<u>Research Article</u>

Does a business-like approach to diversity in nonprofit organizations have a chilling effect on stakeholders?

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Abstract: Despite widespread commitment to promoting diversity in the nonprofit sector, increasing diversity poses a continued challenge for many nonprofits. Even nonprofits with explicit diversity statements often struggle to diversify their organizations. One potential impediment to achieving diversity may result from the framing and communication of diversity values within nonprofits. We evaluate the reactions of hypothetical stakeholders to two forms of diversity framing – instrumental and moral frames – focusing on potential divergence amongst racial-minority and White perspectives. Experiment 1 demonstrates that Black and Latino participants feel marginally more dehumanized and anticipate racial minorities will feel more devalued in an organization espousing the moral (compared to instrumental) diversity frame. In contrast, Whites feel less valued, more dehumanized, and perceive organizations as less authentically dedicated to diversity when viewing an organization that espouses the instrumental (compared to moral) frame. Experiment 2 extends these results demonstrating that Whites who are particularly concerned about their place in future job markets are more likely to feel devalued by instrumental frames to diversity. We discuss how these results diverge from existing findings of similar frames applied to business, rather than nonprofit, contexts. These findings extend our understanding of the implications of outcome-oriented versus moral frames within nonprofit organizations as well as informing understanding of how diversity frames may offer divergent signals to underrepresented and non-underrepresented stakeholders.

Keywords: Organizational communication, Diversity frames, Inclusion, Nonprofit sector, Business

Supplements: <u>Open materials</u>

$\mathbf{V}$alues and values expression are foundational to nonprofit organizations (Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000). Many nonprofits' values include a commitment to diversity amongst staff, board members, and volunteers. Promoting organizational diversity may stem from a variety of motivations, including beliefs around organizational performance, avoiding "racial mismatch" between clientele and nonprofit staff, and a holistic commitment as an anti-racist institution (Greene, 2007; Harris, 2014; LeRoux, 2009). In spite of this commitment, many nonprofits struggle to diversify their organizations (Thomas-Brietfeld & Kunreuther, 2017).

One impediment to achieving diversity may result from the framing used to express diversity values. Indeed, many nonprofit organizations struggle to effectively communicate their values through mission and value statements (Krug & Weinberg, 2004). Given the increasing push to become more "business-like" (Dart, 2004; Maier, Meyer, & Steinbereithner, 2016), nonprofits may look to translate business approaches to increasing diversity to the nonprofit sector. The present research examines two different approaches to communicating diversity values and how these influence community members' reactions to diversity efforts in nonprofits.

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Making the Case for Diversity

Approaches to communicating diversity values can include multi-cultural language that emphasizes group differences, difference minimizing approaches that focus on homogeneity, framing diversity in broad-strokes, or focusing on legalistic compliance for protected classes (e.g., EEOC regulations). The present research explores two lesser examined but prevalent forms of communicating diversity values within organizations—instrumental and moral frames for diversity.

The instrumental frame for diversity is prevalent within both the nonprofit and business sectors (Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010; Ely & Thomas, 2001). Also called the utilitarian, economic, or business case for diversity (Ely & Thomas, 2001; Mayer & Nurmohamed, 2018), the instrumental frame emphasizes strategic benefits of diversity, including improving creativity, innovation, revenue, and client services. This frame focuses on outcomes and impact, identifying the potential downstream organizational benefits of increasing diversity. In contrast, the moral frame emphasizes social justice, fairness, and equity principles as justification for increasing diversity, without reference to organizational outcomes. That is, the moral frame elevates diversity as a value in and of itself, while the instrumental frame emphasizes diversity as a means to a more productive or effective organization.

Divergence in Approaches to Communicating Diversity in Nonprofit Organizations

Sociological and organizational management research emphasizes that instrumental frames—emphasizing specific and clear outcomes—relative to moral frames, are perceived as more legitimate and effective for convincing management to value social issues (Sonenshein, 2006). Academic (Dutton & Ashford, 1993) and business practitioner guides (Howard-Grenville & Hoffman, 2003) suggest tying efforts to clear outcomes as an effective persuasion tool to convince stakeholders of issue importance (see Mayer, Ong, Sonenshein, & Ashford, 2019 for a similar observation). This type of messaging is also recommended in nonprofit fundraising, where connecting the fundraising ask to likely goal attainment fosters donations (Das, Kerkhof, & Kuiper, 2008). Thus, it is unsurprising that this business-focus is prevalent amongst nonprofits answering the call to be more business-like in their practices.

Recent experimental work finds that the appeal of instrumental frames may vary as a function of perceiver race. Within the business context, Whites have been shown to prefer and see instrumental frames for diversity as more effective than moral frames (Trawalter, Driskell, & Davidson, 2016). Similarly, relative to women and non-Whites, White men taking on the role of business managers preferred and were more supportive of diversity when viewing an instrumental, versus moral, frame (Mayer & Nurmohamed, 2018). The underlying mechanism is thought to be that Whites, who commonly feel excluded from diversity efforts (Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011), can now see how diversity personally benefits them. In contrast, women and non-Whites, who have more familiarity with discrimination and bias, have been shown to prefer the moral frame for diversity within the business context (Mayer & Nurmohamed, 2018).

