

**WOMXN AND THE ‘BRILLIANT JERKS’ THEY WORK WITH: SEXISM
AND POLICY KNOWLEDGE CONSTRUCTION IN THE TECHNOLOGY
INDUSTRY**

by

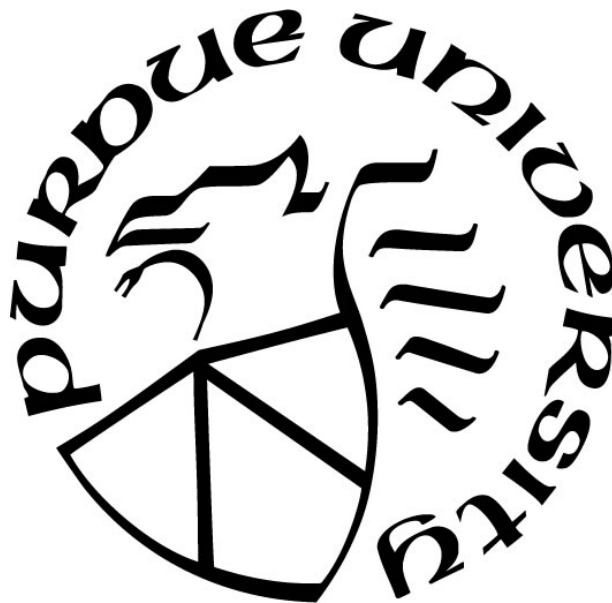
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For the resilient

the world
gives you
so much pain
and here you are
making gold out of it
there is nothing purer than that (Kaur, 2015)

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ABSTRACT

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Title: Womxn and the 'Brilliant Jerks' They Work With: Sexism and Policy Knowledge Construction in the Technology Industry.

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Despite heightened efforts to increase gender parity, organizations in the technology industry are struggling to implement and enact Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (GDIPs). This purpose of this dissertation was to enhance understandings of obstacles to policy enactment and unearth ways in which organizations can create more equitable work environments. Specifically, this project investigated how members of technology organizations construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their personal experiences, attitudes and beliefs, and interactions with others within and external to their organization. Utilizing a critical-interpretivist and intersectional feminism as ontological and epistemological frameworks, this dissertation study draws from structuring activity theory (SAT; Canary, 2010) and theories of organizational identification (Scott, 2007) to explore issues of policy knowledge construction, implementation, and enactment. Completed in two phases, this dissertation employed a mixed-methods design. Phase One used DeVellis' (2017) framework to develop a Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy attitude scale (GDIPAS) to evaluate how personal opinions about GDIPs and larger constructs like sexism, feminism, identification, and social desirability contribute to the policy knowledge construction process. Phase Two used a parallel analysis design to quantitatively (i.e., surveys) and qualitatively (i.e., interviews) investigate how members of tech-based organizations construct GDIP knowledge through intra- and extra-organizational interactions, as well as personal beliefs and attitudes (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Phase One

resulted in five-factors underlying Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy attitude: perception of policy abuse, policy familiarity, perception of workforce gender inequity, policy support, and perception of organizational gender diversity. Results from Phase Two indicated that members of technology organizations interact within and across activity systems to construct knowledge about GDIPs through structural contradictions that (re)produce barriers to policy implementation and enactment. This project contributed to organizational communication theory by investigating the role of organizational identification in the policy knowledge construction process. Further, this dissertation extended SAT by identifying two new structural contradictions and a primary system-level contradiction, and by centralizing power in the investigation of policy knowledge construction. Methodologically, this dissertation offers a new policy attitude measure for scholars and practitioners. Finally, results of this project provide practical insights into barriers to policy implementation and enactment.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

“The HR rep began the meeting by asking me if I had noticed that *I* was the common theme in all of the reports I had been making, and that if I had ever considered that I might be the problem” (Fowler, 2017, emphasis in the original). Susan Fowler, an engineer who worked at Uber for only one year, wrote a blogpost detailing the sexism (e.g. discrimination, prejudice, or stereotyping on the basis of sex) and corporate malfeasance she experienced working for the company. Her account sparked a national outcry. Since her blogpost, there has been a mass exodus of Uber’s executives (Bosa, 2017; Isaac, 2017) and a critique of the culture at startups (Lyons, 2017). Although hers is just one of many tales of sexism and corporate indifference to go public since 2017 (Benner, 2017; Solon, Wong, & Levin, 2017), her story highlights the struggles of women employed in the technology industry.

What is the Technology Industry?

The technology industry is characterized by organizations that either produce or sell technology or technology services/platforms. While many tech organizations are well-established and familiar to laypersons (i.e., Google, Microsoft, IBM), organizations in the tech industry also include investor-backed startup companies and newly coined sharing economy organizations.

Startup Organizations

While not all startup companies are in the technology industry, the term startup is in recent times equated with tech companies. This conflation is partially due to the rise of digital technology businesses (i.e., online platforms that provide a technological service; e.g., phone application development) and sharing economy organizations, a new type of tech organization, which will be

discussed more in depth below. Definitions of startup companies, including how much an organization can develop before it ceases being a startup, are ambiguous and often competing. However, startup organizations are broadly characterized by their fast-growing pace, room for growth, geographic dispersion, and focus on production, innovation, and impact. While startup organizations are often thought of as newly created, startup status is more closely tied to size, profits, and progress markers (e.g., fewer than 80 employees, less than \$20 million in revenue, no more than five board members, shares sold by founders; Robehmed, 2013, para. 6). Adora Cheung, the co-founder and CEO of Homejoy, a sharing economy organization that specializes in house cleaning, posited that startups are “a state of mind” in which employees “[make] the explicit decision to forgo stability in exchange for the promise of tremendous growth and the excitement of making immediate impact” (Robehmed, 2013, para. 4). This tradeoff, however, is not limited to stability; organizational culture also could indicate high levels of employee identification with the organization and its values.

Identification, Culture, and Startups

Startup organizations are renowned for their toxic produce or perish mentalities that drive production, but neglect culture. As a ‘state of mind’, organizational members may be expected to share the same vision, goals, and dreams for the startup company; to believe in the company, its values, and its product. This could be described as a sense of oneness or affinity, or in other words, identification (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008). When organizational members are highly identified with their organization, they are more likely to act in what they believe to be in the best interest of the organization, and dismiss organizational wrongdoing as accidental, rare, or the fault of an individual rather than a systemic issue (Ashforth et al., 2008). Given the financial risk associated with startups, organizational leaders often strongly encourage employee identification

and push organizational values related to profit, growth, and innovation rather than inclusivity, diversity, and equity (Doyle, 2017). When startup organizations encourage employees who share their vision and values to strive for growth, profit, and innovation, the needs of women and other minority groups¹ are relegated to the background (McAveeney, 2013; Fowler, 2017). In situations in which culture is neglected and employees have bought into and are identified with profit or perish mentalities, even if an organizational leader were to publicly promote cultural values and policies meant to stimulate diversity, employees may ignore policies in favor of actions that they believe to be in the best interest of the organization.

Sharing Economy Organizations

Although sharing economy organizations fall under the technology industry umbrella and are classified as tech organizations, they also begin as startup organizations (i.e., fast-growing, recently launched companies that seek to fill a market need; Robehmed, 2013). Sharing, or gig², economy organizations are a new form of tech-based organizations that “collaboratively make use of underutilized inventory via fee-based sharing” (Zervas, Proserpio, & Byers, 2017, p. 2). These organizations (e.g., Uber, Lyft, Airbnb, crowdfunding sites) operate through peer-to-peer lending systems in which contractors provide a service to consumers on a digital platform (i.e., website, phone application; The rise of the sharing economy, 2013). The services these technology-based, sharing economy organizations provide is the digital platform through which the contractors and consumers connect (c.f., White, 2015). For example, car share organizations do not typically

¹ As discussed in Chapter Three, this dissertation adopts intersectional feminism as an epistemological framework. While gender is the primary focus of this dissertation, women’s experiences of gender-based discrimination may intersect with their other, possibly marginalized, identities (e.g., race, sexuality, ability). Thus, ‘other minority groups’ are occasionally discussed in addition to gender (e.g., women).

² Gig work also includes labor contracted out by tech organizations to reduce overhead costs associated with traditional full-time employees.

provide vehicles. Rather, they provide the platform for drivers (i.e., contractors) to share their services (i.e., car rides) with individuals who want to be driven to a location (i.e., consumers). Similarly, home sharing organizations do not provide homes; hosts (i.e., contractors) use the digital platform provided by the organization to rent out their residences to clients (i.e., consumers). Other examples of sharing economy organizations include task-related platforms that allow a contractor to shop or complete an errand for the consumer (e.g., Task Rabbit, Shipt). Alternatively, some sharing economy organizations' contractors and consumers are not individuals offering and purchasing services, but rather corporations renting out office spaces or hiring freelance workers. By constructing service providers as contractors, sharing economy organizations remain classified as technology (tech) companies; they do not provide a service or product, they connect those with a product or service with those who need the product or service. If sharing economy organizations classified contractors as employees, they would be categorized as an organization in the industry for which they host services (e.g., Uber would be a car service organization, Homejoy would be a cleaning service organization). Although sharing economy organizations rely on the use of peer-to-peer lending systems, broadly conceptualized, they also employ full-time workers in their corporate offices. That is, while contractors are not considered employees (Morgan, 2015; White, 2015), sharing economy organizations do have traditional employees that develop, run, manage, and promote the digital platform.

Contractors in Tech Organizations

Although the distinction between independent contractors and employees may seem nominal, it has serious implications for policy implementation and enactment for the entirety of the tech industry. In 2018, contract workers at Google outnumbered traditional employees for the first time in the organization's 20 years of operation, and throughout the technology sector contract

work is on the rise (Sheng, 2018). While contract work offers individuals flexibility and financial and professional development opportunities not typically found in traditional workspaces (Sheng, 2018), many employment lawyers argue that the term ‘contractor’ could be a misclassification exploited by sharing economy organizations and tech organizations to avoid legal responsibility and financial liability (i.e., benefits, protection under national employment laws; Brown, 2016; Redfearn, 2016; White, 2015)³. This is particularly concerning for women who offer nearly 40% of the services in the gig economy, and whose participation in alternative work structures doubled from 2005 to 2015 and continues to rise (Doyle, 2017).

Gender Disparity in Contract Work

Some believe that contract or gig work is the key to eradicating gender disparity in the workforce, as it allows women more flexibility than traditional jobs and to set their own wages (Khan, 2017). Others argue that while men might feel emasculated by working from home, women are more comfortable with work often demeaned as not a ‘real job’ and are thus more suited for work in the gig economy (Breslin, 2012). Further, it is posited that “this freelance, contract work provides ambitious and career-driven women...an opportunity to stay in the game while they start families, launch new businesses or care for a sick child, spouse or parent” (Galluzzo, 2016, para. 3). Rather than ‘off-ramping’⁴, for-contract work is constructed as a flexible alternative for women who would otherwise feel the need to leave their organizations to do care work, receive equitable pay, reach the top levels of organizations, and juggle their multiple roles (Breslin, 2012; DeFelice, 2017; Doyle, 2017; Galluzzo, 2016). While these arguments acknowledge the various opportunities for, and the growing number of, women in the sharing economy, they fail to address

³Though national employment regulations for sharing economy organizations are highly ambiguous, some states have individually moved to place operating and employment regulations on these organizations.

⁴ Off-ramping refers to a phenomenon in which women temporarily leave the workforce following pregnancy.

some fundamental issues: 1) the lack of organizational responsibility and financial liability for organizational wrongdoing and member wellbeing in sharing economy organizations, 2) the role of discrimination in driving women both into and out of sharing economy organizations.

Contract Work and Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policies

Organizations are thought to escape responsibility for gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) by classifying service providers as independent contractors. This classification often releases tech organizations from national employment law regulations which ensure fair and safe working conditions (e.g., Fair Labor Standards Act, Occupational Safety and Health Act, Family Leave Medical Act, Fair Pay Act of 1963; Morgan, 2015). Organizations in the tech industry do not have a legal obligation to ensure fair and harassment-free working conditions for women who contract their services; contractors are not protected from unjust termination or discrimination, nor are they guaranteed to receive parental or sick leave. Further, tech organizations may terminate any contractor who is not meeting performance standards, which is thought to contribute to contractors' decreased harassment report rates. That is, contractors who fear their performance rates will drop and they will be terminated if they report clients' behavior are more likely to stay silent about their experiences with sexism and discrimination (Doyle, 2017). This is concerning as women contracting in the sharing or gig economy are more likely to experience work-related discrimination and sexual harassment and are often even more vulnerable due to their low-income statuses (Doyle, 2017; Huet, 2015; Kale, 2016; Levin, 2017d).

Rather than a system in which women create their own rules and manage their work, tech organizations can create an environment in which women must work through potentially harsh conditions (e.g., harassment, long hours, below minimum wage) without legal protection. Organizational attitudes toward contractors are beginning to change, however, as the employee-

to-contractor ratio shifts and workers – both traditional and contractor – advocate for contractor benefits (Sheng, 2018; Wong, 2019).

In April 2019, more than 900 full-time Google employees banded together in what was called a historic show of solidarity to admonish Google for its treatment of temp, vendor and contract (TVC) workers after the company unexpectedly shortened the contracts of 80% of temp workers on the personality team responsible for the voice of Google Assistant (Wong, 2019). While the ability to scale up and down quickly and according to organizational need is a benefit of contract work typically lauded by organizational leaders, traditional employees protested the organization's actions and called for the respect of TVCs (Google Walkout for Change, n.d.; Wong, 2019). Their protest was not in vain; Google announced changes to their US policies for TVCs including the introduction of comprehensive health insurance, paid parental and sick leave, and reimbursement for skills training (Wong, 2019). As tech organizations continue to use more and more contract labor, it is important to understand not only the ways in which contract work provides individuals with unique opportunities, but also 1) how organizations use contract work as a term to avoid responsibility, and 2) how traditional employees make sense of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies and organizations' responsibility to all organizational members, including contract workers.

Gender-Based Discrimination in the Tech Industry

Gender-based discrimination plays a large role in both driving women to and away from the technology industry. Arguments for gig work as an alternative to traditional work for women who feel they must leave to receive equitable pay or balance their work and family roles (DeFelice, 2017; Galluzzo, 2016) fail to address underlying issues that drive women away from traditional employment in the tech industry and workforce as a whole (e.g., failure to create fair work

environments). Although contractors are often excluded from protection under organizational and national employment laws, employees of sharing economy organizations are protected by and receive benefits in accordance with national employment laws (U.S. Department of Labor, 2016; White, 2015). Despite the presence of employment laws, tech organizations may struggle to implement and enact⁵ policies meant to protect employees in underrepresented groups (e.g., gender-, racial-, age-based groups). Despite its adherence to libertarian utopianism (i.e., the belief that genius can solve societal problems; Doyle, 2017, para. 9), the tech industry has a long history of gender inequality.

Gender Gaps in Tech

The technology industry is a paragon of gender inequality in the workforce, boasting both an employee gender gap (i.e., women are underrepresented in the overall employee base) and a sizeable gender wage gap – 29% for women under 50 (Morris, 2017). Despite increased Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies⁶ organizations in the technology industry are still struggling to recruit and retain employees in underrepresented groups, and the gender gap is widening (Price, 2016). This shortcoming stems from both cultural issues (Marcus, 2015) and a failure to move beyond numbers-based approaches to diversity (Fussell, 2016) which often result in tokenism. Further, current initiatives often rely on pipeline arguments which turn the focus from organizational behavior to education, suggesting that there just are not enough skilled minorities to hire (Selyukh, 2016). Instead, a USA Today analysis found, “top universities turn out Black and

⁵Within this dissertation, “implement” is used to denote top-down policy processes in which persons with authority create and enforce policy texts, and “enact” is used to refer to collaborative processes in which policies are given meaning, accepted, or subverted (Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2012).

⁶As an umbrella term, Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are expansive and incorporate a variety of institutional initiatives and national employment laws. Policies covered under this term might include Equal Opportunity, Affirmative Action, Anti-Harassment, and Family Leave policies, and address laws such as the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Pregnancy Discrimination Act, Family Leave Medical Act, and the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act.

Hispanic computer science and computer engineering graduates at twice the rate the leading technology companies hire them” (Weise & Guynn, 2014, para. 1). Rather than an issue with the “pipeline”, it has been argued that it is tech organizations’ cultures that perpetuate problems with unconscious bias in hiring, gender diversity, tokenism, and turnover of underrepresented communities (Selyukh, 2016). This type of culture was thought to play a part in Susan Fowler’s case when, despite interest and aptitude, Uber’s inaction and focus on profit led her to believe she had no choice but to leave the organization. Sharing and gig economy organizations not only have gender gaps in their corporate employee base, but also in their contractor base (Huet, 2015; Kale, 2016). Though some organizations have made efforts to rectify discrimination at the employee, contractor, and client levels (Benner, 2016), disparity within the tech industry remains.

Gender Wage Gaps in Tech

While the lack of women in this higher paying field influences the overall gender wage gap⁷, women within the technology industry also make less than their male counterparts, both at the employee and contractor levels (Huet, 2015; Kale, 2016). According to a study conducted by Comparably (2016) – an organization dedicated to providing comprehensive compensation and culture data – women 18-25 years old in the tech industry make 29% less than their male counterparts; from 26-30 years old they make 19% less; from 31-35 years old women make 23% less; women 36-40 years old make 23% less; from 41-45 years old they make 27% less; and from 46-50 years old they make 14% less. Women older than 50 make 5% less than their male counterparts. While Comparably’s data are comprehensive and systematic (broken down to show differences in race, education, location, and organizational department), the data do not address

⁷The gender wage gap is calculated by using the median the salary of men and women across industries (Miller, 2017).

why these changes occur over time nor do they take into consideration the high number of women that leave the tech industry early in their career, leaving few to reach the higher earning positions or lower disparity rates (Cole, 2014). Furthermore, the data do not include contractor work. Though, contractors within gig economy organizations are typically paid equitably (e.g., rates Uber drivers are standardized), in organizations where contractors can set their own rates, women are usually underpaid, and across organizations contractors in male-dominated companies (e.g., car services) are typically paid more than contractors in female-dominated companies (e.g., home cleaning services) regardless of marked differences in the difficulty of work (Kale, 2016).

Resistance to Diversity and Inclusion Efforts

Despite initiatives to decrease gender disparity in tech organizations (e.g., Benner, 2016; Levin, 2017c), gender and gender wage gaps remain constant and discrimination persists (Levin, 2017a), leaving questions about the effectiveness of organizational policies and the cultures in which they are embedded. Google's recent issues with diversity serve as an exemplar. After facing harsh criticism for their large gender pay gap (Levin, 2017c), a male engineer employed at Google released a scathing 10-page memorandum in which he railed against the organization's diversity initiatives. In the memorandum, he chastised the organization for its 'politically correct monoculture', accused it of silencing conservative voices, and argued against diversity efforts by asserting that biological differences were responsible for the disparity between men and women in tech and leadership positions (Bergen & Huet, 2017, para. 5). While he was later fired for perpetuating gender stereotypes and is now suing the company for discrimination against white men (Blumberg, 2018), his voice represents many who are discontent with diversity initiatives in tech organizations but may keep silent about their beliefs out of fear of organizational retaliation or negative perception (Conger, 2017). It is possible that organizations in the tech industry struggle

to improve their diversity because of members' perceptions of and beliefs about gender disparity and subsequent organizational diversity and inclusion policies. How employees perceive diversity and inclusion policies is important as it could impact how policies are implemented and enacted, as well as their effectiveness.

Barriers to Policy Implementation and Enactment

Though sexism in the tech industry, and especially in early-stage startups, is considered to happen on a 'breathtaking' scale, it is often underreported due to organizational cultures that deter women from speaking up about their experiences (Levin, 2017b). Minority groups, such as women, are particularly vulnerable in organizations in which organizational leaders have hired and promoted friends, and in which Human Resources departments have not been established; these practices are common in startup and tech organizations. When Susan Fowler attempted to report her experiences of sexism and harassment to Uber's Human Resources department organizational leaders refused to punish her harasser, claiming his "high performance" status as a justification for his retention and their lack of action (Fowler, 2017). This type of organizational response signals to organizational members that profit and performance are more important than gender equity in the workplace and have the potential to deter women from speaking up in the future.

Power and Policy

Power differences in startup organizations play a role in corporate dismissal of allegations of sexism and discrimination. As nearly 90% of startup organizations fail, investors and high performers occupy nearly untouchable positions within the organization. Investors are particularly powerful as they are not traditional employees of the organization, are not bound by organizational policies, and can leave at any time. As startups live and die by investor approval, these

organizations often bend over backwards to stay in an investor's goodwill. Thus, within startup companies, organizational members who experience gender-based discrimination at the hands of an investor are left with few resources and are unlikely to receive organizational backing if they choose to go up against the investor (Solon et al., 2017). These problems of power have traditionally perpetuated a culture of silence in startup organizations among women who experience discrimination and harassment.

Policy Knowledge Construction in Tech Organizations

Women are beginning to speak publicly about their experiences, however, providing more support for those whose experiences have been marginalized and dismissed as rare (Benner, 2017). As women come forward with their experiences, it becomes necessary to ask how members of tech organizations – including those at startups and working in sharing or gig economy organizations – construct knowledge about organizational policies meant to protect women from these discrimination, and the role of personal experiences, interactions with others, and identification in the construction process.

Organizations in tech boast 'breathtaking' and 'pervasive' gender disparity despite policies and initiatives created to quell sexism and discrimination. This problem, as demonstrated above, is exacerbated in organizations that also perpetuate unfair work environments through their classification of employees as independent contractors. Though traditional employees are protected by national and organizational policies, employees may feel as though they cannot enact these policies without consequence. Through observation and interactions with others, employees may construct contradictory ideas about their organization's true feelings about Gender Diversity and Inclusion; this may be further influenced by how organizational leaders in tech organizations discursively distance themselves from contractors and clients to avoid legal and financial

responsibility in cases of sexism. The pervasive gender disparity within and across tech organizations points to a need for organizational scholars to study 1) women's experiences in the tech industry as both employees and contractors, and 2) how individuals across various levels of employment make sense of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (e.g., anti-discrimination, hiring, equal pay) in tech organizations. Without inquiry and intervention, gender disparity in the technology industry is likely to continue.

