, namely that the presence of majority members in an affinity group in and of itself can be a deterrent for minority members. I find that women and racial minorities are less likely to join an organization and an identity-relevant affinity group when there are several Whites / men present in the affinity group meeting. I also see that this is especially the case when participants are highly identified with their racial/ethnic group or gender. Results demonstrate that this process occurs due to higher perceptions of invasiveness and feeling lower anticipated inclusion and safe space within the group.

Something to note was that minority group identification (i.e., identification with racial/ethnic group for racial minorities, or gender for White women) was on average very high in this study. Because of the lack of variance in the measure, the index of moderated mediation was not significant—in other words, the conditional indirect effects of majority member presence on the outcomes at the mean, one standard deviation below the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean were not significantly different from each other. This small variance in racial or gender identification may have occurred because I used a one-item measure; therefore, I will improve upon this for the next study.

Besides the group identification measure used, another limitation of Study 1 lies in the manipulation of majority member presence in the group. I manipulated low versus high presence using two extremes to gather whether there was an effect: two out of thirty people, or seventeen out of thirty people. It is not likely that more than half of the people present at a minority affinity group meetings would be majority members (e.g., it seems unlikely that more than half of the people present for a women's affinity group would be men). Thus, in order to make the materials more ecologically valid—and also to see whether there are limits to the effect—I conducted Study 2.

## STUDY 2

Like Study 1, Study 2's purpose is to investigate minority observers' reactions to majority members' presence in an affinity group; however, the difference is that Study 2 manipulates the *percentage* of majority members present in the group. In doing so, I would be able not only to explore different levels on the majority member presence dimension, but also see how the pattern of results changes between each level and determine whether there is consensus on a particular percentage threshold. Just as there are thresholds for perceptions of having “just enough” organization diversity (Danbold & Unzueta, 2020) and corporate board member diversity (Chang et al., 2019), it is likely that there is a threshold for determining how many majority members are *too many* within a minority affinity group. This implies a different valence and purpose for the threshold in this context—instead of finding a point wherein everything above the point would satisfy a purpose (e.g., tipping point model of racial segregation, wherein people want  $\geq 50\%$  of their neighbors to look like them; Schelling, 1971), this study aims to find a point wherein everything *below* the point would satisfy a purpose (i.e., determine contexts in which minorities would anticipate feeling more inclusion & safe space).

Another change I implemented in Study 2 is the method of assessing minority group identification. In order to observe more variance, I chose to use different, validated scales that are widely used: a racial/ethnic group identification scale for racial minority participants, and a gender identification scale for White women participants. Since these scales have more than one item, and have shown a wider set of variance in the past, they may provide more insight into the relationships between variables at different levels of minority group identification.

Because this study assesses how much majority member presence is *too much*, I expect that as percentage of majority members increases, minority observers' perceptions of

invasiveness will increase while anticipated inclusion & safe space, attraction to the affinity group, and attraction to the organization will decrease.

## **Method**

***Participants.*** Similar to Study 1, I sought responses from racial minorities of all genders and White women as subjects. Specifically, I recruited 790 participants on TurkPrime (Litman et al., 2017). Fifty-eight participants did not pass the exclusion criteria, leaving 729 subjects (114 men, 613 women, 2 people who identified as non-binary). Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 77 years ( $M = 38.83$ ,  $SD = 12.18$ ). There were 495 Whites, 47 Hispanics/Latinos, 93 African Americans, 7 Native Americans, and 84 Asians/Pacific Islanders. Power analyses indicate this is a sufficient sample size to detect a small-to-medium effect size,  $f = .15$ , at 90% power (given  $\alpha = .05$ ).

***Research Design and Procedure.*** Study 2 consisted of a single factor (five-cell) between-subjects design. Like in Study 1, participants were introduced to the general notion of affinity groups and saw almost the same manipulation about the affinity group meeting (e.g., there were 30 people total). However, in this study, the percentage of Whites / men present at the affinity group meeting varied by condition. Participants were randomly assigned to see 10% (3), 20% (6), 30% (9), 40% (12), or 50% (15) of the affinity group members be Whites / men. The affinity group presented to participants in the vignette matched one of their social identities like in Study 1. After completing the survey, participants were compensated with \$1.50.

## **Measures**

The same perceived invasiveness ( $\alpha = .925$ ), anticipated inclusion & safe space ( $\alpha = .977$ ), affinity group attractiveness ( $\alpha = .939$ ), and organizational attractiveness ( $\alpha = .905$ ) scales were used as in Study 1.

**Minority group identification.** I used two different scales to assess participants' minority group identification. Racial minority participants answered seven items from the affirmation/belonging and behavior subscales of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992). Sample items include "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own racial/ethnic group," "I am happy that I am a member of my racial/ethnic group," and "I have a lot of pride in my racial/ethnic group and its accomplishments" ( $\alpha = .903$ ). For White women, I adapted the four-item importance of identity subscale of the collective self-esteem scale (Eliezer et al., 2010; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Sample items include "Being a woman is an important reflection of who I am" and "Being a woman is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am" (reverse-coded;  $\alpha = .876$ ). Ratings for the racial identification and gender identification scales were from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

**Perceived organizational diversity.** As an exploratory measure, I also collected participants' perceptions of racial or gender diversity in the hypothetical organization. Racial minority participants were asked three items about the organization's perceived *racial* diversity, adapted from Unzueta & Binning (2012). A sample item states, "I would not consider this company to be racially diverse" (reverse-coded;  $\alpha = .860$ ). White women were asked the same three items, but about the organizations' perceived *gender* diversity—for example, "This company probably has a low level of gender diversity" (reverse-coded;  $\alpha = .868$ ). Ratings for both scales were made from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

## **Results**

Means, standard deviations, and correlations are in Table 3.

I computed a one-way ANOVA, using majority member percentage (10%, 20%, 30%, 40%, and 50%) as the between-subjects factor. Results demonstrate significant differences

between conditions on anticipated inclusion & safe space,  $F(4, 724) = 8.866, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.047$ , perceived invasiveness,  $F(4, 724) = 3.290, p = .011, \eta_p^2 = 0.018$ , affinity group attractiveness,  $F(4, 724) = 6.239, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.033$ , and perceived racial diversity,  $F(4, 229) = 3.330, p = .011, \eta_p^2 = 0.055$ . There were no significant differences between conditions for organizational attractiveness,  $F(4, 724) = 1.744, p = .138, \eta_p^2 = 0.01$ , and perceived gender diversity,  $F(4, 490) = .479, p = .751, \eta_p^2 = 0.004$  (see Figure 3). The polynomial linear test showed a significant descending pattern for anticipated inclusion & safe space ( $F = 34.81, p < .001$ ), affinity group attractiveness ( $F = 23.82, p < .001$ ), organizational attractiveness ( $F = 4.99, p = .03$ ), and perceived racial diversity ( $F = 9.33, p = .003$ ). That is, the higher the percentage of majority members in the affinity group, the lower anticipated inclusion & safe space minority observers felt, along with lower attraction to the affinity group and organization. There was also a significant rising pattern for perceived invasiveness ( $F = 10.05, p = .002$ ), indicating that minority observers' perceptions of invasiveness increased as the percentage of majority members in the affinity group increased.

***Moderated Mediation Analyses.*** I conducted the same moderated mediation analysis in Study 1, with percentage of majority members in the affinity group as the categorical predictor and willingness to join the affinity group as the outcome (Hayes' PROCESS, Model 85). Because the independent variable is a categorical predictor, results will be using a reference group—in this case, all comparisons are to 10% Whites / men present. When considering the comparison between 10% and 30% majority members in the group, the index of moderated mediation had lower and upper bootstrapped confidence intervals that contain zero (point estimate = -0.02; 95% CI = [-0.11, 0.09]). However, the conditional indirect effects at the mean and one standard deviation above the mean have confidence intervals that do not contain zero

(see Table 4); this makes sense considering that most of the sample was high on minority group identification (i.e., 5 or higher on a 1-7 scale). When comparing 10% to 50% majority members in the group, the index of moderated mediation had confidence intervals that contain zero (point estimate = -0.01, 95% CI = [-.14, .03]). Still, the conditional indirect effects at high levels of group identification do not contain zero (see Table 4).

I also tested the moderated mediation model using organizational attractiveness as the outcome variable. When comparing 10% versus 30% majority members in the group, the index of moderated mediation had lower and upper bootstrapped confidence intervals that did not contain zero (point estimate = -0.07; 95% CI = [-0.14, -0.01]). Furthermore, the conditional indirect effects at the mean and one standard deviation above the mean have confidence intervals that do not contain zero (see Table 4). In the comparison between 10% and 50% majority members in the group, the index of moderated mediation had confidence intervals that contain zero (point estimate = -0.04, 95% CI = [-.09, .02]). Still, the conditional indirect effects do not contain zero at high levels of minority group identification (see Table 4).

## **Discussion**

This study replicates the general effects found in Study 1 but provides a little more nuance. I find a significant linear trend in the data, such that as majority member presence increased, anticipated inclusion & safe space, affinity group attraction, and organizational attraction decreased, while perceptions of invasiveness increased. Furthermore, when there are 30% or more majority members in a minority affinity group (compared to 10%), racial minority and women observers perceive more invasiveness, anticipate less inclusion & safe space, and are less attracted to joining the affinity group and organization. The moderated mediation model results demonstrate that these effects are especially significant when minority group

identification is high (i.e., 5 or higher on a 1-7 scale). This all seems to suggest that ~30% majority member representation within a minority affinity group may start to produce negative effects for potential incoming minority members of the organization.

Exploratory analyses demonstrate that racial minority participants ( $N = 233$ ) perceived less racial diversity in the organization as the percentage of Whites in the affinity group increased. While the sample size is lower than ideal, this suggests that majority member participation in affinity groups may signal information on organizational diversity and values for minority observers.

In Studies 1 and 2, I did not introduce the second dimension of majority member participation: involvement (passive-active). While the ambiguous nature of majority members' involvement in the affinity group thus far might be perceived as passive, it is still unclear the role that involvement plays. I contend with this dimension, along with presence, in the next study.

### **STUDY 3**

The purpose of Study 3 is to contend with the involvement dimension of majority member participation. One way to indirectly introduce the concept of involvement, while still empirically testing thresholds, is to manipulate majority member presence on the affinity group leadership team. Presumably, someone who is on a group's leadership team cannot be passive in their involvement; by definition, their involvement is active. Additionally, it is important to look at the composition of a leadership team when gauging minority's reactions, particularly if there are majority members (Gardner & Ryan, 2020; Iyer & Achia, 2020); after all, the composition of a leadership team may signal something about the organization to observers.