Translating these findings to the nonprofit context increases complexity. On the one hand, many view the nonprofit adoption of business frames and approaches as harmful to the unique values and benefits of the nonprofit sector (e.g., Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). On the other hand, nonprofit organizations are encouraged to quantify their impact and connect their organizational value to concrete outcomes that create public value (Herman & Renz, 1998). Given these contrasting perspectives on framing within nonprofit organizations, perceptions of instrumental and moral frames of diversity might be received differently in the nonprofit context than what research has found in the business context.

Motivating research question: How do stakeholders respond to different diversity frames in nonprofit organizations?

Frames may not be perceived in the same way by all community members (Weisinger, Borges-Mendez, & Milofsky, 2016). The expressive function of nonprofits elevates the role of stakeholder values and identities (Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000), potentially leading to contrasting reactions from diverse stakeholders. Within the nonprofit context, mission achievement is the defining value (Moore, 2000). Instrumental frames, suggesting that diversity is central to achieving social impact goals, may be threatening to Whites by devaluing their role in mission achievement. In contrast, the moral case, which emphasizes values that are not directly linked to concrete impact, may be more comfortable and palatable for Whites. Indeed, many Whites express positivity towards the

idea of diversity and support efforts in the abstract (Bell & Hartmann, 2007), but react negatively when these efforts become actionable steps that may threaten Whites' place in the organization (Lowery, Knowles, Unzueta & Goff, 2006). Thus, the "navel gazing" approach to diversity embodied within the moral frame may be more desirable than instrumental frames for Whites.

Hypothesis 1: Within the nonprofit context, Whites find moral diversity frames more favorable than instrumental diversity frames.

Less clear is how the nonprofit context may be perceived by racial minority community members. While non-Whites and women have been shown to prefer the moral case in business contexts, financial performance is the defining value for businesses (Moore, 2004), so it may be that minority groups prefer organizational commitment to diversity regardless of its relationship to the financial bottom line. Within the nonprofit context, where pro-social outcomes define an organization's success, racial minorities may see diversity as a necessary condition for creating public good—and therefore prefer an instrumental diversity frame. Thus, racial minorities may prefer the instrumental to moral frame for diversity or these frames may be seen as comparably desirable within a nonprofit context.

Hypothesis 2: Within the nonprofit context, non-Whites do not find moral diversity frames more favorable than instrumental diversity frames.

Present Research

To extend theoretical and practical understandings of the application of diversity frames, we undertake two experiments that examine the use of instrumental and moral diversity frames within the nonprofit context. We evaluate the reactions of community stakeholders to these frames, focusing on potential divergence amongst White compared to Black and Latino perspectives. A pilot study and two experiments, each occurring in March 2019, are described in detail below. All participants were recruited online through TurkPrime, which enabled us to recruit participants of particular racial groups, and participants completed the study procedures online through Amazon's Mechanical Turk.

Pilot Study

To select statements to use in the experiments, the pilot study validated diversity statements along instrumental and moral content. Participants from a variety of racial/ethnic identities were introduced to the concept of instrumental and moral frames for diversity (see Appendix A). Next, they viewed, one at a time, a subset of 15 statements from a list of 21 diversity-related statements that an organization might use to communicate support for diversity (nonprofit or business not specified). Participants rated these statements on the extent to which they were instrumental and moral. Items were face valid: "To what extent is this an instrumental case?" and "To what extent is this a moral case?" on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much so).

Analyses identified a list of the relatively most instrumental and moral frames for diversity (see Appendix B for a table of all piloted statements and statistical analyses). Of the 21 statements, 17 were rated as significantly different in the extent to which they communicated an instrumental versus moral frame for diversity.

Experiment 1

Experiment 1 examined White compared to Black and Latino stakeholders' perceptions of a nonprofit organization and the extent to which stakeholders would feel valued in the organization as a function of whether that organization espoused instrumental or moral frames for valuing diversity.

Participants and Design

Table 1 displays the demographic characteristics for participants in both Experiments 1 and 2. The Experiment 1 study design was a 2 (Participant Race: Black and Latino vs. White) X 2 (Diversity Frame: Instrumental vs. Moral) between-participant design with random assignment to Diversity Frame condition.

Procedure

Participants learned they would be participating in a study assessing people's perceptions of nonprofit organizations in the United States. They were asked to imagine they were interested in volunteering with a nonprofit and were considering with which organizations to volunteer. Next, participants viewed an About Us webpage for a fictional organization called Community Works. The page content was randomly

Table 1
Participant demographics for Experiments 1 and 2

Characteristic	Experiment 1	Experiment 2
Total N	345	207
Women	201	122
Men	143	85
Non-binary	1	0
Mean age (std dev.)	36.05 (11.18)	36.12 (11.71)
White	52.8%	100%
Black	31.6%	-
Latino	15.7%	-
Employed	82.6%	75.9%
Private for-profit industries	46.4%	52.2%
Private nonprofit organizations	10.7%	6.3%
Local, state, or federal government	12.2%	6.3%
Self-employed	19.7%	14.5%
Working without pay	7.2%	3.4%
High school diploma or less	-	11.6%
Some college	-	27.1%
Had a college degree	-	48.8%
Graduate degree	-	12.6%

Note: Data analyses in Experiment 1 include participants who indicated they had given the study their full attention (*N*=345) and exclude those who indicated not giving their full attention (*N*=51).