Organizational communication scholars are uniquely positioned to study the gender disparity in technology-based organizations for several reasons. First, organizational (communication) theories can address multiple levels (i.e., micro-, meso-, and macro- levels) of interaction and meaning construction; a multi-level approach is useful for examining the ways in which gender and policy knowledge are discursively constructed nationally, organizationally, and individually. Second, organizational (communication) theories often encourage researchers to look across systems of interaction. Organizations are complex and composed of intersecting systems (e.g., board members, managers, non-managerial employees, contractors, clients), and effected by outside systems (e.g., various publics, families). Organizational communication theories can help researchers examine how policy knowledge is communicatively constructed across and through these systems (e.g., how policy knowledge is created in interactions between organizational sub-systems, how policy knowledge is created in interactions between organizational systems and outside systems). Third, through the process of scholarly inquiry, organizational communication scholars can explore practice-based opportunities for change, examining ways in which organizational cultures can be transformed and gender discrimination reduced and one day, eradicated.

This dissertation extends organizational communication scholarship in several ways. First, by developing a scale to measure policy attitude across multiple dimensions, allowing both scholars and practitioners to obtain a more nuanced understanding of employees' perceptions of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. Second, this project examines the role of organizational identification in the policy knowledge construction process, providing new insight into why and how members of organizations make sense of policies in certain ways. Further, this study explicitly interrogates how policy knowledge is constructed through and subsequently reproduces power to better understand barriers to equity. Finally, this dissertation contributes to the growing body of mixed methods critical and feminist organizational communication research, providing further support for the power of mixed methods research in studying issues of power.

The purpose of this dissertation is to understand how members of tech-based organizations construct Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge through their personal values, attitudes, and experiences, and interactions with others (Guiding RQ). More specifically, this project draws on critical-interpretivist (e.g., Craig, 1999) and intersectional feminist (e.g., Crenshaw, 1991) frameworks and structuring activity theory (e.g., Canary, 2010a) to understand obstacles to policy implementation and enactment and unearth ways in which organizations could create more equitable work environments. The technology industry continues to grow, and gender disparity within these organizations is not improving. This dissertation provides insight to both scholars and practitioners with insight into how organizational members⁸ construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, highlighting the role of intersectional identities, personal experiences with gender-based discrimination, organizational identification, social structures, and interactions with others in the policy knowledge construction process.

⁸ The term "organizational member" will be used throughout this study to denote both traditional employees and contractors.

Dissertation Outline

This dissertation was conducted in two phases, resulting in a somewhat unorthodox structure; the following outline provides information about each subsequent chapter's content. To further contextualize and explicate the purpose of this study, in the next chapter I review extant literature on policy knowledge construction, structuring activity theory, and organizational identity and identification to better explore how individuals construct policy knowledge through their individual attitudes, values, and experiences and interactions with others; research questions are offered accordingly. Chapter Three outlines the ontological and epistemological lenses through which this research was conducted. Further, Chapter Three presents mixed methods research designs as a suitable method for this study and explains the structure of this project. Chapter Four details the procedures, participants, and data analytical techniques used to develop a scale in Phase One, while Chapter Five presents the findings of the scale development. Chapters Six and Seven address Phase Two of this dissertation. In Chapter Six, I explain how surveys and interviews were used to examine each research and how data were collected and analyzed. Then, in Chapter Seven, I use the collected data to answer each research question and paint a picture of how members of tech organizations construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. Finally, Chapter Eight reviews the findings by situating them in extant literature, presents the theoretical, practical, and methodological contributions of this project, and explains the limitations of the findings before turning to avenues for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are expansive and incorporate a variety of institutional initiatives and national employment laws. Policies covered under this umbrella term might include Equal Opportunity, Affirmative Action, Anti-Harassment, and Family Leave policies, and address laws such as the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Pregnancy Discrimination Act, Family Leave Medical Act, and the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act, among others. While Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are present in most organizations, how and if they are implemented varies as actors from intersecting systems interact to enact them. Ultimately, policy enactment relies on how organizational members communicate about policies, as well as how they understand them (Canary, Riforgiate, & Montoya, 2013, p. 472). How this understanding, or knowledge, develops is inextricable from communication.

The research question guiding (G-RQ) this study is: *How do members of organizations in the tech industry construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their personal beliefs, attitudes, and experiences with and perceptions of gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) in the workforce, and interactions with others?* To answer this question, this dissertation draws from policy knowledge construction – particularly, structuring activity theory – and organizational identification literatures. In the following sections I present extant research from each body of literature, identify areas for expansion, and propose research questions for this project.

Policy Knowledge Construction

Organizational knowledge is defined as, “the symbolic and/or practical routines, resources, and affordances drawn on by organization members and social units as they maintain the

institutional organization and/or coordinate their action and interaction” (McPhee, Corman, & Dooley, 1999, p. 4). Canary argues organizational knowledge is “...grounded in human experience, both individual and collective” (2011, p. 247). Thus, because policy knowledge coordinates organizational action and interaction it can be articulated as a form of organizational knowledge. Examining policy knowledge requires moving beyond understanding top-down information transmission models and how information is used to instead explore the communicative processes through which policy knowledge is constructed. Canary (2011) states, “Examining the construction of knowledge involves focusing not just on what policy knowledge participants hold as a possession, but also on the knowing process itself as policy is discussed, interpreted, and implemented in practice” (p. 245). This process is complex and multifaceted, crossing organizational boundaries to involve both organizational members and non-members (Buzzanell & Liu, 2005; Canary, 2010a) and is subject to organizational and socio-historical contexts (Buzzanell & Liu, 2005; Canary, 2010a; Farrell & Geist-Martin, 2005; Kirby & Krone, 2002; Weintraub, 2005).

A process approach to policy knowledge is vital to understanding the failure of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in organizations within the technology industry. As previously demonstrated, despite an increase in initiatives and organizational policies meant to encourage gender diversity and inclusion, the gender gap⁹ continues to grow in the technology industry (Price, 2016). While this problem is often attributed to the culture of tech-based organizations (Selyukh, 2016), a deeper, communicative examination of the policy knowledge construction process can provide insight into how individuals make decisions regarding policy implementation. Although organizational knowledge is often thought of as collective (Tsoukas & Vladimirou, 2001), others

⁹ Remember, the gender gap refers to the representation of women in tech, not pay disparity (i.e., the gender wage gap). Gender gap is used to denote the absence of women in tech.

argue that it is more fruitful to conceptualize organizational knowledge as the product of both collective and individual knowledge (McPhee et al., 1999; Taylor, 1999). As a type of organizational knowledge, policy knowledge, then, is constructed through the interplay of individual and collective knowledge. At the individual level, Canary (2010a) argues that individuals draw on their values and principles, and the meaning and knowledge they construct about policies, when making decisions about policy interpretation and enactment. Thus, organizations in the tech sector may struggle to implement Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies due to members' perceptions of and beliefs about gender disparity in the workforce, more broadly. If policy knowledge construction occurs through the interplay of personal values and beliefs about policies and interactions with others, it is important to understand how individuals' experiences impact their attitudes toward policies.

Despite the importance of individuals' attitudes toward policies, until this point research using quantitative methods to examine individuals' attitudes towards policies has primarily relied on measures that address policy support (i.e., the positive or negative feelings individuals hold about national or organizational policy). Policy attitude is a commonly used construct, yet it often is undefined and under explored. Outside of the field of communication, policy attitude scales have been developed to examine opinions about anti-discrimination policies (e.g., Richardson, 2005), national healthcare advocacy campaigns (e.g., Ramirez et al., 2006), and government policies (e.g., Raymond & Delshad, 2016), among others. For the most part, these scales address individuals' opinions of and support for specific policies. They do not, however, address the underlying factors that influence the development of these attitudes (e.g., perceived efficacy of policies, opinions about the social issues they address, perceptions of fairness and misuse) and instead are limited to measuring approval and disapproval.

Communicative perspectives, particularly policy knowledge construction, ask that scholars approach policies not as documents with fixed meanings, but structures that develop changing and often competing meaning(s) through the ongoing interaction of agentic organizational members in specific contexts. Thus, while an organization might have a policy that spans multiple locations, each location's members will construct a different meaning for the policy through their own experiences, values, and interactions. Though these processes are typically studied qualitatively, Canary et al. (2013) developed a survey instrument, the policy communication index, to better understand policy communication in organizations. While their index provides valuable insight into how organizational members communicate about policies, like others, its policy attitude measure is treated as synonymous with general policy opinions or support. For instance, items in Canary et al.'s measure include, "I think [policy name] information is important," "[Policy name] is a bad policy in general," "[Policy name] is difficult to use in my company."

This dissertation project builds from Canary et al.'s work to develop a policy attitude scale rooted in constructionism and designed to tap into factors that underlie policy attitude (e.g., perceived efficacy, opinions about the underlying social issue/problem, perceptions of fairness and misuse). To address the topic of this dissertation, the scale was built to specifically address Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. By identifying the factors that contribute to or are associated with Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy attitudes, this scale allows scholars and organizational practitioners to better understand and address resistance to policy implementation and enactment. To understand how organizational members construct policy knowledge it is vital to understand their attitudes towards Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. To aid in the development of a policy attitude scale and to explore the role of individual actors' attitudes about Gender Diversity

and Inclusion policies in the collective policy knowledge construction process, the following research question was posed:

RQ1: What factors contribute to employees' attitudes toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies?

Although organizational policy knowledge construction is shaped by individuals' personal perspectives it is also heavily influenced by interactions with groups of people both within and across organizational boundaries. Kirby and Krone (2002), for instance, found that within organizations coworker interactions played a large role in policy knowledge construction about work/life policies. More specifically, their study illustrated that employees interpreted and made sense of their ability to enact policies through their conversations with and observations of coworkers. Through a communicative process, employees learned that while policy texts gave them certain rights/benefits, they could not *actually* use them without resentment and possible consequences (Kirby & Krone, 2002). Their findings illustrated the power of coworker talk in structuring the terms of policy use (i.e., how policies could be used and who could use them) and the importance of studying policies from a bottom-up rather than a top-down approach.

Policy knowledge construction also occurs across organizational boundaries as organizational policies impact both members and non-members of organizations and exist in specific socio-historical contexts (Buzzanell & Liu, 2005; Canary, 2010a). In other words, policy knowledge construction does not happen in a vacuum; it occurs as organizational members engage with other parties affected by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (e.g., executives, traditional employees, family members, friends, women in similar fields or organizations, shareholders, contractors) and results in ever-changing interpretations of policy that further respond to changes in the socio-historical context. For example, knowledge constructed about policies addressing

workplace sexism by organizational members in and across startups and sharing economy organizations will likely be influenced by the wake of Uber's various scandals (e.g., Bosa, 2017) and the #MeToo movement in which women came forward with their experiences of sexism and sexual harassment to bring awareness to the widespread problem (see Gilbert, 2017). Accordingly, examinations of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge construction must consider the "communicative behaviors that develop knowledge among individuals affected by policies, both within and across organizational boundaries" (Canary, 2010a, p. 23) and the specific socio-historical contexts in which the construction takes place.

Thus, to understand how members of tech organizations construct Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge, researchers must examine not only individual attitudes about the policies, but how formal and informal interactions between organizational members about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (both within and across organizational boundaries with parties affected by the policies) in specific contexts shape individual attitudes and the organizational knowledge constructed. This is particularly important as research suggests that policies adapt and are changed as the employees who "implement, use, or benefit from policies act in particular contexts" (Canary, 2010a, p. 25; Jephcote & Davies, 2004; Moss, 2004). Thus, the literature in the preceding section supports the importance and appropriateness of the guiding research question.

Structurating Activity Theory

Canary's structurating activity theory provides a lens through which to examine policy knowledge construction across and within systems. At its core, structurating activity theory is an integration of constructs from structuration theory and cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT; Canary, 2010a). By combining structuration theory's focus on the interplay of structure and agency (Giddens, 1979) in the policy knowledge process and CHAT's focus on "the mediation of activity,

connections between systems in the policy process, and the transformation of systems...,” SAT allows researchers to examine the connections between micro- and macro-levels of system features “as explanatory mechanisms in the knowledge construction process” (Canary, 2010a, p. 29). Though a complete overview of the theory is beyond the purview of this project, two of its primary theoretical constructs are briefly reviewed below as avenues for investigating how Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge is constructed within organizations in the technology sector; directions for extension of theory are also presented.

Intersections of Activity Systems

A central construct of structuring activity theory, intersections of activity systems recognizes policy knowledge construction as occurring within and across related activity systems. Canary et al. (2013, p. 473) defined activity systems as, “assemblages of people, resources, and practices that produce outcomes over time.” She proposed that “policy knowledge constructed between activity systems is mediated by elements of intersecting activity systems,” and that policy knowledge constructed “between intersecting activity systems is constrained and enabled by structural features” while also (re)producing or transforming social structures (Canary, 2010a, p. 37). These propositions recognize policy knowledge construction as occurring at multiple levels (i.e., individual, collective) and through multiple and intersecting extra- and intra-organizational activity systems (e.g., work groups, families). At the individual level, employees make sense of and interpret policies through their personal experiences, values, and beliefs (Canary & McPhee, 2009; Canary et al., 2013; Tracy & Ashcraft, 2001). For instance, if an organizational member experienced gender-based discrimination, or had previous experience utilizing or failing to utilize Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, he or she might interpret policies differently than someone who has not. Thus, scholars examining the construction of Gender Diversity and

Inclusion policy knowledge may investigate how individuals' experiences with gender-based discrimination in the workforce, or gendered values, might influence their perceptions and interpretations of policy (G-RQ).

Policy knowledge, however, is simultaneously constructed collectively as organizational members interact as subjects of activity systems and discuss policies to create meaning and direct action (Canary et al., 2013). This process happens within and across multiple activity systems both within and across organizational boundaries (Canary, 2010a, 2010b; Canary et al., 2013). Within organizations, examples of activity systems might include non-decision-making employees and decision-making employees (e.g., managers) within various departments which also act as activity systems. Extra-organizational systems might include families, national governing boards, related organizations, other branches or franchises of the same organization, or other groups. Policy knowledge is constructed not only within these activity systems, but where they intersect. Canary argues that “intersections constitute productive sites for investigating the structuration of social systems as cross-system interactions are constrained and enabled by social structure and in turn reproduce (and potentially transform) structure” (2010a, p. 36). Thus, when trying to understand how organizational members construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, examining the intersections of activity systems can help scholars and practitioners better grasp how social structures are called upon in ways that might constrain the transformation of tech organizations into equitable working environments.

Important to this research are the various intersections of hierarchical, departmental, family, network and digital activity systems. While previous research utilizing SAT has examined activity systems both within and outside organizational boundaries (including families as activity systems; e.g., Canary, 2010a; 2010b; Canary, Bullis, Cummings, & Kinney, 2015; Canary &

Cantú, 2012; Canary & McPhee, 2009), and others have argued for the incorporation of family in organizational research (Golden, 2013; Golden, Kirby, & Jorgenson, 2006), increasingly complex organizations require requisite complexity in research that seeks to examine them. As members of an industry fraught with diversity challenges, tech organizations provide complex contexts for examining intersecting activity systems and the knowledge that is created across and within systems.

As Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies encompass maternity and paternity policies, families may serve as an important extra-organizational system in the policy knowledge construction process. Past research indicates that individuals often turn to family, friends, and online sources for social support during times of uncertainty (e.g., Goldsmith, 2004; Walther & Boyd, 2002), and as targets of information-seeking behaviors during organizational encounters (Teboul, 1994). Employees in tech organizations, particularly those in organizations classified as startups or sharing economy organizations, must deal with a surplus of uncertainty regarding their employment status, income, and level of organizational protection under newly formed policies (Robehmed, 2013). As such, they may turn to family, friends and online sources for social support, thus initiating a sensemaking process in which participants share and reflect on their experiences, values, and beliefs to interpret policy and determine future actions (e.g. whether to attempt to enact a policy; Weick, 1995; Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005). Cutrona and Suhr's (1992) social support typology outlined five categories and functions of social support: informational support (e.g., factual input, advice); emotional support (e.g., affectionate statements, expressions of caring/concern); esteem support (e.g., statements of admiration, compliments of skills/ability); tangible aid (e.g., physical assistance); and social network support (e.g., contact referrals). As members of an industry fraught with sexism and discrimination, members of tech organizations

might turn to others to share their experiences of gender-based discrimination, offer and receive informational support about rights and resources, and to develop social networks of support. While intra-organizational sources of support could likely provide more accurate informational support about particular policies, members of tech organizations might be hesitant to turn to organizational sources of support (e.g., coworkers, supervisor) to help them make sense of gender-based discrimination due to risks associated with seeking social support (e.g., embarrassment, shame, loss of social standing; Walther & Boyd, 2002). Instead, organizational members may turn to extra-organizational sources of support to mitigate risks associated with social support. Through in-person and digital interactions with others, individuals can compare their experiences, network resources, and give advice, providing not only validation or a reality check, but opportunities for knowledge construction. As a mediating resource¹⁰, digital spaces can provide increased access to social support whether individuals engage in conversation or lurk (i.e., read posts, but do not share their own stories or announce their online presence). Lurkers still gain social support through comparison with others' experiences and observations of their interactions (Walther & Boyd, 2002). Thus, digital spaces may act as a useful resource for organizational members who have experienced gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at work, have questions about the enactment of policies, or who want to get an idea of whether their experiences are "normal" without risking stigmatization by discussing these issues at work.

Despite efforts to mitigate gender-based discrimination and implement Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, organizations across the technology industry are struggling. Intra- and extra-organizational activity systems offer invaluable information about the structuration of social systems. Examining the intersections of these activity systems, whether occurring in-person or

¹⁰ SAT defines mediating resources as tools used by members of activity systems to construct knowledge (see Canary & McPhee, 2009).

digitally mediated, has the potential to uncover how larger structural features enable and constrain the transformation of harmful structures in the technology industry. As such, I asked the following research questions:

RQ2: How and with whom do members of tech organizations communicate about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (e.g., development, implementation, enactment, information), both intra- and extra-organizationally?

RQ2a: What resources do organizational members use to obtain or enhance policy knowledge?

Although investigations of interactions between activity systems can provide invaluable insight into the policy knowledge construction process, they often treat the process as value and power free (Canary, 2010b). According to Canary (2010b), structural influences over what counts as knowledge are often neglected. She argues that examinations of contradictions offer a starting point from which this gap can be filled.

Contradictions

According to Canary (2010a), “Contradictions are generative mechanisms for the communicative construction of policy knowledge as individuals interact to resolve contradictions in the policy process” (p. 36). However, when left unresolved or unmanaged, contradictions can impede the policy process (Hansen & Canary, 2015). Within SAT contradictions, or oppositional forces or tensions in the knowledge construction process, are categorized as either system or structural. In alignment with CHAT, Canary (2010a) describes system contradictions as “contradictory but coexisting forces within system elements, among system elements, and between systems” (p. 34). Structural contradictions, on the other hand, as described by Giddens (1984), are oppositional structural principles that depend on and negate one another. Canary positions these

definitions as complementary in the study of policy knowledge construction. System contradictions are understood as unique to particular activity systems and can be broken down into levels (Canary, 2010b). While the examination of primary, secondary, tertiary, and quaternary system contradictions is essential to illuminating the numerous complexities of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge construction, this section reviews structural contradictions as a means of understand the role of gender in policy knowledge construction.

Structural contradictions are understood as inherent to societies and organizations, or as Canary argues, “part of the very constitution of societies (Canary, 2010a, pp. 34-35; Giddens, 1984). From this perspective, structural contradictions have been examined as public versus private spheres of government (Giddens, 1984), profit versus people in corporate downsizing and mergers (Fairhurst, Cooren, & Cahill, 2002; Howard & Geist, 1995), and control versus autonomy in regulation and public policy (Barrett, 2004; Canary, 2010b), among others. Putnam (2013) reviewed communication research on Giddens’s (1979) contradictions to reveal three common threads: “(a) responses to contradictions that enable or constrain future actions, (b) the role of the dialectic of control in managing contradictions, and (c) episodes of change as disrupting sociohistorical meanings and/or producing overt conflict” (p. 627). SAT’s definition of contradiction as oppositional forces that can generate or hinder change falls squarely in the first thread (Canary, 2010a). Putnam (2013), however, critiques these threads and Giddens’s definition of contradictions as structural principles for treating contradictory “tensions and the dialectical interplay among them as disjunctions [in the social fabric of organizations] rather than as the ways that organizing occurs” (p. 627). Instead, she encourages scholars to adopt a logic of difference in which order as the natural state of organizations is challenged and “organizing becomes imbued with contradictions that are often twisted and knotted together in paradoxical relationship” (p.

627). This requires reconceptualizing structural contradictions, and ultimately organizations, as the product of dialectical tensions.

For the purpose of this project, structural contradictions are defined in alignment with Putnam as dialectical tensions that construct policy knowledge, rather than principles that aid or disrupt a naturally stable construction process. This perspective allows for interrogation into how oppositional forces work together to organize or construct, rather than investigate how the forces impact the organization or construction. Within the context of tech organizations, gender represents a possible structural contradiction for exploration as technology-based organizations are often constructed as belonging to a masculine industry (i.e., dominated by characteristics socially attributed to men), and Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are often constructed as pertaining to the needs of women¹¹ (e.g., Perriton, 2009). In organizations in which masculinity is associated with men, and femininity is associated with women, Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge could be constructed as a result of polarized expectations for gender performance.

