

BEYOND BACKLASH: REDUCING RESISTANCE AND GENERATING SUPPORT IN
RESPONSE TO DIVERSITY INITIATIVES THROUGH OPENING IDENTITY TACTICS

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN ADMINISTRATION
SCHULICH SCHOOL OF BUSINESS, YORK UNIVERSITY
TORONTO, ONTARIO

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Abstract

Although researchers are recognizing that dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives can result in backlash, researchers have paid limited attention to how dominant social identity threat can be in service of support for diversity. This dissertation considers how identity exploration after dominant social identity threat can facilitate responses that move members of dominant social identity groups towards diversity support rather than diversity resistance. In Chapter 1, I provide an overview of the dissertation and how it contributes to theory through introducing the novel construct of opening identity tactics as a response to dominant social identity threat. In Chapter 2, I bridge theory on identity threat and uncertainty regulation to birth a comprehensive model of how identity threat can lead employees belonging to dominant social identity groups to engage in closing and opening identity tactics. Closing identity tactics re-affirm one's hierarchy-maintaining knowledge about membership to dominant social identity groups, while opening identity tactics transform one's understanding of membership to dominant social identity groups, so that the focus becomes one that is less about maintaining hierarchy and more about challenging inequalities. Then, in Chapter 3, I develop and validate a measure of opening and closing identity tactics over four studies. In Chapter 4, I formulate the hypotheses that will be tested in Study 1 and 2, the empirical studies for my dissertation. Next, in Chapter 5, I pilot test an opening identity tactics intervention aimed at facilitating opening identity tactics in response to dominant social identity threat and test the diversity initiative memo for Study 1. In Chapter 6, I document in Study 1 that participants show greater engagement in opening identity tactics after reading about an organization's diversity initiatives when they complete an opening identity tactics intervention, which in turn, came to explain why participants were more likely to report valuing of diversity and organizational identification toward the organization. In Chapter 7, I further document in Study 2 that White employees of organizations with existing diversity initiatives showed a stronger relationship between their engagement in opening identity tactics and valuing of diversity after completing a six-week opening identity tactics intervention (versus a control condition). Overall, my dissertation challenges a widely held assumption that dominant social identity threat is only a roadblock to the advancement of diversity and inclusion in organizations. Rather, I show how dominant social identity threat can also trigger positive identity changes that translate into support for diversity. In doing so, my research has implications for understanding the benefits and costs of diversity initiatives and dominant social identity threat.

Keywords: Identity Threat; Uncertainty; Diversity Initiatives; Diversity Training; Resistance to Diversity; Identity Change.

Table of Contents

<i>Abstract</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Chapter 1: Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Chapter 2: Theoretical Paper</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>Review of Literature</i>	<i>19</i>
Organizational Diversity Initiatives	19
Identity Threat	21
Identity Growth from Threat	22
Dominant and Marginalized Social Identity Groups Reactions to Identity Threat	26
Uncertainty Management.....	29
Opening and Closing Identity Tactics.....	31
How do opening identity tactics differ from other constructs?	36
Theoretical Model	39
Individual-level Moderators	48
Organization-level Moderators.....	52
Discussion.....	54
Theoretical Contributions	55
Practical Implications	58
Future Directions	59
Conclusion	62
<i>Chapter 3: Scale Validation of Opening and Closing Identity Tactics</i>	<i>64</i>
Step 1: Item Generation	65
Step 2: Item Refinement	66
Step 3. Principal component analysis.....	67
Step 4. Exploratory factory analysis	69
Step 5: Confirmatory Factor Analysis	69

Step 6: Construct validity.....	70
Discussion.....	71
<i>Chapter 4: Conceptualizing the Opening Identity Tactics Intervention and its Outcomes</i>	<i>72</i>
Introduction.....	72
The Impact of Opening Identity Tactics on Valuing of Diversity and Organizational Identification	76
Step 1: Role of Dominant Social Identity Threat on Opening Identity Tactics	77
Step 2: The Moderating Role of the Opening Identity Tactics Intervention.....	78
Step 3: Outcomes of Opening Identity Tactics	85
<i>Chapter 5: Pilot Testing of Diversity Memo and Opening Identity Tactics Intervention</i>	<i>93</i>
Pilot Study 1: Diversity Initiative Manipulation.....	93
Measures	95
Results and Discussion.....	95
Pilot Study 2: Opening Identity Tactics Intervention	95
Measure.....	96
Results and Discussion.....	96
<i>Chapter 6: Study 1.....</i>	<i>99</i>
Participants.....	100
Procedure	100
Measures	101
Independent Measures	101
Outcome Measures.....	102
Study 1: Results.....	103
Test of Assumptions.....	103
Hypotheses Tests	104
Study 1 Discussion.....	112
<i>Chapter 7: Study 2.....</i>	<i>114</i>
Participants.....	116
Measures	118
Independent Measures	118
Mediators	118
Dependent Measures	119
Controls	119
Study 2: Results.....	119
Test of Hypothesis 4.....	122

Supplemental Analysis.....	128
Study 2: Discussion	132
Contributions to Research	137
Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions.....	143
Practical Implications.....	147
Conclusion	149
<i>References</i>	<i>150</i>
<i>Appendix 1: Clean Campus Initiative Memo (Pilot Study 1, Chapter 5).....</i>	<i>213</i>
<i>Appendix 2: Diversity Initiative Memo (Pilot Study 1 and Study 1, Chapters 5 and 6).....</i>	<i>214</i>
<i>Appendix 3: Opening Identity Tactics Intervention & Control for Pilot Study (Chapter 5)...</i>	<i>216</i>
<i>Appendix 4: Study 1 Opening Identity Tactics Intervention (Chapter 6)</i>	<i>218</i>
<i>Appendix 5: Study 1 Control Condition (Chapter 6)</i>	<i>219</i>
<i>Appendix 6: Study 2 Opening Identity Tactics Intervention (Chapter 7)</i>	<i>220</i>
<i>Week 1: Intervention</i>	<i>220</i>
<i>Appendix 7: Study 2 Control Condition (Chapter 7)</i>	<i>223</i>
<i>Appendix 8: Study 1 and 2 Measures (Chapters 6 and 7)</i>	<i>224</i>

List of Tables

Table 1a. Initial Closing Identity Tactics Scale Items (Chapter 3)	190
Table 1b. Initial Opening Identity Tactics Scale Items (Chapter 3)	191
Table 2. Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Opening and Closing Identity Tactics Scale (Chapter 3)	192
Table 3. Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for Opening and Closing Identity Tactics (Chapter 3)	194
Table 4. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations (Study 1, Chapter 6)	200
Table 5. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations (Study 2, Chapter 7)	204
Table 6. Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors for Serial Mediation Model with Valuing of Diversity (Study 2, Chapter 7).....	205
Table 7. Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors for Serial Mediation Model with Organizational Identification (Study 2, Chapter 7).....	207

List of Figures

Figure 1. Chapter 2 Theoretical Model.....	196
Figure 2. Typology of Identity Threat Responses (Chapter 2)	197
Figure 3. Scree plot for Eigen Values (Chapter 3).....	198
Figure 4. Biplot for Scale Item Loadings on Principal Component 1 and 2 (Chapter 3)	199
Figure 5. Scatterplot of Study 1 Variables.....	201
Figure 6a. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 1 Intervention Condition (Chapter 6)	202
Figure 6b. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 1 Control Condition (Chapter 6)	202
Figure 7a. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 1 Intervention Condition (Chapter 6)	203
Figure 7b. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 1 Control Condition (Chapter 6)	203
Figure 8a. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 2 Intervention Condition (Chapter 7)	209
Figure 8b. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 2 Control Condition (Chapter 7)	209
Figure 9a. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 2 Intervention Condition (Chapter 7)	210
Figure 9b. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 2 Control Condition (Chapter 7)	210
Figure 10a. Valuing of Diversity Serial Mediation Results for Study 2 Intervention Condition (Chapter 7)	211
Figure 10b. Valuing of Diversity Serial Mediation Results for Study 2 Control Condition (Chapter 7)	211
Figure 11a. Organizational Identification Serial Mediation Results for Study 2 Intervention Condition (Chapter 7)	212
Figure 11b. Organizational Identification Serial Mediation Results for Study 2 Control Condition (Chapter 7)	212

Chapter 1: Introduction

Organizational diversity initiatives signal changes to existing power relations between employees with dominant social identities and marginalized social identities (Hill, 2009). Diversity initiatives are programs implemented within organizations to promote the representation and inclusion of marginalized social identity groups such as women, racial minorities, and persons with disabilities (Kulik & Roberson, 2008). Examples of diversity initiatives include implicit bias training, affirmative action plans, mentoring programs for employees with marginalized social identities, and outreach to organizations for marginalized social identity groups (Kulik & Roberson, 2008). Resistance from employees with dominant social identities (e.g., White people, men) towards diversity initiatives is one of the major roadblocks on the path to the effective implementation of diversity initiatives in organizations. Thus, it is imperative to not only illuminate the unspoken resistance toward changes to the status quo that can arise from members of groups that have been advantaged for generations, but also offer solutions for addressing this problem. In the era of #BlackLivesMatter and other social movements, organizations are increasingly implementing diversity initiatives and thus understanding how diversity resistance can further exclude members of marginalized social identity groups becomes especially important. Yet, without a strong grasp of ways to address this resistance, organizations will continue to face challenges to effectively implementing diversity initiatives.

Research on diversity initiatives has documented how they can generate “backlash” from members of dominant social identity groups and thus inadvertently produce the opposite of their intended outcomes (Kidder et al., 2004; Leslie, 2019). According to existing research and theory on diversity resistance and backlash, when members of dominant social identities experience

identity threat towards diversity initiatives their responses result in aversive outcomes for employees belonging to marginalized social identity groups. This dissertation departs from previous research on the negative impacts of dominant social identity threat to investigate why and how this form of threat may eventually generate positive outcomes for marginalized social identity groups.

In this dissertation I seek to answer two key questions: (1) how can dominant social identity threat experienced by employees in response to diversity initiatives result in them eventually supporting diversity initiatives? And (2) what are the ways to facilitate support rather than resistance towards diversity initiatives? In answering these questions, I illuminate the conditions under which diversity initiatives are effective and ineffective in generating support from White employees, a dominant social identity in organizations.

To answer the first question about how dominant social identity threat can initiate support for diversity initiatives, in Chapter 2 of my dissertation I develop a theory for the conditions under which the initial resistance to diversity initiatives from employees with dominant social identities can result in eventual support for these same initiatives. I introduce the concept of opening identity tactics, which involve employees with a dominant social identity learning new ways of understanding their membership to a dominant social identity group that is less about maintaining hierarchy and more about challenging inequalities. In my theory, I argue that dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives can, under certain circumstances, be a trigger for changes in how members of dominant social identity groups understand their membership to a dominant social identity, and ultimately how they see and relate to members of marginalized social identity groups. Dominant social identity threat occurs when an individual with a dominant social identity (e.g., White, male, heterosexual) perceives an experience as

threatening to the opportunities and status associated with that identity (see Danbold & Huo, 2015, 2022; Major et al., 2018; Mutz, 2018).¹ Even though a person's sense of self is often put to the test when they are confronted with something that contradicts their beliefs or knowledge, threat can also lead them on a quest for more truth and understanding. I suggest that when dominant social identity employees engage in opening identity tactics, or actions and thoughts aimed at broadening understanding of one's dominant social identity, they are more likely to respond to diversity initiatives in ways that are supportive rather than resistant. I thus argue that dominant social identity threat does not necessarily act as a deterrent but can serve as a catalyst for improved diversity outcomes. My theory goes beyond resistance to diversity, and I describe how members of dominant social identity groups can reframe their initial experience of dominant social identity threat and eventually become supportive of diversity initiatives through growth in their dominant social identity.

In subsequent chapters of my dissertation, I build on the theoretical development of Chapter 2. In particular, I draw from extant research on dominant social identity development (Helms, 1990) to examine ways in which diversity initiatives can build support, rather than elicit resistance, from employees with dominant social identities through dominant social identity growth. To properly measure employees' engagement in opening and closing identity tactics, in Chapter 3 of my dissertation I followed recommendations for developing valid and reliable scales for opening and closing identity tactics (Hinkin et al., 1997), and I also demonstrate that these are unique constructs. In Chapter 4, I develop and introduce the hypotheses that will be

¹ Dominant social identity threat differs from stereotype threat (see Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002) because the latter arises from confirming negative stereotypes about one's identity and can apply to both dominant and marginalized groups although it has largely been studied with marginalized groups. In contrast, dominant social identity threat focuses on concerns about status and opportunities for members of dominant groups.

tested in Study 1 (Chapter 6) and Study 2 (Chapter 7) of my dissertation. Because opening and closing identity tactics are novel constructs, I needed to undertake a scale validation prior to measuring them in Study 1 (Chapters 6) and Study 2 (Chapter 7). Using these measures of identity tactics, in Study 1 (Chapter 6), I conducted an experimental investigation into an intervention that can encourage opening identity tactics as a response towards diversity initiatives and how these opening identity tactics can lead to greater valuing of diversity and identification with organizations that implement the diversity initiatives. In Study 1, I find that dominant social identity employees show increased engagement in opening identity tactics after completing an opening identity tactics intervention versus the control exercise. Moreover, opening identity tactics explain the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity when White participants complete an opening identity tactics intervention, but this effect does not extend to the control condition. Similarly, opening identity tactics account for the relationship between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification for White participants in the opening identity tactics intervention condition yet this does not occur in the control condition. In Study 2 (Chapter 7), I examine how a six-week intervention based on Helm's (1990) six stages of dominant social identity development can result in the White identity development stage of autonomy, which can build support for diversity initiatives with employees of organizations with existing diversity initiatives. I discover that there is a significant relationship between engagement in opening identity tactics and valuing of diversity when dominant social identity employees completed the intervention, but this effect was not found in the control condition.

My dissertation contributes to theory and research on diversity initiatives and identity threats in organizations through three important ways. First, emerging research has begun to

discuss how social identity threats (such as mega-threats) experienced by members of marginalized social identity groups can be beneficial for them (Leigh & Melwani, 2019). Social identity threats can be beneficial for marginalized social identity employees through empowering them to engage in educating others about their marginalized social identity and cultivating relationships with outgroup members in the organization. Prior theory on this topic has acknowledged a need to understand how members of dominant social identity groups may also respond to threats positively (Leigh & Melwani, 2019). Scholars have suggested how identity threats can become revelatory experiences (Kreiner & Sheep, 2009; Shepherd & Williams, 2018), encounters that can initiate changes in employees' understanding about their threatened identities. Leveraging these insights, I develop and test theory about the mechanisms that can enable dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives to facilitate support for diversity initiatives. Accordingly, my dissertation considers how individual differences in existing uncertainty about self, relative power, and whether dominant social identity employees also hold a marginalized social identity are key influences on whether dominant social identity employees demonstrate engagement in opening identity tactics after identity threat.

Second, through developing the construct of opening identity tactics, I offer insight into how allyship, or how employees with dominant social identities can work towards the inclusion of marginalized social identity groups, can be achieved in organizations. Scholars of allyship note that changes in how employees understand their memberships to dominant social identity groups can facilitate forms of allyship in which employees challenge systems and structures in organizations that disadvantage marginalized social identity employees (e.g., Erskine & Bilimoria, 2019; Sumerau et al., 2021). However, how this change happens is unclear. Through illustrating how and why opening identity tactics manifest, my dissertation clarifies how

members of dominant social identity groups can experience transformation in understandings of their dominant social identity needed to effectively enact support for diversity and marginalized social identity groups in organizations. My dissertation answers the calls for researchers to pay greater attention to the role that dominant social identity employees' play in processes of marginalization in organizations (Nkomo et al., 2019), including research into what these employees may do to "acknowledge their privilege, and effect organizational change" (Erskine & Bilimoria, 2019, p.331).

Third, by investigating the outcomes of opening identity tactics in organizations, my dissertation contributes to understanding into how and why diversity initiatives can have unanticipated consequences in organizations (Leslie, 2019). I propose opening identity tactics are important in understanding responses to diversity initiatives in organizations because these tactics lead dominant social identity employees to explore the root cause of their resistance toward diversity initiatives and lead them to begin to see the value of diversity. The previous focus on backlash as a negative and unanticipated consequences of diversity initiatives reinforces the idea that diversity initiatives need to be rendered more palatable to members of dominant social identities, whereas my dissertation sheds light on opening identity tactics (and eventual support for diversity) as a new and positive unanticipated consequence of diversity initiatives. My dissertation advances work on diversity initiative effectiveness through revealing the significant influence of identity exploration (or lack thereof) on the fruitfulness of diversity initiatives overtime.

Dissertation Overview

In Chapter 2, I describe my theory. To do so, I review theory on identity threat, identity growth after threat, and uncertainty regulation to birth opening and closing identity tactics as

responses to dominant social identity threat. In Chapter 3, I outline the scale development process for measuring opening and closing identity tactics over four studies, including item generation and item validation. All experimental studies and scale development focus on White employees. To extend this theorizing, in Chapter 4 I develop hypotheses about outcomes of opening identity tactics and how these relationships can be strengthened by an intervention. Then, in Chapter 5, I conduct a series of pilot tests in order to evidence that my dominant social identity threat manipulation and opening identity tactics intervention (that I intend to use for Study 1) work was intended. In Chapter 6, experimental vignette Study 1, I examine the effectiveness of an intervention for generating support for diversity in White employees who are responding to an organizational diversity initiative. In Chapter 7, I conduct longitudinal Study 2 that investigates a six-week long intervention for opening identity tactics with White employees of organizations with existing diversity initiatives. I conclude with a discussion of the findings and theory along with future directions and limitations (Chapter 8).

Chapter 2: Theoretical Paper

“Last July, in San Francisco, I attended three of DiAngelo’s sessions [on diversity and white fragility] ...But was I being fragile? Was I being defensive or just trying to share something more personal, intimate and complex than DiAngelo’s all-encompassing sociological perspective? She taught, throughout the afternoon, that the impulse to individualize is in itself a [W]hite trait, a way to play down the societal racism all white people have thoroughly absorbed.”

(Bergner, 2020)

"People worry that as a [W]hite man, you're kind of under siege to a certain extent," the CEO [Intel CEO Brian Krzanich] told the Rev. Jesse Jackson during a talk at the PUSHTech 2020 conference in San Francisco. "There's been a bit of resistance. We've even had a few threats and things like that on some of our leadership team around our position on diversity and inclusion." ... [We need to] “stand up there and just remind everybody it's not an exclusive process. We're not bringing in women or African-Americans or Hispanics in exclusion to other people. We're actually just trying to bring them in and be a part of the whole environment."

(Rogoway, 2016)

The goal of diversity initiatives (e.g., diversity statements, Singh & Point, 2006; diversity training, Ragins & Ehrhardt, 2021) is to improve the workplace experiences and outcomes for employees who belong to marginalized social identity groups (Nishii et al., 2018), whom I will refer to as "marginalized employees," have faced historical disadvantage and limited access to institutions, capital, and esteem in society (Lassiter et al., 2018). Examples of marginalized social identity groups include Zainichi Koreans in Japan (Robillard-Martel & Laurent, 2020), Black people in North America (Sisco, 2020), the Dalit caste in India (Omvedt, 2006), and many other groups. Although diversity initiatives are intended to address the inequalities facing marginalized social identity groups, research shows that backlash from members of dominant social identity groups against these initiatives can render them ineffective and even counterproductive at times (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016; Leslie, 2019). Employees who belong to dominant social identity groups, which I will refer to as "dominant employees," have faced

historical advantage and elevated access to institutions, capital, and esteem in society and in organizations, and examples include White people in North America (McIntosh, 2007) and the Brahmin caste in India (Sen, 2022).

A breadth of research has described how diversity initiatives are linked to threat and resistance from dominant employees such as perceptions of procedural injustice (Dover et al., 2020), decreased help toward marginalized colleagues (McDonald et al., 2018), questioning of marginalized employees' competence and ability (Unzueta et al., 2008), and anticipation of discrimination for their dominant social identities (e.g., "reverse-racism" (Dover et al., 2016). Dominant employees can also resist diversity through organizational disidentification (McDonald et al., 2018), which takes place when employees mentally separate themselves from their organization and develop an identity distinct from the organization (Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001). In understanding the source of this backlash from dominant social identity groups, scholars have pointed to dominant social identity threat (Dover et al., 2016, 2020; Kaiser, 2006; Kidder et al., 2004; Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014).

The quotations at the beginning of the chapter detail identity threat as experienced by employees who belong to dominant social identity groups in response to organizational diversity initiatives. The first quotation demonstrates one man's attempt to investigate and reflect on his White social identity and why he feels threatened. He considers how he learns from sociological perspectives on diversity and White fragility and comes to a new understanding about what it means to be a White person. In contrast, in the second quotation the CEO of Intel describes how some of his employees expressed resistance toward the introduction of diversity initiatives aimed at increasing the representation of women, Blacks, and Hispanics because they found the initiatives threatening. Cases such as the latter, where members of dominant social identity

groups experience social identity threat and then express opposition or resistance to diversity initiatives, are well-documented within research on dominant employees' responses to diversity initiatives in organizations (e.g., Brannon et al., 2018; Dover et al., 2016; Kaplan, 2006; Kidder et al., 2004; Leslie, 2019). However, it is cases like the former, where someone appraises diversity initiatives as threatening yet uses this threat as an opportunity to open, expand, and grow their understanding of their membership to their social identity group that is the central focus of Chapter 1 and the rest of my dissertation.

Given the importance of addressing how members of dominant social identity groups experience identity threat towards diversity initiatives, many researchers have investigated ways of reducing identity threat as a response to diversity initiatives. Existing work into managing identity threat has focused on pre-emptively improving dominant social identity employees' self-esteem through affirming key values. When dominant employees feel threatened, they often protect their values by derogating outgroups (Brambilla & Butz, 2013) and strengthening their present views and identity through self-affirmation, which has been theorized to prevent or at least attenuate dominant social identity threat (Cohen & Sherman, 2014; Badea & Sherman, 2019). Self-affirmation interventions are aimed at reducing prejudice by having dominant employees engage with or recall a self-defining value, thought, or memory (Cohen & Sherman, 2014). Self-affirmation interventions have been found to be effective when implemented before the experience of identity threat (Critcher et al., 2010). Importantly, prior research on self-affirmation has examined how exposing employees to interventions prior to the experience of threat can mitigate the threat, rather than interventions that address what happens after the experience of threat.

When examining what happens after the experience of threat, present organizational research and theory on growth following identity threats has framed growth responses as means to diminish or remove oneself from the experience of uncertainty that is associated with threat (e.g., Ashforth et al., 2016; Wittman, 2019). Growth responses following identity threat, such as what occurs when one experiences job loss, role transitions, or traumatic life events, have traditionally been conceptualized as efforts to bring stability to a new sense of self such as through moving away from, adapting, or experimenting with alternative identities that can replace the threatened identity (e.g., Conroy & O’Leary-Kelly, 2014; Maitlis, 2009; 2020; Shepherd & Williams, 2018) and reframing the threat as a growth or learning opportunity (e.g., Kreiner & Sheep, 2009; Vough & Caza, 2017). Present theoretical explanations of identity growth suggest that consequences of threat for the employee can be reduced when individuals adapt and grow their self-concept away from the threatened identity that is a source of the threat. Yet, largely overlooked in organizational scholarship is how uncertainty resulting from dominant social identity threat can lead to identity processes that cause dominant employees to reflect on their identity, re-think its relationship to marginalized identities, and come to support organizational diversity initiatives. Additional research and theory on dominant social identity development (Crary, 2017; Helms, 1990; 1995; Worthington et al., 2002) and allyship in organizations (Ashburn-Nardo, 2018; Erskine & Billimoria, 2019; Martinez et al., 2017; Scully et al., 2018) suggest that dominant employees can develop new understandings of their membership to a dominant social identity group, understandings that are in service to organizational diversity initiatives, yet theory is currently unclear about the psychological mechanisms through how dominant social identities grow when threatened by diversity initiatives.

Thus, in this chapter, Chapter 2, I develop theory about how and why employees who belong to dominant social identity groups engage in opening identity tactics (i.e., that expand and potentially re-think one's own dominant social identity) in order to manage uncertainty that is elicited by dominant social identity threat. To add nuance, I consider the role of dominant social identity threat intensity and duration as significant predictors for whether dominant social identity employees choose to engage in closing or opening identity tactics or eventually transition from the former to the latter. While I acknowledge that opening identity tactics may not be a routine response to identity threat in organizations, in Chapter 2 I articulate individual- and organizational-level conditions under which opening identity tactics manifest.

I am particularly interested in growth of dominant social identities because social identities are consistent and predominant parts of employees' self-concepts (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) and growth in dominant social identities is a piece of the puzzle to overcoming dominant social identity threat as a sustained hurdle to diversity initiatives in organizations. In line with Dutton and colleagues (2010) I define identities as the meanings that people attach to themselves. Identities are multifaceted and complex, and employees' self-concepts are informed by the multiple personal, relational, professional, and social identities they ascribe to themselves. Social identities are components of employee's self-concepts that are based on membership to a social group and the corresponding esteem that they assign to this membership (Tajfel, 1974). The social identity groups to which people belong (e.g., racial and gender groups) are important parts of employees' self-concepts (Ashforth et al., 2008) and threats to employees' social identities are therefore threatening to their self-concepts (Major & O'Brien, 2005).

Diversity initiatives can be understood as a form of organizational change that signals a challenge to the eminence, and associated status and resources, of dominant social identities in

the organization (Leslie, 2019; Kaiser et al., 2022). In response to diversity initiatives, dominant employees can feel uncertain about their identity in the organization or about opportunities and resources available to members of their dominant social identity group or all the above (Glass et al., 2020; McDonald et al., 2018). Uncertainty occurs because diversity initiatives can call into question the meaning and value of dominant social identities in the organization (Dover et al., 2020), producing uncertainty about the value and opportunities that will be accorded to dominant social identity employees in the future (Petriglieri, 2011). Accordingly, dominant social identity threat is increasingly acknowledged as a roadblock to the success of diversity initiatives because these initiatives aim to increase the representation and inclusion of marginalized employees in organizations (Leslie, 2019).

Previous research has focused on how identity threats are experienced as largely aversive, motivating the threatened to partake in actions to eliminate, or reduce the threat, through changing one's relationships to the threatened identity or by acting against the source of the threat. Identity threats have been used to account for a wide array of defensive reactions to diversity within organizations, such as White male managers' disengagement from their organization under a racial minority or female CEO (McDonald et al. 2018), and White employees showing increased bias towards marginalized colleagues (Craig & Richeson, 2014). More recently, research has begun to discuss how identity threats can lead to beneficial outcomes for marginalized employees (Leigh & Melwani, 2019). However, previous research and theory has mainly focused on how members of marginalized social identity groups experience identity threat rather than members of dominant social identity groups. What is less clear in extant research and theory is an understanding about how and why dominant employees might come to experience change and growth in their own identities as a result of identity threat. To engage in

identity growth, dominant employees can engage in identity work that enables them to challenge and change understandings of their identity.

In understanding identity growth, theory on identity work helps inform how employees develop and change their identity through a dynamic interplay between action and one's self-concept (Snow & Anderson, 1987). Understandings of one's identity is constructed through interactions with others and how others can affirm or deny their identity (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016). A widely recognized definition of identity work is "people being engaged in forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising the constructions that are productive of a sense of coherence and distinctiveness" (Sveningsson & Alvesson 2003, p. 1165). Extant theory on identity work has largely focused on how employees engage in restructuring of their professional identities in response to the organization (e.g., Toyoki & Brown, 2014; Ibarra & Petriglieri, 2010) while largely neglecting how one can engage in identity restructuring of *social identities*. Further, the limited work on how employees in organizations engage in identity work of social identities has focused on marginalized social identities (e.g., Creed et al., 2010).

I argue that the experience of identity work is different for dominant employees than marginalized employees. Power is disinhibiting and enables the more powerful (dominant employees) to engage in identity work that comes from their internal desires while it inhibits the less powerful (marginalized employees) to partake in identity work according to the demands and expectations of others (Goodwin et al., 2000; Fiske & Berdahl, 2007). This suggests that dominant employees can experience identity work in different ways than theorized for marginalized employees and may be more likely to engage in identity change that challenges demands and expectations of others. Therefore, extant theory does not capture the ways in which dominant employees engage in identity work regarding their threatened dominant social identity.

With that in mind, drawing on theories of identity threat (Kreiner & Sheep, 2009; Petriglieri, 2011; Vough & Caza, 2017; Shepherd & Williams, 2018), learning (Craik & Lockhart, 1972; Mezirow, 1997), and uncertainty regulation (Griffin & Grote, 2020), in this chapter I develop a theoretical model detailing how dominant social identity threat in response to organizational diversity initiatives initiates a process of dominant social identity growth through which employees come to explore and gain new insights about their dominant social identity in ways that make them supportive of diversity. My theory outlines causes, processes, and contexts under which identity threat towards diversity initiatives may result in closing or opening identity tactics. I propose that the extent to which identity threat produced by organizational diversity initiatives elicits opening and closing identity tactics depends on the degree of intensity and duration of the identity threat, because threat duration and intensity produce different types of uncertainty. To regulate this uncertainty, employees may not only seek to reduce uncertainty and attenuate their identity threat, but they may also seek to create further uncertainty as a way of gaining deeper understanding and knowledge about their dominant social identity. When employees seek to create further uncertainty, I term this opening identity tactics, defined as thoughts and actions aimed at expanding knowledge about one's dominant social identity. Conversely, employees engage in closing identity tactics when they seek to limit new understanding of the dominant social identity and focus on affirming existing understandings. Employees active engagement in closing identity tactics leads them to respond with backlash to diversity initiatives, and such responses are well-documented in prior research. I suggest that the response of opening identity tactics result in support for diversity initiatives, departing from prior theory on the effects of identity threat on diversity initiatives.

My theoretical paper offers three main contributions to theory. First, through developing the novel construct of opening identity tactics, which introduces an explanatory mechanism for how dominant social identity threat can result in identity growth, this paper challenges the assumption that identity threat towards diversity initiatives always result in aversive outcomes for marginalized groups and diversity initiatives. Although prior theory has established that identity threats such as job loss or denied promotions can lead to growth (Shepherd & Williams, 2018; Vough & Caza, 2017), I describe how social identity threat, or threat towards identities such as White or cisgender, can facilitate growth not through moving away from the threatened identity or creating greater certainty but increasing uncertainty about the threatened identity. Previous theory has described several ways for how identity growth occurs in response to identity threats. Identity growth in response to threat is predominantly theorized to occur for individuals to reduce uncertainty about their self-concept (Petriglieri, 2011). In one stream of research, when identity implicating experiences are appraised as threatening, appraisals are presumed to lead to responses that are antithetical to growth, but when they are appraised as an opportunity for growth then responses facilitative of growth are more likely (Kreiner & Sheep, 2009; Vough & Caza, 2017). Threat and opportunity are conceptualized as distinct appraisal systems with distinct implications for changes in self-concept. A related stream of research describes how employees grow their self-concept by transitioning away from the threatened (e.g., personal, professional) identity, such as job or promotion loss, work role and career transitions or traumatic life events (Conroy & O’Leary-Kelley, 2014; Maitlis, 2009; 2020; Shepherd & Williams, 2018; Wittman, 2019). Yet if increasing uncertainty toward a threatened social identity can be beneficial, this expands the adaptive responses to managing uncertainty produced by identity threats. I argue that a deeper level of processing associated with opening

identity tactics, through continual reflection and questioning of one's threatened social identity, rather than simply seeking to mitigate uncertainty, results in growth of the threatened social identity and support for diversity initiatives. And thus, I call into question whether reducing uncertainty about one's identity may be the most beneficial approach to identity threats.

Second, in introducing a typology of social identity threat, dominant social identity threat intensity and duration, I offer novel understanding for why certain identity threats can produce vastly differing outcomes for employees belonging to dominant social identity groups. Blending differing degrees of threat duration and intensity can birth a variety of outcomes, including substantial growth, resulting in changed understandings of the dominant social identity; facilitate the individual to remain stagnant and cling to the understood ways of meaning about the identity; or initiate growth that straddles between the past and presently changed meanings of the dominant social identity. Prior theory on identity threat has theorized variance in employees' responses to an identity threatening episode rather than how features of the identity threatening experience in and of itself affect these responses (Petriglieri, 2011). In considering variation in dominant social identity threat duration and intensity, as characteristics of identity threat spurred by organizational diversity initiatives, my theory offers insight and predictive ability for why certain forms of identity threat are facilitative of certain growth responses over others.

Third, I also contribute to theory and research about identity threat and diversity initiatives in organizations. Social identity threat from dominant employees is assumed to result in negative outcomes for marginalized employees. Previous research suggests that social identity threat responses tend to be self-serving, strengthening zeal toward one's own social identity, and prejudice toward others' social identities, in order to manage uncertainty (McGregor & Marigold, 2003; McGregor, 2006; Holbrook et al., 2011). Such theory predicts that employees

who view their dominant social identity group as being threatened by diversity initiatives may derogate diversity initiatives or marginalized employees in order to manage uncertainty and maintain status. I propose opening identity tactics as an alternative uncertainty regulation strategy that is conducive to support for diversity initiatives.