manipulated to include an instrumental or moral frame for diversity, using statements from the Pilot Study. To increase external validity, we adapted a real-world nonprofit's webpage using HTML code and included the two diversity frames (see Appendix C for stimuli used in each condition). Participants in the instrumental frame condition read four statements in the organization's "Vision and Values" section emphasizing that diversity benefitted the organization's strategic success and productivity. For example: "Behind our dedication to diversity and inclusion is a simple but powerful idea: that diversity simply makes good strategic sense." In the moral frame condition, the four statements focused on equity and fairness: "Behind our dedication to diversity and inclusion is a simple but powerful idea: that diversity is simply the right thing to do." After viewing the webpage, participants answered key dependent variables, completed demographic items, and were debriefed and compensated.

Dependent Variables
Unless otherwise specified, all dependent variables

were assessed on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much so). Significantly correlated items were combined into a single composite variable.

Dehumanization. Participants completed two items assessing the extent to which they would feel dehumanized by the organization (*r*=.539, *p*<.001): "If you worked with Community Works nonprofit organization, to what extent would you feel dehumanized?" and "to what extent would you feel used by the organization?"

Personally Feeling Valued. Participants completed three items (α=.860) assessing the extent to which they would feel valued in the organization: "If you worked with Community Works nonprofit organization, to what extent would you (a) feel your contributions are genuinely valued, (b) respected at this organization, and (c) like you belong at the organization?

Racial Minorities Feeling Valued. Participants completed two items indicating the extent to which racial minorities would feel valued in the organization (*r*=.787, *p*<.001): "To what extent do you think (1) "racial minority volunteers are genuinely valued by the organization?" and (2) "racial minority staff can

bring their full selves to work in this organization?".

Genuine Commitment. Two items were used to assess the extent to which participants perceived the organization's commitment to diversity as genuine (r=.922, p<.001): "To what extent does the organization's commitment to promoting diversity seem (a) "genuine?" and (b) "authentic?"

Control Variable
Political Orientation. Participants' fiscal and social political orientations were assessed using two items (r=.684, p<.001): "How would you describe your fiscal/economic views?" (1-fiscally conservative to 7-fiscally liberal) and "How would you describe your social views?" (1-socially conservative to 7-socially liberal).

Results
Across analyses, results for Black and Latino participants do not differ significantly. As such, following our planned procedure for analysis, we combine Black and Latino respondents and compare these to White respondents in the analyses.

Dehumanization. We conducted a 2 (Participant Race: Black and Latino vs. White) X 2 (Diversity Frame: Instrumental v. Moral) Univariate Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) on participants' perceptions of dehumanization in the organization. Experiments 1 and 2 analyses control for participant political orientation, which is a significant predictor of diversity support (Pew Research Center, 2018), by including political orientation as a covariate in analyses. Analyses revealed a significant Participant Race X Diversity Frame interaction, $F(1, 340)$=7.58, p=.006, ηp^2=.022 (see Figure 1).

Consistent with our proposal that an instrumental diversity frame applied to a nonprofit context may deter Whites, White participants felt more dehumanized than Black and Latino participants by the nonprofit with an instrumental frame, $F(1, 340)$=4.62, p=.032, ηp^2=.013, and marginally more dehumanized following the instrumental, compared to moral, frame, $F(1, 340)$=3.40, p=.066, ηp^2=.010. Table 2 contains all means and standard deviations for Experiment 1 dependent variables. Consistent with arguments that the instrumental frame may be seen as providing agency and a means to communicate underrepresented groups' ability to enhance organizations (Maxwell, 2004), Black and Latino participants reported lower feelings of dehumanization by the organization espousing the instrumental, compared to moral, frame, $F(1, 340)$=4.18, p=.042, ηp^2=.012. Mo-

