

A Diversity-Conflict Model of Inclusion

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Abstract

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Conversations around diversity and inclusion have become increasingly central to companies' pursuit of effective workplaces. This trend is partially supported by social psychology and management literature, which finds many benefits of diverse groups, such as improved decision-making and increased revenue. However, for each article mentioning diversity's benefits, there are at least as many mentioning its capacity to produce conflict. Overall, then, the empirical link between group diversity and group conflict has been well explored in the present literature. What has been less explored is whether certain identity groups, who may contribute to the goal of increasing diversity, are also perceived as being more likely to cause workplace conflict. This dissertation explores this research question, focusing on how assessments of perceived "diversity" and "conflict" may inform inclusion outcomes. This phenomenon is discussed as it relates to disparate inclusion outcomes for Black and Hispanic/Latinx members of the workforce in particular. Chapter I reviews literature on diversity, conflict, and inclusion in the workplace, outlining a Diversity-Conflict Model of Inclusion based on the proposed concepts of perceived diversity and perceived conflict. Chapter II summarizes foundational studies in this program of research, providing preliminary evidence that Asian, Black, Hispanic/Latinx, and White individuals are evaluated differently for their diversity and conflict potential, creating a hierarchy of value amongst racial minority groups. Chapter III, a job candidate assessment paradigm, finds that the framing of diversity and conflict

as being of high or low value or importance informs evaluations of racial minority candidates; results generally show that Black candidates are especially valued when diversity and conflict are framed as positive or essential the job description. Finally, Chapter IV, a course assessment experiment, explores how the association of diversity with conflict may animate course preferences in pre-workforce adults; this chapter departs from the other studies in this dissertation by not distinctly operationalizing perceived diversity or perceived conflict. Rather, this chapter focuses on how avoidance of conflict in diverse spaces is related to compromised inclusion outcomes for students. Results show that students do not necessarily avoid courses as a function of diversity, but may prefer discussion to be less central to their overall grade in the context of Critical Race/Gender Studies courses (where the concept of diversity is potentially more salient). This dissertation concludes by discussing future directions in understanding and studying the diversity-conflict relationship.

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Dedication

To Grandma Margarita, who lends me her strength when I need it the most.

Chapter I: Literature Review and Introduction to Diversity-Conflict

Model of Inclusion

“The key question is whether the enrichment in information and skill which derives from diversity outweighs the negative consequences which result from possible increases in conflict.”

- K. Williams Phillips and C. O'Reilly (1998)

Conversations about diversity, equity, and inclusion have become more mainstream, with increased interest in the issue of representation in the workplace (e.g., Figure 1.1). In social psychology and management literature, conversations about diversity are typically animated by the benefits of diversity in increasing revenue and improving performance (Myrtle, Connerley, & Cocchiara, 2009). For example, in a business case for diversity, Herring (2009) found that racial and gender diversity were associated with greater sales revenue and more customers. Emphasizing the role of diversity in improving decision-making outcomes, Sommers (2006) found that racially diverse mock juries exchanged a wider range of information than racially homogenous juries. Relating diversity to the spread of novel ideas, a 2010 meta-analysis of research on multi-cultural work groups found a positive correlation between group diversity and group creativity (Stahl et. al, 2010). Separately, Phillips, Liljenquist, and Neale (2009) found that the mere presence of an outgroup newcomer to a formerly homogenous group improved performance on a murder mystery task, presumably due to the group's willingness to accept an outgroup member's opinion and recognize differences in opinions within their own ingroup.

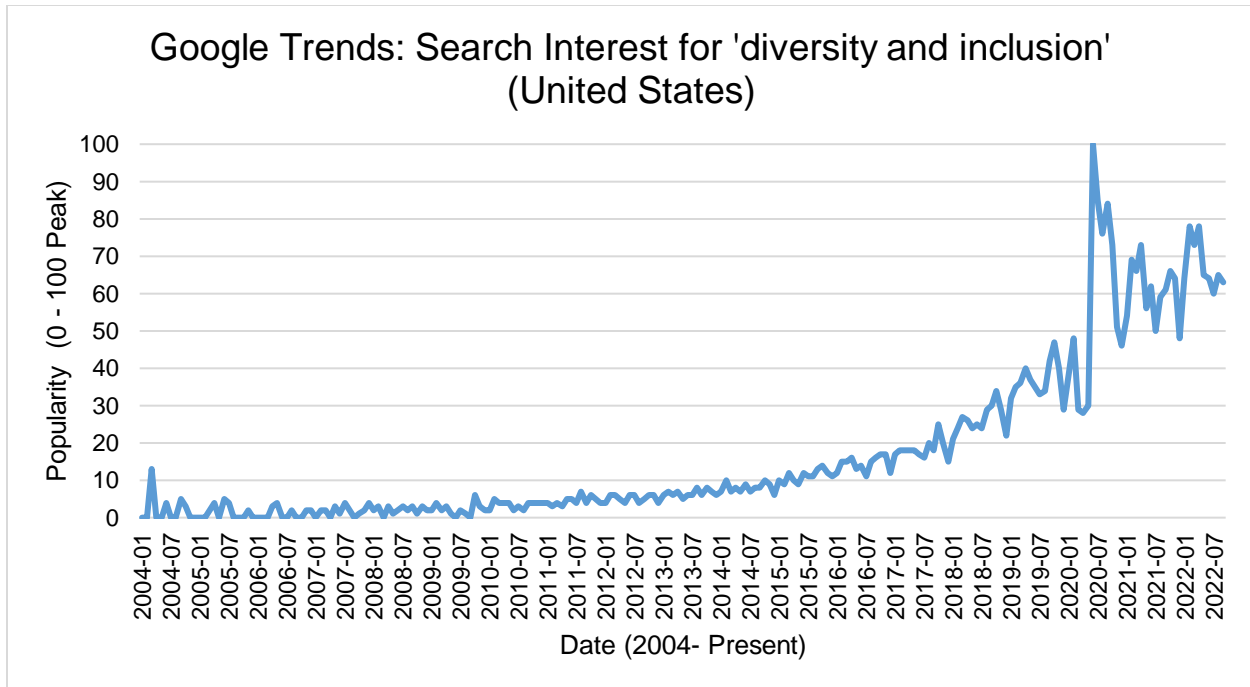


Figure 1.1. Google Trends Search Data: 'diversity and inclusion'. Search term data was collected in the United States between the years of 2004 to Present (2022).

That said, for every research article citing the benefits of diversity, there are at least as many mentioning its difficulties. Diversity is therefore understood to be a potential driver of conflict, culminating into the forms of disagreement, interference, and negative emotion (Barki & Hartwick, 2004). For instance, while a meta-analysis found that more diverse groups exhibited more creativity, it also found that surface-level diversity (i.e., race, gender, etc.) predicted higher group conflict and poorer communication (Stahl et. al, 2010). Separately, research by Flynn and Chatman (2003) found that demographic diversity led to less cooperative group norms. Homan and colleagues (2008) also found that the salience of ingroup differences affected team functioning, such that groups with more explicit dissimilarity performed more poorly than those with less explicit dissimilarity. This positive association between diversity and conflict was also articulated in Pelled, Eisenhart, and Xin (1999), where the presence of racial dissimilarity was

empirically linked to increased emotional conflict. Particularly in the context of the workplace or other team-focused environments that are generally meant to be cooperative, conflict might be understood as interpersonal disagreement, where individuals “think that a divergence of values, needs, interests, opinions, goals, or objectives exists.” (Barki & Hartwick, 2004; Paletz, Miron-Spekter, & Li, 2014). Relatedly, one aspect of diversity-related conflict is the mere anticipation of incompatibility in “actions, behaviors, or practices [between] two or more interdependent individuals [or] groups” (Brown, 1983; Plummer, 2003). This suggests that the diversity-conflict relationship, as articulated in social psychology, need not be based in factual or concrete assessments of conflict to affect subsequent behavior or attitudes; rather, the anticipation or assumption of conflict holds meaningful weight in evaluating individuals and teams. The present research therefore explores the anticipated relationship between diversity and conflict from a diversity and inclusion perspective. Namely, this research proposes that the diversity-conflict relationship is likely to affect the trajectory of inclusion outcomes by creating a hierarchy of value among minority groups who may be pursued for their diversity potential. Importantly, the diversity-conflict relationship is hypothesized to vary across identity groups, such that some groups (e.g., Black or Hispanic/Latinx Americans) are more associated with conflict than are other groups (e.g., Whites or Asian Americans). These perceptions may be driven by existing stereotypes of minority groups, which portray non-White Latinxs as being less competent than Whites, Black/African-Americans as being “aggressive”, and Asians as being “competent” but “unsociable” (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, Xu, 2002; Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005; Jimeno-Ingrum, Berdahl, & Lucero-Wagoner, 2009; Pearson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2009). In this chapter, I therefore theorize that, while people may value diversity’s benefits (e.g., heightened creativity and revenues), they also contend with concerns about the level of conflict

certain types of diversity may cause. Assumptions about a social identity group's association with conflict, then, may cause otherwise successful diversity efforts to be less effective in fostering inclusion in the workplace.

Understanding Diversity

In general, visible attributes are more readily accessible when categorizing others than are those which are invisible (such as sexual orientation or class); therefore, much of the dialogue about diversity and inclusion in the workplace centers racial/ethnic diversity and gender diversity (Bell et al., 2011; Dworkin & Dworkin, 1999). However, throughout psychology and management literature there are numerous helpful definitions and operationalizations of diversity. These definitions can typically be summarized by “surface-level” diversity (e.g., racial, ethnic, gender, etc.) and “deep-level” diversity (e.g., values, aptitudes, etc.) or, in management literature, so-called job-relevant and job-irrelevant characteristics. In some cases, diversity is mathematically operationalized as group heterogeneity. For example, Pelled, Eisenhart, and Xin quantify diversity using $H = - \sum_{i=1}^I P_i (\ln P_i)$ wherein “the total number of categories of a variable equals 1, and P_i is the fraction of team members falling into category 1” (Pelled, Eisenhart, and Xin, 1999; Teachman, 1980). In a similar vein, an earlier paper measures heterogeneity as $H = - \sum_{i=1}^I 1 - (P_i)^2$, “where P_i is the proportion of group members in category i , and I is the number of possible categories” (Blau, 1977). In this type of research, then, diversity can be understood as the summation of intragroup difference.

Other measurements of diversity study how participants or observers evaluate the diversity of work teams. In this type of research, participants are presented with a group consisting of homogeneously or heterogeneously assembled individuals; they are then asked whether they consider the group to be “diverse” based on the composition of the members.

Participants might also evaluate other diversity-relevant dependent variables, such as team efficacy. In Bauman, Trawalter, and Unzueta's (2014) contribution to this area of research, they studied how White, Asian, and Black individuals characterized the diversity of all-White, all-Asian, and all-Black teams, as well as teams with some Black representation and teams with some Asian representation. Aside from discovering that Black and Asian participants characterized teams with a majority of their racial group to be more diverse than teams of another race majority, Bauman and colleagues found no significant differences in how diverse White participants found Black-representation and Asian-representation teams to be. Instead, White participants found these teams to be more diverse than an all-White team, but approximately equal to one another otherwise. Of course, an important caveat to this research is that all of these teams consisted of a White majority. Additionally, while this study (and similar research) clarifies how racial minorities might evaluate diversity in light of in-group representation, it does not necessarily clarify how White people evaluate the diversity of groups when they are not assumed to be the focus (e.g., in the case of diversity recruitment efforts) nor does it clarify how racial groups are valued differently for their diversity potential¹.

As one potential explanation of how diversity is assigned value, we might look towards similarity-liking literature. Perceived similarity is generally associated with greater liking between individuals (Ensher & Murphy, 1997; Byrne, 1971; Zellmer-Bruhn, Maloney, Bhappu, & Salvador, 2008). Literature on similarity and liking also tells us that people assume commonality between themselves and people who look like them, and assume difference between themselves and people who do not look like them (Allen & Wilder, 1979; Byrne, 1971;

¹ White participants' perceived diversity ratings of the Black (M: 4.84) and Asian-representation (M: 4.69) teams did directionally suggest that the former team was perceived as more diverse than the latter, but the study was not designed to analyze this particular research question nor was this result statistically significant.

Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998; Phillips & Loyd, 2006). One might therefore consider how this relates to and complicates diversity decision-making, in that the presumption of difference (a core component of diversity) may also fuel exclusionary behaviors (e.g., psychological inclusion in the workplace or equal pay). When framing diversity and inclusion decision-making choices in this way, it becomes more clear how the most historically excluded groups remain statistically excluded from positions of organizational power and influence and from professional & social networks.

Disparities in Workplace Inclusion

Inclusion is defined as achieving an environment within which everyone is treated fairly and respectfully, having equal access to resources and opportunities (Shore et al., 2011). While statistics do, in fact, suggest that workplaces have become more diverse in the last two decades (Burns, Barton, and Kerby, 2012; National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education, 2005), there is insufficient evidence that the increase in diversity in and of itself has improved inclusion outcomes for historically minoritized groups (Center for Talent Innovation, 2019; Leonard & Levine, 2006). Rather, employees belonging to historically minoritized groups (particularly Black/African-American and Hispanic/Latinx employees) are most likely to be excluded from important networks and decision-making processes (Choi & Rainey, 2010; Cox, 1994; Ibarra, 1993). Minoritized groups also continue to be undervalued in comparison to their White, male peers in hiring, sponsorship, salary, and promotion, as key inclusion outcomes (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020; Center for Talent Innovation, 2019; Diversity Dividend, 2015; Women in S&P 500, 2015; U.S. Department of Education, 2017; U.S. EEOC, 2016).

Additionally, failures of workplace inclusion differentially affect minoritized groups. For example, of minoritized racial groups, Black people tend to report the highest incidences of

discrimination at work, followed by Hispanic/Latinx, Asian, and White people, respectively (Bell, Harrison, & McLaughlin, 1997; McKay et al., 2007; Utsey et al., 2002). There is also evidence that the differential treatment that racial minorities face in the workplace is understood as a social norm. Data from the John J. Heldrich Center for Workforce Development via an open-ended, telephone poll by found that Americans believed that Black/African-Americans followed by Hispanic Americans, White, and Asian-Americans were “most likely to be treated unfairly in the workplace” (Dixon, Storen, & Van Horne, 2002). Relatedly, Black managers, as compared to White managers, report lower levels of promotion and psychological support in their places of work (James, 2000).

Employment statistics at the Bureau of Labor Statistics seem to support this trend of minoritized groups faring differently in the workplace in both diversity and inclusion outcomes. Namely, Black and Hispanic members of the workforce report lower levels of employment, earnings, and management positions than do Asian or White members of the workforce. Similarly, while Black (32%) and Hispanic (23%) members of the workforce are less likely to be in the highest paying major occupational category of full-time management, professional, and related roles, Asian (55%) and White (41%) members of workforce are more likely. Within that occupational category, Asian (Men: \$1,851; Women: \$1,458) and White (Men: \$1549; Women: \$1,134) employees’ median weekly earnings are significantly higher than that of Hispanic (Men: \$1251; Women: \$966) or Black (Men: \$1174; Women: \$989) employees (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020). On the whole, these statistics point to meaningful difference in inclusion outcomes (e.g., promotion, support, retention, social inclusion) for and between Asian, Black, and Latinx Americans, who might all contribute to increasing the diversity of an organization. Even as organizations move forward in their outward commitment to diversity, then,

longstanding systems of exclusion are simultaneously replicated and further institutionalized through a hierarchy of inclusion.

A Hierarchy of Inclusion

The ever-diversifying racial and ethnic makeup of the United States adds another layer of complexity to diversity and inclusion decision-making and subsequent outcomes for historically minoritized groups. In sociology, Bonilla-Silva argues that the changing racial/ethnic landscape has functionally transformed social hierarchy away from a bi-racial, Black-White dichotomy of privilege and access into a more nuanced tri-racial society of “Whites”, “Honorary Whites”, and “Collective Blacks” (Bonilla-Silva, 2004). The organization of this hierarchy, Bonilla-Silva argues, is partially reinforced by a pigmentocracy (where lighter skin tones are systemically advantaged against darker skin tones) in addition to other socioeconomic and class-related factors (such as education or income) that may add mobility (“categorical porosity”) to a group’s status in society (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Bonilla-Silva and Embrick, 2006). One feature of modern society that Bonilla-Silva describes as fueling this tri-racial/ethnic hierarchy is colorblind racism which “denies the salience of race” in affecting the privileges, opportunities, and challenges of individuals in a diverse society (Bell, Marquardt, & Berry, 2014; Bonilla-Silva 2004). Additionally, Bonilla-Silva (2004) notes that the desire for, and reliance on, labor from immigrants of color helps uphold this tri-racial system, creating two intermediary categories between Whites and Blacks which he names Honorary Whites and Collective Blacks. In social psychology, Bell, Marquardt, & Berry’s (2014) discussion of diversity, immigration, and American multi-racial hierarchy, in conversation with Bonilla-Silva’s tri-racial system of the USA (Bonilla-Silva, 2004), argues that Black people in the United States are perpetually at the bottom, Whites are perpetually at the top, while other groups hover somewhere in-between. They

cite numerous empirical studies as evidence of this racial hierarchy, including that of Pager and colleagues (2009), which found that White, Latinx, and Black job applicants received a call back or job offer in 31.0, 25.2 and 15.2 percent of cases, respectively – a hierarchy that was maintained even after the job applicants noted having a felony cocaine charge on their criminal records. Similarly, they cite work by Gilbert and colleagues (2003), which found that, “similarly qualified Asian American men, Asian American women, African American women, and African American men were rated most to least [polite], competent, [and] serious about work.” Further clarifying the hierarchy between racial minority groups, they note how studies about employers’ impressions of workers show that employers tend to hold more negative stereotypes about Black Americans than they do about Hispanic Americans (Heilman, Block, & Lucas, 1992; Neckerman & Kirschenman, 1991; McKay et al., 2007).

Building off of Bonilla-Silva’s model, Bell and colleagues ultimately map their own model of racial hierarchy, comprised of Whites, Non-White Non-Blacks, and Collective Blacks.

“Whites”	Whites New Whites (Caucasian immigrants) Assimilated white Latinos Invisible (white phenotype, passing) Multi-racials
“Non-White Non-Blacks”	Light-skinned Latinos Visible (non-Black) Multi-racials Asian Americans (Korean, Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Filipino, Vietnamese, Hmong, Laotian, etc.) Native Americans
“Collective Blacks”	All other identifiable non-Blacks and non-Whites Multi-racials with visible black ancestry New West Indian and black African immigrants Medium and dark-skinned Latinos of African descent American Blacks

Source: Adapted from Bonilla-Silva, E. (2004), “From bi-racial to tri-racial: towards a new system of racial stratification in the USA”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 27, pp. 931-950, Table I, p. 933

Figure 1.2. New Model of Racial Hierarchy (Bell, Marquardt, & Berry, 2014).

In building this new model, they ultimately find that, “[e]ven in organizations that are ‘diverse,’ a multi-racial hierarchy results in different compensation, promotion, and layoff rates and differential treatment across groups” (Bell, Marquardt, & Berry, 2014). They further argue that, “[employers] use non-Blacks to claim organizational diversity success.” In recognizing this hierarchy, Bell and colleagues challenge a “mosaic” image of diversity, defined as a construct that is meant to, “[defuse] minorities potential political antagonism, ...operating as a strategy of [reactionary] containment” (Zanoni et al., 2010). Towards that goal, they leave a cautionary note about how a multi-racial [diversity] hierarchy in a society that pursues diversity on its face functions to maintain differential treatment across groups, overwhelmingly keeping Black employees at the bottom and fueling a hierarchy of inclusion (Bell, Marquardt, & Berry, 2014).

A Diversity-Conflict Model of Inclusion

Prompted by current trends in inclusion statistics as well as changing norms around the value of diversity in the workplace, the present work investigates (a) what it means for diversity to be implicitly associated with conflict at the outset and (b) how the strength of this association varies between target groups. While limited, there is some precedent in social psychology for this research perspective. For example, Zanoni et al. (2010) writes, “the business rationale at the core of diversity is common knowledge, [but] much less is known about how identities are related to competencies, skills, and attitudes in order to include certain individuals and groups and exclude others.” This research questions whether there are differences in how social identity groups are valued in the workplace environment due to assumptions about their abilities or attitudes. Status Characteristics Theory, which views category evaluations as derived from societal consensus on the value of [hierarchically organized] groups, also provides some precedent for my research questions (Berger et al., 1977; Foschi, 1996; Wagner & Berger, 1993). Status Characteristics

Theory holds that external evaluations of status characteristics can be assimilated into group settings and decision-making. Ostensibly, the process of diversity and inclusion decision-making also incorporates implicit assumptions about the abilities or attitudes of different racial/ethnic groups, which are then used to include certain individuals or groups and exclude others.

Perceived Diversity

Zanoni and colleagues (2010) assert that, “current [literatures’ assumption of] pre-defined identities [do not pay enough] attention to how context changes the meaning of the identities themselves”. One might extend their research to note that the value of identities varies across for diversity-related decisions. To that end, the Diversity-Conflict Model of Inclusion proposes that perceived diversity is a relevant construct for consideration in diversity and inclusion outcomes. Perceived diversity refers to the extent that an individual, via their demographic group membership, is believed to be capable of contributing diversity to a workplace. In the Western context, upon which much of social psychology’s research is based, an overwhelming majority of White, Anglo-Saxon, cisgender, straight men hold central, influential positions (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). The definition of perceived diversity, then, is derived from the perception that an individual – by virtue of identity/background that differs from this norm – is capable of addition to diversity to the organization.

In their discussion of diversity resistance in organizations, Thomas (2007) notes that organizations with an access and legitimacy paradigm of diversity resistance, “encourage surface-level diversity but deny opportunities for deeper level diversity to surface as an opportunity for organizational learning and greater effectiveness. These organizations [therefore] create opportunities for inclusion, but only in divisions/units that on the surface appear related to minority issues such as targeted (minority) marketing campaign” (Thomas, 2007). While

Thomas (2007) juxtaposes surface-level and deep-level diversity, one might extend their analysis to consider how value judgments on diversity yield similar results. As one site of precedent, research by Feldman and Huddy (2005) found that participants were more likely to support a scholarship program when it targeted White students rather than Black students (Feldman & Huddy, 2005). One might then expect similarly hierarchical support for inclusive practices when comparing racial minority groups, who may be valued differently for their diversity.

	Low Belongingness	High Belongingness
Low Value in Uniqueness	<p>Exclusion</p> <p>Individual is not treated as an organizational insider with unique value in the work group but there are other employees or groups who are insiders.</p>	<p>Assimilation</p> <p>Individual is treated as an insider in the work group when they conform to organizational/dominant culture norms and downplay uniqueness.</p>
High Value in Uniqueness	<p>Differentiation</p> <p>Individual is not treated as an organizational insider in the work group but their unique characteristics are seen as valuable and required for group/ organization success.</p>	<p>Inclusion</p> <p>Individual is treated as an insider and also allowed/encouraged to retain uniqueness within the work group.</p>

Figure 1.3. A Uniqueness and Belonging Framework of Inclusion (Shore et al., 2011).

Value in diversity is directly related to inclusion outcomes, such as a psychological feeling of inclusion, which is defined as, “individuals' perception of the extent to which they feel safe, trusted, accepted, respected, supported, valued, fulfilled, engaged, and authentic in their working environment, both as individuals and as members of particular identity groups” (Ferdman et al., 2010). A minoritized individual’s experience within an otherwise homogenous group is thus informed by the extent that “[individuals are] valued for their uniqueness and feel a sense of belonging” (Shore et al., 2011; see Figure 1.3). However, individuals might have

disparate experiences within an organization as a function of their ability to contribute diversity. As one point of reference, De Meuse and Hostager (2001) identify five categories of diversity reactions: Emotional Reactions—initial, visceral responses to workplace diversity or an individual’s “gut feelings” about diversity in general; Behavioral Reactions—what an individual does (or intends to do) in response to diversity or verbal and nonverbal actions; Judgments—an individual’s normative evaluation of diversity or one’s value judgments regarding diversity in principle (e.g., is diversity good or bad); Personal Consequences—beliefs regarding perceived outcomes on an individual level or an individual’s views on how diversity will affect them personally; and Organizational Outcomes—beliefs regarding perceived outcomes on an organizational level or an individual’s views on how diversity will affect the company as a whole. In general, evidence does not suggest that these five categories are experienced equally across marginalized and minoritized groups.