Though not treated as a contradiction, Buzzanell (1995) argued that gender is inherent to organizations stating, “gender organizes every aspect of our social and work lives including how we formally and informally communicate in organizational settings.” (p. 327). As a contradictory force, gender could be understood as the tension between the doing and undoing of gender. Gender is often constructed as having opposite poles which delineate different social expectations and behaviors, creating a contradiction or tension (Putnam, Jahn, & Baker, 2011). Doing gender refers to the ways in which gender is (re)produced through performance, interaction, and organizational

¹¹ Note: male/female refer to biological sex, men/women refer to gender, and masculine/feminine refer to socially constructed expectations for gender performance. Not all biologically female persons identify as women; not all women exhibit or identify with feminine characteristics.

symbols (Gherardi, 1994; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Tension is present as organizational members interact in the space between the poles.

Research has identified five ways in which dialectical tensions are managed: selection, separation, integration, transcendence, and connection (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996; Putnam et al., 2011; Seo, Putnam, & Bartunek, 2004). Two strategies that might inform the construction process and act to constrain policy implementation are selection and separation. In selection, one side of the pole is chosen and the other is deemed off-limits or undesirable. Within gendered organizational contexts this may involve the privileging of masculine/masculinized traits (e.g., rational, professional) over feminine traits (e.g., emotional, unprofessional; Putnam et al., 2011). Separation entails vacillating between the poles – separating the poles spatially, temporally, or contextually. This might present itself as expecting organizational members at various levels to exhibit different gendered behaviors (e.g. management required to be rational and lower members allowed to be emotional) or expecting certain gendered traits in specific contexts (e.g., professionalism required during negotiations; Putnam et al., 2011). Integration and transcendence strategies attempt to escape the poles by either merging them or reformulating the dichotomies into a new form, negating the tensions. While integration requires the balance of the two poles, lest it snap back to selection, transcendence allows organizational members to escape the tension completely (Putnam et al., 2011). Thus, when examining the role of gender contradictions in the policy knowledge construction process, transcendence might emerge as an emancipatory strategy. To understand the role of contradictions in the construction of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge, I asked:

RQ3: What contradictions, if any, are present in the policy knowledge construction process?

Structurating activity theory provides a powerful lens through which to examine the policy knowledge construction process. However, despite its commitment to the examination of contradictions as a source of power, it does not examine the persuasive power of the organization in the development of attitudes toward and implementation of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. One construct that could be incorporated to more fully explore why some position the organization before the individual, or privilege some interpretations of policy over others, is organizational identification.

Organizational Identification

To date, scholarship on policy knowledge construction has not examined the role of organizational identification in the construction process. Organizational identification is a powerful construct that can help policy researchers understand how strong senses of shared values and goals can shape constructions of policy knowledge. As noted in Chapter One, because of the risk and long hours associated with their work, tech organizations, and startups in particular, often try to foster a sense of identification with their full-time employees. Organizational identification literature can help explain how shared organizational values might persuade members to adopt or reject new policies (e.g., Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies). Further, this body of literature can illuminate how organizational malfeasance can affect employees' senses of identification, providing insight into why employees, especially women, might choose to leave their organization.

Organizational Identification helps us understand and explain why people think and feel the way they do about their organizations, as well as the reasons for their actions within an organization. Broadly conceptualized, organizational identification is a specific strand of social identification in which the self is defined in terms of organizational membership (Scott, 2007). It is inextricably rooted in a context. Kreiner and Ashforth argue that the sense of oneness or

belonging characterized by identification differentiates organizational identification from other related concepts like fit and commitment. They state, “one identifies with a specific organization (and would feel a deep existential loss if forced to part) whereas one may discern good fit with a set of similar organizations and could come to feel committed to any of them” (2004, p. 2). Through identification, individuals develop social identities; in the case of organizational identification, individuals construct organizational identities. In line with Tajfel and Turner’s (1986) argument that the purpose of identification is to increase self-concept, Ashforth et al. (2008) posit that identification necessitates that individuals value the identity in question.

Organizational identification is of great interest and importance to communication scholars in part because it is one of the keys ways in which we can come to understand: 1) how individuals define themselves and how they communicate that definition to others, 2) the ways in which individuals think about their environments, and 3) why individuals behave as they do within their environments (Ashforth et al., 2008). Further, identification is associated with numerous individual and organizational outcomes. In terms of individual outcomes, identification is associated with self-enhancement (e.g., experiencing positive self-concept, growing in a valued identity), self-knowledge (e.g., defining the self in a context), self-expression (e.g., enacting a valued identity), self-coherence (e.g., maintaining a sense of cohesion across multiple identities), self-continuity (e.g., sense of wholeness over time), self-distinctiveness (e.g., sense of uniqueness), and the fulfilment of basic human needs (i.e., safety, affiliation, uncertainty reduction; Ashforth et al., 2008). In terms of organizational outcomes, identification is correlated with cooperation, effort, participation, organizationally beneficial decision making, task performance, and information sharing among others. While the aforementioned outcomes may be perceived as desirable, there are negative outcomes to identification as well. For instance, overly identified employees may be

less likely to report unethical behavior, express dissent, or adapt or learn new policies (Ashforth et al., 2008). Further, they may engage in unethical behavior on behalf of the organization (Ploeger & Bisel, 2013), stay committed to failing projects, and exhibit less creativity (Ashforth et al., 2008). Thus, in tech organizations in which profit and performance are the top organizational priority, overly identified employees (i.e., those who feel like they *are* the company), may overlook organizational wrongdoing in terms of policy implementation, fail to implement policies they believe will prove harmful to the organization's goals, or dismiss instances of sexism as the fault of the individual rather than the organization. High levels of identification among members of startups or young tech organizations (i.e., organizations that are no longer classified as startups but are still relatively new) is likely to occur due to organizational cultures which stress oneness with the organization to promote dedication through the uncertainty of the startup process and control employee behavior (Robehmed, 2013; see Hatch & Schultz, 2004 for organizational identification and control).

Alternatively, the presence (or lack thereof) of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies could increase or decrease organizational identification if the individual believed that their values were in or out of alignment with the organization's. Similarly, how an organization's management responds to violations of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies could also influence individuals' feelings of oneness or belonging with the organization. Organizational identification, then, could act as both an *influence* on individuals' attitudes toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies and an *outcome* in terms of how an organization's management handles Gender Diversity and Inclusion (i.e., whether they write policies and/or whether they enforce those policies).

Experiences of organizational identification are not uniform, however, and can occur at multiple levels of depth and breadth. Kreiner and Ashforth's (2004) expanded model of

identification, which pulls from past extensions of the concept of identification, investigates the ways in which individuals phenomenologically experience different “types” of identification: disidentification (i.e., a recognition that one does not have the same values or attributes as one believes the organization does), neutral identification (i.e., neither identifying nor disidentifying with an organization), and ambivalent identification (i.e., simultaneously identifying and disidentifying with aspects of an organization). Pratt (2000) argued that identification is not stagnant and that it is possible for individuals to move from one identification type to another. Thus, when examining the relationship between organizational identification and attitudes toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, it is important to assess not only how employees identify with the organization, but how and why they experience shifts in identification type. To address the relationship between organizational identification and attitude toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, I asked the following research question:

RQ4: What relationship, if any, is present between organizational identification, identification type, and Gender Diversity & Inclusion policy attitudes?

Beyond the outcomes associated with identification, of interest to this project are also the communicative processes through which individuals develop identifications and express or enact them (Cheney, 1983). These processes are complex as identification occurs at various levels of breadth and depth. Up until this point identity has been discussed in terms of an individual’s singular identity. Identities, however, are far from homogenous and are multiple and competing (Ashforth et al., 2008; Foreman & Whetten, 2002; Scott, 2007). Organizational identification encompasses various intra-organizational identifications (e.g., work groups, department, profession) and conflict may occur both across organizational identifications. When identities come into conflict, individuals must work to make sense of their identities and navigate the arising

tensions; this is often accomplished communicatively (e.g., Kuhn & Nelson, 2002). Ashforth et al. (2008), note, however, that identification occurs at different levels: deep (i.e., connection between individuals and collectives; transcends situations) and situated (i.e., connection with a collective; temporary and unstable). How organizational members navigate these tensions may provide insight into why some interpretations of policy are privileged over others when activity systems intersect. Thus, I posed the final research question:

RQ4a: What role does organizational identification play in the policy knowledge construction process?

Conclusion

Gender-based discrimination is plaguing tech organizations despite increased efforts to mitigate discrimination and increase equality. This project seeks to understand how members of tech organizations make sense of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their personal values, attitudes, and experiences, and interactions with others. This project contributes to literature in several ways. First, understanding policy knowledge construction processes requires an understanding of the contexts in which they are occurring. Thus, while past scholarship provides a starting point for studying policy knowledge construction processes in the technology industry, ultimately, to understand how organizational members implement and enact Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies scholars must speak with members of the technology industry to understand their perceptions of and experiences with gender-based discrimination in tech. This area of research provides a new context for studying policy knowledge construction processes. Second, this dissertation offers a new comprehensive policy attitude scale that examines factors underlying support for (or lack thereof) Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. Third, this project extends SAT by investigating gender as a contradiction in the policy knowledge construction process.

Finally, this project is the first to explore the relationship between policy knowledge construction and organizational identification.

Practically, this project provides insight into how organizations can better address problems with Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy implementation. Most importantly, through the procedures outlined in the following subsequent chapters, this research will endeavor to contribute to gender equity in the workforce. In the following chapter I discuss the methodological underpinnings of this project (Chapter Three), before turning to the methods and procedures used to develop the Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale (Chapter Four).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This dissertation project sought to understand how employees of technology organizations make sense of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. Primarily, this project asked how members of tech organizations construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their experiences with and perceptions of gender-based discrimination in the workforce. It also investigated the relationship between policy knowledge construction and organizational identification. This project required an examination of the iterative process through which policy knowledge is developed within and between intra-and inter-organizational interactions between individuals whose attitudes toward organizational policies are affected by personal values, beliefs, and experiences. The research questions guiding this project not only explore how individuals' experiences and interactions influence policy knowledge construction, but how power manifests in and is manifested by this process through contradictions and organizational identification¹². Through this inquiry, insight into how organizations can better write, implement, and enact organizational policy meant to mitigate gender disparity in the workforce was developed.

This chapter addresses the methodological framework used to guide the present study¹³. First, I review the ontological and epistemological lenses grounding this project. Then, I introduce and explain mixed methods approaches to research. Finally, I outline the methodological

¹² Here power refers to the domination of one group over another, or the silencing of voices. Power is defined in alignment with Foucault (1980; 1991) and recognized as a constructive force inherent to society that both produces reality (i.e., knowledge and meaning) and is produced by knowledge construction. Power can both construct policy knowledge and can also result from knowledge created during the policy knowledge construction process. Manifestations of power in the policy knowledge construction process could include the privileging of some interpretations of policy over others, the silencing of targets of sexual harassment to protect profit margins, knowledge about what counts as gender-based discrimination, etc.

¹³ Recall, specific procedures, participant, and analytical information are presented in subsequent chapters.

procedures and data analytical techniques used to address the research questions presented in the previous chapter.

Ontological Grounding

This project was conducted using a critical-interpretivist lens. Understanding the policy knowledge construction process is an important way in which scholars and practitioners can get a better sense of why policies meant to mitigate gender-based discrimination are struggling or failing. Organizations in the technology industry are facing increasing scrutiny of their practices and work environments. My dissertation adopts a critical-interpretivist lens to better understand how organizational members' experiences and perceptions of gender-based discrimination, as well as organizational identification, act alongside and through power to construct policy knowledge. While the primary purpose of this project was to understand Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge construction in the technology industry, this project also sought to provide insight into how organizational behaviors and cultures might be transformed to create more equitable work environments. A critical-interpretivist ontology and feminist epistemology will help facilitate this. In this section I first provide an overview of interpretivism and its connection to this project before reviewing critical theory as a lens and its contributions to the dissertation. Then, I examine what a critical-interpretivist lens contributes to this project. Finally, I present intersectional feminism as this project's epistemological lens.

Interpretivism

Interpretivism's foundations lie in phenomenology (i.e., the belief that meaning is derived through reflecting on experiences) and hermeneutics (i.e., the belief that language, experiences, and dialogue contribute to interpretation and that interpretive lenses shape meaning construction)

(Vannini, 2009). At its core, interpretivism holds the ontological position that there are multiple realities and the nature of reality is subjective (Geertz, 1994). According to Mead, individuals react to the world around them as active agents who ascribe meaning through interpretive processes. The interpretation process, according to Mead, extends beyond objects to people through a process of symbolic interaction in which meanings are defined and negotiated, and appropriate actions are inferred. The process described yields social or joint acts in which multiple parties interpret and define one another's actions and decide how to act accordingly (Blumer, 1969).

The interpretivist perspective rejects traditional notions of objectivity and generalizability in favor of multiple realities and the experiences of the individual. Indeed, Gergen (1985) espoused social constructionism which substitutes traditional science values of an objective reality 'out there' for us to find are substituted with an interpretive approach that situates shared processes as the basis of knowledge or meaning. Knowledge, rather than something 'out there,' as Gergen put it, is a shared activity that generates meaning, a construction.

Organizational communication scholars operating from an interpretivist perspective believe that organizations themselves, organizational culture, and organizational knowledge are formed and maintained through interaction and the construction of shared meaning (e.g., Nicotera, 2017). As a form of organizational knowledge, policies are so too communicatively constructed and maintained. Canary (2010b) argued, "The ways that policies are developed, implemented, and used depend on how policy knowledge, as a type of organizational knowledge, is constructed" (p. 184). She firmly grounded the construction of policy knowledge in communication, stating, "...organizational knowledge foregrounds the process of knowing over the possession of knowledge. Communication is central to this process" (Choo, 1998; Canary, 2010b, p. 184). Here, Canary was not arguing that having knowledge about a policy is not important, but rather

“knowledge-as-possession is a resource for ongoing interaction,” and instead “the focus is on communicative practices of developing new knowledge” (Canary, 2010b, p. 182). Although some interpretivist scholars – those most aligning with strict constructionism – might argue that objective knowledge about a policy (knowledge-as-possession) is not possible, here Canary sees it as a resource for interaction in which policy knowledge is constructed. Through an interpretivist lens, policy is recognized as a text that’s meaning is constructed through the interactions of organizational members who bring in their personal experiences and opinions into the interpretation process (Canary, 2010). Thus, in the study of policy knowledge construction it is important not only to examine policies as text, but the ways in which organizational members interpret and interact with policies.

While interpretivism is a suitable lens for understanding how organizational members construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, including how to and who can implement them, interpretivism fails to fully address and explore the role of power in policy knowledge construction. That is, interpretivism may assume equal ability of all organizational members to act in the construction of policy knowledge and all interpretations of policy as equal. A critical lens was adopted in this project to acknowledge and interrogate the role of power in policy knowledge construction. The next section examines critical theory’s focus on issues of power and domination in the construction process.

Critical Lens

Mumby (1997) critiqued interpretive approaches’ “lack of theorizing regarding the political context” in which meaning construction occurs, citing “enmeshment in structures of power and domination” as a barrier to models of interpretive analysis (p. 9). Mumby was concerned that interpretivists were so focused on the experiences of the individual and the

construction of meaning through interactions, that they missed the structural forces acting to limit the agency of the construction process. The critical tradition, according to Mumby, “argues for a social constructionist view of the world but questions the interpretivists’ failure to explore issues of power and ideology and the process through which certain realities are privileged over others” (p. 9).

Like interpretivists, critical theorists believe that knowledge is co-constructed (Geertz, 1994), however, in line with Foucaultian definitions of power, many believe that power is pervasive (i.e., everywhere) and solidified through the (re)production of knowledge (Foucault, 1991; Geertz, 1983; Kraidy & Mumby, 2008). This perspective views organizations as “discursive sites where meaning and identity are the products of underlying relations of power” (Mumby, 1997, p. 12). Rather than focus solely on actors’ interpretations of experiences and constructions of shared meaning, scholars in the critical tradition, “focus on communicative practices that function ideologically to produce, maintain, and reproduce systems of domination...” and their “work articulates a ‘discourse of suspicion’ such that surface structures, communication practices, and ostensibly consensual systems of meaning are seen as obscuring deep structural inequities” (p. 12). Thus, while the purpose of the interpretive paradigm is to explain and understand phenomena, the critical paradigm goes further, aiming to uncover systems of domination and emancipate the oppressed – it is inherently a tradition aimed at transformation.

Within studies of policy knowledge construction and Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, a critical perspective goes beyond asking how policy knowledge is constructed and attempts to uncover how power constructs and is constructed by the policy knowledge construction process. That is, while the critical perspective recognizes that individuals’ experiences and organizational interactions are key to the policy knowledge construction process, it does not

assume that all members have equal weight in the construction; some members and their interpretations of policy will be marginalized in favor of others. Canary's (2010a) structuration activity theory (SAT) combines structuration theory and cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT) to understand the policy knowledge construction process. According to Canary, "SAT affords agency specifically to people in activity systems who draw on structural constraints and enablements, who use mediating elements of activity systems, and who make choices in ongoing activity accomplishment" (Canary, Riforgiate, & Montoya, 2013, p. 474). While Canary acknowledges that individual agency is constrained, power and domination are rarely explicitly investigated in work utilizing SAT as an analytical framework; instead, power is treated as an emergent phenomenon, in line with interpretivist approaches.

A critical perspective is appropriate for this project as it endeavors to investigate individuals' values and beliefs, and the role of organizational identification in policy knowledge development to uncover power produces and is produced by hegemony, ideology, and organizational control in the policy knowledge construction process, to ultimately change organizational practices to facilitate a more equitable workplace. While critical theory has unique contributions to work on policy knowledge construction, this project does not take a purely critical perspective. In the next section I briefly examine the critical-interpretive perspective as the ontological lens for the present study.

Critical-interpretivism is a hybrid paradigm that integrates critical orientations toward power and reality to interpretivist investigations of experience and meaning construction. According to Craig (1999), "any mode of communication theory can take a self-reflexive, critical turn and so produce a hybrid variety." He further argues that critical theory is essentially a critique of tradition (sociocultural) in which interpretivism is based (p. 148). Despite expressed interests in

power, domination, and emancipation, the locus of this project is rooted in the experiences of the individual and meaning making processes that are inherent in the interpretivist paradigm. As critical theory has much in common with the interpretive paradigm (e.g., focus on context, subjectivity over objectivity, multiple realities), adopting a critical-interpretivist lens allows me to not only examine the experiences of organizational members and the policy knowledge construction process, but also how social structures (e.g., ideologies) act in conjunction with individual experiences and interactions to perpetuate inequities.

While the critical-interpretivist perspective (i.e., the belief that reality is constructed through interactive processes of interpretation and power¹⁴) acts as the ontological framework for this project, it does not adequately address how participants' experiences should be interpreted. Intersectional feminism provides an epistemological lens through which participants' experiences with and interpretations of gender discrimination in the workforce, as well as the role of gender in the policy knowledge construction process can be interpreted. In the following section I examine feminist inquiry, and intersectional feminism more specifically, as an epistemological lens for this study.

Feminist Epistemology

Through a feminist perspective, communication scholars can better understand how organizational members' experiences with gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) influence their constructions of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, and how persistent gender ideologies might enable or constrain these processes. More than a variable in communication

¹⁴ In this dissertation, power is defined in alignment with Foucault (1991) and recognized as inherent to society, as both underlying the production of knowledge and (re)produced by the construction of knowledge. Power, then, is a constructive force through which reality is constructed, and control and discipline are instilled.

research (Buzzanell, 1994; Mumby, 1993) gender acts to structure our realities “including how we formally and informally communicate in organizational settings” (Buzzanell, 1995, p. 327).

Feminist approaches to organizational communication scholarship interrogate the ways in which gender is communicatively (re)produced through interactions, organizational structures, and relationships. According to Buzzanell (1994), “feminist organizational communication theory explores: how language creates gendered relationships; how communication reaffirms hierarchies that subordinate organization members and alternative views; and how women express and interpret organizational experiences” (p. 324). An inherently relational phenomenon, Buzzanell (1994) argues that gender is constructed and negotiated in contexts that can either “perpetuate traditional gender enactment” or “offer avenues for change” (p. 324). Within the policy knowledge construction process, gender is present in the interactions between members of activity systems, as well as the structures on which organizational members draw to interpret policy and inform action. Thus, gender not only informs but is informed by members’ interactive constructions of policy knowledge.

Feminist theory not only provides substantial insight into how gender is discursively constructed in the workplace, but also organizational members’ experiences with gender-based discrimination and the role of gender in the policy knowledge construction process. While feminist perspectives are not homogenous, they all assume that “patriarchy (male dominance) exists, and that changes from this dominance are sought” (Buzzanell, 1994, p. 341). Further, Griffin (2009) clarifies that despite the numerous feminist approaches present in communication scholarship, “two of the foundational pieces of feminist scholarship [in communication] are a commitment to explorations of the many ways gender is constructed and communicated” (p. 393).

Intersectional feminism provides insight into employees' experiences with and perceptions of gender-based discrimination in the workplace, how gender is communicatively constructed in organizations, and the role of gender in policy knowledge construction. Intersectional feminism has roots in standpoint feminism, originally Black standpoint feminism, which originated with Collins' assertion that "race, class, and gender comprise interlocking systems of oppression or a matrix of domination" (1990, p. 3). This perspective argues that a member of a subordinate class is more likely to understand her situation than a member of a dominant class and calls for scholars to examine phenomena from the vantage point of the oppressed (Wood, 2009).

While this perspective has been heavily utilized in communication literature (e.g., Allen, 1996; Buzzanell, 2003; Dallimore, 2003; Dougherty, 1991, 2001; Durham, 1998; Elmore, 2009; Orbe, 1998a, 1998b; Orbe & Warren, 2000; Richardson & Taylor, 2009), standpoint feminism has been critiqued for scholars' tendency to treat the social differences that form interlocking systems of oppression (e.g., social class, economic status, race, nationality, location, sex, orientation) as variables rather than intersecting dimensions that constantly work together to form the individual experience (Crenshaw, 1991). Intersectional feminism, sometimes used synonymously with standpoint feminism, pushes scholars to explore how social factors work together in the oppression of women (Alexander-Floyd, 2012). Further, intersectional feminism asserts that intersectional frameworks interact with social structures to (re)produce inequity and urges scholars to keep individual experience in conversation with social structures (Olesen, 2011, p. 134).