In the remainder of Chapter 2, I will first review research on organizational diversity initiatives and existing ways of building support for these initiatives with dominant employees. Then, I review prior work on a major way people change their identity in response to identity threat: identity restructuring responses. Through this review, I demonstrate the theoretical novelty of opening identity tactics and articulate how this construct adds to the rich research on responses to identity threat. Building on the earlier section, I then delve into various forms of identity threat responses through highlighting the differences in these responses for employees with marginalized versus dominant identities, pointing out the uniqueness of identity threat responses for dominant employees. Underlying the reactions to identity threat is the desire to regulate uncertainty and thus in the subsequent section I review theory on uncertainty management to lay ground for introducing opening and closing identity tactics. I then expand on opening and closing identity tactics, which I further deconstruct into deep-level opening identity tactics and surface-level opening identity tactics. Yet, not all dominant social identity threats result in deep- or surface-level opening identity tactics as some forms of identity threat may be fertile for closing identity tactics, depending on how much uncertainty is produced by the threats. Hence, I then develop a typology of conditions for threat duration and intensity to explain why some forms of identity threat led to certain identity tactics more so than others. To add further nuance to my theory, I explain how individual- and organizational-level moderators influence the relationship between uncertainty produced by the identity threat and identity tactics.

Review of Literature

Organizational Diversity Initiatives

A body of research has investigated what makes certain organizational diversity initiatives more effective than others (Roberson et al., 2001) and the conditions under which the initiatives work as intended (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016). For example, research has shown that improving the perspective-taking of dominant employees (Ragins & Ehrhardt, 2021) or making participation in diversity initiatives optional (Sanchez & Medkik, 2004) can lead to more promising outcomes. Woven throughout this research is the importance of engaging dominant employees in diversity initiatives, as a lack of support from these employees can lead to unanticipated and aversive consequences for the diversity initiatives. Diversity initiatives indicate to both existing and prospective employees about what an “organization is like, including its values, priorities, culture, and climate,” and they also signal that an organization is likely to dedicate more resources toward marginalized employees (Leslie, 2019, p.545). When dominant employees interpret that the diversity initiatives will limit their access to resources and the values assigned to members of their dominant social identity group in the organization, this produces dominant social identity threat that causes them to engage in wide range of negative reactions towards the diversity initiative, targets of the diversity initiative (marginalized employees), and their organization (Leslie, 2019). Identity threat invokes these negative responses to defend against a perceived attack on the value and opportunities for the employees (Leslie, 2019; Thomas & Plaut, 2008). For example, dominant employees (i.e., White people) respond to affirmative action policies by viewing the organization as less attractive (James et al., 2001) and making claims of anti-White discrimination (Dover et al., 2016). Similarly, exposure

to sexual harassment training results in dominant employees (i.e., men) endorsing beliefs that support gender inequality between men and women (Tinkler et al., 2007).

To reduce backlash against diversity initiatives, researchers have investigated interventions that can make them appear less threatening. For example, framing diversity as a learning opportunity (Rios & Wynn, 2016) or a set of abstract ideals (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014), rather than concrete initiatives, attenuates dominant employees' negative attitudes toward diversity because these strategies reframe diversity as not threatening to members of dominant social identity groups. Additional research shows that affirming important values, prior to the experience of threat, can protect them against experiencing identity threat and reduce prejudice (Cohen & Sherman, 2014). Overall, existing research on dominant social identity threat focuses on ways of protecting against the experience of threat, rather than considering ways that dominant social identity threat can result in growth of the threatened identity.

The above-mentioned interventions render specific policies or values (e.g., multiculturalism) more palatable to dominant employees and do indeed reduce dominant social identity threat towards diversity. However, I suggest that deep and long-lasting changes need to be made regarding the source of the identity threat to comprehensively manage dominant social identity threat towards diversity. While marginalized employees are penalized for valuing diversity in organizations (e.g., speaking about the value and importance of diversity), dominant employees are not penalized, pointing to the importance of gaining support for diversity from these employees (Hekman et al., 2017). Allyship occurs when a dominant employee advocates for marginalized employees, and research on allyship offers insight into how dominant employees can support marginalized employees, including using the advantages of their dominant social identity to speak out against inequalities (Cheng et al., 2019; Erskine &

Bilimoria, 2019). Notably, when allies with dominant social identities explain how they choose to support marginalized employees, they cite how reflection on their dominant social identities and its relationship to marginalized social identities generates insight into their role in the inequalities faced by marginalized employees (Case, 2012). Yet, the conditions and mechanisms underlying why dominant employees can grow their understanding of their dominant social identity in the aftermath of dominant social identity threat remain unclear.

Identity Threat

In previous theory and research, researchers have typically framed responses to identity threat as coping strategies aimed at avoiding and mitigating harm to one's self-concept (Bataille & Vough, 2022; Petriglieri, 2011). As noted, a plethora of research has examined how dominant employees experience and respond to social identity threat. For example, when White people are confronted with racial inequality that is framed as an undeserved benefit to them, they are likely to appraise that as a threat to the moral value of their ingroup and respond with increased acts of racism to protect the status quo and the social identity ingroup (Branscombe et al., 2007). Similarly, men are more likely to sexually harass “uppity” women who act less feminine because “uppity” women challenge both clear delineations between men and women and the legitimacy of the male identity (Berdahl, 2007). That is, research has long noted that dominant employees' responses to dominant social identity threat are aimed at mitigating change or harm to the status and regard of the dominant social identity group.

In a review of identity threat research, Petriglieri (2011) classified responses to threat into two categories: (1) identity protection responses that target the source of the threat and protect the identity—including, derogating the source of the threat, concealing one's threatened identity, and enhancing others' attitudes about the value of the identity (i.e., positive distinctiveness)—

and (2) identity restructuring responses that target and change the threatened identity—including, changing the importance of the identity to oneself, changing the personal meaning associated with the identity, and exiting or disengaging from the identity.

According to Petriglieri (2011), employees are motivated to maintain and enact identities that achieve for them a sense of stability and positive self-regard. Similarly, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) suggests employees are motivated to see their ingroup as superior to other groups and exhibit favoritism towards ingroup members. Thus, responses to threat are typically aimed at mitigating uncertainty and harm to the positive self-regard of the identity. In this vein, identity protection responses that maintain and repair the identity and keep it intact, rather than identity restructuring responses that change the threatened identity, are viewed as typical responses to identity threat (Bataille & Vough, 2022). Identity restructuring responses are less typical than identity protection responses but occur when identity protection responses will be ineffective in mitigating harm. Identity restructuring responses will be likely when identity threat is stronger (i.e., potential harm to the identity is great or the threatening experiences will occur frequently) and when there is a lack of social support to protect the individual from threat (Lyons et al., 2017; Petriglieri, 2011).

Identity Growth from Threat

Another response to identity threat that has received heightened research attention in recent years is identity growth. Drawing on Kreiner and Sheep's (2009) theoretical framework of identity growth responses to identity threat, Petriglieri (2011) suggests that identity growth is most likely to occur following identity restructuring responses where the change in or elimination of an identity creates an opportunity for the adaptation of a current identity or the addition of a new identity. Identity growth is a progressive change in the content of self-concept

definitions (including the meanings associated with a social identity group to which one belongs) over time toward a more idealized version of who one hopes to be in a particular situation or environment (Dutton et al., 2010). Identity growth involves movement toward some personal or external ideal. Changes in the meanings of a social identity can involve changes in personal understanding of the values; goals; beliefs; stereotypic traits; and knowledge, skills, and abilities associated with the social identity (Ashforth et al., 2008). Individuals engage in the process of actively growing the identity by discarding or de-emphasizing older elements of the identity, adding new elements, re-defining meanings, or constructing and reconstructing an identity that is closer to a personal or external ideal (Kreiner & Sheep, 2009).² For example, research shows that when employees experience job loss they can grow their self-concept by replacing the former role identity with a new job or role identity that is closer to one's personal career goals (Kira & Klehe, 2016; Vough & Caza, 2017).

In recent years, researchers have enriched understanding of identity growth by developing theory about how employees transition away from, replace, or experiment with new identities in response to identity-threatening experiences, such as job or promotion loss, work role and career transitions (Conroy & O'Leary-Kelley, 2014; Shepherd & Williams, 2018;

² Although I build on Kreiner and Sheep's (2009) work through my theorization, it is important to note that I differ from their theorization in three important ways. First, my theorization focuses on how non-work identities change in organizations. Second, I offer unique theoretical explanations for how identity change (i.e., management of uncertainty and need for exploration/exploitation) whereas Kreiner and Sheep (2009) focus the theory of possible selves as a basis. Because the theory of possible selves focuses on self-oriented motivations for identity, my integration of exploration and exploitation offers insight into how people can change identities in ways that benefit others, namely marginalized social identities within a group context rather than focusing entirely on a self-oriented context. Third, although I along with Kreiner and Sheep (2009), offer theory for how individuals can use identity threats as opportunities, I focus on how the continual encounter with an aversive experience (i.e., uncertainty) can be linked to positive outcomes whereas Kreiner and Sheep (2009) suggest that the immediate reduction of threat can transform the threat into an opportunity.

Whitman, 2019; Vough & Caza, 2017), in addition to traumatic life events (Maitlis, 2009; 2020). Such theories invoke concepts of growth mindsets, future-oriented thinking, and possible selves to understand how and why employees grow their self-concept by reframing identity threatening events as opportunities and growing away from the threatened identity. In doing so, employees mitigate potential harm of threat to their self-concept. Extant theory and research thus suggest that identity growth occurs when employees mitigate or eliminate threat, frame it as an opportunity and respond by, over time, actively discarding, replacing, or experimenting with new non-threatened identities to develop a self-concept that aligns with an external or personal ideal.

Additional research on how employees experience growth from identity threat has focused on growing the threatened identity in ways that protect the threatened employee from threat, rather than considering forms of growth that alter understandings of the threatened identity and the source of that threat as well (e.g., Kira & Klehe, 2016; Wehrle et al., 2018). For example, much work on growth after threat leverages theory on possible selves, focusing on how changes to visions of one's future selves can protect against threat. Uniquely, I suggest that it is precisely the threat that can lead to a positive identity change namely via how employees seek further knowledge that can manage uncertainty about their membership to their dominant social identity group. That is, I suggest that minimizing dominant social identity threat can result in missed opportunities for identity growth, because the experience of dominant social identity threat can motivate a search for information and thus learning that can result in dominant social identity growth.

Overall, current theoretical understanding of growth responses to identity threat has tended to emphasize processes of growth to the self-concept (that is composed of multiple personal, relational, and social identities) where the threatened employee evades or distances

themselves from the specific threatened identity itself. What is less clear is how growth responses address the threatened social identity in and of itself, which is the source of the threat in the first place. When growth responses do not target the threatened social identity, but instead evade or distance from the threatened identity, they present a solution that can be effective in shielding the employee from further threat, but they do not clearly address how the threatened social identity itself can change so that it is no longer a source of threat for the employee.

Theoretical models of dominant social identity development provide insight into what growth in employees' understanding of their dominant social identity might look like. Helms's (1990; 1995) model of White racial identity development, which has also inspired models of heterosexual identity development (Worthington et al., 2002), explains ways employees, under certain circumstances, develop a positive understanding of their dominant (e.g., White, heterosexual) social identity group. Employees evolve a positive understanding of the dominant social identity group by abandoning a (less developed) understanding and grow to an understanding that involves acknowledgment of dominance, how dominance impacts members of marginalized social identity groups, and how one can personally be accountable to overcoming one's involvement in marginalization (Helms, 1990). Employees with less developed understandings of the dominant social identity are naïve to and deny the role that dominance plays in shaping their self and society. In considering how employees grow their understanding of their dominant social identity group, exposure to organizational diversity initiatives can initiate growth by calling the dominance of a social identity group into question (Leslie, 2019) and spark identity exploration in employees as they engage in an active process of exploring how one's membership to a dominant social identity group affects themselves and others (Crary, 2017). For example, in response to diversity training a White employee can

develop awareness and explore how cultural norms of whiteness have benefited them and contributes to the marginalization of racial minority coworkers (Chrobot-Mason, 2004). As employees grow a more positive understanding of their dominant social identity group, they move from lacking awareness of dominance and attempts to re-affirm dominance (e.g., rationalizing privileges as deserved and questioning the legitimacy of diversity initiatives) to questioning dominance and seeking out new information to better understand their involvement in marginalization.

Where employees are in the process of dominant social identity growth will be reflected in their diversity-supportive behaviors, or lack thereof. This reflection occurs because employees' behavioral enactment of an identity is intricately connected to their cognitive understanding of the identity (Ashforth, 2000; Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016). Employees who have progressed toward a positive understanding of their dominant social identity will, through continual reflection and exploration, have crafted an understanding of their social identity that involves awareness of marginalization, refusal to contribute to marginalization, and engagement in active allyship through diversity-supportive behaviors that challenge systems and structures that contribute to marginalization of social identities in the organization (Crary, 2017; Erskine & Billimoria, 2018; Helms, 1990; 1995; Lyons et al., 2020).

Overall, drawing on theoretical models of identity growth I suggest that dominant social identity threat initiated by organizational diversity initiatives can trigger dominant social identity growth responses in dominant social identity employees.

Dominant and Marginalized Social Identity Groups Reactions to Identity Threat

Building on previous work, I suggest that the status and power (i.e., dominance) assigned to a social identity shape how employees react to threats towards their social identity.

Differences in how dominant and marginalized employees experience and respond to social identity threat reflect differences in their ability to influence the identity threat source. In studying identity restructuring, previous research has highlighted how the status of the threatened person's social identity group plays an important role in how they restructure their identity. A rich body of work shows how marginalized employees are pressured and limited by dominant social identity groups, and has highlighted how marginalized employees re-structure their identity in relation to dominant social identities (e.g. Chattopadhyay et al., 2004; Rogers et al., 2017; Leigh & Melwani, 2019). For example, marginalized employees can restructure the meanings of the identity in ways that align with norms imposed by the more powerful dominant social identity group or resist such norms and redefine their identity in new ways (Lyons et al., 2017). They may also choose to downplay the personal importance of the threatened social identity or alternatively personally emphasize a more valued social identity group to which they also belong (Shih et al., 2013).

Although most work on identity restructuring responses to identity threat have focused on how employees with marginalized social identities cope with threat, emerging work is considering that dominant employees may also experience threat, particularly in response to advancements for marginalized social identities. However, insight into how dominant employees engage in identity restructuring is limited. Research that has examined how employees with dominant social identities restructure their identities in response to identity threat has typically focused on how responses to threat are aimed at mitigating uncertainty. When marginalized social identity employees seek to assert the value of their marginalized social identity, Lyons and colleagues (2017) theorized that employees with dominant social identities can personally downplay the value of their dominant social identity to reduce uncertainty.

I expect that identity restructuring responses to social identity threat will look different for employees belonging to dominant and marginalized social identity groups. Dominant employees tend to hold relatively more power both within and outside organizations compared to marginalized employees. Research shows people with more power tend to focus on internal preferences and hold an independent self-construct and strive to demonstrate distinctiveness from others whereas the less powerful are more influenced by context and hold an interdependent self-construal and thus place greater emphasis on decisions that enhance affiliation with others (Lammers & Galinsky, 2009; Lammers et al., 2012; Voyer & Franks, 2014). A key difference between dominant and marginalized employees is that marginalized employees become focused on their marginalized social identity when they experience social identity threat whereas dominant social identity employees become attuned to both their dominant social identity and the marginalized social identities of others. This difference occurs because dominant employees have greater freedom to influence the opportunities of marginalized employees rather than simply engaging in restructuring their own identity. When dominant employees are threatened by the organization's new diversity initiatives, they can take actions to limit the opportunities of marginalized employees to protect the existing status of their dominant social identity within the organization (Leslie, 2019). Comparatively, research shows that marginalized employees who experience identity threat are likely to engage in protective actions aimed at *their marginalized social identity alone*, such as trying to disconfirm stereotypes (Harkins 2006; Jamison & Harkins 2007). Thus, while research has focused on how marginalized employees manage identity threats by coping with threat and protecting their identity, dominant employees respond to identity threat through actions not only focused on protecting their identity but also on weakening resources and opportunities afforded to

marginalized employees. For example, White Americans who experience dominant social identity threat exhibit increased prejudice and are less likely to support affirmative action or other policies that can attenuate power differences between dominant and marginalized social identities (Renfro et al., 2006). This distinction is meaningful for demonstrating the importance of understanding dominant social identity threat as it can not only be harmful for the threatened but can also produce defensive reactions that harm marginalized socialized identities.

As noted previously, in this chapter I alternatively suggest that responses to identity threat as experienced by dominant employees can also involve purposeful expansion and identity growth of the dominant social identity through increasing, rather than reducing, uncertainty. Such uncertainty initiates actions that are aimed at either disconfirming and challenging understandings of the dominant social identity (opening identity tactics) or affirming existing meanings of the dominant social identity (closing identity tactics). Next, I review theory on uncertainty management and how this literature offers insight into opening and closing identity tactics as responses to dominant social identity threat.

Uncertainty Management

Employees are motivated to engage in uncertainty management, monitoring their level of uncertainty to a desirable level (Bradac, 2001; Hogg, 2000; Griffin & Grote, 2020; Kellerman & Reynolds, 1990). The experience of identity threat motivates uncertainty management because identity threats call into question the meaning and value of identity. Identity threat produces personal uncertainty by making the threatened employee question themselves and interpret the threat as a personal issue. Uncertainty about issues relevant for oneself stimulates deep processing through a comprehensive and thorough examination of information that can address this uncertainty (Kruglanski & Orehek, 2007). Although some research and theory on

entrepreneurship and strategy has begun to discuss the advantages of uncertainty (Griffin & Grote, 2020), research and theory on personal experiences of uncertainty has largely framed uncertainty as an aversive experience with ramifications for the self and those around them (Lind, 2001; Kulik & Mahler, 2000; McGregor & Marigold, 2003; McGregor et al., 2009; van den Bos et al., 2007).

Dominant social identity threats produce uncertainty and dominant employees are motivated to manage that uncertainty (van den Bos, 2009). As I have noted, previous research has found that dominant social identity threat is related to aversive outcomes for marginalized employees because outgroup prejudice and derogation are thought to restore the status quo and mitigate uncertainty (Logel et al., 2009; Nash et al., 2011; Petriglieri, 2011). Diversity initiatives can signal that the status of the dominant social identity group is in question, which creates uncertainty. This uncertainty is thought to motivate dominant employees to defensively increase their dominant social group identification and engage in actions aimed at validating their dominant social identity. Such uncertainty can also motivate employees to engage in actions aimed at protecting the value of their dominant social identity and preventing future devaluation of their dominant social identity in the organization. As a result, dominant employees can disengage from their organization and offer less help, particularly to marginalized colleagues (McDonald et al., 2018).

However, emerging work on uncertainty regulation shows that employees strive to not only mitigate uncertainty but can also re-interpret the experience of identity threat and manage their uncertainty in ways that fuel growth (Tian et al., 2016; Vough & Caza, 2017). Specifically, employees who make sense of the uncertainty surrounding threats to self as an opportunity to

critically re-assess oneself and develop strategies for future action can experience growth and enhanced proactivity towards their career (Vough & Caza, 2017).

A central assumption in uncertainty management theory is that employees are driven to reduce uncertainty because uncertainty is viewed as an emotionally unsettling and negative experience. However, according to self-expansion theory (e.g., Dys-Steenbergen et al., 2016; Gardner et al., 2002), employees desire to expand and continually grow orients employees towards seeking experience and interactions that can increase uncertainty to access knowledge expansion. If we conceive of the conflicting desires for certainty and growth from unknown possibilities, employees with heightened uncertainty will focus on remedying their primary needs of uncertainty reduction while employees with less uncertainty are better equipped to process new information to gain further insight rather than viewing it as negative or a further threat to oneself. Thus, I expect that employees who experience heightened personal uncertainty in response to dominant social identity threat will be more likely to engage in actions oriented at gaining greater certainty and validating their pre-existing perceptions of their identity and worldviews. I also expect that employees who experience less personal uncertainty in response to dominant social identity threat will be more likely to engage in actions oriented at gaining greater uncertainty exploring new meanings about their identity and worldviews. In the next section I will elaborate on the differing reactions that employees can use to manage uncertainty produced from dominant social identity threats, namely opening and closing identity tactics.

Opening and Closing Identity Tactics

Drawing from work on the exploration-exploitation dilemma (Auh & Menguc, 2005), people are broadly motivated to engage in opening and closing identity tactics to regulate uncertainty to their desired level of uncertainty (Griffin & Grote, 2020). People use exploration

to seek new information about the environment, while they use exploitation to increase their chances of success based on experience and existing knowledge. Exploration can be defined as a search for new knowledge, ideas, or solutions. It is often associated with risk-taking and experimentation. In contrast, exploitation is about using existing knowledge, resources, and relationships to achieve efficiency and effectiveness (Auh & Menguc, 2005). Both exploration and exploitation represent two broad ways of managing uncertainty. Further support for these reactions to uncertainty come from theories on approach and avoidance motivation that show people are oriented to interpret uncertainty through approach motivation, an opportunity for growth and goal-achievement, or avoidance motivation, an opportunity to maintain the status quo and avoid possible loss/failure (Darnon et al., 2007). However, these approaches to uncertainty have largely been understood as dispositional tendencies that manifest broadly across experiences of uncertainty about oneself. The exploration-exploitation dilemma informs my conceptualization of closing and opening identity tactics through explaining why members of dominant social identity groups may seek to leverage the benefits of existing understandings about their dominant social identity or gain further knowledge through focusing on what is unknown about the dominant social identity. Tactics are cognitions (thoughts), discursive acts (talk), physical presentations (wearing or displaying symbols), and behaviors (actions) that seek to reinforce or explore understandings about one's dominant social identity and marginalized social identities (see Caza, Vough, & Puranik, 2018).

Closing Identity Tactics. In response to an identity threat, closing identity tactics function to reduce uncertainty through focused attention towards understood meanings and offering predictable outcomes. For example, John, a White male manager, experiences uncertainty in response to claims that he shows preferential hiring towards prospective employees who are also

White and male and thus his organization is implementing targeted hiring to correct existing underrepresentation. He may engage in closing identity tactics towards reducing the uncertainty about his dominant social identity by derogating the source of these complaints (Petriglieri, 2011) or defensively strengthening his dominant social identity in response (McGregor & Marigold, 2003; Petriglieri, 2011). For example, John may incorporate his male and White identities as more central and salient in his work life or argue that changes to his hiring approach would produce “reverse-discrimination” and lower the quality of his workforce.

Opening Identity Tactics. In contrast, opening identity processes serve to promote investigation into broader meanings of one’s identity through creating greater uncertainty in order to gain information. Consider how Alexis Ohanian, the founder of the online discussion platform Reddit and a White male, describes how people can engage in opening identity tactics when they are accused of implicit biases.

Think about it the same way you think about your workouts—pain is growth. If you’re feeling discomfort because someone is criticizing an example of your bias, think of it like finishing that set that’s just above your regular weight. It stings, because that’s where growth happens. If you really hear it and process it, you’re growing and you’re getting stronger because you’re becoming more aware (Fessler, 2018, para. 18).

In contrast to the earlier example with John, who engaged in closing identity tactics, someone who responds to an identity threat with opening identity tactics may search for information from other sources, question assumptions about their social identity and how they perceive themselves and prioritize growth in their understanding of their membership to their social identity group over reducing uncertainty (Griffin & Grote, 2020). Insight into how employees deeply engage with new information helps distinguish between different degrees of opening identity tactics, deep- and surface-level opening identity tactics.

Theory on levels of processing can enrich nuance around how uncertainty regulation can promote different avenues of identity growth. Levels of processing theory (Craik & Lockhart, 1972) is a theory of learning that suggests that employees learn knowledge from new information through engaging in deep-level or surface-level processing of information. Deep- and surface-level opening identity tactics vary in the extent to which they create uncertainty about the threatened identity because they differ in the extent to which they change frames of reference.

Surface-level opening identity tactics involve gaining new information about one's identity, but that information is added to existing knowledge about one's identity. Surface-level opening identity tactics create less uncertainty than deep-level opening identity tactics because they do not involve significant changes to one's existing knowledge. New information is taken in, but that information is not used to critically reflect on, question, or re-think one's membership to the dominant social identity group. Instead, that information is used to elaborate on existing understandings about the dominant social identity or to establish new points of view that uphold status-quo beliefs regarding the dominant social identity (Mezirow, 1997). For instance, surface-level opening tactics can involve taking in new information about inequalities and recognizing inequalities as wrong, but not considering how that information requires re-thinking their membership to the dominant social identity group. As such, knowledge that reinforces hierarchies between dominant social identity and marginalized social identity groups continues to affect how dominant employees understand themselves and marginalized employees. An example of surface-level opening identity tactics can include: seeking out opportunities to learn about inequalities and the benefits of diversity for work, but not re-thinking one's assumptions about how dominant employees contribute to inequalities. Consider sexual harassment training in response to which a male employee takes in new information and accepts that certain behaviors

are inappropriate. Yet he fails to re-think sexist ideas about masculinity that inform his male identity and how he treats women. Another example is a White employee who does more research into the experiences of a marginalized social identity group after hearing about affirmative action but neglects to think about how her dominant social identity (i.e., White) shapes the existing need for affirmative action.

Deep-level opening identity tactics create a large amount of uncertainty because they involve substantial change to one's existing knowledge. Deep-level opening identity tactics involve critically re-thinking and re-evaluation of how one understands their dominant social identity, including questioning and unearthing fundamental assumptions about the dominant social identity group and how members of the group contribute to inequalities faced by marginalized social identity employees. By discarding and de-emphasizing prior knowledge, deep-level opening identity tactics motivate a search for new information to fill the existing knowledge gaps and offer clarity (Mezirow, 1997). Becoming critically aware of prior assumptions and investigating alternatives helps employees re-think their ideas, beliefs, values, and intentions regarding their membership to the dominant social identity group. Thus, these employees begin to revise their prototypes of the dominant social identity group (Danbold & Huo, 2015). An example of deep-level opening identity tactics can include seeking out opportunities to learn about the history of relations between members of dominant and marginalized social identity groups, and how one can be a member of a dominant social identity group and challenge inequalities. For example, in response to sexual harassment training a male employee may learn about how sexist ideas regarding masculinity that he uses to inform his male identity can motivate men to engage in inappropriate behavior toward women. In response, he might critically reflect on and re-think fundamental assumptions informing his male identity and

seek out new information about how to enact more positive forms of masculinity (Wesely, 2019). As another example, a White employee may read “So You Want to Talk about Race” by Iljeoma Oluo, inspired by anti-racism education in their organization.

Surface-level and deep-level opening identity tactics are different regarding how they regulate uncertainty that follows from dominant social identity threat. Surface-level opening identity tactics regulate uncertainty through tactics aimed at managing the specific identity threat while deep-level opening identity tactics expand uncertainty through questioning and reflecting on one’s dominant social identity. For example, someone engaging in surface-level opening identity tactics may read about the diversity initiative to learn more about the marginalized social identity. In contrast, going the step further of educating oneself about the marginalized social identity and its historical relationship to one’s dominant social identity would be deep-level opening identity tactics because it cultivates awareness of how status-quo understandings of one’s dominant social identity shape inequalities faced by marginalized social identity employees. Thus, surface-level opening tactics may only cultivate greater acceptance for the specific diversity initiative or target of the initiative (i.e., singular marginalized social identity). It is important to note that the gap between closing and surface-level opening identity tactics is larger than the discrepancy between surface- and deep-level opening identity tactics because the former entails a move from hardening to exploration whereas the later involves simply expanded exploration (Auh & Menguc, 2005). In the following section, I compare and contrast opening identity tactics from other established constructs.

How do opening identity tactics differ from other constructs?

To justify my development and use of opening identity tactics over more established constructs, it is critical to demonstrate how it differs from other constructs. Because opening

identity tactics can explain differences in approaches to understanding one's own and others' social identity groups and how those might change overtime, it may seem similar to other constructs used to explain individual differences in attitudes about social identities and receptiveness to change, including racial essentialism, growth versus fixed mindsets, and liberalism.

Racial essentialism, defined as understandings of race as biologically grounded and immutable and that different racial groups possess distinct physical and psychological traits that lead to differing levels of success in various social domains, has been associated with stereotyping and prejudice towards marginalized groups (Mandalaywala et al., 2018; Pauker et al., 2016). However, racial essentialism focuses on beliefs regarding whether there are biological differences between racial groups while opening identity tactics focuses on awareness of how people come to understand their membership to a dominant social identity group.

Another relevant construct is growth versus fixed mindsets, understood as individual differences in beliefs about whether abilities and talent can be cultivated or cannot be changed with additional effort (Dweck, 1999, 2006). Specifically, employees who hold a fixed mindset believe that abilities are static whereas those with a growth mindset believe that their abilities can grow through effort. Although employees who hold a growth mindset may be more likely to engage in opening identity tactics, this construct is conceptually different from opening identity tactics. First, and most important, growth mindsets do not address social identities whereas opening identity tactics can explain a response to dominant social identity threat aimed at acquiring new insights about the threatened identity. Second, traditional growth mindset theorists have conceptualized this construct in order to understand differences in motivation, intelligence, and achievement (Rhew et al., 2018; Yaeger & Dweck, 2020). Opening identity tactics, however,

are not constructed in terms of explaining individual-differences in performance. Rather, opening identity tactics are meant to assess a specific response to identity-threatening experiences rather than a broader cognitive approach to work. For example, a heterosexual man may engage in deep reflection about his sexuality after being threatened by diversity initiative aimed at lesbian and gay employees, yet he may simultaneously eschew engaging in additional effort towards his work because he has a fixed mindset. Third, while growth mindsets are constructed as mainly a perception that intelligence and abilities can be improved over time (Dweck, 1999, 2017), opening identity tactics are conceptualized as actions and thoughts that aim to change understanding of a dominant social identity over time.

While there are clearly some similarities between opening identity tactics and liberalism, there are also important differences that distinguish these constructs. Liberalism is defined as an ideological belief system that desires “social change in the direction of greater equality—political, economic, or social” (Lipset, et al., 1954; p. 1135). As a political ideology, liberalism can be understood as a set of values and ideals that shape opinions on a wide range of social policy. Employees who are high in political liberalism are more likely to consider societal barriers in explaining social inequalities such as wealth and status in society rather than individual efforts and abilities (Gurin et al., 1978). Yet, opening identity tactics are not constructed as an ideology that governs beliefs but rather is conceived as ways of managing an intrapsychic experience of dominant social identity threat.

Now that I have reviewed opening and closing identity tactics, next I turn to building the theoretical model.

Theoretical Model

Integrating work on identity threat and management of uncertainty, my theoretical model outlines the following central points: (1) the intensity and duration of the dominant social identity threat, as elicited by organizational diversity initiatives, impacts whether the dominant social identity employees engage in closing, surface-level, or deep-level opening identity tactics; (2) individual-level factors moderate the relationship between dominant social identity threat and engagement in closing or opening identity tactics; (3) organizational-level factors moderate the association between dominant social identity threat and closing or opening identity tactics.

My theoretical model outlines how the experience of dominant social identity threat initiated by organizational diversity initiatives initiates the dominant employee's responses of closing and opening identity tactics. Closing identity tactics impede identity growth of the dominant social identity whereas deep-level and surface-level opening identity tactics encourage identity growth albeit to varying degrees. Not all dominant employees have the same receptiveness to engaging in opening identity tactics even if they experience dominant social threats of similar threat duration and intensity, and thus I account for the individual-level moderators of uncertainty about self, relative power, and multiple identities. When dominant social identity employees are higher in uncertainty about themselves and power relative to those implementing organizational diversity initiatives, they are more likely to engage in closing identity tactics than either surface-level or deep-level opening identity tactics. In contrast, holding an additional marginalized social identity can equip dominant employees with the knowledge and motivation to engage in deep-level opening identity tactics through leveraging experiences of marginalization. To consider the macro-level factors shaping identity tactics, I then outline how the perceived learning climate and psychological safety heighten the likelihood

of dominant employees engaging in opening identity tactics rather than closing identity tactics. Finally, I introduce a feedback loop to account for transition from closing identity tactics to opening identity tactics and vice versa. Refer to Figure 1 for my theoretical model in the list of figures.

The Role of Duration and Intensity for Identity Threat

Organizational diversity initiatives can take a variety of forms, some occurring over longer durations than others and some as more threatening than others, and I begin by describing how identity threat duration and intensity interact in affecting dominant social identity employees' engagement in closing and opening identity tactics. See Figure 2 for the graphical representation of the typology in the list of figures.

Identity threat duration refers to the length of time that the employee perceives their dominant social identity to be threatened. Longer duration involves continued concern about the dominant social identity threat while shorter duration involves temporary concern about threat. Longer duration threat occurs when diversity initiatives signal to dominant employees that their existing understanding of their do identity is unsustainable over the long-term, while shorter duration threat occurs when diversity initiatives signal to dominant social identity employees the dominant identity threat is temporary. For example, a one-time diversity training would produce shorter duration threat, while five trainings over the year would produce longer duration threat. Longer duration threat necessitates ongoing regulation of uncertainty, whereas shorter duration threat involves temporary regulation of uncertainty.

Identity threat intensity refers to the perceived significance of the threat to one's dominant social identity, including the significance of potential harm to the value and opportunities (e.g., promotions, access to resources) afforded to members of the dominant social

identity group (Petriglieri, 2011). Highly intense threats occur when diversity initiatives signal to dominant employees a highly significant change in the value and opportunities afforded to their dominant social identity, while low intensity threats occur when diversity initiatives signal minimal changes. Highly intense threats incite more uncertainty than threats lower in intensity.

Overall, I categorize identity threat along two dimensions: (1) identity threats that are low or high in duration, and (2) identity threats that are low or high in intensity. Although I recognize that the degree of identity threat duration and intensity can vary along continuums, for purposes of clarity I describe our model at extreme low and high ends of each continuum.