It is possible that minorities perceive majority member presence in the affinity group leadership team more negatively, considering there are a finite number of leadership roles. For

instance, racial minority and women may perceive Whites' / men's presence to be more invasive as their representation increases. Ultimately, participation in affinity group meetings and events is not necessarily limited and that has the potential to be perceived negatively, but occupying a leadership position on the team means potentially taking the chance away from someone else, which may not be received well. However, considering the involvement is on the leadership team, which is formed around supporting the affinity group's goals, this "active" involvement may be less negatively by minority observers. I predict that having no majority members as leaders will still be most positively perceived, but that the negative effects (i.e., more perceived invasiveness, less anticipated inclusion) will be attenuated with one or two majority member leaders (out of five).

## **Method**

***Participants.*** Because of the nature of the study materials, I only recruited White American women to participate in this study. Specifically, I recruited 661 participants on TurkPrime (Litman et al., 2017). Forty-nine participants did not pass the exclusion criteria, leaving 612 White American women. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 77 years ( $M = 44.3$ ,  $SD = 12.9$ ). Power analyses indicate this is a sufficient sample size to detect a small-to-medium effect size,  $f = .15$ , at 88% power (given  $\alpha = .05$ ).

***Research Design and Procedure.*** Study 3 consisted of a single factor (four-cell) between-subjects design. Like in Studies 1 and 2, participants were given an introductory description of an affinity group and then saw a scenario about a women's affinity group. Participants then saw an ostensible excerpt of an "About Us" section of the affinity group's website, which included a picture of five leaders of the group<sup>7</sup> and more information on the

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<sup>7</sup> These pictures were pretested and are similar in perceived attractiveness and competence. See Appendix for more information.



history and mission of the affinity group. The picture of the leadership team was the manipulation; participants were randomly assigned to see 0, 1, 2, or 3 White men on the women's affinity group leadership – the rest of the leaders were White women. After completing the survey, participants were compensated with \$1.50.

## Measures

The same perceived invasiveness ( $\alpha = .925$ ), anticipated inclusion & safe space ( $\alpha = .985$ ), affinity group attractiveness ( $\alpha = .939$ ), and organizational attractiveness ( $\alpha = .905$ ) scales were used. I used the minority group identification item from Study 1 (Postmes et al., 2013) to reduce survey fatigue.

## Results

Means, standard deviations, and correlations are in Table 5.

I computed a one-way ANOVA, using majority member presence on the leadership team (0, 1, 2, or 3) as the between-subjects factor. Results demonstrate significant differences between conditions on anticipated inclusion & safe space,  $F(3, 609) = 16.748, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.076$ , perceived invasiveness,  $F(3, 609) = 13.860, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.058$ , affinity group attractiveness,  $F(3, 609) = 10.882, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.051$ , and organizational attractiveness,  $F(3, 609) = 6.057, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.029$  (see Figure 4). The polynomial linear test showed a significant descending pattern for anticipated inclusion & safe space ( $F = 42.59, p < .001$ ), affinity group attractiveness ( $F = 25.70, p < .001$ ), and organizational attractiveness ( $F = 13.25, p < .001$ ). That is, the higher the number of White men on the Women's affinity group leadership team, the lower anticipated inclusion & safe space White women felt, along with lower attraction to the affinity group and organization. There was also a significant rising pattern for perceived

invasiveness ( $F = 25.85, p < .001$ ), indicating that White women's perceptions of invasiveness increased as the number of White men on the Women's affinity group leadership team increased.

***Moderated Mediation Analyses.*** I conducted the same moderated mediation analyses as in Studies 1 and 2, with number of White men on the affinity group's leadership team as the categorical predictor and willingness to join the affinity group as the outcome (Hayes' PROCESS, Model 85). Because the independent variable is a categorical predictor, results will be using a reference group—in this case, all comparisons are to seeing one White man on the leadership team. When comparing 1 White man on the leadership team to 3 White men on the team, the index of moderated mediation had lower and upper bootstrapped confidence intervals that contain zero (point estimate = 0.04; 95% CI = [-0.13, 0.21]). However, the conditional indirect effects at the mean, one standard deviation below the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean have confidence intervals that do not contain zero (see Table 6); this makes sense considering that most of the sample was high on minority group identification (i.e., 5 or higher on a 1-7 scale).

I also tested the model with organizational attractiveness as the outcome variable. When comparing two White men versus three White men on the Women's affinity group leadership team, the index of moderated mediation had lower and upper bootstrapped confidence intervals that contain zero (point estimate = 0.03; 95% CI = [-0.10, 0.15]). Still, the conditional indirect effects at the mean, one standard deviation below the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean have confidence intervals that do not contain zero (see Table 6).

## **Discussion**

I find a significant linear trend in the data, such that as the number of White men on the affinity group leadership team increased, White women's anticipated inclusion & safe space,

affinity group attraction, and organizational attraction decreased, while their perceptions of invasiveness increased. On a leadership team composed of five members, I find that having three majority members (White men) is the point at which White women feel less anticipated inclusion & safe space in a Women's affinity group, perceive more invasiveness, and are less willing to join the Women's affinity group and organization compared to when there are one or two men on the leadership team (out of 5). The results seem to suggest that when less than half of the leadership team is composed of majority members, the negative effects of their presence may be attenuated by their positive, 'active' involvement. Indeed, striking a balance between amount of presence and active involvement seems crucial to consider.

Like in Study 2, while there were not significant differences between each and every number of majority members on the leadership team (e.g., 0 vs. 1, 1 vs. 2), the pattern of results trended in the predicted direction. The condition with no White men on the leadership team had the highest means for anticipated inclusion & safe space, affinity group attractiveness, and organizational attractiveness. While the means for anticipated inclusion & safe space decreased as the number of men increased, the negative effects were generally attenuated when there were one or two White men compared to three White men.

This study, while introducing the concept of majority member involvement (passive-active), did not directly manipulate involvement. White men's presence on the Women's affinity group leadership team implied active involvement, particularly in support of the affinity group's goals, but what happens when majority member involvement is confirmed to be passive or more explicitly active? Studies 1-3 have demonstrated that majority member presence may have detrimental effects on minorities considering joining the space or organization; however, are

there boundary conditions? Do these negative effects of presence change or look different when considering passive or active involvement? I explore these questions in the next study.

#### **STUDY 4**

The purpose of Study 4 is to directly manipulate the involvement component of majority member participation. What counts as passive versus active behavior may be based on a reference point (i.e., comparing one behavior to another), but previous research can also inform this decision. I chose to pick three types of involvement behaviors in order to try and capture different points on the passive-active continuum. In the literature, behaviors are characterized as passive when there is no direct engagement between parties (M. W. Kramer, 1999; Trifiro & Gerson, 2019), such as when people are reading (Kruikemeier et al., 2014) or listening (Sims, 1986). Behaviors that are characterized as relatively more active, in contrast, enable interactive or two-way exchanges between parties (Kruikemeier et al., 2014; Trifiro & Gerson, 2019). I followed the examples in the literature and characterized each type of involvement accordingly. For instance, passive involvement is operationalized as listening to a discussion, as this implies one-way communication and no direct engagement (Kruikemeier et al., 2014; Trifiro & Gerson, 2019). This type of involvement may be off-putting for minority members, as it implies that majority members are there “taking up space” and not necessarily doing anything for the group. Passive-active involvement is operationalized as listening & learning, but not speaking in the discussion. This has elements of both passive and active involvement: listening and not speaking implies passive behavior, but learning can imply more active engagement. Finally, active involvement will be operationalized as listening & learning, and also speaking in the discussion. Because this introduces the element of speaking, which implies direct exchanges with other people (Kruikemeier et al., 2014), this makes the behavior more active. Something to note is that

active involvement generally can be “good” for those in minority spaces (i.e., supporting the goals of the space) or can involve behaviors that are “bad” for those in minority spaces (i.e., detracting from the goals of the space). While speaking in a discussion is ambiguous with respect to the valence behind the person’s words, listening & learning implies that majority members are not necessarily trying to detract from the discussion.

Another purpose of Study 4 is to change the context in which majority members are getting involved. Research finds evidence to suggest that discussions surrounding large-scale events in society (or contents of the events themselves) can spill over into the workplace (Leigh & Melwani, 2019; Tilcsik & Marquis, 2013). Leigh & Melwani (2019) build upon this idea in their work and introduce the concept of *mega-threats*, which are “negative, large-scale, diversity-related episode(s) that receive significant media attention” (565). The article focuses on highly publicized instances of police brutality toward Black Americans as a particular type of mega-threat. Since their article was published, the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor have received significant attention in society, bringing racial inequity and injustice to the forefront of several conversations. Organizations themselves have been addressing racial justice and equity in statements and at work through different means (G. Friedman, 2020). Affinity groups have several purposes, which include providing social support, professional resources, and a space to discuss issues relevant to the minority group (Douglas, 2008). It is likely that affinity groups would be used as a place for employees to talk to similar others and process what is happening in society (Belcher, 2020; Grabowsky, 2020). It is possible that there are majority members wanting to find ways to be supportive to minority group members experiencing the effects of mega-threats. During situations such as discussions on issues of race, it is relatively unclear as to what behaviors are best for majority members to engage in, at least from minorities’ perspective.

Therefore, examining what involvement minorities perceive to be helpful versus harmful in these situations would be informative for subsequent actions.

Taken together, I predict that minorities will perceive more invasiveness and anticipate less inclusion & safe space when majority members are passively involved in a discussion relative to when they are passive-active or actively involved. I also predict that seeing passive majority member involvement will translate to less willingness to join the affinity group and organization, and that this relationship will be explained by perceptions of invasiveness and anticipated inclusion & safe space. I test these predictions below.

## **Method**

*Participants.* I recruited 700 Black American participants on Prolific Academic (Palan & Schitter, 2018) using prescreening criteria on nationality (American) and race (Black/African American). Eight participants did not pass the exclusion criteria, and 151 did not fill out the racial identification measure<sup>8</sup>, leaving 541 Black Americans. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 76 years ( $M = 34.4$ ,  $SD = 10.5$ ). Power analyses indicate this is a sufficient sample size to detect a small-to-medium effect size,  $f = .15$ , at ~88% power (given  $\alpha = .05$ ).

*Research Design and Procedure.* Study 2 had a single factor (three-cell) between-subjects design. After providing consent, participants were randomly assigned to read one of three scenarios about White employees attending a Black / African American affinity group (see Appendix). The context was set up such that the affinity group meeting that White employees were attending was discussing an issue relevant to Black employees, such as discrimination. In one scenario, participants read about White employees coming to “listen” to the affinity group

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<sup>8</sup> Due to an error in the survey, participants did not see the racial identification measure. To fix this, I recruited the same pool of participants for a one-minute “follow-up” study so they could answer the racial identification items. Only 548 participants took this follow-up survey.

discussion (the *passive* condition); in the second, the White employees came to “listen & learn from (but not speak in) the discussion (the *passive-active* condition); and finally, in the third, the White employees came to “listen & learn (and also speak in) the discussion (the *active* condition). Subsequently, subjects answered our measures of interest and answered demographic questions. After completing the survey, participants were compensated with \$1.85.