	Emotional Reactions	Behavioral Reactions	Judgments	Personal Consequences	Organizational Outcomes
Positive Words	Compassionate	Collaborate	Ethical	Advancement	Asset
	Enthusiastic	Cooperate	Fair	Discovery	Harmony
	Excited	Friendly	Good	Enrichment	Innovation
	Grateful	Listen	Justified	Merit	Profitable
	Happy	Participate	Proper	Opportunity	Progress
	Hopeful	Support	Sensible	Rewarding	Team-building
	Proud	Understand	Useful	Wisdom	Unity
Negative Words	Anger	Blame	Bad	Clashes	Bureaucratic
	Apprehensive	Fight	Immoral	Insecurity	Disorder
	Confused	Patronize	Unfair	Pressure	Expensive
	Disagree	Resist	Unjustified	Rivalry	Liability
	Fear	Stubbornness	Unnatural	Sacrifice	Regulations
	Frustration	Unfriendly	Useless	Sleeplessness	Turnover
	Resentment	Withdrawal	Worthless	Stress	Unprofitable

Figure 1.4. Items Representing the Five Categories Included in the Reaction-to-Diversity Inventory (De Meuse and Hostager, 2001).

Rather, acknowledging De Meuse and Hostager's reaction-to-diversity inventory, negative connotations of diversity (e.g., clashes, regulations, sacrifice – in other words, anticipated conflict) are more likely to be held for some groups, such as Black Americans. This likely reinforces a hierarchy of value among groups that are simultaneously considered valuable to the goal of increasing diversity.

Perceived Conflict

In the industrial-organizational sense, workplace conflict is defined materially and concretely. Jehn and colleagues' framework of workplace conflict, for example, posits that conflict consists of emotional (interpersonal), task-, and process-focused traits. An emotional conflict may sprout from different ideas about values, beliefs, or identity, with the content generally understood as being irrelevant to the tasks at hand. In contrast, task- and process-conflict relate to the way deliverables are achieved through independent and/or collaborative potential of the group's members. As one example, someone might identify professional or educational background (e.g., STEM vs. Humanities) as a potential site of conflict. Disagreement about the process by which actions should/ought to occur (e.g., a working group with the joint task of a pitch deck) might also be characterized as workplace conflict according to this definition.

In this dissertation, I extend the discussion on diversity-related conflict to include perceived conflict. Perceived conflict – as distinct from *actual* conflict – works alongside perceived diversity when individuals are assessed on their workplace value, and refers to an assumed misalignment of values or beliefs, cultural dissimilarity, and social/political antagonism that a workplace majority may feel towards a newcomer. As one site of precedent for this definition, Zellmer-Bruhn and colleagues (2008) found that ethnic diversity was negatively

correlated with *perceived* social category similarity and *perceived* work style similarity. Similarly, work by Hofhuis, Zee, and Otten (2016) found that cultural expression in hiring profiles negatively affected assessment of minority candidates – an effect that was moderated by the extent that recruiters perceived individual difference as being beneficial to the workplace. Attitudes towards these minority candidates were also informed by how valuable their individual difference was believed to be; to that end, minority candidates with a more favorable type of diversity were rated more highly when they expressed cultural maintenance than candidates whose cultural differences were not viewed as valuable. Evidence for the importance of perceived conflict in understanding attitudes towards diversity is also found in research by Hobman, Bordia, and Gallois (2004). In their work they find that:

Although actual and perceived dissimilarity measures are typically related ...research on supervisor-subordinate similarity has tended to show that the effects of perceived dissimilarity are stronger than the effects of actual dissimilarity ..., supporting the idea that people tend to “react on the bases of perceptions of reality, not reality per se.” – Hobman, Bordia, and Gallois (2004) (emphasis added).

The relationship between perceived conflict and diversity management was also illustrated through their finding that, “individuals in teams with an open diversity climate [were] more likely to engage in discussions and *constructive conflict* and to contribute to the team, compared to individuals in teams with a less open diversity climate” (Hobman, Bordia, and Gallois, 2004) (emphasis added). In other words, the extent to which a group felt positively towards the diversity of their group informed the amount of conflict that they perceived and were willing to tolerate. This further suggests that the diversity-conflict relationship is nuanced between groups and can be framed as a constructive obstacle or as a negative tension in different contexts.

Overall, this work suggests the importance of perceived conflict when discussing workplace attitudes towards individuals who may also be valuable towards increasing workplace diversity.

In a thorough review of the evolution of diversity at work, Roberson, Ryan, and Ragins (2017) suggest creating, “more systematic ways of exploring and understanding the meanings associated with differences that are the source of diversity effects”. They continue, “assessing not only categories to which individuals belong, but *their salience and/or weight across contexts* may enable us to more practically and programmatically address the concern that ‘not all differences are equal’” (emphasis added). Perceived conflict addresses this phenomenon in diversity management, namely by acknowledging that not all diversity is equal. Alongside evaluations of diversity, perceived conflict is one way that diversity is assigned relative value. This evaluation is based on a number of variables, such as perceived difference in attitudes/beliefs, perceived difference in working ideals, perceived temperament, and overall perceived likelihood of negatively disrupting workplace norms (Huggins & Purdie-Greenaway, 2019).

Conclusion

Although closely linked, diversity and inclusion are defined separately. While diversity can be defined as achieving a variety of values, experiences, backgrounds, and preferences within the workplace, inclusion is defined as subsequently achieving an environment within which everyone is treated fairly and respectfully, having equal access to resources and opportunities. While we have seen much success in the former element of diversity and inclusion (i.e., increasing numerical representation of minoritized groups and/or women), there remains work to be done to address a lack of inclusion in the workplace for groups that have been historically most excluded.

In the United States, where the majority of the workforce identifies as Asian-, Black-, Hispanic/Latinx-, or White-American, discourse on demographic diversity tends to center these racial/ethnic groups (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020). In dialogue with demographic data and trends in both psychology and management literature, the proposed dissertation also restricts its focus to perceptions of Asian/Asian-American, Black/African-American, Hispanic/Latinx, and White members of the workforce. Importantly, this research pays particular attention to the ways in which Asian, Black, and Hispanic/Latinx candidates have disparate experiences in the workplace, despite sharing the category of “historically minoritized” and experiencing unique forms of prejudice. Through this dissertation project, I introduce novel research that operates under the following assumptions: (a) diversity is required; (b) diversity is desired; (c) increasing representation of racial/ethnic minorities is one means by which people satisfy conditions a & b; (d) decision-makers have some leverage in choosing the type of racial/ethnic minority they prefer to work with, and therefore (e) can assign differential value to racial/ethnic groups based on these preferences. Based on these assumptions, empirical data (Chapters 2-4), and workplace statistics (Chapter 1), I ultimately argue that systems of exclusion are able to replicate themselves while still satisfying the goal of increasing diversity.

Manuscript Aims

Building out this program of research, this dissertation proposes three empirical chapters to assess evaluations of perceived diversity and conflict between groups, as well as generally clarify the perceived diversity-conflict relationship. **Chapter 2**, a summary of previous work in the program, reports on the foundational studies of the Diversity-Conflict Model of Inclusion, including a small focus group and two scale pilots. This novel research provides evidence that perceived conflict does indeed varied across target groups, as does the perception of how much

value racial minority groups provide in the goal of increasing diversity. **Chapter 3** reports a new pair of experiments using a 2 (no diversity requirement vs. diversity requirement) x 2 (ideal candidate conflict unafraid vs. conflict avoidant) between-subjects experimental design. Using a mock job candidate choice/trade-off paradigm, this chapter explores whether Asian, Black, and Latinx people are evaluated differently as job candidates when expectations for workplace diversity and conflict are manipulated. This chapter provides preliminary evidence to suggest that the value of a marginalized racial/ethnic group is not equal across diversity and inclusion decisions, but shifts according to how much conflict people are willing to tolerate and the expectations for diversity that they hope to meet. The choices that participants make when selecting the ideal job candidate, then, provides important information about the level of perceived diversity and perceived conflict associated with the job candidate's racial/ethnic group. Departing from the management context and expanding outward, **Chapter 4** proposes that course selection, a central element of the university intellectual and social experience, is a decision-making process that has been minimally explored in diversity & inclusion and intergroup processes literature. Utilizing a between-subjects experimental prime (diversity made salient vs. control) and three within-subjects course assessments (science, humanities, and critical race/gender studies) this study focuses on how anticipation of conflict in diverse spaces may inform course selection decisions among racial majority group students. The chapter therefore researches one of the many ways in which students select their social and political networks – important sites of self-discovery and intellectual growth for still-developing adults – and the process by which these adults become adversaries of diversity efforts or willing participants.

Chapter II: Foundational Studies

This chapter summarizes earlier studies in the Diversity-Conflict Model of Inclusion program of research. While Study 2a and 2b were previously submitted in fulfillment of the Master's thesis, Study 2c introduces new qualitative data that was collected ahead of this dissertation's work.

Study 2a: Diversity-Conflict Scale Pilot

In Study 2a, an 18-item measure (comprised of 'perceived diversity' and 'perceived conflict' subscales) was generated and piloted with adult members of the U.S. workforce. The purpose of these sub-scales was to quantify the extent to which identity groups (especially those most frequently referenced in diversity and inclusion literature, such as racial/ethnic, sexual, and gender minorities) were perceived as contributing to workplace diversity and conflict. Items generated for the perceived diversity subscale were informed by existing definitions of diversity found in diversity management literature, focusing on perceived difference in culture and values (e.g., *Members of this group have a very different culture than my own.*), in addition to statistical representation (e.g., *I frequently encounter members of this group in my workplace.*). In total, eight original items were piloted for this portion of the Diversity-Conflict Scale. Perceived conflict items were also informed by existing, validated instruments in psychology literature (including the Stereotype Content Scale and Symbolic Racism Scale; see appendix A for full list). Items addressed such themes as intergroup competition (e.g., *At work, resources that go to members of this group are likely to take away from the resources of people like me.*; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), political correctness and self-monitoring (e.g., *At work, I worry about being politically correct when I'm around a member of this group.*), and workplace

compatibility/assimilation (e.g., *Members of group would fit well with the culture of my job or organization.*) In total, ten original and adapted items were piloted for this portion of the scale. Additional individual difference measures (e.g., Social Dominance Orientation and Interethnic Ideology) were analyzed as moderators to confirm predicted relationships between perceived diversity, perceived conflict, and relevant constructs. For clarity and brevity, those results are not reported in this research summary.

The study used a between-within mixed experimental design with 4 (between-subject) target group conditions: Black/African-American, White/Caucasian American, Hispanic/Latinx American, and Asian-Americans. Participants first completed the 18-item Diversity-Conflict scale with respect to the one assigned target group. For a within-subject measurement of racial groups' diversity and conflict, participants also responded to one item from the Diversity-Conflict scale measuring perceived diversity ("*People tend to think about... when thinking about diversity*") and one item measuring perceived conflict ("*... tend to create tension in the workplace*") with respect to all four groups.

Online participants ($N = 402$) were recruited through Prolific and screened for their country of residence (U.S.), employment status (full- or part-time employment), and age (18 or older). All participants were eligible for monetary compensation at the Prolific standard rate of \$6.50/hour. Participants were 36.8% female, 61.7% male, and .01% not listed gender identity. The majority of participants were White (80% or 322 total), with lesser representation of Asian-American (8.2%), Black/African-American (2.7%), and mixed-race (4%) participants. One percent of participants identified as "Other (not listed)". Five percent of participants identified as Hispanic or Latinx (4% of these individuals solely identified with their Hispanic/Latinx ethnicity and indicated no race). Mean participant age was 33-years-old ($SD = 9.6$ years).

Summary of Results

Results first summarize exploratory factor analyses for the Diversity-Conflict instrument, which contains perceived diversity and perceived conflict subscales, followed by between- and within-subject experimental analyses. These data are being reported as they were analyzed at the time of their submission for my Master's thesis; however, when appropriate, recommendations or comments on these analyses are presented in the footnotes.

Exploratory factor analyses

Diversity Subscale. The Bartlett's test of sphericity for the 8-item diversity subscale was significant [$\chi^2(28) = 1111.88, p < .001$], suggesting that these data were probably suitable for factor analysis; the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was only 0.73 (middling). An exploratory varimax rotation² factor analysis with three factors (the maximum factor value allowed by the test) saw diversity subscale items load above 0.5 on each factor. While likelihood tests suggested 1 or 2 factors would be most appropriate³, the following results report on the full three factors⁴ to explore the subscale's thematic components more thoroughly.

² While the varimax rotation, as a type of orthogonal rotation, tends to produce more easily interpretable results, it is not ideal for scales where factors may indeed be highly correlated. The perceived diversity and perceived conflict sub-scales for the Diversity-Conflict Scale were moderately correlated at $r = 0.22$ ($p < .001$) in this experiment, making an oblique rotation a more ideal test. However, these results consist of previously analyzed and reported data from Master's work; therefore, this test has not been adjusted, in order to more accurately reflect the thinking and conclusions produced during these foundational studies.

³ A likelihood-ratio analysis on the hypothesis that 3 factors was sufficient was not statistically significant [$\chi^2(7) = 8.09, p = .325$]. Likelihood-ratio analysis on the hypotheses that 1 [$\chi^2(20) = 444.01, p < .001$] or 2 factors [$\chi^2(13) = 160.93, p < .001$] were sufficient were both statistically significant. The one-factor model showed that three items in the diversity subscale failed to load above 0.50; the two-factor model showed that a separate two items failed to load above 0.50 on either factor. The cumulative proportion of variance explained for both the one factor and two factor models were below 0.50 (48% and 32%, respectively), below the suggested threshold of 0.60 for the validity of a factor analysis model (Hair et al., 2012).

⁴ An oblique [promax] rotation (which produced identical factor groupings as those outlined above, albeit with slightly different loadings) showed the following factor correlations: Factor 1 and 2 (0.13), Factor 1 and 3 (-0.47), Factor 2 and 3 (-0.29).

The first two items “Having more of this group in my workplace would make it more diverse” (-0.88) and “I frequently encounter members of this group in my workplace” (0.81) loaded onto a single factor; this factor aligned with the representational element of perceived diversity and explained 25% of the variance in the items. The next four items [Members of this group provide a unique perspective that’s different from that of most people at work (0.57); Having more of this group at work might change the culture of my workplace (0.79); Members of this group are well-represented in my job or organization (-0.71); Members of this group have a very different culture than my own (0.66)] loaded onto a second factor, primarily emphasizing the cultural and perspective difference element of perceived diversity. This factor also included the item about representation of said group within participants’ organizations, which was not expected, but may relate to how prevalence of representation affects social norms. Factor two explained 19% of the variance in items. Finally, “Members of this group seem very different from me” (0.64) and “People tend to think about this group when thinking about diversity” (0.90) loaded onto the third factor; these items appeared to capture how perceived difference and diversity are closely aligned, particularly in the case of a majority White sample. The final factor explained 16% of the variance in items, for a cumulative explained variance of 61%.

While exploratory factor analysis suggested that the diversity subscale consisted of at least three factors, the sub-scale generated a raw alpha of .77, suggesting strong coherence overall. The items were therefore retained as a single scale, with the acknowledgement that ‘perceived diversity’ would be more nuanced concept consisting of more than one theme (e.g., numerical representation and cultural similarity).

Table 2.1

Diversity-Conflict Scale: 8-item Diversity Subscale Factor Loadings

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
DC1_makeworkplacemorediverse		-0.88	
DC2_frequentlyencounter		0.81	
DC3_uniqueperspective	0.57		
DC4_change_workplace_culture	0.79		
DC5_wellrepresented_in_workplace	-0.71		
DC6_differentculture	0.66		
DC7_different_from_me			0.64
DC8_people_think_diversity			0.90

Conflict Subscale. The Bartlett’s test of sphericity for the 10-item conflict subscale was significant [$\chi^2(45) = 1277.6, p < .001$] and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was 0.82 (meritorious), both suggesting factor analysis was likely appropriate. An exploratory varimax rotation factor analysis with six factors (the maximum factor value allowed by the test) saw conflict subscale items load above 0.50 on each factor. As with the diversity subscale, likelihood tests suggested [three or] fewer factors would be more appropriate⁵;

⁵ Likelihood-ratio analyses on the hypothesis that 5 [$\chi^2(5) = 6.25, p = .283$] or 4 factors [$\chi^2(11) = 18.18, p = 0.078$] were sufficient were both not statistically significant. The likelihood ratio analysis on the hypothesis that 6 factors were sufficient produced a χ^2 of 0. Likelihood-ratio analysis on the hypotheses that 1 [$\chi^2(35) = 447.84, p < 0.001$], 2 [$\chi^2(26) = 89.43, p < 0.001$], or 3 factors [$\chi^2(18) = 46.16, p < .001$] were sufficient were all statistically significant. The one-factor model showed that five items in the conflict subscale failed to load above 0.5. The cumulative proportion of variance explained for both the one factor and two factor models were below 0.5 (29% and 46%, respectively), below the suggested threshold of 0.6 for the validity of a factor analysis model (Hair et al., 2012). The cumulative proportion of variance explained for the three factor model was 52%, still below ideal threshold.

however, the following results report on the full six factors⁶ to explore the subscale's thematic components more thoroughly.

Table 1.2

Diversity-Conflict Scale: 10-item Conflict subscale factor loadings

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
DC9_similaroutlook					0.52	
DC10_take_away_resources			0.92			
DC11_create_tension						
DC12_east_getalong		0.50				
DC13_fit_in_workplaceculture		0.71				
DC14_would_feel_comfortable_workplace		0.71				
DC15_monitor_what_Isay	0.67					
DC16_worry_about_politicalcorrectness	0.82					
DC17_similar_values_work						
DC18_incompatible_social_values				0.90		

⁶ An oblique [promax] rotation produced only two factors above a single-item loading [Factor 1: At work, I feel like I have to monitor what I say when I'm around a member of this group (0.57), At work, I worry about being politically correct when I'm around a member of this group (0.99); Factor 2: Members of group would fit well with the culture of my job or organization (0.65), A member of this group would feel comfortable working within my job or organization (0.73)]. The correlation between these factors was -0.016.

In the conflict subscale, two items from the scale failed to load onto any of the six factors (*Members of this group tend to create tension in the workplace; This group's values and beliefs regarding work are basically quite similar to those of most people at my job*). Two items loaded onto the initial factor [*At work, I feel like I have to monitor what I say when I'm around a member of this group* (0.67); *At work, I worry about being politically correct when I'm around a member of this group* (0.82)], distinctly acknowledging self-presentation or censorship concerns. The first factor produced a variance explained of 16%. A second factor emphasized social compatibility and fit [*At work, it is easy to get along with members of this group* (0.50); *Members of group would fit well with the culture of my job or organization* (0.71); *A member of this group would feel comfortable working within my job or organization* (0.71)], and produced a variance explained of 15%. Three items loaded independently onto separate factors, each producing a variance explained of 10% or less [*At work, resources that go to members of this group are likely to take away from the resources of people like me* (0.92); *At work, me and members of this group are likely to be similar in terms of our outlook, perspective, and values* (0.52); *This group's values and beliefs regarding social relations are not compatible with the beliefs of most people at my job* (0.90)]. Altogether, the five factors produced a cumulative variance explained of 61%.

While exploratory factor analysis suggested that the conflict subscale consisted of at least five factors, the sub-scale generated a raw alpha of .81, suggesting strong coherence overall. The items were therefore retained as a single scale, with the acknowledgement that 'perceived conflict' would be more nuanced concept consisting of more than one thematic element (e.g., social fit and agitation of self-presentation concerns).

Perceived diversity

The first experimental dependent variable of interest was perceived diversity, which was calculated as the average of responses to the Diversity-Conflict Scale's 8-item diversity subscale, for a maximum value of 7. A linear regression⁷ examining the effect of target group condition on perceived diversity scores showed that Black/African-Americans, Asian-Americans, and Hispanic/Latinx Americans were seen as contributing more diversity than White Americans. There was no significant difference between Black/African-American, Asian-American, and Hispanic/Latinx American conditions, however.

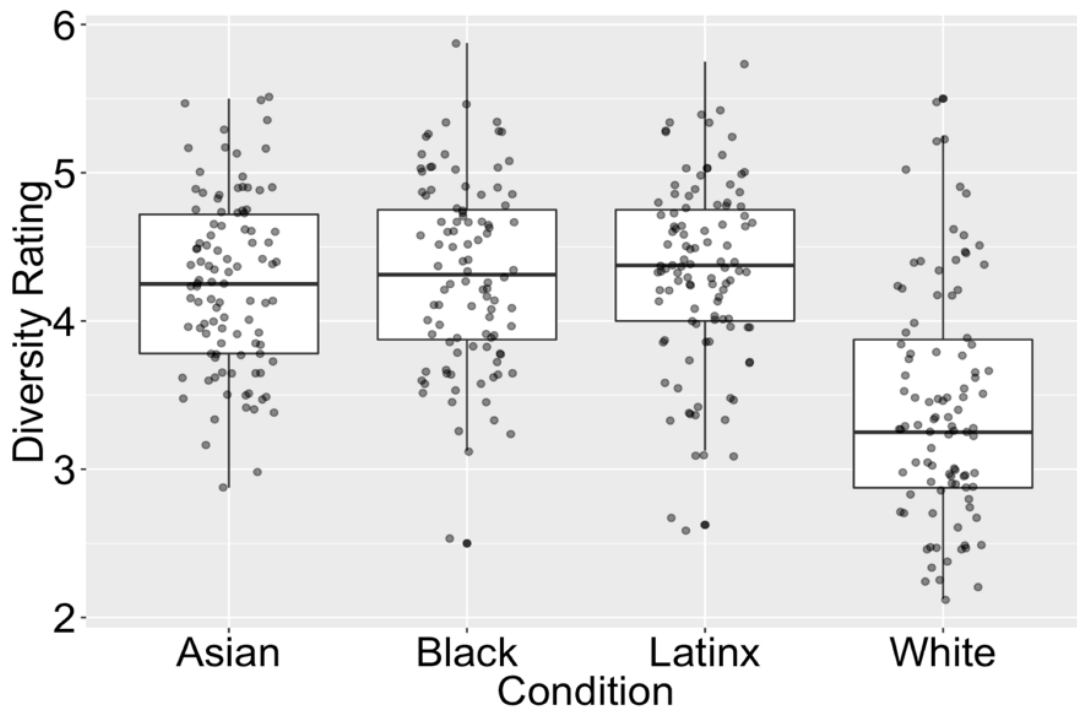


Figure 2.1. Between-subjects perceived diversity ratings by condition.

⁷ At the time these data were analyzed, a linear regression using categorical variables was conducted using the simple coding method (Chen et al., 2011). Were this data to be reanalyzed, a linear mixed model with random slopes for participant would be used.

A within-subjects linear regression using a single item [“People tend to think about this group when thinking about diversity”; 1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)], found that Black/African-Americans were highest in perceived diversity. There was a significant difference in means between minority racial groups, such that Black/African-Americans, followed by Hispanic/Latinx Americans, followed by Asian-Americans were most associated with diversity. Whites were lowest in perceived diversity, compared to these groups.

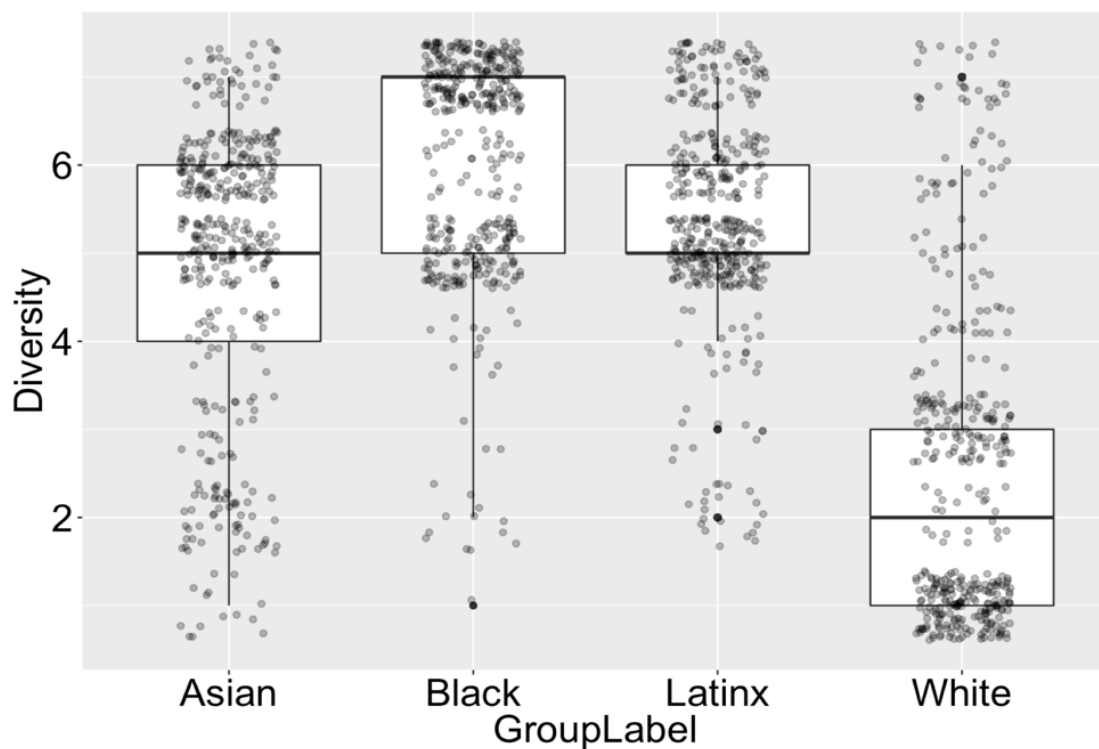


Figure 2.2. Within-subjects perceived diversity by condition.