Low threat duration and low threat intensity. In cases where threat perceptions are low in duration and intensity, I suggest that appraisals of dominant social identity threat will initiate closing rather than opening identity tactics. As uncertainty is temporary and minimal, it is easy and efficient for dominant employees to regulate uncertainty about the dominant social identity via closing identity tactics. This focus on existing meanings of one's dominant social identity occurs because employees generally prefer to maintain and enact identities that achieve for them a sense of stability and positive self-regard (Petriglieri, 2011), which is most easily achieved through closing identity tactics. These tactics offer an immediate and efficient way to protect the dominant social identity and affirm dominant employees' existing understanding about their dominant social identity (Shelton et al., 2006; White & Argo, 2009). Unless individual differences or organizational factors encourage uncertainty expansion, dominant social identity employees are unlikely to engage in opening identity tactics.

An example of a diversity initiative that incites low threat duration and intensity is one-off implicit bias training, especially when that training is not also connected to organizational structures and processes that continuously reinforce and support overcoming unconscious bias

(Onyeador et al., 2021). Dominant social identity employees may aim to protect their social identity by dismissing the initiative as useless (Leslie, 2019). Research shows that White employees easily discount one-off diversity training initiatives (Dover et al., 2014).

Proposition 1: When dominant social identity threat is low in duration and low in intensity, dominant social identity threat will lead to closing identity tactics.

Low threat duration and high threat intensity. In cases where dominant social identity threat perceptions are low in duration and high in intensity, significant uncertainty about the dominant social identity is produced but the short duration of the threat limits the length of the uncertainty. Perceptions of intense threat create an immediate threat to the employee's dominant social identity, heightening uncertainty that they will initially be motivated to resolve efficiently via closing identity tactics (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016). Closing identity tactics will be aimed at re-affirming the status and regard of the dominant social identity group, such as by reinforcing their existing biases against marginalized employees (Bingham & Scherer, 2001; Brehm & Brehm, 1980; Steele & Vandello, 2019), at least initially.

An example of an organizational diversity initiative that signals to employees a low duration, but high intensity threat is targeted diversity training where the organization specifies participation in diversity training as a prerequisite for promotion or advancement. Although the training is one-off and threat is temporary, the threat is intense because dominant employees will see mandated diversity training as signaling that the organization will be re-allocating opportunities away from dominant to marginalized employees (Leslie, 2019).

Proposition 2a: When dominant social identity threat is low in duration and high in intensity, dominant social identity threat will lead to closing identity tactics.

However, in using closing identity tactics the employee is affirming understandings of their dominant social identity that the organization is strongly signaling are no longer tenable in

the organization. In the moment of perceiving intense threat, the dominant employee will thus have a hard time addressing the dominant social identity threat and regulating uncertainty via closing identity tactics. In such cases, dominant employees can transition from closing to opening identity tactics.

Dominant social identity employees can transition from closing to opening identity tactics and vice versa, and this transition is triggered by inadequate uncertainty regulation. *Inadequate uncertainty regulation* occurs when change in uncertainty does not sufficiently address the identity threat. Dominant employees attend to the usefulness of tactics for addressing dominant social identity threat (Petriglieri, 2011), and they may find that effectively addressing the threat requires decreasing or increasing uncertainty about the threatened identity. Consider how an employee who engages in closing identity tactics regarding her White identity (e.g., re-affirming the value of being White) may continue to feel threatened and experience uncertainty about her identity. She is concerned that her initial efforts to reduce uncertainty via closing identity tactics have not been effective, which encourages her to consider seeking out new information, moving from closing identity tactics to opening identity tactics.

In considering surface- and deep-level opening identity tactics, I suggest that when transitioning from closing identity tactics to opening identity tactics dominant employees will initially regulate uncertainty with surface-level opening identity tactics. This order occurs because surface-level opening identity tactics require less processing time than deep-level opening identity tactics (Craik & Lockhart, 1972). While both surface- and deep-level opening identity tactics involve integrating new information into existing knowledge, deep-level opening identity tactics involve significant critical self-reflection and investigation. In cases where threat duration is low, the temporary nature of the dominant social identity threat means that the

dominant employee will not see it necessary to go through the lengthier process of deep-level opening identity tactics (Mezirow, 1997). Indeed, research shows that when employees lack motivation to critically self-reflect and investigate new information, reliance on easily accessible ways of understanding, such as through surface-level opening identities tactics, is more likely (Chaiken & Stangor, 1987).

Proposition 2b: When dominant social identity threat is low in duration and high in intensity, dominant social identity threat will lead to closing identity tactics that will transition into opening identity tactics.

High threat duration and low threat intensity. In cases of when threat perceptions are high in duration and low intensity, dominant employees will experience minimal but ongoing uncertainty. Closing identity tactics are likely an initial response but dominant employees' perceptions that closing identity tactics are untenable in the organization means they may be ineffective for uncertainty regulation over the longer-term, which will motivate transition to opening identity tactics. I suggest that dominant employees will most likely engage in surface-level opening identity tactics and possibly advance to deep-level opening identity tactics overtime. This order of transition occurs because, as the dominant social identity threat and uncertainty are not significant, the employee is unlikely to be motivated to fundamentally change understanding about the dominant social identity via deep-level opening identity tactics, but rather via surface-level opening identity tactics.

Examples of organizational diversity initiatives that incite high duration and low intensity threat include advertising pro-diversity policies in recruitment materials and diversity statements (Leslie, 2019). Such initiatives reflect a consistent and ongoing reminder to dominant employees that they may be afforded less privileges (Dover et al., 2016). However, the initiatives are

perceived as low intensity threat because they do not reflect explicit actions that harm the value or re-allocate opportunities away from dominant employees.

Proposition 3a: When dominant social identity threat is high in duration and low in intensity, dominant social identity threat will lead to closing identity tactics that transition into surface-level opening identity tactics.

However, as the dominant social identity threat is prolonged employees might find that surface-level opening identity tactics are inadequate for uncertainty regulation, and instead they may come to see the benefit of further expanding uncertainty by critically reflecting on and re-structuring ways of understanding the dominant social identity via deep-level opening identity tactics. They may find that deep-level opening identity tactics will help them come to an understanding of the dominant social identity that is no longer threatened by the ongoing diversity initiative (Hirsh et al., 2012).

Proposition 3b: When dominant social identity threat is high in duration and low in intensity, dominant social identity threat leads to closing and surface-level opening identity tactics that will transition to deep-level opening identity tactics.

High threat duration and high threat intensity. When threat perceptions are high in intensity and duration, dominant employees will experience heightened and longer-term uncertainty. Closing identity tactics, which validate existing meanings of the dominant social identity, will be an initial response because the dominant social identity threat will be immediately interpreted as highly intense and thus motivate actions aimed at protecting the dominant social identity. Even though closing identity tactics may offer immediate relief, the enduring intensity of the threat means that over the long-term closing identity tactics may cause more harm than good because their existing understanding of the dominant social identity will continue to be under threat by the diversity initiative. The continued experience of dominant social identity threat further intensifies the threat because dominant employees will continuously

reflect on the threatening events and ruminate on their maladaptive responses (Gold & Wegner, 1995), thus rendering previously effective closing identity tactics as inadequate (Burke, 2006). Closing identity tactics will eventually be perceived as inadequate for uncertainty regulation because the existing frames of reference about their dominant social identity will not be seen as addressing the ongoing threat, and dominant employees will transition to surface-level opening identity tactics.

Proposition 4a: When dominant social identity threat is high in duration and high in intensity, dominant social identity threat will result in surface-level opening identity tactics.

However, although dominant employees may initially transition into surface-level opening identity tactics from closing identity tactics, surface-level opening identity tactics cannot adequately address threat because they fail to change underlying assumptions about the dominant social identity that are incompatible with the enduring and pronounced identity threat. Surface-level opening identity tactics will be seen as inadequate for uncertainty regulation, which will motivate the search for other strategies. When employees experience negative events for an extended period, effective coping responses include changing understandings of themselves where the negative experiences become an opportunity for growth (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). Thus, threat that is high in duration and intensity offers opportunity for transition from surface- to deep-level opening identity tactics. As this threat occurs over the long-term, there is more time for integration of new information that reconfigures assumptions about the dominant social identity. Dominant employees will explore and seek out new information, and thereby expand uncertainty, to gain a newer and more positive understanding of their dominant social identity.

Long duration and highly intense threats are likely to be perceived in response to diversity initiatives such as diversity performance evaluations (Leslie, 2019). When an

organization implements diversity performance evaluations, diversity is incorporated as a metric to evaluate employees. Diversity performance evaluations signal potentially long-standing changes to the value and opportunities afforded to dominant employees.

Proposition 4b: When dominant social identity threat is high in duration and high in intensity, engagement in surface-level opening identity tactics will transition to deep-level opening identity tactics.

To illustrate the theoretical model, I will outline a simple example of how a dominant employee may experience a dominant social identity threat in the workplace. Consider if an employee at a technology firm hears about his firm's new diversity initiative and then experiences dominant social identity threat through his interpretation that his White racial identity is now devalued within the organization (McDonald et al., 2018). In the first part of the model, the duration and intensity of the dominant social identity threat influences the degree of uncertainty produced by the threat; specifically, dominant social identity threats that are enduring and intense will produce increased uncertainty and thus motivate action oriented at regulating this uncertainty. It is important to note that the experience of dominant social identity threat does not necessarily lead to enduring and intense uncertainty. A diversity initiative may be a short-term project that is launched outside of the employees' department, and thus the employee may experience a relatively short-term and low-intensity dominant social identity threat. However, a diversity initiative such as affirmative action within the department of the dominant employee signifies a dominant social identity threat that will be extremely relevant (intense) and enduring issue, producing uncertainty about how to manage this threat. To regulate this uncertainty after the dominant social identity threat, the employee may engage in closing identity tactics such as derogating the abilities of affirmative action beneficiaries, which reduce his or her uncertainty by affirming the inadequacy of marginalized social identities and thus superiority of the dominant

social identity. Alternatively, experiencing dominant social identity threat may motivate the employee to manage this uncertainty about their identity by partaking in deep-level opening identity tactics that will stimulate a search for greater understanding about their identity, including reflecting on the advantages assigned to their identity and why affirmative action may be needed for adequate representation of marginalized social identities. In the following section, I will elaborate on the moderators that shape whether individuals manage their identity threats with closing or opening identity tactics.

Individual-level Moderators

Relative Power. Members of organizations differ in their ability to control access to valuable resources which influences how they interpret and respond to acts from other members of the organization. I theorize that an employee's *relative power* to others within the organization, particularly the initiators of the diversity initiatives, will influence whether they engage in opening and closing identity tactics. For example, a junior employee may hold less power than the head of human resources (the initiator of the diversity initiative), whereas a senior executive may hold higher power relative to the head of human resources in the organization. Power focuses attention toward goals (Chen et al., 2001) and orients individuals towards themselves (Dubois et al., 2015), whereas a lack of relative power promotes perspective-taking and decreased certainty about the accuracy of one's beliefs and perceptions (Galinsky et al., 2016; Fast et al., 2012). People with less power adjust their behaviours to accord with the environment and are less likely to authentically express themselves than the powerful (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002). Moreover, powerful people show a preference for objects that distinguish themselves from others while people with low power prefer objects that accordance coincide with the preferences of others (Stephens et al., 2007). Because they experience less dependency

on others for their outcomes, powerful people exhibit stronger self-focused and self-interested behaviour, showing less empathy and awareness of other's emotional states than members of the less powerful.

Hence, I expect that people with higher relative power will be more likely to use closing identity tactics to regulate their uncertainty whereas those with low power will be more likely to engage in opening identity tactics. When an organization introduces a diversity initiative, it signals a policy that is supported by the senior management, and power increases the ability and likelihood of expressing contradicting opinions and being less influenced by others in general. In contrast, people with lower relative power may be more likely to use opening identity tactics in order to regulate their uncertainty because these tactics (a) abide with the policy set forth by powerful members of the organization, and (b) holding less power is associated with the ability to reflect and consider alternative perspectives and beliefs (Galinsky et al., 2006).

Some of my propositions for moderators focus on general opening and closing identity tactics. The proposition about relative power focuses on only opening identity tactics rather than separation of deep- and surface-level opening because it is expected that the main difference will occur between opening versus closing. For people with higher power, engagement in opening identity tactics signals alignment with organizational objectives whereas closing signals resistance to these objectives.

Proposition 5: Relative power will moderate of the effect of dominant social identity threat on closing identity tactics and opening identity tactics, such that higher relative power will be linked to closing identity tactics and lower relative power will be associated with opening identity tactics.

Uncertainty about self. Employees can differ in their general certainty about the self, manifesting in broad differences in their uncertainty about the value of their identity, which can make threats to their identity more unsettling and thus motivate behaviors aimed at reducing this

uncertainty (closing identity tactics) rather than further exploring their identity (opening identity tactics). Uncertainty about self produces increased discomfort with threats to one's identity (Thau et al., 2007) and thus makes employees inclined to engage in closing rather than opening identity tactics to alleviate this discomfort. Other research has shown that chronic uncertainty about the self focuses attention on information that reduces uncertainty and can function as an anchor for interpretation (Thau et al., 2007). A lack of these uncertainty attenuating cues can produce uncertainty that steers thoughts toward relieving this ambiguity (Jost et al., 2003; Heine et al., 2006). Uncertainty exacerbates threat perceptions (van den Bos, 2001), leading to interpretation of ambiguous information as threatening to oneself, and these threats can result in as a defense against concerns about one's value (Marigold et al., 2010). Simultaneously, experiencing threat and uncertainty causes employees to become more attuned to threats from their environment and become more entrenched in their beliefs (McGregor & Marigold, 2003); these actions accord with closing identity tactics that afford uncertainty reduction through affirmation of the dominant social identity and derogation of the marginalized social identity. In contrast, employees who have lower uncertainty about themselves are more likely to engage in opening identity tactics because their security in self allows them to be more comfortable with questioning their identity (Feeney, 2004).

This proposition focuses on both deep and surface-level opening identity tactics rather than delineating between them because uncertainty about self is expected to mainly drive defensive actions against any further uncertainty. In contrast, being lower in dispositional uncertainty should result in a broader willingness to expand and gain new insights about oneself.

Proposition 6: Uncertainty about self will moderate of the effect of dominant social identity threat on closing identity tactics and opening identity tactics, such that high dispositional uncertainty will be linked to closing identity tactics and low dispositional uncertainty will be associated with opening identity tactics.

Role of Multiple Identities. I draw on the concept of intersectionality to inform my predictions about how dominant employees' multiple identities play a role in how they respond to dominant social identity threat. The term "intersectionality" was first coined in 1989 by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw and has become an important framework for understanding how different types of inequality intersect and affect marginalized social identity groups. It is often used to analyze how race, gender, class, and other forms of marginalization interact with one another. Dominant employees may not uniformly experience advantage in all areas of life, and they may experience marginalization for one social identity they possess while advantage for another. Identities beyond the dominant social identities that the dominant employees possess may interact to influence whether they engage in opening rather than closing identity tactics.

According to Mezirow's theory on transformational learning (1990, 1991), or how individuals learn to develop new knowledge that departs from existing understandings imparted by society and upbringing, the experience of holding a marginalized social identity equips the employee with the receptiveness to challenge meanings of their dominant social identity. Possession of a marginalized social identity by an employee who also holds a dominant social identity can enable the dominant employee to understand how they may have held onto inappropriate understandings of their dominant social identity through leveraging their own experiences of marginality (Mezirow, 1990, 1991). When dominant employees become more conscious of advantages afforded to their dominant social identity, this facilitates awareness and increased consciousness of their marginalized social identities, allowing them to better understand how their dominant social identity has been shaped by society and thus may be inaccurately colouring their perception of marginalized social groups. For example, White men who reflect on their experiences of disadvantage as a member of a marginalized social identity

group (e.g., being gay) show greater awareness of White privilege (Fath et al., 2022). Members of dominant social identity groups become more conscious and even report greater discrimination for other social identities when they become aware of inequalities between their dominant social identity and marginalized social identities. Because dominant employees who also hold a marginalized social identity are familiar with the experience of marginalization, this equips these employees with the receptiveness and ability to understand how meanings of the dominant and marginalized social identities are mutually constructed and one serves to shape the status assigned to the other (Said, 1978). Thus, these employees are more likely to engage in the profound reflection about their dominant social identity and its impact on marginalized social identities that is representative of deep-level opening identity tactics. In comparison, these employees are less likely to engage in surface-level identity tactics or closing identity tactics as a response to dominant social identity threat because they will be more likely to understand to consider both the marginalized social identity and their dominant social identity in determining how to manage the threat.

Proposition 7: Possession of a marginalized identity by a dominant social identity employee will moderate of the effect of identity threat on closing identity tactics and opening identity tactics, such that the possession of a marginalized identity will be linked to increased engagement in deep-level opening identity tactics and decreased engagement in surface-level opening identity tactics and closing identity tactics.

Organization-level Moderators

Considering the role of context on closing and opening identity tactics introduces how organizational attitudes towards learning and psychological safety can impact the link between threat and engaging in opening or closing identity tactics.

Learning Climates. Perceived learning climate relates to employees' perceptions of the degree that their organization encourages and enables their growth through engagement in

valuable activities and gaining new knowledge (Marsick & Watkins, 2003). Learning climates in organizations stimulate employees towards expanding activities that promote them to explore unknown ways of operating in the organization and thus encourage employees to seek out uncertainty to gain valuable knowledge for themselves and the organization. Indeed, research suggests that organizations with high learning climates have employees who are innovative (Ismail, 2005) and effectively manage challenges with their increased knowledge and skills (Nikolova et al., 2016). Thus, dominant employees in high learning climate organizations will be more likely to persist in opening identity tactics, relative to dominant employees in organizations with low learning climates. I do not expect dominant employees to demonstrate significant differences in deep-level versus surface-level opening identity tactics in high learning climates because both tactics facilitate the integration of new knowledge.

Proposition 8: Learning climates will moderate of the effect of dominant social identity threat on closing identity tactics and opening identity tactics, such that high learning climates will be linked with opening identity tactics and low learning climates will be associated with closing identity tactics.

Psychological Safety. In addition, psychological safety refers to the perception that employees within the organization can openly express themselves “without fear of negative consequences to self-image, status, or career” (Kahn, 1990, p. 708). Being able to express vulnerability and take risks in expression is central to obtaining both short-term and long-term outcomes of opening such as questioning present diversity practices within the organization (Hekman et al., 2017). Engagement in deep-level opening identity tactics requires critically reflecting on meanings about one’s dominant social identity and how it relates to marginalized social identity groups. Openly expressing questions about the relationships between dominant and marginalized social identity groups can challenge norms about leaving one’s social identities outside of the organization (Dumas et al., 2013; Leigh & Melwani, 2019). Therefore, dominant

employees who perceive high psychological safety within their organization will be more likely to continue in deep-level opening identity tactics than employees who perceive low psychological safety.

Proposition 9: Psychological safety will moderate of the effect of dominant social identity threat on closing identity tactics and opening identity tactics, such that high psychological safety will be linked with deep-level opening identity tactics and low psychological safety will be associated with closing identity tactics.

Discussion

Social identity threat can occur for both employees with marginalized and dominant identities. Yet, most of the theory in management has highlighted the experiences of social identity threat for marginalized employees. Although the experience of identity threat for marginalized employees can be a tremendous burden that spills over into adverse outcomes for performance and well-being, dominant social identity threat is arguably even more adverse for its negative impacts on both the threatened employee and marginalized employees. Present theory on backlash in response to organizational diversity initiatives has largely framed identity threat as an inadvertent hurdle to the successful implementation of such initiatives in organizations. For both theory and practice, we must understand how to mitigate resistance to these diversity initiatives. In Chapter 2 of my dissertation, I introduce the concept of opening identity tactics, a novel type of identity threat response, whereby the threatened employee leverages the threat to gain information about their dominant social identity and engage in reflection. Prior theory has framed identity threats as aversive for marginalized social identities and broader goals of diversity and inclusion in organizations. However, I show that these identity threats can be the start of an identity process that births an identity that is no longer threatened by diversity initiatives. To effectively enact and harness the benefits of diversity in organizations, we must understand opening identity tactics and how they can be cultivated.

Theoretical Contributions

My theory on opening identity tactics provides an alternative interpretation for present theory in a wide variety of management scholarship.

Responses to Diversity Initiatives. By introducing opening identity tactics into the literature on response to diversity initiatives, my theory offers a novel understanding into the causes and outcomes of responses to diversity initiatives in organizations. First, understanding diversity initiatives as a source of dominant social identity threat for dominant employees enable a reevaluation into the sources and outcomes of reactions to these initiatives. Evaluations of responses to diversity initiatives, particularly resistance, tend to be understood as stemming from concerns about morality or target competency. For example, in response to diversity initiatives, dominant employees tend to devalue the abilities and competency of affirmative action beneficiaries because the need for affirmative action signals that the beneficiaries lack the abilities to advance through merit (Resendez, 2002). But dominant employees can also resist diversity initiatives because they are threatened by the competence of a marginalized social identity group and become insecure about their competence. Research shows that dominant employees may seek to derogate marginalized social identity individuals with high competence in order to defensively protect their esteem (Sinclair & Kunda, 1999). In order to overcome dominant employees' resistance towards diversity initiatives, several interventions have been developed. One strategy is based on the idea that viewing diverse perspectives as a learning opportunity will make them more likely accept these programs (Rios & Wynn 2016). Another approach involves re-affirming other values and beliefs held by those who resist change (Cohen & Sherman, 2014). These approaches seem effective at reducing threat, but they do not challenge what causes dominant social identity threat in the first place—dominant employees' viewing

their identity as being superior or of deserving of privileges relative to others. Thus, my work illuminates how threat responses to diversity initiatives can eventually build support for diversity.

Deconstructing components of identity threat. In considering both identity threat duration and intensity, my typology has implications for understanding broader responses to identity threats. Ways of experiencing identity threat can differ greatly, yet much of the identity threat theory and research focuses on a limited set of responses. My theory may stimulate scholars to consider how the components of identity threats lead to varying responses to threat. For example, how does an employee respond to an identity threat that is high duration and high intensity regarding his or her professional identity? Although prior theory suggests that he may take on a new identity, our theory indicates he may also reevaluate how he understands his professional identity. In Brown and Coupland's (2015) work on how elite professionals manage identity threats, some of these professionals continued to reflect on their professional identity and seek ways to improve whereas others choose to focus on past successes and maintain present understandings of their professional identity. Could these responses exhibit closing and deep-level opening identity tactics respectively? Because these elite professionals experience these identity threats throughout their career and considered these threats as a significant threat to their professional identity, these high duration and high intensity identity threats resulted in closing and deep-level opening identity tactics in accordance with my typology. Similarly, early career achievers in Dahm and colleagues' (2019) study of top 40 under 40 winners experienced subsequent identity threats, and some felt forced to commit to present understandings of their professional identity, which can be understood as closing identity tactics in response to perceptions of these threats as highly intense and short in duration. In contrast, some engage in

deep-level opening identity tactics that question their focus on professional identity that has exclusive focus on work and begin to think about ways to incorporate greater personal time, resulting in changes to their professional identity.

Furthermore, articulating how identity threats can differ enables management scholars to better understand and reassess the antecedents and outcomes of the identity threat experience. Present understandings of identity threat in management have focused on identity threats that produce substantial reactions such as identity exit or identity switching from the individual (Petriglieri, 2011; Shepherd & Williams, 2018). Yet employees who experience identity threats that are low in intensity or duration still perceive threat without engaging in significant tactics to manage this identity threat. Incorporating the duration and intensity of how employees interpret threats to their identity can broaden understandings of the threat experience.

Understanding growth in response to identity threat. Insight into the possible benefits of dominant social identity threat for not only dominant employees but also marginalized employees holds major implications for theory on growth after identity threat. Prior theory has highlighted many ways that growth can occur after identity threat. Growth is conceptualized as a way of escaping the threat by altering one's perceptions of the experience (Kreiner & Sheep, 2009) or revising one's hopes for a new present and future sense of self (e.g., Vough & Caza, 2017). In existing theory, understandings experienced as threats or opportunity are conceptualized as two separate systems with antithetical implications for growth; when events are appraised as threatening, this results in responses that impede growth while understanding an event as an opportunity lead to responses conducive to growth (Bataille & Vough, 2022). My theorization that increasing rather than decreasing the uncertainty that results from threat facilitates growth contributes to understandings of identity growth, which has mainly emphasized

growth via uncertainty reduction. As social forces demonstrate a greater need for organizations to enact diversity initiatives, it will be essential to not only understand how dominant social identity employees may be threatened by these initiatives but also understand ways of transforming this initial threat into support for diversity. Incorporating my theory shows that revisions to the threatened social identity through opening identity tactics, particularly deep-level opening identity tactics, offers a novel and counterintuitive way for identity threats to offer changes for how dominant identity employees can become supportive of diversity.

Practical Implications

Managers in organizations that seek to effectively implement diversity initiatives will benefit from understanding opening identity tactics and how to offer a fertile environment for these identity tactics. A major issue is that dominant employees with low understanding of diversity are the least likely to voluntarily partake in diversity initiatives, thus suggesting a need for broader organizational structures that offer fertile environments for receptiveness to diversity and opening identity tactics. In this theoretical paper, I offer conditions that can produce opening identity tactics. Organizations can cultivate psychological safety within their environment to develop fertile ground for engagement in opening identity tactics by their employees. A lack of psychological safety makes employees reluctant to express their true perspectives due to fear of negative reactions or weakening relationships in the workplace (Milliken et al., 2003). Being able to express vulnerability and take risks in expression is central to engaging in opening identity tactics, particularly deep-level opening identity tactics (Hekman et al., 2017). Another way to cultivate opening identity tactics is through creating a climate for learning, which relates to employees' perceptions of the degree that their organization encourages and enables their growth through engagement in valuable activities and gaining new knowledge (Marsick &

Watkins, 2003). Specific ways organizations can drive a learning climate is to cultivate specific management relations and styles, offer adequate time for learning, provide autonomy and responsibility, and give employees opportunity to develop skills (Carrim & Basson, 2013).

Organizations intending to enact diversity initiatives can also proactively work to anticipate dominant social identity threat and offer environments that are conducive for opening rather than closing identity tactics. Here townhall meetings and other avenues for expression may offer employees with dominant social identity opportunities to explore their reactions to the threat. Organizations may encourage group discussions about the diversity initiative in an open and safe forum, offer educational courses about diversity, and facilitate other opportunities to initiative opening identity tactics. Cultivation of opening identity tactics may improve effectiveness of various diversity initiatives and ultimately lead to improve organizational performance as the organization extracts the benefits of enhanced diversity (Roberge & Van Dick, 2010).

Future Directions

Opening identity tactics represent a novel outcome of identity threat. Future research ought to focus on richer understandings of deep-level opening identity tactics. Creativity is expected to be an outcome that could be enhanced through deep-level opening identity tactics because “creativity involves the generation of novel ideas and solutions and is oriented around uncertainty and ambiguity. New ideas deviate from established approaches and are not guaranteed to deliver the desired outcome” (Zhou & George, 2001, p.152). Enhanced creativity is recognized as a major advantage of diversity in organizations because differing backgrounds and perspectives can stimulate ideas that are more novel relative to ideas generated from less diverse groups (Harvey, 2013; Shin et al., 2012). Engagement in deep-level opening identity

tactics stimulates questioning of widely held assumptions and exploration into other ways of thinking and understanding oneself, and employees produce more novel ideas under exposure to diverging and diverse perspectives (Shin et al., 2012). The relationship between deep-level opening identity tactics and creativity can contribute to work on the benefits of diversity and inclusion for organizational performance (e.g., Miller & Triana, 2009; Triana et al., 2014; Richard 2000; Richard et al., 2004). More specifically, organizations that emphasize innovation as part of their organizational strategy may find it particularly beneficial to incorporate programs that stimulate deep-level opening identity tactics in response to diversity initiatives. However, it is important to also consider the societal and ethical benefits of diversity and inclusion along with the economic advantages these initiatives.

Building on this idea, it will be fruitful to consider the macro-level implications of deep-level opening identity tactics, particularly for organizational performance. When dominant employees engage in deep-level opening identity tactics, these actions and thoughts can be a source of innovation via eliciting broader reflection about institutional practices that perpetuate inequality and reinforce hierarchy. Along the same lines, because deep-level opening identity tactics transform understanding of one's membership to a dominant social identity group so that it is less about maintaining hierarchy and more about challenging inequalities, I expect that organizations where employees engage in deep-level opening identity tactics will experience increased innovation. Empirical research shows that stimulating employees to think in ways that challenge existing bias towards marginalized groups can lead employees to develop divergent thinking, resulting in the development of more innovative thought (Gocłowska & Crisp, 2013). Through engaging in deep-level opening identity tactics employees can question widely held assumptions and explore new ways of thinking about themselves and others which can further

spur innovative thought (Shin et al., 2012). Therefore, unpacking the relationship between opening identity tactics and innovation can further elucidate the relationship between diversity and organizational performance.

In considering the role of the organization on identity tactics, it will be important for research into why a dominant employee may advance from closing to surface-level opening or surface- to deep-level opening identity tactics. If a dominant employee chooses to engage in opening or closing identity tactics in response to their identity threat, this still does not assure that they will *continue* to engage in these identity tactics. A lack of affirmation can stimulate a transition from one identity tactic to the other. This feedback loop will be particularly relevant for employees who experience a high degree of uncertainty regarding the diversity initiative. It is likely that dominant employees who are unsure about how to manage a diversity initiative will be particularly influenced by contextual influences and external affirmation/reinforcement of their initial engagement in opening and closing identity processes. Identities become entrenched and affirmed through social validation when they are enacted within organizations (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016). Enacting opening or closing identity tactics suggest new ways of enacting one's identity (e.g, demonstrating stronger affiliation with dominant identity), but these changes to identity are responsive to social context; namely, lack of support for a changed identity renders the identity vulnerable to reverting to the prior identity or seeking another identity process. To regulate uncertainty about oneself and the acceptability of one's identity, employees are motivated to search for cues about the validity of their identity and where they rank relative to those around them (Thornborrow & Brown, 2009). Indeed, theory on identity suggests employees "negotiate" their identity through participation from external forces (i.e., their audience), particularly in the early enactment of a new identity, because external validation

reduces uncertainty about the appropriateness of the identity and confirms its enactment as legitimate (Goffman, 1959).

Engaging in reflection about his White racial identity may motivate an employee to ask his coworkers, for example, to express concerns about the motivation and purpose of the diversity initiative to his colleagues at work, but he may transition into closing identity tactics if these exploratory actions are invalidated and considered unacceptable to his colleagues. Conversely, an employee can react with closing identity tactics such as increased race centrality and derogation of other races, yet they may experience ‘backlash’ that can cause them to question the validity of his actions and engage in reflection, moving from closing identity tactics actions to surface-level opening identity tactics.

Finally, although my theory assumes that the organization espouses and exemplifies the values of diversity, it will be fruitful to investigate how these identity tactics intersect with false progress diversity or diversity performed in response to social pressure (Kroeper et al., 2022; Leslie, 2019). Do deep- or surface-level opening identity tactics result in substantial backlash for these organizations? And do members of dominant groups risk exacerbating this backlash with deep-level opening rather than surface-level identity tactics? Whereas closing identity tactics become advantageous when the diversity initiative will provide no changes to the power and representation in the organization?

Conclusion

By introducing my model of uncertainty regulation in response to identity threat, linking together theory on exploration/exploitation, responses to uncertainty, and experience of identity threat, I have challenged present understandings within management research that view dominant social identity threat as an impediment to diversity initiatives in organization. In this paper, I

introduce a perspective that considers how dominant social identity threat can lead to outcomes that support rather than undermine diversity efforts within organizations. Dominant social identity growth is important for transforming the dominant employees from someone who is threatened by diversity initiatives to someone who values diversity. Through opening identity tactics, members of dominant social identity groups can grow understandings of their dominant social identity. By focusing attention on how dominant employees experience dominant social identity threat, this paper also highlights the importance of placing responsibility and attention to ways that individuals and workplaces can cultivate opening identity tactics rather than only mitigating closing identity tactics amongst dominant employees in response to diversity initiatives.

Chapter 3: Scale Validation of Opening and Closing Identity Tactics

In Chapter 2, I offered theoretical explanations that distinguished opening identity tactics from established constructs. Although this elaboration was valuable in offering understanding into why opening identity tactics is a distinct construct, there remained a need to develop a way of measuring this new construct. Chapter 3 had two main goals. First, I wanted to construct and validate a measure of opening and closing identity tactics that incorporate the key theoretical components of these constructs. I used the theoretical development from Chapter 2 along with previous theory on how people broadly seek to focus or spread their attention in learning to deductively inform scale items (Lee & Meyer-Doyle, 2017; March, 1991). Second, I wanted to provide support that opening and closing identity tactics are distinct components of how employees think about and act on their membership to a dominant social identity group after social identity threat—demonstrating that the theoretical conception of these constructs is evidenced by data.

To create the scales for closing and opening identity tactics, I followed the recommendations of Hinkin and colleagues (1997) for scale development to ensure that the measures I developed were reliable and valid. These key steps include item generation, assessment of conceptual consistency, and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) along with assessment of divergent and convergent validity of the items. The scale validation process occurred through three key phases. First, I developed items of closing and opening identity items based on the theory from Chapter 2 and my definitions of these tactics. These items along with definitions of closing and opening identity tactic were shown to participants, who were asked to rate how accurately each item fit with the corresponding definitions. From this step, I narrowed the list of items and proceeded to further validate the items with another sample. Second, I

collected a separate sample to conduct an exploratory factory analysis to determine the factor structure. Third, I collected another sample in order to perform a confirmatory factor analysis. Finally, I tested the convergent and divergent validity of these scales through two studies, Study 1 and Study 2, which I report on in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 of my dissertation, respectively. I detail each step of the item construction and validation process next.