## Measures

The same perceived invasiveness ( $\alpha = .853$ ), anticipated inclusion & safe space ( $\alpha = .974$ ), affinity group attractiveness ( $\alpha = .928$ ), and organizational attractiveness ( $\alpha = .834$ ) scales were used. I used the racial identification measure from Study 2 (Phinney, 1992;  $\alpha = .910$ ) to maximize the potential variance in minority group identification and its effect on perceptions of involvement.

## Results

Means, standard deviations, and correlations are in Table 7.

In order to gauge whether participants saw differences in the different types of involvement, they answered one item asking them to rate how involved the White employees were at the affinity group meeting (1=passively involved, 7=actively involved). Participants rated the active involvement condition higher on the involvement scale ( $M = 4.07$ ,  $SD = 1.76$ ) the “passive” involvement condition ( $M = 2.40$ ,  $SD = 1.71$ ) and the passive-active involvement ( $M = 2.99$ ,  $SD = 1.77$ ).

I computed a one-way ANOVA, using majority member involvement (passive, passive-active, and active). Results demonstrate significant differences between conditions on anticipated inclusion & safe space,  $F(2, 538) = 3.608$ ,  $p = .03$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.013$ , and perceived invasiveness,  $F(2, 538) = 9.382$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = 0.034$ . There were no significant differences between conditions on

affinity group attractiveness,  $F(2, 538) = 1.095, p = .34, \eta_p^2 = 0.004$  nor organizational attractiveness,  $F(2, 538) = 0.431, p = .65, \eta_p^2 = 0.002$  (see Figure 5).

Post-hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction show which conditions had significant mean differences between each other. Black Americans anticipate slightly more inclusion & safe space when White employees passively participated in an affinity group discussion on racial issues ( $M = 5.60, SD = 1.01$ ) compared to when they were passive-active ( $M = 5.28, SD = 1.26$ ),  $p = .02$ . Results also show that Black Americans perceived more invasiveness when they saw White people were passively involved in the affinity group discussion on racial issues ( $M = 4.23, SD = 1.60$ ) compared to when they were passive-active ( $M = 3.65, SD = 1.50$ ),  $p = .001$ , or actively involved ( $M = 3.61, SD = 1.49$ ),  $p < .001$ .

***Moderated Mediation Analyses.*** I conducted moderated mediation analyses with the type of involvement (passive, passive-active, active) as the categorical predictor and willingness to join the affinity group as the outcome (Hayes' PROCESS, Model 85). Because the independent variable is a categorical predictor, results will be using a reference group—in this case, all comparisons are to seeing White employees passively involved in the affinity group discussion on racial issues. When comparing passive involvement to passive-active involvement, the index of moderated mediation had lower and upper bootstrapped confidence intervals that contain zero (point estimate = -0.001; 95% CI = [-0.03, 0.03]). However, the conditional indirect effects at the mean, one standard deviation below the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean have confidence intervals that do not contain zero (see Table 7); this makes sense considering that most of the sample was above the midpoint on minority group identification (i.e., 4 or higher on a 1-7 scale). The same pattern can be observed when comparing passive involvement to active involvement: the index of moderated mediation had lower and upper bootstrapped confidence



intervals that contain zero (point estimate = -0.01; 95% CI = [-0.04, 0.03]), but the conditional indirect effects at the mean, one standard deviation below the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean have confidence intervals that do not contain zero (see Table 7).

I also tested the model with organizational attractiveness as the outcome variable. When comparing passive involvement to passive-active involvement, the index of moderated mediation had lower and upper bootstrapped confidence intervals that contain zero (point estimate = -0.001; 95% CI = [-0.03, 0.03]). Still, the conditional indirect effects at the mean, one standard deviation below the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean have confidence intervals that do not contain zero (see Table 6). Similarly, in comparing passive involvement to active involvement, the index of moderated mediation had lower and upper bootstrapped confidence intervals that contain zero (point estimate = -0.01; 95% CI = [-0.03, 0.02]), but the conditional indirect effects at the mean, one standard deviation below the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean have confidence intervals that do not contain zero (see Table 7).

## **Discussion**

Contrary to what was expected, Black Americans anticipated less inclusion & safe space when White people were passive-active in the affinity group discussion on racial issues compared to when they were passive. But as predicted, Black American participants perceived more invasiveness when White people were passively involved in the discussion compared to when they were passive-active or actively involved. Type of involvement in and of itself did not significantly predict willingness to join the Black/African American affinity group nor the organization; however, for those who were relatively higher on racial identification, the mediation model was significant. The results seem to suggest that Whites' passive-active or

active-involvement (i.e., listening & learning and perhaps speaking) in a discussion on racial issues is received more positively relative to passive involvement (i.e., just “listening”).

In this study, the conditional indirect effects were not negative but rather positive; this makes sense considering that going ‘higher’ on the continuum—in other words, trending toward more active involvement—is not necessarily negative like it would be in increasing numerical presence. This depends on what the goals of the engagement are: if majority members are actively involved in the group but do so at a detriment to minorities by talking over them or not giving them a voice, then perhaps the relationships would again be negative. Yet in this study, the inherent implication behind the types of involvement may have been more positive. Consider that majority members in the passive-active and active conditions were “listening *and* learning” and only varied in whether they spoke or not in the discussion. Listening and learning may give the impression that majority members are there more to be allies and increase their awareness of racial issues rather than to be detractors and act defensively.

## **GENERAL DISCUSSION**

The reported studies found that minorities perceive majority member participation in an identity-relevant affinity group differently based on 1) the numerical amount of majority members in the group, and 2) the extent to which the majority members were passively or actively involved. In Study 1, I manipulated majority member presence (low vs. high) in the affinity group and found what I predicted: racial minorities and women perceived more invasiveness, anticipated less inclusion (i.e., less belonging and authenticity) & safe space, and were less willing to join the affinity group and organization when presence was high; this was especially true for those who identified strongly with their racial/ethnic group or gender. Study 2 manipulated presence in a more nuanced way to see if there were thresholds for determining how

many majority members is too many in a minority affinity group. Results demonstrated that the negative effects in Study 1 (e.g., more perceived invasiveness, less anticipated inclusion & safe space) occurred when there were ~30% or more majority members in a minority affinity group. Furthermore, exploratory analyses suggests that racial minority observers perceive less racial diversity in the organization when there are more majority members in the affinity group. In Study 3, White women reacted to majority member presence on the affinity group leadership team, which implies more active involvement in the group; the negative effects in Studies 1 and 2 transpired when the team's composition was majority men (i.e., 3 out of 5 team leaders were men). Finally, Study 4 demonstrates Black Americans' reactions to Whites' involvement in a Black/African American affinity group, particularly during a discussion on racial issues affecting Black Americans. The results suggest that Black Americans perceived more invasiveness when White employees were passive-active in the discussion (i.e., listening and learning from, but not speaking in, the discussion) and actively involved (i.e., listening and learning from, and also speaking in, the discussion) compared to when White employees were passive (i.e., simply listening to the discussion). However, Black Americans did feel slightly more belonging, authenticity, & safe space when White employees were passively involved in the discussion on racial issues compared to when they were passive-active.

It is important to note here that there may be other dimensions to consider when characterizing majority member participation. For instance, I characterized *majority member involvement* on a continuum from passive to active. However, involvement in and of itself may also have another component to it, such as intent. It is possible that majority members' involvement may be in good faith (e.g., contributing to the affinity group's goals) or in bad faith intention (e.g., detracting from the group's goals). In Study 4, the majority members'

involvement in the Black / African American affinity group was presumably in good faith, or not meant to detract from the group's goals and mission per se. While this may be the case, for the purpose of my dissertation, I focus on what I consider to be the most fundamental characterizations of majority member participation, which are *presence* and *involvement*.

### **Theoretical Contributions and Implications**

This work contributes to the literature in several ways. First, it tests the assumption inherent in the call for majority members to participate in diversity & inclusion efforts—that their participation is always welcome and/or helpful. Indeed, this research is one of the first to examine minorities' reactions to majority member participation in minority spaces and critically examine the mechanisms and downstream consequences that majority member participation may have. I have also introduced several concepts into the organizational literature, such as minority spaces, and theorize about the role of safe spaces in organizational settings. Furthermore, I propose and characterize two dimensions that constitute majority member participation: presence (low-high) and involvement (passive-active). When minorities are evaluating majority member participation, these two dimensions can help predict how minorities will react.

I then integrate theory on social identity, inclusion, and authenticity to argue that minority spaces as safe spaces are important to organizational functioning and employee retention. I extend theory on social identity threat and social identity contingencies by introducing the construct of perceptions of invasiveness, which captures a unique phenomenon that minorities experience when evaluating others' participation in their groups. This experience of threat is different from other types of threat in the literature (Riek et al., 2006), such as realistic group conflict threat (Sherif, 1988), symbolic threat (Biernat et al., 1996; Kinder & Sears, 1981), social identity threats in and of themselves (e.g., distinctiveness threat, value threat;

Branscombe et al., 1999), or integrated theory threat, which includes intergroup anxiety (Stephan et al., 1999; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

### **Practical Implications**

This research has direct implications for minority spaces in organizations, particularly in encouraging the participation of majority members in these affinity groups. Practitioner-oriented articles that have discussed the crucial role that affinity groups play for racial minorities, women, and other marginalized groups (Douglas, 2008; Welbourne et al., 2017; Welbourne & McLaughlin, 2013). These employee resource groups provide social support and professional resources to their members, so studying the factors that inhibit participation is vital. My research finds that majority member participation can hinder minorities' intentions to join the affinity group and organization. Furthermore, there may be thresholds for determining what "too much" majority member presence in these affinity groups looks like. Racial minorities' and women's wariness to join affinity groups has implications for recruiting talent, diversifying workplaces, and creating cultures of inclusion. Many times, marginalized groups view affinity groups as a space in which they feel accepted and can express their true self (Deo, 2013; Doan, 2011). The fact that these spaces may increase inclusion (through belonging and authenticity) and perceptions of a safe space is significant, especially considering that minorities often have trouble expressing themselves authentically in the workplace (Phillips et al., 2018).

Thus, majority members who want to be allies to minorities in the workplace need to be mindful of when and how they participate in these minority spaces. One way to optimize majority member participation is to pursue consensual allyship, wherein "both parties [i.e., majority member allies and the minorities] must consent to the ally providing support to maximize the effectiveness of the behavior" (K. P. Jones et al., 2017, p. 69). This may be enacted

in different ways, such as having “ally-specific” meetings or days when majority members can go to the minority spaces. It may also be reflected in the norms of the group as a whole. For instance, if people are discussing racial injustices in the workplace, Cadet (2020) suggests providing guidelines for who speaks when. As a general rule, everyone listens to whomever is speaking; then, during the discussion, Black people speak first, followed by people of color, then White people speak last. Minority groups outside of race can have a similar format when it comes to discussing issues they face in the workplace: prioritize minorities’ voices in the discussion, and then allow for majority members to comment and provide their perspective once the platform has been established for minorities. Another possibility is to create ally-specific affinity groups (e.g., Male Allies)—this would allow majority members to opt-in as potential allies and practice consensual allyship. Steps like these would not only give minorities space and agency in their affinity groups, but also ensure that majority members’ participation does not become detrimental to the original mission.