Figure 1
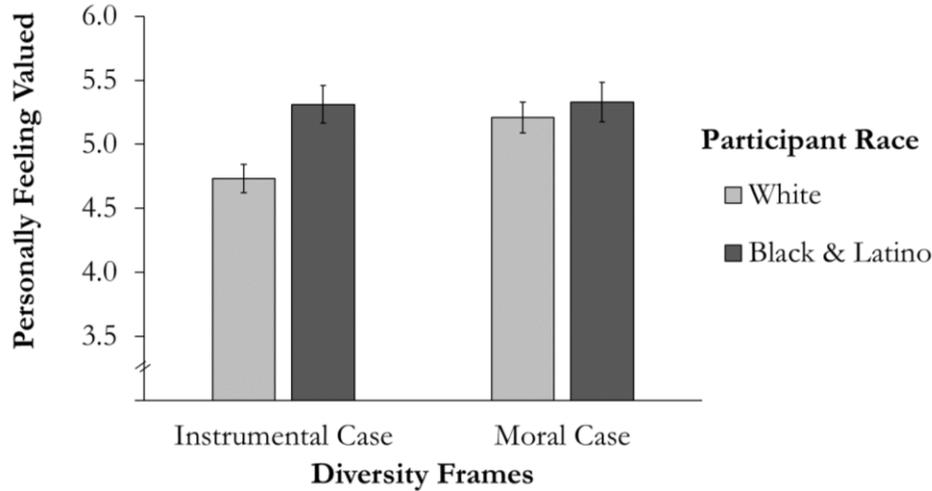**Feeling Dehumanized by the Nonprofit Organization**
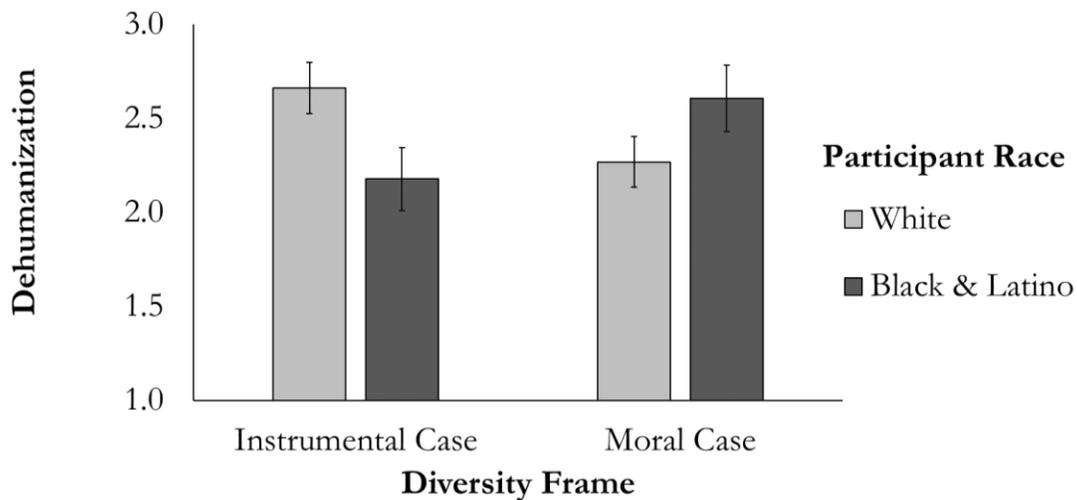
Notes: Perceptions of being dehumanized by the nonprofit organization as a function of espoused diversity frame (instrumental vs. moral) and participant race (White vs. Black and Latino). Error bars indicate standard errors (Experiment 1).

Table 2
Mean and Standard Deviation for Experiment 1 Dependent Variables

Dependent Variable	Participant Race	Diversity Frame			
		Instrumental Case		Moral Case	
		Mean	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*
Dehumanization	Black and Latino	2.18	1.49	2.61	1.63
	White	2.66	1.29	2.27	1.31
Personally Feel Valued	Black and Latino	5.31	1.29	5.33	1.40
	White	4.73	1.04	5.21	1.15
Racial Minorities Valued	Black and Latino	5.40	1.37	5.29	1.37
	White	5.26	1.20	5.73	1.22
Genuine Effort	Black and Latino	5.54	1.35	5.35	1.60
	White	5.01	1.26	5.42	1.28

Figure 2
Feeling Personally Valued by the Nonprofit Organization

Notes: Extent to which participants feel they would be valued by the nonprofit as a function of espoused diversity frame (instrumental vs. moral) and participant race (White vs. Black and Latino). Error bars indicate standard errors (Experiment 1).

reover, compared to Whites, Black and Latino participants anticipated they would feel marginally more dehumanized in the nonprofit espousing the moral frame, $F(1, 340)=3.01$, $p=.084$, $\eta p^2=.009$.

Personally Feeling Valued. Analyses revealed a significant 2 (Participant Race) X 2 (Diversity Frame) interaction for participants' feelings of being personally valued by the organization, $F(1, 340)=3.74$, $p=.054$, $\eta p^2=.011$ (see Figure 2).

White participants anticipated feeling significantly less valued by the nonprofit expressing an instrumental frame, compare to Black and Latino participants, $F(1, 340)=9.17$, $p=.003$, $\eta p^2=.026$, and di-

compared to an organization with a moral frame for diversity, $F(1, 340)=6.99$, $p=.009$, $\eta p2=.020$. No other comparisons reached statistical significance ($p>.73$).

Racial Minorities Feeling Valued. Analyses revealed a significant 2 (Participant Race) X 2 (Diversity Frame) interaction on participants' perceptions of how valued racial minorities would feel within the organization, $F(1, 340)=4.65$, $p=.032$, $\eta p^2=.014$ (see Figure 3).

Inconsistent with Black and Latino participants' self-reported feelings of being valued (above), compared to Black and Latino participants, Whites antic-

Figure 3
Racial Minorities Feel Valued in the Nonprofit
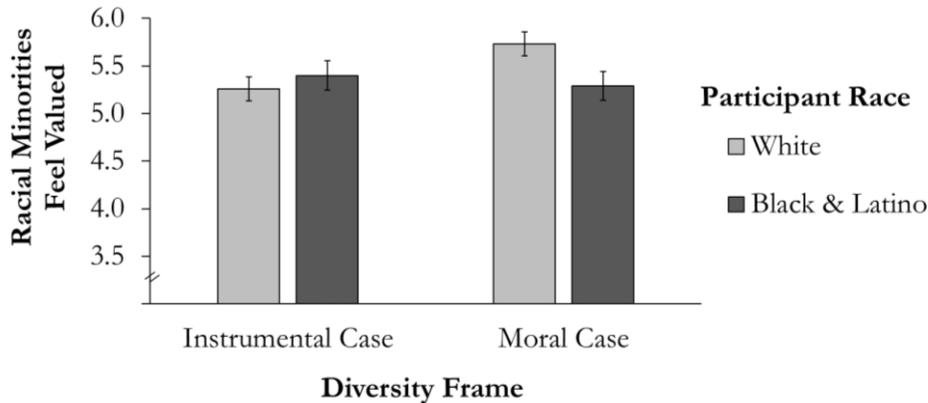
Notes: Perceptions of how valued by the nonprofit racial minority group members would feel as a function of espoused diversity frame (instrumental vs. moral) and participant race (White vs. Black and Latino). Error bars indicate standard errors (Experiment 1).