Step 1: Item Generation

In order to generate items for opening and closing identity tactics, I used a deductive approach rather than an inductive approach. Inductive scale development is appropriate for the development of measures that have little theoretical basis and thus researchers rely on open-ended reports from participants (Hinkin, 1998). In contrast, deductive scale development is suited to study constructs that have strong theoretical background and have been developed via in-depth review of the literature (Hinkin, 2005). Since I already established clear definitions of opening and closing identity tactics (Chapter 2), the groundwork has been laid to focus on generating items that fit these definitions rather seeking to first understand the construct through inductive means. I drew upon my Chapter 2 conceptualizations of opening and closing identity tactics. I developed a list of twenty-five items for the opening identity tactics measure along with a corresponding twenty-five items for the closing identity tactics measure. These items were intended to be an exhaustive and thorough list of the identity tactics constructs. I reviewed the key theories underlying the construction of the opening and closing identity tactics including exploration and exploitation (March, 1991), theoretical conceptualizations of opening and closing behaviours (Griffin & Grote, 2020), and levels of processing (Craik & Lockhart, 1972). See Tables 1a and 1b in the list of tables for a full list of items.

Step 2: Item Refinement

Next, I showed the items to 50 White Mechanical Turk participants. This number is similar to recommendations for content adequacy assessment in previous validation studies (Hinkin et al., 1997; Bass, 1985). Participants reported only identifying as either a woman (40%) or a man (60%). All participants identified as White and reported full-time employment (working 35 hours or more per week) with a mean age of 38 years ($SD = 10.36$). I gave participants definitions of closing and opening identity tactics and then asked them to evaluate how representative each item was of each definition. More specifically, I asked participants to carefully read about the definition of each tactic and then evaluate how well each item fit the definition. For opening identity tactics, participants were asked to read the following definition:

Opening identity tactics are cognitive and behavioral tactics that people do to transform their understanding of their membership to a racial group. In doing so they may come to a new understanding of their racial identity, including one that is less about maintaining hierarchical differences between racial groups and the status quo, and more about learning how they can challenge racial inequalities. Opening identity tactics enable people to learn new ways of understanding their membership to their racial group and their relation to members of marginalized racial groups.

Similarly, participants saw the following definition for closing identity tactics:

Closing identity tactics are cognitive and behavioral tactics that people do to re-affirm their existing knowledge about their racial identity, and that knowledge oftentimes affirms hierarchical differences between racial groups in society. Rather than changing what they know about their race or learning new knowledge, closing identity tactics involve reaffirming what people know about their race, and relationships between members of their racial group and other marginalized racial groups.

These definitions were prefaced with the following definition of racial identity as “the collective identity of any group socialized to think of themselves as a racial group (e.g., Black, White, East Asian).” After reading the definition, the participants were asked to evaluate how

well the statements fit the above definitions for opening or closing identity tactics (1= Strongly Disagree; 5 = Strongly Agree). See Tables 1a and 1b in the Appendix for Means and Standard deviations for each item. Based on the results of this study, I removed twelve items for the closing identity tactics scale and fifteen items from the opening identity tactics scale. A pre-determined agreement of 3.5 was set as the cut off, in line with Hinkin and colleagues' recommendations for content adequacy assessment (1997). The items I removed had mean ratings below 3.5, which was much lower than the mean ratings of the scale items (Colquitt et al., 2019). With the remaining items, I next conducted a principal component analysis and then exploratory factory analysis to determine if the items loaded onto two distinct factors and to further reduce the scale length (Hinkin, 1998). Afterwards, I verified the results of the CFA along with convergent validity and divergent validity of the scales.

Step 3. Principal component analysis

With a separate sample of 146 White participants, I conducted a principal component analysis. Principal component analysis enables reduction in the number of scale items while retaining variability in the items (Joliffe & Cadima, 2016). Sample sizes within this range (101-200) were the most frequently reported in a review of exploratory factor analysis studies (Conway & Huffcutt, 2003). This sample size offers a ratio of sample size to variable below 5:1, which is a higher ratio than 70% of studies in a review of scale development studies (Conway & Huffcutt, 2003; Ford et al., 1986). Participants reported only identifying as female (40%), male (59%), or transmasculine (1%). All participants identified as White and reported full-time employment (working 35 hours or more per week) with a mean age of 44 years ($SD = 3.36$). Similar to Step 2, Participants were given a description of racial identity before shown the following description of closing and opening identity tactics:

(Closing Identity Tactics) The following items ask you to reflect on your likelihood of reinforcing what you already know and think about your racial identity. Your racial identity is defined as the collective identity of any group socialized to think of themselves as a racial group (e.g., Black, White, East Asian). People may engage in these thoughts and activities at home and work. What extent do you anticipate you will engage in the following thoughts and activities:

(Opening Identity Tactics) The following items ask you to reflect on your likelihood of engaging in exploration related to your racial identity. Your racial identity is defined as the collective identity of any group socialized to think of themselves as a racial group (e.g., Black, White, East Asian). People may engage in these thoughts and activities at home and work. What extent do you anticipate you will engage in the following thoughts and activities:

Participants were asked to evaluate their likelihood of engaging in the thoughts and activities listed. Participants evaluated each scale item on a five-point Likert Scale (1 = Very unlikely, 5 = Very likely).

I conducted a principal component analysis with a direct “oblimin” rotation to determine the main components within each of the scales. The initial analysis showed three principal components in the scale items. When looking closer, four items did not significantly load onto the first two components and appeared to be represented as a third component (See Figure 4 for a graph of the items that are similar). Inspection of the structure matrix component showed that these four items loaded less than 0.75 on the first two components. Using recommendations for scale development (Thornton et al., 2014), I removed the items that corresponded to this third factor and re-ran the analysis with the remaining 17 items (eight opening identity tactic items and nine closing identity tactic items). When I re-ran the analysis, the results showed two clear components between the opening and closing identity tactics items.

Step 4. Exploratory factory analysis

Using the same dataset that I used for the principal component analysis, I conducted an exploratory factor analysis to explore the number of factors in the data. Examination of the scree plots supported a two-factor model as the best fit for the items (See Figure 3). There was a significant decline in the value of the eigenvalues after two-factors were considered such that all eigen values were below 1 (Ledesma & Valero-Mora, 2007). Items demonstrated high loadings and no items cross loaded higher than 0.3 (Fabrigar et al., 1999). The closing and opening identity tactics items also showed low covariance (0.09), providing support for the idea that these are distinct constructs. The final scales are shown in Table 2 in the list of tables, along with scale descriptive statistics, item loadings, and item reliabilities from this dataset.

Step 5: Confirmatory Factor Analysis

To further confirm the construct validity of the factor structure of this scale, I collected a separate sample of 199 White participants from Mechanical Turk for the CFA analysis. Participants reported only identifying as a female (52%), male (47%), or nonbinary (1%). All participants identified as White and reported full-time employment (working 35 hours or more per week) with a mean age of 42 years ($SD = 11.00$). I performed the CFA analysis with the LAVAAN package from R. The resulting CFA tests show a good fit for a two-factor model ($CFI = .96$; $RMSEA = .08$ [90% C.I. .08, .11]; $SRMR = .05$). The Chi-Square for the two-factor model was $\chi^2(1) = 1529.4$, $p < .001$. Covariance between the closing and opening identity tactics was .09. See Table 3 for a list of the final items along with their factor loadings.

I also compared model fit when modeling the items as a two-factor and one-factor model. The CFA results for the one-factor model show a poor fit ($CFI = .54$; $RMSEA = .24$; $SRMR = .28$). The Chi-Square for the one factor model was $\chi^2 = 1529.4(119)$, $p < .001$. A Chi-square

comparison of the difference between the one-factor and two-factor model showed that the two-factor model fit the data better ($\chi^2_{\text{change}}(118) = 1201.4, p < .001$) than the one-factor model. This offered additional evidence that the two-factor model fit the data significantly better than the one-factor model.

Step 6: Construct validity

Using the dataset from Study 1 (reported in Chapter 6 of this dissertation), I also checked the convergent validity of the measures. Convergent validity measures the associate between a measure and conceptually similar measures (Krabbe, 2017). Participants completed established measures that were closely aligned with identity tactics. These measures included fixed mindsets towards racial identity and prejudice. Zero order correlations revealed that opening identity tactics were negatively associated with a measure of fixed mindsets about racial identity ($-.14, p = .03$) while closing identity tactics were not associated with fixed mindsets about racial identity ($.10, p = .13$). This aligns with expectations that opening identity tactics would be negative linked to a fixed mindset towards racial identity as people who do not think that racial identity can change would be less likely to explore understandings of their racial identity. In contrast, closing identity tactics signifies focusing on affirming existing meanings of one's racial identity, or strengthening understandings of one's racial identity, which is separate from fixed mindsets about racial identity. Prior research shows that convergent validity can be established through negative correlations (Shill & Lumley, 2002). Divergent validity establishes that a measure is not associated with measures that theory predicts would not be highly related (Hubley, 2014). A zero-order correlation showed that opening identity tactics were not significantly associated with prejudice ($-.12, p = .07$) and neither were closing identity tactics ($.03, p = .67$). According to theory from Chapter 2, what facilitates each identity tactics is threat duration and intensity along

with moderators as a source of opening versus closing identity tactics rather than prejudice. In line with the theory of Chapter 2, this non-significant relationship between prejudice and opening or closing identity tactics suggest that these responses occur independently of prejudice.

All measures are shown in Appendix 6.

Discussion

Across three samples, I developed and validated measures of opening and closing identity tactics. Through deductive scale development, I first developed a series of items to measure opening and closing identity tactics, which were refined through feedback from White participants. Using principal component analysis, these items were further refined and then the exploratory factor analysis supported a two-factor model. Importantly, there was low covariance between closing and opening identity tactics, adding support for the distinction between these two constructs. The CFA added further support for a two-factor model.

In Chapter 4, building on theoretical development from Chapter 2 and using the measure of opening and closing identity tactics from Chapter 3, I develop hypotheses for an intervention that encourages members of dominant social identity groups to react with opening identity tactics in response to diversity initiatives.

Chapter 4: Conceptualizing the Opening Identity Tactics Intervention and its Outcomes

To achieve a more equal gender and race representation, Google has created several discriminatory practices: programs, mentoring, and classes only for people with a certain gender or race, high priority queue and special treatment for “diversity” candidates, and hiring practices which can effectively lower the bar for “diversity” candidates by decreasing the false negative rate, reconsidering any set of people if it’s not “diverse” enough, but not showing that same scrutiny in the reverse direction (clear confirmation bias) (Damore, 2017, “The Harm of Google’s biases”, para 1).

Introduction

The journey to achieving the support from dominant employees for diversity initiatives is not complete after they engage in opening identity tactics. After dominant employees gain insight and let go of dominant social identity meanings imparted by society, they must now engage in growth of this dominant social identity and engage in actions that reflect these changes. As evidenced in the above quote by James Damore (2017), a former software engineer at Google, some dominant employees instinctually choose closing identity tactics to defend against dominant social identity threat, highlighting the importance of interventions that can facilitate dominant employees to respond to diversity initiatives with opening rather than closing identity tactics. While Chapter 2 considered the natural conditions that initiate opening identity tactics as a response to dominant social identity threat, this chapter theorizes and introduces how organizations can directly intervene to initiate opening identity tactics, thus protecting against diversity resistance and building support for diversity initiatives. Through an intervention, dominant employees become more receptive to engaging in opening identity tactics. As such, the goal of Chapter 4 is to develop an opening identity tactics intervention and hypotheses about how dominant employees understand their dominant social identity and ultimately generate support for diversity in organizations.

Research on diversity initiatives has examined outcomes that may address the needs of marginalized social identity groups yet also produce dominant social identity as competing demands between these two groups. Although some scholars have considered ways that diversity and inclusion can be beneficial for both dominant and marginalized social identities (e.g., Brannon et al., 2018; Roberge & Van Dick, 2010), recent insights into how diversity initiatives can produce unintended consequences has studied the role of backlash from members of dominant groups (Leslie, 2019). Moreover, attempts to consider the perspective of dominant social identity groups or manage dominant social identity threat have arisen concerns about rendering these diversity initiatives ineffective in addressing the needs of marginalized social identity groups (Steele & Vandello, 2019). That is, consideration of dominant employees is argued to birth diversity initiatives that simply reflect and reinforce broader societal hierarchies rather than challenge these hierarchies (Erskine & Bilimoria, 2019; Brannon et al., 2018). This tension between addressing the needs of marginalized employees and dominant identity employees poses significant obstacles to the success of diversity initiatives because these initiatives need to effectively address members of both marginalized and dominant social identity groups for successful implementation.

In Chapter 4, I aim achieve three objectives. First, I develop an experimental intervention that initiates support rather than resistance when dominant employees experience identity threat towards a new organizational diversity initiative. Second, I hypothesize about proximal outcomes of the opening identity tactics intervention. I suggest that my intervention strengthens the effects of opening identity tactics on these outcomes. Third, I hypothesize about how the effects of dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives can be mitigated through an opening identity tactics intervention.

In this regard, Chapter 4 of my dissertation contributes to theory and research in two keys ways. I contribute to research on diversity interventions through offering another explanation for why diversity initiatives tend to be largely ineffective particularly concerning long-term changes in representation and inclusion of marginalized social identity groups in organizations. I suggest that a major reason for the ineffective implementation of diversity initiatives is that they fail to address “defensive rationalizations”, or ways that members of dominant social identity groups defend their identity and rationalize their position in society. Threats to identity can initiate a search for information about oneself that produces growth and resilience (Vough & Caza, 2017). Focusing on how to prevent dominant social identity threat neglects considerations of ways to leverage the experience of identity threat. Moreover, much of the interpretation and effects of identity threat occur after the experience of threat (Petriglieri, 2011). It is how people interpret the impact of diversity initiatives for their dominant social identity that accounts for resistance to diversity initiatives (Leslie, 2019; Thomas & Plaut, 2008). Hence, present theory and research on diversity initiatives and training lacks sufficient understanding of ways to manage backlash produced by these policies.

Second, my work contributes to an understanding of organizational change and interventions through showing how experiences of threat can be leveraged as opportunities for change and learning more broadly. Dominant employees’ support of diversity initiatives represents a crucial step in the advancement of organizational diversity and inclusion initiatives because these employees tend to hold disproportionate power within organizations (Bradbury, 2013) and experience fewer penalties for promoting diversity than marginalized employees (Hekman et al., 2017). In understanding how to advance diversity and inclusion initiatives, it is important to understand how identity threats experienced by dominant employees can be

leveraged for identity learning and change in support of diversity initiatives. I respond to calls for research into diversity interventions as “evidence-based practices” rather than “anything that might reasonably reduce discrimination, irrespective of evidence” (Dover et al., 2020, p.153). I integrate theory on dominant social identity development (Helms, 1990) and reactance theory to develop an intervention that facilitates opening identity tactics amongst members of dominant social identity groups. I draw upon these specific theories because they offer ways of gradually generating change in the dominant social identity. Existing diversity training research focuses on strategies for immediately creating awareness of inequalities and privileges afforded to the dominant social identity, which I argue can create diversity resistance without the proper groundwork. Dominant employees who participate in diversity training may be reluctant to express their authentic beliefs in favour of parroting what they deem as “politically correct” (Avery & Steingard, 2008) which limits their ability for true learning through these experiences (Mezirow, 1990). As such, the key focus of the intervention presented here is to progressively introduce awareness of inequalities through making the dominant employee come to realizations rather than overtly trying to impart specific beliefs.

Below, I briefly review opening and closing identity tactics and theory on identity growth. This overview is intended to further clarify the theory underlying the opening identity tactics intervention and its consequences for valuing of diversity and organizational identification. I then introduce the intervention and hypotheses for this chapter.

The Impact of Opening Identity Tactics on Valuing of Diversity and Organizational Identification

To illuminate the influence of opening identity tactics on persons with dominant social identities, I introduce a model that outlines a multi-step process in which opening identity tactics result in changes to the valuing of diversity and organizational identification of these individuals. This section focuses on opening identity tactics because engagement in these tactics is theorized to disarm the negative implications of dominant social identity according to theory from Chapter 2 of this dissertation. In the first step, I argue that dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives leads to a decreased interest in opening identity tactics, resulting in decreased valuing of diversity and organizational identification. Next, in the second step, I assert that dominant employees respond to diversity initiatives differently based on whether they engage in an opening identity tactics intervention, leading them to show greater opening identity tactics, and subsequent valuing of diversity and organizational identification. Finally, in the third step, I posit that when dominant employees experience dominant social identity threat, the impact of this threat differs based on whether they complete the opening identity tactics intervention, which can be explained by their engagement in opening identity tactics, leading to increased valuing of diversity and organizational identification. Furthermore, I propose that because the opening identity tactics intervention may require extensive reflection on the dominant social identity, participants in the intervention (relative to the control) will be more likely intend to report engagement in opening identity tactics which will lead to a higher stage of their dominant social identity development, and that these serial mediators will explain the relationship between dominant social identity threat and the outcomes of valuing of diversity and organizational identification.

Step 1: Role of Dominant Social Identity Threat on Opening Identity Tactics

Theory on identity threat posits that employees are motivated to defend against signals that may devalue their identity. Furthermore, theory on intergroup relations explains that employees are highly motivated to protect and maintain membership in a high-status group (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005) and may defensively denigrate sources of threat to this group, particularly when the threat originates from low status groups (Branscombe & Wann, 1994). This leads dominant employees to further devalue and derogate marginalized employees (Leslie, 2019) and leads to backlash towards organizations that initiate diversity initiatives in support of marginalized groups (Dover et al., 2016). I argue that for dominant employees, being threatened by diversity initiatives motivates them to engage in actions that reaffirm their dominant social identity. In other words, I posit that this increased defensiveness leads to a decreased willingness to engage in exploration and reflection about one's identity—i.e., opening identity tactics.

As I noted in Chapter 2, previous research has shown that dominant social identity threat has been linked to aversive outcomes for marginalized social identity groups such as dominant social identity employees' increased prejudice and outgroup derogation because identity threats result in uncertainty about the status and meaning of one's identity in the organization (Logel et al., 2009; Nash et al., 2011; Petriglieri, 2011). This uncertainty can motivate members of dominant social identity groups to defensively increase their group identification and engage in actions aimed at validating their identity. Moreover, diversity initiatives can produce concerns that one's dominant social identity will be given a subordinate, or at least lower, status within the organization, which motivates dominant employees to engage in actions aimed at protecting the value of this identity and preventing future devaluation of their dominant social identity in the organization.

Leveraging this work, I argue that when dominant employees experience identity threat in response to a diversity initiative, this threat invokes a defensive response aimed at protecting the threatened identity and employees will be less likely to engage in opening identity tactics. As an example, Intel experienced attacks against their organization from employees after implementing diversity initiatives, and the CEO Brian Kaznich attributed these attacks to White male employees perceiving themselves as “under siege” and highlighted that these employees needed to change how they viewed the relationship of their dominant social identity to other marginalized social identity groups (e.g., women, African-Americans, Hispanics, etc.) (Rogoway, 2016). In this example, the dominant social identity threat, or White male employees’ reactions to Intel’s diversity initiatives, resulted in adverse reactions that can be explained by these employees’ lack of reflection about their dominant social identities. Thus, I predict that:

Hypothesis 1(H1): Dominant social identity threat in response to diversity initiatives is negatively related to dominant employees’ engagement in opening identity tactics.

Step 2: The Moderating Role of the Opening Identity Tactics Intervention

Here, I describe an intervention that will initiate opening identity tactics. Prior research shows that people can be primed to interpret possible identity threats as less relevant or meaningful for their own identity (Sherman, 2013; Elsbach 2003). Theories of identity threat management (e.g., Badea & Sherman, 2019; McGregor et al., 2008) have been applied to the workplace or the development of interventions aimed at strengthening and insulating the employees’ identity from being threatened. Namely, existing identity interventions have focused on affirming the value and importance of a potentially threatened identity. My intervention departs from prior research by focusing on ways of transforming the threatened social identity itself. The experimental intervention I describe is designed to stimulate the identity growth process posited by Helms (1990) whereby employees develop more positive understanding of

their dominant social identities through a continual process of questioning and self-reflection. When dominant employees are experiencing uncertainty about their identity after identity threat, this represents a pivotal time to enact changes in their identity as they will be more receptive to novel information. Helms' model (1990) highlights that dominant employees may be defensive and resistant when it comes to engaging in reflection. Employees may be defensive in situations when they feel that they lack the autonomy to independently interpret messages (Brehm, 1966). To address backlash against being asked to reflect on one's dominant social identity, I leverage theory from reactance to understand how my intervention can enable dominant employees to perceive autonomy throughout the intervention to develop their own understanding of their identity rather than having messaging imparted on them. Gebert and colleagues (2017) have acknowledged that creating an environment for autonomous open expression is an essential, yet often neglected, aspect of effective diversity education in organizations.

Helms' model of White racial identity development involves 6 stages: (1) contact, (2) disintegration, (3) reintegration, (4) pseudo-independence, (5) immersion/emersion, and (6) autonomy. Research on racial identity development suggests the development of marginalized racial identities (i.e., people of color) and dominant racial identities (i.e., White people) develop in progressing stages in order to manage and react to the racial hierarchies in society (Helms, 1990, 1995). In understanding dominant social identity growth, Helms' theory offers insight into how resistance and backlash towards newfound knowledge about diversity can, if supplemented with continual reflection about one's dominant identity, lead to breaking free from status-quo beliefs about dominant and marginalized social identities. In the first stage, White people endorse a colorblind perspective, in which they lack awareness of any differences between their racial identity and other racial identities. These beliefs can be challenged through *contact* with

information that forces racial differences to become salient, functioning as a trigger for the person to progress into the next stage, which Helms terms “disintegration.” In this second stage of *disintegration*, the employee experiences challenges to their colorblind perspective and must contend with possible feelings of guilt over the advantages afforded to their identity. They experience conflicting emotions about what they have been taught and their newfound knowledge that goes against these beliefs. To manage these emotions, the employee may channel these emotions into positive action or a need to eliminate this discomfort by justifying these differences, thus starting progression into the next stage of what Helms called “reintegration.”

The third stage of White racial identity development, the *reintegration* stage, marks defensive rationalization of the marginalization experienced by marginalized employees by affirming that White people are superior to other groups and thus are deserving of their advantages. If the person can question this defensive reasoning, then they can enter the next stage of Helms’ criteria, but otherwise they may continue to endorse status-quo validating explanations for inequalities in society (Helms, 1990). For people who enter the stage of *pseudo-independence*, this marks the beginning of a White racial identification that is not predicated on dominance over marginalized social identity groups. They question the privileges afforded to their identity and support the efforts of people of color to resist their marginalized position in society; however, the White person still views White identity as built on superiority to other identities and thus has difficulty balancing their new-found views with their racial identity. Finding reconciliation between their new perspectives and racial identity becomes the focus on the fifth stage, *immersion/emersion* where they attempt to resolve this tension by seeking knowledge from other White people who are anti-racist. Learning how to reconcile these identities lead to the final stage. In the sixth stage of *autonomy*, both support for racial equality and positive perceptions of

White identity become integrated within the person. When positive changes in the dominant social identity take place, dominant employees gain greater understanding for how dominant social identity groups contribute to inequalities and how they can be involved in challenging inequalities (Helms, 1990; O'Brien, 2001).

The intervention exercises I designed are intended to initiate participants into the White identity development stage of contact (Study 1) and the White identity development stage of autonomy (Study 2). Due the short-term nature of Study 1 (i.e., a single intervention in one setting), I focused on the stage of contact because it is meant to initiate awareness of one's racial identity and prior theory shows that White employees need to first have this awareness before they can advance to further stages in White Identity Development (Helms, 1990). In the contact stage, the dominant employee first becomes aware of inequalities and conscious of his or her identity. Dominant employees often view their identity as the unquestioned norm and thus can even find it threatening to reflect on what their dominant identity means, particularly its position of dominance within social hierarchies. Thus, it is important that the exercises enable White employees to begin thinking about Whiteness and what it means to them and the broader society context. Reports show many White people say that they have never thought about being White before because they often never experience feeling different and mainstream North American culture portrays their appearance and values as the unquestioned norm (Perry, 2001). Because White people often view their identity as the unquestioned norm, even engaging in thought about the meaning of their identity, particularly in relation to marginalized social identity groups, can broaden and open newfound understandings of their dominant social identity (Helms, 1997).

In addition to dominant social identity growth, my intervention is also informed by theory on psychological reactance. In understanding resistance to diversity initiatives, scholars have

highlighted a need for diversity training that allows exploration of one's beliefs rather than immediately criticizing and correcting beliefs of the trainees (Gebert et al., 2017). Indeed, a perceived loss of freedom and autonomy has been theorized as a key source of backlash against diversity initiatives as dominant social identity employees perceive threats to their identity (Brannon et al., 2018). According to reactance theory (Brehm & Brehm, 1966), employees are motivated to protect against threats to their autonomy and freedom. Because this theory illuminates how and why employees may resist changes to their thinking and choices, even if their pre-existing thoughts and decisions may be suboptimal when it comes to evaluating diversity, psychological reactance theory offers a novel mechanism for diversity resistance beyond predominant explanations of bias and prejudice. Indeed, according to this theory, employees without existing prejudice may resist certain diversity initiatives because they interpret these initiatives as a restriction on their ability to choose and personal freedom.

My intervention asks the participants to consider both the positive and negative aspects of the diversity initiative as a way of avoiding reactance. Scholars have noted that a lack of tolerance for undue influence is a major obstacle in the success of diversity training (Gebert et al., 2017). According to reactance theory, employees are motivated to see themselves as the determinant of their own decision-making and thus resist efforts from others to influence their thinking (Brehm & Brehm, 1966). When diversity training simply informs the dominant employees about how their pre-existing beliefs are incorrect and advises employees what they need to change about their beliefs and knowledge, this can serve as a source of the backlash against diversity training that causes an entrenchment in existing biases and prejudices (e.g., Dobbin & Kalev, 2016; Kaplan, 2006; Kidder et al., 2004). Examples of reactance from threatened independence include “calls to restore institutions back to spaces of free speech, and

even victim-blaming rhetoric in which members of marginalized groups are portrayed as too sensitive or whiny” (Brannon et al., 2018, p. 67; Shulevitz, 2015).

Particularly in North America, individual freedom and ability to choose according to preference is a keystone value (Brannon et al., 2018; Markus & Conner, 2013). These values become even more relevant for dominant employees because holding higher status within society is linked to a stronger resistance to external influences (Lee & Tiedens, 2001). Indeed, Brannon and colleagues (2018) attribute the motivation to avoid feeling “constrained or forced” as a significant source of backlash against diversity initiatives within organizations, highlighting a need for diversity training that addresses these concerns from dominant employees. According to reactance theory, even dominant employees without pre-existing prejudice can exhibit backlash against diversity initiatives because they feel undue influence and perceived limits to their autonomy. Simply being denied the ability to hold or express a belief is sufficient for reactance or increasing receptiveness to status-quo beliefs (Brehm et al., 1966).

Prior research shows that reactance can be mitigated by using messaging that encourages the message recipient to consider both the desired message and contrasting perspectives to the desired message. For example, reminding participants about alternative perspectives to the target message and that they have the autonomy to agree or disagree with a desired message renders desired messages more persuasive than one-sided messaging. Thus, in the opening identity tactics intervention for study 1 and the first week of the opening identity tactics intervention in Study 2, participants are asked to contemplate both the advantages and disadvantages linked to their racial identity. In doing so, this makes participants grow awareness of their racial identity, which facilitates the first White Identity Development Stage of *Contact* (Helms, 1990). Moreover, showing both the desired message (i.e., awareness of advantages linked to being

White) and the competing message (i.e., feeling disadvantaged for being White) can restore feelings of autonomy and render participants more receptive to further racial identity exploration (Richards et.al, 2020).

Beyond the above-mentioned mechanisms, there are further theoretical explanations for why my intervention will be effective in sparking engagement in opening identity tactics following threat. Introduction of my intervention occurs after the threatening stimulus is presented. Research on diversity initiatives shows that interventions must be implemented close to the experience of identity threat. Furthermore, prior work suggests identities can grow through questioning of one's identity after the experience of threat (Vough & Caza, 2017). The intervention not only addresses immediate reactions to identity threat, but it also initiates continued questioning of one's identity over the course of the intervention. Based on this prior work, I propose that after completing the opening identity tactics intervention, dominant employees will be more receptive to engaging in opening identity tactics where they feel able to develop their own understanding of their dominant social identity rather than having explicit messaging imparted to or "forced" upon them.

When people engage in deep reflection, this results in a more elaborate understanding of their dominant social identity and equips the dominant employee with knowledge to engage in action. In Chapter 2 where I conceptualize opening identity tactics, I posited that changes to the meanings about the dominant social identity represent a significant part of deep-level opening identity tactics. Through the opening identity tactics reflection, the dominant employees obtain a broader understanding about their dominant social identity and thus are better equipped to enact actions that signify opening identity tactics. In other words, the intervention better enables

dominant employees to use opening identity tactics in order to develop a more positive understanding of their dominant social identity. Drawing from these arguments, I predict:

Hypothesis 2 (H2): Dominant employees who complete an opening identity tactics intervention will engage in greater opening identity tactics in comparison to those in the control condition.

Step 3: Outcomes of Opening Identity Tactics

Although dominant social identity threat has been linked to negative consequences for marginalized social identity groups and I theorize that it predicts decreased opening identity tactics (H1), autonomous reflection can disarm “defensive rationalizations” that people develop in response to threatening information (Steele & Vandello, 2019). My intervention offers dominant employees the opportunity to consider both the benefits and drawbacks linked to their dominant social identity rather than simply focus on their privileges. When employees encounter information that they feel is trying to convince them of a particular message, they can develop attitudes and beliefs in the opposite direction in order to feel autonomy about their cognitions (Brehm & Brehm, 1980). I suggest that through increased engagement with opening identity tactics dominant employees become more likely to engage in valuing of diversity and organizational identification.

Valuing of Diversity. I propose that dominant social identity threat results in the threatened individual to reduce their interest in improving the opportunities and representation of marginalized social identity groups, which I refer to as a reduction in *valuing of diversity*. I define valuing of diversity as endorsing policies and initiatives aimed at improving the outcomes and demographic balance for marginalized employees in the organization (Chen & Hooijberg, 2001; Hekman et al., 2017). Valuing of diversity is based on viewing the advancement of

marginalized social identity groups as beneficial for the competitive advantage of the organization while holding it as a morally appropriate behaviour.

When dominant social identity threat is invoked by a diversity initiative, two major sources of this diversity backlash is that dominant employees see the initiative as violating moral standards and unfairly advantaging those with low competence in the organization. For White employees, these signify closing identity tactics that attempt to affirm values and opportunities linked to one's racial identity. First, because diversity initiatives are targeted at groups rather than individuals, those involved may view these programs as violating the meritocracy principle and hence as unfair (Bobocel et al., 1998; Leslie, 2019). Research shows that dominant employees view a wide array of diversity initiatives as unfair, such as diversity statements (Dover et al., 2016), preferential treatment (Heilman et al., 1998), and affirmative action (Shteynberg et al., 2011). Second, diversity initiatives can subtly suggest to dominant employees that marginalized employees require assistance to succeed or gain entrance in the organization (Leslie, 2019). Questioning the competence of marginalized social identity groups not only results in increased prejudice and discrimination against these groups. Employees tend to seek justification for inequalities rather than questioning them and thus the diversity initiatives can reflect stereotypes about lack of competence (Heilman et al., 1998; Phelan & Rudman, 2011). Due to a belief that one's outcomes within the organization are not distributed based on competence or fairness, I argue that when dominant employees experience dominant social identity threat toward a diversity initiative, they may grow to see members of marginalized social identity groups as less competent and question the moral legitimacy of the diversity initiative, thus leading these individuals to show reduced valuing of diversity.

Building on this work, I suggest that through engagement in the opening identity tactics intervention, dominant employees may experience changes in how they understand the morality of the diversity initiative and competence of marginalized social identity employees. Moral identity is defined as a “kind of self-regulatory mechanism that motivates moral action” (p.1423) and “a self-conception organized around a set of moral traits” (Aquino & Reed, 2002; p. 1424). A person’s moral identity is developed from traits such as honesty or compassion and steers the individual towards certain course of action in ethical situations. Thus, an intervention that makes dominant employees view the diversity initiative as morally justified and fitting with their (changing) moral identity ought to not only reduce backlash but increase support for the diversity initiative. Employees are motivated to align their actions with their internal values to maintain consistency (Harmon-Jones & Mills, 2019). That is, in leveraging the theory from Chapter 2 of my dissertation, opening identity tactics equips dominant employees with insight into the inequalities between their dominant social identity and marginalized social identities, aligning the diversity initiatives with their moral views and causing them to realize the barriers facing marginalized social identity employees.

Organizational Identification. When experiencing dominant social identity threat towards the diversity initiative, dominant employees are also likely to decrease their identification with the organization that implements this diversity initiative. Organizational identification is defined as a psychological process whereby individuals come to see themselves as part of a particular organization and identify with its goals and values (Edwards, 2005). Patchen (1970) outlines that organizational identification involves the following three components: (1) a sense of shared purpose and goals with other organizational members, (2) a feeling of belongingness to the organization, and (3) support of the organization's goals and

policies. Employees commonly decrease their organizational identification when they feel a lack of organizational support, or that the organization does not adequately value their contributions and wellbeing (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; van Dick et al., 2006).

When diversity initiatives produce dominant social identity threat in dominant social identity employees, I suggest that this threat can cause dominant employees to reduce their organizational identification. Indeed, there is extensive evidence that employees become less identified with organizations when they interpret their actions and values as conflicting with those of their organization (Edwards, 2005). Employees who perceive diversity as coming at the expense of their own identity experience decreased identification with their organization and become less willing to support colleagues with marginalized social identities (McDonald et al., 2018).