Overall, the takeaway of my research is not that majority members should not participate or should not even try to be allies; rather, there is a balance to consider through presence and involvement. Finding a balance would optimize the positives and attenuate any negative effects that might arise from majority member participation in minority spaces.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

This research has a few limitations to consider. First, the manipulations have all been hypothetical scenarios. While this can be ecologically valid and still useful in simulating what an incoming minority employee would experience, it may be interesting to see how employees already involved in affinity groups react to majority member participation. Another limitation involves the racial minority samples. Because I used online research platforms to collect data,

one of which tends to be majority White (Litman et al., 2017), I was unable to get large sample sizes for various racial minority groups. Though my theorizing would suggest the phenomenon would happen similarly regardless of racial group membership, future work can recruit larger samples of racial minority participants so that conclusions can be drawn for each racial/ethnic category. Finally, the affinity groups in the scenarios were always targeting one identity: racial/ethnic or gender. While this mirrors the way in which organizations frequently structure their social identity affinity groups, it does not take into consideration the intersectionality of power, privilege, and oppression within society (Crenshaw, 1991; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). This means that people who identify strongly with more than one social identity, such as multiracial individuals or women of color, may not feel optimal belonging or authenticity in some of these minority spaces. In fact, women of color often choose not to participate in Women's affinity groups because those groups are primarily composed of White women and may unintentionally center their perspectives (Roestone Collective, 2014; Tulshyan, 2019). For these reasons, some practitioners recommend creating more intersectional employee resource groups (Tolbert, 2019). Future work can explore how minorities perceive these groups and outcomes associated with creating or joining these spaces.

This line of research on perceptions of minority spaces is ripe with possibilities for future directions. For instance, investigating the effects of “good” involvement (i.e., working toward goals of affinity group) versus “bad” involvement (i.e., detracting from the goals) on minorities' perceptions of the group and the organization. It is possible there would be an opposite effect from what was found in Study 4, such that minorities would prefer majority members be passive compared to actively involved in a detrimental way. Another future direction involves perceived motivations for majority members' participation. Radke and colleagues (2020) theorize on the

effects of differing motivations that majority member allies may have for engaging in action for minorities. Perceived motivation and intent are especially relevant when evaluating behaviors of allies, but my dissertation does *not* necessarily presume that majority members in minority spaces are allies. For this reason, I purposefully leave motivation to participate in these spaces ambiguous to focus on the effects of presence and involvement. While out of the scope of the current research, future work can examine how motivations or intent paint a more nuanced picture of minorities' reactions to majority member participation.

## **Conclusion**

In my dissertation, I test the assumption that majority member participation in diversity efforts or minority spaces (i.e., spaces created for and geared toward minorities) is always helpful. I demonstrate that majority member participation in minority spaces, which can be characterized through presence (i.e., numerical amount of people) and involvement (i.e., passive to active behaviors), can negatively affect minorities' intent to join an identity-relevant affinity group and the organization. I find that this occurs because minorities perceive high presence or passive involvement as more invasive, which leads them to anticipate less inclusion and safe space in the affinity group. The takeaway from my work concerns finding a balance between majority members participating in these spaces and giving minorities their own space and agency.



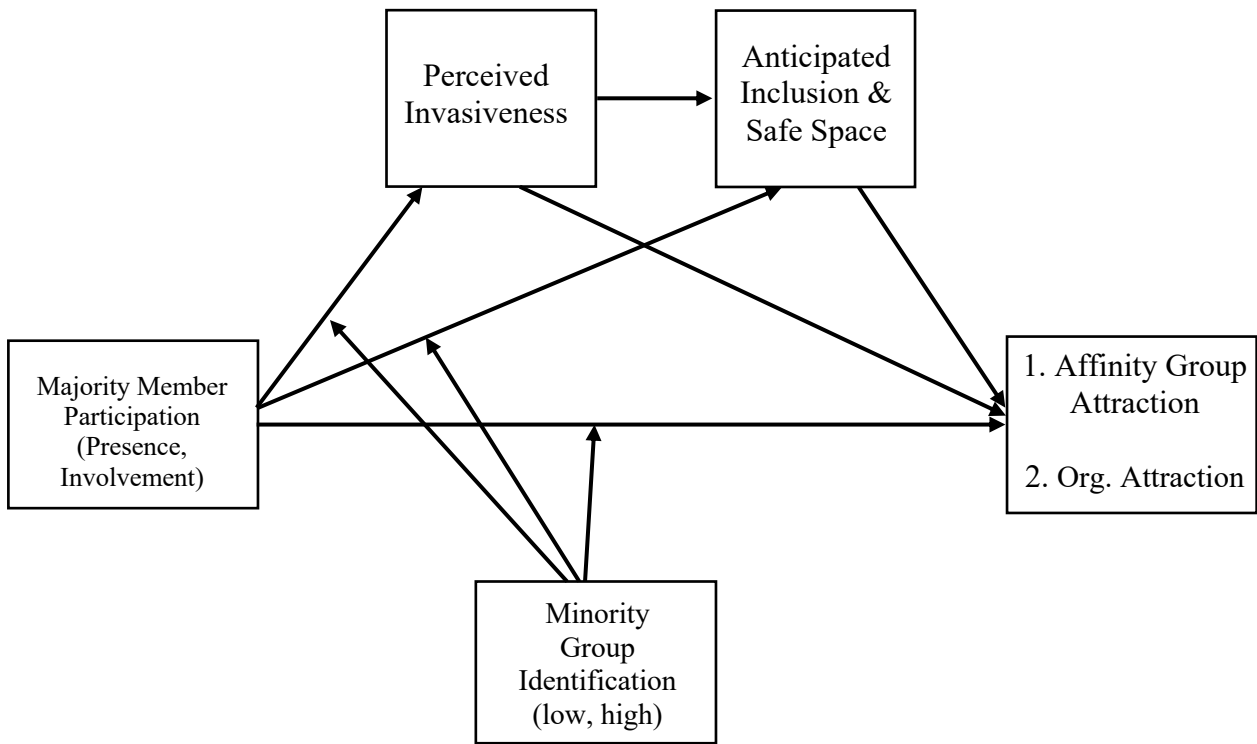


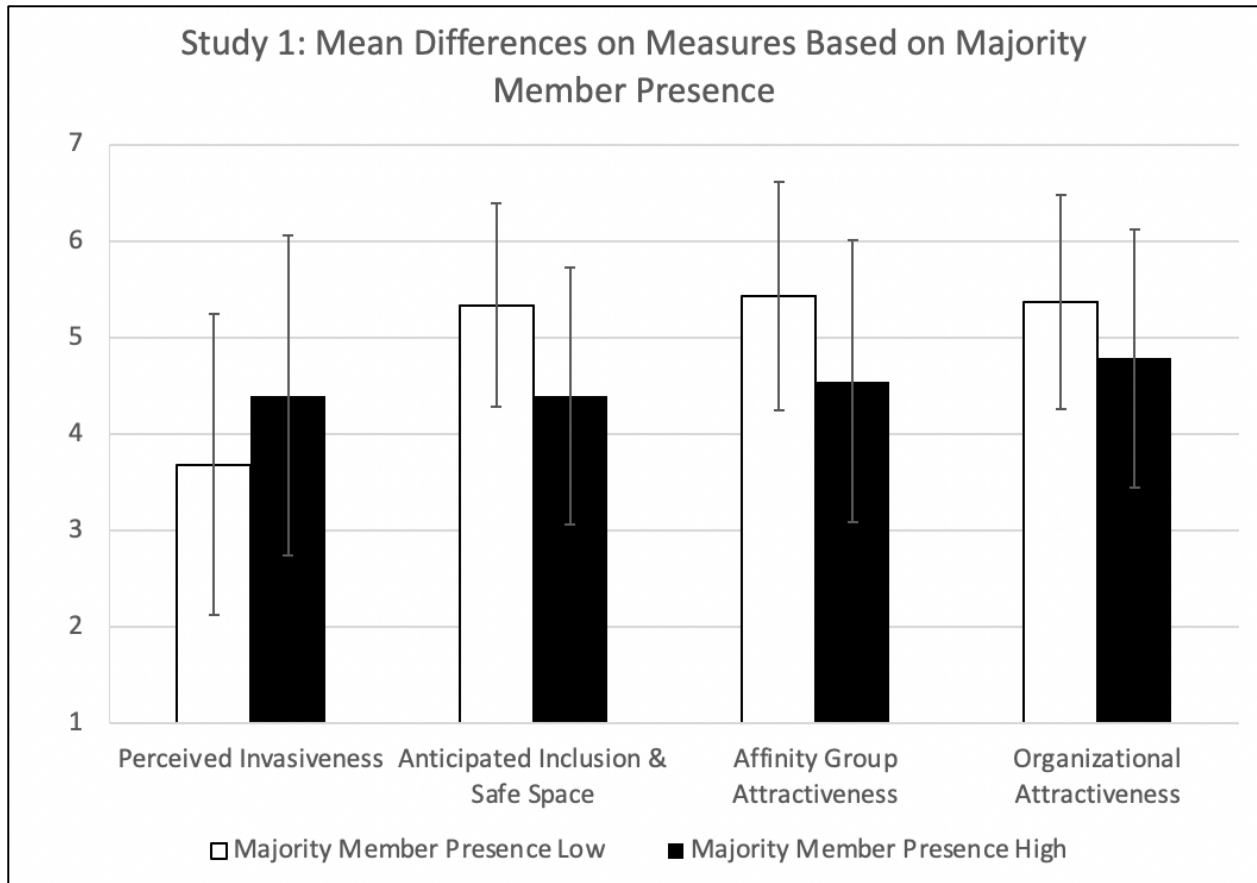
Figure 1. Theoretical Model.

Table 1

*Study 1: Overall Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Study Variables*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4
1. Majority member number (L,H)	--	--				
2. Perceived invasiveness	4.04	1.65	0.22**			
3. Anticipated inclusion & safe space	4.87	1.29	-0.37**	-0.47**		
4. Affinity group attractiveness	4.99	1.40	-0.32**	-0.35**	0.81**	
5. Organizational attractiveness	5.08	1.26	-0.23**	-0.32**	0.61**	0.67**

*Note.*  $N = 737$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . L = low (i.e., 2 out of 30 people), H = high (i.e., 17 out of 30 people).



*Figure 2.* Mean differences on perceived invasiveness, anticipated inclusion & safe space, affinity group attractiveness, and organizational attractiveness between conditions (low vs. high majority member presence) in Study 1.