While intersectional feminism is not the only feminist theory that could guide this dissertation, its alignment with the ontological framework explicated above made it ideal for this study. By privileging the unique experiences of the individual, intersectional feminism aligns with interpretivism but like all feminisms and critical theory, it advocates for the emancipation of the

oppressed from the dominant class. As an epistemological lens, intersectional feminism acted as an analytical framework for holistically interpreting participants' experiences and perceptions of both their experiences and Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.

In the next section I introduce mixed methods as a suitable approach to address my research questions. Then, I outline the design of the dissertation project.

Mixed Methods Designs

Within the social and behavioral sciences mixed methods studies comprise roughly 10-15% of journal content (Alise & Teddlie, 2010). Despite options for inquiry growing within the last 15 years in organizational communication, particularly in qualitative research methods, organizational communication scholars have yet to fully embrace mixed methods (Stephens, 2017). Recent increases in conversation, however, indicate the field may be ready to engage with mixed methods (Carlson, Cooper, & Pilny, 2016; Myers, 2014). Given the relative rarity of mixed methods research in organizational communication, particularly mixed methods research conducted from critical and feminist perspectives (Myers, 2014), I present a primer on approaches to mixed methods research before explaining the design of the present study.

Defining Mixed Methods

Mixed methods has numerous definitions; typically, definitions are focused on methods, methodology, or both. Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989) defined mixed methods by separating method from paradigm, choosing to focus solely on the ways in which qualitative and quantitative methods can be mixed to address research questions. Others, however, understand mixed methods as a methodology that mixes all phases of the research process from “philosophical (i.e., worldview) positions, to final inferences, and to the interpretations of results” (Creswell, 2011, p.

271). Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007), combined these perspectives, defining mixed methods as,

...a type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (p. 123).

Although mixed methods does not have a standardized definition (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2009), each perspective assumes some mixture of quantitative and qualitative approaches to inquiry. Though both qualitative and quantitative approaches are comprised of a multiplicity of methods, approaches with qualitative-qualitative and quantitative-quantitative mixtures are known as multiple methods, rather than mixed methods (Creswell, 2011; Myers, 2014; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009; cf. Carlson et al., 2016; Greene, 2007).

Benefits and Challenges of Mixed Methods Designs

Through these unique combinations of methods and methodology, mixed methods studies have vast creative potential. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) celebrated the flexibility of mixed methods, declaring, “A major advantage of mixed methods research is that it enables the researcher to simultaneously ask confirmatory and exploratory questions and therefore verify and generate theory in the same study” (p. 33). Teddlie and Tashakkori, among others, have explored the ways in which methods can be mixed in complementary ways to maximize strengths and mitigate weakness of each (e.g., Creswell, 2011; Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003). Through carefully designed mixed methods studies scholars can employ methods that neutralize each other’s weakness (e.g., interview data adding nuance to broad statistical data), generating stronger findings. Even when analysis of the different data yields divergent findings, important

insights and opportunities for theorizing can come from interrogating the divergences (Carlson et al., 2016; Creswell, 2011; Myers, 2014; Patton, 2015; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

Myers (2014) added that integrating data in mixed methods studies is beneficial to organizational communication scholars for three reasons: (1) scholars can demonstrate convergence when findings come to similar conclusions, (2) findings are better illustrated as qualitative data adds nuance to statistical analyses and quantitative data grounds qualitative data, and (3) integration provides analytic density and adds complexity to the findings (pp. 299-300). Carlson et al. (2016) supported this claim stating, “Mixing methods may help researchers bolster their confidence in their findings, understand complex phenomena in a more nuanced way, or generate insights about the implications of findings that reflect a simultaneous awareness of ontological, epistemological, disciplinary, and pragmatic concerns” (pp. 379-380).

Although mixed methods designs boast several advantages, there are also challenges to designing and conducting mixed methods research. These challenges span issues such as, “how to execute the methods themselves; how to draw conclusions that neither understate nor overstate the case; how to describe data collection and analysis with an appropriate level of transparency; and how to defend one’s methodological choices to a broad audience of reviewers and readers” (Carlson et al., 2016, p. 380). Additionally, scholars who practice mixed methods must be fluent in the languages and assumptions of both qualitative and quantitative research (Creswell, 2011; Myers, 2014; Patton, 2015; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). This means understanding and correctly addressing concepts like validity, reliability, data saturation, and transferability, as well as terms specific to mixed methods (e.g., exploratory sequential design, legitimation; Creswell, 2011). Scholars utilizing mixed methods may also struggle when integrating methodologies because of their underlying assumptions or worldviews (i.e., paradigms).

Paradigms and Mixed Methods Research

While methodology refers to a way of thinking about and studying a phenomenon (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), paradigm refers to “a model of framework that shapes both what we see and how we understand it” (Baxter & Babbie, 2004, p. 426). Methodology and paradigm are often linked by shared epistemological and ontological assumptions. Though some argue that quantitative and qualitative methods are incompatible due to fundamental paradigmatic differences underlying the methods, others contend that method and paradigm are not inherently linked and reject the dualistic approaches to understanding method. Rather, they argue mixed methods is particularly suited to an alternate paradigm, pragmatism, which centers the research problem, rather than a particular worldview, and focuses on ‘what works’ to address the questions (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

While this paradigm is common among mixed methods scholars broadly, organizational communication scholarship is typically divided among three main paradigms: critical, interpretivism, and post-positivism (Myers, 2014). In a review of mixed methods scholarship in organizational communication, Carlson et al. (2016) found that interpretivism was the primary paradigmatic approach. Their analysis, however, included multiple methods studies (i.e., multiple same-type data), which may have skewed their results as interpretive qualitative scholars typically use more than one qualitative method per study (e.g., interviews and observations, interviews and text analysis). Paradigms complicate mixed methods research in several ways. Namely, while paradigms are powerful lenses for interpreting the world, they can stifle scholarly creativity as those who adhere too tightly to paradigmatic positions may be unable to imagine ways to work in the space in between paradigms or ask research questions that can be addressed by another position. The questions researchers ask are particularly important in mixed methods as research questions drive the type of mixed methods study conducted.

Types of Mixed Methods Designs

Approaches to mixed methods research largely depend on two things: (1) the research questions or hypotheses posed, and (2) the purpose of the research. Though several mixed methods typologies exist (e.g., Greene et al., 1989; Nastasi, Hitchcock, & Brown, 2010; Teddlie & Yu, 2007), Myers (2014) contends that Creswell and Plano Clark's (2007) typology is useful for examining mixed methods scholarship in organizational communication. Creswell and Plano Clark's typology is most commonly used and is founded on three questions: 1) When is the qualitative and quantitative data collected? 2) Are the data weighed equally or is one dominant? and 3) When is the data mixed? (Myers, 2014, p. 305). Through these considerations, Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) devised four types of mixed methods approaches: triangulation, embedded, explanatory, and exploratory. Each approach, defined in Table 1, has unique benefits, as well as drawbacks.

Table 1: Creswell and Plano Clark's Mixed Method Typology from Myers (2014)

<i>Approaches to Mixed Methods</i>	<i>Description</i>
Triangulation	"The goals of triangulation research are to collect and compare complementary quantitative and qualitative data, to examine the phenomenon in multiple ways, and to gain a more complex understanding than analysis of one type of data would permit" (p. 305)
Embedded	"...one type of data supports and plays a secondary role to the other. Embedded designs are useful when the researcher is primarily interested in the results of one type of data, and the other type of data serves as a baseline for the second phase of the study" (p. 308)
Explanatory	"...qualitative data are collected to explain the initial quantitative results. Explanatory designs address the <i>how</i> or <i>why</i> questions that result from quantitative findings or provide data when the researcher needs to categorize participants for purposive sampling or follow-up interviews" (p. 309)
Exploratory	"...research is conducted in two phases, but unlike the explanatory design, qualitative data are collected initially and followed by a quantitative phase. An exploratory mixed-method design is useful when quantitative measures of a phenomenon are nonexistent and when the phenomenon is relatively unexplored" (pp. 310-311).

The first of the typologies, triangulation, is the most commonly used mixed method approach (Creswell, 2011; Myers, 2014; Patton, 2015). Triangulation allows scholars to use multiple methods to compare different types of data in order to gain more complex understandings of phenomena. While it is time efficient and strengthens findings, scholars must ensure they integrate the findings during the interpretation process for it to constitute triangulation. Bullis and Bach (1989) used triangulation in their examination of organizational identification and turning points in socialization. Their methods included interviews, plotting turning points on a graph, and a quantitative instrument that measured levels of identification. They used the resulting data to draw connections between the types of turning points and changes in identification. All data worked together to help Bullis and Bach make inferences about the relationship between socialization, turning points, and identification. Triangulation can be complex as researchers typically prefer to rely on the method – quantitative or qualitative – with which they are most comfortable (Myers, 2014). It is also possible that the interpretation process will yield contradictory or divergent findings, as previously noted. Though triangulation typically looks for convergence to bolster claims, divergence is also a powerful source of knowledge generation should scholars choose to explore it.

Embedded methods designs are particularly useful for those interested in gathering secondary data to support or add complexity to a primary source. Here, one type of data is given more weight or importance than the other. Common embedded designs include surveys with open-ended, narrative-style questions included to gather extra information (Myers, 2014). Examples of this approach include Levine, Muenchen, and Brooks' (2010) study of charismatic leadership. In an effort to understand how this commonly used term was assessed in a variety of instruments, they created a measure with four popular leadership survey instruments and an open-ended

question in which asked participants to define charisma. The authors then transformed the qualitative responses into quantitative data to more easily compare it with survey item responses. Analysis indicated there was no relationship between the uses of ‘charismatic leadership’ in any of the survey instruments and participants’ definitions of the term ‘charisma’. Their study privileged quantitative data over qualitative data, but still relied on the qualitative data to conduct make inferences. While this design type is frequently used, scholars must take care to integrate the data and not set aside the supporting method in favor of highlighting the primary.

Like embedded approaches, explanatory designs privilege one data type over another. This approach uses qualitative data to explore and explain quantitative results. That is not to say, however, that quantitative data is always the focus of explanatory designs. Qualitative data can serve as the focus when the purpose of the quantitative data, among other things, is to define a population. Lammers, Atouba, and Carlson’s (2013) study of organizational and group identification among IT professionals is an example of this approach. After analyzing questionnaire results Lammers and his colleagues conducted individual interviews in order to expand the results and give context-specific examples of the communication behaviors that indicated identification. Here, qualitative data was collected to explain quantitative data and provide more depth to the results. While informative, this approach can be time consuming and difficult to get institutional review board approval for qualitative elements as the questions are likely to be unknown at the time approval is sought.

The final typology, exploratory designs, is conducted in two phases and typically used to develop measurement instruments (Myers, 2014). Canary et al.’s (2013) policy communication index development falls under this category. Canary and her colleagues analyzed text, developed measure items, and narrowed them through quantitative and qualitative methods to create a reliable

measurement for policy communication. As explained in a later section, this dissertation adopted two designs: first, an exploratory design, then a triangulation design.

Organizational Communication Research and Mixed Methods Designs

Implemented correctly, mixed methods studies have the potential to advance organizational communication and the social sciences more broadly. First, mixed methods studies have the potential to reach more audiences and increase the visibility of the fields in which they are conducted. Molina-Azorin (2011), for instance, found that in strategic management mixed methods studies were more influential (i.e., received disproportionately more citations) than research with single method designs. He attributed this to the ability of mixed methods to appeal to both qualitative and quantitative researchers, and the strength of the findings. Within organizational communication specifically, mixed methods designs can add to critical research.

Critical Perspectives and Mixed Methods Research

According to Myers (2014), mixed methods designs are least commonly used in research from the critical paradigm in organizational communication. Mixed methods designs are similarly underrepresented in feminist organizational communication research. However, mixed methods designs could greatly illuminate not only individuals' lived experiences of oppression, but also "identify relationships among constructs that are important sources of power and domination" (Myers, 2014, p. 314). Finally, as previously mentioned, mixed methods designs require asking research questions in new ways rather than in a manner that adheres to a particular paradigm. Creswell (2011) argued that conceptualizing mixed methods as "'multiple ways of seeing' opens up broad applications beyond using it only as a research method" and allows researchers increased creativity and reach. For instance, he claimed it could be used to design documentaries and

participatory or engaged approaches to social problems (p. 272). Mixed methods research is relatively popular in organizational communication because of the applied nature of the field (Myers, 2014). By pushing the boundaries of mixed methods scholars can also expand possibilities for intervention. In the next section I present mixed methods as an appropriate approach to examining policy knowledge construction.

Mixed Methods in Policy Knowledge Construction Research

As discussed in Chapter Two, to understand how policies are understood and implemented, scholars must move beyond top-down information transmission models that ask how accurately information is shared and used, and instead must investigate the communicative processes through which policy knowledge is constructed. Canary (2011) states, “Examining the construction of knowledge involves focusing not just on what policy knowledge participants hold as a possession, but also on the knowing process itself as policy is discussed, interpreted, and implemented in practice” (p. 245). Understanding this process is particularly important in contexts in which policies are constructed to protect employees from discrimination.

Policy knowledge construction is typically studied through a variety of qualitative methods, or a multiple methods approach (e.g., Buzzanell & Liu, 2005; Canary, 2010a, 2010b; LeGreco, 2012; Cowan, 2011). Though Carlson et al. (2016) would classify the use of multiple qualitative methods as a mixed methods approach, this project’s definition of mixed methods aligns with Johnson et al.(2007) and defines mixed methods as an integration of qualitative and quantitative methods, methodologies, and related paradigms. While perhaps not abundant, policy knowledge scholars have implemented mixed methods approaches to understanding the construction process (e.g., Canary et al., 2013).

As stated throughout this dissertation, the purpose of this study was to understand how members of tech organizations make sense of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. Primarily this project sought to understand how organizational members construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their own experiences with and perceptions of gender-based discrimination in the workforce, interactions with others, and organizational identification. Further, this study aimed to uncover the role of power in the construction process by examining contradictions and the influence of organizational identification. While multiple studies could address the research questions presented in Chapter Two, when integrated into the same study the data work together to increase understanding of the phenomena in question: how organizational members make sense of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.

Carried out in two phases, the present study fell under two of Creswell and Plano Clark's (2007) typologies of mixed methods research: exploratory and triangulation designs. First, in Phase One an exploratory design was utilized to construct a policy attitude measure. Then, in Phase Two, a triangulation design was implemented to understand the relationship between organizational identification, individuals' experiences with, values and beliefs concerning, and attitudes toward gender-based discrimination, and the policy knowledge construction process. Quantitative elements included survey design and implementation, as well as organizational identification and sexism measures; qualitative data included semi-structured interviews. For clarity, the methods of each phase are presented in separate chapters. Chapters Four and Five address Phase One and the development of Gender Diversity & Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale (i.e., exploratory design); Chapters Six and Seven concern the methods, analytical procedures, and results of phase two (i.e., triangulation design). A discussion and conclusion chapter follow.

CHAPTER FOUR: PHASE ONE METHODS

Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale Development

Phase One of this dissertation project was designed to address a methodological shortcoming and answer research question one: *What factors contribute to employees' attitudes toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies?* As noted in Chapter Two, policy attitude scales, while not common in communication literature, are often used to gauge individuals' positive or negative feelings toward or about a national or organizational policy, their level of support for a policy, and their or others' willingness or ability to use the policy as a type of policy efficacy. While these types of policy attitude scales have merit, they do not address *why* individuals like or support a policy.

Within communication literature policy is typically investigated as a construction; a discursive process through which organizational knowledge is (re)produced. Through this process individuals reflect on their perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes about policies – including the surrounding social issues – as well as their interactions with others to construct knowledge about policies (Canary, 2010b). Canary et al. (2013) developed a survey instrument, the policy communication index, to better understand how organizational members communicate about policy. While their measure includes a policy attitude measure, as with other scales, attitude is used nearly synonymously with support and 'liking.' Current policy attitude measures are unable to provide insight into why individuals like or support a policy. A multidimensional attitude scale could allow scholars and practitioners to better understand organizational members' implementation/enactment of or resistance to policy. As such, the purpose of Phase One was to develop a policy attitude scale that examines organizational members' feelings toward and

opinions about policies through an in-depth approach that considers the underlying dimensions of policy attitude. The final scale is included in a survey in Phase Two of this dissertation project.

Development of the policy attitude scale began by reviewing numerous policy attitude scales to determine what had been previously measured. Then, policy literature in organizational communication was examined to gain further insight into how individuals construct knowledge about and feelings toward policy. As a result of this process, it was hypothesized that the following five factors would emerge as dimensions of policy attitude: 1) policy support and/or resentment, 2) perception of efficacy and policy effectiveness, 3) policy familiarity, 4) perception of policy relevance, and 5) perception of policy fairness and abuse.

To contextualize the policy attitude scale (PAS) to the current project, questions were constructed to address Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, thus creating the GDIPAS. Items were generated for each hypothesized dimension, resulting in a 77-item scale. Redundant questions were then removed, and scale items were further refined based on reviewer feedback; this process yielded 44 pool items scored on a 5-point Likert-type scale. Development of the GDIPAS occurred through two studies. While Study One was conducted to identify a stable factor model and provide an initial validation of the GDIPAS, Study Two worked to further refine and confirm the scale, while investigating its relationship to other organizational communication constructs (e.g., organizational identification types). In the subsequent sections, each study's procedures, participants, measures, and analytical procedures are presented.

Study One

Procedures

Participants were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk)¹⁵. Participation was limited to individuals at least 18 years-old, living in the United States, and currently working full- or part-time at an organization with at least 50 employees. Those who indicated that their workplace employs less than 50 individuals were excluded. While organizations with more than 15 employees are required to abide by federal equal employment laws which encompass Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, it is commonly thought that only organizations with 50 employees have to comply with these laws. As such, the decision was made to more strictly limit participation in Study One and loosen the requirement to 15 or more employees in Study Two. Participant eligibility was determined through a set of screening questions; those who were disqualified were not permitted to continue the survey and their data was discarded.

Participants

Data Cleaning

A total of 539 participants attempted the survey. Before data were analyzed, the data were screened and extensively cleaned according to the following criteria: 1) inclusion criteria, 2) survey straight lining (i.e., marking the same response for most or all questions); 3) patterned responses (i.e., marking responses in accordance with a visual pattern; zigzag responses); 4) survey non-responsiveness (i.e., cases with less than 50% of the items answered were removed listwise); and 5) scale non-responsiveness (i.e., cases with fewer than 20% of the scale items answered were

¹⁵ MTurk allows for more diverse, representative samples than traditional student samples; provided researchers follow screening and cleaning procedures like those described in this chapter, data collected from MTurk are no less valid or reliable than if collected by more traditional means (Sheehan, 2018).

removed listwise). In all, 158 cases were removed from the dataset through the screening process. The data were also assessed in SPSS 25 for outliers. An examination of box plot graphs for participants' age indicated one extreme outlier (i.e., values of z over the absolute value of 3); the participant was removed from the dataset. The final sample from Study One included 380 participants, meeting the recommended five to 10 respondents per item (DeVellis, 2017; Tinsley & Tinsley, 1987). In accordance with the approved IRB protocol, participants were paid \$0.75 for sufficiently completed surveys (i.e., participants were paid if their surveys met the inclusion criteria and were not removed for poor quality)¹⁶.

Participant Demographics

Of the remaining 380 participants, 57.7% identified as male ($n = 208$) and 45.3% identified as female ($n = 172$). On average, participants were 35.82 years old ($SD = 10.12$), and were primarily Caucasian (80.5%, $n = 306$) and heterosexual (88.7%, $n = 337$). Nearly half of all participants had completed a Bachelor's degree (49.5%, $n = 188$) or higher, and many were working in professional or related occupations (40.3%, $n = 153$) in full-time, salaried, management positions (41.8%, $n = 159$); participants were fairly dispersed across industries (see Table 2 for complete demographic data).

Table 2: Study One Frequency Distributions

Variable		Frequency
Sex	Male	54.7% ($n = 208$)
	Female	45.3% ($n = 172$)
Age	21-29	31.3% ($n = 119$)
	30-39	39.7% ($n = 151$)
	40-49	18.2% ($n = 69$)
	50-59	6.8% ($n = 26$)
	60-69	3.9% ($n = 15$)

¹⁶Funding for both Study One and Two was secured through a professional development and research grant from the Brian Lamb School of Communication at Purdue University.