Figure 4
Nonprofit Genuinely Committed to Diversity
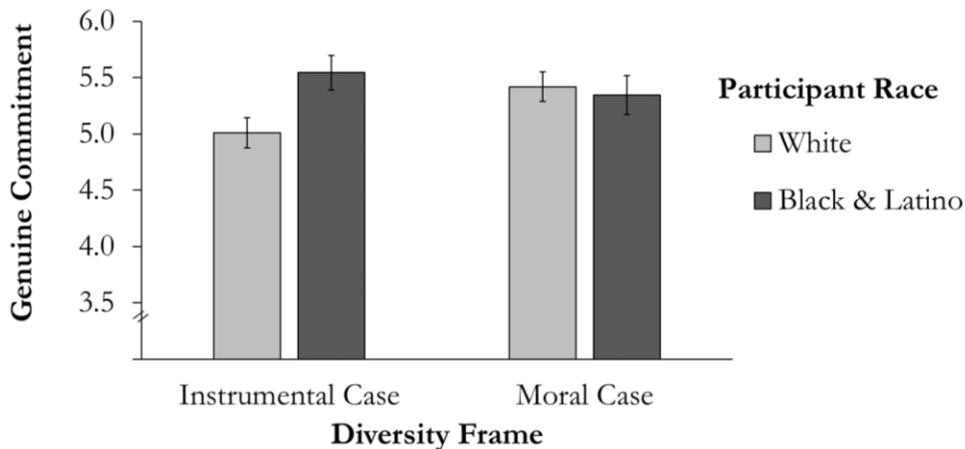
Notes: Perceptions of how genuinely committed to equity the nonprofit is as a function of espoused diversity frame (instrumental vs. moral) and participant race (White vs. Black and Latino). Error bars indicated standard errors (Experiment 1).

ipated racial minorities would feel more valued in the moral frame condition, $F(1, 340)=5.83$, $p=.016$, $\eta p^2=.017$. Whites also reported racial minorities would feel more valued at the nonprofit espousing the moral, compared to instrumental case for diversity, $F(1, 340)=6.06$, $p=.014$, $\eta p^2=.018$. In contrast, Black and Latino participants felt that racial minorities would feel similarly valued in the organization, regardless of diversity frame, $F(1, 340)=.411$, $p=.522$.

There was no significant effect of participant race in the instrumental frame condition, $F(1, 340)=.427$, $p=.514$.

Genuine Commitment. A 2 (Participant Race) X 2 (Diversity Frame) ANOVA on perceptions of the genuineness of the organization's commitment to diversity revealed a significant interaction, $F(1, 340)=4.92$, $p=.027$, $\eta p^2=.014$ (see Figure 4).

Black and Latino participants viewed the non-

profit with an instrumental frame as more genuinely committed to diversity, compared to Whites, $F(1, 340)=5.99$, $p=.015$, $\eta p^2=.017$. In contrast, White participants viewed the organization espousing moral, compared to instrumental, frames as more genuinely committed to diversity, $F(1, 340)=3.99$, $p=.047$, $\eta p2=.012$. No other comparisons were statistically significant ($ps >.24$).

Discussion

In assessing varying diversity frames, Experiment 1 provides support for Hypotheses 1 and 2, indicating that perceiver race influences perceivers' feelings of being dehumanized and valued by the nonprofit and perceptions of the nonprofit's authenticity.

Experiment 2

Experiment 2 builds on Experiment 1 by examining the role of resource threat on Whites' perceptions of nonprofits espousing instrumental and moral frames for diversity. Given that Experiment 1 effects were primarily driven by Whites' diverging reactions to diversity frames, Experiment 2 sought to clarify this pattern of results. In particular, we examine how concerns about resource security influence Whites' sense of being valued by the nonprofit organization. Research highlights that resource concerns are one of the primary drivers behind Whites' negative reactions to diversity efforts (Bobo, 1988; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). For example, Whites concerned about job security may feel threatened by an organization emphasizing how staff diversity improves organizational outcomes. We anticipate that as Whites' resource concerns increase, their feelings of being valued by a nonprofit with an instrumental frame should decrease.

Participants & Design

White participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions in a between-subject experiment design: either the instrumental or moral diversity frame condition. See Table 1 for additional demographic details. None of the participants in Experiment 2 had participated in Experiment 1.

Procedure

Experiment 2 utilized a similar procedure to Experiment 1. Participants were instructed that they would be viewing organizations' Mission and Values webpages and providing their impressions of the organization. They next viewed the same About Us page for the fictional Community Works nonprofit used in Experiment 1. This page contained either the instrumental or moral diversity frame using the same statements as in Experiment 1. After viewing the organization's profile, participants were asked to imagine working at the nonprofit as they completed key variables. Participants then completed demographic items and were debriefed and compensated.