Perceived conflict

A linear regression examining perceptions of conflict as a function of target group yielded mixed results. There was a significant difference in means such that Black/African-Americans were seen as higher in perceived conflict than Asian-Americans. However, there was

a nonsignificant difference in perceived conflict between Asian-American and Hispanic/Latinx American target groups and between Hispanic/Latinx American and White American target groups. There was also no significant difference in perceived conflict between Black/African-American and White American target groups.

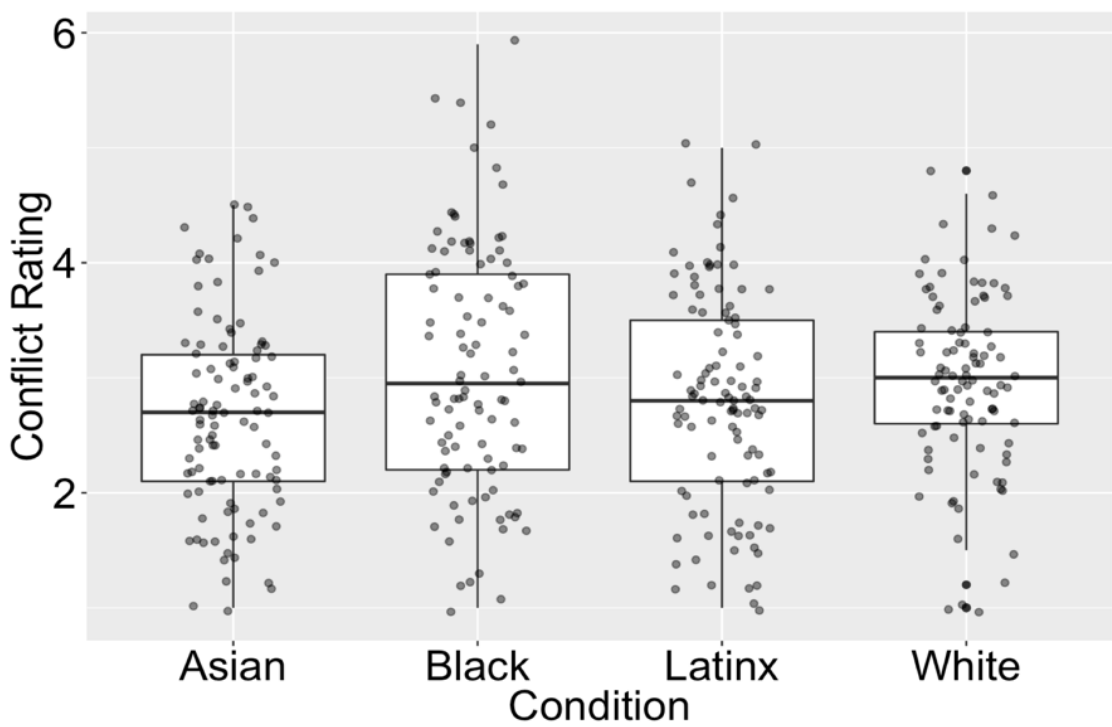


Figure 2.3. Between-subjects perceived conflict by condition.

Within-subjects, conflict was measured using a single item from the perceived conflict portion of the Diversity-Conflict scale [“Members of this group tend to create tension in the workplace”; 1 (strongly disagree) – 7 (strongly agree)]. In this measurement of perceived conflict, Whites were rated as highest in conflict compared to other groups. There was a hierarchy among the racial minority target groups such that Black/African-Americans were perceived as higher in conflict than both Hispanic/Latinx Americans and Asian-Americans; and Hispanic/Latinx Americans were perceived as higher in conflict than Asian-Americans.

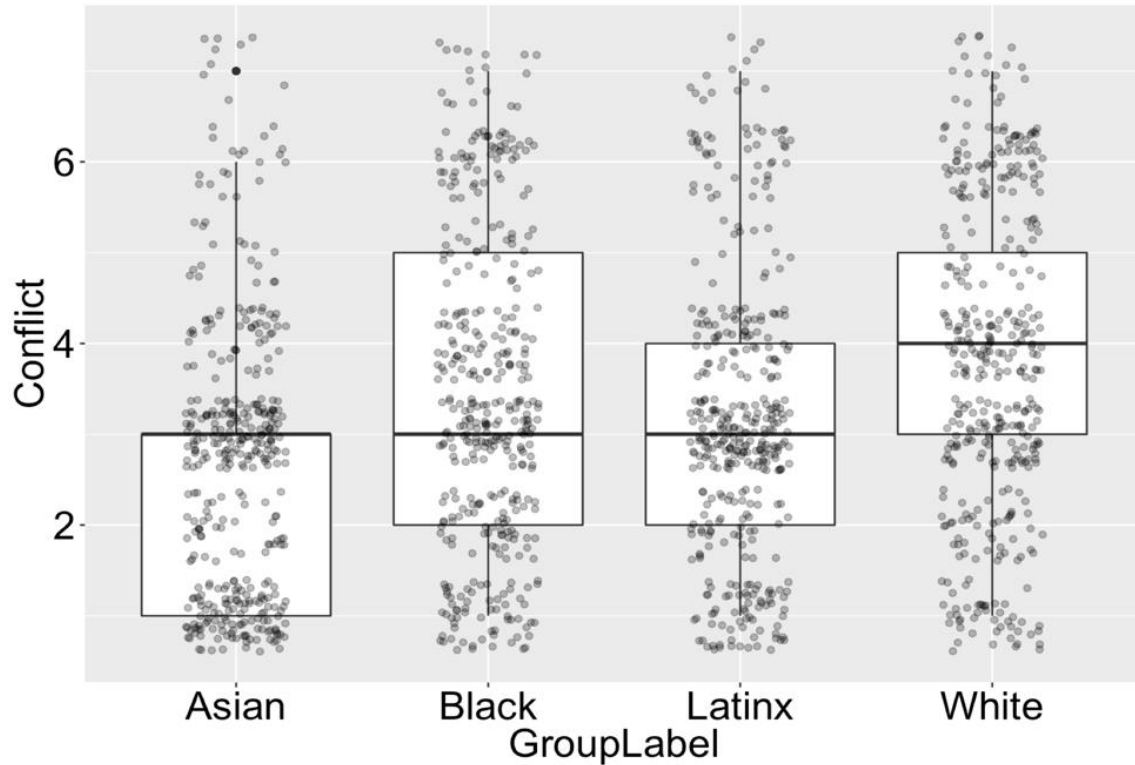


Figure 2.4. Within-subjects perceived conflict by condition.

Correlation between perceived diversity and conflict. Overall, there was a positive correlation between perceived diversity and conflict scale items: the higher a group’s perceived diversity rating, the higher their perceived conflict rating ($r = .22$) ($p < .001$). By condition, however, this correlation was significant for White ($r = 0.53$, $p < .001$) and Asian ($r = 0.34$, $p < .001$) target groups, but not for Black ($r = 0.14$, $p = 0.169$) or Hispanic/Latinx ($r = 0.18$, $p = 0.060$) groups.

Discussion

The novel Diversity-Conflict Scale, while demonstrating coherence at the subscale level, showed mixed results on the utility of the scale on the whole. However, with the Diversity-Conflict instrument, statistically significant differences in perceptions of racial minority groups

(namely, Black/African-Americans, Hispanic/Latinxs, and Asian-Americans) were captured. The primary findings were that Black-Americans were associated more with workplace conflict than were Asian-Americans, and that Black Americans, especially, were associated with workplace diversity. Overall, results strongly suggested a hierarchy in how racial minority groups were assessed on their contributions to workplace diversity and conflict, as operationalized through the themes of representation and virtue/cultural dissimilarity. Additionally, this study provided evidence that perceived conflict – across the themes of workplace compatibility/fit, self-monitoring concerns, and resource allocation, among others – differed according to target group in question, even when these groups are similarly perceived in their diversity contributions.

This experiment also showed that perceived diversity and perceived conflict were positively correlated. However, looking more closely at this data, the positive correlation between diversity and conflict was only statistically significant for White and Asian target groups and not Black or Hispanic/Latinx target groups. This may relate to the relatively stable underprivileged position of Black and non-White, Hispanic/Latinxs relative to Whites, Honorary Whites, or non-White non-Blacks, as discussed by Bonilla-Silva (2004) and Bell, Marquardt, & Berry (2014). In other words, Whites and Asians may be perceived as having a gradient of both diversity and conflict allowing them social mobility depending on factors such as skin tone, education, country of origin, or class (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Bell, Marquardt, & Berry, 2014); this would therefore make the correlation between perceived diversity and perceived conflict particularly salient for these groups, while dampening the effect for “Collective Blacks” who may be seen as having more stable, subordinate positions in social hierarchy.

Returning to the scale analysis, the positive correlation between perceived diversity and perceived conflict subscales and the numerous factors within each subscale further challenged

the value of the Diversity-Conflict Scale as an instrument. At minimum, these results encouraged a change in how the scale items were utilized. Study 2b addressed these concerns by shifting away from the likert scale response format. Study 2b also used a priming experiment to explore the positive association between diversity and conflict more thoroughly, paying attention to whether the association would change according to an explicit reference group for workplace diversity.

Study 2b: Diversity-Conflict Scale Second Pilot and Priming Experiment

Having piloted the full Diversity-Conflict Scale, study 2b aimed to revisit the instrument's application as well as test the diversity-conflict relationship using a more implicit approach. To that end, in study 2b, participants were randomly assigned to read a short article about changing U.S. workforce demographics. In each condition, the article either focused on Black/African-Americans', Hispanic/Latinx Americans', Asian-Americans', or racial/ethnic minorities' (as a general control) growing workplace representation; a true control condition was also added, where the article described trends in workplace technology. Following the article prime, participants completed a modified Intragroup Conflict Scale (Jehn, 1993; Jehn, 1995; see Appendix A) in response to the prompted question "*In your opinion, how does increased workplace diversity affect...*". Items in the modified conflict scale corresponded to emotional (e.g., *...personal friction between members of the workplace?*), task (e.g., *...disagreement over the content of decisions between members of the workplace?*), and process (e.g., *disagreements about who should do what?*) outcomes.

Counterbalanced with the article priming experiment, a modified pilot of the Diversity-Conflict Scale prompted participants indicate all identity groups to which they felt each scale item applied (e.g., *Members of this group tend to create tension in the workplace*). This iteration

of the pilot expanded the identity groups in question to include non-racial/ethnic-specific groups (i.e., ‘women’, ‘veterans’, ‘millennials’, ‘transgender individuals’, ‘lesbian/gay/bisexual individuals’, and ‘individuals with a physical disability’).

In line with the findings of study 2a, participants who were primed with an article about increased Black/African-American presence in the workforce were predicted to report the greatest increase in workplace conflict, on average. Conversely, when primed with an article about increased Asian-American presence in the workforce, participants were predicted to report the least increase in workplace conflict, on average. Hypotheses for Diversity-Conflict Scale portion focused exclusively on race/ethnicity in alignment with previous scale pilot’s data. On average, Black/African-Americans were expected to be most associated with racial diversity, followed by Hispanic/Latinx-Americans and Asian-Americans. Similarly, Black/African-Americans would be expected to be most associated with conflict and Asian-Americans the least associated. Association with diversity and conflict in this study was operationalized as the frequency with which each target group was cited as being relevant to the scale item.

Participants ($N= 587$) were recruited from Prolific, pre-screened for country of residence (U.S.), employment status (full- or part-time employment), and age (18 or older). All participants were eligible for monetary compensation at the Prolific standard rate of \$6.50/hour.

Participants were 46.3% male, 44.8% female, and 1.2% nonbinary; 8 participants, or 1.2%, also identified as transgender. 434 of participants identified as White (73.9%), with Black/African-American (9.5%), Asian-American (7.5%), American Indian/Alaska Native (1.7%), and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (.5%) representation fewer in numbers. Of all participants, 1.7% identified as Hispanic or Latina/o/x. The majority of participants were full- (69%) or part-time

(27.6%) employed, with 1% of participants circumventing screening criteria. Average participant age was 32-years-old (SD: 10.1 years).

Summary of Results

Priming Experiment

To analyze the effect of primed article condition on participants' association of workplace diversity with workplace conflict, items from the modified Intragroup Conflict Scale were first combined into an average score (maximum = 7). This response average corresponded to the amount of workplace conflict participants associated with an increased representation of the target group mentioned in the article. These averages were compared across article prime conditions using a linear regression⁸. The regression showed no effect of primed condition on participants' assessments of how diversity affects workplace conflict. The effect remained nonsignificant when collapsing across treatment conditions and comparing to the true control. However, a 1-sample proportions test revealed that, across conditions, participants felt that increased workplace diversity lead to more intragroup workplace conflict, on average.

⁸ At the time these data were analyzed, a linear regression using categorical variables was conducted using the simple coding method (Chen et al., 2011). Were this data to be reanalyzed, a linear mixed model with random slopes for participant would be used.

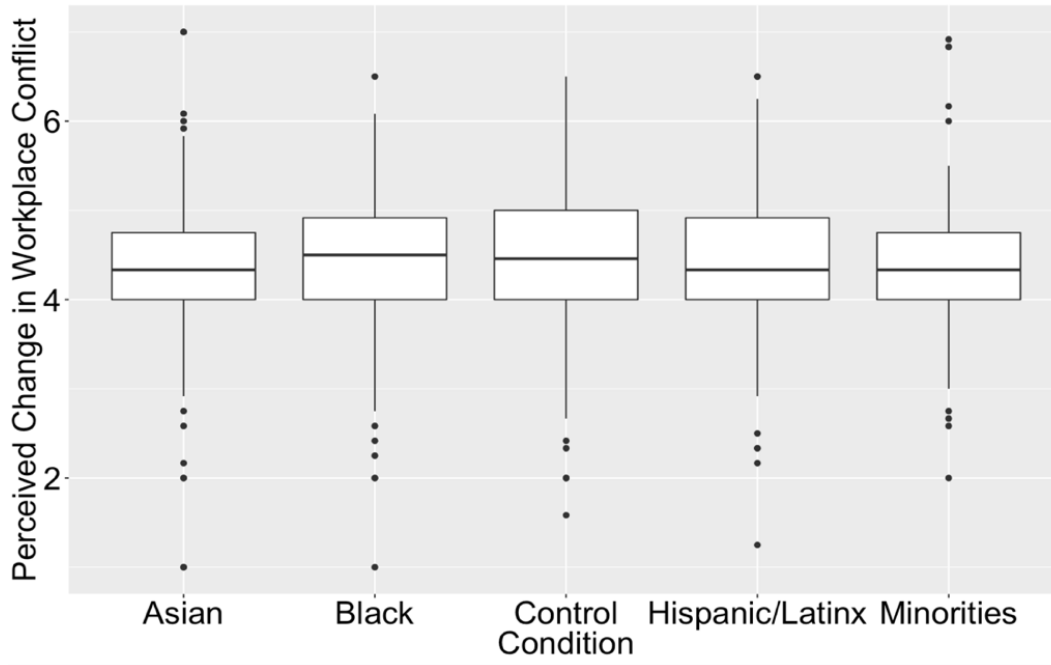


Figure 2.5. Perceived change in workplace conflict as a function of increased workplace diversity, by condition.

Scale Pilot

Rather than have participants respond to each item with respect to a single target group, this scale pilot asked participants to select all groups for which they felt the statement applied. Perceived diversity (maximum of 8) or perceived conflict (maximum of 10) ratings in this experiment were calculated as the total number of items for which each group was selected within each respective subscale. Results were then analyzed using linear regressions and pairwise t-tests to confirm between-group differences.

Target Group Association with Perceived Diversity Scale Items. A linear regression followed by a pairwise t-test of average perceived diversity as a function of target group found that ‘women’ and ‘millennials’ were most associated with perceived diversity scale items. The set was followed by ‘veterans’. Following the veteran group, ‘Asian-Americans’, ‘Hispanic/Latinx Americans’, ‘individuals with a physical disability’ were most associated with

diversity. 'Black/African-Americans' did not statistically differ from this group.

Lesbian/gay/bisexual individuals did not statistically differ from Black/African-Americans, but did statistically differ from all racial categories and those with disabilities. Following this set,

'transgender individuals' were least associated with diversity.

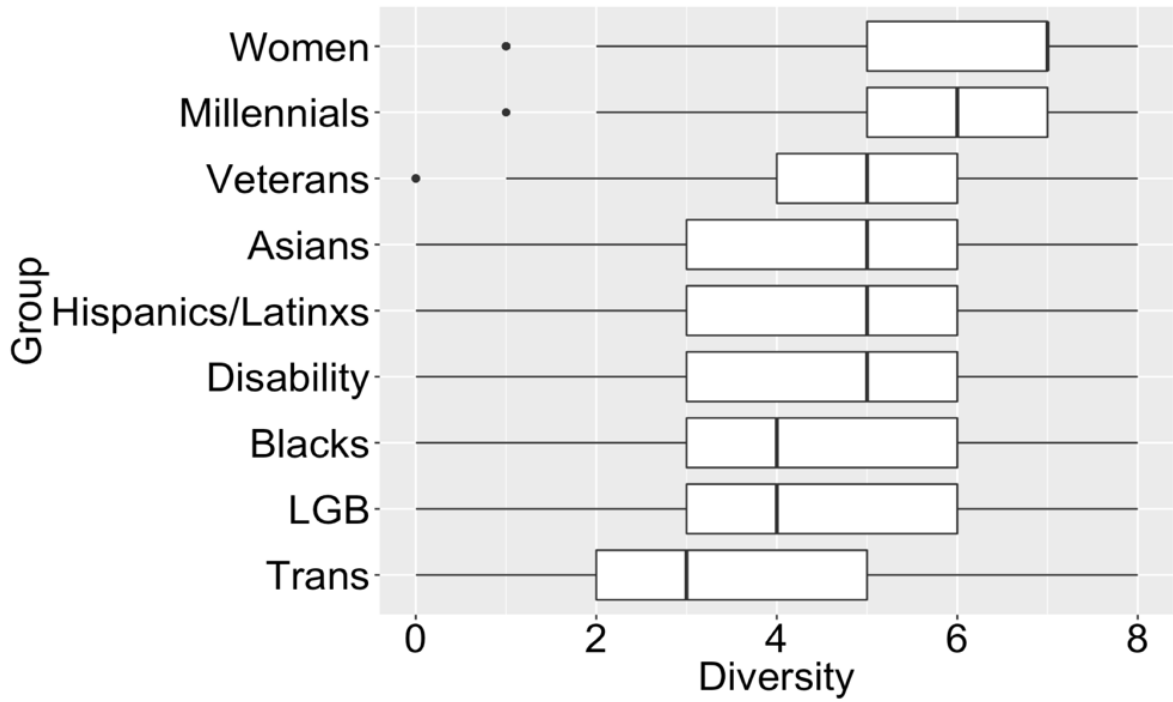


Figure 2.6. Second Diversity-Conflict Scale pilot: Perceived Diversity (out of 8).

Table 2.3

Pairwise t-tests for perceived diversity scores.

Asian <i>M</i> = 4.60 <i>SD</i> = 0.08	-								
Black <i>M</i> = 4.32 <i>SD</i> = 0.11	p = 0.7919	-							
Disability <i>M</i> = 4.48 <i>SD</i> = 0.11	p = 1.0000	p = 0.71443	-						
Hispanic <i>M</i> = 4.60 <i>SD</i> = 0.11	p = 1.0000	p = 0.07919	p = 1.0000	-					
LGB <i>M</i> = 4.14 <i>SD</i> = 0.11	p < .001	p = 0.49561	p = 0.01238	p < .001	-				
Millennial <i>M</i> = 6.25 <i>SD</i> = 0.11	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	-			
Trans <i>M</i> = 3.42 <i>SD</i> = 0.11	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	-		
Veteran <i>M</i> = 5.16 <i>SD</i> = 0.11	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	-	
Women <i>M</i> = 6.25 <i>SD</i> = 0.11	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p = 1.0000	p < .001	p < .001	-
	Asian	Black	Disability	Hispanic	LGB	Millennial	Trans	Veteran	Women

Target Group Association with Perceived Conflict Scale Items. A linear regression followed by a pairwise t-test of perceived conflict found that ‘women’ were most associated with perceived conflict items; followed by ‘Asian-Americans’, ‘Hispanic/Latinx Americans’,

‘millennials’; then, ‘Black/African-Americans’, ‘veterans’, and ‘individuals with a physical disability’. This set was followed by ‘lesbian/gay/bisexual individuals’, then ‘transgender individuals’ (in most cases between-set differences significant at $p < .001$, see pairwise test).

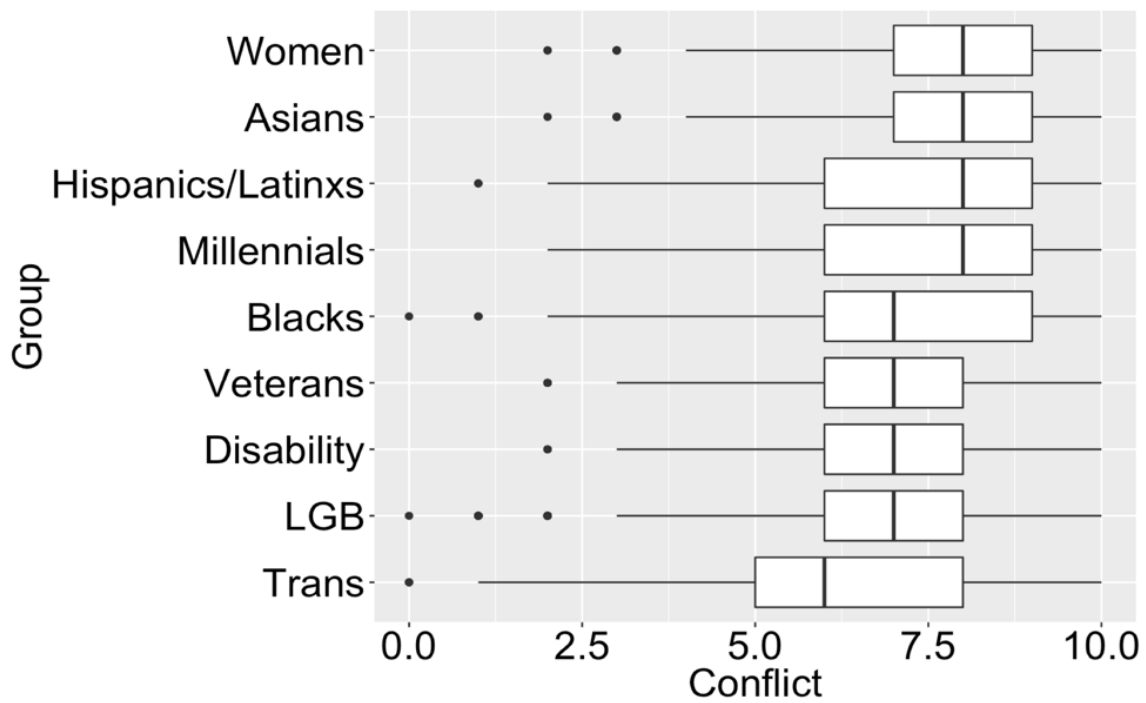


Figure 2.7. Second Diversity-Conflict Scale pilot: Perceived Conflict (out of 10).

Table 2.4

Pairwise t-tests for perceived conflict scores.

Asian <i>M</i> = 7.56 <i>SD</i> = 0.07	-								
Black <i>M</i> = 7.19 <i>SD</i> = 0.10	p = 0.00271	-							
Disability <i>M</i> = 6.98 <i>SD</i> = 0.10	p < .0001	p = 0.22493	-						
Hispanic <i>M</i> = 7.46 <i>SD</i> = 0.10	p = 0.96147	p = 0.06228	p < .001	-					
LGB <i>M</i> = 6.82 <i>SD</i> = 0.10	p < .001	p = 0.00191	p = 0.45470	p < .001	-				
Millennial <i>M</i> = 7.41 <i>SD</i> = 0.11	p = 0.50046	p = 0.22493	p < .001	p = 1.0000	p < .001	-			
Trans <i>M</i> = 6.20 <i>SD</i> = 0.10	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	-		
Veteran <i>M</i> = 7.17 <i>SD</i> = 0.10	p = .00142	p = 1.0000	p = .30578	p = .03765	p = .00354	p = 0.15278	p < .001	-	
Women <i>M</i> = 7.85 <i>SD</i> = 0.10	p = .02756	p < .001	p < .001	p = 0.0091	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	p < .001	-
	Asian	Black	Disability	Hispanic	LGB	Millennial	Trans	Veteran	Women

Correlation between perceived diversity and conflict. On average, there was a positive correlation between perceived diversity and conflict scale items: when participants indicated that a target group was associated with a perceived diversity item, they also likely indicated that the group was associated with a perceived conflict item ($r = 0.27$) ($p < .001$). This correlation was positive and significant for all groups: Asian ($r = 0.16, p < .001$); Black ($r = 0.17, p < .001$); people with a physical disability ($r = 0.10, p = 0.015$); Hispanic ($r = 0.18, p < .001$); LGB ($r = 0.27, p < .001$); Millennials ($r = 0.32, p < .001$); Transgender ($r = 0.19, p < .001$); Veteran ($r = 0.28, p < .001$); Women ($r = 0.24, p < .001$).