Table 2

*Study 1: Conditional indirect effects of majority member presence (low, high) on affinity group attractiveness and organizational attractiveness through perceived invasiveness and anticipated inclusion & safe space at different levels of minority group identification.*

Conditional level of minority group ID (1-7)	Indirect effect	Bootstrapped standard error	Bias-corrected lower limit	Bias-corrected upper limit
OUTCOME = Affinity group attractiveness				
5.03 (- 1 SD)	<b>-0.21</b>	0.06	-0.32	-0.11
6.03 (mean)	<b>-0.22</b>	0.04	-0.30	-0.15
7.00 (+ 1 SD)	<b>-0.23</b>	0.06	-0.34	-0.12
OUTCOME = Organizational attractiveness				
5.03 (- 1 SD)	<b>-0.13</b>	0.03	-0.20	-0.07
6.03 (mean)	<b>-0.14</b>	0.03	-0.19	-0.09
7.00 (+ 1 SD)	<b>-0.14</b>	0.04	-0.23	-0.07

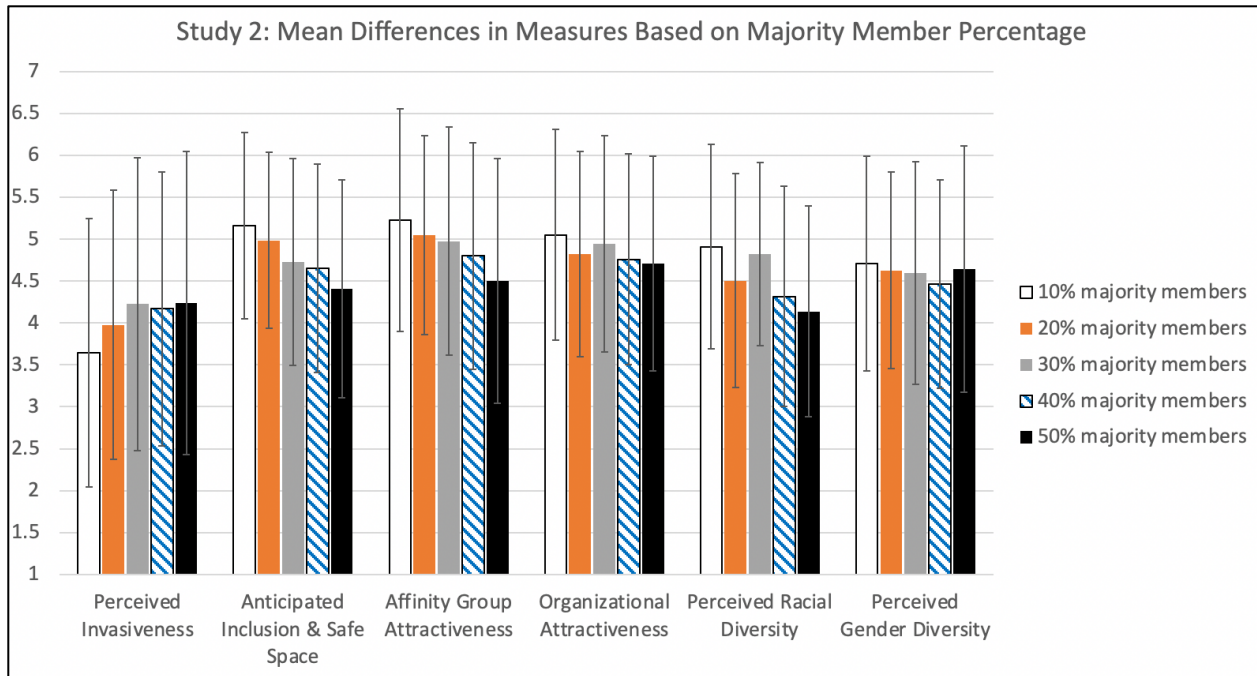
*Note.* Bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals were calculated using 10,000 bootstrap samples (with replacement). Significant conditional indirect effects ( $p < .05$ ) are highlighted in boldface.

Table 3

*Study 2: Overall Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Study Variables*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Majority member percentage	--	--						
2. Perceived invasiveness	4.05	1.69	.12**					
3. Anticipated inclusion & safe space	4.79	1.22	-.21**	-.49**				
4. Perceived racial diversity	4.54	1.26	-.20**	-.34**	.37**			
5. Perceived gender diversity	4.61	1.30	-.03	-.32**	.40**	--		
6. Affinity group attractiveness	4.91	1.36	-.18**	-.37**	.77**	.30**	.38**	
7. Organizational attractiveness	4.86	1.27	-.08*	-.31**	.56**	.33**	.37**	.62**

*Note.*  $N = 729$ . \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ . There is no correlation between perceived racial diversity and perceived gender diversity because participants were only exposed to one of those scales, depending on their minority group identity.



*Figure 3.* Mean differences on perceived invasiveness, anticipated inclusion & safe space, affinity group attractiveness, organizational attractiveness, perceived racial diversity, and perceived gender diversity among different conditions (i.e., percentages of majority members in the affinity group) in Study 2.

Table 4

*Study 2: Conditional indirect effects of percentage of majority members present (10-50%) on affinity group attractiveness and organizational attractiveness through perceived invasiveness and anticipated inclusion & safe space at different levels of minority group identification.*

Conditional level of minority group ID (1-7)	Indirect effect	Bootstrapped standard error	Bias-corrected lower limit	Bias-corrected upper limit
OUTCOME = Affinity group attractiveness (10% compared to <u>30%</u> )				
4.09 (- 1 SD)	-0.01	0.05	-0.19	0.01
5.30 (mean)	<b>-0.10</b>	0.04	-0.17	-0.03
6.52 (+ 1 SD)	<b>-0.11</b>	0.06	-0.30	-0.07
OUTCOME = Affinity group attractiveness (10% compared to <u>50%</u> )				
4.09 (- 1 SD)	-0.11	0.07	-0.26	0.03
5.30 (mean)	<b>-0.18</b>	0.06	-0.30	-0.06
6.52 (+ 1 SD)	<b>-0.25</b>	0.09	-0.43	-0.08
OUTCOME = Organizational attractiveness (10% compared to <u>30%</u> )				
4.09 (- 1 SD)	-0.01	0.05	-0.11	0.10
5.30 (mean)	<b>-0.09</b>	0.04	-0.18	-0.02
6.52 (+ 1 SD)	<b>-0.18</b>	0.06	-0.30	-0.07
OUTCOME = Organizational attractiveness (10% compared to <u>50%</u> )				
4.09 (- 1 SD)	-0.07	0.05	-0.17	0.02
5.30 (mean)	<b>-0.11</b>	0.04	-0.19	-0.04
6.52 (+ 1 SD)	<b>-0.16</b>	0.06	-0.28	-0.05

*Note.* Bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals were calculated using 10,000 bootstrap samples (with replacement). Significant conditional indirect effects ( $p < .05$ ) are highlighted in boldface.

Table 5

*Study 3: Overall Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Study Variables*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4
1. Majority member number on leadership team	--	--				
2. Perceived invasiveness	4.29	1.77	0.23**			
3. Anticipated inclusion & safe space	4.79	1.40	-0.25**	-0.56**		
4. Affinity group attractiveness	4.85	1.40	-0.20**	-0.47**	0.84**	
5. Organizational attractiveness	4.92	1.48	-0.14**	-0.38**	0.65**	0.69**

*Note.*  $N = 612$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .



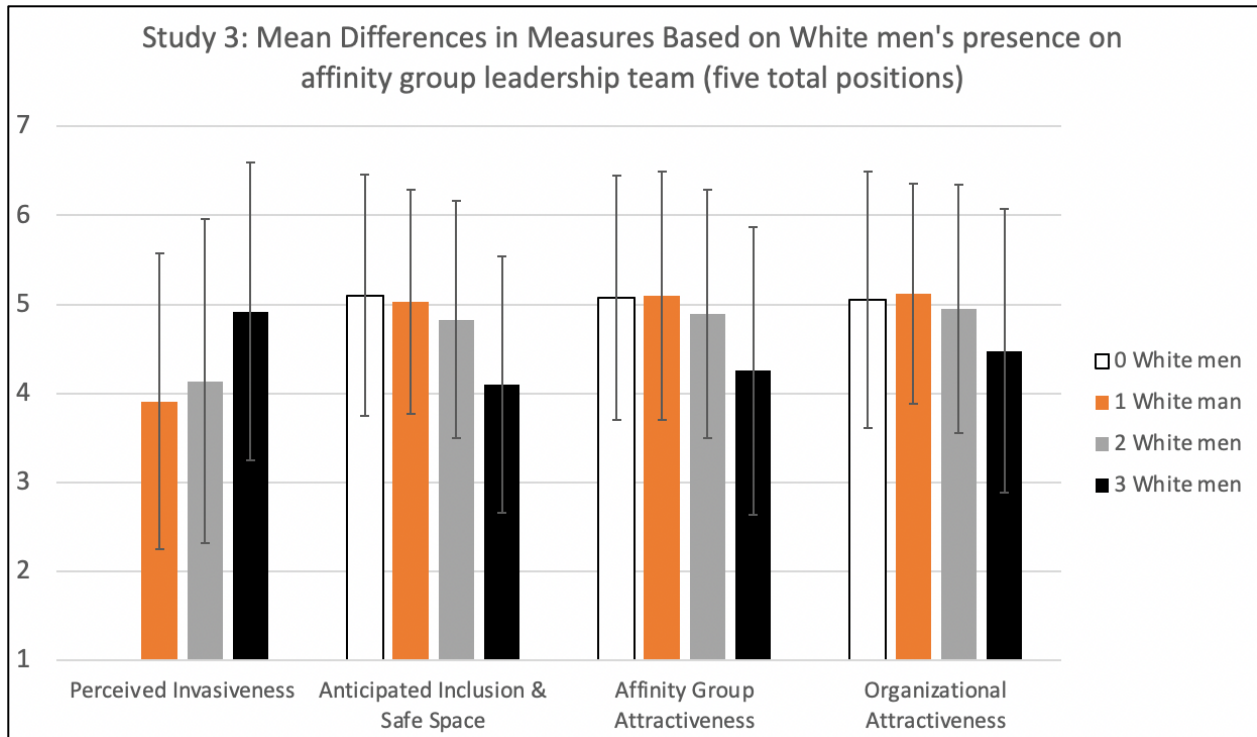


Figure 4. Mean differences on perceived invasiveness, anticipated inclusion & safe space, affinity group attractiveness, and organizational attractiveness, among different conditions (i.e., percentages of White men on the affinity group leadership team) in Study 3.