Table 2 Continued

Age	Age Mean Age Standard Deviation	$M = 35.83$ $SD = 10.12$
Race	White Black Native American Asian Latinx/Hispanic Other	80.5% ($n = 306$) 6.3% ($n = 24$) 0.5% ($n = 2$) 9.2% ($n = 35$) 1.3% ($n = 5$) 2.1% ($n = 8$)
Marital Status	Married Widowed Divorced Separated Never Married Missing	42.1% ($n = 160$) 1.3% ($n = 5$) 9.5% ($n = 36$) 3.7% ($n = 14$) 43.2% ($n = 164$) 0.3% ($n = 1$)
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual Homosexual Bisexual Other Prefer not to say	88.7% ($n = 337$) 4.2% ($n = 16$) 5.5% ($n = 21$) 1.3% ($n = 5$) 0.3% ($n = 1$)
Completed Education	Less than High School High School Degree or Equivalent Some College Associates Degree Bachelor's Degree Master's Degree Doctorate Professional Degree Missing	0.3% ($n = 1$) 6.6% ($n = 25$) 14.5% ($n = 55$) 10.5% ($n = 40$) 49.5% ($n = 188$) 13.2% ($n = 50$) 3.2% ($n = 12$) 2.1% ($n = 8$) 0.3% ($n = 1$)
Total Family Income	Under \$10,000 \$10,000- \$19,999 \$20,000- \$29,999 \$30,000- \$39,999 \$40,000- \$49,999 \$50,000- \$59,999 \$60,000- \$69,999 \$70,000- \$79,999	2.1% ($n = 8$) 5.0% ($n = 19$) 8.7% ($n = 22$) 10.0% ($n = 38$) 13.7% ($n = 52$) 12.1% ($n = 46$) 11.6% ($n = 44$) 8.9% ($n = 34$)

Table 2 Continued

Total Family Income	\$80,000- \$89,999	5.8% (<i>n</i> = 22)
	\$90,000- \$99,999	4.7% (<i>n</i> = 18)
	\$100,000- \$149,999	11.1% (<i>n</i> = 42)
	\$150,000 or over	6.1% (<i>n</i> = 23)
	Missing	0.3% (<i>n</i> = 1)
Employment Status	Working (full-time, salary, management)	41.8% (<i>n</i> = 159)
	Working (full-time, salary, non-management)	27.6% (<i>n</i> = 105)
	Working (full-time, hourly, management)	3.9% (<i>n</i> = 15)
	Working (full-time, hourly, non-management)	16.8% (<i>n</i> = 64)
	Working (part-time, salary, management)	0.8% (<i>n</i> = 3)
	Working (part-time, salary, non-management)	1.8% (<i>n</i> = 7)
	Working (part-time, hourly, management)	1.3% (<i>n</i> = 5)
	Working (part-time, hourly, non-management)	5.8% (<i>n</i> = 22)
Organization Size (# of employees)	50-99	23.7% (<i>n</i> = 90)
	100-249	19.7% (<i>n</i> = 75)
	250-499	11.6% (<i>n</i> = 44)
	500-999	11.1% (<i>n</i> = 42)
	1000 or more	33.9% (<i>n</i> = 129)
Industry	Forestry, fishing, hunting or agriculture support	1.3% (<i>n</i> = 5)
	Real estate or rental and leasing	0.3% (<i>n</i> = 1)
	Professional, scientific or technical services	15.5% (<i>n</i> = 59)
	Utilities	0.3% (<i>n</i> = 1)
	Management of companies or enterprises	1.6% (<i>n</i> = 6)
	Construction	0.8% (<i>n</i> = 3)
	Admin, support, waste management or remediation services	3.2% (<i>n</i> = 12)
	Manufacturing	5.0% (<i>n</i> = 19)
	Educational services	13.4% (<i>n</i> = 51)
	Wholesale trade	0.8% (<i>n</i> = 3)
	Health care or social assistance	11.6% (<i>n</i> = 44)
	Retail trade	9.2% (<i>n</i> = 35)
	Arts, entertainment or recreation	5.0% (<i>n</i> = 19)
	Transportation or warehousing	5.0% (<i>n</i> = 19)
	Accommodation or food services	2.9% (<i>n</i> = 11)
	Information	6.3% (<i>n</i> = 24)
	Other services (except public administration)	5.8% (<i>n</i> = 22)
	Finance or insurance	11.1% (<i>n</i> = 42)
	Unclassified establishments	0.8% (<i>n</i> = 3)
	Missing	0.3% (<i>n</i> = 1)
Occupation	Management, professional, and related	40.3% (<i>n</i> = 153)
	Professor, Instructor, Teacher	7.9% (<i>n</i> = 30)
	Service	13.9% (<i>n</i> = 53)

Table 2 Continued

Occupation	Sales and office	19.7% ($n = 75$)
	Farming, fishing, and forestry	0.8% ($n = 3$)
	Construction, extraction, and maintenance	1.8% ($n = 7$)
	Production, transportation, and material moving	7.4% ($n = 28$)
	Government	7.9% ($n = 30$)
	Missing	0.3% ($n = 1$)

Survey Measures

Participants were asked to review a consent statement and complete a survey composed of personal and organizational demographic questions, the initial version of the GDIPAS, and two additional scales for validation purposes: Swim, Akin, Hall, and Hunter's (1995) old-fashioned and modern sexism scale, and Canary et al.'s (2013) policy attitude measure (see Appendix A for measure items).

Old-Fashioned & Modern Sexism Scale

The old-fashioned and modern sexism scales measure individuals' levels of two different types of sexism. Swim et al. (1995) defined old-fashioned sexism as an endorsement of traditional gender roles, differential treatment of men and women, and stereotypes about lesser female competence, and modern sexism as the denial of continued discrimination, antagonism toward women's concerns, and lack of support for policies designed to help women. This 13-item measure is scored on a 5-point Likert-type scale such that higher scores indicate higher levels of old-fashioned and modern sexism. From the hypothesized dimensions of the GDIPAS it was predicted that old-fashioned and modern sexism would be negatively associated with policy support, perceptions of policy fairness and abuse, and policy relevance. However, the following hypotheses were created to address the anticipated relationships between old-fashioned & modern sexism and the emergent GDIPAS subscales:

H1: Old-fashioned and modern sexism will be positively related to perception of policy fairness & abuse

H2: Old-fashioned and modern sexism will be inversely related to policy support

H3: A significant relationship will not be found between old-fashioned and modern sexism and policy familiarity

H4: Modern sexism will be positively related to perception of organizational equity

H5: Modern sexism will be negatively related to perception of gender representation

H6: Old-fashioned sexism will be positively related to perception of gender representation

H7: A significant relationship will not be found between old-fashioned sexism and perceptions of organizational equity.

Policy Attitude Measure

Canary et al.'s (2013) policy attitude was included for validation purposes. This measure is composed of seven items scored on a 5-point Likert-type scale that address individuals' general feelings toward and opinions about policies and their ability to use and talk about policies; higher scores indicate more positive attitudes toward policies. As the policy attitude measure examines what is defined by the GDIPAS as policy support, it was predicted that the policy attitude measure would be positively correlated with policy support. The following hypotheses address the anticipated relationships between the policy attitude measure of the PCI and the resulting GDIPAS subscales:

H8: Policy attitude will be positively correlated with policy support, perceptions of gender representation, and policy familiarity

H9: Policy attitude will be negatively correlated with perceptions of policy fairness and abuse

H10: A significant relationship will not be found between policy attitude and perceptions of organizational equity.

Analysis

Following data collection and cleaning, SPSS 25 was used to reverse scale items as appropriate and generate descriptive statistics and screen for univariate normality for the validation variables (see Table 3). According to Cohen, Cohen, West, and Aiken (2003), normal distribution for skewness and kurtosis is in the -2.50 to +2.50 range; all validation variables fell within this range. To refine and confirm the GDIPAS, a four-step analysis process was conducted. First, the data were randomly split into two datasets (e.g., Split1, $n_{s1} = 204$; Split2, $n_{s2} = 177$). Then, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) using principle axis factoring and an Oblimin (direct) rotation was conducted on Split1 to identify the underlying dimensions of policy attitude. Although items were generated according to presumed dimensions, initial computations were conducted with eigenvalues of over 1.0 to ensure results were not limited to a particular theoretical framework. The most appropriate factor solution was determined by 1) evaluating the scree plot for the number of useful factors, 2) eliminating items according to the 60/40 criterion for factor loading¹⁷, 3) assessing the percentage of variance accounted for by each factor, and 4) evaluating the conceptual soundness of each factor.

¹⁷ The 60/40 criterion suggests items must load at least .6 on a primary factor and no more than .4 on a secondary factor to be retained (DeVellis, 2017).

Table 3: Study One Reliability, Mean, Standard Deviation, Skew and Kurtosis for Validation Variables

Dimension	α	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis
Policy Attitude	.81	3.80	.78	-.200	-.795
Old Fashioned Sexism	.80	1.75	.77	1.13	.664
Modern Sexism	.90	2.53	1.01	.320	-.726

Second, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted using StataIC 15 on Split2 to further validate the results from the EFA. Measurement models were created for each of the five factors and estimated using maximum likelihood with missing values. Model fit was assessed using the Chi-square test (χ^2 ; $>.05$), Tucker Lewis Index (TLI; $\geq .95$), Confirmatory Fit Index (CFI; $\geq .90$), and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA; $<.08$) (Hooper, Coughlan, & Mullen, 2008; Hu & Bentler, 1999). When the model indicated poor fit, factor loadings and modification indices were analyzed to determine whether and which items should be removed from the model.

Once a suitable model was identified, descriptives (i.e., mean, standard deviation, Cronbach's alpha) for each factor were obtained using the entire dataset in SPSS 25, and skewness and kurtosis for each were assessed to determine univariate normality. The measure's convergent (i.e., the positive relationship between two theoretically similar constructs; DeVellis, 2017; Hinkin, 1998) and discriminant (i.e., the absence of a relationship between two dissimilar constructs; DeVellis, 2017) validity were then assessed. Convergent and discriminant validity were tested through a series of correlation analyses examining the relationships between the GDIPAS subscales, policy attitude, and modern and old-fashioned sexism.

Study Two

Following Study One, a second study was conducted to further refine and validate the GDIPAS. Study One identified and validated a 25-item measure with a five-factor solution. Within

this solution, two factors – perceptions of gender representation and perceptions of organizational equity – had two and three items, respectively. To create balance across the subscales, additional items were added to these two factors. New questions were created by rewording previously removed items, breaking down concepts into smaller, clearer questions, and going back to the literature to expand on emerging factors/concepts. Additionally, two questions in perceptions of organizational equity were edited to ensure that gender was addressed rather than diversity more broadly (see Appendix B for the new and edited items). In all, the revised GDIPAS totaled 37 items across the five factors.

Procedures

As in Study One, participants were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). The criteria for participation remained the same with two additions: 1) participation was opened to individuals working at organizations with 15 or more employees, and 2) participants from Study One were excluded from Study Two; this was enforced by assigning each participant a qualification in MTurk that prevented specific users (i.e., Study One participants) from accessing the survey. Participant eligibility was assessed using the same procedures as in Study One.

Participants

Data Cleaning and Missing Data

Four-hundred and seventy-two participants started the survey. Data were thoroughly screened before analysis according to the criteria set out in Study One. In all, 149 cases were removed for either 1) straight lining, 2) patterned responses, and 3) survey or scale non-responsiveness. Again, data were screened for outliers in SPSS 25. The box plot graphs of participants' age indicated four extreme outliers (i.e., values of z beyond ± 3); all four were

removed from the dataset. As in Study One, participants were paid \$0.75 for sufficiently completed surveys.

Participant Demographics

The final sample from Study Two included 319 participants (see Table 4 for participant demographics), again meeting the recommended 5 to 10 respondents per item for the scale. Of the remaining 319 participants, 61.4% were male ($n = 196$), 38.6% were female ($n = 123$), and 72.1% were Caucasian ($n = 230$). On average, participants were 33.54 years old ($SD = 8.80$), and most were married (53.0%, $n = 169$), heterosexual (80.3%, $n = 256$), and worked in a full-time, salaried, management position (54.2%, $n = 173$). Participants were fairly dispersed across industries and occupations, and most had completed a Bachelor's degree or higher (see Table 4 for complete participant demographics).

Table 4: Study Two Frequency Distributions

Variable		Frequency
Sex	Male	61.4% ($n = 196$)
	Female	38.6% ($n = 123$)
Age	18-20	1.3% ($n = 4$)
	21-29	35.1% ($n = 112$)
	30-39	43.9% ($n = 140$)
	40-49	13.8% ($n = 44$)
	50-59	4.1% ($n = 13$)
	60-69	1.9% ($n = 6$)
	Age Mean	$M = 33.54$
	Age Standard Deviation	$SD = 8.80$
Race	Caucasian	72.1% ($n = 230$)
	Black	16.6% ($n = 53$)
	Native American	1.6% ($n = 5$)
	Asian	5.3% ($n = 17$)
	Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander	0.3% ($n = 1$)
	Other	4.1% ($n = 13$)

Table 4 Continued

Marital Status	Married	53.0% (<i>n</i> = 169)
	Widowed	0.9% (<i>n</i> = 3)
	Divorced	5.% (<i>n</i> = 16)
	Separated	2.2% (<i>n</i> = 7)
	Never Married	43.2% (<i>n</i> = 164)
	Missing	38.9% (<i>n</i> = 124)
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	80.3% (<i>n</i> = 256)
	Homosexual	3.1% (<i>n</i> = 10)
	Bisexual	15.0% (<i>n</i> = 48)
	Other	0.9% (<i>n</i> = 3)
	Prefer not to say	0.6% (<i>n</i> = 2)
Completed Education	Less than High School	0.3% (<i>n</i> = 1)
	High School Degree or Equivalent	5.0% (<i>n</i> = 16)
	Some College	10.7% (<i>n</i> = 34)
	Associates Degree	9.1% (<i>n</i> = 29)
	Bachelor's Degree	43.9% (<i>n</i> = 140)
	Master's Degree	27.0% (<i>n</i> = 86)
	Doctorate	1.9% (<i>n</i> = 6)
	Professional Degree	2.2% (<i>n</i> = 7)
Total Family Income	Under \$10,000	2.2% (<i>n</i> = 7)
	\$10,000- \$19,999	2.8% (<i>n</i> = 9)
	\$20,000- \$29,999	7.8% (<i>n</i> = 25)
	\$30,000- \$39,999	16.6% (<i>n</i> = 53)
	\$40,000- \$49,999	11.9% (<i>n</i> = 38)
	\$50,000- \$59,999	14.4% (<i>n</i> = 46)
	\$60,000- \$69,999	11.3% (<i>n</i> = 36)
	\$70,000- \$79,999	10.3% (<i>n</i> = 33)
	\$80,000- \$89,999	7.5% (<i>n</i> = 24)
	\$90,000- \$99,999	5.3% (<i>n</i> = 17)
	\$100,000- \$149,999	6.0% (<i>n</i> = 19)
	\$150,000 or over	3.4% (<i>n</i> = 11)
	Missing	0.3% (<i>n</i> = 1)
Employment Status	Working (full-time, salary, management)	54.2% (<i>n</i> = 173)
	Working (full-time, salary, non-management)	12.5% (<i>n</i> = 40)
	Working (full-time, hourly, management)	8.2% (<i>n</i> = 26)
	Working (full-time, hourly, non-management)	14.7% (<i>n</i> = 47)
	Working (part-time, salary, management)	3.1% (<i>n</i> = 10)
	Working (part-time, salary, non-management)	2.5% (<i>n</i> = 8)
	Working (part-time, hourly, management)	0.6% (<i>n</i> = 2)
	Working (part-time, hourly, non-management)	4.1% (<i>n</i> = 13)

Table 4 Continued

Organization Size (# of employees)	15-29	18.8% (<i>n</i> = 60)
	30-49	15.0% (<i>n</i> = 48)
	50-99	18.5% (<i>n</i> = 59)
	100-249	16.0% (<i>n</i> = 51)
	250-499	9.4% (<i>n</i> = 30)
	500-999	9.4% (<i>n</i> = 30)
	1000 or more	12.9% (<i>n</i> = 41)
Industry	Forestry, fishing, hunting or agriculture support	0.6% (<i>n</i> = 2)
	Real estate or rental and leasing	1.3% (<i>n</i> = 4)
	Professional, scientific or technical services	10.3% (<i>n</i> = 33)
	Utilities	0.9% (<i>n</i> = 3)
	Management of companies or enterprises	5.3% (<i>n</i> = 17)
	Construction	3.1% (<i>n</i> = 10)
	Admin, support, waste management or remediation services	3.4% (<i>n</i> = 11)
Industry	Manufacturing	13.5% (<i>n</i> = 43)
	Educational services	8.8% (<i>n</i> = 28)
	Wholesale trade	1.9% (<i>n</i> = 6)
	Health care or social assistance	6.9% (<i>n</i> = 22)
	Retail trade	8.2% (<i>n</i> = 26)
	Arts, entertainment or recreation	2.8% (<i>n</i> = 9)
	Transportation or warehousing	3.4% (<i>n</i> = 11)
	Accommodation or food services	2.5% (<i>n</i> = 8)
	Information	6.6% (<i>n</i> = 21)
	Other services (except public administration)	5.3% (<i>n</i> = 17)
	Finance or insurance	15.0% (<i>n</i> = 49)
Occupation	Management, professional, and related	37.9% (<i>n</i> = 121)
	Professor, Instructor, Teacher	6.6% (<i>n</i> = 21)
	Service	16.9% (<i>n</i> = 54)
	Sales and office	18.5% (<i>n</i> = 59)
	Farming, fishing, and forestry	1.3% (<i>n</i> = 4)
	Construction, extraction, and maintenance	3.4% (<i>n</i> = 11)
	Production, transportation, and material moving	10.0% (<i>n</i> = 32)
	Government	4.7% (<i>n</i> = 15)
	Missing	0.6% (<i>n</i> = 2)

Survey Measures

In addition to the personal and organizational demographic questions, participants were asked to complete the revised GDIPAS and Strahan and Gerbasi's (1972) MC-10(1) version of the

M-C social desirability scale (M-C SDS) as an additional validation measure. Participants were also asked to complete measures from Kreiner and Ashforth's (2004) expanded model of organizational identification to look for relationships between policy attitude and identification types to address RQ4a¹⁸; results from this portion of the study are presented in a subsequent chapter of this dissertation.

Social Desirability

Socially desirable responding occurs when respondents attempt to present a socially acceptable or desirable self-image, whether consciously or otherwise (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). Strahan and Gerbasi's (1972) M-C 10(1) version of the M-C SDS was included to assess whether the GDIPAS subscales were differentially affected by social desirability. The measure is composed of 10 items scored on a 5-point Likert-type scale; higher scores indicate a tendency to respond in a socially desirable manner.

Analysis

Following data screening, a CFA was conducted using StataIC 15 to evaluate the additional items and further confirm the five-factor model. As in Study One, measurement models were created for the five factors, estimated using maximum likelihood with missing values, and assessed using the Chi-square test, RMSEA, CFI, and TLI as goodness-of-fit indices. Poor-loading items were removed to better the model fit, and the reliability of each dimension was once again assessed using Cronbach's alpha. Following the confirmation of the GDIPAS five-factor measurement model, descriptives (i.e., mean, standard deviation) for each sub-scale and Strahan and Gerbasi's

¹⁸ RQ4a asks 'What relationship, if any, is present between organizational identification, identification types, and GDIP attitudes?'

(1972) shortened social desirability measure were obtained using SPSS 25, and skewness and kurtosis were assessed to determine univariate and multivariate normality; all variables met the assumptions of normality. A series of correlation analyses were then performed to evaluate the relationships between the GDIPAS subscales and the M-C 10(1) version of the M-C SDS.

As stated in this chapter and Chapter Two, policy attitude is often treated as synonymous with support. Indeed, Study One found a significant positive correlation between Canary et al.'s (2013) policy attitude measure and the resultant policy support dimension of the GDIPAS, $r(.646) = .0001$. Given the nature of RQ1 which seeks to understand what factors contribute to employees' attitudes toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policies, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to assess the extent to which demographics (i.e., sex) and the four other dimensions of the GDIPAS explained variance in policy support.

Conclusion

This chapter describes the methods used in two studies to develop, refine, and confirm the Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale. The next chapter explains the data analysis procedures and results found in both Study One and Study Two. The chapter concludes with a short discussion explaining the scale, its limitations, and proposed future uses.

CHAPTER FIVE: PHASE ONE RESULTS

Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale Development

This chapter outlines the data analysis procedures used to develop, refine, and confirm the Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy (GDIP) Attitude Scale, and examine the relationships between the measurement model variables, internally and among validation variables. In the subsequent sections, the results of Study One and Two are presented; a short discussion of the measurement model, its limitations, and suggestions for future use and research follow.

Study One

Exploratory Factor Analysis

The EFA yielded a conceptually-sound, 5-factor model (see Table 5): perception of policy fairness and abuse, policy familiarity, perception of gender representation, policy support, perception of organizational equity. Items were scored such that higher means indicate that the participant believes: 1) GDIPs are easily abused and unfair to some organizational members, 2) they and other organizational members are familiar with GDIPs, 3) women are a minority group in the workforce and in their organization, 4) GDIPs are important/necessary, 5) that their organization is diverse and equitable. Items were removed according to the predetermined criteria; of the original 44 items, 18 items were removed through several rounds of analyses. One item was retained despite having a factor loading of .51 (see Table 5). Although it did not meet the 60/40 criterion, the item was kept because it was theoretically consistent with the subscale's other items and could be removed in Study Two if its performance did not improve. Additionally, while general convention suggests that each subscale should have at least three items (Kim & Glassman, 2013), one dimension had only two items but was kept independent because it represented a

distinct dimension of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy attitude, as indicated by its high factor loadings.