Discussion

Study 2b replicated the finding that people associate increased diversity with more conflict in the workplace. However, priming participants with different racial target groups did not affect perceptions of change in workplace conflict in this experiment, which departed from experimental hypotheses. Study 2b also built upon the initial pilot of the Diversity-Conflict Scale by expanding the target group range, including non-racial/ethnic minorities that may be similarly implicated in diversity and inclusion decision-making. Results showed that participants especially associated diversity and conflict with the target group ‘women’, while associating these concepts least with transgender individuals. A potential explanation for these results may be familiarity or exposure to each group in question; for example, the general category ‘women’ may have proved to be a more comfortable and cognitively accessible category to assess than that of more marginalized groups, such as transgender and individuals with physical disabilities, who are less represented in U.S. workplaces. One limitation of this work, however, was that this study did not initially collect information about participants’ level of exposure to these groups in

their own workplaces. It was therefore difficult to draw conclusions about why participants selected certain groups over others.

In conversation with Study 2a, the results of the second scale pilot were only somewhat consistent as they related to a hierarchy among racial minorities. Results showed that Asian, Black, and Hispanic/Latinxs were associated equally with perceived diversity, which was consistent with the between-subjects data of Study 2a. However, in perceived conflict, Black and Asian groups trended in opposite directions of what would be expected. While in Study 2a, Black people were generally more associated with conflict than Asian people, the effect was seemingly reversed in this iteration of the scale pilot. Additionally, Study 2b departed from the findings of the first scale pilot in that the positive correlation between diversity and conflict was significant for Asian, Black, and Hispanic groups, while it was not consistently significant among these groups in the first iteration. The difference in calculating perceived diversity and perceived conflict for target groups may explain this discrepancy between the two studies. That is, while the first scale pilot used a likert scale for each perceived diversity and conflict scale item, the second pilot relied on overall scale item response frequency. This slight difference in operationalization makes comparing the correlations between these two studies less insightful than comparing those from studies whose methods were identical. Similar to the findings discussed above, then, the first scale pilot's correlation may have better captured participants' attitudes towards these groups, while the second scale pilot's correlation may have been more suited as a proxy for participants' familiarity or comfort with each group in their workplace. Without prior measurement of participants' attitudes towards each target group (perhaps using a feelings thermometer task), however, explanations for participants' decisions were difficult to infer. A re-analysis of this work might have used individual items or even the thematic groupings

within both subscales (e.g., conflict – assumptions of value difference, diversity – frequency of interaction) to better understand the nuance in how racial minority groups were assessed.

Following mixed results on the coherence and utility of the Diversity-Conflict Scale as an instrument, the focus of this research transitioned to understanding the phenomenon using less explicit methods. These methods would largely focus on unpacking when diversity and conflict became valuable (and if they could be made valuable) based on the conditions described. To begin reframing the core research question and transition into the studies outlined in the rest of this dissertation, a small focus group was designed to provide qualitative evidence of the hierarchy of diversity and inclusion partially evidenced by the first studies in this work (as well as the research and data presented in Chapter 1).

Study 2c: Focus Group

To learn more about the state of diversity management from the perspective of working adults, a small focus group recruited graduate students across Columbia University during Fall 2019 ($N=4$). During this focus group, participants were asked their thoughts on the state of diversity and inclusion within their workplaces and extracurricular organizations, as well as their initial thoughts on the novel Diversity-Conflict Scale instrument. Two participants were directly involved in diversity and inclusion work: one participant identified themselves as a head of student inclusion and belonging for graduate students and another identified themselves as working at a Fortune 500 media company where they conducted data analysis on hiring bias and trends. Two participants were teaching assistants on campus. All participants identified as women of color, namely Black or Asian-American. The full protocol for this focus group can be found in Appendix A. Key findings are summarized below.

Diversity Tolerance Versus Diverse Inclusion: Disparities Across Identity Groups

A Black woman who also worked as an HR analyst at a Fortune 500 company, made the following remarks about the progress being made towards increasing inclusion and diversity: “People confuse inclusion for tolerance”. She and other members of the group agreed that their efforts to present statistical data to higher-ups in their organization about the state of inclusion at the company were seldom acted upon. They noted that, “diversity was something you could see” whereas “inclusion [didn’t] get the same attention”. Additionally, they expressed the understanding that “some diversity mattered more than others”. Members of the group acknowledged heavy representation of Asian-Americans in their workplace — however, they noted that these Asian American employees, although statistically represented, were not necessarily ascending the corporate ladder in comparison to the predominately White male peers. One participant, a Black woman, noted that her Asian American co-worker’s feedback was received more positively than her own; as a Black woman, she described being labeled within her workplace as being “resistant to change”.

Conflict and Inclusion: Paths of Least Resistance

One participant importantly noted distinctions in the outwardly facing actions taken by companies to render certain marginalized groups visible. Specifically, they discussed how a lanyard with the LGBT flag might be given to employees, whereas such public displays of support were not offered to racial minority groups. Another participant, who was in charge of affinity groups and inclusion efforts at a graduate student union, echoed these sentiments, expressing that “no one wants to be educated about the Black community”, but “LGB community is [perceived as] relevant and needing of support”. Relatedly, all participants agreed that Black Americans fell at the bottom of the totem pole in how they were perceived within

corporate spaces. In contrast, an Asian-American female participant shared her experiences with being assumed to be “cooperative” (as compared to other racial minority peers), and how this produced unique pressures for herself and other Asian-Americans to live up to the expectation of being consistently non-confrontational yet productive. These findings suggested that both Black and Asian participants’ level of inclusion within their workplace were informed by their racial identities.

Summary

All participants agreed that the commitment to diversity and inclusion expressed by universities and corporate spaces were overwhelmingly a social front, with little backbone or teeth. However, their experiences of being the ‘diversity’ within largely White, male organizations were different. Namely, Asian-Americans were noted as being positioned as a model minority and expected to be more competent and cooperative (or conflict-averse) as compared to other racial minority groups. Additionally, participants expressed that some marginalized groups (e.g., members of the LGB community) garnered more public affirmation and support in inclusion efforts than did Black Americans. Participants’ experiences and informed observations reaffirmed that marginalized groups are hierarchically positioned to maintain order in a diverse social landscape.

Overall Summary

Study 2a focused on the first pilot of the Diversity-Conflict Scale, initially developed to quantify differences in perceived diversity and perceived conflict for key target groups. Results showed that Black-, Hispanic/Latinx-, and Asian-Americans were higher in perceived diversity than Whites. A hierarchical effect among racial minority target groups was found within-subjects, where Black-, followed by Hispanic/Latinx-, followed by Asian-Americans were rated

as highest in perceived diversity, with an identical pattern of results for perceived conflict. Study 2b reported on a second pilot of this scale with modified methods as well as an article priming study that measured how being primed with a specific racial group's increased representation in the workplace affected the amount of workplace conflict people associated with diversity. Results replicated the positive association between diversity and conflict, but showed no statistically significant differences in this association as a function of target group. The second scale pilot's results were only loosely consistent with that of Study 2a. Results showed that Asian, Black, and Hispanic/Latinxs were associated equally with perceived diversity. In perceived conflict, however, Black and Asian groups trended in the opposite direction than in Study 2a's findings. Finally, Study 2c summarized findings from a small focus group of Columbia students, focusing on their experiences with diversity and inclusion within their workplaces and extracurricular organizations. Findings suggested a hierarchy in how racial minority groups were valued for their contributions to workplace diversity.

These studies built the foundation of this program of research, further establishing that there is a positive correlation between the concepts of diversity and conflict, while also demonstrating that perceived diversity and perceived conflict varied by target group. Future studies would expand on this work, using choice-based, decision-making tasks to further operationalize and unpack perceived diversity and conflict. To that end, I designed studies that manipulated the conditions under which diversity or conflict was understood to be valuable, to determine how racial minority candidates were hierarchically valued (Chapter 3). Separately, in Chapter 4, I probe how the established positive correlation between diversity and conflict might affect course preference decisions in a student sample, with course and peer engagement introduced as another inclusion outcome of importance for future members of the workforce.

Chapter III: Diversity & Conflict Framing and Job Candidate

Assessment

Abstract

Using novel methods, this study explores whether mock job candidates are assessed differently according to participants' understanding of how much diversity and conflict is optimal for a successful hiring cycle. In two experiments, participants are first briefed with a hiring memo which suggests that diversity is a "high" priority or is "not" a priority for the hiring cycle; the ideal candidate either "steers clear of" or "isn't afraid of" conflict in the workplace. Asian, Black, Hispanic/Latinx, and White candidates are then rated both individually and in comparison to one another, based on the hiring memo's parameters. Across the two experiments, results suggest that Black candidates are rated especially favorably when diversity is framed as of high priority to the hiring cycle, whereas White candidates are not evaluated as highly. Further, Asian candidates are rated more highly when the ideal candidate is conflict-averse, as compared to Black candidates who are rated more highly when the ideal candidate is not afraid of conflict. These results replicate findings from prior studies in this program of research, especially that which suggest that Black candidates are viewed as high in perceived diversity and perceived conflict as compared to other racial minorities or White individuals. Findings suggest the importance of using comparative assessment over individual assessment in understanding the perceived diversity and perceived conflict of racial minority groups, as further evidence that minoritized groups are evaluated in comparison to one another via hierarchy-creating decision-making processes.

Introduction

Prior research suggests a hierarchy of favoritism for racial minority groups, such that Black and Hispanic/Latinxs are less favored as compared to Asian-Americans or Whites in the hiring process, as well as across inclusion outcomes (e.g., compensation, promotion, social network embeddedness) (Bell, Marquardt, & Berry, 2014; Choi & Rainey, 2010; Cox, 1994; Gilbert et al., 2003; Ibarra, 1993; Pager et al., 2009). This chapter therefore applies the Diversity-Conflict Model of Inclusion to a job candidate assessment, exploring how information about the importance of diversity and conflict in a hiring context informs assessments of job candidates who vary in race/ethnicity. By making salient the relevance of diversity and conflict in a hiring cycle, this study unpacks whether the mechanism by which the hierarchy of workplace diversity and inclusion is crafted includes assessments of applicants' perceived conflict and perceived diversity. This study takes advantage of the shifting standards model of assessment, where standards of judgment are based upon preconceived stereotypes of certain groups. Individuals are therefore judged in accordance with how their group is expected to perform (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997). This original work found that participants had lower minimum competence standards for Black people and women, which made their subjective judgments of individual Black people and women's performance quite high, as compared to White or male counterparts. This construct is therefore extended to the framework of diversity and conflict expectations.

The Diversity-Conflict Model of Inclusion states that diversity and inclusion decisions are informed by the extent to which a group is valued for contributing diversity to the workplace without increasing workplace conflict (Huggins & Purdie-Greenaway, 2019). Perceived conflict is operationalized by embedding the value of conflict into the hiring standard; the extent to which a candidate is favored for the role is then understood to be based on how much that

candidate's identity is associated with workplace conflict. Similarly, by manipulating the value of diversity to a hiring cycle, candidate ratings reflect the association of their identity group with workplace diversity. Perceived diversity and perceived conflict therefore work together in creating the underlying perception of a candidate as valuable to the organization. As the extent to which one's diversity is valued is one condition of workplace inclusion (Shore et al., 2011), this study measures one mechanism by which inclusion varies as a function of racial/ethnic group.

The experiment utilizes a 2 (priority of diversity in hiring: high or none) x 2 (ideal candidate conflict: avoidant or unafraid) x 4 (four job candidates who vary in race/ethnicity and gender) mixed-effects design. In experiment 3a, Asian male, Black woman, Black male, and White woman candidates are compared, while in experiment 3b, an Asian, Black, Hispanic/Latinx, and White mock job candidates of randomized gender are evaluated. These groups were selected because racial/ethnic diversity is frequently centered in discussions about enhancing workplace diversity in the United States, and these groups are the most statistically represented in the United States' geography and in its research on workplace diversity.

In both experiments, participants are first briefed with a hiring memo which suggests that the ideal candidate will be someone who meets the diversity requirements for the application season [diversity is a "high" priority (high diversity condition); diversity is "not" a priority (no diversity condition)] and either "steers clear of" conflict (conflict avoidant condition) or "isn't afraid of conflict" (conflict unafraid condition) in the workplace (see Appendix B for stimuli). Then, candidates are rated both individually and in comparison to candidates of other racial/ethnic groups.

General hypotheses for these experiments, based in the Diversity-Conflict Model of Inclusion are as follows:

H1: When diversity is framed as highly important to the hiring decision, Black candidates will be rated especially favorably (overall and in comparison to other candidates), followed by Latinx, Asian, then White job candidates.

H2: When being unafraid of conflict is framed as valuable to the position, Black candidates will be rated especially favorably (overall and in comparison to other candidates), followed by Latinx, Asian, then White job candidates.

The exact statistical models for these hypotheses, although included in the IRB, were not pre-registered prior to data collection; therefore, the analyses reported in this paper are exploratory.

Experiment 3a

Methods

Participants

Sample. Members of the Prolific online survey panel population were initially screened for employment (full- or part-time), country of residence (U.S.-based), and age (18+). Seventy-eight participants were then recruited. Two participants' data were excluded for survey incompleteness, which reduced the online participant sample to 76. The majority of the sample identified as White/Caucasian (85.5%); 4 participants identified as Black/African-American, 3 identified as Asian/Asian-American, 1 as Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and 1 as 'Not listed' [Middle-Eastern]. 10.5% of the sample identified as Hispanic or Latinx⁹. 53.9% of participants identified as women, 42.1% identified as men, and 3.9% identified as nonbinary or

⁹ Racial/ethnic demographics were formatted such that participants could select all that applied. Some participants solely identified with their ethnicity, electing not to identify with a racial category.

‘not listed’. Mean age of participants was 35 years old ($SD = 11.8$ years). On average, the sample identified as somewhat liberal ($M = 2.86$, $SD = 1.61$), on a scale of 1 (very liberal) to 7 (very conservative).

The majority (67%) of participants reported full-time employment, with 32% reporting being employed part-time and 1% circumventing screening protocol (unemployed/not looking for work). 43% of participants were employed in workplace with greater than 100 employees. The majority of participants (86%) were expected to interact with their coworkers on a weekly basis, with 36% stating they interact with their coworkers more than 10 hours a week. 41% reported that their coworker interactions were in-person, 29% reported solely virtual interactions, and 30% reported both in-person and virtual interactions. Most participants (82%) were non-students.

Design. This is a 2 (between-subjects, diversity important or unimportant to hiring cycle) x 2 (between-subjects, ideal job candidate comfortable with conflict versus conflict avoidant) x 4 (within-subjects, job candidate: Asian man, Black woman, Black man, White woman) mixed design. Participants evaluated the four job candidates overall and in comparison to one another. The candidates were also rated on six specific traits that were presented as possessed by the ideal candidate (reliability, honesty, trustworthiness, positivity, team player aptitude, and critical thinking ability).

Procedure

Experiment. Participants were first asked to imagine that they were a hiring manager responsible for evaluating four job candidates using candidates’ LinkedIn profile summaries. After this prompt, participants were briefed with a hiring memo, which described the ideal candidate as being: (a) reliable, (b) trustworthy, (c) honest, (d) positive, (e) a team player, and (f)

adept at critical thinking; these traits were later used as part of the candidate evaluation. The hiring memo then either states that diversity is a “high” priority (high diversity condition) or diversity is “not” a priority (no diversity condition)]; the ideal candidate is also framed as someone who either “steers clear of” conflict (conflict avoidant condition) or “isn’t afraid of conflict” (conflict unafraid condition) in the workplace.

Following the hiring memo, participants begin evaluating the job candidates using a fictitious LinkedIn summary that had been randomly assigned to an Asian male, Black male, Black woman, or White woman candidate’s headshot. Gender and race were varied in this way as management literature has observed significant inclusion differences between Asian and Black employees (Bell, Marquardt, & Berry, 2014; Gilbert et al., 2003). To align with literature that suggests people view men as most prototypical (e.g., Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), Asian men and Black men were therefore selected as initial comparisons. Additionally, White women and Black women are often perceived as stereotypical foils in their associations with femininity and conflict, with White women being perceived as more prototypically docile and feminine than Black women (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). White women and Black women were therefore selected as secondary comparisons. To reinforce each candidate’s gender and race identity (Allport, 1954; Banaji & Greenwald, 1995; “Most Common Surnames”, n.d.), a first and last name (Peter Wang, Dwayne Smith, Kim Carter, Emily Gordon) was presented beside the headshot.

During each evaluation, participants used a likert-type scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) to rate how much reliability, honesty, trustworthiness, positivity, team player aptitude, and critical thinking ability each candidate appears to possess (e.g., “This candidate seems reliable”). These trait evaluations were followed by an evaluation of whether the candidate

meets the diversity requirements of the application season (as a manipulation check), with possible responses being ‘Yes’, ‘No’, or ‘N/A (Not applicable)’. Next, participants provided an overall rating for the candidate on a scale of 1(worst) to 10 (best). Lastly, following all four individual candidate assessments, participants made a comparative assessment of each candidate by ranking them from 1 (best) to 4 (worst).

Demographics. The study concludes with a demographic questionnaire of age (numeric), gender (male, woman, nonbinary, not listed), race/ethnicity (open-answer and discrete answer with option for multiple identifications, including White/European-American, Black/African-American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian/Asian-American, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latino, and an additional open-answer ‘Other’ space), sexual orientation (Straight/Heterosexual, Gay/Lesbian/Homosexual, Bisexual, open answer ‘Not listed’, and Prefer not to say), religion affiliation (open answer, with option to submit N/A for no affiliation or preference not to share), identification with having a disability (yes, no, prefer not to say), political orientation (7-point scale with 1 as very liberal, 4 as moderate, and 7 as very conservative), registered voting party (democratic party, republican party, independent party, open-answer ‘Other’ space, no registration).

Employment demographics. The employment demographic section included the following items: What is your employment status? (Employed full time, Employed part time, Unemployed looking for work, Unemployed not looking for work, Retired); Are you a student? (Yes/ No); Does your job involve interacting with co-workers (e.g. meetings, collaborative projects, email correspondence, etc.)? (Yes/No); How many hours per week are/were spent interacting with co-workers? (0-3 hours, 4-7 hours, 8-10 hours, Over 10 hours); Are/were your co-worker interactions in-person, virtual/online, or both? (In-person, Virtual/online, Both).

Following both demographic questionnaires, Prolific participants were compensated at their standard rate of \$6.50/hr.

Results

Sensitivity analysis

A sensitivity analysis using G*power on this 2 x 2 x 4 mixed design found that the sample of 78 participants has 0.80 power to detect a small effect size of $f = 0.16$, at the .05 significance level, assuming a 0.50 correlation between the repeated measures (Champely et al., 2020; Cohen, 1988).

Attention and Manipulation Checks

General. An attention check was included at the beginning of the study, directly after participants read the hiring memo. 96% of participants selected the correct answer (“True”), for the general attention check, “Our ideal candidate is someone who is trustworthy”. A general linear model found that there were no statistically significant differences across conditions for accurately responding to the general attention check ($p > .999$).

Conflict Condition. A conflict condition attention check was included at the beginning of the study, directly after participants read the hiring memo: “Our ideal candidate steers clear of conflict”. This item served as a manipulation check, where we would expect participants in the conflict unafraid condition to select “FALSE” more often than participants in the conflict avoidant condition. A general linear model found that participants were 74% more likely to select “FALSE” in the conflict unafraid condition than the conflict avoidant condition ($p < .001$).

Diversity Condition. A general linear model was run to detect an effect of diversity condition on responses to the, “This candidate meets diversity criteria for the application season:

Yes, No, N/A” item. This item served as a manipulation check, where we would expect participants in the no diversity condition to select “N/A” more often than participants in the high diversity condition. On average, participants were 81% more likely to select “Not applicable to hiring cycle” in the no diversity conditions than high diversity conditions ($p < .001$).

Ideal Candidate Traits

Exploratory Factor Analysis. As all items correlated with one another .40 or higher (see Table 3.1), it was assumed that there would be high factorability among trait items. Additionally, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .87 (meritorious), and Bartlett’s test of sphericity was significant [$\chi^2 (15) = 666.77, p < .001$], suggesting that a Factor Analysis would be appropriate. Items were therefore analyzed in an Exploratory Factor Analysis using r’s ‘stats’ package and the factanal function. As suggested for social science research (where factors are likely to be more than modestly correlated), an oblique rotation was used (Kashy et al., 2009). Although the moderate to high inter-item correlations suggested a one-factor solution, I compared it to a two-factor solution for greater confidence.

Table 3.1

Means, standard deviations, and correlations between trait items with confidence intervals.

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. Reliability	5.37	0.48					
2. Honesty	5.40	0.49	.59** [.49, .68]				
3. Trustworthy	5.39	0.49	.73** [.66, .79]	.73** [.66, .79]			
4. Positivity	5.45	0.50	.63** [.54, .71]	.61** [.51, .69]	.73** [.65, .79]		
5. Team Player	5.52	0.50	.51** [.40, .61]	.59** [.49, .67]	.56** [.46, .65]	.60** [.50, .68]	
6. Critical Thinking	5.57	0.50	.57** [.46, .66]	.47** [.35, .57]	.49** [.37, .59]	.45** [.33, .55]	.53** [.42, .63]

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

A likelihood-ratio analysis was used to test the hypothesis that one factor was sufficient; the test was statistically significant [$\chi^2(9) = 38.47, p < .001$]. For each of the traits, single factor loadings were 0.60 or higher: Reliability (0.80), Honesty (0.79), Trustworthy (0.89), Positivity (0.80), TeamPlayer (0.69), CriticalThinking (0.60). The single factor explained 59% of the variance in the six items, at the suggested threshold of 0.60 for the validity of a factor analysis (Hair et al., 2012). The six items produced a scale that was internally consistent at $\alpha = 0.89$ (Carmines & Zeller, 1979).

A second likelihood-ratio analysis was then used to test the hypothesis that two factors were sufficient; this test was also statistically significant [$\chi^2(4) = 14.84, p = .005$]. This Exploratory Factor Analysis showed that most traits strongly loaded onto the first factor, while team player (Factor 1: 0.57, Factor 2: 0.54) and critical thinking (Factor 1: 0.49, Factor 2: 0.47) cross-loaded onto both factors at or above 0.50. Trustworthy (Factor 1: 1.00) loaded distinctively on the first factor. The second factor appeared to capture evaluation of the job candidates as competent and beneficial team members, whereas the first factor captured positive interpersonal evaluation with an emphasis on trustworthiness (Leach, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2007). Factor 1 explained 53% of the variance in the items whereas Factor 2 explained 12%, yielding a total of 65% variance explained. The correlation between the two factors was high ($r = 0.58$) which suggested against their separation. To test the internal consistency of scales derived from each factor, items 1-4 and items 5-6 were separated into two scales; the two scales yielded Cronbach α of 0.89 and .69, respectively. Thus, the two items of the second factor produce an insufficiently reliable scale, with α below the 0.80 threshold recommended by Carmines and Zeller (1979) for internal consistency.

To determine how many factors to retain, a visual scree test and a parallel analysis were used (Kashy et al., 2009; Velicer et al., 2000; Watkins, 2018). The visual scree test suggested that one factor would be sufficient, as did a parallel analysis (based on 1000 simulations using PCA, EFA, and SMC eigenvalues). Incorporating the standards of parsimony and theoretical convergence (Kashy et al., 2009; Watkins, 2018) as well as evidence of the poor internal consistency of the second factor's scale, it was ultimately decided that one factor would be retained and analyzed as the six-item Ideal Candidate Trait Scale ($\alpha = 0.89$).