Dominant social identity threats cause dominant employees to question whether their dominant social identity will be given the same esteem and opportunities in the organization (Leslie, 2019). As such, because employees tend to desire a positive understanding of self, dominant social identity threat towards a diversity initiative is predicted to result in decreased organizational identification in order to limit the impact of the threat. By deriving less value and esteem through one's membership with the organization, dominant employees can proactively protect themselves against concerns that they will not be properly valued and treated by the organization. Employees tend to defensively disengage from domains where they anticipate poor performance in order to protect their self-esteem and well-being (Carroll et al., 2009; Oyserman et al., 2006). Because dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives makes dominant employees feel that they are being or will be victimized due to their dominant social identity, this concern causes these employees to decrease their identification with their

organization, and thus being less impacted by their successes (or lack thereof) and esteem within their organization.

I also argue that when dominant employees experience dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives, this spills over into their broader impressions of the organization and thus influences their identification with their organization. Through reflection about their dominant social identity in the intervention condition, I argue that the opening identity tactics intervention helps to counteract the negative effects of dominant social identity threats on organizational identification. Employees become identified with their organization in relation to how these organizations reflect their existing values and goals. Dominant employees show less organizational identification when they are threatened by their organization's diversity initiatives (McDonald et al., 2018) because they want to decrease the importance of a group membership that opposes understandings of their dominant social identity (Gonzalez, & Chakraborty, 2012; Pratt, 2001). Through engagement in the intervention, White employees become more likely to engage in opening identity tactics as a response to dominant social identity threat invoked by diversity initiatives. Theory from Chapter 2 of this dissertation highlights how reflection and seeking new knowledge about one's dominant social identity to manage a dominant social identity threat can result in changed understandings of one's dominant social identity. Thus, the intervention facilitates opening identity tactics that align the diversity initiative with one's values and goals, and employees demonstrate stronger organizational identification towards an organization that reflects their existing values and goals (Riketta, 2005).

Thus, I posit that opening identity tactics will explain the relationship between dominant social identity threat and the outcomes of valuing of diversity and organizational identification because the opening identity tactics intervention facilitates reflection about the dominant social

identity in ways that align the diversity initiative with one's dominant social identity. From these arguments I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 3 (H3): Opening identity tactics mediate the relation between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity (a) and organizational identification (b) in the intervention condition more so than the control condition).

Bridging together these arguments with the effects of the opening identity tactics intervention, I suggest that whether dominant social identity employees reflect about their dominant social identity after the experience of identity will be more influential on the outcomes linked to dominant social identity threat. Specifically, Employees with dominant social identities who complete the opening identity tactics intervention (vs. the control condition) will be more likely to engage in valuing of diversity and organizational identification, because this intervention leads dominant employees to respond with opening identity tactics after they experience dominant social identity threat towards a diversity initiative. Indeed, building on the theory of Chapter 2 from this dissertation, opening identity tactics can create responses to dominant social identity that focus on expansion rather than defensive action against the diversity initiative or marginalized social identity.

Initiating opening identity tactics can lead to further stages of identity development as people with dominant social identities shed prior ways of understanding the dominant social identity in favour of more positive understandings (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016) that do not rely on dominance over marginalized social identity groups (Helms, 1997). Employees are motivated to join groups in order to alleviate uncertainty about themselves (Hogg & Terry, 2000) and gain validation and self-esteem through membership in groups, particularly esteemed groups. Identities also fulfill the need of self-expansion, or improvement in abilities and knowledge, through incorporating the qualities of group members into one's self-perception

(Wright et al., 2002). Identity development refers to progression towards a higher state of identity development and ideal form of the identity (e.g., not reliant on dominance over other identities) (Dutton et al., 2010; Helms, 1990), whereas negative identity change is a decline towards a lower state of identity development and endorsing suboptimal forms of the identity (e.g., highlighting the superiority of one's identity over other identities). White employees who have reached the autonomy stage of White Identity Development (Helms, 1990) have internalized a positive white racial identity and are actively anti-racist in their own sphere of influence. They understand that racism is a system of oppression that benefits white people, even if they do not personally experience discrimination or feel like they are racist themselves. They also value true diversity and difference, recognizing that everyone has their own unique cultural background and experiences (Helms, 1990). White employees who have the autonomy stage of White Identity Stage of Development can have difficult conversations about race without getting defensive or feeling like they are being attacked. They are open to feedback from colleagues of color and understand that there is always more to learn about race and racism.

Changes to one's identity may render certain identities incompatible and thus motivate action to distance from one of the conflicting identities. Decreases in organizational identification occur when employees separate their identity from the organizational identity in order to protect and maintain a positive and coherent personal identity (Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001). Changes to identity can increase perceived discrepancy between one's identity and the beliefs or practices of one's organization, which is linked to decreased organizational identification (McDonald et al., 2018). Leveraging these insights, I propose the following:

Hypothesis 4 (H4): For dominant employees who complete the opening identity tactics intervention (rather than the control), the intervention mitigates the negative effect of dominant social identity threat identity towards diversity initiatives on (a) valuing of

diversity and (b) organizational identification, which is mediated first by opening identity tactics and second by identity development stage of autonomy.

Chapter 5: Pilot Testing of Diversity Memo and Opening Identity Tactics Intervention

In Chapter 5 I describe the pilot testing I completed before conducting Study 1, an experiment (which I report on in Chapter 6), and Study 2, a longitudinal study (which I report on in Chapter 7). I conducted the pilot tests to ensure that (1) the diversity initiative memo (that I use in Study 1) would produce dominant social identity threat, and (2) determine which opening identity exercises would best facilitate opening identity tactics (in Study 1 and Study 2). First, I tested if the diversity initiative memo would result in significantly higher identity threat than a memo about keeping a clean campus (control condition). Second, I tested five different sets of opening identity tactics exercises to determine the appropriate opening identity tactics intervention. Specifically, I examined whether these exercises would result in opening identity tactics after reading an organization's diversity initiative memo.

Pilot Study 1: Diversity Initiative Manipulation

A memo outlining a series of diversity initiatives was used in the Study 1 experimental study. In this pilot test, I assess the degree to which the memo produces identity threat.

Participants

In a separate sample from the scale validation (Chapter 3), I recruited 49 White American participants via Amazon's Mechanical Turkprime and paid them \$1.50 for participating. Participants reported only identifying as either a woman (46%) or a man (54%). All participants identified as White and reported full-time employment (working 35 hours or more per week) with a mean age of 43 years. ($SD = 13.16$).

Procedure

Participants were told that this study was about evaluations of organizations. As part of this study, they would read about different memos sent out by these organizations (see Appendix

1 and 2 for the full memos). Participants were randomly assigned to read a memo about the upcoming initiatives from an organization, the diversity initiatives condition and the control condition. The diversity initiatives manipulation described a diversity initiative for Black and Indigenous students at a Canadian business school, and the control condition described a memo unrelated to diversity or identity and instead was about establishing initiatives for a clean campus. In the diversity initiative manipulation, participants read about a series of initiatives aimed at addressing the underrepresentation and disadvantages facing Black and Indigenous students. Prior research has shown that these messages produce identity threat in dominant social identity employees, who become concerned about being disadvantaged for their dominant social identity and treated unfairly by the organization (Dover et al., 2016). Although I focused on White participants responses and attitudes towards Black people in Study 1 (Chapter 6) and 2 (Chapter 7), this memo was worded to address concerns about Anti-Black and Anti-Indigenous racism to reflect existing diversity policies from Canadian business schools and government. For example, in the wake of George Floyd's murder in 2020, several Canadian business schools, including York University, Queens University, University of British Columbia, and University of Toronto, developed scholarships and other funds to simultaneously address Anti-Black and Anti-Indigenous racism (Saddleton, 2022; Smith School of Business, 2022; U of T's School of Cities, n.d.; Zwick, 2020). In the control condition, participants read about a series of initiatives intended to address littering on campus and improve the overall appearance of the university campus. After viewing one of the memos, participants completed a measure of identity threat along with basic demographics.

Measures

Dominant Social Identity Threat. I adapted a heterosexual identity threat scale (Lyons et al., 2020) to dominant social identity threat regarding race. Examples of these items include ‘The organization’s new initiative makes me uncomfortable about being who I am ’and ‘My racial identity is incompatible with this organization’s new initiative’. The identity threat scale has five items ($\alpha = .95$). Items measured on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree; 5 = Strongly Agree).

Results and Discussion

To examine the effect of the memo conditions on identity threat I conducted a one-way ANOVA that assessed the differences in identity threat between participants in the diversity initiative and the control condition. The means of the two conditions were significantly different, $F(1, 48) = 11.05, p = .01$. Participants in the diversity initiative condition ($M = 2.53, SD = 1.14$) reported significantly higher identity threat than participants in the control condition ($M = 1.59, SD = .83$), $p = .02$. Thus, this pilot study offered evidence that the manipulation materials for the experimental study work as intended.

Pilot Study 2: Opening Identity Tactics Intervention

An intervention designed to stimulate opening identity tactics was used in Study 1 (I report on Study 2 in Chapter 6). This also determined the Week 1 Exercise for Study 2 (I report on Study 2 in Chapter 7). In this pilot test, I assess the degree to which five different opening identity tactics exercises, drawing from Helm’s (1990) stage of contact from White Identity Development, resulted in opening identity tactics. As reviewed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, this exercise was intended to initiate reflection about one’s dominant social identity (Helm’s

1990) while avoiding strongly messaging towards only one desired message (Brehm, 1966). See the Appendix 3 for a full description of the exercises.

Participants

118 White American participants from Mechanical Turk completed one of the five pilot exercises or the control exercise (six exercises in total) listed in the Appendix. Participants reported identifying as a woman (51%) a man (48%), or gender-fluid (1%). All participants identified as White and reported full-time employment (working 35 hours or more per week) with a mean age of 42.8 years. ($SD = 11.90$).

Procedure

Leveraging Helm's theory on White Identity Development (1990), each exercise was worded to encourage participants to think about their racial identity and contemplate on how it has influenced them to stimulate reflection about their racial identity. Participants read the memo about upcoming initiatives intended to address anti-Black and Indigenous racism from the Pilot Study 1 (see Appendix 2). Afterwards, participants were randomly assigned to complete one of the six exercises. Finally, participants completed a measure of opening identity tactics.

Measure

Opening identity tactics. Examples of opening items are "I will think about the history of my race and how it has impacted other racial groups" and "I will be open to information that may change how I see my racial identity." This scale has five items ($\alpha = 0.95$).

Results and Discussion

To investigate the effect of each exercise on opening identity tactics, I conducted a one-way ANOVA that assessed differences between the six conditions. An attention check was

included that asked participants to correctly identify whether the diversity memo targeted Black and Indigenous students, COVID-19, or international students. As a result of failing the attention check, I removed 15 participants from the analysis. The one-way ANOVA approached significance, $F(5, 97) = 2.90, p = .08$. A post-hoc side test revealed that participants in the Control Condition ($M = 2.55, SD = 1.31$) were significantly lower on opening identity tactics than participants in Exercise 1 ($M = 3.61, SD = .82, p = .038$) and Exercise 4 ($M = 3.73, SD = 1.24, p = .031$).

Because Exercise 4 had a more balanced integration of both Helm's (199) theory and reactance theory (Brehm & Brehm, 1980), I choose to proceed with using Exercise 4 in Study 1 and Study 2, which I report on in Chapter 6 and 7 respectively. I believe that Exercise 4 was effective in initiating opening identity tactics because it strongly affirmed participant's autonomy by directly asking them to consider the advantages and disadvantages linked to their racial identity. In contrast, the other exercises asked open-ended questions that may have only addressed the White Identity Development Stage of contact without fully disarming reactance against these exercises. To increase agreement with an intended belief, research on preempting reactance shows that individuals are more likely to adopt a belief when exposed to messaging supporting and going against the belief. Exposure to both perspectives helps affirm feelings of autonomy and thus makes them more receptive towards the desired message. For Exercise 4, participants can contemplate the benefits and drawbacks associated with their racial identity before reflecting on the possible benefits of exploring their racial identity, which helped affirm feelings about their autonomy regarding the exercise and led them to be more inclined towards engaging in opening identity tactics. Moreover, this exercise simultaneously still enabled participants to reflect on their racial identity by considering both the opportunities and possible

disadvantages linked to their racial identity. This exercise fits with Helms' (1990) first stage of contact that signifies members of dominant social identity groups are becoming aware of their racial identity.

Chapter 6: Study 1

Study 1 is an experimental study that focuses on how White participants respond with dominant social identity threat and opening identity tactics to reading about an organizational diversity initiative. This study tests Hypotheses 1-3 that I reported on in Chapter 4 by (1) examining the relationship between dominant social identity threat and opening identity tactics, (2) the effect of an opening identity tactics intervention (versus the control condition) on opening identity tactics, and (3) the opening identity tactics intervention (versus the control) strengthens the mechanism of opening identity tactics between the association of dominant social identity threat and the outcomes of (a) valuing of diversity and (b) organizational identification.

In Study 1, Mechanical Turk prime participants read a transcript about an organization highlighting its diversity initiatives and the importance of diversity and inclusion as a central value to the organization. I describe the pilot test for the diversity initiative memo manipulation in Chapter 5. After viewing the diversity initiative memo, participants completed a measure of dominant social identity threat. Then, participants randomly assigned to the intervention condition were asked to write an open-ended description about how they felt about the organization, complete a measure of opening and closing identity tactics, and partake in exercises designed to promote opening identity tactics about their identity or the control condition exercises. I describe the pilot test for the opening identity tactics intervention in Chapter 5. Participants assigned to the control condition simply provide answered questions that asked them to reflect on their professional experiences. After completion of the intervention or control condition, all participants completed a measure of opening and closing identity tactics (see Chapter 3 for scale development), valuing of diversity, and organizational identification. See Appendix 4 and 5 for a list of the intervention and control exercises.

Participants

Participants were comprised of 293 White American Mechanical Turk respondents that participated in the study for \$2.50. Four participants were removed for failing to correctly identify that they read a memo about addressing anti-Black and anti-Indigenous racism. Forty-three participants were removed for failing one or more the three attention checks (e.g., “For this item, please respond by answering unlikely”). The sample consisted of 47% men and 53% women, and all participants identified as White. The average age was 42.21 years ($SD = 11.77$). Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions (0 = opening identity tactics condition, 1 = control condition). A-priori power analysis using G*Power showed that this final sample size can detect significant differences between the control and experimental condition with 95% power.

Procedure

The experiment began with a preamble that the Akan School of Business (hypothetical organization) is trying out different recruitment materials, and the participants were asked to evaluate and respond to the diversity initiative from the organization (see Appendix 2 for full transcript of the memo). Immediately after viewing the memo, participants were asked to complete a measure of dominant social identity threat. Participants were then randomly assigned to one of two conditions. In the control condition, participants were asked a series of questions about their past work experiences. See Appendix 4 and 5 for a list of the opening identity intervention and control exercises. In the opening identity tactics intervention condition, participants were asked a series of questions about their racial identity and the possible benefits

of racial identity exploration. As I note in Chapter 5, the intervention was designed to stimulate opening identity tactics through asking them to reflect on alternative perspective about their identity, thinking about the privileges and disadvantages of their racial identity. Refer to the Appendix 4 and 5 for the opening identity intervention and control condition exercises. Participants then completed measures of opening and closing identity tactics, valuing of diversity, organizational identification, and demographic information.

Measures

All items used a 5-point Likert scale anchored on 1 = Strongly Disagree and 5 = Strongly Agree unless otherwise indicated. All measures are included in Appendix 8.

Independent Measures

Dominant Social Identity Threat. Similar to Pilot Study 1 in Chapter 5, I adapted a heterosexual identity threat scale (Lyons et al., 2020) to White social identity threat. Examples of these items include ‘My identity is incompatible with this organization’s new policy ’and ‘This organization makes me feel uncomfortable about my identity’. The identity threat scale has five items ($\alpha = .91$).

Mediators

Closing Identity Tactics. I developed a measure of closing and opening identity tactics (see Chapter 3). Examples of closing items include “I will focus on the accomplishments and successes of members of my racial group” and “I will think about the benefits of being a member of my racial group”. This scale has eight items ($\alpha = .95$).

Opening Identity Tactics. Examples of opening items are "I will think about the history of my race and how it has impacted other racial groups" and "I will be open to information that may change how I see my racial identity." This scale has five items ($\alpha = .86$).

Outcome Measures

Valuing of Diversity. I adapted Chen and Hooijberg's (2000) measure of support for valuing diversity. Example items include, "More companies with a diverse workforce should implement diversity programs" and "More companies with a diverse workforce should implement diversity programs like this organization". This scale has five items ($\alpha = .95$).

Organizational Identification. The organizational identification scale measures the degree of pride that individuals feel as members of an organization (Mael & Ashforth, 1992). I adapted this scale to ask participants to anticipate their identification as an employee of the organization described in the diversity initiative memo. Examples of these items include "This organization's successes would be my successes" and "If someone praised this organization, it would feel like a personal compliment". The organizational identification measure has six items ($\alpha = .89$).

Controls

Conservatism. A large body of work has found that political conservatism affects endorsement of diversity initiatives (e.g., Briscoe & Joshi, 2017; Harrison et al., 2006). Political conservatism is a belief system that focuses on maintaining the status quo via opposing change and equality (Jost et al., 2003). Political conservatism increases the likelihood of people interpreting diversity as threatening (McCann, 2009) and increases intolerance of uncertainty and ambiguity (Jost et al., 2003). Moreover, conservatism is negatively linked to exploration of novel stimuli in learning stimulations, suggesting that conservatism may also predict decreased engagement in opening identity tactics in response to the intervention (Shook & Fazio, 2009). Thus, I control for political conservatism using the conservatism subscale of a political ideology (Choma et al., 2009). Examples of items include 'How conservative do you tend to be when it

comes to economic policy? ’and ‘How conservative do you tend to be when it comes to social policy?’ The conservatism sub-scale consists of three items ($\alpha = .86$).

Study 1: Results

In order to test Hypothesis 1, I performed a multiple regression with dominant social identity threat as the independent variable with the outcome of opening identity tactics. To test Hypothesis 2, I used an ANCOVA to analyze the group differences between the opening identity tactics intervention and control condition. I conducted a regression analysis to test the association between dominant social identity threat and opening identity tactics. Next, I examined the effect of the opening identity tactics intervention (versus control) on engagement in opening identity tactics. Finally, I tested Hypothesis 3 or the mediated effect of opening identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity towards diversity initiatives in the opening identity tactics intervention condition (versus the control). Means, standard deviation and correlations between Study 1 variables are in Table 4.

Test of Assumptions

I checked the assumptions of regression in the data. First, I examined the assumption of linearity between the independent and dependent variables with the variables of dominant social identity threat and opening identity tactics on valuing of diversity and organizational identification. My examination of the scatterplot offered support for a linear relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variables (See Figure 5). Second, my analysis of collinearity statistics supported a lack of multicollinearity in the data as the VIF scores for dominant social identity threat and opening were below 3 (VIF = 1.03 and 1.05 respectively). The VIF Scores for all Study 1 variables on the outcomes of valuing of diversity or organizational identification were below 3. Third, when I ran the Anderson-Darling test, it

showed significant values for the Study 1 ($p < .001$), suggesting that the assumptions of normally distributed residuals may have been violated. However, examination of the plot does not suggest extreme departures from normality, and Williams and colleagues (2013) show that the normality of residuals is not needed if other criteria are met, arguing regression is robust to violations of this assumption.

Next, I checked the assumptions of ANCOVA before I ran the analysis for Hypothesis 2. First, I ensured that the condition and control variable was independent. A one-way ANOVA showed that conservatism did not differ between the two conditions, $F(1,244) = 4.80, p = .75$. Second, I checked whether there were significant differences in the variance of opening identity tactics concerning the two conditions. The non-significant Levene's test did not indicate a violation of the homogeneity of variance ($F = .04, p = .83$). Finally, I checked the assumption of homogeneity of regression slopes through testing an interaction between conservatism and opening identity tactics. Because this ANOVA was not significant, I did not violate the assumption of homogeneity of regression slopes, $F(1,242) = .43, p = .51$.

Hypotheses Tests

Hypothesis 1 predicted that dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives would be negatively related to opening identity tactics. To assess the relationship between dominant social identity threat and opening identity tactics, I first performed a multiple regression with the controls of gender and conservatism using the "lm" function in R. Supporting H1, dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives was negatively related to opening identity tactics ($\beta = -.19, p = .018$). This effect remained significant with and without controls. See Table 4 for the multiple regression table.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that the opening identity tactics intervention would produce greater opening identity tactics in comparison to the control condition. To investigate the effect of the opening identity tactics intervention on engagement in opening identity tactics, I conducted a one-way ANCOVA that assessed differences in opening identity tactics between the opening identity tactics intervention condition and the control condition while controlling for conservatism and gender using SPSS. In line with H2, there was a significant effect of condition on opening identity tactics after controlling for the effects of gender and conservatism, $F(1,240) = 5.14, p = .02$. Participants in the opening identity tactics condition reported significantly higher opening identity tactics ($M = 3.06, SD = 1.18$) than participants in the control condition ($M = 2.74, SD = 1.13$). The covariate of gender was not significantly related to opening identity tactics ($p = .70$) and neither was the other covariate of conservatism significantly associated with opening identity tactics ($p = .27$). I ran an ANOVA without the control variables and the effect of condition on opening identity tactics remained significant.

Hypothesis 3a predicted that the moderated-mediated effect of opening identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity for participants in the intervention versus the control condition. To assess my hypothesis about the mediated effect of opening identity tactics in the intervention (versus the control), I performed two separate mediation analyses on the intervention condition and control condition while controlling for conservatism and gender. Although I later analyzed the combined model, I first separated the analysis by condition to allow observation of different associations between conditions. I performed the analysis using the “robmed” package in R with 5000-bootstrapped samples run using a 95% confidence interval. For the intervention condition, there was a significant conditional indirect effect of opening identity tactics between dominant social identity threat and

valuing of diversity (conditional indirect effect = $-.09$, 95% CI $[-.21, -.02]$) (See Figure 5a).

Whereas in the control condition, the conditional indirect of opening identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity contained zero and was thus not significant (conditional indirect effect = $-.01$, 95% CI $[-.06, .02]$) (See Figure 5b). This suggests that opening identity tactics mediate the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity, but this effect only extends to the intervention condition and not the control condition.

When I ran the analysis with both condition and control, the index of moderated mediation $[-.01$ (95% C.I = $-.04; .06$)] was not statistically significant. I also ran moderated-mediation analyses using Hayes's (2017) PROCESS Model 8 with condition as a moderator of the association between dominant social identity threat and opening identity tactics. Results showed that for participants in the intervention condition, opening identity tactics did not significantly mediate the negative effect of identity threat on valuing of diversity (conditional indirect effect = $-.03$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[-.07, .01]$). Similarly, the mediation was not significant for participants in the control condition (conditional indirect effect = $-.04$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[-.08, .01]$).

However, these results offer a preliminary sign that White participants can react to dominant social identity threat with valuing of diversity when they engage in opening identity tactics after completing the opening identity tactics intervention. In contrast, opening identity tactics did not appear to affect the relationship between dominant social identity and valuing of diversity for White participants in the control condition.

The direct effect of opening identity tactics on valuing of diversity differed between the intervention and control condition. For the intervention condition, opening identity tactics was a

significant predictor of valuing of diversity ($\beta = .22$; $SE = .21$; $p = .001$), but this effect did not hold for the control condition ($\beta = .02$; $SE = .03$; $p = .74$).

Hypothesis 3b predicted that the mediated effect of opening identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification would be stronger in the opening identity tactics intervention than the control condition. Similar to my analysis for H3a, I ran two mediation analyses to compare the mediation effects between the intervention and control condition with conservatism and gender as controls. In the intervention condition, the confidence interval for conditional indirect effect of opening identity tactics between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification did not contain zero and thus was significant (conditional indirect effect = $-.19$, 95% CI $[-.49, -.04]$) (See Figure 6a). In the control condition, the conditional indirect effect of opening identity tactics for the association between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification was significant because the confidence interval did not contain zero (conditional indirect effect = $-.03$, 95% CI $[-.12, -.01]$) (See Figure 6b).

When I ran the analysis for the condition and control in one analysis, the index of moderated mediation $[.01$ (95% C.I = $-.06$; $.08$)] was not statistically significant. I also ran moderated-mediation analyses using Hayes's (2017) PROCESS Model 8 with condition as a moderator of the association between dominant social identity threat and opening identity tactics. Results showed that for participants in the intervention condition, opening identity tactics did not significantly mediate the negative effect of identity threat on organizational identification (conditional indirect effect = $-.05$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI $[-.15, .01]$). Similarly, the mediation was not significant for participants in the control condition (conditional indirect effect = $-.06$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI $[-.11, .01]$).

Yet these results provide a preliminary indication that White participants can react to dominant social identity threat with organizational identification when they engage in opening identity tactics after completing the opening identity tactics intervention. By contrast, opening identity tactics did not appear to affect the relationship between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification for White participants in the control condition.

The direct effect of opening identity tactics on organizational identification differed between the intervention and control condition. For the intervention condition, opening identity tactics was a significant predictor of organizational identification ($\beta = .47$; $SE = .10$; $p = .002$), but this effect did not hold for the control condition ($\beta = .18$; $SE = .10$; $p = .08$).

Supplemental Analyses

I also examined whether the control variables (i.e., conservatism and gender) differed across conditions. It was possible that members of different gender identities or who hold conservative values may have been differently impacted by the intervention versus the control condition. There was a significant direct effect for conservatism on valuing of diversity for the control condition ($\beta = -.12$; $SE = .06$; $p = .04$), but this direct effect became non-significant in the intervention condition ($\beta = -.09$; $SE = .08$; $p = .42$). Although this was not part of my hypotheses, this suggests that the intervention may mitigate the negative association between conservatism and attitudes towards diversity initiatives. There was no direct effect for conservatism on organizational identification in both the control condition ($\beta = .07$; $SE = .08$; $p = .38$) and intervention condition ($\beta = -.07$; $SE = .10$; $p = .42$). In other words, conservatism did not predict organizational identification in neither the control nor intervention condition.

With regards to gender, results did not show a direct effect for valuing of diversity in either the control condition ($\beta = -.20$; $p = .16$) or intervention condition ($\beta = .06$; $p = .60$). No direct

effect for gender on the outcomes of organizational identification was found in the control condition ($\beta = -.04$; $p = .78$) or intervention condition ($\beta = -.17$; $p = .25$). This suggests that women were not more or less influence by the intervention condition (versus the control condition) than men.

In addition, I also examined the moderated effect of gender and conservatism on the moderated-mediated effect of identity threat via opening identity tactics on the outcomes of valuing of diversity and organizational identification.

Moderated effect of gender. Using Hayes's (2017) PROCESS Model 8, I performed a moderated-mediation to analyze the effect of gender on the association between dominant social identity threat on valuing diversity via opening identity tactics. Specifically, gender moderated the relationship between dominant social identity threat and opening identity tactics in the model. Results showed that opening identity tactics significantly mediated the effect of identity threat on valuing of diversity for male participants (conditional indirect effect = $-.04$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI [$-.08$, $.01$]) but this was not significant for female participants (conditional indirect effect = $-.02$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI [$-.05$, $.01$]). The index of moderated mediation [-0.02 (95% C.I = $-.07$; $.02$)] was not statistically significant.

Then, I performed a moderated-mediation to examine the effect of gender on the association between identity threat on organizational identification via opening identity tactics with Hayes's (2017) PROCESS Model 8. Specifically, gender moderated the relationship between dominant social identity threat and opening identity tactics in the model. Results showed that opening identity tactics significantly mediated the effect of identity threat on organizational identification for male participants (conditional indirect effect = $-.07$, $SE = .03$, 95% CI [$-.15$, $-.01$]) but this was not significant for female participants (conditional indirect

effect = $-.03$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[-.09, .03]$). The index of moderated mediation $[-.05$ (95% C.I = $-.14; .03$)] was not statistically significant. However, these findings offers preliminary evidence for gender differences in the effect of identity threat on valuing diversity and organizational identification via opening identity tactics.

Moderated effect of conservatism. Using Hayes's (2017) PROCESS Model 8, I conducted a moderated-mediation to analyze the effect of conservatism on the association between identity threat on valuing diversity via opening identity tactics. Specifically, conservatism moderated the relationship between dominant social identity threat and opening identity tactics in the model. Results showed that opening identity tactics did not significantly mediate the effect of identity threat on organizational identification for low conservatism (conditional indirect effect = $-.01$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[-.05, .3]$) but this was significant for high conservatism (conditional indirect effect = $-.03$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[-.08, -.01]$). The index of moderated mediation $[-.01$ (95% C.I = $-.03; .01$)] was not statistically significant.

Then, I performed a moderated-mediation to examine the effect of conservatism on the association between dominant social identity threat on organizational identification via opening identity tactics. Specifically, conservatism moderated the relationship between dominant social identity threat and opening identity tactics in the model. Results showed that opening identity tactics did not significantly mediate the effect of identity threat on organizational identification for low conservatism (conditional indirect effect = $-.01$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[-.04, .03]$) but this was significant for high conservatism (conditional indirect effect = $-.03$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[-.08, .01]$). The index of moderated mediation $[-.01$ (95% C.I = $-.03; .01$)] was not statistically significant. However, these findings offer preliminary evidence for the role of conservatism in

the effect of identity threat on valuing diversity and organizational identification via opening identity tactics.

Furthermore, I tested Hypotheses 1-3 with closing identity tactics in place of opening identity tactics. To assess the relationship between dominant social identity threat and closing identity tactics, I performed a multiple regression with the controls of gender and conservatism using the “lm” function in R. Dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives was not significantly related to closing identity tactics ($\beta = -.11, p = .051$).

Then, I examined the effect of the opening identity tactics intervention on engagement in closing identity tactics. I performed a one-way ANCOVA that assessed differences in closing identity tactics between the opening identity tactics condition and the control condition while controlling for conservatism and gender using the “car” package in R. There was a non-significant effect of condition on closing identity tactics after controlling for the effects of gender and conservatism, $F(1,242) = .92, p = .33$. The covariate of gender was not significantly related to closing identity tactics ($p = .43$) and the other covariate of conservatism was also not significantly associated with closing identity tactics ($p = .48$).

To assess the moderated-mediated effect of closing identity tactics in the intervention (versus the control), I performed two separate mediation analyses on the intervention condition and control condition while controlling for conservatism and gender. I performed the analysis using the “robmed” package in R with 5000 bootstrapped samples and a 95% confidence interval. For the intervention condition, the conditional indirect effect of closing identity tactics between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity was non-significant (conditional indirect effect = $-.04$, 95% CI $[-.15, .01]$). Similarly, in the control condition, the conditional indirect of opening identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity threat

and valuing of diversity contained zero and was thus not significant (conditional indirect effect = $-.04$, 95% CI $[-.19, .03]$). The moderated-mediated model was not supported with the index of moderated-mediation = $.01$ (95% C.I = $-.05; .10$).

Finally, I assessed the moderated-mediated effect of closing identity tactics in the intervention (rather than control) on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification while controlling for conservatism and gender. In the intervention condition, the confidence interval for conditional indirect effect of closing identity tactics between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification contained zero and thus was non-significant (conditional indirect effect = $-.09$, 95% CI $[-.26, .04]$). In the control condition, the conditional indirect effect of closing identity tactics for the association between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification was not significant because the confidence interval contained zero (conditional indirect effect = $-.02$, 95% CI $[-.08, -.15]$). The moderated-mediated model was not supported with the index of moderated-mediation = $-.02$, 95% CI $[-.08, -.15]$.

Study 1 Discussion

In Study 1, I found evidence that dominant social identity threat is significantly and negatively related to opening identity tactics, and I also found support for the manipulation of opening identity tactics through my opening identity tactics intervention. In line with my hypotheses, opening identity tactics significantly mediated the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity for White participants in the opening identity tactics intervention rather than the control condition. Similarly, opening identity tactics mediated the association between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification in the intervention condition, but not the control condition. Together, these findings suggest that

opening identity tactics are a significant mechanism for understanding responses to dominant social identity threat, particularly when participants continue to reflect about their dominant social identity after the threat.

However, a limitation of Study 1 was that I measured responses to the diversity initiative of a hypothetical organization, and results may not generalize to how employees respond to diversity initiatives from their existing employers. Researchers have suggested studies with greater ecological validity can overcome some of the limitations of laboratory experiments (Osborne-Crowley, 2020). To consider this possibility, in Study 2 I will examine how White employees of organizations with existing diversity initiatives experience and respond to an opening identity tactics intervention. Furthermore, Study 1 only addressed the “contact,” or the early stages of Helms’ (1990) model of dominant social identity development, and I am interested in if a stronger effect may be observed through an opening identity tactics intervention that addresses the most advanced stage of Helms’ model. To offer a more in-depth investigation into the effects of an opening identity tactics intervention, in Study 2 I sought to not only investigate the influence of a six-week long opening identity tactics interventions, but I also sought to examine autonomy, the highest stage of White racial identity development from Helm’s model. Specifically, I examine how the six-week long opening identity tactics intervention can result in in valuing of diversity and organizational identification via the mechanisms of opening identity tactics and the White identity stage of autonomy.