Table 5: Study One Initial GDIPAS Dimensions, Items, and EFA and CFA Factor Loadings

GDIPAS Dimensions	Items	EFA/CFA Factor Loadings
Perception of Policy Fairness & Abuse	6.15 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies give some organizational members an unfair advantage.	.83/.87
	6.14 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies unfairly help some employees in my organization more than others.	.81/.79
	6.18 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies let unqualified employees get ahead.	.79/.84
	6.22 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are easily abused.	.76/.68
	6.13 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are unfair to some organizational.	.74/.77
	6.23 Women often mistake harmless jokes for discrimination or harassment.	.69/.60
	6.24 Organizational leaders are often too quick to side with people who claim they've been discriminated against.	.68/.73
	6.17 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies hurt people like me.	.67/.75
	6.19 Women abuse Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies to get ahead.	.65/.71
	6.25 Employees often ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies that they do not need.	.64/.69
	6.16 I feel disadvantaged by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in my organization.	.62/.72
Policy Familiarity	5.5 I am familiar with my organization's Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.	.89/.65
	5.2 Employees at my organizations know how to utilize Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.	.78/.65
	5.4 I know what to do if I am discriminated or harassed based on my gender.	.74/.85
	5.3 Employees at my organization know what to do if they experience discrimination or harassment based on their gender.	.62/.88
Perception of Gender Representation	6.6 Women should be considered minorities in the workforce.	.97/.79
	6.7 Women should be considered minorities in my organization.	.70/.95

Table 5 Continued

Policy Support	6.5 All organizations should have policies that protect women.	.86/.78
	6.37 I support Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies for all organizations.	.78/.87
	6.38 I support Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in my organization.	.72/.82
	6.36 I would support a co-worker who chose to ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.	.67/.66
	6.4 Discrimination against women is a national problem	.67/.65
Perceptions of Organizational Equity	6.11 My organization's management is diverse.	.81/.90
	6.9 My organization is diverse.	.73/.84
	6.10 Gender inequality is not a problem in my organization.	.51/.50

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Following the EFA, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted using Split2 of the dataset to further refine and validate the extracted 5-factor model. The initial model indicated an adequate fit with room for improvement (see Table 6). Examination of the fit and modification indices suggested two items in the policy familiarity subscale (5.2 and 5.5) had correlated errors, $r(.59) = .0001$, as did items 6.21 and 6.22, $r(.42) = .0001$, in the subscale addressing perceptions of policy fairness and abuse (see Appendix A for items). As each set of items were part of the same subscale, correlated errors were not altogether unexpected. According to Kline (2005), correlation between items' errors may result from method variance or the presence of a third, underlying factor. Given the items' theoretical similarity, it is unlikely that the correlated errors are a result of a third, unknown factor. Each set of items was evaluated, and the decision was made to correlate the errors of items 5.2 and 5.5 and remove item 6.21 (see Appendix C for removed items). While 5.2 and 5.5 were similar questions, they addressed different aspects of policy familiarity, whereas items 6.21 and 6.22 were rephrased versions of the same question; the item with the lower loading was removed. Once the model was adjusted to reflect the correlated errors of items 5.2 and 5.5, and item 6.21 was removed, the model indicated good fit: RMSEA = .057, CFI = .934, $\chi^2(264) =$

460.08, $p < .001$, TLI = .942. Although exact model fit is thought to occur when chi-square is nonsignificant, and good fit is indicated when TLI is greater or equal to .95, both the Chi-square test and TLI are known to react to degrees of freedom and sample size (Barret, 2007; Hooper et al., 2008). As a second study was planned to further refine the model, more weight was placed on the RMSEA and CFI values. See Figure 1 for the final model and Table 6 for a comparison of the initial and final models.

Table 6: Study One: Comparison of the Model Fits of Confirmatory Factor Analysis models of the Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale

	χ^2	RMSEA	TLI	CFI
Original Model	460.078	.058	.929	.937
Final Model	415.532	.057	.942	.934

Following the CFA, the five factors were thematically analyzed and named. The descriptives were then obtained for each variable using the entire dataset, and reliabilities of the subscales and validity measures were estimated using the SPSS 25 (see Table 7). The Cronbach's alphas were .93, .86, .83, .88, .76, respectively for perceptions of policy fairness and abuse, policy familiarity, perceptions of gender representation, policy support, and perceptions of organizational equity. Old-fashioned sexism was reliable at $\alpha = .80$, modern sexism at $\alpha = .90$, and policy attitude at $\alpha = .81$. The skew and kurtosis statistics of each variable were evaluated to determine univariate normality; all variables were within the accepted -2.50 to +2.50 range for normal distribution (Cohen et al., 2003).

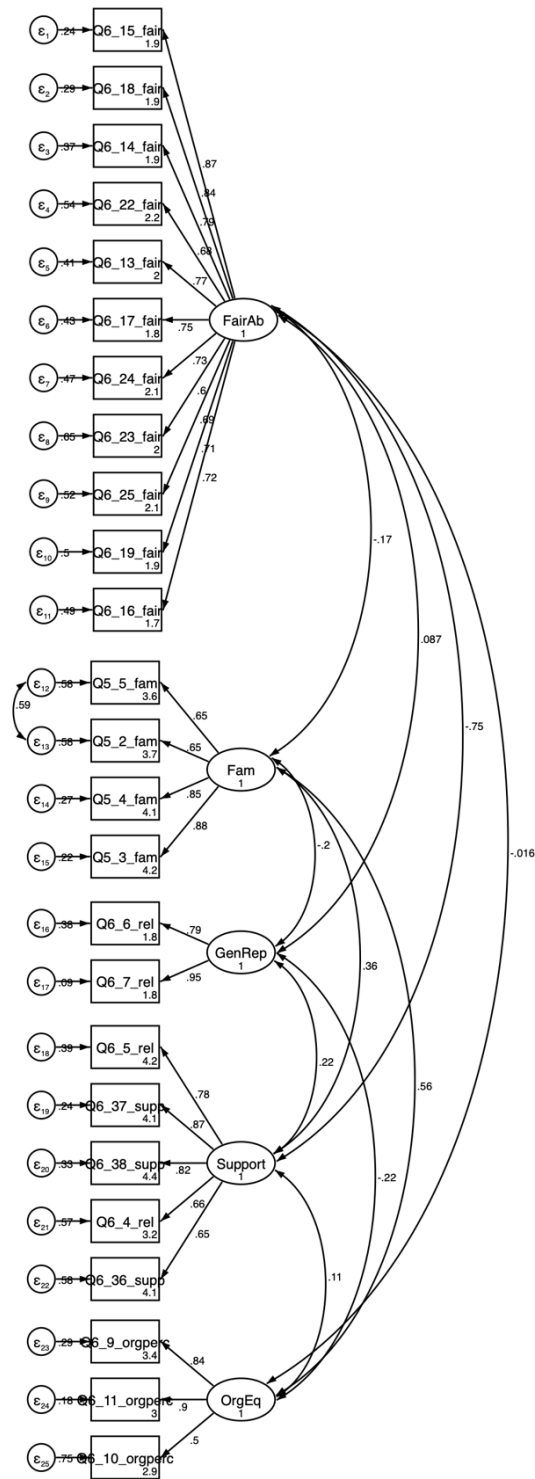


Figure 1: Study One Final Confirmatory Factor Analysis Model of the GDIPAS

Table 7: Study One Reliability, Mean, Standard Deviation, Skew and Kurtosis for the initial Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale dimensions and Validation Variables

Dimension	α	M	SD	Skew	Kurtosis
Perception of Policy Fairness & Abuse	.93	2.40	.94	.324	-.704
Policy Familiarity	.87	4.00	.89	-1.04	.825
Perception of Gender Representation	.84	2.39	1.21	.469	-.864
Policy Support	.88	4.00	.89	-.964	.656
Perception of Organizational Gender Equity	.76	3.79	1.00	-.874	.213
Policy Attitude	.81	3.80	.78	-.200	-.795
Old Fashioned Sexism	.80	1.75	.77	1.13	.664
Modern Sexism	.90	2.53	1.01	.320	-.726

Scale Validity

To assess the convergent and discriminant validity of the GDIPAS, the gender diversity and inclusion policy attitude measure variables were correlated with other conceptually-related and -divergent constructions. Specifically, the GDIPAS subscales were correlated with Swim et al.'s (1995) old-fashioned and modern sexism measures, and Canary et al.'s (2013) policy attitude measure (see Table 8).

Table 8: Convergent and Divergent Validity for the GDIPAS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. PolAtt	-	-.541**	-.472**	-.688**	.411**	-.116*	.646**	.309**
2. OldSex		-	.419**	.598**	-.152**	.214**	-.431**	-.042
3. ModSex			-	.641**	.086	-.312**	-.699**	.253**
4. PolFairAb				-	-.123*	.009	-.620**	.031
5. PolFam					-	-.157**	.209**	.480**
6. PerRep						-	.231**	-.286**
7. PolSupp							-	-.020
8. OrgEq								-

Note. * $p < .05$ and ** $p < .01$

Hypotheses 1-7 addressed the predicted relationships between old-fashioned and modern Sexism and the GDIPAS subscales. As predicted in H1, old-fashioned and modern sexism were positively correlated with perceptions of policy fairness and abuse at $r(.598) = .0001$ and $r(.641)$

= .0001, respectively. Likewise, H2 was supported as old-fashioned and modern sexism were negatively correlated with policy support at, $r(-.431) = .0001$ and $r(-.699) = .0001$, respectively. Hypothesis 3 predicted that a statistically significant relationship would not be found between old-fashioned and modern sexism and policy familiarity; this was partially supported. While a significant relationship was not found between modern sexism and policy familiarity, $r(.086) = .093$, old-fashioned sexism was negatively correlated with policy familiarity, $r(-.152) = .003$, a possible explanation for this relationship is explored in the discussion following Study 2. Support was found for H4 and H5. Modern sexism was positively correlated with perceptions of organizational equity, $r(.253) = .0001$, and negatively correlated with perceptions of gender representation, $r(-.312) = .0001$. Hypothesis 6 was also supported as old-fashioned sexism and perceptions of gender representation were positively correlated at $r(.214) = .0001$. A statistically significant relationship was not present between old-fashioned sexism and perceptions of organizational equity, $r(-.042) = .414$, thus supporting H7.

Hypotheses 8-10 addressed the predicted relationships between Canary et al.'s (2013) policy attitude measure and the GDIPAS subscales. As predicted in H8, policy attitude was positively correlated with policy support, $r(.646) = .0001$, and policy familiarity, $r(.411) = .0001$. Hypothesis 8 was only partially supported, however, as perceptions of gender representation was *negatively* correlated with policy attitude, $r(-.116) = .024$. Perceptions of policy fairness and abuse was also negatively correlated with policy attitude, $r(-.688) = .0001$, supporting H9. Finally, H10 was not supported as a significant positive relationship was found between perceptions of organizational equity and policy attitude, $r(.309) = .0001$; a possible explanation for this is presented in the discussion following Study Two.

Study Two

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

A CFA was conducted using StataIC 15 to further validate and refine the five-factor model identified in Study One. While the initial model met the standards of two goodness-of-fit indices (see Table 9 for model fit), examination of factor loadings and modification indices indicated room for improvement. In total, 11 low-loading items were removed, and three additional pairs of theoretically-similar items' errors were correlated (see Appendix D for removed items; see Appendix E for final scale items; see Figure 2 for correlated items and values). Five of the removed items were from the newly added items; more than half (seven) of the new items were retained. While the adjusted model failed to meet the fit standards of the chi-square test, $\chi^2(285) = 456.55$, $p < .001$, it indicated good fit according to three other goodness-of-fit indices: RMSEA = .043, CFI = .966, and TLI = .961. Again, as the chi-square test is sensitive to sample size and degrees of freedom (Barret, 2007; Hu & Bentler, 1999), more emphasis was placed on the other goodness-of-fit indices.

Table 9: Study Two Comparison of the Model Fits of Confirmatory Factor Analysis Models of the Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale

	χ^2	RMSEA	TLI	CFI
Original Model	786.10	.052	.938	.944
Adjusted Model	576.73	.047	.952	.957
Alternate Model	709.20	.067	.900	.917
Final Model	456.55	.043	.961	.966

Following the CFA, each factor of the 26-item model was thematically analyzed and (re)named (see Table 10).

Table 10: Study Two Final GDIPAS Dimensions, Items, and CFA Factor Loadings

GDIPAS Dimensions	Items	Factor Loading
Perception of Policy Abuse	1. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are unfair to some organizational members.	.85
	2. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies unfairly help some employees in my organization more than others.	.81
	3. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies give some organizational members an unfair advantage.	.82
	4. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies hurt people like me.	.86
	5. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies let unqualified employees get ahead.	.80
	6. Women abuse Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies to get ahead.	.81
	7. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are easily abused.	.82
	8. Employees often ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies that they do not need.	.85
Policy Familiarity	9. Employees at my organizations know how to utilize Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.	.79
	10. Employees at my organization know what to do if they experience discrimination or harassment based on their gender.	.74
	11. I know what to do if I am discriminated or harassed based on my gender.	.66
	12. I am familiar with my organization's Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.	.69
Perception of Industry Gender Inequity	13. There are fewer women than men working in my industry.	.78
	14. There are fewer women than men working in my organization.	.78
	15. Women are underrepresented in my organization.	.84
	16. Women are underrepresented in my industry.	.78
	17. Men often receive more respect than women in my organization.	.76
	18. Men generally have more authority in my organization than women.	.78
Policy Support	19. All organizations should have policies that protect women.	.62
	20. I would support a co-worker who chose to ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.	.70
	21. I support Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies for all organizations.	.77
	22. I support Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in my organization.	.78
Perceptions of Organizational Gender Diversity	23. In terms of gender, my organization is diverse.	.56
	24. Gender inequality is not a problem in my organization.	.67
	25. In terms of gender, my organization's management is diverse.	.72
	26. In my organization, there are just as many women in managerial roles as men.	.81

Descriptive statistics, reliabilities, and skewness and kurtosis values were then obtained for each of the GDIPAS subscales and Strahan and Gerbasi's (1972) shortened social desirability measure. Examinations of the skew and kurtosis statistics indicated normal distribution for all variables. The Cronbach's alphas were .95, .82, .91, .81, .81, respectively for perception of policy abuse, policy familiarity, perception of industry gender inequity, policy support, and perception of organizational gender diversity. Strahan and Gerbasi's M-C 10(1) was reliable at $\alpha = .66$. See Table 11 for all variable descriptives.

Table 11: Study Two Reliability and Descriptive Statistics of the final Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale (GDIPAS)

Dimension	α	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Skew	Kurtosis
Perception of Policy Abuse	.95	2.93	1.13	-.115	-1.12
Policy Familiarity	.82	3.97	.80	-1.08	1.80
Perception of Industry Gender Inequity	.91	3.22	1.09	-.409	-.864
Policy Support	.81	4.10	.75	-.819	.796
Perception of Organizational Gender Diversity	.81	3.62	.92	-.698	.022
Social Desirability	.66	3.12	.60	.316	.984

Correlation analyses were then run using SPSS 25 to further assess the model and gain a better understanding of factors' relationships with one another (see Table 12). Significant positive correlations were found between policy abuse and perceptions of industry gender inequity, $r(.523) = .0001$; policy abuse and perceptions of organizational gender diversity, $r(.317) = .0001$; policy familiarity and policy support, $r(.340) = .0001$; policy familiarity and perceptions of organizational gender diversity, $r(.384) = .0001$; and perceptions of industry gender inequity and policy support, $r(.132) = .018$. Significant negative correlations were found between policy abuse and policy support, $r(-.271) = .0001$; and perceptions of industry gender inequity and perceptions of organizational gender diversity $r(-.187) = .001$.

Table 12: Correlations between Age, Sex, Gender Diversity & Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale (GDIPAS) and Social Desirability

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Age	-	.09	-.19**	.11*	-.07	.07	-.11*	.04
2. Sex		-	-.16**	.11	-.20**	.14*	.03	.07
3. PolAb			-	.11	.52**	-.27**	.32**	-.21**
4. PolFam				-	.07	.34**	.39**	.09
5. PrIndEq					-	.13*	-.19**	-.14*
6. PolSup						-	.09	.16**
7. PrOrgGnDiv							-	.085
8. SocDes								-

Note. * $p < .05$ and ** $p < .01$

Given the strength of the correlation between policy abuse and perception of industry gender inequity a second order factor analysis was performed using SPSS Amos 22.0 to test whether policy abuse and perceptions of workforce inequity should be treated as a combined factor. Results of the second order factor analysis indicated the alternate model was an acceptable fit: RMSEA = .067, CFI = .917, and TLI = .900. While the alternate model was an acceptable fit, the adjusted model was a better fit both statistically and theoretically; as such, the adjusted model was retained. See Table 9 for model comparison and Figure 2 for the final model.

Scale Validity

To understand the effect of socially desirable responding on the GDIPAS subscales, each of the five-factors were correlated with Strahan and Gerbasi's (1972) social desirability measure (see Table 12). Only policy support was found to have a significant positive association with social desirability at $r(.155) = .005$. Meanwhile, perception of policy abuse and perception of workforce gender inequity had a significant negative correlation with social desirability at $r(-.212) = .0001$ and $r(-.142) = .011$, respectively. Finally, neither perception of organizational gender diversity,

$r(.086) = .126$, nor policy familiarity, $r(.085) = .130$ were found to have a statistically significant relationship with social desirability.

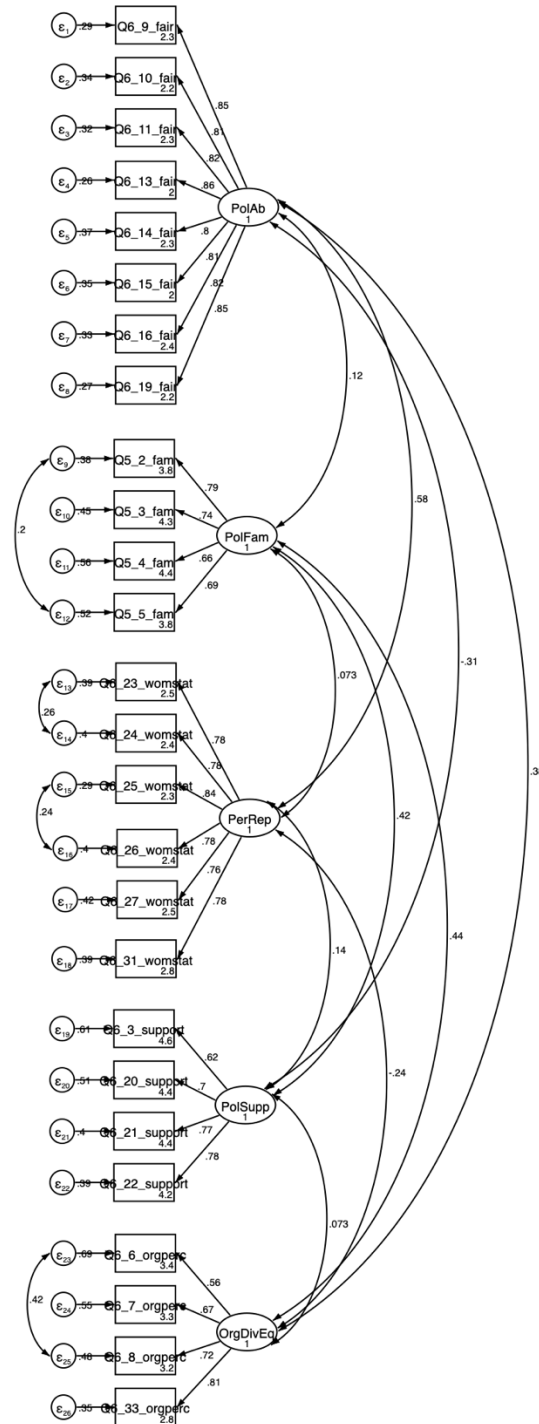


Figure 2: Study Two Final Confirmatory Factor Analysis Model of the GDIPAS

Predictive Validity

A hierarchical regression was conducted to investigate the extent to which perceptions of policy abuse, policy familiarity, perceptions of industry gender inequity, perceptions of organizational gender diversity, and sex. Variables were entered into the regression in two steps; step one assessed how much variance in policy support was accounted for by sex, while step two assessed the effect of the other GDIPAS variables. Complete regression results are presented below in Table 13. Results from step one, indicated that sex accounted for 1.9% of the variance. The second model which included the remaining four GDIPAS subscales as predictor variables, significantly changed the model and accounted for 36.3% of the variance. The overall regression was statistically significant, $R = .61$, $R^2 = .37$, adjusted $R^2 = .36$, $F(5, 313) = 37.26$, $p < .001$. Policy Support scores could be predicted well from the other four GDIPAS subscales and sex, with approximately 36.3% of the variance in policy support accounted for by the regression. The t ratios for the individual regression slopes were examined in each step to assess the contributions of each predictor variable. All predictor variables significantly contributed to changes in R^2 .

Table 13: Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Policy Support ($n = 319$)

Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	B	$SE\ B$	β	B	$SE\ B$	β
Sex	.210	.086	.136*	.165	.071	.107*
Perception of Policy Abuse				-.432	.040	-.652**
Policy Familiarity				.237	.047	.252**
Perception of Industry Gender Inequity				.365	.041	.532**
Perception of Organizational Gender Diversity				.238	.047	.290**
R^2		.019			.373	
F for change in R^2		6.01*			44.25**	

Note: * $p < .05$ and ** $p < .01$

Discussion

Studies One and Two were conducted to address research question one¹⁹ and develop a new methodological tool for understanding organizational members' attitudes toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies beyond the traditional approach which to attitude which often only addresses support. Data from Study One and Two indicate that the GDIPAS is a valid and reliable measure for assessing organizational members' attitudes toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies across five factors: perception of policy abuse, policy familiarity, perception of workforce gender inequity, policy support, and perception of organizational gender diversity.

Scale Structure

While the initial version of the GDIPAS was constructed according to a presumed set of dimensions – perceptions of policy fairness and abuse, policy familiarity, perceptions of policy effectiveness and efficacy, policy support and resentment, and perceptions of policy relevance – the procedures followed in Study One's EFA allowed other dimensions to emerge and take shape. The EFA yielded a 5-factor model: perception of policy fairness and abuse, policy familiarity, perception of gender representation, policy support, and perception of organization equity. The results of Study One's CFA indicated that the 5-factor model was reliable. To further refine and validate the model, additional items were added across two factors and questions were edited to ensure they were addressing gender instead of diversity more broadly and a second study was conducted. Results from Study Two's CFA future confirmed the final 5-factor GDIPAS addressing perceptions of policy abuse, policy familiarity, perception of workforce gender inequity, policy support, and perception of organizational gender diversity.

¹⁹ RQ1 asked: What factors contribute to employees' attitudes toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies?

Perception of Policy Abuse

This eight-item factor addresses participants' perceptions of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy fairness and abuse. High scores in this dimension indicate that the participant believes that GDIPs are unfair to some organizational members, are easily abused or misused, and are harmful to the participant, personally. Reliability for these items was high at $\alpha = .91$.