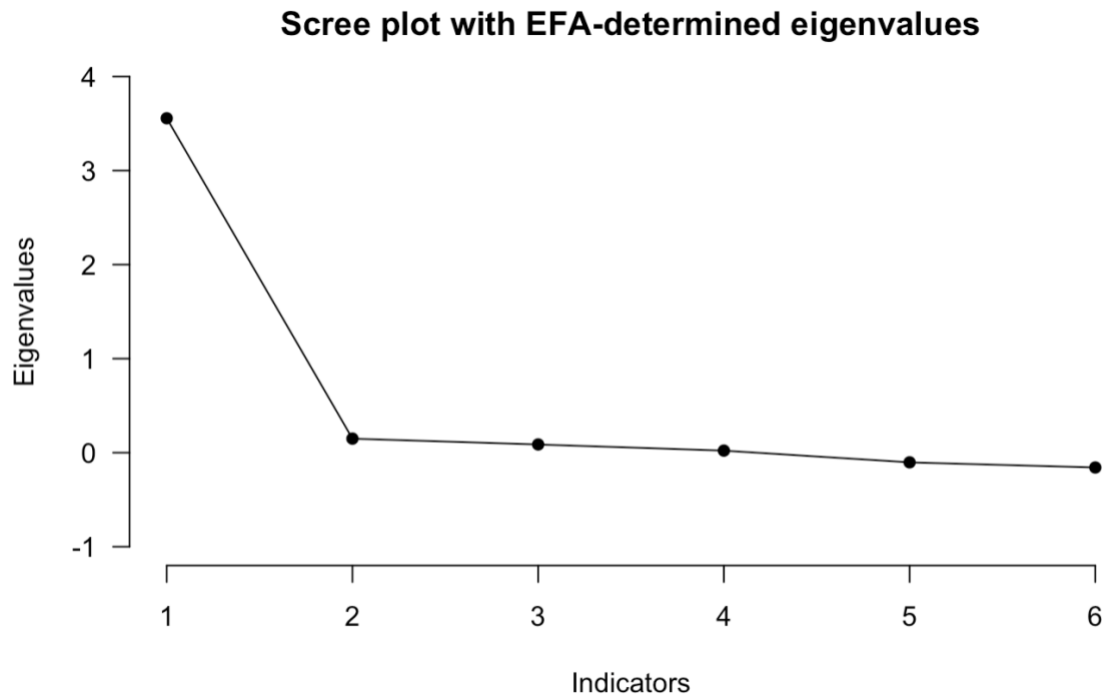


Figure 3.1. Scree plot for exploratory factor analysis of Ideal Candidate Trait items using EFAtools package.

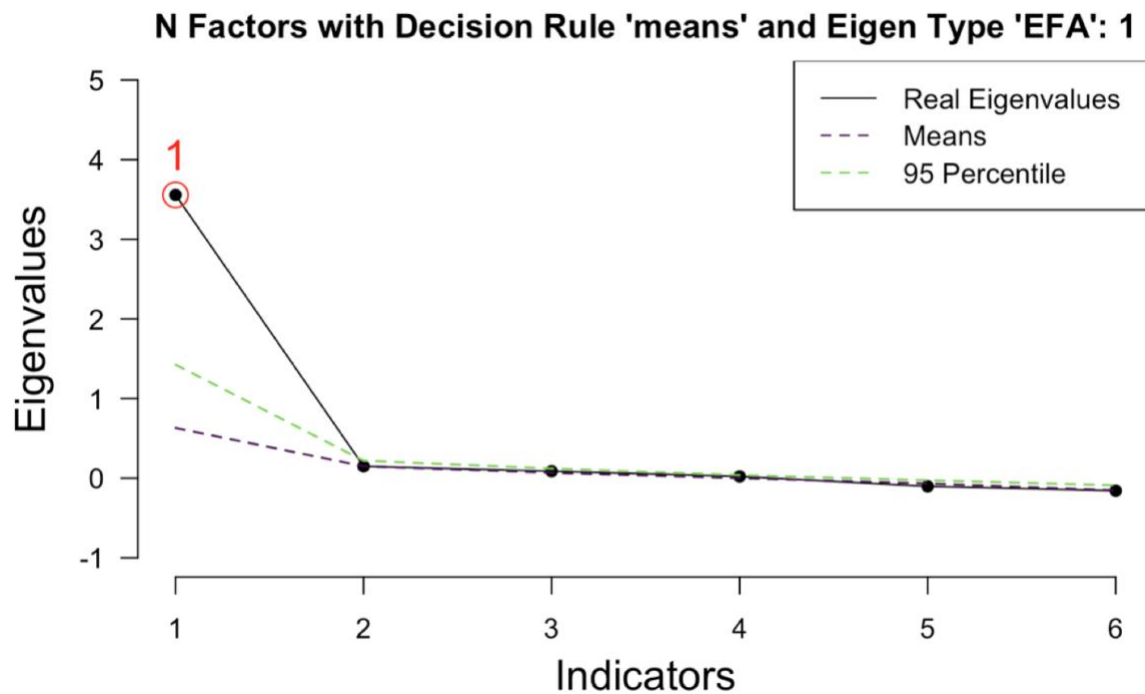


Figure 3.2. Parallel analysis for exploratory factor analysis of Ideal Candidate Trait items using EFAtools package.

Ideal Candidate Trait Scale. A linear mixed model using R's lmer function was used to analyze the effect of diversity condition, conflict condition, and decision target on Ideal Candidate Trait Scale ratings. A three-way interaction was not statistically significant, $p = 0.543$. A two-way interaction between decision target and conflict condition was significant, $p = 0.037$, $f = 0.30$. The direction of the effect of the conflict condition on ideal candidate trait ratings was opposite for the Black woman candidate than the Asian man candidate; namely, the Black woman candidate was evaluated more favorably in the conflict unafraid condition ($M = 5.44$, $SD = 0.40$) than the conflict avoidant condition ($M = 5.31$, $SD = 0.42$), whereas the Asian man candidate was evaluated more favorably in the conflict avoidant condition ($M = 5.54$, $SD = 0.41$) than the conflict unafraid condition ($M = 5.41$, $SD = 0.38$).

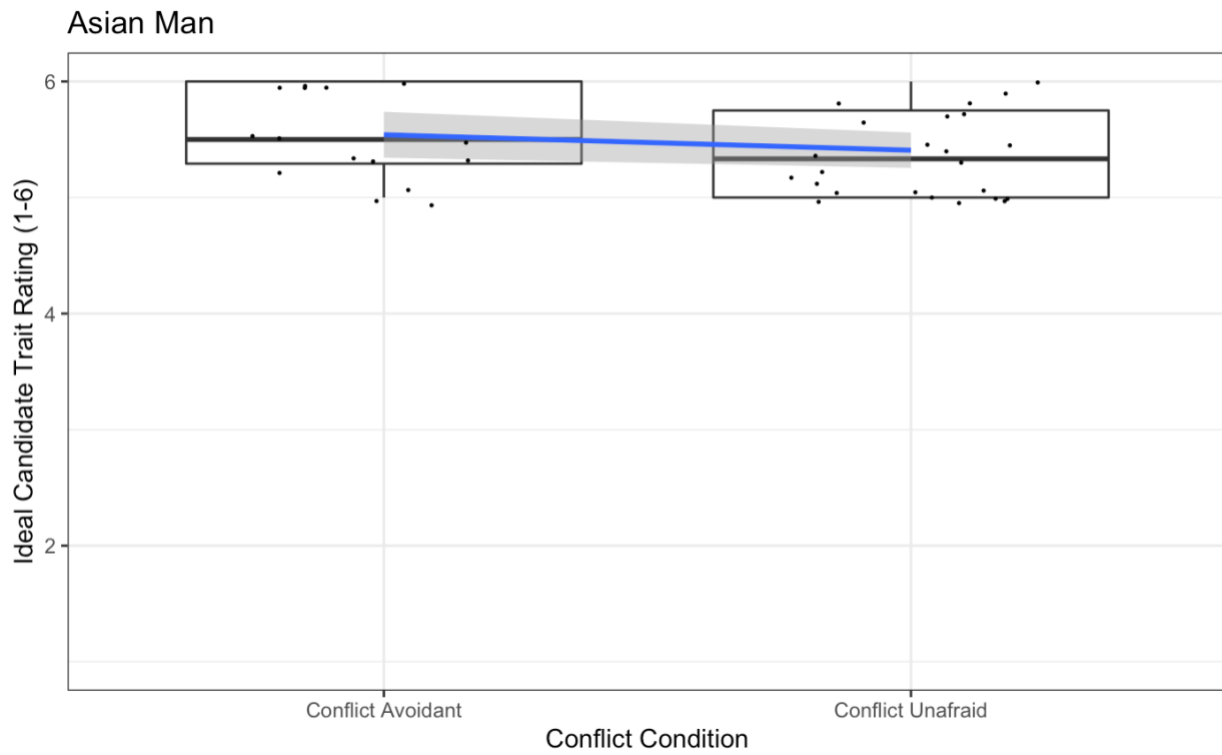
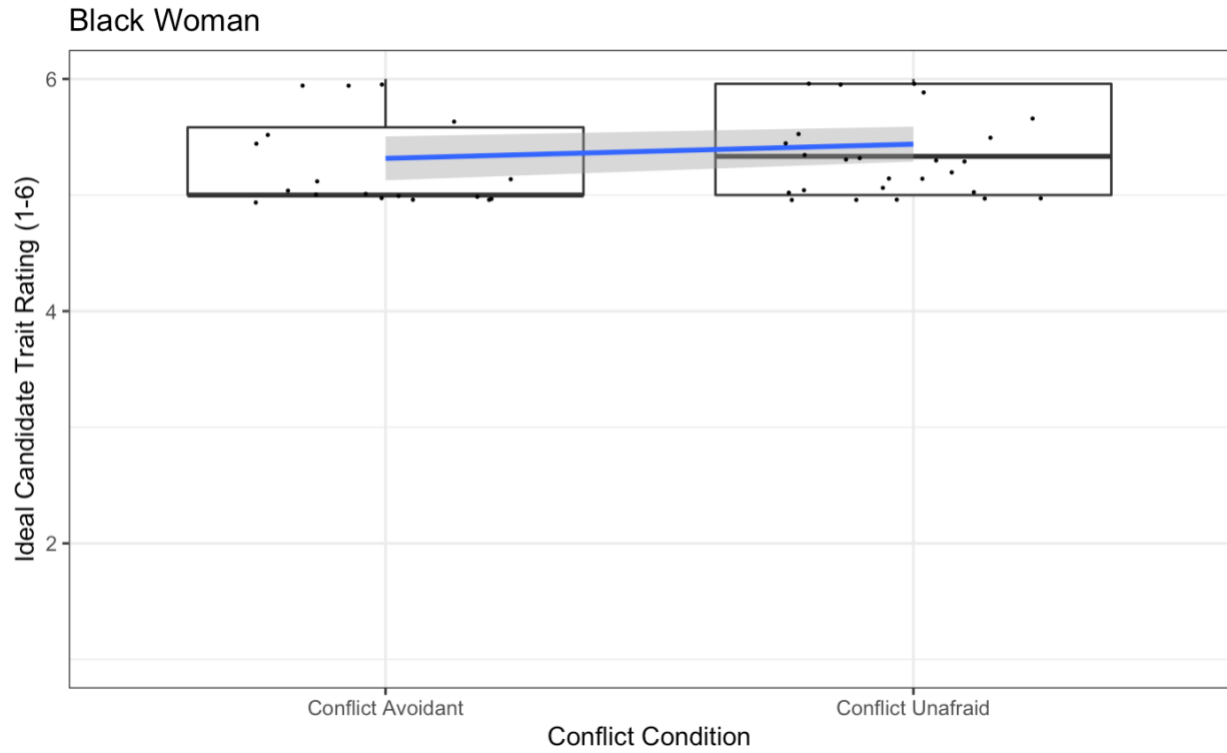


Figure 3.3 and 3.4. Trait ratings by conflict condition for Black woman and Asian man candidates.

Overall Rating

A linear mixed model of the 2 (diversity condition: no or high importance of diversity) x 2) conflict condition: conflict avoidant or conflict unafraid x 4 (decision target: Asian male, Black woman, Black male, White woman) experimental design probed differences in overall ratings (on a scale of 1-10, where 10 is best). The three-way interaction between these three factors was not statistically significant, $p = 0.395$.

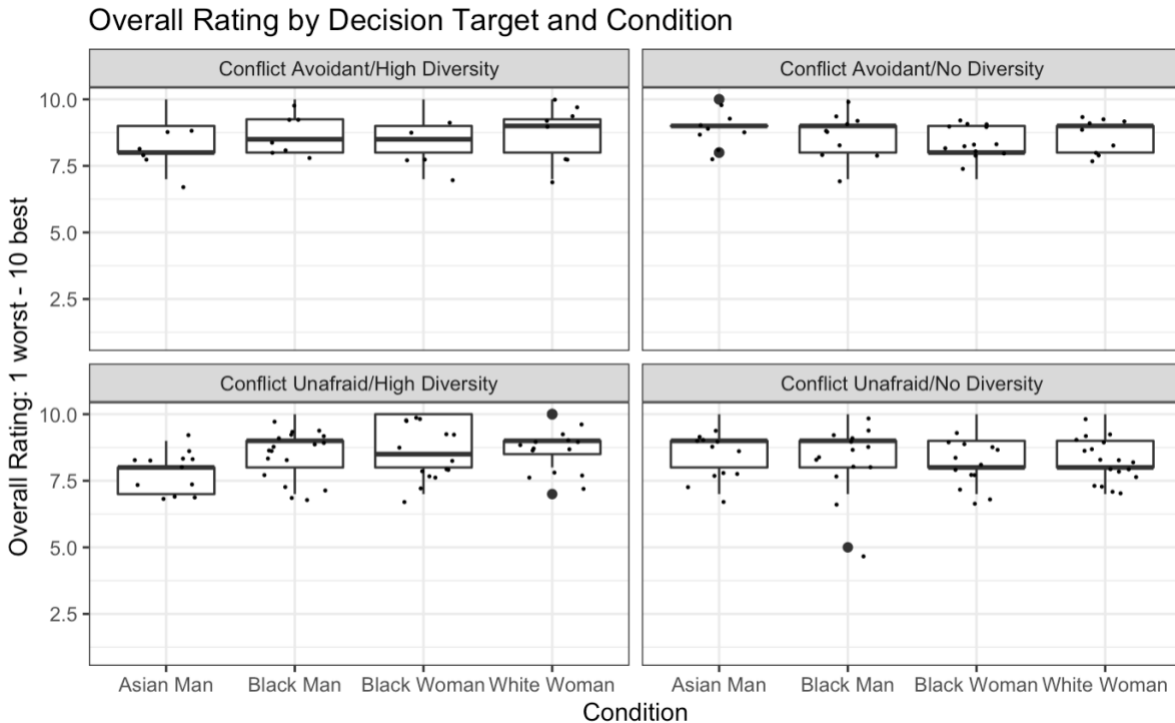


Figure 3.5. Overall candidate ratings by crossed diversity and conflict condition.

There was a two-way interaction between decision target and diversity condition, $f = 0.17$, $p = .008$. In the high diversity condition, but not the no diversity condition, the Asian man candidate had lower overall ratings than the Black man ($M = 8.37$, $SD = 1.06$, $p < .001$), Black woman (M

= 8.26, $SD = 1.09$, $p = 0.004$), and White woman candidates ($M = 8.25$, $SD = 1.30$), who did not statistically significantly differ from one another. The Asian man candidate also had lower overall ratings in the high diversity condition ($M = 7.5$, $SD = 1.03$) compared to the no diversity condition ($M = 8.00$, $SD = 1.43$), $p = 0.028$.

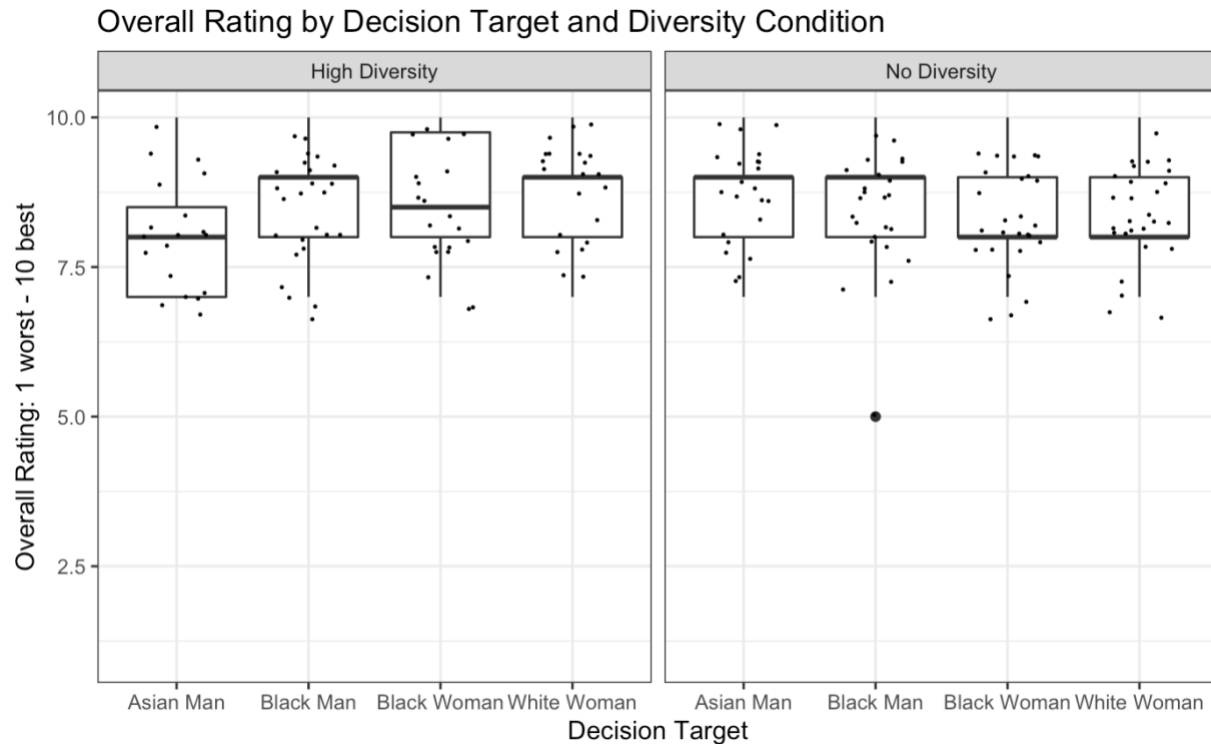


Figure 3.6. Overall candidate rating by diversity condition.

Finally, there was also a main effect of the decision target ($f = 0.26$, $p = 0.003$), such that the Asian man candidate ($M = 7.77$, $SD = 1.28$) was given lower overall ratings than the Black man ($M = 8.33$, $SD = 1.04$), Black woman ($M = 8.12$, $SD = 1.01$), and White woman ($M = 8.14$, $SD = 1.16$) job candidates.

Comparative Rating

A linear mixed model of the 2 (diversity condition: high or low importance to hiring cycle) x 2 (conflict condition: framed positively or negatively) x 4 (decision target: Asian male, Black woman, Black male, White woman) experimental design analyzed differences in mock job candidates' comparative ratings (on a 1-4 scale, where 1 is the highest rating and no candidate may receive the same score). The three-way interaction was statistically significant, $f = 0.14$, $p < .001$. In the high diversity but not no diversity condition, and in the conflict unafraid but not conflict avoidant condition, the Black man candidate ($M = 1.73$, $SD = 1.01$) was rated most highly compared to Asian man ($M = 2.41$, $SD = 0.99$), Black woman ($M = 2.45$, $SD = 1.08$), or White woman ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 0.65$) candidates, $p = 0.005$.

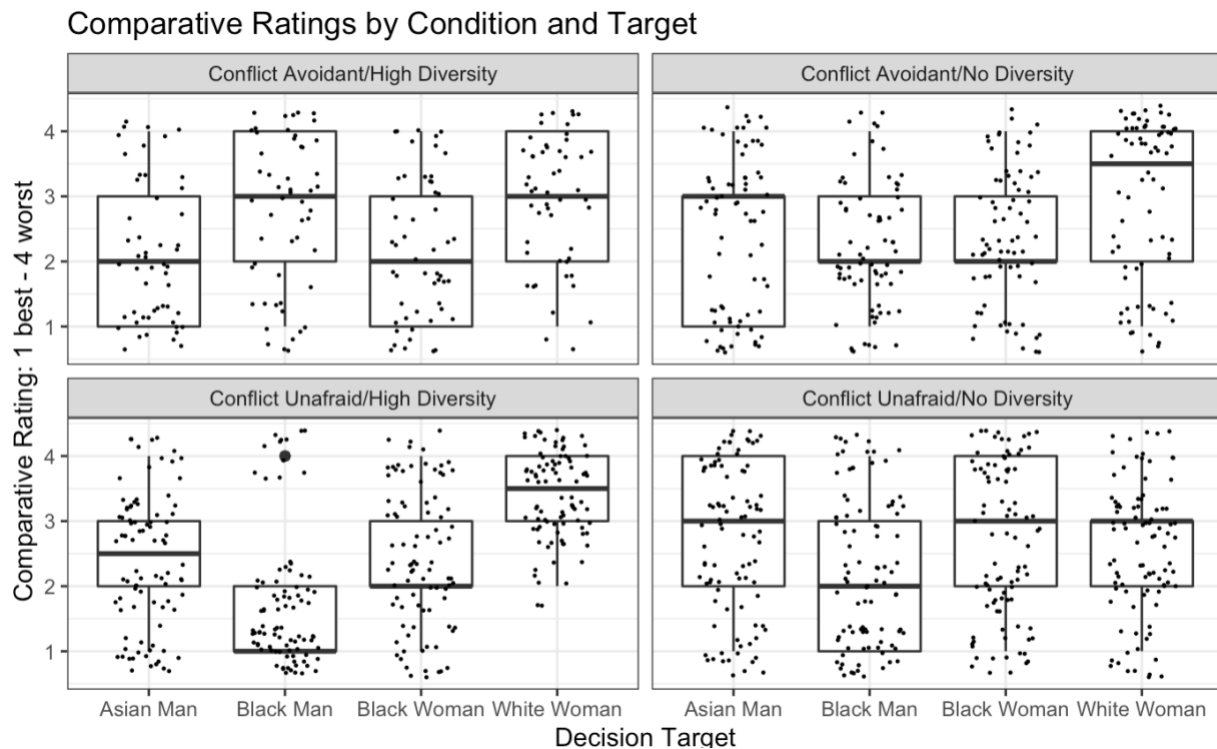


Figure 3.7. Comparative candidate ranking by crossed diversity and conflict condition.

There was a significant two-way interaction between decision target and conflict condition ($f = 0.15, p < 0.001$), such that the Black man candidate was rated most favorably in the conflict unafraid condition ($M = 1.96, SD = 1.10$) compared to conflict avoidant ($M = 2.45, SD = 1.05$) condition.

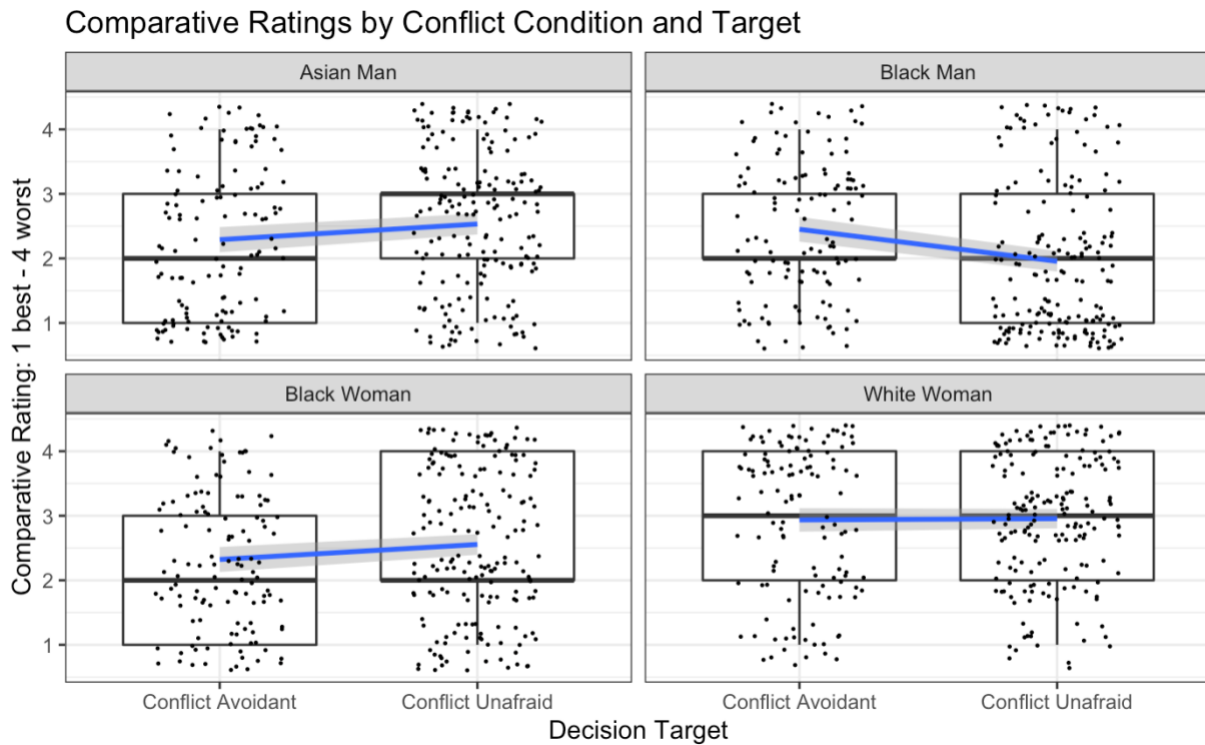


Figure 3.8. Comparative rating by decision target and conflict condition.