Table 6

*Study 3: Conditional indirect effects of number of White men on the affinity group leadership team on affinity group attractiveness and organizational attractiveness through perceived invasiveness and anticipated inclusion & safe space at different levels of minority group identification.*

Conditional level of minority group ID (1-7)	Indirect effect	Bootstrapped standard error	Bias-corrected lower limit	Bias-corrected upper limit
OUTCOME = Affinity group attractiveness (1 man compared to 3 men)				
5.57 (- 1 SD)	<b>-0.44</b>	0.10	-0.64	-0.24
6.41 (mean)	<b>-0.41</b>	0.08	-0.57	-0.24
7.00 (+ 1 SD)	<b>-0.38</b>	0.10	-0.59	-0.19
OUTCOME = Organizational attractiveness (1 man compared to 3 men)				
5.57 (- 1 SD)	<b>-0.32</b>	0.08	-0.48	-0.17
6.41 (mean)	<b>-0.30</b>	0.07	-0.44	-0.17
7.00 (+ 1 SD)	<b>-0.28</b>	0.08	-0.44	-0.13

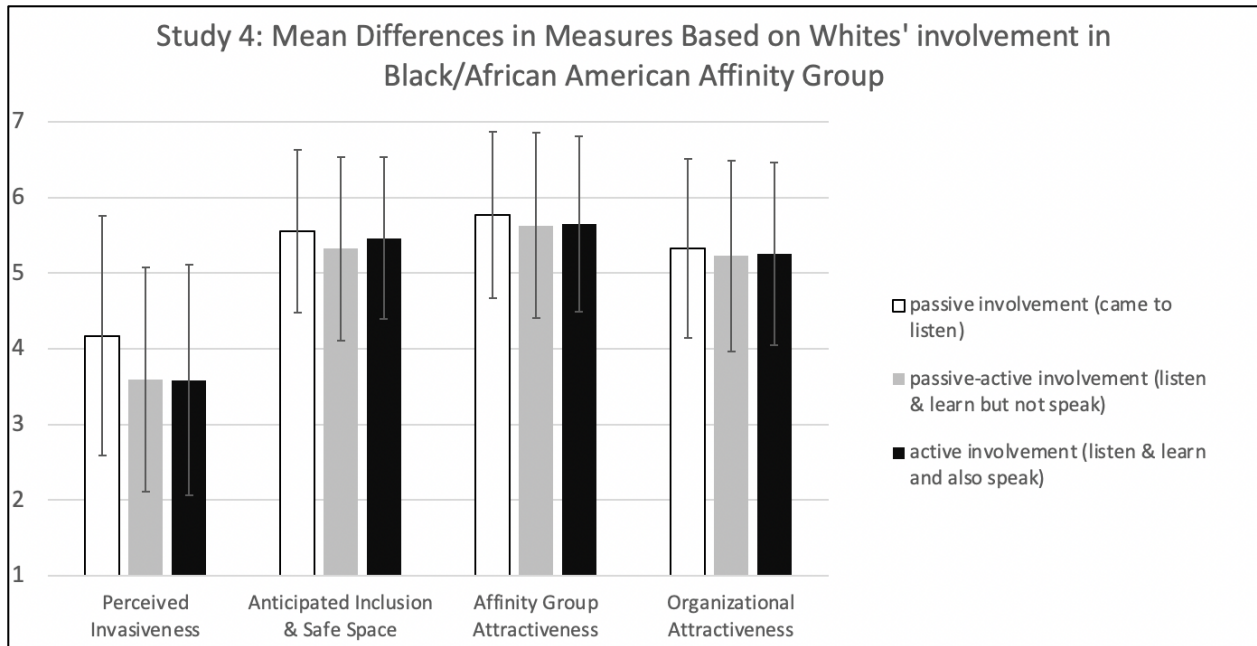
*Note.* Bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals were calculated using 10,000 bootstrap samples (with replacement). Significant conditional indirect effects ( $p < .05$ ) are highlighted in boldface.

Table 7

*Study 4: Overall Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Study Variables*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4
1. Majority member involvement	--	--				
2. Perceived invasiveness	3.84	1.56	-0.16**			
3. Anticipated inclusion & safe space	5.45	1.13	-0.05	-0.15**		
4. Affinity group attractiveness	5.69	1.17	-0.05	0.03	0.70**	
5. Organizational attractiveness	5.27	1.20	-0.04	-0.09*	0.58**	0.69**

*Note.*  $N = 541$ . \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .



*Figure 5.* Mean differences on perceived invasiveness, anticipated inclusion & safe space, affinity group attractiveness, and organizational attractiveness, among different conditions (i.e., passive involvement, passive-active involvement, and active involvement) in Study 4.

Table 8

*Study 4: Conditional indirect effects of type of involvement (passive, passive-active, active) on affinity group attractiveness and organizational attractiveness through perceived invasiveness and anticipated inclusion & safe space at different levels of minority group identification.*

Conditional level of minority group ID (1-7)	Indirect effect	Bootstrapped standard error	Bias-corrected lower limit	Bias-corrected upper limit
OUTCOME = Affinity group attractiveness (“passive” compared to “passive-active”)				
4.56 (- 1 SD)	<b>0.06</b>	0.03	0.01	0.12
5.70 (mean)	<b>0.06</b>	0.02	0.02	0.10
6.84 (+ 1 SD)	<b>0.05</b>	0.03	0.01	0.11
OUTCOME = Affinity group attractiveness (“passive” compared to “active”)				
4.56 (- 1 SD)	<b>0.07</b>	0.03	0.02	0.13
5.70 (mean)	<b>0.06</b>	0.02	0.02	0.11
6.84 (+ 1 SD)	<b>0.05</b>	0.03	0.004	0.11
OUTCOME = Organizational attractiveness (“passive” compared to “passive-active”)				
4.56 (-1 SD)	<b>0.05</b>	0.02	0.01	0.10
5.70 (mean)	<b>0.05</b>	0.02	0.02	0.08
6.84 (+ 1 SD)	<b>0.05</b>	0.02	0.01	0.10
OUTCOME = Organizational attractiveness (“passive” compared to “active”)				
4.56 (- 1 SD)	<b>0.06</b>	0.02	0.01	0.11
5.70 (mean)	<b>0.05</b>	0.02	0.02	0.09
6.84 (+ 1 SD)	<b>0.04</b>	0.02	0.003	0.09

*Note.* Bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals were calculated using 10,000 bootstrap samples (with replacement). Significant conditional indirect effects ( $p < .05$ ) are highlighted in boldface. “Passive” means White people came to listen to the affinity group discussion; “Passive-Active” indicates White people came to listen & learn from (but not speak in) the discussion; and “Active” means White people came to listen & learn from (and also speak in) the discussion.

## APPENDIX 1

### STUDY 1: VIGNETTE (STIMULI)

Imagine you just started working at Strathmore Corporation. One of your esteemed colleagues encourages you to join the [racial/ethnic or gender]<sup>9</sup> affinity group, which hosts social activities and professional development opportunities for [racial/ethnic group or women] employees. The group is meant to provide a network within the company, a space to discuss issues that [racial/ethnic or women] employees uniquely encounter, and a place to feel supported and included.

At the first meeting of the group, approximately 30 employees show up. In the introductions, most of them are [race/ethnicity, women], but [2 / 17] attendees are not—they are [White employees / men].<sup>10</sup>

### STUDY 1: MEASURES

#### Measure: Organizational attractiveness

- Source: Turban, D. B., & Keon, T. L. (1993). Organizational attractiveness: An interactionist perspective. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78(2), 184-193.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt extent (not at all...a great deal)
- **Instructions. Based on the company in the scenario (Strathmore), to what extent would you do the following?**
  1. I would exert a great deal of effort to work for this company.
  2. I am interested in pursuing an application with the company.
  3. I would like to work for the company.
  4. I would accept a job offer from this company.
  5. I would not be interested in the company except as a last resort. (Reverse)

#### Measures: Inclusion

- Source: Jansen, W. S., Otten, S., van der Zee, K. I., & Jans, L. (2014). Inclusion: Conceptualization and measurement. *European journal of social psychology*, 44(4), 370-385.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt agreement (strongly disagree...strongly agree).
  - Note: Items 1-8 are part of the subscale of “belonging” while items 9-16 are part of the subscale of “authenticity.”

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<sup>9</sup> The italicized text in brackets matched the participant’s response to their identity on a prescreening measure. Racial minorities saw their racial/ethnic group name (e.g., Hispanic/Latino affinity group), while White women saw their gender as the affinity group name (i.e., Women’s affinity group).

<sup>10</sup> If the participant was a racial minority, the text stated, “they are White employees”; if the participant was a White woman, the text was “they are men.”

- **Instructions.** Answer the following question based on the scenario you just read. // The [Racial/Ethnic Group or Women's] affinity group would...
  1. ...give me the feeling that I belong
  2. ... give me the feeling that I am part of this group
  3. ... give me the feeling that I fit in
  4. ... treat me as an insider
  5. ...like me
  6. ... appreciate me
  7. ...be pleased with me
  8. ... care about me
  9. ...allow me to be authentic
  10. ...allow me to be who I am
  11. ...allow me to express my authentic self
  12. ...allow me to present myself the way I am
  13. ...encourage me to be authentic
  14. ...encourage me to be who I am
  15. ...encourage me to express my authentic self
  16. ...encourage me to present myself the way I am

#### Measures: Affinity group attractiveness

- Source: Adapted from Aiman-Smith, L., Bauer, T. N., & Cable, D. M. (2001). Are you attracted? Do you intend to pursue? A recruiting policy-capturing study. *Journal of Business and psychology*, 16(2), 219-237.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt agreement (strongly disagree...strongly agree)
- **Instructions.** To what extent do you agree with the following statements about the affinity group in the scenario?
  1. This would be a good affinity group for me to join.
  2. I would like to participate in this affinity group.
  3. This affinity group likely cares about its members.
  4. I find this to be a very attractive affinity group.

#### Measure: Perceived Invasiveness

- Source: I made this item while consulting subject matter experts.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt agreement (strongly disagree...strongly agree)
- **Instructions.** In the scenario you just read, you saw that there were [White employees / men] present at the [Racial/Group / Women's] affinity group meeting. // Now, answer the questions below.
  1. The [White employees' / men's] presence in the affinity group is appropriate. **(reverse)**
  2. The [White employees' / men's] presence in the affinity group makes me feel uncomfortable.

3. The [White employees / men] are occupying the space meant for [racial minority / women] employees.
4. The [White employees / men] are ruining the purpose of the affinity group.

### Measure: Safe Space Perceptions

- Source: I created this item.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt extent (not at all a safe space...an extremely safe space)
- **Instructions.** Safe spaces are defined as places in which “people should be able to present themselves openly and to speak freely, without fear of censure, ridicule, or exploitation. The space is safe when individuals and groups know that they will not face criticism that would challenge their expressions of identity” – Rom (1998). // Based on this definition, to what extent is the [racial/ethnic or gender] affinity group in the scenario a safe space?

## STUDY 1: DEMOGRAPHICS

### Gender

- What is your gender?
  1. Man
  2. Woman
  3. I identify as: [text box]
- I identify with my gender. [1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree]
  - **Source:** Postmes, T., Haslam, S. A., & Jans, L. (2013). A single-item measure of social identification: Reliability, validity, and utility. *British journal of social psychology*, 52(4), 597-617.

### Age

- What is your age? [fill in the blank] **\*\*Note:** had content validation such that people had to list an age from 18 to 98.