Chapter 7: Study 2

In Study 2 I sought to investigate the link between the opening identity tactics intervention, engagement in opening identity tactics, and identity development on the outcomes of valuing of diversity and organizational identification. Although Study 1 provides initial internal validity evidence for the link between opening and valuing of diversity, Study 2 offers external and ecological validity evidence through examining the effects of an opening identity tactics intervention for how dominant social identity employees respond to existing diversity initiatives from their employer. As a test of Hypothesis 4a (that I proposed in Chapter 4), I consider how reflection about one's dominant social identity can explain differences in the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity via the mechanisms of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White identity development (Helms, 1990). Similarly, I test Hypothesis 4b by examining differences in the opening identity tactics condition (i.e., reflection about dominant social identity) versus the control condition (i.e., reflection about professional identity) in the relationship between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification through the paths of opening identity stage and the autonomy stage of White identity development.

In Study 2, I consider the influence of an opening identity tactics intervention (versus control condition) for reducing the negative impacts of dominant social identity threat towards organizational diversity initiatives on outcomes. Specifically, I investigate whether completion of weekly exercises that progressively ask reflection about one's dominant social identity (i.e., opening identity tactics intervention) compared to exercises that ask contemplation about one's professional identity (i.e., control condition) can make members of dominant social identity groups become more inclined to use opening identity tactics to manage their dominant social

identity threat towards their organization's diversity initiatives, which leads to the White racial identity development stage of autonomy and thus results in valuing of diversity and organizational identification (Hypothesis 4a and 4b).

I conducted an experiment with employees of organizations with existing diversity initiatives. The intended intervention (see Chapter 5 for full description) is based on Helms's theory (1997) of dominant social identity development and involved weekly exercises that progressively address the development of a dominant social identity into one that supports diversity (e.g., moving from justification of one's advantages to supporting other group's efforts towards equality).

Participating employees were randomly assigned to either the intervention or control condition. Employees in both conditions completed baseline demographic measures, dominant social identity threat towards their organization's existing diversity initiatives, and conservatism. Baseline data was collected two weeks prior to the intervention or control treatment. In the intervention condition, employees were given a series of weekly exercises over six weeks. The intervention encourages employees to engage in opening identity tactics that stimulate action towards questioning present understandings of their identity to manage their feelings about the diversity initiative. See Appendix 6 and 7 for a description of the intervention and control exercises. Although prior interventions have often focused on reducing uncertainty through self-affirmation (Cohen & Sherman, 2014), it is important to note that my intervention may *initially* stimulate further uncertainty to trigger changes in the meaning of the employee's identity, particularly in relationship to marginalized social identities. In the control condition, employees completed weekly exercises on past workplace experiences and reflected on their professional identity. When participants completed the exercises, they were given a follow-up

survey after two weeks. In the two-week follow-up survey, participants completed measures opening identity tactics, closing identity tactics, the autonomy stage of White racial identity development, valuing of diversity, and organizational identification.

Participants

All participants were recruited from the survey panel Prolific, which is a crowdsourcing data-acquisition platform that allowed me to source panel participants with specific demographic characteristics. Participants were full-time employees at various organizations. Similar to Study 1, all participants were White. First, 1589 participants completed a brief prescreen that asked them two questions: (1) whether they organization had diversity initiatives and (2) to describe these initiatives if they answered yes to the first questions. Results revealed 59.4 % of participants reported diversity initiatives in their organization and 40.6% participants did not report any diversity initiatives in their organization. After filtering out participants who failed to elaborate on their organization's diversity initiatives or did not report a specific diversity initiative (e.g., "my workplace treats everyone the same"), 486 participants were invited to complete the six-week intervention study.

422 participants completed a baseline survey that measured their attitudes towards existing diversity initiatives in their organization and dominant social identity threat towards these initiatives. All participants reported full-time employment with an average age of 39.36 ($SD = 11.21$). The sample consisted of 59% men and 31% women. 182 participants completed the post-intervention survey that was sent two weeks after completion of the six weeks of exercises. The final sample of participants who completed the post-intervention survey consisted of 61% men and 39% women. The average age of the final sample was 39.98 ($SD = 11.54$).

Participants reported a diverse array of diversity initiatives in their organization including diversity training (36%); diversity working groups and offices (24%); equal opportunity hiring, promotion, and pay (31%). Forms of diversity training included online courses, monthly speaker series about diversity, and emails about diversity-related topics. The diversity working groups and offices included volunteer groups, employee resource groups (ERGS) for marginalized social identity employees, a chief of diversity in the organization, and diversity committees. In terms of offering equal opportunity regarding hiring, pay, and promotion, participants reported targeted recruitment, recruiting from diverse sources, hiring quotas for marginalized social identity employees, additional resources for the promotion of marginalized social identity employees, and tracking pay gaps between dominant and marginalized social identity employees.

Participation Rates Across Condition and Exercise

A total of 294 participants completed the first weekly exercise in the intervention (n =151) and control condition (n = 143). In the second weekly exercise, 141 participants completed the intervention exercise (7% attrition rate) and 133 participants completed the control exercise (7% attrition rate). For the third weekly exercise, 122 participants completed the intervention exercise (13% attrition rate) and 117 participants completed the control exercise (13% attrition rate). In the following fourth week, 107 participants completed the intervention exercise (12% attrition rate) and 111 participants completed the control exercise (5% attrition rate). In the fifth weekly exercise, 102 participants completed the intervention exercise (5% attrition rate) and 99 completed the control exercise (11% attrition rate). For the exercise in week 6, 90 participants completed the intervention (12% attrition rate) and 93 participants completed the control (7% attrition rate). In the post-exercise survey that was given two weeks after the final exercise, 182 participants completed the survey (0.001% attrition rate).

Measures

Similar to Study 1, all items will be measured on a 5-point Likert scale. See Appendix 8 for all scale items.

Independent Measures

Dominant Social Identity Threat. Similar to Study 1, I adapted Lyons and colleagues' (2020) heterosexual identity threat scale to dominant social identity threat. This was measured two weeks prior to the intervention. These items were adapted to measure dominant social identity threat towards their employer's existing diversity initiatives. An example item is "My racial identity is incompatible with this organization's new initiatives."

Mediators

Opening and Closing Identity Tactics. Similar to Study 1, I used the measure of opening ($\alpha = 0.95$) and closing identity tactics ($\alpha = 0.95$) that I developed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

Autonomy Stage of White Identity Development. This construct was captured through measuring the autonomy subscale from the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Helms, 1990) two weeks after the six-week intervention. The stage of autonomy represents positive understanding of being White and seeing one's racial identity as a tool to help marginalized social identity groups (Helms, 1990). Helm's White Racial Attitude Scale has been psychometrically validated with White American samples (Helms, 1990). Examples of items include 'I hardly think about what race I am' and 'I involve myself in causes regardless of the race of people involved in them'. This scale has five items ($\alpha = 0.75$).

Dependent Measures

All dependent measures were given to participants two weeks after the completion of the six-week intervention.

Valuing of Diversity. Similar to Study 1, I adapted Chen and Hooijberg's (2000) measure of support for diversity ($\alpha = 0.96$).

Organizational Identification. As in Study 1, I used the organizational identification scale (Male & Ashforth, 1992) to measure the degree of pride that individuals feel as members of an organization ($\alpha = 0.93$).

Controls

Conservatism. Similar to Study 1, I controlled for political conservatism using Choma and colleagues' (2009) measure of conservative political ideology ($\alpha = 0.85$).

Gender. I also controlled for participant gender (0=female, 1=male). Conservatism and gender were measured two weeks prior to the six-week intervention.

Study 2: Results

Study 2 investigated Hypotheses 3 and 4. First, regarding H3, I investigated whether opening identity tactics mediates the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity in the opening identity tactics intervention condition versus control (H3a). I further examined if opening identity tactics mediates the association between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification for participants in the opening identity tactics condition rather than the control condition (H3b). In all reported analyses I controlled for conservatism and gender. For the serial mediation, conservatism and gender were used as

controls for the direct pathway to opening identity tactics. See Table 5 for the means, standard deviations, and correlations amongst Study 2 variables.

Regarding H4, I conducted a serial mediation on the key outcomes of valuing of diversity (H4a) and organizational identification (H4b). I tested the effect of the opening identity tactics intervention on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and the serial mediated effect of opening identity tactics and then the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on valuing of diversity and organizational identification. Then, I examined this effect in the control condition by investigating the serial mediation of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on valuing of diversity and organizational identification.

Test of Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3a predicted that the mediated effect of opening identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity would be significant in the opening identity tactics intervention relative to the control. Similar to Study 1, I performed two separate mediation analyses on the intervention condition and control condition while controlling for conservatism and gender (See Figure 8a and 8b). This separation allowed me to compare different associations between the conditions. I performed the analysis using the “robmed” package in R with a 5000 bootstrapped and a 95% confidence interval. For the intervention condition, the confidence interval of the indirect effect contained zero and thus opening identity tactics did not significantly mediate the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity (conditional indirect effect = -.09, 95% CI [-.25, -.02]). In the control condition, the confidence interval for conditional indirect of opening identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity contained

zero (conditional indirect effect = $-.04$, 95% CI $[-.15, .01]$). This suggests that opening identity tactics did not mediate the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity in either the intervention condition or the control condition.

When I ran the analysis for the condition and control in one analysis, the index of moderated mediation $[-.05, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.19, .07]]$ was not statistically significant. I also ran the moderated-mediation analyses using Hayes's (2017) PROCESS Model 8. Results showed that for participants in the intervention condition, opening identity tactics did not significantly mediate the negative effect of identity threat on organizational identification (conditional indirect effect = $-.08$, $SE = .05$, 95% CI $[-.20, .01]$). Similarly, the mediation was not significant for participants in the control condition (conditional indirect effect = $-.03$, $SE = .04$, 95% CI $[-.11, .06]$). Thus, I did not find support for H3a.

Hypothesis 3b predicted that the mediated effect of opening identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification would be stronger in the opening identity tactics intervention in comparison to the control. Similar to my analysis for H3a, I ran two mediation analysis to compare the mediation effects between the intervention and control condition with conservatism and gender as controls (See Figure 8a and 8b). In the intervention condition, the confidence interval for conditional indirect effect of opening identity tactics between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification contained zero (conditional indirect effect = $-.18$, 95% CI $[-.46, .03]$). In the control condition, the conditional indirect effect of opening identity tactics for the association between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification was not significant because the confidence interval contained zero (conditional indirect effect = $-.08$, 95% CI $[-.36, .02]$).

When I ran the analysis for the condition and control in one analysis, the index of moderated mediation [-.07, 95% CI [-.28, .12]) was not statistically significant. I also ran an analysis for the moderated-mediation using Hayes's (2017) PROCESS Model 8. Results showed that for participants in the intervention condition, opening identity tactics did not significantly mediate the negative effect of identity threat on organizational identification (conditional indirect effect = -.12, $SE = .07$, 95% CI [-.30, .01]). Similarly, the mediation was not significant for participants in the control condition (conditional indirect effect = -.05, $SE = .07$, 95% CI [-.17, .09]). Thus, I failed to find support for H3b.

As in Study 1, the direct effect of opening identity tactics on organizational identification differed between the intervention and control condition. For the intervention condition, opening identity tactics was a significant predictor of valuing of diversity ($\beta = .61$; $SE = 0.15$; $p = .001$), but this effect did not hold for the control condition ($\beta = .27$; $SE = 0.20$; $p = .19$).

Test of Hypothesis 4

To test my hypothesis about the serial-mediated effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development in the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity and organizational identification, I conducted a Structural Equation Model (SEM) using the LAVAAN package in R. Hypothesis 4 theorized that the mediated effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity in the relation between dominant social identity threat and (a) valuing of diversity and (b) organizational identification will be significant in the opening identity tactics intervention but not in the control condition.

Hypothesis 4a. I used SEM to investigate whether the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity was mediated by opening identity tactics (M1) and

the identity development stage of autonomy in the intervention condition (M2) while controlling for participant gender and conservatism. See Table 6.

Intervention. The serial mediation model for the intervention condition had a poor model fit: $\chi^2(5) = 13.21$, CFI = 0.89, TLI = 0.66, RMSEA [90% CI] = 0.14 [.05, .23], SRMR = .08 (Kline, 2005). In the intervention condition, identity threat did not have a significant effect on valuing of diversity ($\beta = -.26$; $SE = .17$; $p = .13$), opening identity tactics had a significant direct effect on valuing of diversity ($\beta = .28$; $SE = .07$; $p = .001$), and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development had a significant direct effect on valuing of diversity ($\beta = .42$; $SE = .17$; $p = .012$). Opening identity tactics did not have a significant effect on the autonomy stage of White racial identity development ($\beta = .09$; $SE = 0.06$; $p = .15$). Identity threat had a significant effect on the autonomy stage of White racial identity development ($\beta = -.31$; $SE = .07$; $p = .001$).

The indirect pathway consisted of three components: indirect effect through opening identity tactics, an indirect effect through the autonomy stage of White racial identity development, and the indirect effect of opening identity tactics and autonomy stage of White racial identity development. None of the indirect pathways were significant. The first indirect pathway tested the indirect effect of opening identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = .01$; $SE = .01$; $p = .61$). The second indirect pathway assesses the indirect effect of the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = .01$; $SE = 0.01$; $p = 0.75$). The third indirect pathway analyzed the indirect effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = .04$; $SE = .03$; $p = .25$).

Control Condition. The serial mediation model for the control condition had a good model fit: $\chi^2(5) = 6.33$, CFI = .98, TLI = .94, RMSEA [90% CI] = .05 [.01, .16], SRMR = .05 (Kline, 2005). In the control condition, dominant social identity threat had a significant effect on valuing of diversity ($\beta = -.49$; $SE = .17$; $p = .006$), opening identity tactics did not have a significant direct effect on valuing of diversity ($\beta = .05$; $SE = 0.12$; $p = .66$), and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development did not have a significant direct effect on valuing of diversity ($\beta = .39$; $SE = .29$; $p = .18$). Opening identity tactics had a significant effect on the autonomy stage of White racial identity development ($\beta = .23$; $SE = .07$; $p = .002$). Dominant social identity threat had a significant effect on the identity development stage of autonomy ($\beta = -.24$; $SE = .09$; $p = .007$).

The indirect pathway consisted of three estimates: indirect effect through opening identity tactics, an indirect effect of the autonomy stage of White racial identity development, and the indirect effect of opening identity tactics and autonomy stage of White racial identity development. As in the intervention condition, none of the indirect pathways were significant. The first indirect pathway tested the indirect effect of opening identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = -.01$; $SE = .01$; $p = .81$). The second indirect pathway assesses the indirect effect of the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = -.01$; $SE = .01$; $p = .43$). The third indirect pathway analyzed the indirect effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = .02$; $SE = .02$; $p = .32$).

To test the moderated serial mediation across conditions, I conducted a moderated serial mediation analysis with the SPSS PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017). Using PROCESS Model 6, I found that the indirect effect of identity threat on valuing of diversity via opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development was significant (indirect effect: $b = -.12$; $SE = .05$; bootstrapped 95% CI = $[-.23, -.30]$). Using PROCESS Model 83, I found that this indirect was not significantly different in the intervention condition (indirect effect: $b = -.06$; $SE = .04$; bootstrapped 95% CI = $[-.15, .01]$) than the control condition (indirect effect: $b = -.03$; $SE = .03$; bootstrapped 95% CI = $[-.09, .04]$). The index of moderated mediation or the difference between the conditional indirect effects was not significant ($-.4$, $SE = 0.46$; bootstrapped 95% CI = $[-.14, .05]$). H4a proposed a serially-mediated effect for opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity for participants who completed the intervention (versus the control) condition. I did not find support for H4a.

Hypothesis 4b. Similar to the analysis for H4a, I conducted a serial mediation model with the LAVAAN package in R. I conducted a Structural Equation Model (SEM) to investigate whether the relationship between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification was mediated by opening identity tactics (M1) and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development in the intervention condition (M2) while controlling for participant gender and conservatism. See Table 7.

Intervention. The serial mediation model for the intervention condition had a good poor model fit: $\chi^2 (87) = 13.69$, $\chi^2 / df = 5$, CFI = .85, TLI = .54, RMSEA [90% CI] = .14 [.05, .23], SRMR = .07 (Kline, 2005). In the intervention condition, dominant social identity threat did not have a significant effect on organizational identification ($\beta = -.03$; $SE = .14$; $p = .86$), opening

identity tactics had a significant direct effect on organizational identification ($\beta = .46$; $SE = .11$; $p = .001$), and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development did not have a significant direct effect on organizational identification ($\beta = .14$; $SE = .22$; $p = .52$). Opening identity tactics did not have a significant effect on the autonomy stage of White racial identity development ($\beta = .09$; $SE = .06$; $p = .15$). Dominant social identity threat had a significant effect on the autonomy stage of White racial identity development ($\beta = -.32$; $SE = .07$; $p = .001$).

The indirect pathway consisted of three components: indirect effect through opening identity tactics, an indirect effect of the autonomy stage of White racial identity development, and the indirect effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development. I failed to find significant effects for the three indirect pathways. The first indirect pathway tested the indirect effect of opening identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification ($\beta = .01$; $SE = .01$; $p = .61$). The second indirect pathway assesses the indirect effect of the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification ($\beta = .01$; $SE = .01$; $p = .82$). The third indirect pathway analyzed the indirect effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification ($\beta = .01$; $SE = .02$; $p = .57$).

Control Condition. The serial mediation model for the control condition had a good model fit: $\chi^2 (89) = 6.63$, $\chi^2 / df = 5$, CFI = .97, TLI = .91, RMSEA [90% CI] = .06 [.01, .17], SRMR = .05 (Kline, 2005). In the control condition, dominant social identity threat did not have significant effect on organizational identification ($\beta = -.12$; $SE = .18$; $p = .52$), opening identity tactics did not have a significant direct effect on organizational identification ($\beta = .20$; $SE = .11$;

$p = .07$), and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development did not have a significant direct effect on organizational identification ($\beta = .39$; $SE = .29$; $p = .18$). Opening identity tactics had a significant effect on the autonomy stage of White racial identity development ($\beta = .23$; $SE = .07$; $p = .001$). Dominant social identity threat had a significant effect on the autonomy stage of White racial identity development ($\beta = -.24$; $SE = .09$; $p = .007$).

The indirect pathway consisted of three estimates: indirect effect through opening identity tactics, an indirect effect of the autonomy stage of White racial identity development, and the indirect effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development. As in the intervention condition, none of the indirect pathways were significant. The first indirect pathway tested the indirect effect of opening identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification ($\beta = -.01$; $SE = .01$; $p = .54$). The second indirect pathway assesses the indirect effect of the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = -.01$; $SE = .01$; $p = .39$). The third indirect pathway analyzed the indirect effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = .02$; $SE = .02$; $p = .34$).

To test the moderated serial mediation across conditions, I conducted a moderated serial mediation analysis with the SPSS PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017). Using PROCESS Model 6, I found that the indirect effect of identity threat on organizational identification via opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development was significant (indirect effect: $b = -.14$; $SE = 0.06$; bootstrapped 95% CI = $[-.26, -.02]$). Using PROCESS Model 83, I found that this indirect effect was not significantly different in the

intervention condition (indirect effect: $b = -0.11$; $SE = 0.07$; bootstrapped 95% CI = $[-0.27, 0.01]$) than the control condition (indirect effect: $b = -0.05$; $SE = 0.06$; bootstrapped 95% CI = $[-0.16, 0.07]$). The index of moderated mediation or the difference between the conditional indirect effects was not significant ($-.07$, $SE = 0.08$; bootstrapped 95% CI = $[-.25, .08]$). H4b proposed a serially-mediated effect for opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and organizational identification for participants who completed the intervention (versus the control) condition. I did not find support for H4b.

Supplemental Analysis

Similar to Study 1, I ran a supplementary analysis with closing identity tactics as a mediator rather than opening identity tactics. Specifically, I tested the serially-mediated effect of closing identity tactics (mediator one) and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity in the intervention and control condition. In addition, I also examined the moderated effect of gender and conservatism on the serially-mediated effect of opening and the autonomy stage of White Identity development on the outcomes of valuing of diversity and organizational identification.

Intervention. The serial mediation model for the intervention condition had a poor model fit: $\chi^2(87) = 13.89$, $\chi^2/df = 4$, CFI = .86, TLI = .47, RMSEA [90% CI] = .17 [.08, .27], SRMR = .08 (Kline, 2005). In the intervention condition, identity threat did not have a significant effect on valuing of diversity ($\beta = -.31$; $SE = .16$; $p = .51$), closing identity tactics had a significant direct effect on valuing of diversity ($\beta = .34$; $SE = .09$; $p = .001$), and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development had an insignificant direct effect on valuing of diversity ($\beta =$

.36; $SE = .24$; $p = .07$). Closing identity tactics did not have a significant effect on the autonomy stage of White racial identity development ($\beta = .12$; $SE = .07$; $p = .09$). Dominant social identity threat had a significant effect on the autonomy stage of White racial identity development ($\beta = -.33$; $SE = .07$; $p = .001$).

The indirect pathway consisted of three components: indirect effect through closing identity tactics, an indirect effect through the autonomy stage of White racial identity development, and the indirect effect of closing identity tactics and autonomy stage of White racial identity development. None of the indirect pathways were significant. The first indirect pathway tested the indirect effect of closing identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = -.05$; $SE = .04$; $p = .21$). The second indirect pathway assesses the indirect effect of the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = .01$; $SE = .01$; $p = .69$). The third indirect pathway analyzed the indirect effect of closing identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = .02$; $SE = .03$; $p = .37$).

Control Condition. The serial mediation model for the control condition had a poor model fit: $\chi^2(89) = 14.74$, $\chi^2/df = 7$, CFI = .85, TLI = .67, RMSEA [90% CI] = .11 [.02, .19], SRMR = .11 (Kline, 2005). In the control condition, dominant social identity threat had a significant effect on valuing of diversity ($\beta = -.53$; $SE = .16$; $p = .001$), closing identity tactics had a significant direct effect on valuing of diversity ($\beta = .33$; $SE = .15$; $p = .03$), and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development did not have a significant direct effect on valuing of diversity ($\beta = .32$; $SE = 0.27$; $p = .24$). Closing identity tactics had a significant effect on the autonomy stage of White racial identity development ($\beta = .27$; $SE = .13$; $p = .03$). Dominant social identity threat

had a significant effect on the identity development stage of autonomy ($\beta = -.28$; $SE = .09$; $p = .001$).

The indirect pathway consisted of three estimates: indirect effect through closing identity tactics, an indirect effect of the autonomy stage of White racial identity development, and the indirect effect of closing identity tactics and autonomy stage of White racial identity development. As in the intervention condition, none of the indirect pathways were significant. The first indirect pathway tested the indirect effect of closing identity tactics on the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = -.01$; $SE = .05$; $p = .86$). The second indirect pathway assesses the indirect effect of the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = .01$; $SE = .01$; $p = .96$). The third indirect pathway analyzed the indirect effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on the association between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity ($\beta = .02$; $SE = 0.02$; $p = .91$).

Moderating effect of gender. To test the effect of gender rather than condition as a moderator in the moderated serial mediation model of H4a and H4b, I conducted a moderated serial mediation analysis with the SPSS PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017). First, I tested the effect of gender on the effect of identity threat on valuing of diversity via opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White identity development. Using PROCESS Model 83, I found that the indirect effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White identity development was significant for male participants (indirect effect: $b = -.06$; $SE = .03$; bootstrapped 95% CI = $[-.13, -.01]$) but not for female participants (indirect effect: $b = .01$; $SE = .03$; bootstrapped 95%

CI = [-.06, .07]). The index of moderated mediation or the difference between the conditional indirect effects was not significant ($-.07$, $SE = .06$; bootstrapped 95% CI = [-.17, .01]).

Next, I conducted a similar model with organizational identification as the dependent variable. I tested the effect of gender on the effect of identity threat on organizational identification via opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White identity development. Using PROCESS Model 83, I found that the indirect effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White identity development was significant for male participants (indirect effect: $b = -.12$; $SE = .05$; bootstrapped 95% CI = [-.23, -.02]) but not for female participants (indirect effect: $b = .01$; $SE = .06$; bootstrapped 95% CI = [-.12, .13]). The index of moderated mediation or the difference between the conditional indirect effects was not significant ($-.13$, $SE = .08$; bootstrapped 95% CI = [-.31, .03]). These findings offer preliminary evidence for gender differences in the influence of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White identity development on the relationship between identity threat and the outcomes of valuing of diversity and organizational identification.

Moderating effect of conservatism. To examine the effect of conservatism rather than condition as a moderator in the moderated serial mediation model of H4a and H4b, I conducted a moderated serial mediation analysis with the SPSS PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017). First, I tested the effect of conservatism on the effect of identity threat on valuing of diversity via opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White identity development. Using PROCESS Model 83, I found that the indirect effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White identity development was not significant at low (indirect effect: $b = -.02$; $SE = 0.04$; bootstrapped 95% CI = [-0.10, 0.06]) or high (indirect effect: $b = -.05$; $SE = .03$; bootstrapped 95% CI = [-.11, -.01]) levels of conservatism for participants. The index of

moderated mediation or the difference between the conditional indirect effects was not significant ($-.01$, $SE = .01$; bootstrapped 95% CI = $[-.01, .01]$).

Then, I analyzed a similar model with organizational identification as the dependent variable. I tested the effect of conservatism on the effect of identity threat on organizational identification via opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White identity development. Using PROCESS Model 83, I found that the indirect effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White identity development was not significant at low (indirect effect: $b = -.01$; $SE = .01$; bootstrapped 95% CI = $[-.03, .01]$) or high (indirect effect: $b = -.01$; $SE = .01$; bootstrapped 95% CI = $[-.03, .01]$) levels of conservatism for participants. The index of moderated mediation or the difference between the conditional indirect effects was not significant ($-.01$, $SE = .01$; bootstrapped 95% CI = $[-.01, .01]$).

Basic Condition Differences

I analyzed basic condition differences between the intervention and control conditions for the outcomes of valuing of diversity and organizational identification. Results revealed that there was not a statistically significant difference in valuing of diversity between the intervention and control conditions, $t(174)=1.36$, $p = .351$. Similarly, no statistically significant differences were found between the intervention and control condition on organizational identification, $t(174)=.49$, $p = .328$.

Study 2: Discussion

In Study 2, I departed from the scenario experiment of Study 1 to assess opening identity tactics with more real-world validity. Participants were asked to evaluate their dominant social identity threat towards their organization's diversity initiatives. Then, participants were randomly assigned to complete six weeks of exercises aimed at reflection about one's dominant social

identity (intervention) or professional experiences (control). Participants in the intervention condition showed a significant association between their intention to engage in opening identity tactics and valuing of diversity but this effect was not significant for the control. Similarly, participants in the intervention condition were significantly more likely to show organizational identification with their existing organization when they intended to engage in opening identity tactics whereas this effect did not hold for the control condition. Study 2 further demonstrated that effects of the intervention condition (versus control) for strengthening the relationship between opening identity tactics and valuing of diversity for White employees of organizations with existing diversity initiatives. Furthermore, the relationship between opening identity tactics and organizational identification was higher in the intervention condition.

Although I did not hypothesize this finding, results showed that dominant social identity threat only predicted significantly lower valuing of diversity for the control condition, yet this effect became non-significant in the intervention condition. This suggests that the intervention exercises may attenuate the backlash linked to dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives. This effect should be further explored in future studies to illuminate the mechanisms underlying the effects of the intervention exercises.

However, I failed to replicate the Study 1 mediated effect of opening identity tactics for the relationship between dominant social identity threat and valuing of diversity (Hypothesis 3a) or organizational identification (Hypothesis 3b) in the intervention condition (rather than the control). Also, I failed to find support for my prediction that a serial-mediated effect of opening identity tactics and the autonomy stage of White racial identity development on valuing of diversity (Hypothesis 4a) and organizational identification (Hypothesis 4b) would be significant in the intervention (versus the control). This serially-mediated effect was not significant in either

the intervention or the control condition for the outcomes of valuing of diversity or organizational identification.

Contrary to expectations, I did not find a significant relationship between opening identity tactics and the White Identity Development Stage of autonomy in the intervention condition although this association was significant for participants in the control. One possible explanation for the findings is that the six weeks of opening identity tactics exercises may have produced a demand effect whereby participants were aware of the hypothesis and may have felt undue pressure to show a more developed stage of identity development. In line with recommendations for reducing reactance in diversity education (Jackson et al., 2014), the exercises asked non-confrontational questions that ask for open-ended reflection rather than reporting specific attitudes or beliefs. Yet, it is not clear whether this reduced reactance because it was not specifically measured in the study. Future research would benefit from the inclusion of measures of reactivity to better understand and control for reactivity when studying reactions to diversity training.

Turning back to the theory for Chapter 2, a possible explanation for the non-significant findings in Study 2 is that the varying diversity initiatives amongst participants may have differed in *intensity* and *duration*. According to my theory of Chapter 2, dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives can differ depending on the threat duration and intensity with corresponding implications for engagement in closing identity tactics, surface-level opening identity tactics, and deep-level opening identity tactics. It is beyond the scope of Study 2 to ensure that all participants experience the same diversity initiatives within one organization, but this highlights the importance of further testing this theory with field experiments. Future

research should test the effects of diversity initiatives according to threat duration and intensity along with the impact of these initiatives on identity tactics.

Another explanation for the non-significant findings in Study 2 is that participants may need to engage in dialogue and receive feedback from others in their organization in order to fully reap the benefits of opening identity tactics. Recent research shows dialogue that invokes a growth mindset about bias and prejudice can disarm backlash linked to challenging bias and prejudice (Rattan et al., 2022). Participants may need to gain validation and also engage in questioning about one's beliefs to enhance the impact of the opening identity tactics intervention on organizational outcomes. Future studies should compare the effects of completing the opening identity tactics intervention through a written report or a facilitated group conversation.

Chapter 8: General Discussion

This dissertation broadens and enriches research on dominant social identity threat by articulating the contexts and conditions that trigger whether dominant employees seek to engage in defense (closing identity tactics) or expansion (opening identity tactics) of their dominant social identity. Drawing on theory from level of processing, uncertainty regulation, and identity threat, I developed a comprehensive theory that outlines the conditions under which dominant social identity threat can result in a novel construct of opening identity tactics, thoughts and actions aimed at expanding uncertainty to gain more insight about the dominant social identity (see Chapter 2). Leveraging the theoretical development about identity tactics, I argued and found evidence for a measure of opening and closing identity tactics whereby I developed and validated the measures across three studies that showed these are different constructs (see Chapter 3). Then, I argued (see Chapter 4) and found empirical evidence (see Chapter 5) that dominant employees engaged in fewer opening identity tactics after experiencing dominant social identity threat in response to an organizational diversity initiative, and that diminished engagement in opening identity tactics can explain why these individuals demonstrated reduced valuing of diversity and organizational identification towards the organization. Furthermore, integrating research on dominant social identity growth (Helms, 1990, 1995) and threatened autonomy (Brehm, 1966), I developed an intervention that I theorized would facilitate opening identity tactics as a response to dominant social identity threat, leading dominant employees to then experience identity growth that would result in higher organizational identification and valuing of diversity (see Chapter 6). Results showed evidence that opening identity tactics can be experimentally induced through the intervention, and that this increased engagement in opening identity tactics led to increased valuing of diversity and organizational identification (Study 1).

While I predicted that the opening identity tactics intervention would attenuate the negative effects of dominant social identity threat through activating opening identity tactics as a response, I did not find sufficient evidence to support this hypothesis (Study 1). Finally, in Study 2 I posited that the opening identity tactics intervention would lead to increased levels of opening identity tactics measures and in turn the White Identity Development stage of autonomy that would go beyond the dominant social identity threat, resulting in increased valuing of diversity and organizational identification (see Chapter 7). This hypothesis was not supported. Together, the theory and findings from this dissertation have significant implications for scholars and practitioners in management.

Contributions to Research

Through developing and testing theory that introduces opening identity tactics to explain how and why dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives can result in expanded insight into the meaning of the dominant social identity, this dissertation adds to scholarship in several keyways. The theoretical and empirical chapters in this dissertation develop and offer evidence for a theoretical framework for understanding the opportunities and limitations generated by dominant social identity threat. Highlighting the importance of opening identity tactics for influencing the outcomes of dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives in organization is critical because dominant employees hold tremendous opportunity to effectively support diversity initiatives and ultimately members of marginalized social identity groups in organizations (Erskine & Bilimoria, 2017; Hekman et al., 2017). Currently, scholars in management have recognized that diversity initiatives often do not work as intended and that their initiatives may even result in the opposite effect of the intended outcomes (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016; Leslie, 2019). Though opening identity tactics are a novel construct that I introduce

in my dissertation, the theory and results of my dissertation suggest that opening identity tactics can meaningfully shape the effects of dominant social identity threat and whether these responses end up supporting or harming organizational diversity initiatives. My dissertation is a start for fruitful investigations into understanding opening identity tactics and ways that individuals and organizations alike can ensure that dominant social identity employees use these responses to more effectively manage dominant social identity threat in helpful ways. With that in mind, my dissertation offers contributions to four related areas of research.

Dominant social identity employees' responses to diversity initiatives. In this dissertation I outline how dominant social identity threat can result in support for diversity initiatives by radically transforming dominant employees' understandings of their dominant social identity through opening identity tactics. I develop a framework of responses to threat that incorporates ways of not only affirming and strengthening the understandings of the dominant social identity, but also responses that seek to explore and even challenge long held understandings of the dominant social identity. My theory offers novel insights and can initiate new research into understanding why and how dominant employees can begin to change how they see their dominant social identity. These changes produce actions that align with the changed dominant social identity, highlighting how these actions can support or be ineffective for members of marginalized social identity groups in initiating social change within organizations and the broader society.