Policy Familiarity

The second factor includes four items that refer to individuals' perceptions of their and others' familiarity with GDIPs at their organizations. High scores in this dimension indicate that individuals believe that they and their coworkers are familiar with their organization's GDIPs and know how to enact GDIPs if they experience gender-based discrimination at work. It is important to note that this dimension does not evaluate participants' opinions about or attitudes toward GDIPs; this dimension is an indicator of perceptions of familiarity. Reliability of these items was good at $\alpha = .82$.

Perception of Industry Gender Inequity

The third factor reflects individuals' perceptions of gender inequity and representation in their organization and industry as a whole. High scores in this six-item dimension indicate that participants believe that women in their organization and/or industry are underrepresented in terms of authority, respect, and numerical presence. As with policy familiarity, this dimension does not give researchers or practitioners insight into individuals' feelings toward gender inequity in their industry. This dimension only reflects participants' perceptions of the presence of a gender imbalance. Although this factor includes an equal number of questions addressing organizations

and industry, the decision was made to defer to the broader category in which the organization is embedded when naming the factor. Reliability of this factor is high at $\alpha = .91$.

Policy Support

The fourth factor assesses individuals' support for GDIPs. High scores in this factor indicate that the participant supports the implementation and enactment of GDIPs in their organization and across the workforce. Reliability of this four-item factor was good at $\alpha = .82$.

Perception of Organizational Gender Diversity

The final factor includes four items and gauges individuals' perceptions of gender diversity and equity in their organizations. High scores in this dimension indicate that a participant believes their organization is diverse in terms of gender and that gender inequity is not a problem within their particular organization. Reliability for this factor was good at $\alpha = .81$.

A correlation analysis provided further insight into the relationships between the GDIPAS factors. Of particular interest were the significant positive relationships between policy abuse and perceptions of industry gender inequity and perceptions of organizational gender diversity. These results indicate that those who reported that GDIPs are unfair or easily abused were also likely to report 1) that women in their industries and/or organizations are underrepresented, and 2) that gender diversity or inequity is not a problem in their organizations. While at first glance these relationships may seem contradictory, it is important to remember that perception of industry gender inequity does not address whether the individual thinks that the gender imbalance in their organization or industry is *wrong*. Therefore, it is possible to believe that women are underrepresented in your organization or industry, and still think that GDIPs are unfair. In respect to the positive relationship between policy abuse and perception of organizational gender diversity,

it is possible that those who report that their organization is already diverse see no need for policies that correct disparities. If there is no problem, then GDIPs are over-correcting and thus, unfair. While these correlations provide insight into the relationships between individuals' perceptions of policy abuse, gender equity in their industries/organizations, and organizational gender diversity, further inquiry is needed to better understand the relationships between the GDIPAS dimensions and explore *why* these relationships occur.

Scale Validity

The validity of the resultant GDIPAS was further demonstrated through its significant positive association with theoretically-related concepts (i.e., convergent validity), as well as its lack of significant association with theoretically-unrelated concepts (i.e., discriminant validity). As predicted in Study One, old-fashioned and modern sexism were positively correlated with perception of policy fairness and abuse and negatively associated with policy support. Further, modern sexism was positively correlated with perception of organizational equity and negatively correlated with perception of gender representation, and old-fashioned sexism was found to be positively correlated with perception of gender representation. Policy attitude had a significant positive association with policy support and policy familiarity, and a negative correlation with perception of gender representation and perception of policy fairness and abuse. Finally, as predicted, a significant relationship was not found between old-fashioned sexism and perception of organizational equity, nor between modern sexism and policy familiarity.

Two surprising results emerged during the tests for convergent and divergent validity: old-fashioned sexism had a significant negative relationship with policy familiarity, and policy attitude was positively correlated with perception of organizational equity. One possible explanation for the negative relationship between old-fashioned sexism (i.e., the support of traditional gender roles

and differential treatment of women and men, and stereotypes about lesser female competence) and policy familiarity (i.e., one's perception that they and their coworkers are knowledgeable about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies) is that those who score high on the old-fashioned sexism measure may be less likely to look into their organization's Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies as they may not feel they are important or relevant to them personally. Although it was predicted that policy attitude would not have a significant relationship with perception of organizational equity, it is possible that those who believe their organization is diverse and that inequity is not a problem in their organization, would also believe that their organization has good Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in place already. In other words, it is possible that they believe that their organization's equity is a result of or corresponds with their policies. More research is needed to investigate the relationship between both results.

Social Desirability

Further analyses were conducted in Study Two to investigate the relationship between socially desirable responding and the final GDIPAS subscales and further validate the measure. Results indicated significant relationships between social desirability and some of the GDIPAS subscales: policy support was positively correlated with social desirability, while perception of policy abuse and perception of workforce gender inequity were negatively correlated with social desirability. A significant relationship was not found between social desirability and perception of organizational gender diversity or policy familiarity.

Of the results, only one was unexpected. Given the pattern of associations between the GDIPAS factors, it was anticipated that perception of organizational gender diversity would have a negative relationship with social desirability as found with policy abuse and perception of industry gender equity. While greater consistency was expected between the relationships, the

resultant correlations between the GDIPAS factors and social desirability are conceptually sound. When a participant has a high social desirability score, it indicates that they attempted to present a socially desirable or acceptable self-image (Crowne & Marlow, 1960). In our current sociohistorical context in which gender equity and anti-harassment campaigns (e.g. #MeToo, #TimesUp, #EqualPay) are frequently in the news and trending on social media, and in which organizations are being pushed to visibly address gender inequity and harassment, statements against Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies would run against the predominant social current. A significant negative relationship between social desirability and perception of industry gender inequity, on the other hand, is more difficult to explain. Within the sociohistorical context outlined above, reporting that women are underrepresented in an industry or organization would not run counter to social norms and would align with dominant social discourses that lament gender disparity in the workforce. It is possible that the negative relationship between perception of industry gender inequity and social desirability instead represents a tendency to “tell it like it is” for these respondents. Rather than altering their responses, they are simply reporting that women are underrepresented in their organization or industry. Similarly, the absence of a significant relationship between social desirability and perception of organizational gender diversity could again indicate that the participants are reporting what they see as a statement of fact – that their organization is diverse.

Alternatively, the relationships between social desirability and perceptions of industry gender inequity and perceptions of organizational gender equity might better be explained by examining the target of the socially desirable responses. That is, while participants who express anti-GDIP opinions are presenting a socially undesirable view of themselves as individuals, participants who report underrepresentation or gender inequity in their industry or organization

threaten the social image of a collective. Thus, the negative relationship between perception of industry gender inequity and social desirability could be interpreted as a willingness to present an unfavorable image of the collective; whereas a positive, though statistically insignificant, relationship between social desirability and perception of organizational gender equity could represent an attempt to present a socially acceptable image of the organization. Additional inquiry is needed to better understand the relationships between the GDIPAS factors and socially desirable responding.

Predictive Validity

A hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to assess the extent to which policy support (i.e., policy attitude) could be predicted by perceptions of policy abuse, policy familiarity, perceptions of industry gender inequity, and perception of organizational gender diversity. As policy support was significantly correlated with sex, $r(14) = .02$, sex was entered in step one of the hierarchical regression and its contribution to changes in policy support variance. The remaining GDIPAS subscales were then entered in step two to evaluate their contribution to policy support variance. While sex and the GDIPAS variables all significantly contributed the changes in the variance of policy support, the GDIPAS variables accounted for significantly more changes in the variance, both together and individually. Altogether, all five variables accounted for 36.3% of the variance in policy support.

Limitations

Although the GDIPAS can provide deeper insight into an individual's attitude toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies than a traditional attitude scale, the measure is still limited in its capability to explain *why* an individual holds a particular view of Gender Diversity and

Inclusion policies. As such, communication scholars and practitioners seeking to understand how organization members construct knowledge about policies should pair the GDIPAS with in-depth interviews to further unearth the role of individual attitudes and beliefs in the policy knowledge construction process.

The measure is also limited by the sampling procedures. Several attempts were made to study Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge construction and validate the GDIPAS in an organizational context. After several rejections, the decision was made to collect data through MTurk. While data were thoroughly screened to ensure the collected responses met the outlined inclusion criteria, it is possible that some participants lied to make it through screening.

Future Directions

The original intention of the GDIPAS was to develop a measure that could be adapted to address general and specific Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. While the language of the GDIPAS can be adapted to address particular Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, further validation is needed before it can be reliably adapted to non-Gender Diversity and Inclusion related policies.

Another future direction would be to further validate the measure in a specific organizational context. While the sampling procedures used in these studies allowed for participants from various occupations and industries to be surveyed, their responses are not necessarily representative of an organizational context in which established relationships, specific policies, and coworker dynamics might influence participant responses.

Finally, while perceptions of policy abuse, policy familiarity, perceptions of industry gender inequity, perceptions of organizational gender diversity, and sex accounted for a significant portion of the variance in policy support, there is still more to be known about what influences

participants' support for Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. Future research could investigate the role of organizational identification, identification types, and personal experiences with gender-based discrimination in predicting policy support.

Conclusion

As organizations continue to work to create, implement, and enact policies meant to construct more equitable and diverse work environments, more insight will be needed into employees' perceptions of these policies if they are to be effectively implemented and enacted. The Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale (GDIPAS) presented in this chapter outlines a valid and reliable measurement of organizational members' feelings toward and perceptions of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. Insights from this measure can be used to help scholars and practitioners understand obstacles to Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy implementation and enactment.

The purpose of Phase One of this dissertation project was to identify factors underlying policy attitude (i.e., support) and develop a methodological tool to assist in understanding how members of organizations in the technology industry make sense of and construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. In the next chapter, the methods used in Phase Two of this dissertation project are outlined; results and discussion chapters follow.

CHAPTER SIX: PHASE TWO METHODS

While Phase One of this dissertation was made necessary by a methodological problem, Phase Two was conducted to address the heart of this project: how members of organizations in the technology industry construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their personal beliefs, attitudes, values and experiences with and toward gender-based discrimination, as well as their inter- and extra-organizational interactions (i.e., G-RQ, RQ2-4a).²⁰

As stated in Chapter Three, due to the nature of the research questions, I chose to construct a mixed methods project using a triangulation design. Complementary data – interviews and surveys – were collected to achieve a more complex understanding of the phenomena. While one-on-one interviews were conducted to gain a deeper, more nuanced understanding of the ways in which members of technology organizations made sense of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, survey data were obtained to acquire a broader, more representative sample of experiences and perceptions. In line with a parallel design, quantitative and qualitative data were collected simultaneously and analyzed separate (i.e., initially) before being brought together in subsequent integrated meta-analysis. For simplicity, I first review the initial (i.e., separate) processes for interview (i.e., qualitative) analyses; I then present the survey measures and initial survey (i.e., quantitative) analyses and results. Participant profiles and demographic information

²⁰ G-RQ: How do members of organizations in the tech industry construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their personal beliefs, attitudes, and experiences with and perceptions of gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) in the workforce, and intra- and extra-organizational interactions? RQ2: How and with whom do members of tech organizations communicate about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (e.g., development, implementation, enactment, information), both intra- and extra-organizationally? RQ2a: What resources do organizational members use to obtain or enhance policy knowledge? RQ3: What contradictions, if any, are present in the policy knowledge construction process? RQ4: What relationship, if any, is present between organizational identification, identification types, and Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy attitudes? RQ4a: What role does organizational identification play in the policy knowledge construction process?

are provided for each method. The chapter concludes with an explanation of how the data were brought together to inform subsequent integrated analyses and the methods through which meta-inferences were constructed.

Method One: Interviews

Interviews were conducted to explore how participants' beliefs, attitudes, experiences, interactions, and identifications shaped their constructions of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge. While survey data is capable of measuring types and levels of identification, interview data aid in the contextualization of identification experiences and offer insight into "how identification develops or is expressed" (Miller et al., 2000, p. 650). Further, interviews provide a space for sensemaking in which the participant and researcher can work together to co-construct interpretations of and meaning surrounding participants' past experiences and perceptions of phenomena.

Recruitment Procedures

Members of organizations in the technology industry with 15 or more employees were recruited to participate in this study. Recruitment occurred over a 7-month period using several methods of recruitment (e.g., snowball sampling, convenience). Initially, calls for participation were placed on various social media websites and platforms. IRB approved flyers and statements were placed on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, LinkedIn, and Tumblr. Posts were placed both in private personal accounts, as well as relevant professional pages. Following social media recruitment tactics, my and others' (e.g., dissertation committee members', friends', family members') personal networks were also consulted to make contact with members of technology organizations across the US. Finally, participants were asked to share the study information with

others in their social and professional networks. To ensure qualification, interested parties were asked to complete an online screening survey. The survey was composed of an IRB approved consent form, demographic questions, and requests for contact information. See Appendix A for the screening survey. In total, 32 people attempted the screening survey; 18 respondents were qualified for the study and contacted to schedule an interview. Data from disqualified respondents (i.e., those who did not meet the inclusion criteria) was deleted.

Recruitment Reflection

While recruitment efforts were continuous from October 2018 through April 2019, progress was slow moving. Despite assurances that all interviews would be confidential, and their identities protected, potential participants were often anxious about their employers finding out about their participation in the study. Several potential participants disclosed that they had signed a Non-Disclosure Agreement as part of their hiring process and were afraid that even talking in generalities about their employer's Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies would put them in violation of their agreements. During the recruitment period there was also an increase in U.S. national media attention surrounding gender-based discrimination in the technology sector, possibly contributing to members' reluctance to participate. Further, several participants cancelled their interviews or "ghosted"²¹ after I sent the consent form for them to review. While one participant said that she did not anticipate that the interview would be so involved or official, the rest did not give reasons for ghosting or canceling.

²¹ Ghosting is a phenomenon in which an individual unexpectedly ceases communication and/or contact with another person without explanation or warning. The term ghosting is used to connote a disappearance of a person.

Participants

In all, 10 participants were interviewed for this project. Participants were given a \$10 Amazon gift card in recognition of their time. On average, participants were 31.90 years old ($SD = 2.81$). The majority of participants identified as women ($n = 6$), were Caucasian ($n = 7$), married ($n = 6$), and heterosexual ($n = 7$); all had completed at least a Bachelor's degree. Participants worked in a variety of organizations ranging from small start-ups to tech industry giants. See Table 14 for a demographic profile of each participant, identified by pseudonym.

Interview Procedures

Participants were asked to engage in one-on-one, semi-structured, narrative style interviews over the phone, in person, or video conferencing software. Interviews were predominantly open-ended, fairly unstructured, and designed to stimulate but not dictate the conversation (Tracy, 2013). Interviews followed an IRB approved interview guide (see Appendix B), but were adapted to each participant, some more so than others. This approach allowed the interview to explore each participants' unique experiences and perceptions. Interviews were collected until a point of data saturation was achieved (i.e., the point in which analysis yields no new insights and no additional themes or categories emerge; Tracy, 2013). While suggestions for the number of respondents needed to reach saturation abound, "growing evidence [suggests] that 10-20 knowledgeable people are enough to uncover and understand core categories in any well-defined cultural domain or study of lived experience" (Bernard, 2011, p. 154). Indeed, while not all interview participants in this study were knowledgeable about their organization's specific policies, as will be discussed in the following chapter, all were knowledgeable and passionate about the issue of Gender Diversity and Inclusion in the technology sector and were able to speak to their and others' experiences with gender-based discrimination in their organizations and

industry. On average, interviews lasted approximately 1 hour and 10 minutes. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed; transcriptions were de-identified and totaled 237 pages (see Table 14 for each participant's interview and transcription length).

Analysis

Qualitative data were analyzed in alignment with Charmaz's (2014) constructionist interpretation of grounded theory. Although grounded theory as a methodology results in a generation of new theory, here it was used as a guide to inductive analysis. Although interview data were not slotted into predetermined categories, the analysis process was guided by extant theory (e.g., sensemaking, intersectional feminism). Essentially, throughout the analysis process I sought to describe phenomena rather than engage in theory construction (Charmaz, 2011). As an analytical process, grounded theory methods involve continuously going between the data and literature, searching for meaning and emerging themes while engaging in memo-writing and coding throughout the analysis (Charmaz, 2014).

Unlike other qualitative research methods, data collection and analysis occur simultaneously in an iterative process in grounded theoretical analysis (Charmaz, 2011). In this study, memo-writing and quantitative analysis occurred throughout data collection, and interviews were adapted to investigate emerging themes related to the research questions. Once all interviews were transcribed, the data were prepared for coding. The order in which data are analyzed can have a significant impact on the study's findings (Tracy, 2013). While the data could have been analyzed chronologically (i.e., date of interview), by type (i.e., memos, transcripts, interview notes), age, or any number of criteria, I chose to organize the interview data according to gender identity. As discussed in Chapter Three, intersectional and standpoint feminism argue that members of the subordinate class are better equipped to understand their situation and generate solutions than

members of the dominant class. Given the purpose of this dissertation, I chose to ground analysis in the experiences of womxn²².

Coding occurred in several stages. The first round of coding was conducted using the qualitative software, QDA Miner Lite. During this round, womxn's interview transcripts were examined line-by-line for the "what" of the data; this included coding for both gerunds (i.e., -ing words) and *in vivo* language (i.e., words or language used by the participant; Tracy, 2013). As codes were created their definitions were entered into QDA Miner Lite, creating codebook. Analytic memos (i.e., "sites of conversation with ourselves about our data"; Clarke, 2005, p. 202) were also written during this time; these memos focused on initial interpretations or gut feelings about codes and emerging themes or connections among participants. Level one codes were then "organize[d], synthesize[d], and categorize[d] ...into interpretive concepts" or focused, second-level codes (Tracy, 2013, p. 194). Secondary codes were created by reviewing the first level codes, analytical memos, raw data, quantitative data findings, and relevant communication literature. Secondary codes included *in vivo* language, organizational communication concepts, and descriptions of participant experiences. As codes were constructed, they were entered into an Excel spreadsheet to create a focused codebook. During this process additional analytic memos were written regarding statistical analyses. That is, as I reviewed the qualitative and quantitative data, codes, notes, and literature, I also made notes about which variable relationships to pay particular attention to in the survey data and new analyses to run.

²²Womxn is used as an inclusive term to refer the cis-women, transgender woman, and non-binary, female presenting person (Sophie) who participated in my study. While Sophie uses they/them pronouns, they were consulted and approved the use of 'womxn' to describe them.

Table 14: Interview Participant Profile

Participant	Demographic Summary			Organization Summary		Interview Summary	
	Age	Race/ Ethnicity	Gender Identity	Organization Description	Tenure (in years)	Interview Length	Pages of Transcript
Matthew	35	Caucasian	Man	Enterprise Software	0.5 FTE; 9 volunteering	1:46	41
Jack	30	Caucasian	Man	Software Solutions	1.5	1:11	27
Nathaniel	34	Caucasian	Man	Social Media	2 FTE; 0.5 contractor; 0.5 intern	1:12	26
Diana	28	Caucasian	Woman	Marketing Engagement	2.8	0:53	26
Miriam	34	Other	Woman	Educational Technology	2.5	1:12	21
Gillian	26	Asian	Woman	Defense Contractor	1	0:49	16
Sophie	32	Asian	Non-Binary	Open Source Software Development	3 months	1:36	27
Sarah	34	Caucasian	Woman	Content Publisher	On and off for 10	0:58	17
Bridget	33	Caucasian	Woman	Subscription Wellness	4	1:09	19
Lydia	33	Caucasian	Woman	Financial Technology	3	0:49	17

Once the secondary codes were created, the second round of coding began. While the first round of coding was done digitally, the second round was conducted manually. All interview transcripts were printed and coded by hand using multicolor markers, pens, highlighters, sticky notes, tabs, and an assortment of other office supplies. Switching from digital to manual coding allowed me to see the data differently. While digital coding has several strengths, including the ability to quickly run queries on code frequencies and overlap, manually coding the interview transcripts allowed me to physically sit in the data, to surround myself with the material, and stack and restack interview data as I made sense of emerging themes. Again, I began by coding the womxn's interviews; I then coded the men's interviews, making a note whenever their experiences or perceptions diverged from those of the womxn.

Following the second round of coding, secondary codes were compared with each other, qualitative and quantitative data, analytic memos, and extant literature. Through this process secondary codes were refined and discarded as necessary until themes were generated. These kinds of themes should not be confused with those generated through thematic coding in which data is analyzed for common topics (Charmaz, 2014); rather, themes here should be understood as the result of inductive analysis in which codes generated through line-by-line grounded theory coding are grouped into categories. In line with the constructionist perspective of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), themes are recognized as interpretations of participants' experiences. This perspective aligns with the feminist epistemologies presented in Chapter Three as "grounded theorists aim to code for possibilities suggested *by* the data rather than ensuring complete accuracy *of* the data" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 120; emphasis in the original). That is, with intersectional feminism and grounded theoretical analysis, the question is not whether an event or experience *actually* took place in the way participants said it did, but instead the emphasis is on constructed perceptions of

the events (i.e., how participants made sense of their experience). Once I had constructed the initial themes from the interview data, I sat the qualitative data aside until the survey analyses were complete.

Method Two: Surveys

Surveys were used to complement and extend qualitative data. While the survey was originally meant to specifically address research question 5a (i.e., What relationship, if any, is present between organizational identification, identification types, and Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy support?), the survey was amended to give more insight into the guiding research question (see Appendix C for survey measures). While interviews allowed for deep insight into organizational members' experiences and perceptions, surveys provided an opportunity to gather information from a wider sample and hear from participants who might be otherwise reticent to share their thoughts on Gender Diversity and Inclusion.

Procedures

Individuals 18 years-old or older working full-time at an organization with 15 or more employees in the technology industry were recruited to participate in an anonymous online survey through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). Participant eligibility was determined through a series of screening questions included as demographic questions (see Appendix H). Participants who did not meet the inclusion criteria were not permitted to continue the survey and their data was discarded.