Dependent Variable

Personally Feeling Valued. Participants completed four items ($\alpha=.916$) assessing the extent to which they would feel valued in the organization: "If you worked with Community Works nonprofit organization, to what extent would you feel (a) "your contributions will be heard," (b) "that what you bring to the table is valued," (c) "respected at this organization," and (d) "valued for your contributions?"

Individual Differences

Perceived Resource Threat to Whites. To assess perceptions of resource threat presented by increased diversity broadly, participants completed a single-item assessing concerns for White job security: "It is increasingly harder for White individuals to get jobs" rated on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Control Variable

Political Orientation. Participants completed the same two items as Experiment 1 ($r=.776$, $p<.001$) which were combined into a single composite.

Results

To assess the effect of condition and perceived threat to Whites' feeling valued in the nonprofit, we conducted a linear regression analysis in which personally feeling valued was regressed on diversity frame, perceived resource threat to Whites, and the interaction of these variables, with political orientation as a covariate. Following Aiken & West (1991), perceived threat to Whites and political orientation were mean-centered and diversity frame was effect-coded (0=instrumental case, 1=moral case). Analyses revealed a significant Diversity Frame X Perceived Resource Threat to Whites interaction, $b=.446$, $SE=.152$, $t=2.945$, $p=.004$ (see Figure 5).

Simple slopes analyses revealed that as White participants perceived more resource threat to Whites, the less they personally felt valued in an organization utilizing the instrumental frame for diversity, $b=-.285$, $t=-2.717$, $p=.007$. The simple slope for

Figure 5
Personally Feeling Valued by the Nonprofit Amongst Whites
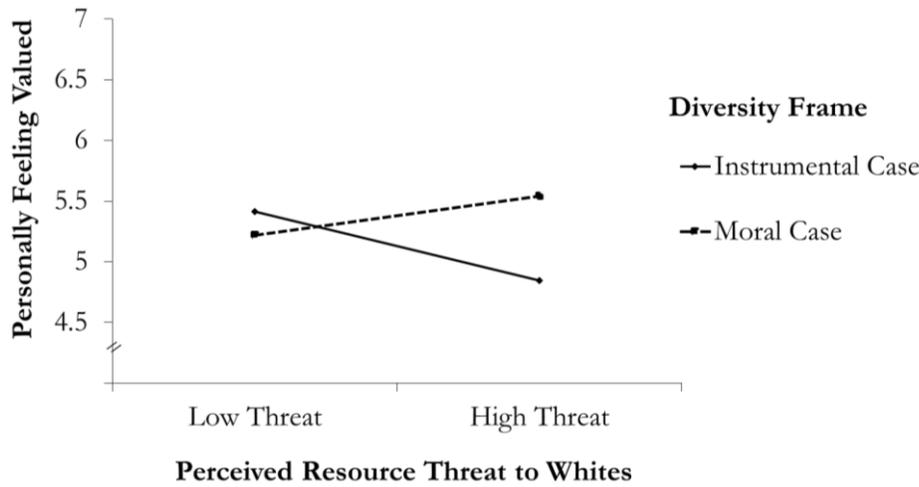
Notes: Personally feeling valued as a function of Diversity Frame (Instrumental v. Moral) and Perceived Resource Threat to Whites (Experiment 2).

the moral frame did not reach statistical significance, $b=.161$, $t=1.469$, $p=.143$, but was trending toward increased resource threat leading to increased feelings of being valued by the nonprofit.

Discussion

Experiment 2 extends our understanding of the underlying processes influencing Whites' reactions to instrumental and moral frames for diversity, providing additional support for Hypothesis 1. Amongst Whites who perceived greater job security threats, there was a stronger feeling of being devalued by a nonprofit with an instrumental frame. This is consistent with our theorizing that the instrumental frame may elicit concerns for Whites about having a place within a nonprofit organization where public good and a focus on social value is the efficacious outcome.

Discussion and Implications

Scholars have argued for a more nuanced examination of how nonprofits navigate the tension between their social mission and an increasing pressure to be more business-like (Sanders & McClellan, 2014; Dart, 2004), particularly in the domain of diversity and equity work (Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). Sanders & McClellan (2014) further argue that organizational communications are key to understanding how

nonprofits navigate this tension. The present research examines two frames through which nonprofits communicate their dedication to diversity and the implications of these frames for stakeholder perceptions.

Two experiments support the notion that race plays a significant role in community member reactions to nonprofits' efforts to promote diversity. Experiment 1 finds that White relative to Black and Latino individuals feel differentially dehumanized and personally valued by a nonprofit as a function of whether that nonprofit emphasizes instrumental or moral frames for promoting diversity. Whites also perceive that what makes them feel more valued in the organization will also make Black and Latino individuals feel more valued, which diverges from Black and Latino participants' self-reports. Moreover, the instrumental case is seen as less genuine by Whites, compared to Black and Latino participants. These differences are driven by Whites' relative dislike of the instrumental case, which emphasizes the impact and purpose behind diversity efforts toward the organization's social mission. Indeed, Experiment 2 highlights that White individuals who are concerned about future resources—particularly their job placement prospects—feel they will be most devalued by nonprofit organizations espousing instrumental diversity frames.