Furthermore, this dissertation adds to the existing literature on responses to diversity initiatives by adding nuance into why and how certain unintended consequences occur (Leslie, 2019). Existing explanations for why diversity initiatives such as affirmative action can result in marginalized employees being seen as less competent might include the possibility that even the

existence of these initiatives suggest that marginalized employees need continuing help. Rather than the initiative suggesting a need for help, it could be stated that the initiative signals a substantial threat to the dominant identity, which invokes a vigorous defense from the dominant social identity employee through the closing identity tactic of derogating target identity abilities. This also suggests that a subset of diversity initiatives may result in increased discrimination. Prior research has shown that redistributive practices such as affirmative action can result in an increased prejudice toward the marginalized target (Leslie, 2019). Moreover, this also challenges the assumption of presumed unfairness as a source of resistance to diversity initiatives such as affirmative action or targeted hiring (Bobocel et al., 1998; Kravitz, 1995). My work also builds on insight into positive spillover, or positive unintended consequences of the diversity initiative, by suggesting opening identity tactics as an alternative source of positive spillover rather than moral or ethical climate perceptions (Leslie, 2019). My findings show that when dominant employees engage in reflection about their dominant social identity, this strengthens intentions to explore the dominant social identity and thus leads to greater valuing of diversity initiatives.

Diversity interventions and training. My work contributes to research on diversity interventions through offering another explanation for why diversity initiatives tend to be largely ineffective particularly concerning long-term changes in representation and inclusion of underrepresented groups. Extant research on diversity interventions suggests dominant employees resist such initiatives because they interpret the benefits for minorities as coming at the expense of themselves (Unzueta et al., 2008; Hekman et al., 2017). I suggest that whether threatened employees interpret diversity initiatives as opportunities for expansion and learning,

or, alternatively as signs of harm to oneself, constitute significant predictors of whether identity threats from diversity initiatives lead to positive or negative outcomes, respectively.

Present research on diversity training and interventions have found mixed results for whether these initiatives lead to improved outcomes for marginalized employees (Dover et al., 2020). Some studies have found that diversity training leads to negligible if non-significant changes in the representation of marginalized employees (e.g., Dobbin et al., 2015; Naff & Kellough, 2003; Kellough & Naff, 2004) while other research has found improvements in the attitudes towards marginalized social identity groups from dominant employees (e.g., Chang et al., 2019; Kalinoski et al., 2012). My dissertation helps resolve inconsistent findings regarding the benefits and effectiveness of diversity interventions. My dissertation also suggests that valuing of diversity depends on whether dominant employees decide to explore their dominant social identity or engage in opening identity tactics in response to diversity interventions that influences whether these interventions have worked as intended. My dissertation also contributes to understanding of organizational change through showing how experiences of threat can be leveraged as opportunities for change and learning more broadly. These insights can benefit many relevant areas of management from strategy, organizational change and culture, and learning in organizations.

Antecedents to allyship in organizations. This dissertation advances theory on responses to diversity by offering a novel theoretical explanation for the allyship process. In studying support towards marginalized social identity groups in organizations, the limited work has largely focused on dominant employees who already engage in support towards marginalized social identities (e.g., Cheng et al., 2019; Erskine & Bilimoria, 2019) with less consideration for how changes from resistance to support may occur. Work that has considered ways of integrating

resistors into diversity programs has only focused on ways of rendering diversity less threatening by having resistors view it as a way to experience new cultures (Rios & Wynn, 2016) or affirming other values (Badea & Sherman, 2019). These strategies, while effective in reducing resistance, do not fundamentally challenge the source of the social identity threat—the meanings of the dominant social identity in relation to the marginalized social identity. Indeed, my dissertation answers a call for work into what members of dominant social identity groups in organizations may do to “acknowledge their privilege, and effect organizational change” (Erskine & Bilimoria, 2019, p.331). Existing allyship theory has critically analyzed how allyship can often fail to effectively meet the needs of marginalized social identity groups (e.g., Sumereau et al., 2021). Consideration of both deep-level and surface-level opening identity tactics creates an opportunity to understand when allyship is and is not effective for supporting marginalized social identity groups. By considering the deep- and surface-level opening identity tactics, we can understand when allyship is effective for supporting marginalized social identity groups.

Moreover, my empirical studies show that the construct of opening identity tactics significantly predicts valuing of diversity, or supportive attitudes towards organizational diversity initiatives, when participants complete an opening identity tactics intervention. This work contributes to establishing opening identity tactics as an important mechanism in understanding (un)supportive responses to diversity initiatives in organizations.

Backlash against diversity initiatives in organizations. My dissertation also contributes to research investigating backlash against diversity initiatives in organizations. Previous research has largely focused on how backlash from dominant employees may manifest in organizations but far less attention has been paid to addressing and disrupting the negative outcomes of dominant social identity threat towards diversity initiatives. In this dissertation, I suggest that

engagement in opening identity tactics, which increase intrinsic motivation for diversity, can serve as an effective way of generating intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivation for diversity support. Extrinsic motivation occurs when actions are performed for rewards separate from the satisfaction of engaging in the activities (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Regardless of their actual attitudes towards diversity initiatives, the existence of diversity initiatives can create a strong pressure for dominant social identity employees to meet the diversity goals of the organization. When employees are given external pressures to comply with an action, this can result in the opposite of the pressured outcome. Being given extrinsic rewards for engaging in an action can enable employees to interpret their actions towards diversity initiatives as stemming from compliance rather than actual endorsement of the diversity initiative. Thus, engagement in diversity initiatives to meet external targets can result in “false progress”, whereby dominant employees appear to facilitate diversity initiatives, but their actions do not result in any meaningful changes or may even result in the opposite of intended effects (Leslie, 2019). Opening identity tactics generate intrinsic motivation by changing understanding of the dominant social identity so that the objectives of the diversity initiative and the meanings of the dominant social identity are aligned. Intrinsic motivation manifests when employees engage in actions that stem from internal desires rather than external forces or pressures.

I also extend the literature on backlash against diversity initiatives by proposing opening identity tactics as an alternative uncertainty regulation strategy that is conducive to dominant employees’ support for diversity. The findings of Study 1 and 2 suggest that reflection about one’s dominant social identity is an important factor in reducing backlash against and building support for diversity initiatives. It appears that dominant employees strengthen the relationship between opening identity tactics and valuing of diversity after completing the opening identity

tactics intervention, perhaps because this intervention enables them to realize that their understandings of the dominant social identity are not fixed, and they can grow in more positive understandings of their dominant social identity and its relationship to marginalized groups. Positive understandings of their dominant social identity enable members of dominant social identity groups to let go of hierarchy-affirming beliefs and still hold a positive view of their dominant social identity, aligning the advances of marginalized social identity groups with meanings of their dominant social identity.

Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions

Overall, my dissertation offers evidence that opening identity tactics exist as distinct from closing identity tactics (see Chapter 3) and that opening identity tactics shape how dominant social identity employees respond to diversity initiatives and dominant social identity threat. Furthermore, I also show that engagement in opening identity tactics can be heightened through an opening identity tactics intervention (see Chapters 6 and 7).

Strengths. A key strength of this dissertation is that I studied diversity training overtime and the effects after the existing diversity training. This dissertation speaks to a need for insight into the outcomes of diversity training, which is often implemented without “a specific theoretical approach or empirical evidence” (Devine & Ash, 2022, p.5). It also reflects current recommendations for effective scientific diversity-intervention by encouraging participants to absorb the material through written reflections that were grounded in existing scientific protocols and procedures along with longitudinal self-reports from the participants themselves (Moss-Racusin et al, 2014).

Limitations. Although Study 1 and Study 2 were intended to address limitations of each other, I acknowledge that each study has imperfections. A limitation of Study 1 is that

participants were asked to report dominant social identity threat towards a hypothetical organization's diversity initiatives and then asked to report their valuing of diversity and organizational identification if they were an employee of this organization. To address this limitation and add real-world validity, I designed Study 2 to measure dominant social identity threat with White employees of organizations with existing diversity initiatives and examine the implications of my intervention for valuing of these diversity initiatives and identifying with their organization. For example, the limitation of using a single scenario-experiment to assess opening identity tactics was addressed through measuring opening identity changes and subsequent identity development after a six-week opening identity tactics intervention. One reason that the effects of Study 1 did not extend to Study 2 could be that each weekly exercise have may differed in their ability to facilitate (or even suppress) intentions to engage in opening identity tactics. Because participants in Study 1 only completed the first of the six weekly exercises for Study 2, it is possible that some of later exercises may have altered the effects of the first exercise. To better understand how intentions to engage in opening identity tactics changed throughout the six weeks of exercises, a measure of both opening and closing identity tactics should have been given to participants after each weekly exercise. Through latent growth modeling, I would be able to assess fluctuation in intentions to engage in opening identity tactics over time. For example, participants may show increased intentions to engage in opening identity tactics after Exercise 3 yet show decreased intentions after Exercise 4. It is presently unclear whether changes in opening identity tactics occurred in a linear or curvilinear model.

Next, I intended for the Week 1 exercise from Study 2 or opening identity tactics intervention from Study 1 to buffer against reactance by asking participants to think about their advantages and disadvantages yet the findings from Study 2 suggest that this strategy needs to be

woven into all stages of an opening identity tactics intervention. Prior research on ways of reducing reactance suggest initial disclaimers at the start of the intended message (Richards et al., 2020) can render participants more receptive to the message. Yet the effectiveness of the intervention from Study 1 relative to Study 2, despite the extended duration of the latter intervention, suggests that dominant social identity employees need to be shown reactance reduction messaging repeatedly throughout the intervention. Future work should clarify what stages of the six-week opening identity tactics intervention incurred backlash and integrate reminders of autonomy to pre-empt reactance against the exercises. As discussed in Chapter 4, members of dominant social groups can resist messages about diversity if they feel like they are being told what to think rather than arriving to these conclusions themselves (Brehm, 1966).

Another limitation of Study 2 is that it lacked a clear behavioural outcome (e.g., specific actions that supported existing diversity initiatives in their organization). Instead, I measured valuing of diversity, which represents attitudes towards the diversity initiatives. As theorized in Chapter 2, changes in attitudes towards diversity facilitate actions that support diversity through increased awareness why these initiatives are needed. Employees are motivated to behave in line with their attitudes to have a coherent understanding of self (Cooper et al., 2005). Future studies should offer a clear behaviour outcome such as willingness to mentor members of a marginalized social identity group, joining a diversity working group in their organization, or donating funds to organization that advocate on behalf of marginalized social identity groups.

Another limitation is that the empirical studies in this dissertation sought to understand how employees who are White, one type of dominant social identity, experience dominant social identity threat and opening identity tactics in response to diversity initiatives aimed at marginalized racial identities. However, race is just one of many social identities that can be

dominant or marginalized within organizations. Future work should empirically investigate how opening identity tactics relate to expanded understandings of other dominant social identities such as being cisgender, heterosexual, or male. Prior work has outlined gender diversity as a major gap within existing diversity management research and practice (Ozturk & Tatli, 2016). To date, most research on backlash and resistance towards diversity initiatives have focused on either gender or race, but it would also be fruitful to empirically investigate how the intersections of these categories may shape engagement in opening identity tactics (see multiple identities section from Chapter 2).

Another limitation is that the participants in Study 2 were employed in different organizations that may have implemented different types of diversity initiatives. An improved study design for Study 2 would test the opening identity tactics intervention with employees of an organization that recently implemented a diversity initiative. Through an organizational partnership, I could measure the reactions of dominant employees to the new diversity initiatives and then randomly assign these employees to complete the opening identity intervention or control exercises. This study design would control for differences in organizations and diversity initiatives that I cannot account for in the present Study 2. Using this approach aligns with recommendations for using laboratory experiments and field experiments as complementary tools as one can address the limitations of the other (Harrison & List, 2004).

Building on the role of diversity initiative type, future research should investigate whether dominant social identity threat has a curvilinear relationship to tactics such that moderate or high threat leads to opening identity tactics whereas low threat results in closing identity tactics. The findings from Study 1 and 2 show a negative relationship between dominant

identity threat and opening identity tactics, suggesting that opening identity tactics may only take place at certain degrees of threat intensity as theorized in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

Finally, although Helm's theory of White Identity development (1990) shows that White individuals tend to go progress through six stages on the path to developing an autonomous understanding of their racial identity, it is not clear how these stages progress over time. Specifically, the Study 2 exercises intended for participants to progress through all six stages within the six-week time period, but some stages of White Identity Development may take longer than other stages. This may also account for the insignificant findings from Study 2 as participants may have required more time than six weeks to reach the autonomous stage of White Identity Development.

Practical Implications

Organizations are increasingly allocating greater attention and resources to diversity initiatives and thus understanding how to mitigate resistance and build support for diversity initiatives is correspondingly becoming a more pressing issue to address. My dissertation introduces the novel idea that reflection and exploration about one's dominant social identity can help facilitate support for diversity initiatives amongst dominant social identity employees who experience threat in response to diversity initiatives. My findings suggest that managers who create spaces for dominant employees to explore and ask questions after the implementation of a diversity initiative will have greater support for these initiatives. In particular, as I note in Chapter 2 creating a climate of psychological safety will facilitate employees openly and honestly expressing their reservations and questions about their dominant social identity, allowing dialogue and education that can create awareness of not only the marginalized social identity's perspective but how understandings of their dominant social identity may shape these

concerns. Developing psychological safety starts with leadership acknowledging that effectively enacting diversity initiatives is difficult and requires unity within staff (Edmondson, 2018), which in turn makes employees express rather than repress their reactions to diversity. Leaders can cultivate psychological safety by making employees feel comfortable to make mistakes and being able to question the decisions of leadership (Edmonson, 2018), which creates comfort with expressing one's true thoughts and taking risks in the organization. Given concerns about the rise of "cancel culture" (Clark, 2020; Norris, 2021), making employees feel comfortable speaking about diversity is essential for preventing them from turning to closing identity tactics. A lack of psychological safety makes it easier for employees to choose "workarounds", defined as shortcuts employees use that may immediately address the dominant social identity threat but fail to fix or diagnose the cause of the dominant social identity threat (Edmonson, 2018). For example, a man who feels threatened and uncomfortable during anti-sexual harassment training may just choose to endorse victim-blaming beliefs to avoid thinking about how constructions of masculinity that he endorses may be at the root of these practices (Steele & Vandello, 2019).

Insights from the interventions can inform future work on diversity interventions. Considering the effectiveness of the Study 1 intervention, this suggests that diversity interventions that include disclaimers or allow for consideration of arguments that support and go against the diversity message may inadvertently be more persuasive than diversity interventions that only expound the desired diversity message. However, caution must be used in ensuring that these interventions do not legitimize existing status-inequalities or harm members of marginalized social identities. In line with these arguments, future diversity interventions should consider and evaluate the stages of dominant social identity development as an outcome of the diversity intervention. Leveraging the theoretical insights from Chapter 2 of this

dissertation, growth in understanding of one's dominant social identity ought to mitigate or even reverse existing resistance and backlash against diversity initiatives. Existing diversity interventions have attempted to address diversity-related outcomes and though this has been fruitful, there is still a need to fully understand and test the mechanisms underlying the effects of diversity interventions.

Conclusion

Bond and Pyle described dominant social identity threat in response to diversity initiatives as “like a homeostatic mechanism pulling against change-pulling back to a situation that is believed by those who benefit most from it (i.e., White persons, males) to be stable” (1998, p.260). In this dissertation, I illuminated how dominant social identity threat may not only pull back advancements to diversity but may serve as an engine to expand diversity support overtime. Dominant social identity threat is not necessarily an impediment for diversity initiatives, and I suggest it can trigger a process that changes how dominant employees understand their membership to dominant social identity group and the dynamics between members of dominant and marginalized social identity groups. As we continue to progress towards goals of diversity in organizations, it is fruitful to consider how dominant social identity threat can be leveraged in service of these goals.

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Table 1a. Initial Closing Identity Tactics Scale Items (Chapter 3)

Scale Item	Mean	SD
1. I will focus on the accomplishments and successes of members of my racial group	3.91	.93
2. I will think about how members of my racial group deserve their current position in society	3.76	1.10
3. I will think about how diversity practices unfairly undermine members of my racial group	3.32	1.19
4. I will think about how to protect my racial identity from others in society	3.5	1.13
5. I will think about my racial identity in ways that fit with what society defines	3.42	1.11
6. I will think about how diversity practices may overcorrect against members of my racial group	3.3	.97
7. I will think about how the way I have always thought about my racial identity is correct	3.68	1.12
8. I will think about how characterizations of my racial identity are unfair	3.12	1.24
9. I will protect my racial identity against attempts to disparage or undermine it	3.54	1.22
10. I will ignore information that questions the successes of my racial group	3.12	1.48
11. I will think about how recent social trends and movements are unfair for members of my racial group	3.26	1.21
12. I will think about the benefits of being a member of my racial group	3.66	1.12
13. I will focus on interacting more with other people who share a common racial identity with me	3.52	1.13
14. I will look for books, online resources, or other sources of information that help me feel proud about my racial identity	3.48	1.30
15. I will look for ways to help other members of my racial group	3.46	1.11
16. I will look to other people who share a common racial identity with me to re-affirm the benefits of being a member of our racial group		
17. I will focus on strengthening my existing views about my racial identity	3.54	1.25
18. I will focus on getting rid of any confusion about my racial identity	3.78	1.32
19. I will be clear about what my racial identity means to me	3.56	1.13
20. I will understand how I feel about my racial identity	3.74	.96
21. I will have a clear sense of what my racial identity means to me	3.86	.97
22. I will know what my racial identity means to me	3.94	.91
23. I will concentrate on ways to feel good about my racial identity	3.9	1.04
24. I will focus on parts of my racial identity that are clearly understood	3.78	1.02

All retained items are marked in bold.

Table 1b. Initial Opening Identity Tactics Scale Items (Chapter 3)

Scale Item	Mean	SD
1. I will interact with people of different races to gain new perspectives and insights about my racial identity	4.1	.74
2. I will interact with people who belong to different racial groups than I do	4.18	.80
3. I will talk to people outside of my race to help me understand my racial identity in new ways	3.98	1.04
4. I will think about the influence of my racial identity on others	3.94	1.00
5. I will think about how my understanding of my racial identity affects how I interact with people who belong to different racial groups	4.1	.93
6. I will actively try to learn new knowledge about my racial identity	3.86	1.01
7. I will actively look for books, online resources, or other sources of information for new ways of understanding my racial identity	3.52	1.16
8. I will re-think what I've been taught about my racial identity by society	4.1	.89
9. I will be receptive to information that may change how I see my racial identity	4.24	.94
10. I will think about the history of my race and how it has impacted other racial groups	4.16	.82
11. I will look for new perspectives and ways of thinking that challenge my current perspectives about my racial identity	3.52	.92
12. I will actively seek out information that makes me think about my racial identity in new ways	4.06	1.02
13. I will try to learn more about what it means to be a member of my racial group	3.78	1.11
14. I will explore the advantages and privileges given to members of my racial group	3.8	1.01
15. I will actively question my previously held assumptions about my racial identity	3.72	1.11
16. I will re-think my previously held assumptions about how my racial identity affects how I interact with people from other racial groups	4.08	.92
17. I will try to learn about how other racial groups perceive my race	3.96	1.01
18. I will educate myself about the history of my racial identity	3.8	.90
19. I will educate myself about how members of my racial group have historically interacted with members of other racial groups	4.02	0.96
20. I will try to understand what my racial identity means	4	0.95
21. I will try to understand how I feel about my racial identity	3.9	0.97
22. I will not be clear about my feelings about my racial identity	2.08	1.09
23. I will not be clear about how I feel about my racial identity	2.02	1.00
24. I will not be sure how I feel about my racial identity	2.1	1.06

All retained items are marked in bold.

Table 2. Exploratory Factor Analysis Results for Opening and Closing Identity Tactics Scale (Chapter 3)

Scale Item	Factor Loading		Item mean	Item SD
	1	2		
Closing Identity Tactics Items				
1. I will focus on the accomplishments and successes of members of my racial group	.85		.41	.31
2. I will think about how my racial group deserve its current position in society	.78		.39	.30
3. I will think about how to protect my racial identity from others in society	.78		.37	.32
4. I will think about how my existing beliefs about my racial identity are correct	.72		.36	.29
5. I will protect my racial identity against attempts to disparage or undermine it	.78		.30	.37
6. I will think about the benefits of being a member of my racial group	.56		.39	.18
7. I will focus on interacting more with other people who share a common racial identity with me	.80		.38	.32
8. I will look for books, online resources, or other sources of information that help me feel proud about my racial identity	.65		.38	.25
9. I will look for ways to help other members of my racial group	.78		.42	.27
10. I will focus on strengthening my existing views about my racial identity	.82		.40	.31
11. I will have a clear sense of what my racial identity means to me	.65		.35	.27
12. I will concentrate on ways to feel good about my racial identity	.85		.43	.30
Opening Identity Tactics Items				
1. I will interact with people who belong to different racial groups than I do		.39	.19	.25
2. I will think about how my understanding of my racial identity		.80	.35	.30

affects how I interact with people from other racial groups			
3. I will reconsider what I've been taught about my racial identity by society	.79	.35	.30
4. I will be open to information that may change how I see my racial identity	.83	.32	.34
5. I will think about the history of my race and how it has impacted other racial groups	.83	.3	.35
6. I will actively seek out information that makes me think about my racial identity in new ways	.84	.35	.32
7. I will reevaluate my previously held assumptions about how my racial identity affects how I interact with people from other racial groups	.89	.30	.37
8. I will educate myself about how members of my racial group have historically interacted with members of other racial groups	.8	.32	.32
9. I will try to understand what my racial identity means	.71	.41	.31
Factor Eigen Values	6.99	5.61	
Factor Explained Variance	55%	45%	

Note: N = 146 responses; Items were scored on 1= "Strongly Disagree" and 5= "Strongly Agree; Closing Identity Tactics $\alpha = .94$; Opening Identity Tactics $\alpha = .92$. All retained items are marked in bold.

Table 3. Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for Opening and Closing Identity Tactics (Chapter 3)

Item	Unstandardized Factor Loadings	Standardized Factor Loadings
Closing Identity Tactics		
1. I will focus on the accomplishments and successes of members of my racial group	1.032	.838
2. I will think about how my racial group deserve its current position in society	1.059	.838
3. I will think about how to protect my racial identity from others in society	1.107	.877
4. I will think about how my existing beliefs about my racial identity are correct	1.01	.809
5. I will protect my racial identity against attempts to disparage or undermine it	1.122	.816
6. I will focus on interacting more with other people who share a common racial identity with me	1.057	.862
7. I will look for ways to help other members of my racial group	.959	.822
8. I will focus on strengthening my existing views about my racial identity	1.039	.848
9. I will concentrate on ways to feel good about my racial identity	1.093	.859
Opening Closing Identity Tactics		
1. I will think about how my understanding of my racial identity affects how I interact with people from other racial groups	.853	.753
2. I will reconsider what I've been taught about my racial identity by society	1.052	.824
3. I will be open to information that may change how I see my racial identity	.904	.776
4. I will think about the history of my race and how it has impacted other racial groups	1.009	.84
5. I will actively seek out information that makes me think about my racial identity in new ways	1.035	.819

6. I will re-evaluate my previously held assumptions about how my racial identity affects how I interact with people from other racial groups	1.12	.906
7. I will educate myself about how members of my racial group have historically interacted with members of other racial groups	1.153	.878
8. I will try to understand what my racial identity means	.928	.781

Figure 1. Chapter 2 Theoretical Model

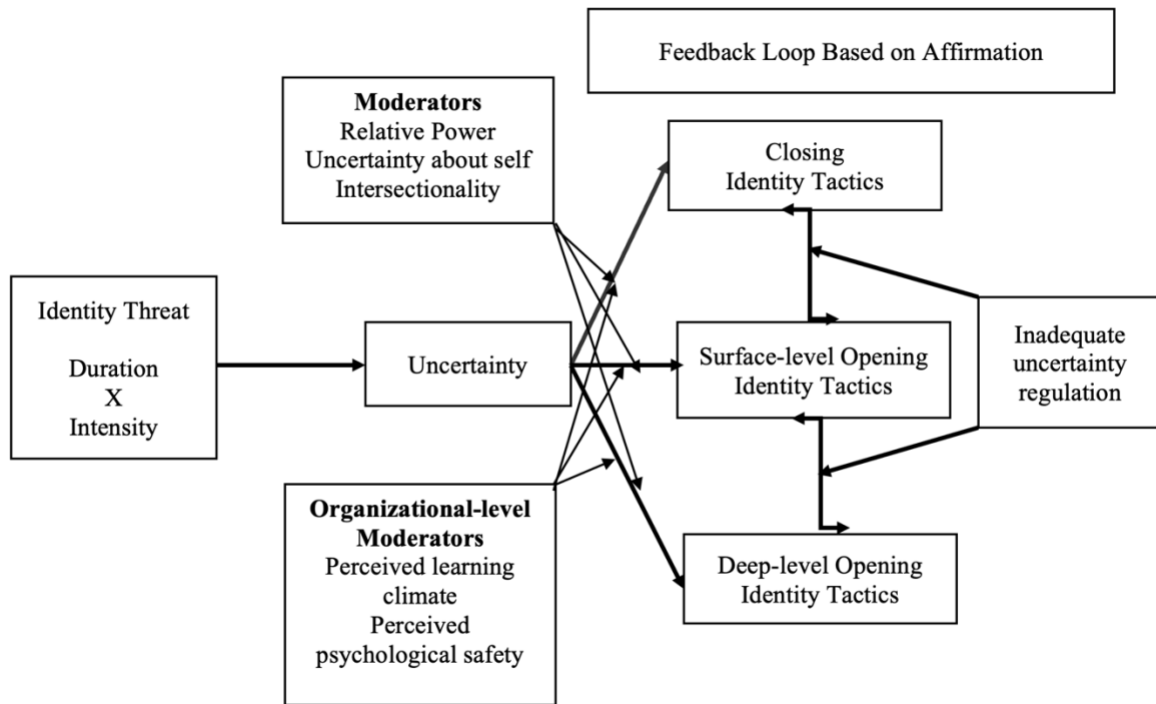


Figure 2. Typology of Identity Threat Responses (Chapter 2)

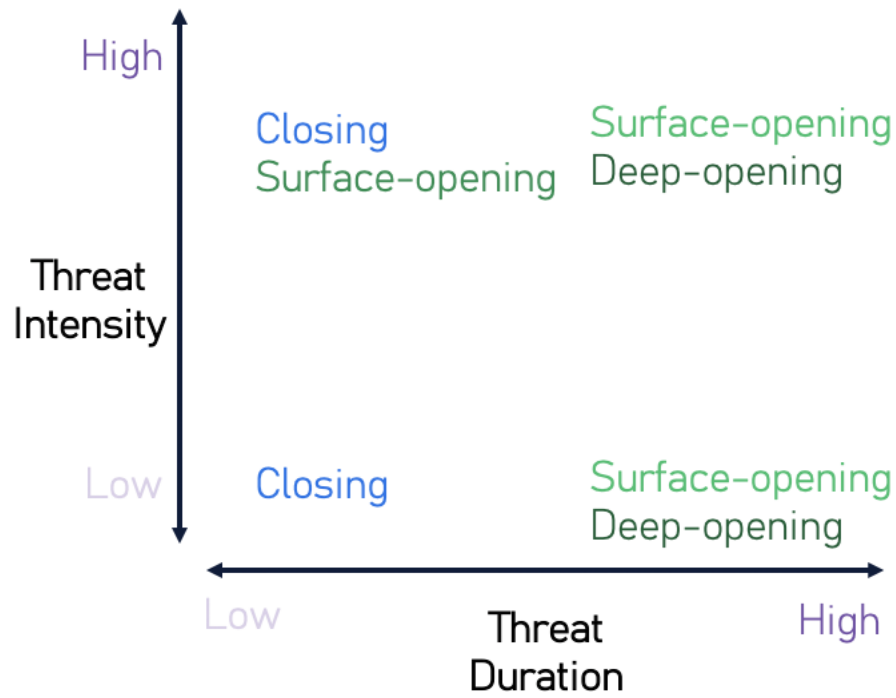


Figure 3. Scree plot for Eigen Values (Chapter 3)

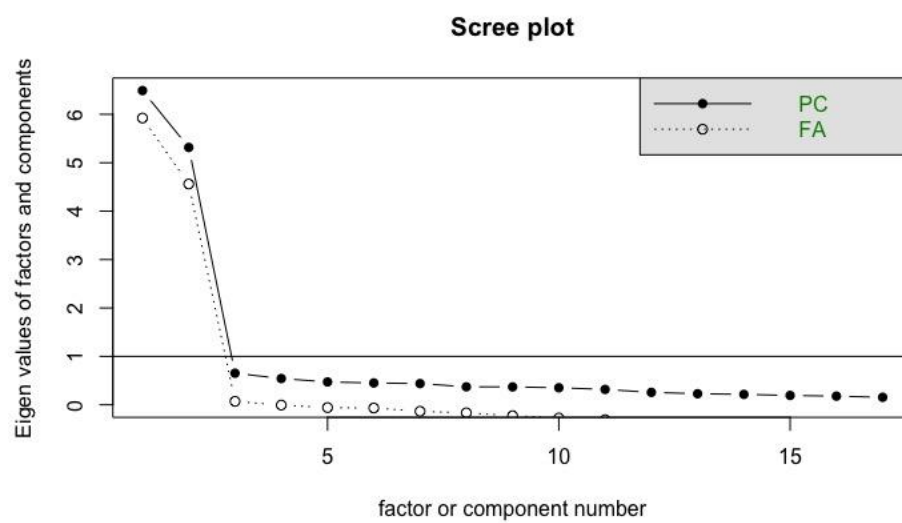


Figure 4. Biplot for Scale Item Loadings on Principal Component 1 and 2 (Chapter 3)

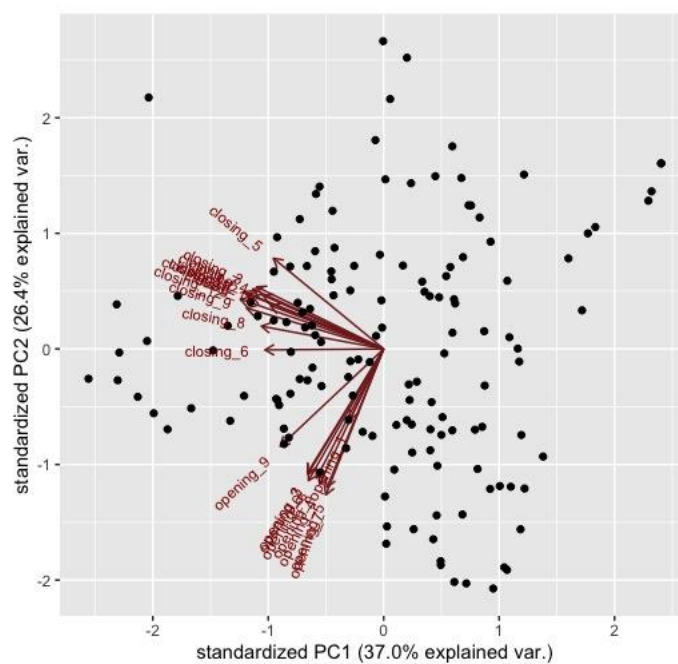


Table 4. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations (Study 1, Chapter 6)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Identity Threat	---	-.19	-.10	-.66*	-.36*	.51*
2. Opening Identity Tactics	-.15	---	.55*	.39*	.53*	-.02
3. Closing Identity Tactics	-.06	.53*	---	.28*	.44*	-.01
4. Valuing of Diversity	-.62	.16	.24*	---	.57	-.54
5. Organizational Identification	-.29*	.25*	.36*	.55*	---	-.24*
6. Conservatism	.38*	-.11	.11	-.38*	-.02	---
Control						
<i>M</i>	2.26	2.74	3.11	3.75	3.13	2.71
<i>SD</i>	1.04	1.12	.81	.97	.92	1.37
Intervention						
<i>M</i>	2.35	3.05	3.00	3.58	3.99	2.77
<i>SD</i>	1.07	1.84	.82	1.02	.95	1.24

* $p < 0.05$; bottom of diagonal are correlations for the control condition and top of diagonal are correlations for the intervention condition