There was also a statistically significant two-way interaction between diversity condition and decision target, $f = 0.14, p < 0.001$. The White woman job candidate was rated more favorably in no diversity ($M = 2.68, SD = 1.12$) conditions than high diversity conditions ($M = 3.28, SD = 0.81$). Inversely, the Asian man candidate was rated more favorably in the high diversity condition ($M = 2.29, SD = 1.03$) than in the no diversity condition ($M = 2.56, SD = 1.15$), $p = 0.029$.

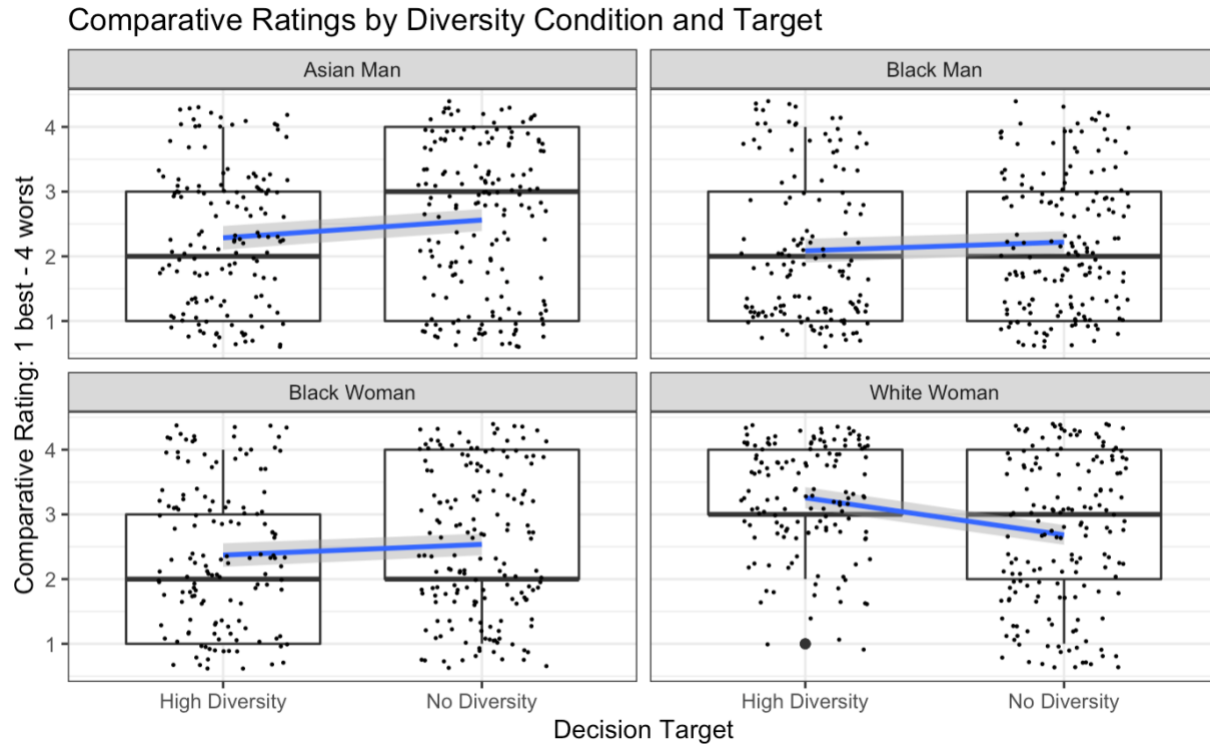


Figure 3.9. Comparative rating by decision target and diversity condition.

Discussion

Experiment 3a provided some evidence that candidates are assessed differently on the basis of diversity and conflict criteria. Overall candidate assessments showed that the Asian man candidate was not evaluated as positively as Black man, Black woman, and White woman candidates when diversity was framed as important to the hiring cycle, suggesting that Asian candidates may be perceived as less valuable than White women and Black candidates when seeking to increase workplace diversity. In contrast with this finding, the comparative assessment showed that the Asian male candidate was evaluated more favorably in high versus no diversity condition; the opposite effect was found for the White woman candidate, however, who was rated more favorably in the no diversity condition than the high diversity condition. This

suggests that participants did view the Asian candidate as being more beneficial to increasing workplace diversity than a White woman candidate, but less so than a Black candidate.

Comparative assessment of candidates revealed the strongest, most consistent effects for the Black man candidate, who was evaluated most favorably compared to other candidates in the high diversity and conflict unafraid condition. This replicated previous studies' findings which showed that Black candidates are viewed as particularly high in perceived diversity and perceived conflict (Huggins & Purdie-Greenaway, 2019). The Black man candidate being evaluated more favorably than the Black woman candidate in the comparative assessment may be attributed to a gendered-race and prototypicality effect, where Blackness is typically associated with masculinity (Goff, Thomas, & Jackson, 2008; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Sesko & Biernat, 2010; Thomas, Dovidio, & West, 2014). The maximum value to be achieved from hiring a Black person, then, may have been thought to be obtained by choosing the male candidate over the woman candidate.

While a ceiling effect on ideal candidate trait ratings made comparison difficult overall, Black woman and Asian man candidates were still rated according to the conflict condition to which they were believed to be most suited; that is, the Black woman candidate was rated higher when the ideal candidate was framed as someone who was not afraid of conflict, whereas the Asian man candidate was rated higher when the ideal candidate was framed as steering clear of conflict. This indicates a shifting standard of assessment based on diversity and conflict expectations that aligns with stereotypic beliefs about Black people being less polite than Asian individuals (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Gilbert et al., 2013).

Overall, experiment 3a somewhat clarifies how participant's decision-making is influenced by the extent to which they associate each group with diversity or conflict potential in the workplace. Although this study was adequately powered to detect small effects, replication in a larger sample would clarify some of the interaction effects explored here. Further work may also expand to include additional gender comparisons across and between-race (e.g., comparing Asian women to Asian men). Experiment 3b addresses these concerns.

Experiment 3b

Methods

Participants

Sample. Members of the Prolific online survey panel population were initially screened for employment (full- or part-time), country of residence (U.S.-based), and age (18+). 139 participants were then recruited. Due to a survey error that affected completion, no participants were pre-emptively excluded for survey incompleteness; however, forty participants' demographic data was missing, so they are not included in the following calculations:

The majority of the sample that completed the demographics section identified as White/Caucasian (88.9%) and 5% identified as Hispanic or Latinx¹⁰. Four participants identified as Black/African-American, 3 participants as Asian/Asian-American, 1 participant as Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and 1 as 'Not listed' [Romanian]. 59.6% of participants identified as women, 39.4% identified as men, and 3% identified as nonbinary or 'not listed'. Mean age of

¹⁰ Racial/ethnic demographics were formatted such that participants could select all that applied. Some participants solely identified with their ethnicity, electing not to identify with a racial category.

participants was 36 years old ($SD = 12.4$ years). On average, the sample identified as somewhat liberal ($M = 3.05$, $SD = 1.80$), on a scale of 1 (very liberal) to 7 (very conservative).

The majority (76%) of participants were employed full-time employment, with 24% reporting that they were employed part-time. 49.5% of participants were employed in workplace with greater than 100 employees. The majority of participants (87%) were expected to interact with their coworkers on a weekly basis, with 50% stating they interact with their coworkers more than 10 hours a week. 33% of participants reported that their coworker interactions were in-person, 33% reported solely virtual interactions, and 34% reported both in-person and virtual interactions. Most participants (86%) were non-students.

Design. This is a 2 (between-subjects, diversity important or unimportant to hiring cycle) x 2 (between-subjects, job candidate comfortable with conflict versus avoidant to conflict) x 4 (within-subjects, job candidate: Asian, Black, Latinx White) mixed design. The candidates were also rated on six specific traits that were presented as possessed by the ideal candidate (reliability, honesty, trustworthiness, positivity, team player aptitude, and critical thinking ability).

Procedure

Experiment. The procedure was exactly that of experiment 3a, where participants evaluated four candidates using a LinkedIn summary and hiring memo that stated “diversity is not a priority for the application season” (no diversity condition) or that “diversity is a huge priority for the application season” (high diversity condition) and that the ideal candidate either “steers clear of” or “isn’t afraid of conflict” in the workplace (conflict avoidant and conflict unafraid conditions, respectively). The LinkedIn summary was randomly assigned to an Asian, Black, Hispanic/Latinx, or White candidate’s headshot where gender of the person in the

headshot was randomized within race for each participant. To reinforce each candidate's racial/ethnic identity (Allport, 1954; Banaji & Greenwald, 1995; "Most Common Surnames", n.d.), a first initial and last name (P. Wang, D. Smith, K. Perez, E. Gordon) was presented beside the headshot. Dependent variables included evaluation via the Ideal Candidate Trait Scale and an overall rating. A 1-4 comparative assessment was added to this experiment, but the data were corrupted; therefore, these data are not reported in the final results.

Demographics. The same demographic questionnaires administered in experiment 3a were administered at this time. Prolific participants were then compensated at their standard rate of \$6.50/hour.

Results

Sensitivity Analysis

A sensitivity analysis utilizing G* power found that the sample of 139 participants has 0.80 power to detect a small effect size of $f = 0.12$, at the .05 significance level, assuming a 0.50 correlation between the repeated measures (Champely et al., 2020; Cohen, 1988).

Attention and Manipulation Checks

General. An attention check was included at the beginning of the study, directly after participants read the hiring memo. 97% of participants selected the correct answer ("True"), for the general attention check, "Our ideal candidate is someone who is trustworthy". A general linear model found that there were no statistically significant differences across conditions for accurately responding to the general attention check ($p = 1.00$).

Conflict Condition. A conflict condition attention check was included at the beginning of the study, directly after participants read the hiring memo: "Our ideal candidate steers clear of conflict". This item served as a manipulation check, where we would expect participants in the

conflict unafraid condition to select “FALSE” more often than participants in the conflict avoidant condition. A general linear model found that participants were 78% more likely to select “FALSE” in the conflict unafraid condition than the conflict avoidant condition ($p < .001$).

Diversity Condition. A general linear model was run to detect an effect of diversity condition on responses to the “This candidate meets diversity criteria for the application season: Yes, No, N/A” item. This item served as a manipulation check, where we would expect participants in the no diversity condition to select “N/A” more often than participants in the high diversity condition. On average, participants were 79% more likely to select “Not applicable to hiring cycle” in the no diversity conditions than high diversity conditions ($p < .001$).

Ideal Candidate Traits.

Exploratory Factor Analysis. As in experiment 3a, trait items were highly correlated ($r = 0.45$ to 0.77 , see Table 3.2). As all items correlated with one another $.40$ or higher (see Table 2.1), it was assumed that there would be high factorability among trait items. Additionally, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was $.88$ (meritorious), and Bartlett’s test of sphericity was significant [$\chi^2 (15) = 1298.41$, $p < .001$], suggesting that a Factor Analysis would be appropriate. Items were therefore analyzed in an Exploratory Factor Analysis using r’s ‘stats’ package and the factanal function (oblique rotation). As in experiment 3a, this model was used to compare a one-factor solution against a two-factor solution for best fit.

Table 3.2

Means, standard deviations, and correlations between ideal candidate trait items with confidence intervals.

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. Reliable	5.40	0.49					
2. Honest	5.41	0.49	.66** [.60, .71]				
3. Trustworthy	5.42	0.49	.73** [.68, .77]	.77** [.72, .80]			
4. Positivity	5.52	0.50	.62** [.56, .68]	.62** [.56, .68]	.67** [.61, .72]		
5. Team Player	5.56	0.53	.52** [.44, .59]	.48** [.40, .55]	.53** [.46, .60]	.56** [.49, .63]	
6. Critical Thinking	5.55	0.50	.53** [.46, .60]	.48** [.40, .55]	.52** [.44, .59]	.45** [.37, .53]	.56** [.49, .63]

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

A likelihood-ratio analysis was used to test the hypothesis that one factor was sufficient; the test was statistically significant [$\chi^2(9) = 59.87, p < .001$]. For each of the traits, single factor loadings were 0.60 or higher: Reliability (0.82), Honesty (0.83), Trustworthy (0.89), Positivity (0.76), TeamPlayer (0.67), CriticalThinking (0.62). The single factor explained 59% of the variance in the six items, at the suggested threshold of 0.60 for the validity of a factor analysis (Hair et al., 2012). The six items produced a scale that was internally consistent at $\alpha = 0.89$ (Carmines & Zeller, 1979).

A second likelihood-ratio analysis was then used to test the hypothesis that two factors were sufficient; this test was not statistically significant [$\chi^2(4) = 6.86, p = .143$]. Therefore, the one factor solution was retained and analyzed as the six-item Ideal Candidate Trait Scale.

Ideal Candidate Trait Scale. A linear mixed model using R's lmer function was used to analyze the effect of diversity condition, conflict condition, and decision target on Ideal Candidate Trait Scale ratings. The three-way interaction was not statistically significant, $p = 0.070$, nor were there statistically significant two-way interactions or main effects.

Overall Rating. A linear mixed model of the 2 (diversity condition: high or low importance to hiring cycle) x 2 (conflict condition: framed positively or negatively) x 4 (decision target race/ethnicity: Asian, Black, Latinx, White) experimental design probed differences in overall ratings (on a scale of 1-10, where 10 is best). The three-way interaction was not statistically significant, $p = 0.174$. There was a significant two-way interaction between decision target and diversity condition ($f = 0.17$), such that White candidates were given lower overall ratings in the high diversity condition ($M = 7.41, SD = 1.57$) than the no diversity condition ($M = 8.03, SD = 1.05$), $p < 0.001$.

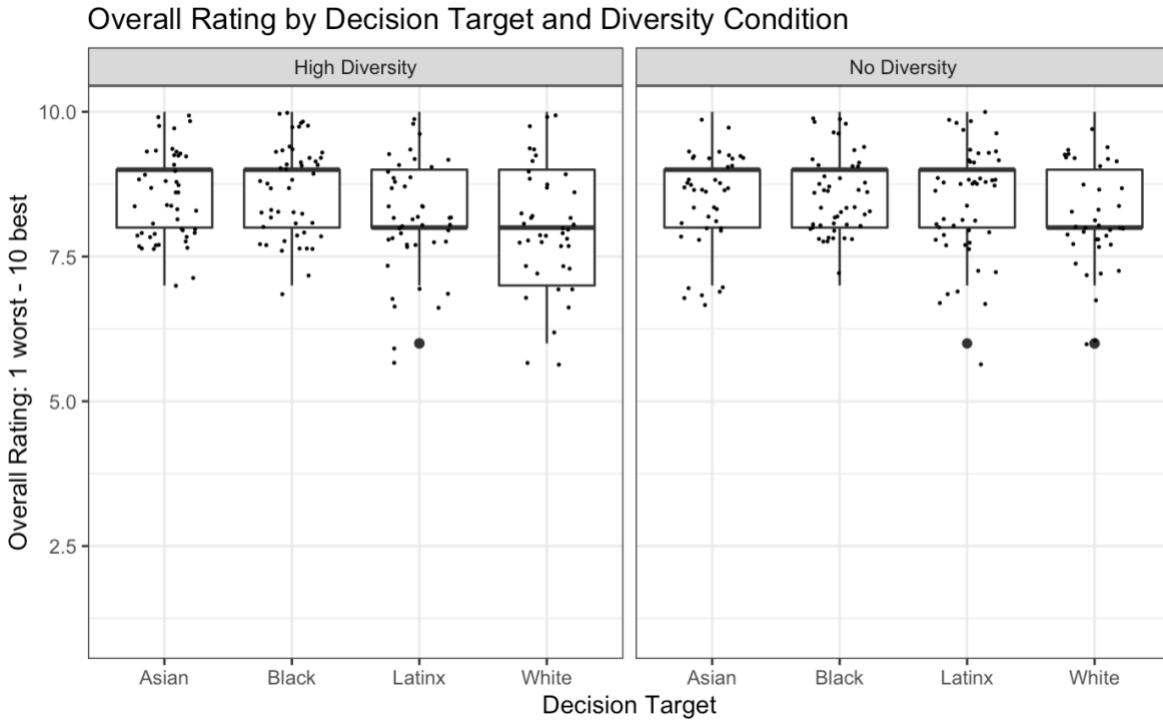


Figure 3.10. Overall candidate rating by decision target and diversity condition.

Discussion

Despite there not being conclusive support for the original hypotheses, this study did demonstrate racial minority candidates were evaluated as higher value to the pursuit of diversity than were White candidates. Due to the absence of a comparative assessment, there were no conclusive findings differences between racial minority groups in job candidate assessment. These results replicate previous findings within this program of research, where asking participants to assess racial minorities in isolation from one another yields less informative results than when asking participants to compare racial minorities within a decision-making paradigm (Huggins & Purdie-Greenaway, 2019). This also replicates findings that racial minorities are generally associated with diversity when they are solely compared to Whites (Bauman, Trawalter, & Unzueta, 2014). In addition to adding a ranked comparison item, replications of this work would benefit from samples that include a greater representation of

racial/ethnic minorities (to better understand how these groups evaluate diversity and conflict differently than Whites).

General Discussion

This research asks the question: when the value of workplace diversity and workplace conflict is manipulated, how are racial minority candidates assessed individually, but also in comparison to one another? To date, this is the first exploration of this phenomenon using a social psychological framework. Across two experiments, results suggest nuance in how racial minorities (namely, Asian, Black, and Hispanic/Latinx candidates) are evaluated in the context of diversity management.

In accordance with the general hypotheses of the Diversity-Conflict Model of Inclusion, when decision-makers were told to choose candidates who avoid conflict but add diversity, Asian candidates became more favorable as compared to Black candidates. Emphasizing the importance of diversity also made Black candidates more favorable compared to White candidates, but also in comparison to Asian candidates. Although mixed, results suggest that Black candidates are high in perceived diversity and conflict; Asian candidates are high in perceived diversity but low in perceived conflict; and White candidates are low in both perceived conflict and perceived diversity. Statistically significant effects did not emerge for Hispanic/Latinx candidates as in previous Diversity-Conflict Scale development research (where they tended to track closely with Black candidates). That said, being an ethnicity rather than a race, Hispanic/Latinx job candidates may be evaluated according to other factors (e.g., hair texture or skin tone), which this study was not designed to test (Bell, Marquardt, & Berry, 2014; Ma et al., 2018; Sims, Pirtle, and Johnson-Arnold, 2020).

Future work should replicate this study in new samples, particularly samples that are directly tied to diversity and inclusion decision-making (e.g., HR workers) to determine whether perceptions differ between lay individuals and those with experience making these decisions. Ultimately, this research takes an initial pass at understanding how job candidates are valued for their diversity. Looking forward, researchers should also expand this paradigm to incorporate other marginalized or under-represented groups, including groups who are less centered in diversity and inclusion discourse (e.g., those of marginalized gender identity, such as trans individuals, or those holding disability status). Including these groups in diversity management research is essential in identifying the success of inclusion efforts on a more intersectional scale.

Chapter IV: Diversity, Conflict, and Student Course Selection

Abstract

This study uses a 2 (between-subjects, prime: life on a large campus versus life on a diverse/multicultural campus) x 3 (within-subjects, course topic: Humanities, Science, Critical Race/Gender Studies) mixed design to explore how majority group students evaluate courses in light of information about classroom diversity; particular attention is paid to how students may anticipate and avoid conflict in more diverse, interactive courses. There were no statistically significant differences between diversity prime and control prime conditions for course interest or discussion-centered grading preferences; but exploratory models found between-course differences in preference for discussion-centered grading, with some evidence that students perceived higher stakes for the critical race/gender studies course than science or humanities courses and preferred less course discussion as such. These results provide mixed support for the theory that the avoidance of conflict is a factor in the course selection decision-making process for students. Future directions are discussed, focusing on how students' course selection decisions affect their potential for intellectual and interpersonal growth in a diverse world.

Introduction

Many factors influence students' choice of courses, including students' majors, job aspirations, subject interests, and perceived level of course utility or value (e.g., Beggs, Banthan, & Taylor, 2008; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002). Preference for more 'active learning' courses to more traditional lecture-style courses also varies depending on the needs of the student (e.g., Machemer & Crawford, 2007; Struyven, Dochy, & Janssens, 2008). However, while rich and expansive, research on students' course and classroom preferences has minimally explored how course selection decisions in students are related to their diversity attitudes. Some work has explored how inclusion efforts affect both majority group and minority group member students on campus, however. For instance, curriculum diversity and engagement with peers from diverse backgrounds was associated with improved intergroup attitudes and greater orientation toward civic engagement for members of dominant groups (Denson & Bowman, 2013). In their work, Brannon and colleagues further offer that, "sustained effort toward increasing students' exposure to information about groups and experiences, through course requirements, is one way institutions can create more equitable and inclusive environments" (Brannon et al., 2018). They go on to note that, "course requirements are one tool institutions can use to encourage intergroup engagement," with the caveat that, "students must also get practical advice about how to broach conversations with people different from them in more informal social settings as well" (Brannon et al., 2018). In essence, then, course selection is one avenue by which young adults grow or maintain their social network and develop their relationship with diversity and inclusion.

Diversity, Inclusion, and Higher Education

In a review of how diversity-related activities affect students' racial biases, Denson (2009) identifies three areas of diversity research in higher education: structural diversity, informal interactional diversity, and classroom diversity. Structural diversity research focuses on, "the numerical or proportional representation of diverse groups of students on a campus." Informal interactional diversity research highlights, "the frequency and quality of intergroup interaction that occurs during the normal course of student life... [the majority of these] interactions are informal in nature and tend to occur outside the classroom in various settings such as the residence halls, sporting activities, social activities, and other campus events." Finally, Denson defines classroom diversity research as addressing, "institutionally structured and purposeful programmatic efforts to help students engage in diversity in the form of both ideas and people." She notes that, "students encounter this type of diversity through coursework and curriculum or through participation in activities such as racial/cultural awareness workshops." Denson summarizes many benefits of diversity in education, particularly as they relate to improving majority group members' intellectual and personal growth, including reductions in racial prejudice (e.g., Chang, 2002), improvement in critical thinking skills (e.g., Pascarella et al., 2001), and student learning and personal development (e.g., Hu & Kuh, 2003). As social psychology research tends to sample undergraduate students at predominately White institutions participants from western, educated, industrial, rich, and democratic (WEIRD) societies, research on diversity-related benefits in higher education are largely framed in terms of their value to the majority group (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010).

Inclusion Requires Engagement With Diversity

In terms of diversity benefits in higher education, Denson importantly notes that the mere presence of structural (or representational) diversity, “is an insufficient condition in and of itself for maximal educational benefits. *Rather, its value appears to depend on whether or not it leads to greater levels of engagement* in diversity-related activities such as curricular/cocurricular diversity and cross-racial interaction.” (emphasis added) (Gurin et al., 2002). One impediment to this engagement is the homophily effect. Homophily, or “the principle that a contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people” has been demonstrated to be a major factor in students’ social interactions on campus (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Citing this work, Karimi and Matous (2018) note that “the pervasive human tendency [towards homophily]” can compromise inclusion on college campuses, particularly in environments that are not supportive of “interaction and integration of diverse groups”. Bridging their work with that of Tienda (2013), which defines inclusion in higher education as, “organizational strategies and practices that promote meaningful social and academic interactions among persons and groups who differ in their experiences, their views, and their traits”, they suggest that, “promoting curricular/co-curricular diversity and informal interaction diversity are inclusion efforts”.

Relating to the tendency toward homophily, research has found that that majority group members (namely, Whites) experience intergroup conversations as anxiety-provoking and cognitively taxing (Richeson & Shelton, 2007). This effect is partly as function of them having limited previous experience discussing race-related topics (Brannon et al., 2018). Research also finds that concerns about self-presentation, the idea that “openly addressing race will belie their egalitarian self-concept”, affected majority group members willingness to engage (Brannon et

al., 2018; Dovidio, 2001; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). Considered together, these studies provide some precedent for examining students' decision-making as they relate to diversity, namely as an opportunity to unearth more information about how pre-workforce adults form and act upon their diversity attitudes. Furthermore, with increased debate over the legitimacy of critical race theory and/or gender studies in schools, this chapter takes a first glance at whether an association of diversity with conflict can lead to lack of intellectual engagement with diversity scholarship.

Study 4 is a between-subjects design with two experimental conditions and three within-subject course preference comparisons. Students begin the study by sharing general course preferences, including preferred course size and format. Following this series of general questions, students are presented with one of two experimental prime conditions framed as a perspective-taking writing exercise, where they are primed to imagine life on a diverse campus or on a large campus. Following this exercise, students are asked to evaluate three courses on the dependent variables of preferred course size, preferred course structure, preferred course grading rubric, and course interest. In general, students from the racial majority group are expected to avoid more intimate learning spaces that encourage discussion when they have been primed to imagine life on a diverse campus. Hypotheses¹¹ include:

H1: Students of the majority group (White) will prefer larger courses over smaller courses in the diversity prime condition compared to the control condition in avoidance of discomfort associated with diversity.