These differing perceptions of belonging and authenticity may carry downstream consequences for

volunteering behavior and community engagement with nonprofits. Given the divergence in dehumanization perceptions amongst White and racial minority individuals, nonprofits may struggle to reconcile diversity communications such that they allow multiple stakeholders to feel valued within their organization. These results may partially speak to individuals' decisions to engage or not engage with particular organizations.

Considerations of diversity frames and communications may be key as many nonprofits grapple with how to increase representation amongst their volunteers, staff, and board members. If a majority-White nonprofit is creating the language used to draw in diverse stakeholders, those creating the messaging need to understand that the framing itself will shape who the organization attracts. Even with sincere intentions and beliefs in the value of diversity, majority-White nonprofits may not have the perspectives to create messaging that meaningfully speaks to target stakeholders. Majority-White nonprofits seeking greater racial diversity should also understand that the most effective messaging may create discomfort among existing stakeholders.

The present research also highlights the importance of incorporating experiment-based methodologies into the rich methodological repertoire of nonprofit management scholarship as well as the need to quantitatively examine the implications of management approaches in multiple sectors. In particular, present results diverge from similar examinations of instrumental and moral frames applied to the business sector (see Trawalter et al., 2016; Mayer & Nurmohamed, 2018), where dominant group members strongly prefer instrumental frames for diversity.

Importantly, where businesses emphasize shareholder profit maximization with social responsibility as a lower priority, nonprofit and voluntary sectors center their missions on promoting social value. As such, in some instances the translation of business practices to nonprofits may be more direct than in others. Understanding the underlying mechanisms, moderating factors, and human psychology that guides discrepancies in reactions to nonprofit and business organizations is a fruitful avenue for broadening academic and practitioner understanding of nonprofit management practices.

Limitations and Future Research

While these findings contribute to our understanding of diversity frames within nonprofits, there are several limitations. First, the present findings deviate from similar work examining instrumental and moral frames in business contexts. We contend that this variance likely results from divergent organizational purposes between nonprofits and businesses, however future research should directly compare participants' reactions to nonprofit and business organizations as a function of the diversity frames used and the organizational context in which they are introduced. We also recommend re-validating the diversity statements with a sample that includes more Black and Latino individuals to ensure that the generalized perceptions of what constitutes instrumental and moral are consistent with perceptions within these subgroups.

Moreover, an empirical understanding of how organizational goals shape the integration of instrumental and moral approaches is needed. As Tomlinson & Schwabenland (2010) contend, the degree of instrumentality used by organizations communicating diversity values may vary as the organization reconciles its social mission with communicating legitimacy and efficacy. Nonprofits vary in the extent to which diversity is central to their mission, and thus organizational approaches to diversity and communications of these approaches, while potentially instrumental in category, are likely to differ in substantive content. While the present research utilized instrumental and moral frames drawn from pilot research and built on broad conceptualizations of these categories, it nevertheless emphasizes a potentially artificial binary between instrumental and moral approaches. Future research would benefit from a richer examination of the variance of content in instrumental and moral frames across organizations.

This research begins to answer the call to increase the use of quantitative, experiment-based methodologies within the field of nonprofit management. Across two experiments, we offer insights that extend our understanding of the implications of varying diversity frames for stakeholder perceptions of nonprofit organizations while beginning to inform how diversity frames offer divergent signals to underrepresented and non-underrepresented community stakeholders.

Acknowledgments

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Appendix A

Instrumental Case. An instrumental case for diversity highlights that promoting diversity enhances progress and productivity to create better business outcomes. Organizations making an instrumental case highlight that staff diversity creates avenues for innovation, creativity, service delivery, and enhancing staff effectiveness to benefit the organization.

Moral Case. A moral case for diversity highlights that promoting diversity enhances fairness and more equitable and inclusive opportunities for staff and community. Organizations share moral reasons to highlight the importance of equality, decreasing bias, and enabling staff to be their full selves at work.

Table A
Participant demographics for the Pilot Study

Characteristic	Pilot Study
Total N	107
Women	47
Men	53
Missing responses	7
Mean age (std dev.)	36.93 (12.41)
European American	67.3%
African American	6.5%
East Asian American	6.5%
Multi-racial	6.5%
South Asian American	2.8%
Latino American	1.9%
Pacific Islander	0.9%
Arab American	0.9%
Political Orientation*	
Mean fiscal (std dev.)	4.36 (1.66)
Mean social (std dev.)	4.94 (1.75)

* Fiscal and social political orientations was assessed using two items (r=.684, p<.001): "How would you describe your fiscal/economic views?" (1-fiscally conservative to 7-fiscally liberal) and "How would you describe your social views?" (1-socially conservative to 7-socially liberal).