### Race

- Please specify your race/ethnicity.
  1. White
  2. Hispanic or Latino
  3. Black or African American
  4. Native American or American Indian
  5. Asian/Pacific Islander
  6. Other (please specify) [fill in the blank – text entry allowed]
- I identify with my racial/ethnic group. [1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree]



- **Source:** Postmes, T., Haslam, S. A., & Jans, L. (2013). A single-item measure of social identification: Reliability, validity, and utility. *British journal of social psychology*, 52(4), 597-617.

### Education

- What is the highest education you have completed?
  1. Some high school
  2. High school graduate
  3. Some college
  4. College graduate
  5. Master's degree
  6. Professional degree
  7. PhD

### Employment

- What is your current employment status?
  1. Unemployed
  2. Employed part-time
  3. Employed full-time
  4. Student
  5. Retired
- If you are employed, state your job title/position. [text entry allowed]

### Political questions

- How would you describe your political views?
  1. Extremely liberal
  2. Very liberal
  3. Somewhat liberal
  4. Neither liberal nor conservative
  5. Somewhat conservative
  6. Very conservative
  7. Extremely conservative

### Comments

- Please feel free to share any comments you might have about the survey, or anything you may have noticed. [text entry – paragraph]

### STUDY 1: EXCLUSIONS

In Study 1, I did not have any exclusionary criteria.

## APPENDIX 2

### STUDY 2: VIGNETTE (STIMULI)

Imagine you just started working at Strathmore Corporation. One of your esteemed colleagues encourages you to join the [racial/ethnic or gender]<sup>11</sup> affinity group, which hosts social activities and professional development opportunities for [racial/ethnic group or women] employees. The group is meant to provide a network within the company, a space to discuss issues that [racial/ethnic or women] employees uniquely encounter, and a place to feel supported and included.

At the first meeting of the group, approximately 30 employees show up. In the introductions, most of them are [race/ethnicity, women], but [3 / 6 / 9 / 12 / 15] attendees are not—they are [White employees / men].<sup>12</sup>

### STUDY 2: MEASURES

#### Measure: Organizational attractiveness

- Source: Turban, D. B., & Keon, T. L. (1993). Organizational attractiveness: An interactionist perspective. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78(2), 184-193.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt extent (not at all...a great deal)
- **Instructions.** Based on the company in the scenario (Strathmore), to what extent would you do the following?
  1. I would exert a great deal of effort to work for this company.
  2. I am interested in pursuing an application with the company.
  3. I would like to work for the company.
  4. I would accept a job offer from this company.
  5. I would not be interested in the company except as a last resort. **(Reverse)**

#### Measures: Inclusion

- Source: Jansen, W. S., Otten, S., van der Zee, K. I., & Jans, L. (2014). Inclusion: Conceptualization and measurement. *European journal of social psych*, 44(4), 370-385.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt agreement (strongly disagree...strongly agree).
  - Note: Items 1-8 are part of the subscale of “belonging” while items 9-16 are part of the subscale of “authenticity.”
- **Instructions.** Answer the following question based on the scenario you just read. // The [Racial/Ethnic Group or Women’s] affinity group would...

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<sup>11</sup> Again, the italicized text in brackets matched the participant’s response to their identity on a prescreening measure. See Footnote 1 for more information.

<sup>12</sup> The majority member matched the social identity of participants (i.e., racial minority-White, women-men). See Footnote 2 for more information.

1. ...give me the feeling that I belong
2. ... give me the feeling that I am part of this group
3. ... give me the feeling that I fit in
4. ... treat me as an insider
5. ...like me
6. ... appreciate me
7. ...be pleased with me
8. ... care about me
9. ...allow me to be authentic
10. ...allow me to be who I am
11. ...allow me to express my authentic self
12. ...allow me to present myself the way I am
13. ...encourage me to be authentic
14. ...encourage me to be who I am
15. ...encourage me to express my authentic self
16. ...encourage me to present myself the way I am

#### Measures: Affinity group attractiveness

- Source: Adapted from Aiman-Smith, L., Bauer, T. N., & Cable, D. M. (2001). Are you attracted? Do you intend to pursue? A recruiting policy-capturing study. *Journal of Business and psychology*, 16(2), 219-237.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt agreement (strongly disagree...strongly agree)
- **Instructions.** To what extent do you agree with the following statements about the affinity group in the scenario?

1. This would be a good affinity group for me to join.
2. I would like to participate in this affinity group.
3. This affinity group likely cares about its members.
4. I find this to be a very attractive affinity group.

#### Measure: Perceived Invasiveness

- Source: I made this item while consulting subject matter experts.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt agreement (strongly disagree...strongly agree)
- **Instructions.** In the scenario you just read, you saw that there were [White employees / men] present at the [Racial/Group / Women's] affinity group meeting. // Now, answer the questions below.

1. The [White employees' / men's] presence in the affinity group is appropriate. **(reverse)**
2. The [White employees' / men's] presence in the affinity group makes me feel uncomfortable.
3. The [White employees / men] are occupying the space meant for [racial minority / women] employees.

4. The [White employees / men] are ruining the purpose of the affinity group.

### Measure: Safe Space Perceptions

- Source: I created this item.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt extent (not at all a safe space...an extremely safe space)
- **Instructions.** Safe spaces are defined as places in which “people should be able to present themselves openly and to speak freely, without fear of censure, ridicule, or exploitation. The space is safe when individuals and groups know that they will not face criticism that would challenge their expressions of identity” – Rom (1998). // Based on this definition, to what extent is the [racial/ethnic or gender] affinity group in the scenario a safe space?

### MANIPULATION CHECK(S)

- In the scenario, how many [White / men] employees were present at the [Racial/ethnic / Women’s] affinity group meeting?
  - Choices were: 0, 3, 6, 9, 12, 15

## STUDY 2: DEMOGRAPHICS

### Gender

- What is your gender?
  1. Man
  2. Woman
  3. I identify as: [text box]
- Gender identification scale
  - **Source:** Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and social psychology bulletin*, 18(3), 302-318.
    - Adapted the importance of identity subscale
  - **Rate your agreement with the following statements.** [1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree]
    1. Overall, being a woman has very little to do with how I feel about myself. **(reverse)**
    2. Being a woman is an important reflection of who I am.
    3. Being a woman is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am. **(reverse)**
    4. In general, being a woman is an important part of my self-image.

### Age

- What is your age? [fill in the blank] **\*\*Note: had content validation such that people had to list an age from 18 to 98.**

## Race

- Please specify your race/ethnicity.
  1. White
  2. Hispanic or Latino
  3. Black or African American
  4. Native American or American Indian
  5. Asian/Pacific Islander
  6. Other (please specify) [fill in the blank – text entry allowed]
- Racial identification
  - **Source:** Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of adolescent research*, 7(2), 156-176.
  - **Rate your agreement with the following statements.** [1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree]
    1. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own racial/ethnic group.
    2. I am happy that I am a member of my racial/ethnic group.
    3. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own racial/ethnic group.
    4. I have a lot of pride in my racial/ethnic group and its accomplishments.
    5. I feel a strong sense of attachment towards my own racial/ethnic group.
    6. I participate in cultural practices of my own racial/ethnic group, such as special food, music, or customs.
    7. I feel good about my racial/ethnic background.

## Education

- What is the highest education you have completed?
  1. Some high school
  2. High school graduate
  3. Some college
  4. College graduate
  5. Master's degree
  6. Professional degree
  7. PhD

## Employment

- What is your current employment status?
  1. Unemployed
  2. Employed part-time
  3. Employed full-time

4. Student
  5. Retired
- If you are employed, state your job title/position. [text entry allowed]

### Political questions

- How would you describe your political views?
  1. Extremely liberal
  2. Very liberal
  3. Somewhat liberal
  4. Neither liberal nor conservative
  5. Somewhat conservative
  6. Very conservative
  7. Extremely conservative

### Comments

- Please feel free to share any comments you might have about the survey, or anything you may have noticed. [text entry – paragraph]

## STUDY 2: EXCLUSIONS

In Study 2, I excluded:

- Those who failed the manipulation check question
- Incomplete responses, i.e., anyone who did not complete the survey past the demographics

## APPENDIX 3

### STUDY 3: VIGNETTE (STIMULI)

Imagine you just started working at Strathmore Corporation. One of your esteemed colleagues encourages you to join the Women's affinity group, which hosts social activities and professional development opportunities for women employees. The group is meant to provide a network within the company, a space to discuss issues that women employees uniquely encounter, and a place to feel supported and included.

You check out the website and see the following<sup>13</sup>:

## ABOUT US



*The women's affinity group at Strathmore was founded in 1971 by a group of women employees. The mission of the Women's affinity group is to make a difference for the company by researching and recommending solutions to issues affecting women; raising the visibility of women in the workplace; and providing opportunities for women employees to develop leadership skills and broaden their network.*

*Pictured above is our leadership team for the 2020-2021 year.*

### STUDY 3: MEASURES

#### Measure: Organizational attractiveness

- Source: Turban, D. B., & Keon, T. L. (1993). Organizational attractiveness: An interactionist perspective. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78(2), 184-193.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt extent (not at all...a great deal)
- **Instructions.** Based on the company in the scenario (Strathmore), to what extent would you do the following?
  1. I would exert a great deal of effort to work for this company.
  2. I am interested in pursuing an application with the company.

<sup>13</sup> The leadership team picture was the manipulation – the pictures varied in the number of men they had. Materials available upon request.

3. I would like to work for the company.
4. I would accept a job offer from this company.
5. I would not be interested in the company except as a last resort. **(Reverse)**

### Measures: Inclusion

- Source: Jansen, W. S., Otten, S., van der Zee, K. I., & Jans, L. (2014). Inclusion: Conceptualization and measurement. *European journal of social psych*, 44(4), 370-385.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt agreement (strongly disagree...strongly agree).
  - *Note: Items 1-8 are part of the subscale of “belonging” while items 9-16 are part of the subscale of “authenticity.”*
- **Instructions. Answer the following question based on the scenario you just read. // The Women’s affinity group would...**

1. ...give me the feeling that I belong
2. ... give me the feeling that I am part of this group
3. ... give me the feeling that I fit in
4. ... treat me as an insider
5. ...like me
6. ... appreciate me
7. ...be pleased with me
8. ... care about me
9. ...allow me to be authentic
10. ...allow me to be who I am
11. ...allow me to express my authentic self
12. ...allow me to present myself the way I am
13. ...encourage me to be authentic
14. ...encourage me to be who I am
15. ...encourage me to express my authentic self
16. ...encourage me to present myself the way I am

### Measures: Affinity group attractiveness

- Source: Adapted from Aiman-Smith, L., Bauer, T. N., & Cable, D. M. (2001). Are you attracted? Do you intend to pursue? A recruiting policy-capturing study. *Journal of Business and psychology*, 16(2), 219-237.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt agreement (strongly disagree...strongly agree)
- **Instructions. To what extent do you agree with the following statements about the affinity group in the scenario?**

1. This would be a good affinity group for me to join.
2. I would like to participate in this affinity group.
3. This affinity group likely cares about its members.
4. I find this to be a very attractive affinity group.