H2: Students of the majority group (White) will prefer less interactive courses (more emphasis on graded work) over more interactive courses (more emphasis on classroom

¹¹ Hypotheses one and two were pre-registered on the Open Science Framework. Registration details can be reviewed here: <https://osf.io/jem46>

participation and discussion) in the diversity prime condition compared to the control condition in avoidance of interpersonal conflict associated with diversity.

H3 (Exploratory): Students of the majority group (White) will express least interest in the critical race/gender studies course in the diversity prime condition, but not the control condition in avoidance of interpersonal conflict associated with diverse spaces and conversations about diversity.

Method

Participants

Participants ($N = 538$) were recruited from the psychology undergraduate participant pool ($N = 511$) and from the Prolific online participant panel ($N = 27$)¹², between the years of 2020-2022. Prolific participants were screened for student status, U.S. residency, and familiarity with English language prior to being selected. Ninety-nine participants did not complete the study or did not enter demographic information.

Of the remaining 439 participants, 55% of participants identified as female, 42% identified as male, and 3% identified as nonbinary or not listed. Mean age of participants was 21 years old ($SD = 5$ years). Forty-nine percent of participants were White/Caucasian, followed by Asian/Asian-American (30.5%), or Black/African-American (13%). Nine participants (2%) identified as Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander or American Indian/Alaskan Native. 7% of participants identified as 'Other/Not listed'. 15% of the sample identified as Hispanic or

¹² Initially, participants were recruited from Prolific (prior to starting recruitment via the participant pool) as pilot participants who could provide feedback if the study was malfunctioning. No reports of the study malfunctioning were filed. Prolific participants' data were not analyzed prior to complete data collection.

Latino¹³. On average, participants politically identified as liberal ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.39$), on a scale of 1 (very liberal) to 7 (very conservative).

Design

This is a 2 (between-subjects, prime: life on a large campus versus life on a multicultural campus) x 3 (within-subjects, course topic: Humanities, Science, Critical Race/Gender Studies) mixed design. Participants evaluated three courses on their level of interest, expected workload, preferred course size, and preferred grading distribution.

Procedure

Individual Difference Measures. Individual difference measures were selected to get a baseline understanding of students' willingness to engage with difference and experience discomfort or stress in the learning environment. These were expected to moderate students' interest in discussion-heavy courses. To that end, participants first completed the Stress Mindset instrument (Crum, Salovey, & Achor, 2013; $\alpha = .68$), which consists of eight balanced items rated on a scale of (1) strongly disagree, (2) disagree, (3) neither agree nor disagree, (4) agree, and (5) strongly agree. Instructions read, "Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following items about stress." Items include: (1) The effects of stress are negative and should be avoided; (2) Experiencing stress facilitates my learning and growth; (3) Experiencing stress depletes my health and vitality; (4) Experiencing stress enhances my performance and productivity; (5) Experiencing stress inhibits my learning and growth; (6) Experiencing stress improves my health and vitality; (7) Experiencing stress debilitates my performance and productivity; (8) The effects of stress are positive and should be utilized. Students with a more

¹³ Racial/ethnic demographics were formatted such that participants could select all that applied. Some participants solely identified with their ethnicity, electing not to identify with a racial category.

positive stress mindset were expected to be more receptive to courses that emphasized discussion and exchange of ideas (e.g., Humanities and Critical Race/Gender Studies).

Next, participants completed the Attitudinal and Behavioral Openness Scale: Comfort with Differences subscale (Caligiuri, Jacobs, & Farr, 2000; $\alpha = .68$), consisting of four items rated on a scale of (1) very similar to me, (2) mostly similar to me, (3) somewhat different to me, (4) different than me, (5) extremely different from me. Each question is framed in terms of participants' friends at university, and the instructions read, "Please rate the extent to which the following statements describe your friends at university." Items include: (1) My university friends' ethnic backgrounds are...; (2) My university friends' religious affiliations are...; (3) My university friends' first languages are...; (4) My university friends' career goals, interests, and educations are...; this concludes the scale. Students with higher ABOS were expected to be more comfortable with the potential for disagreement in discussion-heavy courses, such as a critical race/gender studies course.

Following the ABOS, participants completed a student identity centrality measure which was modified from a validated identity centrality measure developed by Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) for their Collective Self-Esteem Scale. This measure was selected to determine whether the importance of being a student or the importance of grades animated students' course selection decisions. In total, there were eight items in this section, with each half inquiring about the centrality of (a) student-status and (b) grades in participants' self-concepts. Each item was rated on a scale of (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree. Instructions read, "Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about your identity as a student" and "Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about grades." Items include: (1) Overall, my student identity has very little to do

with how I feel about myself; (2) My student identity is an important reflection of who I am; (3) My student identity is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am; (4) In general, my student identity is an important part of my self-image; (5) Overall, my grades have very little to do with how I feel about myself; (6) My grades are an important reflection of who I am; (7) My grades are unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am; (8) In general, my grades are important part of my self-image.

After completing the above individual difference measures, participants were asked to share their general course preferences (i.e., “In general, I prefer...”). Participants therein identified their preferred course size (two options: small, large), preferred course format (two options: lecture or seminar), and preferred course time (three options: morning, afternoon, evening). The purpose of this task was to orient students to the nature of the study, as an examination of their preferences as university students. It also provided an anchor upon which students could base their responses moving forward, having already expressed their baseline preferences.

Perspective-Taking Manipulation. Participants were presented with one of two perspective-taking writing exercises to serve as the experimental manipulation. The structure of perspective-taking exercises has been used in management and stereotyping/prejudice studies to induce liking and cooperation with outgroups, as well as to affect behavioral and psychological assimilation with outgroup or novel group stereotypes and behaviors (Finlay & Stephan, 2000; Galinsky et al., 2008; Ku, Wang, & Galinsky, 2015; Mazacco et al., 2012; Wang et al., 2014). A similar structure was therefore used in order to induce student participants to imagine themselves in a novel scenario, where they are writing to a friend back home about a new college experience. Participants in the diversity prime condition were asked to consider a student’s life

on a diverse/multicultural campus after traveling away from home to go to college. Participants in the control condition completed a similar exercise, but were asked to imagine life on a large campus. Following the short vignette, participants were then asked to write a paragraph about this college experience to a friend back home. Please refer to Appendix C for the perspective-taking vignettes.

Course Assessment Task. In the final section of the experiment, I designed a course assessment task to be used as a subtle and indirect outcome. I reasoned that students who had been induced to imagine themselves on a multicultural/diverse campus would also imagine themselves on a campus with greater likelihood of intergroup conflict, as a function of that diversity. This association of diversity with conflict was not expected to be as pronounced for students who were asked to imagine themselves on a large campus, without the explicit mention of multicultural diversity. Those students in the diversity condition, then, were expected to avoid courses that might lead to intergroup conflict, such as a critical race/gender course, and prefer course configurations that could limit close, personal interaction (such as small courses and courses with emphasis on discussion sections).

Participants were presented with the following instructions: “We would like to know more about students' course preferences. On the following pages, you will first be shown a short course description. Then, we will ask you a few questions about how the course might be best formatted for students' learning. You will be asked to evaluate three courses in total.” The order by which the three courses are presented was randomized across participants so as to minimize ordering effects and encourage more honest assessments. The three types of courses described included a humanities course (labeled as 3 credits), science course (labeled as 4 credits), and a critical race/gender studies course (labeled as 4 credits). Each course description was

approximately similar in breadth, describing each course's key goals/concepts and the associated credits. Please refer to Appendix C for course descriptions.

Course assessment consisted of questions about (a) participants' interest in the course [how interested would you be in actually taking this course? (1 not interested at all – 5 extremely interested)], (b) expected workload given the course description [how much work would you expect to have to complete in order to pass the course? (1 little to no work – 5 a great deal of work)], and (c) preferred grading distribution. The grading distribution preference item presented two binary options: one option conferred more credit (via percentage of total grade) to graded individual work, such as homework assignments (a proxy for less interaction with students), while the other option emphasized discussion-based work (i.e., class participation and discussion). Finally, participants were asked to identify their (d) preferred course size: small (1-14 students), medium (15-34 students), large (35-49), and very large (50+ students). The discrete sizing buckets were based on Columbia courses listed via the course directory as of Fall 2020. Please see Appendix C for supplemental information about grading distribution and course size item prompts.

Demographics. The study concluded with a demographic questionnaire of age (numeric), gender (male, female, nonbinary, not listed), race/ethnicity (open-answer and discrete answer with option for multiple identifications, including White/European-American, Black/African-American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian/Asian-American, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latino, and an additional open-answer 'Other' space), sexual orientation (Straight/Heterosexual, Gay/Lesbian/Homosexual, Bisexual, open answer 'Not listed', and Prefer not to say), religion affiliation (open answer, with option to submit N/A for no affiliation or preference not to share), identification with having a disability (yes, no, prefer not

to say), political orientation (7-point scale with 1 as very liberal, 4 as moderate, and 7 as very conservative), registered voting party (democratic party, republican party, independent party, open-answer 'Other' space, no registration), and university major (open answer).

Results

Results are organized according to the original pre-registered hypotheses, followed by exploratory analyses which were not pre-registered on the Open Science Framework.

Exploratory analyses probe how course topic (i.e., humanities, science, critical race/gender studies) and individual difference measures moderated effects. Data were analyzed using R software's lme4, stats, and effectsize packages.

Sensitivity Analysis

While no students were initially excluded on the basis of race or ethnicity, only White participants' data ($N = 166$) were analyzed in the following tests, in accordance with the theoretical framing of the hypotheses that majority group members will avoid diversity in order to avoid conflict. A sensitivity analysis on a 2 (between-subjects prime: control versus diversity) x 3 (within-subjects course topic: Humanities, Science, Critical Race/Gender Studies) mixed design utilizing G* power found that a sample of 166 participants would have the power to detect a small effect size of $f = 0.10$, at the 0.05 significance level based on a target power of 0.80, assuming a 0.50 correlation between the repeated measures (Champely et al., 2020; Cohen, 1988).

Pre-Registered Hypotheses

H1: Participants will prefer larger courses in the diversity prime condition compared to the control condition.

A linear mixed model was used to analyze the effect of prime condition (control versus diversity) on participants' preferred course sizes. There was no statistically significant effect of condition on course size preferences ($p = 0.285$).

H2: Participants will prefer less interactive courses (more emphasis on graded work) in the diversity prime condition compared to the control condition.

A generalized linear mixed model was used to analyze the effect of prime condition on the binomial outcome of grading preference. There was no statistically significant effect of condition on grading preferences ($p = 0.750$).

Course Topic

Exploratory analyses examined the effect of course topic on the primary dependent variables of course interest, expected workload, course size, and grading preferences. These analyses were conducted using linear mixed models, where course topic and condition were used to predict the dependent variable of interest. As the two-way interaction between course topic and prime condition was statistically nonsignificant for course interest ($p = 0.670$), expected workload ($p = 0.051$), preferred course size ($p = 0.218$), and grading preference ($p = 0.995$), only main effects of course topic are reported for those variables.

Course Interest. The main effect of course topic on students' expressed course interest was not statistically significant ($p = 0.517$).

Expected Workload. There was a statistically significant main effect of course topic on students' expected workload ($f = .40, p < 0.001$). Students anticipated the most work in the Humanities course ($M = 3.89, SD = 0.77$), compared to the Science ($M = 3.41, SD = 0.82$) or

Critical Race/Gender course ($M = 3.37, SD = 0.97$) (where there were no statistically significant differences between the latter two courses in expected workload, $p = 0.715$).

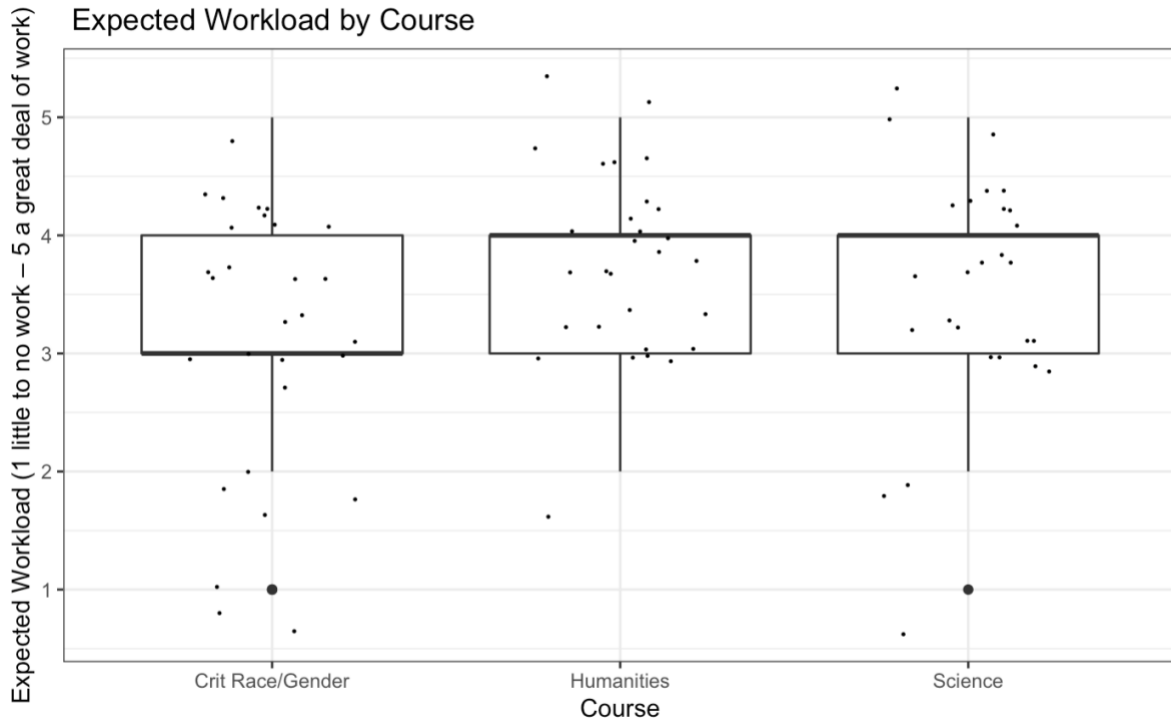


Figure 4.1. Expected workload by course topic.

Course Size. There was a statistically significant effect of course topic on students' preferred course size ($f = .51, p < 0.001$), such that participants preferred that the science course ($M = 2.63, SD = 0.89$) be larger than the humanities or critical race/gender courses. There was no statistically significant difference in course size preference between the humanities ($M = 1.93, SD = 0.84$) or critical race/gender studies ($M = 1.92, SD = 0.85$) courses ($p = 0.152$).

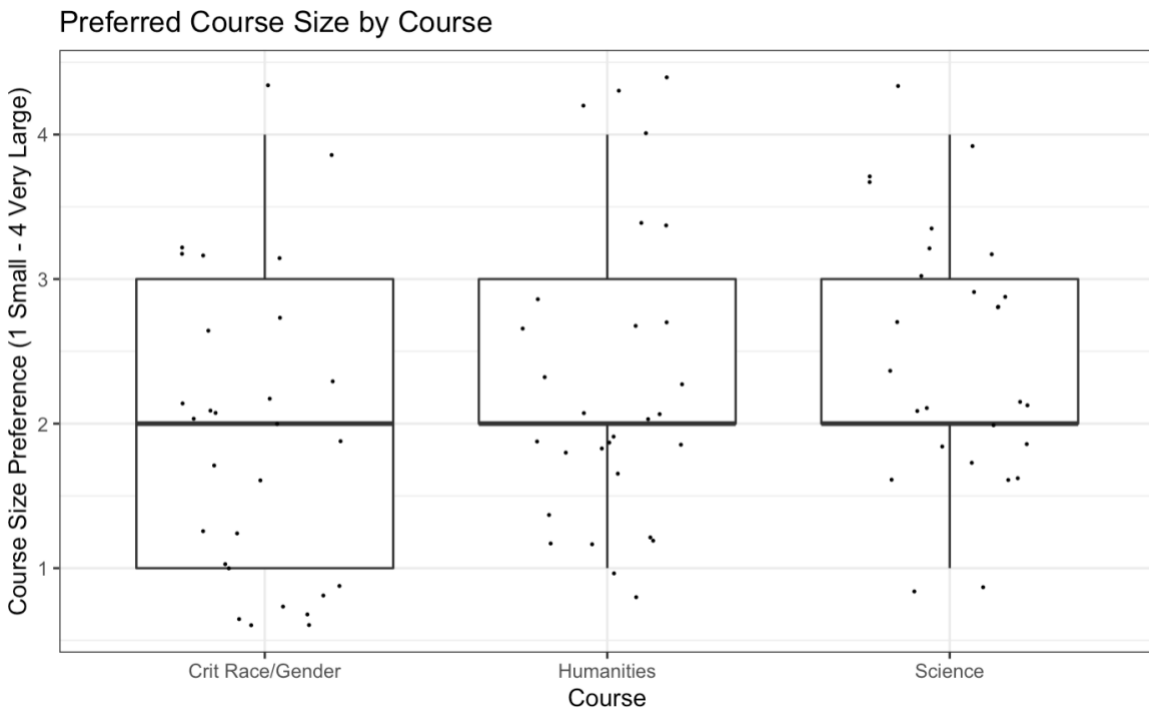


Figure 4.2. Preferred course size by course topic.

Grading Preferences. A general linear mixed model of the effect of course topic on grading preferences was statistically significant ($p < .001$). Students were least likely to prefer being graded on discussion-based work for the critical race/gender studies course, and most preferred being graded on their discussion for the humanities course.

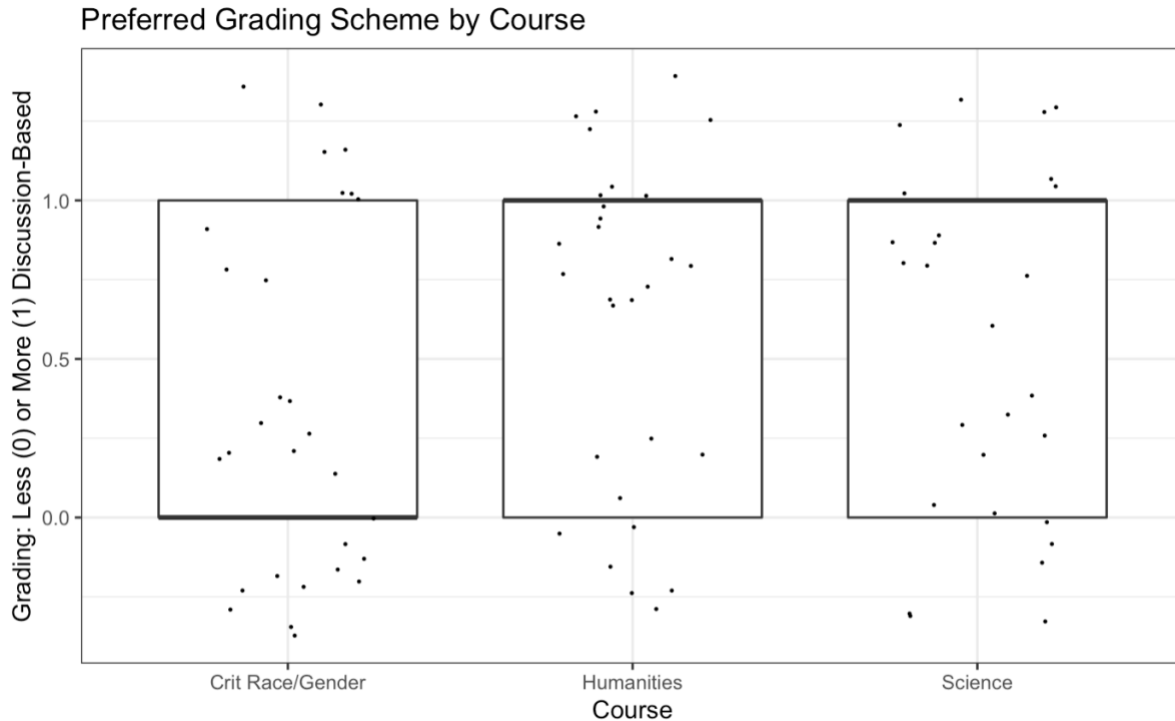


Figure 4.3. Preferred grading scheme by course (0 less discussion - 1 more discussion).

Individual Difference Measures as Moderators

Further exploratory analyses included the individual difference measures of Student Identity Centrality, Grade Identity Centrality, Attitudinal and Behavioral Openness (ABOS), and Stress Mindset as moderators in the linear mixed models of each dependent variable. Across all dependent measures, student identity centrality and grade identity centrality did not moderate students' responses. There was also no statistically significant effect of ABOS on course interest ($p = 0.409$), expected workload ($p = 0.328$), or grading preference ($p = 0.355$). However, ABOS moderated course size preferences, such that students with greater ABOS preferred smaller courses than did students with lower ABOS ($p = 0.006$). Similarly, while there was no statistically significant effect of Stress Mindset on preferred class size ($p = 0.252$), expected workload ($p = 0.820$) or grading preference ($p = 0.576$), participants with a more positive stress

mindset expressed greater interest in courses overall ($p < .001$) than students with a less positive stress mindset.

A final exploratory model incorporated political orientation as a moderating variable. A linear mixed model found no statistically significant moderating effect of political orientation on course size ($p = .114$) or expected workload ($p = 0.092$); a generalized linear mixed model also found no effect on grading preference ($p = 0.156$). However, greater political conservatism did predict less course interest overall ($p = 0.004$).

Discussion

Overall, pre-registered analyses did not support the stated hypotheses. While majority group students were expected to avoid smaller courses with emphasis on discussion-based work when primed to think about a diverse/multicultural campus, on average, there were no statistically significant differences between diversity prime and control prime conditions for course interest or grading preferences. On the other hand, exploratory models found some support for White students apprehension about intergroup interactions in potentially diversity salient spaces. Specifically, there were between-course differences in preference for discussion-centered grading, where students least preferred for grading rubrics to emphasize discussion within the critical race/genders studies course as compared to the science or humanities courses. In this largely liberal sample, these results align with previous research that majority group members experience anxiety and discomfort in intergroup settings and may choose to avoid such environments as a means of preserving their egalitarian self-concept (Brannon et al., 2018; Dovidio, 2001; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Richeson & Shelton, 2007).

Comparing the critical race/gender studies course to the humanities course somewhat clarifies students' engagement with the potential for interpersonal conflict in the classroom. Namely, despite debate being viable within discussions of either topic, students' slight apprehension towards being held accountable to their opinions among peers statistically differed between the courses. Students also anticipated a greater workload for the humanities course than the critical race/gender studies course or science course, despite the humanities course being assigned fewer credits than the critical race/gender studies course. This might reflect the assumption of less academic rigor in the critical race/gender studies course as compared to the humanities course, or it suggests that students assume critical race/gender studies coursework is more based on in-class discussion than a humanities course (which might rely more heavily on out-of-class assignments.)

While the majority null effects of this experiment might be attributed to a largely liberal sample, it may also be the case that students' responses reflected their learning environment. For instance, introductory science courses do tend to be larger than introductory humanities or critical race/gender studies courses, and humanities courses do tend to assign numerous lengthy texts. This may explain why participants preferred the science course be larger than the humanities or critical race/gender studies course and why students expected more work from the humanities course (labeled as three credits) compared to the critical race/gender studies course (labeled as four credits) or science course (also labeled as four credits).

As one limitation of this work, a course interest measure may have not been a strong enough operationalization of students' willingness to actually enroll in such a course (just as a student adding a course to their 'wish list' does not necessarily mean that they will actually enroll.) This work would therefore benefit from additional measures to assess student interest, such as

willingness to listen to a short lecture or read an excerpt from a course text. Limitations of this work also include the focus on a single university sample, in addition to not being adequately powered to compare racial/ethnic groups in the sample. Future work might compare university campuses that vary in racial/ethnic (e.g., historically Black- or Hispanic/Latinx-serving institutions) or gender (e.g., women's institutions) diversity to clarify the heterogeneity in course selection choices. Expansions of this work might use data to learn more about students' patterns of feedback in courses where they feel diversity is centered; for example, when diversity is a key feature of a course, how are professors assessed, how often are grades challenged, and when are courses dropped? To that end, further work might follow-up on the students' diversity beliefs and their evaluations of course instructors.