Figure 5. Scatterplot of Study 1 Variables

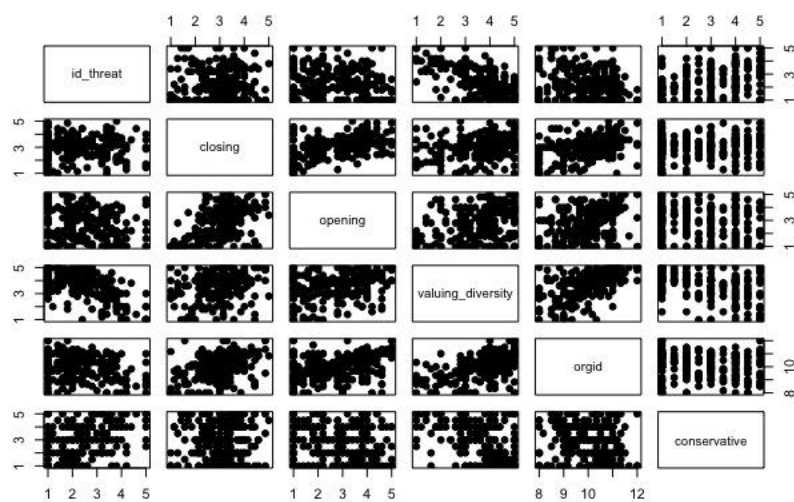
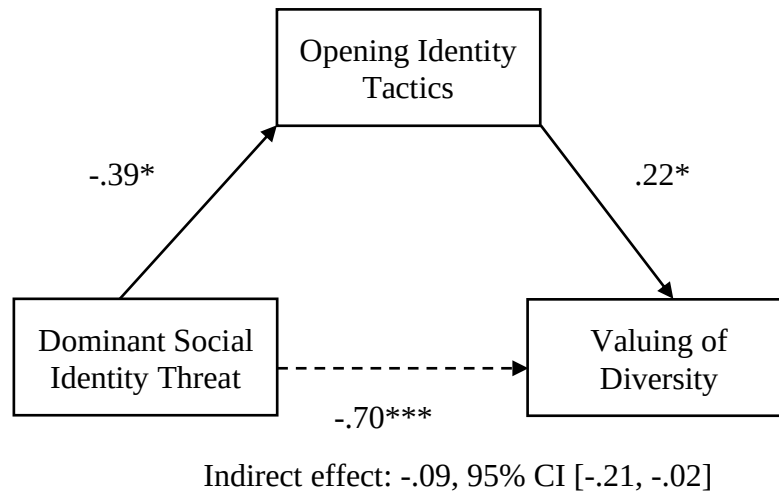
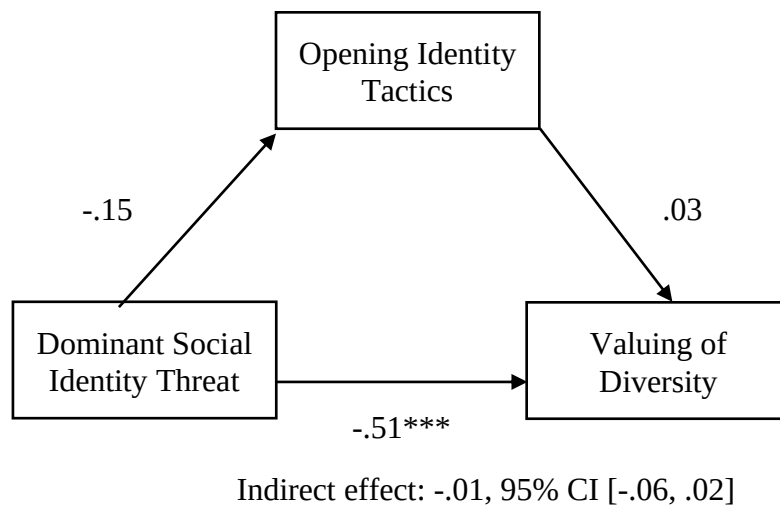


Figure 6a. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 1 Intervention Condition (Chapter 6)



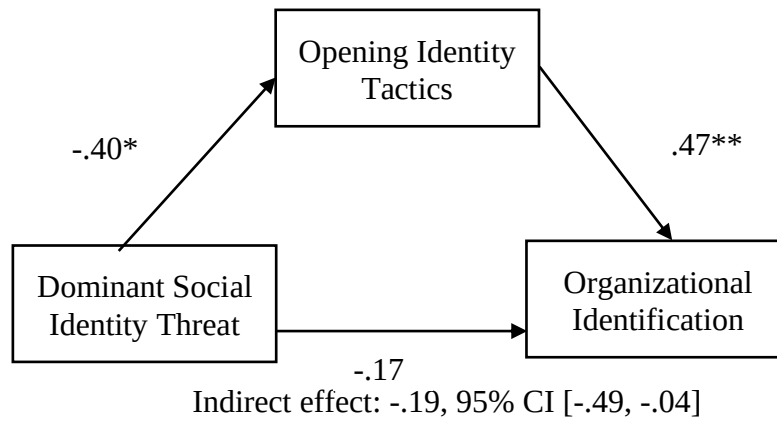
Note: $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$. $n = 122$

Figure 6b. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 1 Control Condition (Chapter 6)



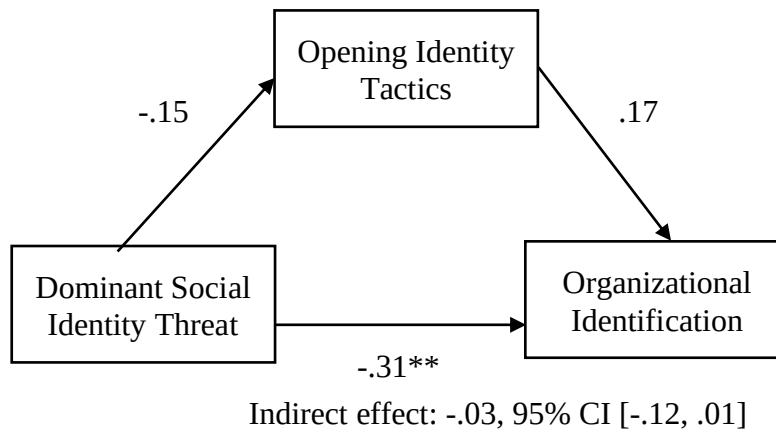
Note: $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$. $n = 124$

Figure 7a. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 1 Intervention Condition (Chapter 6)



Note: $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$. $n = 122$

Figure 7b. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 1 Control Condition (Chapter 6)



Note: $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$. $n = 124$

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations (Study 2, Chapter 7)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Identity Threat	---	-.20	-.12	-.41*	-.40*	-.14	.30*
2. Opening Identity Tactics	-.08	---	.77*	.24*	.46*	.49*	-.15
3. Closing Identity Tactics	.06	.57	---	.22*	.42*	.50*	-.06
4. Autonomy	-.34*	.42*	.27*	---	.46*	.20*	-.42*
5. Valuing of Diversity	-.44*	.17	.23*	.37*	---	.59*	-.31*
6. Organizational Identification	-.17	.30*	.43*	.33*	.44*	---	-.20
7. Conservatism	.33*	.16	.07	-.17	-.23*	-.01	---
Control							
<i>M</i>	1.61	3.17	3.26	4.01	3.88	3.25	2.23
<i>SD</i>	.77	1.07	.65	.61	1.05	1.07	1.27
Intervention							
<i>M</i>	1.71	3.00	3.05	3.99	3.68	3.17	2.48
<i>SD</i>	.73	1.14	.89	.62	.90	1.13	1.30

* $p < 0.05$; bottom of diagonal are correlations for the control condition and top of diagonal are correlations for the intervention Condition

Table 6. Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors for Serial Mediation Model with Valuing of Diversity (Study 2, Chapter 7)

Intervention Condition.	Outcomes								
	Opening Identity Tactics			Autonomy Stage of White Racial Identity Development			Valuing of Diversity		
Predictor	β	SE	p	β	SE	p	β	SE	p
Dominant Social Identity Threat	-.29	.17	.13	-.32	.07	.001	-.26	.17	.13
Opening Identity Tactics				.09	.06	.15	.28	.07	.001
Autonomy stage of White racial identity development	.09	.06	.15				.42	.17	.012
Gender	-.31		.22						
Conservatism	-.08	.11	.44						

Note: *p <.05, **p <.01, ***p <.001. n = 87

Control Condition	Outcomes								
	Opening Identity Tactics			Autonomy Stage of White Racial Identity Development			Valuing of Diversity		
Predictor	β	SE	p	β	SE	p	β	SE	p
Dominant Social Identity Threat	-.25	.18	.17	-.24	.09	.007	-.49	.18	.006
Opening Identity Tactics				.23	.07	.002	.05	.11	.66
Autonomy stage of White racial identity development							0.39	.29	.18

Gender .48

Conservativism .18

Note: *p <.05, **p <.01, ***p <.001. n = 89

Table 7. Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors for Serial Mediation Model with Organizational Identification (Study 2, Chapter 7)

Intervention Condition	Outcomes								
	Opening Identity Tactics			White Identity Development Stage of Autonomy			Organizational Identification		
Predictor	β	SE	p	β	SE	p	β	SE	p
Dominant Social Identity Threat	-.29	.17	.09	-.32	.08	.001	-.03	.16	.87
Opening Identity Tactics				-.31	.05	.101	.46	.1	.001
White Identity Development Stage of Autonomy	-.31	.05	.10				.14	.19	.45
Gender	-.08	.10	.40						
Conservativism	-.29	.17	.09						

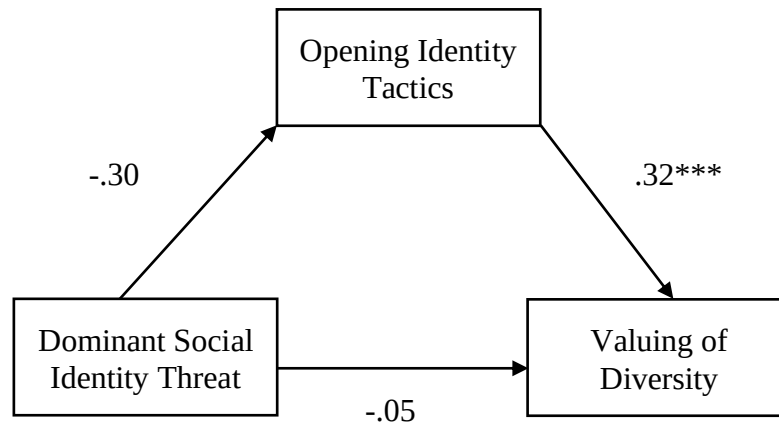
Note: *p <.05, **p <.01, ***p <.001. n = 87

Control Condition	Outcomes								
	Opening Identity Tactics			White Identity Development Stage of Autonomy			Organizational Identification		
Predictor	β	SE	p	β	SE	p	β	SE	p
Dominant Social Identity Threat	-.25	.18	.17	-.24	.09	.007	-.12	.18	0.52
Opening Identity Tactics				.23	.07	.001	.2	.11	0.07
White Identity Development Stage of Autonomy	.23	.07	.001				.38	.2	0.06
Gender	.49	.22	.02						

Conservativism	0.18	0.1	0.08
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Note: *p <.05, **p <.01, ***p <.001. n = 89

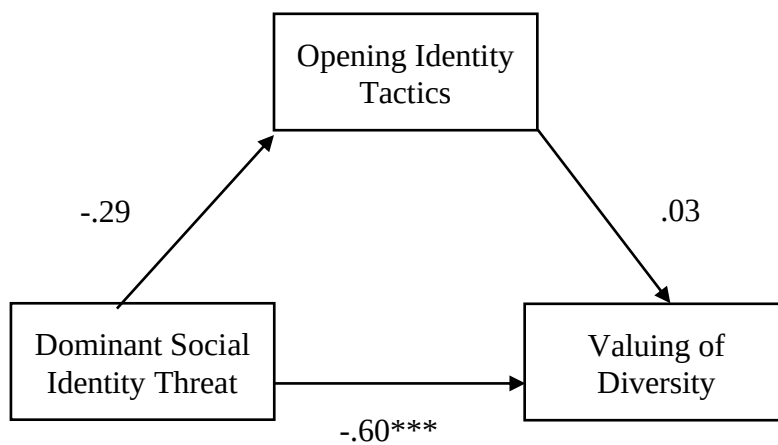
Figure 8a. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 2 Intervention Condition
(Chapter 7)



Indirect effect: $-.09$, 95% CI $[-.25, .01]$

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. $n = 87$

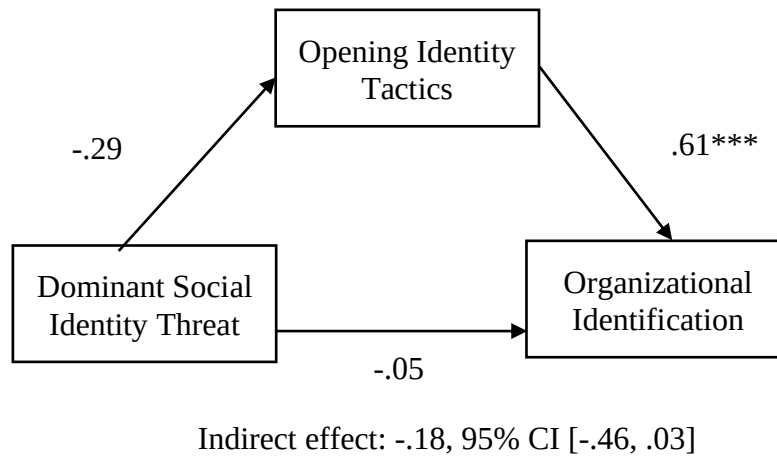
Figure 8b. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 2 Control Condition (Chapter 7)



Indirect effect: $-.04$, 95% CI $[-.15, .01]$

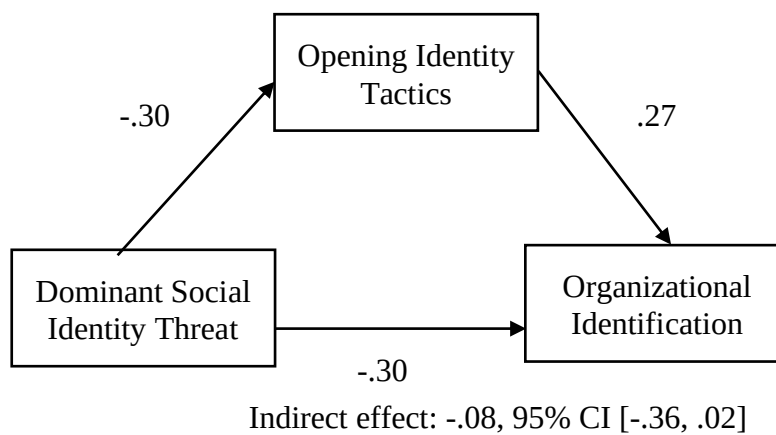
Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. $n = 89$

Figure 9a. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 2 Intervention Condition
(Chapter 7)



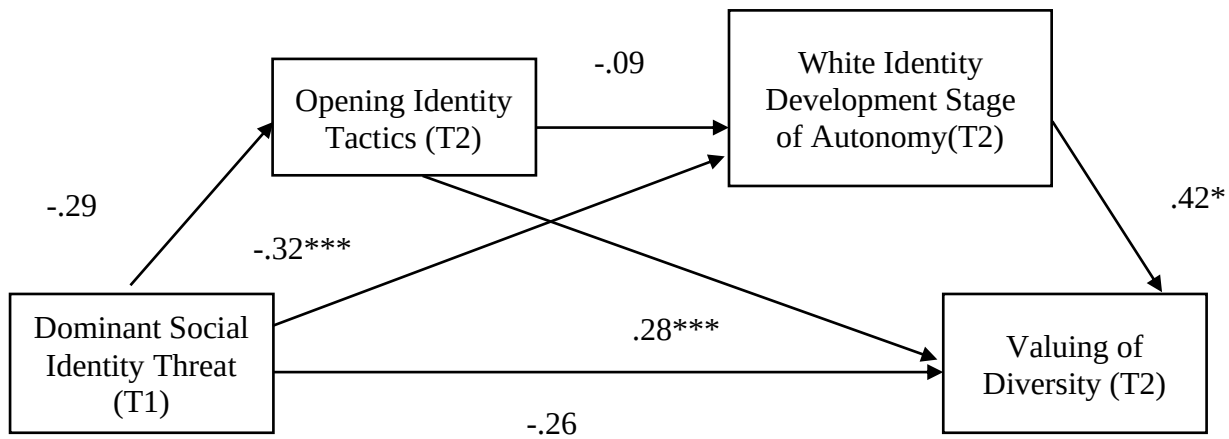
Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. $n = 87$

Figure 9b. Opening Identity Tactics Mediation Results for Study 2 Control Condition (Chapter 7)



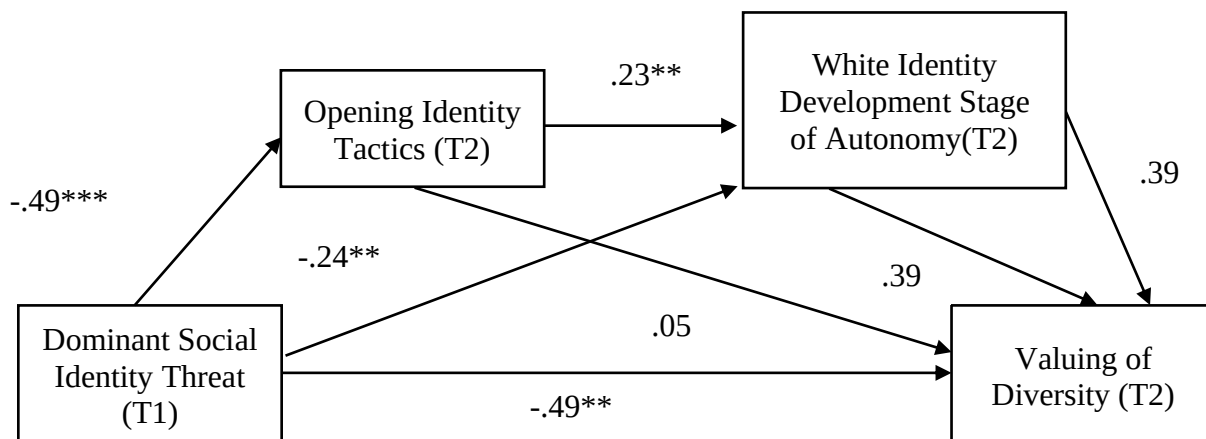
Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 10a. Valuing of Diversity Serial Mediation Results for Study 2 Intervention Condition
(Chapter 7)



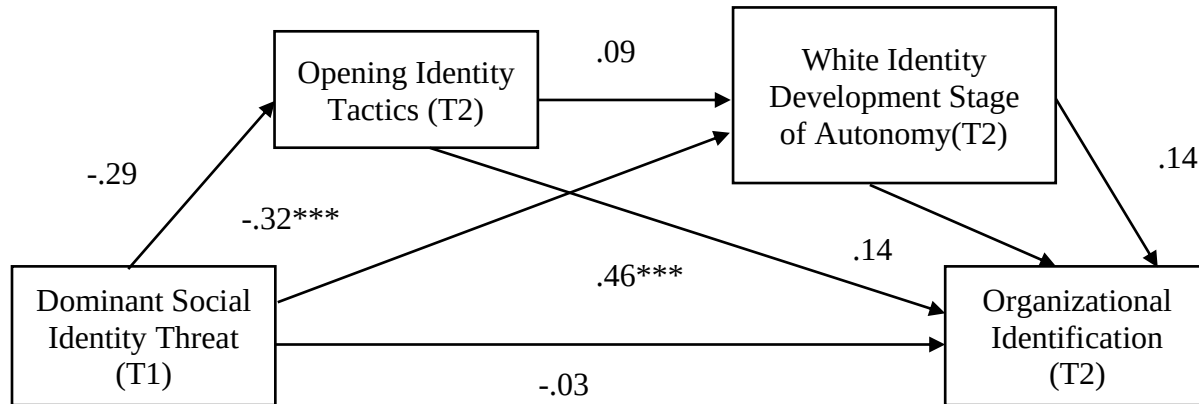
Note: $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$. $n = 87$

Figure 10b. Valuing of Diversity Serial Mediation Results for Study 2 Control Condition
(Chapter 7)



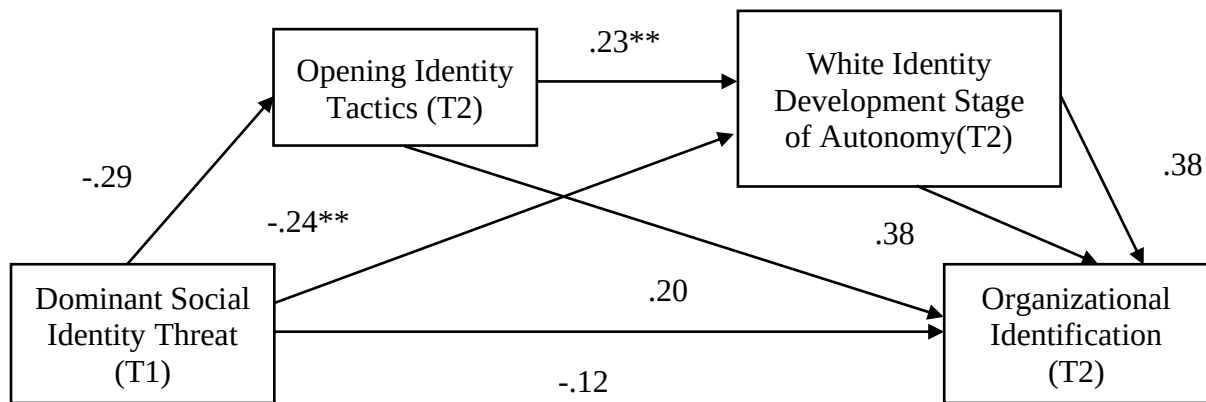
Note: $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$. $n = 89$

Figure 11a. Organizational Identification Serial Mediation Results for Study 2 Intervention Condition (Chapter 7)



Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 11b. Organizational Identification Serial Mediation Results for Study 2 Control Condition (Chapter 7)



Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Appendix 1: Clean Campus Initiative Memo (Pilot Study 1, Chapter 5)

Akan Business School Announces New Working Group to Address Littering on Campus

Dear Members of the Akan Community,

Recent deeply troubling acts of littering serve as an important reminder that we all have a responsibility to build a clean and presentable campus.

As a respected business school in North America, Akan has a long tradition of actively encouraging and supporting our community to show respect for the Akan campus. But we know that more must be done, particularly with regard to the littering in the entrance courtyard. The Akan community and the School recognize our responsibility to listen and take action in combating this nuisance for both Akan members and visitors alike.

With input from the Undergraduate Business Society and Graduate Business Council, we are announcing the formation of the **Clean Campus Working Group** with representatives from our students, faculty, staff and alumni.

The **Clean Campus Working Group** will develop recommendations for concrete actions in the following four priority areas:

- identify ways to reduce littering among our students, staff and faculty;
- provide greater financial assistance and support for recycling and trash bins;
- integrate environmental perspectives into our curriculum and learning;
- foster a culture of environmental sustainability at Akan.

I also want to update you regarding a number of immediate steps and initiatives already underway:

- Akan is currently in talks with other leading business schools in the area on a major joint initiative to tackle barriers for recycling and effective waste management. The joint initiative will look at ways to provide trash bins across the campuses and financial support for more sanitation workers.
- We are creating learning modules with content on the importance of recycling. These modules will be mandatory for all incoming and current students at Akan during orientation. We are also bringing more information about the environment, particularly recycling, into our curriculum through existing and new course offerings.

The administration, faculty, staff and students at Akan are ready to listen, learn and work together with those who want to clean up our campus. Collectively, we continue to promote our values at Akan and within the wider business community. We know that much work still needs to be done and I look forward to sharing the recommendations of the working group.

Sincerely,

Kevin Wilson
Dean, Akan Business School

Appendix 2: Diversity Initiative Memo (Pilot Study 1 and Study 1, Chapters 5 and 6)

Akan Business School Announces New Working Group to Address Anti-Black and Anti-Indigenous Racism

Dear Members of the Akan Community,

Recent deeply troubling acts of anti-Black racism serve as an important reminder that we all have a responsibility to build equitable and inclusive communities.

As one of the most diverse business schools in North America, Akan has a long tradition of actively encouraging and supporting inclusivity and diversity. But we know that more must be done, particularly with regard to Black and Indigenous communities. The Akan community and the School recognize our responsibility to listen and take action in combating anti-Black and anti-Indigenous racism.

With input from the Undergraduate Business Society and Graduate Business Council, we are announcing the formation of the **Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Working Group** with representatives from our students, faculty, staff and alumni.

The **Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Working Group** will develop recommendations for concrete actions in the following five priority areas:

- identify ways to create greater Black and Indigenous representation among our students, staff and faculty;
- provide greater financial assistance and support to Black and Indigenous students;
- integrate Black and Indigenous perspectives into our curriculum and learning;
- strengthen our engagement with external stakeholders to overcome systemic anti-Black and anti-Indigenous racism; and
- foster a culture of active allyship with Black and Indigenous communities at Akan.

I also want to update you regarding a number of immediate steps and initiatives already underway:

- Akan is currently in talks with other leading business schools in the area on a major joint initiative to tackle barriers for Black and Indigenous students, particularly from high schools in economically disadvantaged communities. The joint initiative will look at ways to provide enhanced mentorship and financial support, as well as develop high school programming to create greater awareness of business education opportunities following graduation.
- We are creating learning modules with content on diversity, equity and inclusion. These modules will be mandatory for all incoming and current students at Akan during orientation. We are also bringing more diversity into our curriculum through existing and new course offerings.

The administration, faculty, staff and students at Akan are ready to listen, learn and work together with those who face anti-Black and anti-Indigenous racism. Collectively, we continue to promote the values of respect, equity, diversity and inclusion at Akan and within the wider business community. We know that much work still needs to be done and I look forward to sharing the recommendations of the working group.

Sincerely,
Kevin Wilson
Dean, Akan Business School

Appendix 3: Opening Identity Tactics Intervention & Control for Pilot Study (Chapter 5)

Control

1. Can you describe your last professional position?
2. What did you learn in your last position?
3. What knowledge and skills did you bring to this position?
4. Why did you leave your last position?

Exercise 1

1. How do you feel about your identity at the moment? What are things that you would like to learn more about yourself?
2. Can you think of a time when you felt different from other people? How did this make you feel?
3. What are things that have you learned from other people?
4. When have you changed a belief or perception through interacting with people different from you?
5. How do you think you could benefit from exploring your racial identity?

Exercise 2

1. How do you see your racial identity?
2. What would you like to know more about your racial identity?
3. How do you perceive people of colour are treated in comparison to members of your race?
4. How do you think you could benefit from exploring your racial identity?

Exercise 3

1. What do you think makes your racial identity unique?
2. How do you think your racial identity impacts your relationship with members of other races?
3. How do you think you could benefit from exploring your racial identity?

Exercise 4

1. What do you see as advantages to being a member of your racial identity?
2. What do you see as disadvantages to being a member of your racial identity?
3. How do you think you could benefit from exploring your racial identity?

Exercise 5

1. Have you ever felt that you were treated differently for your racial identity?
2. How do you think people of other races may be treated differently?
3. How do you think members of your racial identity can be involved in diversity initiatives?
4. How do you think you could benefit from exploring your racial identity?

Appendix 4: Study 1 Opening Identity Tactics Intervention (Chapter 6)

Please read the following information very carefully.

As part of this project, we would like to learn more about yourself and perspectives on the world. Please carefully read the following statements and record your response. The more detailed you are, the more helpful your responses are for our research.

Your racial identity is defined as the collective identity of any group socialized to think of themselves as a racial group (e.g., Black, White, East Asian).

1. What do you see as advantages to being a member of your racial identity?
2. What do you see as disadvantages to being a member of your racial identity?
3. How do you think you could benefit from exploring your racial identity?

Appendix 5: Study 1 Control Condition (Chapter 6)

Please read the following information very carefully.

As part of this project, we would like to learn more about yourself and perspectives on the world. Please carefully read the following statements and record your response. The more detailed you are, the more helpful your responses are for our research.

1. Can you describe your last professional position?
1. What did you learn in your last position?
2. What knowledge and skills did you bring to this position?
3. Why did you leave your last position?

Appendix 6: Study 2 Opening Identity Tactics Intervention (Chapter 7)

Week 1: Intervention

1. What do you see as advantages to being a member of your racial identity?

Your racial identity is defined as the collective identity of any group socialized to think of themselves as a racial group (e.g., Black, White, East Asian).

Please write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

2. What do you see as disadvantages to being a member of your racial identity?

Your racial identity is defined as the collective identity of any group socialized to think of themselves as a racial group (e.g., Black, White, East Asian).

Please write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

3. How do you think you could benefit from exploring your racial identity? Exploration involves looking into unfamiliar areas about one's racial identity in order to learn more about it.

Your racial identity is defined as the collective identity of any group socialized to think of themselves as a racial group (e.g., Black, White, East Asian).

Please write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

Week 2: Intervention

1. How do you think your racial identity has impacted your life? How has it impacted your identity?

Your racial identity is defined as the collective identity of any group socialized to think of themselves as a racial group (e.g., Black, White, East Asian).

Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

2. How do you perceive people of color are treated in comparison to White people?

Your racial identity is defined as the collective identity of any group socialized to think of themselves as a racial group (e.g., Black, White, East Asian).

Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

Week 3: Intervention

1. What does being a member of your race mean to you?

Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

2. How do you think this meaning relates to people of color?

Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

Week 4: Intervention

1. Why do you think there are differences in the outcomes between different racial groups in society?

Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

2. How do you think you may be given advantages due to your race? How do you feel about this?

Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

3. How do you perceive your racial identity in relation to other groups?

Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

Week 5: Intervention

1. Can you think of a member of your racial identity whom you consider anti-racist? What makes this person anti-racist in your eyes?

Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

2. How do you think your racial identity can be anti-racist?

Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

3. How do you feel about discussing your racial identity with other members of your race?

Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

Week 6: Intervention

1. How do you think you can have pride in your racial identity and be anti-racist?

Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

2. What have you learned about your racial identity through these exercises?

Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

3. What are questions that you still have about your racial identity? Develop a plan to address these questions in the future.

Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

Appendix 7: Study 2 Control Condition (Chapter 7)

Week 1: Control

1. Can you describe your last professional position? Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.
2. What did you learn in your last position? Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

Week 2: Control

1. What knowledge and skills did you bring to your last position? Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.
2. Why did you leave your last position? Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

Week 3: Control

1. Describe what you did this week what at work. Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.
2. What will you do for your work next week? Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

Week 4: Control

1. How did you find your first job? Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.
2. Describe the experience of working your first job. Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

Week 5: Control

1. Describe your orientation/training during your first three months of this job. Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.
2. How did this training/orientation differ from your past jobs? Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.
3. How do you perceive your racial identity in relation to other groups? Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

Week 6: Control

1. What kind of feedback have you been given by supervisors in the past? Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.
2. Where do you see your career going in the future? Please take some time and write at least a few sentences. Be as detailed as possible.

Appendix 8: Study 1 and 2 Measures (Chapters 6 and 7)

Study 1: Prejudice (McConahey, 1983)

Please answer the following questions about recent policies and events in society. There are no right or wrong answers.

1. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to Black people than they deserve.
2. It is easy to understand the anger of Black people in America.
3. Discrimination against Black people is no longer a problem in the United States.
4. Over the past few years, Black people have gotten more economically than they deserve.
5. Black people have more influence upon school curriculum plans than they ought to have.
6. Black people are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
7. Black people should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

Study: Fixed Mindset about Racial Identity (adapted from Dweck, 1999)

Please answer the following questions about your perspectives on race and your racial identity. There are no right or wrong answers.

1. You have a certain understanding of your racial identity, and you can't really do much to change it.
2. Your racial identity is something about you that you can't change very much.
3. You can learn new things about your race, but you can't really change your racial identity.

Study 1 and Study 2: Opening Identity Tactics

The following items ask you to reflect on your likelihood of engaging in exploration related to your racial identity. Your racial identity is defined as the collective identity of any group socialized to think of themselves as a racial group (e.g., Black, White, East Asian). People may engage in these thoughts and activities at home and at work. What extent do you anticipate you will engage in the following thoughts and activities:

1. I will look for new perspectives and ways of thinking about my racial identity
2. I will talk to different people to help me understand my racial identity
3. I will try to grow and explore my racial identity
4. I will explore what it means to be a member of my race
5. I will look for new thoughts or information on my racial identity

Study 1 and Study 2: Closing Identity Tactics

The following items ask you to reflect on your likelihood of reinforcing what you already know and think about your racial identity. Your racial identity is defined as the collective identity of any group socialized to think of themselves as a racial group (e.g., Black, White, East Asian). People may engage in these thoughts and activities at home and at work. What extent do you anticipate you will engage in the following thoughts and activities:

1. I will think about my racial identity in ways that fit what society defines
2. I will concentrate on ways to feel good about my racial identity
3. I will achieve goals that will help me with members of my race
4. I will focus on parts of my racial identity that are clearly understood
5. I will construct my racial identity based on my previous experiences
6. I will think of my racial identity in ways that align with societal norms and expectations
7. I will think of my racial identity in a way that is the same as how society expects

Study 1 and Study 2: Valuing of Diversity (Chen & Hooisberg, 2000)

The following items ask you to evaluate the organization from the memo that you read earlier (Akan Business School). What did you think about the organization after reading about this new initiative? Please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

1. This organization should be commended for their initiatives on diversity.
2. This organization provides good role models for other organizations.
3. From a business perspective, the organization is doing the right thing dealing with diversity
4. From a moral perspective, the organization is doing the right thing dealing with diversity.
5. More companies with a diverse workforce should implement diversity programs as describe in the video.

Study 1 and 2: Organizational Identification (Mael & Ashforth, 1992)

Please indicate your agreement with the following statements towards the organization if you were a member/ towards your current organization.

1. If someone criticized my organization, it would feel like a personal insult.
2. I would be very interested in what others think about my organization.
3. When I talked about this organization, I would usually say 'we' rather than 'they'.
4. This organization's successes would be my successes.
5. If someone praised this organization, it would feel like a personal compliment.
6. If a story in the media criticized this organization, I would feel embarrassed.

Study 1 and Study 2: Dominant Social Identity Threat (Lyons, Lynch & Johnson, 2020)

How do you respond to the organization's new policy? Please respond as honestly as possible.

1. My identity is incompatible with the organization's new policy.
2. I cannot talk about my personal and cultural experiences after the organization's new policy is implemented.
3. I could not show parts of my identity after the organization's new policy is implemented.
4. The organization's new policy makes me uncomfortable about being my identity.
5. My identity seems to have less value under the organization's new policy.

Study 2: Autonomy Stage of White Racial Identity Development (Helms, 1990)

The following items ask you to reflect on your interactions with other groups. Your racial identity is defined as the collective identity of any group socialized to think of themselves as a racial group (e.g., Black, White, East Asian). People may engage in these thoughts and activities at home and at work.

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

1. I enjoy watching the different ways that Black people and White people approach life.
2. Black people and White people have much to learn from each other.
3. There are some valuable things that White people can learn from Black people that they cannot learn from other White people.
4. There are some valuable things that Black people can learn from other Black people that they can't learn from White people.
5. Black people and White people can have successful intimate relationships.