### Measure: Perceived Invasiveness

- Source: I made this item while consulting subject matter experts.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt agreement (strongly disagree...strongly agree)
- **Instructions.** In the scenario you just read, you saw that there [was a man / were men] present at the Women’s affinity group meeting. // Now, answer the questions below.
  1. The men’s presence in the affinity group is appropriate. (reverse)
  2. The men’s presence in the affinity group makes me feel uncomfortable.
  3. The men are occupying the space meant for women employees.
  4. The men are ruining the purpose of the affinity group.

### Measure: Safe Space Perceptions

- Source: I created this item.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt extent (not at all a safe space...an extremely safe space)
- **Instructions.** Safe spaces are defined as places in which “people should be able to present themselves openly and to speak freely, without fear of censure, ridicule, or exploitation. The space is safe when individuals and groups know that they will not face criticism that would challenge their expressions of identity” – Rom (1998). // Based on this definition, to what extent is the Women’s affinity group in the scenario a safe space?

### MANIPULATION CHECK(S)

- In the scenario, how many men were on the Women’s affinity group leadership team?
  - Choices were: 0, 1, 2, 3

## STUDY 3: DEMOGRAPHICS

### Gender

- What is your gender?
  1. Man
  2. Woman
  3. I identify as: [text box]
- I identify with my gender. [1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree]
  - **Source:** Postmes, T., Haslam, S. A., & Jans, L. (2013). A single-item measure of social identification: Reliability, validity, and utility. *British journal of social psychology*, 52(4), 597-617.

### Age

- What is your age? [fill in the blank] **\*\*Note:** had content validation such that people had to list an age from 18 to 98.

## Race

- Please specify your race/ethnicity.
  1. White
  2. Hispanic or Latino
  3. Black or African American
  4. Native American or American Indian
  5. Asian/Pacific Islander
  6. Other (please specify) [fill in the blank – text entry allowed]

## Education

- What is the highest education you have completed?
  1. Some high school
  2. High school graduate
  3. Some college
  4. College graduate
  5. Master's degree
  6. Professional degree
  7. PhD

## Employment

- What is your current employment status?
  1. Unemployed
  2. Employed part-time
  3. Employed full-time
  4. Student
  5. Retired
- If you are employed, state your job title/position. [text entry allowed]

## Political questions

- How would you describe your political views?
  1. Extremely liberal
  2. Very liberal
  3. Somewhat liberal
  4. Neither liberal nor conservative
  5. Somewhat conservative
  6. Very conservative
  7. Extremely conservative

## Comments

Please feel free to share any comments you might have about the survey, or anything you may have noticed. [text entry – paragraph]

### STUDY 3: EXCLUSIONS

In Study 3, I excluded:

- Those who failed the manipulation check question
- Incomplete responses, i.e., anyone who did not complete the survey past the demographics

### STUDY 3: PRETESTED PICTURES

I pretested 11 pictures of professional White women and professional White men (total: 22 pictures) in order to gauge people’s perceptions of attractiveness and competence (N = 250, TurkPrime participants, 45.6% men, 81% White,  $M_{age} = 38.05$ ,  $SD_{age} = 11.24$ ). Because it was extremely difficult to find five photos identical in their attractiveness and competence ratings, I chose to use photos of people that had relatively small mean differences on these dimensions.

	White Woman #3	White Woman #4	White Woman #6	White Woman #8	White Woman #11	White Man #5	White Man #7	White Man #8
Attractiveness (1-not at all, 7-extremely)	4.62	5.09	4.79	4.98	4.62	4.43	4.45	4.42
Competence (1-not at all, 7-extremely)	5.23	5.43	5.33	5.43	5.06	5.08	5.11	5.14

- For the 0 men condition, I used: WW#3 (4.62, 5.23), WW#6 (4.79, 5.33), WW#11 (4.62, 5.06), WW#4 (5.09, 5.23), and WW#8 (4.98, 5.43).
- For the 1 man condition, I used: WW#3 (4.62, 5.23), WW#6 (4.79, 5.33), WW#11 (4.62, 5.06), WW#8, and WM#8 (4.42, 5.14).
  - I replaced WW#4 because while the competence rating matched the other women’s (5.23), the attractiveness rating was the most different from all the other women’s ratings (5.09).
- For the 2 men condition, I used: WW#3 (4.62, 5.23), WW#6 (4.79, 5.33), WW#11 (4.62, 5.06), WM#8 (4.42, 5.14), and WM#7 (4.45, 5.11).
  - I replaced WW#8 because both attractiveness and competence ratings were most different from the other women’s (and man’s) ratings.
- For the 3 men condition, I used: WW#3 (4.62, 5.23), WW#11 (4.62, 5.06), WM#8 (4.42, 5.14), WM#7 (4.45, 5.11), and WM#5 (4.43, 5.08).

- I replaced WW#6 because both attractiveness and competence ratings were most different from the other women's (and men's) ratings.

## APPENDIX 4

### STUDY 4: VIGNETTES (STIMULI)

Imagine you are encouraged to attend a Black / African American affinity group at a company. This group hosts social activities and professional development opportunities for Black employees. The group is meant to provide a network within the company, a space to discuss issues that Black employees uniquely encounter, and a place to feel supported and included.

At this particular meeting, the Black / African American affinity group is talking about an issue that is specific to Black employees, such as racial discrimination and microaggressions at work. White employees in the company saw a flyer in the break room advertising this meeting and came to **[listen to / listen & learn from (but not speak in) / listen & learn from (and also speak in)]** the discussion

### STUDY 4: MEASURES

#### Measure: Organizational attractiveness

- Source: Turban, D. B., & Keon, T. L. (1993). Organizational attractiveness: An interactionist perspective. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78(2), 184-193.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt extent (not at all...a great deal)
- **Instructions. Based on the company in the scenario, to what extent would you do the following?**
  1. I would exert a great deal of effort to work for this company.
  2. I am interested in pursuing an application with the company.
  3. I would like to work for the company.
  4. I would accept a job offer from this company.
  5. I would not be interested in the company except as a last resort. **(Reverse)**

#### Measures: Inclusion

- Source: Jansen, W. S., Otten, S., van der Zee, K. I., & Jans, L. (2014). Inclusion: Conceptualization and measurement. *European journal of social psych*, 44(4), 370-385.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt agreement (strongly disagree...strongly agree).
  - *Note: Items 1-8 are part of the subscale of “belonging” while items 9-16 are part of the subscale of “authenticity.”*
- **Instructions. Answer the following question based on the scenario you just read. // The Black / African American affinity group would...**
  1. ...give me the feeling that I belong
  2. ... give me the feeling that I am part of this group
  3. ... give me the feeling that I fit in
  4. ... treat me as an insider
  5. ...like me

6. ... appreciate me
7. ...be pleased with me
8. ... care about me
9. ...allow me to be authentic
10. ...allow me to be who I am
11. ...allow me to express my authentic self
12. ...allow me to present myself the way I am
13. ...encourage me to be authentic
14. ...encourage me to be who I am
15. ...encourage me to express my authentic self
16. ...encourage me to present myself the way I am

#### Measures: Affinity group attractiveness

- Source: Adapted from Aiman-Smith, L., Bauer, T. N., & Cable, D. M. (2001). Are you attracted? Do you intend to pursue? A recruiting policy-capturing study. *Journal of Business and psychology*, 16(2), 219-237.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt agreement (strongly disagree...strongly agree)
- **Instructions.** To what extent do you believe the following about the Black / African American affinity group in the scenario?
  1. This would be a good affinity group for me to join.
  2. I would like to participate in this affinity group.
  3. This affinity group likely cares about its members.
  4. I find this to be a very attractive affinity group.

#### Measure: Perceived Invasiveness

- Source: I made this item while consulting subject matter experts.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt agreement (strongly disagree...strongly agree)
- **Instructions.** In the scenario you just read, you saw that there were White employees at the Black / African American affinity group meeting. // Now, answer the questions below.
  1. The White employees' presence in the affinity group is appropriate. **(reverse)**
  2. The White employees' presence in the affinity group makes me feel uncomfortable.
  3. The White employees are occupying the space meant for Black employees.
  4. The White employees are ruining the purpose of the Black / African American affinity group.

#### Measure: Safe Space Perceptions

- Source: I created this item.
- Scale & Anchors: 7pt extent (not at all a safe space...an extremely safe space)

- **Instructions.** Safe spaces are defined as places in which “people should be able to present themselves openly and to speak freely, without fear of censure, ridicule, or exploitation. The space is safe when individuals and groups know that they will not face criticism that would challenge their expressions of identity” – Rom (1998). // Based on this definition, to what extent would you perceive the Black / African American affinity group in the scenario a safe space?

### MANIPULATION CHECK(S)

- Based on the scenario you read, rate how involved the White employees were in the Black / African American affinity group meeting. [1=passively involved, 7=actively involved].

### STUDY 4: DEMOGRAPHICS

#### Gender

- What is your gender?
  1. Man
  2. Woman
  3. I identify as: [text box]

#### Age

- What is your age? [fill in the blank] *\*\*Note: had content validation such that people had to list an age from 18 to 98.*

#### Race

- Please specify your race/ethnicity.
  1. White
  2. Hispanic or Latino
  3. Black or African American
  4. Native American or American Indian
  5. Asian/Pacific Islander
  6. Other (please specify) [fill in the blank – text entry allowed]
- Racial identification
  - **Source:** Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of adolescent research*, 7(2), 156-176.
  - **Rate your agreement with the following statements.** [1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree]
  1. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own racial/ethnic group.

2. I am happy that I am a member of my racial/ethnic group.
3. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own racial/ethnic group.
4. I have a lot of pride in my racial/ethnic group and its accomplishments.
5. I feel a strong sense of attachment towards my own racial/ethnic group.
6. I participate in cultural practices of my own racial/ethnic group, such as special food, music, or customs.
7. I feel good about my racial/ethnic background.

### **Education**

- What is the highest education you have completed?
  1. Some high school
  2. High school graduate
  3. Some college
  4. College graduate
  5. Master's degree
  6. Professional degree
  7. PhD

### **Employment**

- What is your current employment status?
  1. Unemployed
  2. Employed part-time
  3. Employed full-time
  4. Student
  5. Retired

### **Political questions**

- How would you describe your political views?
  1. Extremely liberal
  2. Very liberal
  3. Somewhat liberal
  4. Neither liberal nor conservative
  5. Somewhat conservative
  6. Very conservative
  7. Extremely conservative

### **Comments**

- Please feel free to share any comments you might have about the survey, or anything you may have noticed. [text entry – paragraph]



## STUDY 4: EXCLUSIONS

In Study 4, I excluded:

- Those who did not identify as Black / African American
- Incomplete responses, i.e., anyone who did not complete the survey past the demographics

## References

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