This chapter offers a first pass at an area of psychological research with expansive potential, providing numerous opportunities for future work, interventions, and policy advocacy. In spaces of critical thinking about systems of power and hierarchy, avoidance of critical engagement by members of more privileged groups is an ongoing issue. As Brannon and colleagues (2018) write, "...if the aim is to improve diversity and inclusion in a setting, we must consider how [all students] will be affected; yet, in so doing, we must keep in mind that discomfort is an important precursor for individual and structural change." In other words, the nuance of inclusion requires individuals to be present in spaces that they may not necessarily be dominant in. Students must therefore learn that the expectation that they not dominate a conversation does not necessarily preclude them from the responsibility of listening and being part of the conversation. The instinct to avoid the space altogether ultimately becomes an explicit avoidance of accountability. It is therefore essential that students learn this lesson prior to entering the workforce.

Concluding this dissertation research, Chapter 4 looks at the future of how we understand the relationship between diversity and conflict in education. If an equitable society is worthwhile, so too is thorough exploration of how we might train young adults to frame diversity in their intellectual and social journeys. With college being a space of intellectual and social development, these are important considerations for social scientists and educators to make.

Conclusion

In Chapter 1, I summarized literature on diversity, diversity-related conflict, and inclusion. Ultimately, I proposed that perceived diversity and perceived conflict were relevant constructs in understanding inclusion outcomes, particularly as they relate to creating hierarchy of value between racial minorities. In Chapter 2, I summarized previous work within this program of research, finding that groups are differentially valued for their ability to add diversity to a workplace (perceived diversity); I also found that some groups were associated with bringing more conflict to the workplace than others (perceived conflict). Finally, I found that the concepts of perceived diversity and perceived conflict were positively correlated on average, but that the strength of this correlation depended on target group. From the foundational work outlined in Chapter 2, the research transitioned into using choice and decision-making paradigms to explore evaluation of job candidates. In Chapter 3, manipulating the relevance and value of diversity in a hiring paradigm shifted how racial minority candidates were evaluated; similarly, the way that conflict was framed as being necessary or valuable to a role informed how racial minority candidates are evaluated overall and in relation to one another. In both cases, Black candidates were evaluated most positively when diversity and conflict were framed as being essential to a role. Comparatively, Asian candidates were viewed as less valuable to satisfying diversity needs and less suitable to a role that required conflict. Statistically significant differences did not emerge for Hispanic/Latinx candidates, however. Closing the dissertation, Chapter 4 expanded the research to pre-workforce adults, focusing on their course selection decisions in a diversity salient context, where avoidance of conflict might inform course preferences. While the hypothesis that White students would avoid smaller and more interactive courses when diversity was made salient was not supported, there was initial evidence that these

students experienced discomfort with discussion in the diversity salient context of a Critical Race/Gender Studies course. This final study provided some foundational understanding of how adults begin to crystallize their relationship with diversity, particularly in how they learn to position themselves in diverse spaces, engaging with diverse theories of thought.

Original Contributions

This research offers a new way of measuring diversity, showing that racial minority groups are not viewed as a one-dimensional category in diversity and inclusion decision-making. Instead, when compared to one another, a hierarchy of perceived diversity emerges that shows Black Americans, especially, are considered most immediately relevant to the goal of increasing diversity when compared to other racial minority groups. This finding departs from current research in social psychology, which typically explores how majority group-dominant teams are made more diverse by incorporating some proportion of minority group members, without consideration for the diversity within those minority groups or for their position in the United States' social hierarchy.

This research also shows that the anticipation of conflict creates different evaluations of groups who are solicited for their diversity potential. Again, a hierarchy emerges whereby Black Americans are most tied to the diversity-conflict relationship, partially demonstrating that the perception of diversity and the anticipation of conflict are positively correlated constructs. In this dissertation, the hierarchy of perceived conflict is proposed to be the mechanism by which Black Americans (who appear to be considered most immediately relevant to increasing workplace diversity) yield the least favorable inclusion outcomes, at least as compared to Asian American and Hispanic/Latinx Americans. To that end, this dissertation offers one plausible explanation

for why the popularity of diversity efforts has not been directly tied to the success of inclusion efforts.

Limitations and Considerations

An important consideration for this work is that the data collected for Chapters 3 and 4 were obtained during the COVID-19 pandemic, when anti-Asian racism was markedly high in the United States due to poor and biased communication about the virus's origins (Gover, Harper, & Langston, 2020). With the severity of violence against Asian-Americans so high during this data collection period, any evaluation of Asian-American candidates in Chapter 3 could possibly have been affected by anti-Asian racism. Similarly, Asian participants' association of diversity with conflict may have been affected, namely through concerns about verbal or physical harm from racial outgroup members.

A limitation of this work was its inability to assess how evaluations of diversity and conflict differed between racial majority and racial minority group members. A Diversity-Conflict Model of Inclusion that factors in racial minority or minoritized groups' evaluations of diversity as well as their anticipation of conflict would help clarify the effects of majority group membership on the perceived diversity-conflict relationship. It would also help clarify whether these effects are consistent across racial minorities and minoritized groups, or whether the ideas about diversity and conflict are affected by, say, that group's position in social hierarchy or their inclusion outcomes. A second limitation of this work, and site of empirical opportunity, was its focus on lay members of the workforce rather than dedicated diversity and inclusion decision-makers. Future research might replicate these studies in Human Resources samples to see if results hold.

Diversity and Conflict: Looking Forward

In their case for mandatory diversity education, Bell, Connerley, and Cocchiara (2009) note that, “Diversity researchers and practitioners have, for too long, relied solely on building strong ‘business cases’ to convince managers of the importance of diversity” (e.g., Litvin, 2006). They note that this obsession with financial justification has had the unintended effect of granting people “permission” to abstain from any sense of moral responsibility (e.g., Ghoshal, 2005) for supporting diversity.” They go on to say that, “business reasons for ‘valuing diversity’ are simply guideposts that prevent organizations from doing harm, but such minimalistic approaches may do very little to affect sustained organizational performance or positive individual outcomes (e.g., Cameron et al., 2006). Revisiting the opening quotation of this dissertation, Katherine Williams Phillips and her colleague C. O’Reilly (1998) invited us to consider, “whether the enrichment in information and skill which derives from diversity outweighs the negative consequences which result from possible increases in conflict.” But what might happen if we reimagined our fear of conflict altogether? Conflict is not a purely negative phenomenon. For example, Baron (1991) had managers recount and rate both the negative and positive effects of conflict in the workplace. To be sure, even in this work, more negative items were presented to managers than were positive items, which demonstrates how conflict generally holds a negative connotation that is only reinforced in experimental settings. That said, even under those experimental circumstances, managers reported that they had observed conflict garner positive effects in three major areas. Namely, managers noted (1) beneficial effects on productivity (e.g., work productivity increased and quality products were produced more quickly), (2) enhanced interpersonal outcomes (e.g., sensitivity to others’ needs and concerns increased and better communication methods were developed), and (3) more constructive

organizational change (e.g., job descriptions and expectations were better articulated and communicated) (Baron, 1991). While discussing the conditions under which the positive benefits of conflict might be achieved, Baron writes,

“To the extent parties to a conflict engage in stereotyping of one another, the likelihood of beneficial outcomes such as innovation and enhanced understanding of opposing points of view may be reduced. This would be the case because in the presence of strong, active stereotypes, parties to a conflict tend to pay relatively little attention to the actual content of each other's communications. Rather, they interpret every action (including efforts at conciliation) in negative terms. In short, once activated, stereotypes interfere with the kind of effortful, high level information processing required for the attainment of integrative solutions satisfactory to all sides. This, in turn, tends to preclude the positive effects of conflict described previously.”

In other words, re-working our relationship with conflict is imperative to improving our relationship with diversity. Future studies might therefore explore whether racial majority group members who undergo conflict resolution training have more positive attitudes towards diversity, reduced intergroup anxiety, and more egalitarian attitudes towards racial minorities overall. Future research might also explore whether having a more positive conflict mindset predicts support for diversity and inclusion initiatives such as affirmative action or affinity groups.

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Appendix A: Supplementary Information for Chapter 2

This chapter includes supplementary information for the foundational studies in Chapter 2, including measures, stimuli, and focus group protocol.

Appendix A: Study 2a and 2b Measures

Diversity-Conflict Scale

Instructions: Please read each statement and indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree.

Participants respond using a 1 (strongly disagree) - 7 (strongly agree) scale.
An asterisk indicates that the item was reverse-coded.

Diversity:

1. Having more of this group in my workplace would make it more diverse.
2. I frequently encounter members of this group in my workplace.*
3. Members of this group provide a unique perspective that's different from that of most people at work.
4. Having more of this group at work might change the culture of my workplace.
5. Members of this group are well-represented in my job or organization.*
6. Members of this group have a very different culture than my own.
7. Members of this group seem very different from me.
8. People tend to think about this group when thinking about diversity.

Conflict:

Question 1 from Turban and Jones (1988);

Question 2 from Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu (2002);

Question 3/4 adapted or taken from Symbolic Racism Scale (Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O., 2002);

Question 10 and 11 adapted from Stephan, Ybarra, and Bachman (1999)
Prejudice Towards Immigrants Scale.

1. At work, me and members of this group are likely to be similar in terms of our outlook, perspective, and values *
2. At work, resources that go to members of this group are likely to take away from the resources of people like me.
3. Members of this group tend to create tension in the workplace.
4. At work, it is easy to get along with members of this group.*
5. Members of group would fit well with the culture of my job or organization.*
6. A member of this group would feel comfortable working within my job or organization.*
7. At work, I feel like I have to monitor what I say when I'm around a member of this group.
8. At work, I worry about being politically correct when I'm around a member of this

- group.
9. This group's values and beliefs regarding work are basically quite similar to those of most people at my job.*
 10. This group's values and beliefs regarding social relations are not compatible with the beliefs of most people at my job.

Modified Intragroup Conflict Scale (Jehn, 1993; Jehn, 1995)

Instructions: Please respond to the following questions by indicating how much increased workplace diversity increases or decreases the experience listed on the left.

Participants respond using a 7-point likert scale of *extremely decrease* to *extremely increase*.

In your opinion, how does increased workplace diversity affect the following:

1. ...emotional conflict between members of the workplace?
2. ...anger between members of the workplace?
3. ...personal friction between members of the workplace?
4. ...personality clashes between members of the workplace?
5. ...tension between members of the workplace?
6. ...disagreement over different opinions between members of the workplace?
7. ...disagreement over different ideas between members of the workplace?
8. ...disagreement over the content of decisions between members of the workplace?
9. ...differences of opinion between members of the workplace?
10. ...disagreements about who should do what within the workplace?
11. ...disagreements about how to complete group tasks within the workplace?
12. ...conflict about the delegation of tasks within work groups in the workplace?

Appendix A: Diversity and Conflict Focus Group Protocol

Overarching questions: How do people define diversity in the workplace? What types of conflict do people anticipate, experience, or notice in the workplace? Do lay people associate diversity with conflict? If so, when, in what way, & in what forms does the conflict manifest? Is the Diversity-Conflict Scale instrument in alignment with lay ideas about diversity & conflict?

Key questions: What relationship do participants have with diversity & inclusion, personally or professionally? Are there terms (for diversity & inclusion) with which participants are more familiar? Are some groups perceived to be more/less associated with conflict or tension? Does the Diversity-Conflict Model square with participants' feedback and experiences?

Introduction script format:

- Welcome:** Welcome and thank you all for your participation! My name is _____. My role here is to facilitate discussion, rather than to provide my own opinions. I'll be here as a neutral entity.
- Purpose of groups:** The purpose of this group is to better understand how people think about and experience diversity in the workplace. During this group discussion, I will ask you a few questions – some of them may seem obvious and some of them I may have even covered before; but there are no right or wrong answers to any of these questions. I will also ask your opinion on some research survey items.
- Why us as researchers:** In my lab, we are deeply invested in studying intergroup processes including diversity & inclusion in the workplace. Importantly, we are committed to doing research that incorporates diverse voices and experiences.
- Why them as participants:** We value your participation in this discussion as adults from different walks of life, who may have unique insights about diversity in the workplace.
- Confidentiality and informed consent*:** I will first collect your written consent to participate, followed by your consent to be audio recorded. Please remember that you may decline to be audio recorded, and may also revoke your consent after the focus group. Audio recording will be used for research purposes only, and they will be stored on a password-protected laboratory server behind locked laboratory doors. Audio recording will be collected for the purposes of transcription, and transcriptions will also be stored behind locked cabinets within our laboratory. Your name will not be linked with these transcriptions or recordings.

[Pause for questions; look at forms to see if anyone did not consent to recording].

- Ground rules*:** Before we begin, please note the following ground rules:
 1. While speaking, please only your/their chosen pseudonym/alias to refer to yourself or others in the room (e.g., "Sarah said, John Said, etc.). You may also want to use pseudonyms/aliases for anyone you might mention in a personal anecdote. If you forget someone's alias/pseudonym and must refer to someone in the third person, then please use 'them/them/theirs' in order to protect each other's' anonymity.
 2. Please allow others to finish speaking before you begin speaking.

3. There are no right/wrong answers to the questions I ask; your voice is valued and we ask you to speak honestly and freely.
4. Please ask for clarification if there is a question that you do not understand.
5. What is said in this group discussion stays in this group discussion. Please do not share others' personal anecdotes/experiences with others outside of this group. This is to help protect the privacy of all members of the group.

[If consent received from all members, recording starts here; note-taking starts here]

1. Let's all introduce ourselves. Please provide a pseudonym, then tell us your field/position and what tasks/responsibilities you held/hold in that role.
2. Every workplace carries institutional values, and every institution shares norms and ideas about what kind of environment is valued; what kind of people are valued; what kind of cultural ethos is valued. In your opinion, what do you think your workplace values? What might it value less? Do you have a story that might illustrate this?
3. Some workplaces value diversity as a resource. Does your workplace express a commitment to or desire for diversity (or inclusion)? Is this the terminology you/your workplace uses to refer to these ideas? In what ways does your workplace express (or fail to express) this commitment?
4. What are other ways these ideas are discussed/engaged in your workplace? How, if at all, do you engage with diversity & inclusion?
5. Do you feel that your values (broadly but also specifically with respect to diversity) align with your workplace? Why or why not?
6. I'd like us all to do a quick thought-listing task. Please write down the first 5 things you think about when you hear the word 'diversity'.
7. What types of things do you associate with diversity? As we respond, please feel free to share some of the items on the list you just created.
8. How would you define diversity? How have your ideas about diversity changed over time and what has influenced this change?
9. Do you believe there are certain groups that are more associated with diversity than others? Why these groups and not others?
 - a. Consider these groups: women, Black/African-Americans, Hispanic/Latina/o/x Americans, Asian-Americans, LGBT, veterans, millennials, people with physical disabilities.
 - b. Rank-order task
 - c. Show slide -- are you surprised by these results?
10. Please take a look at the following survey items that we're planning to administer to working adults – what might you add/change to make these items more accurately capture *your* definition of diversity? Other thoughts?
11. My next question is about differences in “fit” or “communication style” within the workplace. Are there any experiences that stand out in your mind about a time such differences affected the workplace environment?
12. Another way to think about these differences in “fit” or “communication style” is to consider it a form of conflict – a negative association. Are there times that you can think of these differences being a positive addition to the workplace? What types of conflict/tension does your workplace value or thrive upon?

13. Some people associate diversity with conflict – what do you think about this association/statement? Are there certain forms of conflict or tension – positive or negative -- that are related to diversity?
14. Do you believe there are certain groups that are more associated with negative conflict than others? Positive conflict? Why these groups and not others?
 - a. Consider these groups: women, Black/African-Americans, Hispanic/Latina/o/x Americans, Asian-Americans, LGBT, veterans, millennials, people with physical disabilities.
 - b. Rank-order task
 - c. Show slide – are you surprised by these results?
15. Please take a look at the following survey items that we’re planning to administer to working adults – what might you add or change to make these items more accurately capture *your* ideas about diversity-related workplace conflict/tension?
16. Additional thoughts? Is there anything you expected me to ask that hasn’t come up? What might psychologists and other diversity researchers be missing in their studies on workplace diversity?

[End recording here]

Closing format:

- Thank you**
- Ask for additional names of potential focus group participants**
- Answer lingering questions/concerns**

SEPTEMBER 18, 2017



How Today's Growing U.S. Workforce is Changing

BY STEVEN BERNS

In June 2012 approximately 155,163,000 people were in the labor force (those actively employed or seeking employment). With a total U.S. working-age population of approximately 243 million individuals, the labor force participation rate currently stands at 63.8 percent. Out of those 155 million individuals in the labor force, 142,415,000 are currently employed, with unemployment hovering around 8.2 percent. By 2020 the labor force is projected to reach more than 164 million people, a 5.9 percent increase from today. But economists project the labor force participation rate will drop over the coming decades, as an aging population of baby boomers exits the workforce.

Given the importance of diversity to our economy and to our society, let's now turn to the economic data to better understand the state of diversity in today's workforce. The U.S. workforce is undoubtedly becoming more diverse. In fact, census data tell us that by 2050 there will be no racial or ethnic majority in our country. As the United States becomes a more racially and ethnically diverse country, the proportion of underrepresented groups, such as racial/ethnic minorities, participating in the workforce will only increase. Taking a closer look at minority citizens in today's changing economy, census data shows that as of June 2012, racial/ethnic minorities made up close to 15% percent of the labor force. The U.S.-born minority population itself has evolved since this time, with changes in immigration, education and other characteristics.

They are also one of the **nation's fastest**-growing racial or ethnic groups, with an almost 2.0% growth rate between 2015 and 2016 compared with a 0.5% rate for U.S. Whites.

View interactive charts and detailed tables on U.S. labor force demographics.

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Given the importance of diversity to our economy and to our society, let's now turn to the economic data to better understand the state of diversity in today's workforce. The U.S. workforce is undoubtedly becoming more diverse. In fact, census data tell us that by 2050 there will be no racial or ethnic majority in our country. As the United States becomes a more racially and ethnically diverse country, the proportion of underrepresented groups, such as Asian-Americans, participating in the workforce will only increase. Taking a closer look at Asian-American citizens in today's changing economy, census data shows that as of June 2012, Asian-Americans made up close to 15% percent of the labor force. The U.S.-born Asian population itself has evolved since this time, with changes in immigration, education and other characteristics.

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Given the importance of modernization in our economy and society, let's now turn to the management data to better understand the state of today's workforce.

Employers have found that the old, rigid style of thinking reduced efficiency and couldn't meet new age challenges, like employees collaborating effectively over long distances. The modern workplace environment has a blended workforce, is becoming more responsive to problems, and less tied down to physical locations. Employees now use modern collaborative software like Skype and Google Docs to communicate more effectively with their colleagues around the world in real time.

The workplace continues to evolve in order to meet the needs of both employees and employers.

View [interactive charts](#) and [detailed tables](#) on U.S. labor force demographics.

Appendix B: Supplemental Information for Chapter 3

This chapter includes hiring memo and candidate summary stimuli for Chapter 3's job candidate assessment study.

Appendix B: Candidate LinkedIn summaries

Skilled business development consultant with years of experience in developing strategies for long-term growth. Strong analytical, problem-solving, and communication skills. Much experience in leadership, but a reliable team member with adept strategic decision-making capability. Proud lover of all things music, travel, and statistics/full-time doggie parent to Chloe.

Highly qualified business consultant with strong background in implementing effective strategies towards business growth. Excellent critical thinking, organizational, and leadership skills. Team-building expert with a long history of effective working relationships with staff, management, and clients. Easy-going and friendly, but always ready to get down to business!

Highly knowledgeable management consultant with proficient experience in researching and streamlining business processes. Exceptional project manager and team player with years of experience in collaborative, small working groups. Strong leadership and analytical skills, particularly in deconstructing complex problems in business analysis. Marathon runner, Netflix aficionado, and (very) novice home brewer.

Practiced business management consultant with exceptional training in implementing marketing and business development initiatives. Strategic decision-maker with strong communication, presentation, and negotiation skills. Self-starting critical thinker, problem-solver, and team player. Catch me outside of the office, probably somewhere playing bar trivia or playing with my cat.

Appendix B: Hiring memos

Conflict Avoidant/No Diversity: "Our ideal applicant is someone who is a reliable, trustworthy, honest, and positive team member. We also need them to be a solid critical thinker, and someone who generally steers clear of conflict. Diversity is not a priority for this application season, based on the general requirements of the position. In the end, we'll be looking for great potential team members who can take on some challenging projects."

Conflict Avoidant/High Diversity: "Our ideal applicant is someone who is a reliable, trustworthy, honest, and positive team member. We also need them to be a solid critical thinker, and someone who generally steers clear of conflict. Diversity is a huge priority for this application season, based on the general requirements of the position. In the end, we'll be looking for great potential team members who can take on some challenging projects."

Conflict Unafraid/No Diversity: "Our ideal applicant is someone who is a reliable, trustworthy, honest, and positive team member. We also need them to be a solid critical thinker, and someone who generally isn't afraid of conflict. Diversity is not a priority for this application season, based on the general requirements of the position. In the end, we'll be looking for great potential team members who can take on some challenging projects."

Conflict Unafraid/High Diversity: "Our ideal applicant is someone who is a reliable, trustworthy, honest, and positive team member. We also need them to be a solid critical thinker, and someone who generally isn't afraid of conflict. Diversity is a huge priority for this application season, based on the general requirements of the position. In the end, we'll be looking for great potential team members who can take on some challenging projects."

Appendix C: Supplemental Information for Chapter 4

This chapter includes supplementary information for Chapter 4's course selection study including stimuli and measures.

Appendix C: Perspective-taking Prime Stimuli and Course Summaries

Diversity Prime

Imagine that you are a new student who has traveled away from home to go to college. In your hometown, most of your friends, neighbors, and fellow residents are culturally and ethnically similar to one another. At college, however, you notice that your environment is far more multicultural. Reflecting the large, multicultural student body, most of your classes are also quite diverse.

While you are visiting home during winter break, your childhood friends ask you about your new school. They mention that their colleges are smaller, but also fairly multicultural. They say that they've been exposed to a lot of new perspectives since their first semester of classes started.

After sharing their experiences, your friends ask you to tell them what your experience has been like as a student on a diverse campus. Imagining that you are this student, please write a short response (5-7 sentences) to them.

Control

Imagine that you are a new student who has traveled away from home to go to college. In your hometown, most of your friends, neighbors, and fellow residents live close to one another. At college, however, you notice that your environment is far larger. Reflecting the large student body, most of your classes are also quite big.

While you are visiting home during winter break, your childhood friends ask you about your new school. They mention that their colleges are nice, but also fairly large. They say that they've been exposed to a lot of new people since their first semester of classes started.

After sharing their experiences, your friends ask you to tell them what your experience has been like as a student on a large campus. Imagining that you are this student, please write a short response (5-7 sentences) to them.

Appendix C: Course Descriptions

Humanities: This course is a critical examination of fundamental issues in contemporary politics through reflection on classic texts and contemporary articles. Emphasis is placed on topics related to modern constitutional democracies, including executive power, legislative representation, and personal freedom. Readings include texts by Plato, Locke, Hobbes, Machiavelli, Tocqueville, Lincoln, and Madison (3 credits).

Science course: This course challenges students to think about the world around them, and the ways in which science can help us answer questions about nature and ourselves. The course focuses on the commonalities of the scientific approach to inquiry as exemplified by four areas of active research and discovery. Sample topics include the brain and behavior, global climate change, relativity, and biodiversity, among others (4 credits).

Critical race/gender studies course: This course will familiarize students with interdisciplinary scholarship on power and difference, with a special focus on historically specific relationships between race, capitalism, empire, dispossession, migration, political economy, and state regulation of gender and sexuality. Throughout the course, students will consider the political and economic critiques of race and power that have been articulated by antiracist freedom, anticolonial, feminist, queer of color, and immigrant labor struggles (4 credits).

Appendix C: Grading Distribution and Course Size Prompts

Grading Distribution

In most courses, different amounts of weight (in percentages) are placed on assigned work (e.g., quizzes, take-home assignments). We call this a grading distribution. Grading distributions are generally used to evaluate students' learning of course material. Depending on the course content, some grading distributions may be more or less appropriate for assessing how much students have learned.

[Course description here; sample provided] Course A: This course is a critical examination of fundamental issues in contemporary politics through reflection on classic texts and contemporary articles. Emphasis is placed on topics related to modern constitutional democracies, including executive power, legislative representation, and personal freedom. Readings include texts by Plato, Locke, Hobbes, Machiavelli, Tocqueville, Lincoln, and Madison (3 credits).

Based on this course description, which of the following grading distributions seems most appropriate?

Course Size

The number of students in a course can affect instructors' ability to teach and students' ability to learn. This means some courses may have to be smaller or larger, depending on many factors. One factor that influences the maximum student enrollment (enrollment cap) is the course topic.

[Course description here; sample provided] Course A: This course is a critical examination of fundamental issues in contemporary politics through reflection on classic texts and contemporary articles. Emphasis is placed on topics related to modern constitutional democracies, including executive power, legislative representation, and personal freedom. Readings include texts by Plato, Locke, Hobbes, Machiavelli, Tocqueville, Lincoln, and Madison (3 credits).

Based on this course description, what should be the maximum enrollment (or enrollment cap)?