Appendix B

Table of Statements and Analyses from Pilot Study

Diversity-Related Statement	N	Instrumental Case		Moral Case		t	df	p
		M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*			
We should seek out staff from different cultures and experiences to promote equality in our programs and services in the long run.	71	3.51	1.91	5.79	1.62	-6.22	70	< .001
Behind our dedication to diversity and inclusion is a simple but powerful idea: that diversity is simply the right thing to do.	71	2.93	2.00	6.17	1.45	-8.87	70	< .001
Valuing diversity builds a sense of community, building respect and support between staff.	70	4.06	1.85	5.19	1.84	-2.92	69	.005
Diversity strengthens our commitment to fairness.	71	2.93	1.84	6.08	1.36	-9.70	70	< .001
Diversity strengthens our commitment to providing the highest quality service to our clients.	72	5.72	1.53	3.54	1.98	5.96	71	< .001
Behind our dedication to diversity and inclusion is a simple but powerful idea: that diversity simply makes good strategic sense.	72	5.39	1.72	3.67	2.09	4.35	71	< .001
Increasing diversity allows for creative problem-solving and innovation.	72	5.85	1.45	3.24	2.07	6.71	71	< .001
An inclusive culture is essential for attaining and recruiting the best talent.	72	5.88	1.48	3.53	2.13	6.14	71	< .001
Recognizing that multiple perspectives and voices enhance our work, we are able to expand the impact of our work.	73	5.68	1.51	3.63	1.88	5.77	72	< .001
Every employee has a role in contributing to the progress of our organization and having staff members from a wide array of backgrounds drives collaboration and innovation, expanding the impact of our services to a greater population.	72	5.74	1.49	3.81	1.98	5.44	71	< .001
We believe the most effective way to serve our customers is to recruit passionate and diverse staff members to promote a competitive environment that is continuously adapting and improving the services we provide.	73	5.34	1.73	3.97	2.03	3.50	72	.001

Table of Statements and Analyses from Pilot Study (continued)

Diversity-Related Statement	N	Instrumental Case		Moral Case		t	df	p
		M	SD	M	SD			
Our commitment to diversity cultivates an inclusive environment where our employees are valued for their differences and supported to reach their highest potential.	72	4.22	1.89	5.43	1.55	-3.52	71	.001
Prioritizing diversity promotes an environment where all people are encouraged to contribute to our mission, allowing for the best levels of productivity and achievement.	71	5.82	1.40	3.85	2.09	5.40	70	< .001
Diversity drives positive results by advancing our reputation in order to attract, retain, and engage diverse staff who foster creative problem-solving.	71	5.55	1.52	4.08	1.97	4.05	70	< .001
Diversity is an essential foundation of our mission, for it allows for us to successfully deliver the best possible service to our customers.	71	5.80	1.39	3.61	1.98	6.27	70	< .001
We seek to ensure that each employee feels welcomed, respected, and valued and strive to make certain that our team is reflective of the communities we serve.	70	3.91	1.97	5.81	1.55	-5.26	69	< .001
Diversity is essential for developing good leadership skills development and citizenship.	72	5.11	1.76	4.17	2.08	2.39	71	.019
Diversity and inclusion are integral to our ability to provide excellent and culturally relevant services that welcome customers from all backgrounds.	73	5.10	1.59	4.47	1.86	1.80	72	.075
By putting people first, our team members are supported in presenting their unique perspectives and ideas which cultivate a diverse and inclusive work community.	71	4.56	1.93	4.92	1.75	-.95	70	.345
Fostering a diverse work environment is key to retaining our unique group of staff and providing healthy working relationships among them.	71	4.48	1.72	4.76	1.73	-.79	70	.432
We are proud to promote a diverse work environment and that people from all backgrounds have chosen with work with us. Nurturing an inclusive culture within our company allows for more collaborative relationships and community growth within our staff.	72	4.90	1.71	5.13	1.69	-.67	71	.507

Appendix C

Experiment 1 Materials - Instrumental Frame for Diversity

COMMUNITY WORKS
HANDS ON NETWORK

LOGIN

EQUITY ▼   NONPROFITS ▼   VOLUNTEERS ▼   COMPANIES ▼   SWANK GALA & AUCTION   DONATE!   ABOUT US

About Us - Community Works NonProfit

Mission

Community Works' mission is to connect volunteers, develop leaders, and build community.

Vision & Values

Community Works' vision is a thriving community of actively engaged individuals.

Community Works' core values are:

- Behind our dedication to diversity and inclusion is a simple but powerful idea: that diversity simply makes good strategic sense.
- Diversity strengthens our commitment to providing the highest quality service to our clients.
- It drives positive results by advancing our reputation in order to attract, retain, and engage diverse staff and volunteers who foster creative problem-solving.
- Prioritizing diversity promotes an environment where all staff and volunteers are encouraged to contribute to our mission, allowing for the best levels of productivity and achievement.
- We believe that every contribution counts.
- We have fun.

Growth

2018 Gratitude Report Community Works is proud to present our 2018 Gratitude Report in which we reflect on our growth and impact over the last year. Enjoy!

Community Works Strategic Plan The strategic plans guides Community Works programs and decisions in order to project us towards the mission to connect volunteers, develop leaders, and build community.

HEAR FROM US ON SOCIAL MEDIA!   f   🐦   📷

Experiment 1 Materials - Moral Frame for Diversity

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HANDS ON NETWORK

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- Our commitment to diversity cultivates an inclusive environment where our staff and volunteers are valued for their differences and supported to reach their highest potential.
- We seek to ensure that staff and volunteers feels welcomed, respected, and valued and strive to make certain that our team is reflective of the communities we serve.
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