Participants

Data Cleaning

Data collection occurred over a two-week period. During this time, a total of 1477 participants attempted the survey; of those participants, 283 were qualified and allowed to complete the survey. Following data collection, data were screened and extensively cleaned according to the following criteria: 1) survey straight lining (i.e., marking the same response for most or all of the items), 2) patterned responses (i.e., marking responses according to a visual pattern), and 3) survey non-responsiveness (i.e., responding to fewer than 60% of the items). Responses were also screened for integrity. As described in the following section, participants were asked to complete a set of optional open-ended questions. Evidence of plagiarism (i.e., copying material from online sources into the response boxes) was taken as a sign of dishonesty and lack of integrity; in cases of plagiarism the entire case (i.e., the participant's entire survey) was deleted. Through this process, 77 cases were removed listwise. The data were also examined in SPSS 25 for outliers; no extreme outliers were found in the dataset. During analysis, open response questions were further examined and eliminated based on the following criteria: 1) extent to which the participant answered the question (i.e., off topic responses were removed), and 2) readability (i.e., responses in another language or that were nonsensical were removed). As open response questions were optional, cases in which the open response questions were removed for readability and focus were retained for all other parts of analysis. In accordance with the approved IRB protocol, participants who were not removed from the dataset due to poor quality were paid \$1.50 for their time²³.

²³ Funding for Phase Two of this dissertation project was secured through a professional development and research grant from the Brian Lamb School of Communication and College of Liberal Arts Promise Grant at Purdue University.

Participant Demographics

In total, 206 survey responses were retained. On average participants were 31.08 years old ($SD = 7.61$). Participants predominantly identified as male (64.1%, $n = 132$), Caucasian (60.2%, $n = 124$), and heterosexual (79.6%, $n = 164$). Participants most often worked in a full-time, salaried, management position (60.2%, $n = 124$), and in professional/management (30.6%, $n = 63$) or technical support (35.0%, $n = 72$) occupations. See Table 15 for a complete summary of survey participant demographics.

Of the 206 retained survey cases, 140 participants answered all or some of the open-ended response questions in a meaningful way. The number of cases retained in the open response section varied by question; more information is presented on open response question participation below.

Table 15: Phase Two Survey Frequency Distributions

Variable		Frequency
Sex	Male	64.1% ($n = 132$)
	Female	35.0% ($n = 72$)
	Non-Binary	1.0% ($n = 2$)
Age	18-20	1.0% ($n = 2$)
	21-29	52.4% ($n = 108$)
	30-39	32.0% ($n = 66$)
	40-49	11.7% ($n = 24$)
	50-59	2.9% ($n = 6$)
	Age Mean	$M = 31.08$
	Age Standard Deviation	$SD = 7.61$
Race	White	60.2% ($n = 124$)
	Black	15.5% ($n = 32$)
	Latinx/Hispanic	5.8% ($n = 12$)
	Asian	13.1% ($n = 27$)
	Other	4.9% ($n = 10$)
	Prefer not to say	0.5% ($n = 1$)
Marital Status	Married	47.1% ($n = 97$)
	Divorced	2.4% ($n = 5$)
	Separated	2.9% ($n = 6$)
	Never Married	46.1% ($n = 95$)
	Missing	1.5% ($n = 3$)

Table 15 Continued

Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	79.6% (<i>n</i> = 164)
	Homosexual	4.9% (<i>n</i> = 10)
	Bisexual	14.6% (<i>n</i> = 30)
	Other	0.5% (<i>n</i> = 1)
	Prefer not to say	0.5% (<i>n</i> = 1)
Completed Education	Less than High School	1.0% (<i>n</i> = 2)
	High School Degree or Equivalent	2.9% (<i>n</i> = 6)
	Some College	9.7% (<i>n</i> = 20)
	Trade, Technological or Vocational Training	3.4% (<i>n</i> = 7)
	Associates Degree	10.7% (<i>n</i> = 22)
	Bachelor's Degree	55.3% (<i>n</i> = 114)
	Master's Degree	15.5% (<i>n</i> = 32)
	Doctorate	1.0% (<i>n</i> = 2)
	Professional Degree	0.5% (<i>n</i> = 1)
Total Family Income	Under \$10,000	1.5% (<i>n</i> = 3)
	\$10,000- \$29,999	10.2% (<i>n</i> = 21)
	\$30,000- \$49,999	22.3% (<i>n</i> = 46)
	\$50,000- \$69,999	24.8% (<i>n</i> = 51)
	\$70,000- \$89,999	22.3% (<i>n</i> = 46)
	\$90,000- \$109,999	9.7% (<i>n</i> = 20)
	\$110,000- \$129,999	4.4% (<i>n</i> = 9)
	\$130,000- \$149,999	1.0% (<i>n</i> = 2)
	\$150,000 or more	3.9% (<i>n</i> = 8)
Employment Status	Working (full-time, salary, management)	60.2% (<i>n</i> = 124)
	Working (full-time, salary, non-management)	18.4% (<i>n</i> = 38)
	Working (full-time, hourly, management)	6.8% (<i>n</i> = 14)
	Working (full-time, hourly, non-management)	14.6% (<i>n</i> = 30)
Organization Size (# of employees)	15-19	8.7% (<i>n</i> = 18)
	20-49	11.2% (<i>n</i> = 23)
	50-99	20.9% (<i>n</i> = 43)
	100-249	16.0% (<i>n</i> = 33)
	250-499	12.6% (<i>n</i> = 26)
	500-999	13.6% (<i>n</i> = 28)
	1000 or more	17.0% (<i>n</i> = 35)
Occupation	Management, professional, and related	30.6% (<i>n</i> = 63)
	Tech Support	35.0% (<i>n</i> = 72)
	Service	8.3% (<i>n</i> = 17)
	Sales and office	9.2% (<i>n</i> = 19)
	Marketing, Advertising	5.3% (<i>n</i> = 11)

Table 15 Continued

Occupation	Development	9.7% ($n = 20$)
	Maintenance	0.5% ($n = 1$)
	Production, transportation, and material moving	1.5% ($n = 3$)

Measures

Participants were asked to complete a survey composed of personal and organizational demographic questions, true or false questions regarding their experiences with and observations of gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at the current and former workplaces, the GDIPAS, Canary et al.'s (2013) policy communication index and policy knowledge measure, Swim et al.'s (1995) old-fashioned and modern sexism scale, measures from Kreiner and Ashforth's (2004) expanded model of organizational identification, Strahan and Gerbasi's (1972) M-C 10(1) version of the M-C social desirability scale, and a series of open ended questions pertaining to their thoughts and opinions on Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (see Table 16 for variable descriptive and normality statistics).

Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale

Measures from the Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy attitude scale (GDIPAS) served predominantly as dependent variables in this study. The GDIPAS is composed of 26 items across five dimensions that assess participants' perceptions of policy abuse, policy familiarity, perceptions of industry gender inequity, policy support, and perceptions of organizational gender diversity on a 5-point Likert-type scale (see chapter five for an overview of scale variables. All dimensions were reliable with respective Cronbach's alphas of .94, .80, .86, .85, and .84. Consistent with Study Two in Phase One, perceptions of policy abuse, policy familiarity, and perceptions of industry gender inequity were significantly correlated with policy support and perceptions of organizational gender diversity (see Table 17 for all bivariate correlations).

Table 16: Reliability, Mean, Standard Deviation, Skewness and Kurtosis Statistics for Variables included in the Phase Two Survey.

Measure	α	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
GDIPAS: Policy Abuse	.94	2.91	1.10	-.385	-1.05
GDIPAS: Policy Familiarity	.80	3.77	.78	-.314	-.564
GDIPAS: Perception of Industry Gender Inequity	.86	3.48	.92	-.456	-.172
GDIPAS: Policy Support	.85	3.99	.88	-.685	.002
GDIPAS: Perception of Organizational Gender Diversity	.84	3.33	1.01	-.517	-.468
PCI: Meetings	.90	3.02	1.06	-.399	-.727
PCI: Human Resources Communication	.79	3.47	.88	-.634	.326
PCI: Co-Worker	.85	3.14	1.04	-.474	-.579
PCI: Written Instruction	.80	3.51	.91	-.792	.607
PCI: Personal Expressions	.89	3.06	1.27	-.314	-1.07
Policy Knowledge	.84	3.72	.72	-.087	-.155
Organization Identity Strength	.83	3.67	.82	-.348	-.454
Organization Identity Incongruence	.87	2.65	.99	-.257	-.985
Need for Organizational Identification	.73	3.31	.71	-.366	.842
Ambivalent Identification	.91	2.73	1.11	-.212	-1.23
Neutral Identification	.91	2.80	1.06	-.067	-.867
Disidentification	.92	2.54	1.12	.076	-1.14
Old-fashioned Sexism	.79	2.26	.89	-.029	-1.34
Modern Sexism	.81	2.70	.82	-.352	-.197
Social Desirability	.77	3.22	.66	.207	.649

Table 17: Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy Knowledge Construction Survey Bivariate Correlations

Variable	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
1.	-	-.03	.04	-.53**	.31**	.03	.42**	.14*	.52**	.33**	.50**	.42**	.19**	.47**	.14*	.36**	-.13	.61**	.69**	-.07
2.		-	-.12	.37**	.36**	.53**	-.36**	.36**	-.25**	-.30**	-.27**	.34**	.57**	.28**	.34**	.32**	.64**	-.18*	-.03	.28**
3.			-	.21**	-.44**	.08	.19**	.07	.24**	.26**	.20**	.00	-.02	.12	.10	.05	-.23**	.06	-.23**	-.12
4.				-	-.09	.22**	-.25**	.13	-.28**	-.22**	-.30**	-.04	.17*	-.08	.11	.02	.25**	-.51**	-.64**	.20*
5.					-	.28**	-.01	.28**	.07	.02	.07	.45**	.35**	.34**	.28**	.31**	.26**	.29**	.35**	.18*
6.						-	-.45**	.65**	-.26**	-.34**	-.25**	.23**	.41**	.30**	.32**	.23**	.38**	-.09	-.01	.17*
7.							-	-.22**	.84**	.68**	.84**	.20**	-.05	.16*	-.08	.17*	-.45**	.52**	.23**	-.27**
8.								-	.01	-.30**	-.06	.28**	.48**	.39**	.32**	.29**	.23**	.12	.02	.10
9.									-	.60**	.84**	.33**	.11	.32**	.04	.28**	-.43**	.61**	.35**	-.23**
10.										-	.67**	.12	-.13	.07	.01	.03	-.34**	.46**	.21**	-.30**
11.											-	.29**	.02	.30**	.01	.28**	-.45**	.63**	.34**	-.23**
12.												-	.68**	.77**	.35**	.70**	.13	.43**	.25**	.01
13.													-	.60**	.54**	.54**	.34**	.14*	.07	.15*
14.														-	.43**	.74**	.08	.44**	.26**	.03
15.															-	.45**	.14*	.07	.13	-.05
16.																-	.05	.36**	.17*	.06
17.																	-	-.36**	-.03	.18*
18.																		-	.53**	-.08
19.																			-	.02
20.																				-

Note: 1, GDIPAS: Policy Abuse; 2, GDIPAS: Policy Familiarity; 3, GDIPAS: Industry Gender Inequity; 4, GDIPAS: Policy Support; 5, GDIPAS: Organizational Gender Diversity; 6, Org. Identity Strength; 7, Org. Identity Incongruence; 8, Need for Identification; 9, Ambivalent Identification; 10, Neutral Identification; 11, Disidentification; 12, PCI: Meetings; 13, PCI: HR Communication; 14, PCI: Coworkers; 15, PCI: Written Instructions; 16, PCI: Personal Expressions; 17, Policy Knowledge; 18, Old-fashioned Sexism; 19, Modern Sexism; 20, Social Desirability. * $p < .05$ and ** $p < .01$

On average, participants who identified as women scored higher on perceptions of industry gender inequity ($M = 3.71$, $SD = .87$) than those who identified as men ($M = 3.36$, $SD = .93$); this difference, .35, CI [-.6099, -.0843], was significant, $t(202) = -2.60$, $p = .01$. The effect size, as indexed by Cohen's d , was .39, indicating a medium sized effect. Similarly, participants who identified as men typically scored higher on perceptions of organizational gender diversity ($M = 3.45$, $SD = 1.02$) than those who identified as women ($M = 3.11$, $SD = .96$); this difference, .34, CI [.0506, .6302], was significant, $t(202) = 2.32$, $p = .02$. The effects size was $d = .33$; this is a medium effect size. These results indicate that men typically perceived their industry and organizations to be more equitable and diverse than women. Gender differences were non-significant for perceptions of policy abuse, policy familiarity, or policy familiarity.

As in Study Two of Phase One, sex, perceptions of policy abuse, policy familiarity, perceptions of industry gender inequity, and perceptions of organizational gender diversity were analyzed as predictors of policy support. Again, variables were entered into the regression in two steps. First, step one evaluated how much variance of policy support could be accounted for by sex. Step two evaluated the effect of the other GDIPAS dimensions on policy support. While sex accounted for approximately 0.4% of the variance of policy support, step two significantly changed the model and accounted for 48.2% of the variance. The overall regression model was significant, $R = .70$, $R^2 = .50$, adjusted $R^2 = .48$, $F(5, 196) = 38.46$, $p < .001$. See Table 18 for the complete regression results. The t ratios for the individual regression slopes of each predictor variable were evaluated to understand the extent to which they uniquely contributed changes in variance for policy support. While neither sex (or gender identification as worded in this study) nor perceptions of organizational gender diversity significantly contributed to changes in R^2 , all other variables acted as significant predictors of changes in R^2 .

Table 18: Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Policy Support
($n = 202$)

Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Sex	.172	.129	.094	.123	.096	.067
Perception of Policy Abuse				-.458	.044	-.568**
Policy Familiarity				.408	.062	.363**
Perception of Industry Gender Inequity				.302	.056	.315**
Perception of Organizational Gender Diversity				.094	.057	.107
R^2		.009			.495	
F for change in R^2		1.78			47.22**	

Note: * $p < .05$ and ** $p < .01$

While sex, perceptions of policy abuse, perceptions of industry gender inequity, and perceptions of organizational gender diversity account for 48.2% of variance in policy support, there is more to be understood about how personal experiences, attitudes and beliefs, and inter- and extra-organizational interactions influence policy support. The following measures were included to gain insight into how experiences with and observations of gender-based discrimination, policy communication, attitudes and beliefs about sexism, organizational identification types, and social desirability impact changes in Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy support.

Experience-Based Questions

Categorical, true/false questions were included in the survey to get a better understanding of the relationship between experiences with and observations of sexism at work and GDIPAS variables. Questions asked participants about their personal experiences with and observations of sexism at their current and former workplaces. Participants were also asked about the stories they've heard from coworkers about sexism at their workplaces, and the stories they've heard from family members or friends. While family and friends may not inform participants' perceptions of

sexism at their current workplace, their stories could influence participants' perceptions of the pervasiveness of sexism more broadly. Questions were also included regarding ambiguous experiences with and observations of sexism in the workplace. Sexism, as discussed in the following chapter, is often difficult to define and identify. To gauge the relationship between “grey” experiences with sexism and GDIPAS variables, questions regarding ambiguous experiences with sexism were included in the survey. In all, 16 dichotomous experience-related questions were included in survey (see Appendix C).

Personal Experiences with Sexism

Participants were asked to respond to four questions about their observations of minor and major gender-based discrimination at the present and past workplaces (see Appendix C for questions). Because of the interpretivist nature of this project, ‘minor’ and ‘major’ were not defined for participants. Instead, participants were able to answer according to their own perceptions. Cross tabulations were run to get a sense of the relationship between gender and personal experiences with minor and major experiences with gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism). Over half of the self-identified women in this study reported experiencing minor sexism at their current place of work (62.5%, $n = 45$), while 41.7% ($n = 30$) reported experiencing major instances of sexism at their current organization. Meanwhile, more than half of participants who identified as men reported experiencing minor instances of sexism at work (56.8%, $n = 75$), and less than a third reported experiences with major instances of sexism (27.3%, $n = 36$). Full cross tabulation results for participants' experiences with sexism at their current place of work are located in Table 19.

Table 19: Cross Tabulation of Gender and Participants' Experiences with Gender-Based Discrimination (GBD) at Their Current Workplaces

	Experience with Minor Instances of GBD						Experience with Major Instances of GBD					
	True		False		Total		True		False		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Men	75	56.8	57	43.2	132	100	36	27.3	96	72.7	132	100
Women	45	62.5	27	37.5	72	100	30	41.7	42	58.3	72	100
Total	120	58.8	84	41.2	204	100	66	32.4	138	67.6	204	100

Fewer participants reported experiencing both minor and major encounters with sexism at their former workplaces. Again, however, more than half of women reported experiencing minor instances of sexism at a former organization (66.7%, $n = 48$), while one third (33.3%) of women reported experiences with major cases of sexism at a former workplace ($n = 24$). See Table 20 for a full summary of results for the cross tabulation between gender and experiences with sexism at a former place of work.

Table 20: Cross Tabulation of Sex and Participants' Experiences with Gender-Based Discrimination (GBD) at Their Former Workplaces

	Experience with Minor Instances of GBD						Experience with Major Instances of GBD					
	True		False		Total		True		False		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Men	64	48.5	68	51.5	132	100	37	28.2	94	71.8	131	100
Women	48	66.7	24	33.3	72	100	24	33.3	48	66.7	72	100
Total	112	54.9	92	45.1	204	100	61	30.0	142	70.0	203	100

Observations of Sexism

Participants were asked to respond to four questions regarding their observations of sexism at their current and former organizations. Questions mirrored those assessing personal experiences. Again, definitions of major and minor were not provided for participants. Cross tabulations were

run to assess the frequency at which women and men observed sexism within their current and former workplaces. A cross-tabulation tables for observations of sexism at a present workplace (Table 21) follows this summary. Examination of the cross-tabulation tables indicates that more than half of respondents (58.1%, $n = 118$) reported witnessing minor instances of gender-based discrimination at their current workplace. Men and women reported similar observations of sexism at work more than half of both men (57.3%) and women (59.7%) reported witnessing minor sexism, while more than half of men (68.2%) and women (62.5%) reported never witnessing major acts of sexism at their current workplace.

Table 21: Cross-Tabulation of Sex and Participants' Observations of Gender-Based Discrimination (GBD) at Their Current Workplaces

	Observations of Minor Instances of GBD						Observations of Major Instances of GBD					
	True		False		Total		True		False		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Men	75	57.3	56	43.7	131	100	42	31.8	90	68.2	132	100
Women	43	59.7	29	40.3	72	100	27	37.5	45	62.5	72	100
Total	118	58.1	85	41.9	203	100	69	33.8	135	66.2	204	100

Similarly, participants predominantly reported observing minor instances of sexism at previous workplaces (61.6%, $n = 125$), and few reported witnessing major instances of sexism (30.4%, $n = 62$) at a former organization (see Table 22).

Table 22: Cross-Tabulation of Sex and Participants' Observations of Gender-Based Discrimination (GBD) at Their Former Workplaces

	Observations of Minor Instances of GBD						Observations of Major Instances of GBD					
	True		False		Total		True		False		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Men	78	59.5	53	40.5	131	100	41	31.1	91	68.9	132	100
Women	47	65.3	25	34.7	72	100	21	29.2	51	70.8	72	100
Total	125	61.6	78	38.4	203	100	62	30.4	142	69.6	204	100

Shared Stories of Sexism

Participants were asked to answer questions about whether coworkers at their current or former workplaces, or friends or family members have shared stories with them about their experiences with sexism at work. Cross-tabulation tables for stories heard from coworkers at present and former workplaces (Table 23) and friends and family (Table 24) are located below. Of participants who identified as women, 60.6% ($n = 43$) reported hearing stories from coworkers about their experiences with sexism at their current workplace, while 55.6% ($n = 40$) indicated that coworkers at their former workplace had shared stories of sexism at the former organization with them. Despite most women having heard stories about sexism from coworkers at their past or present workplaces, nearly as many people – both men and women – had never heard stories about sexism from coworkers.

Table 23: Cross-Tabulation of Sex and Coworker Stories of Gender-Based Discrimination (GBD) at Present and Past Workplaces

	Present Organization						Past Organization					
	True		False		Total		True		False		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Men	61	46.6	70	53.4	131	100	63	48.1	68	51.9	131	100
Women	43	60.6	28	39.4	71	100	40	55.6	32	44.4	72	100
Total	104	51.5	98	48.5	202	100	103	50.7	100	49.3	203	100

Conversely, most participants had heard stories from friends (68.0%, $n = 138$) or family members (58.8%, $n = 120$) about their experiences with sexism at work.

Table 24: Cross-Tabulation of Sex and Friend & Family Stories of Gender-Based Discrimination (GBD) at Present and Past Workplaces

	Friend Stories						Family Stories					
	True		False		Total		True		False		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Men	90	68.2	42	31.8	132	100	75	56.8	57	43.2	132	100
Women	48	67.6	23	32.4	71	100	45	62.5	27	37.5	72	100
Total	138	68.0	65	32.0	203	100	120	58.8	84	41.2	204	100

Ambiguous Experiences with Sexism

Participants were asked four questions about their experiences or observations of situations in which they weren't sure if what was transpiring was or was not sexism. Sexism, as discussed in the subsequent chapter, is often hard to define. Including this block of questions allowed for that ambiguity in the analysis. Cross-tabulation tables for ambiguous experiences or observations at their current organizations (Table 25) and former workplaces (Table 26) follow this summary. Half or more of the women in this study reported having ambiguous personal experiences with gender-based discrimination at their current (51.4%) and former (56.9) workplaces, whereas men did not (59.1% and 57.6%, respectively). In terms of ambiguous observations of gender-based discrimination, half of men (50.8%) and women (50.7%) reported wondering if an interaction they witnessed at their current organization was sexism; this finding was consistent with ambiguous observations of sexism at a former workplace.

Table 25: Cross-Tabulation of Sex and Participants' Ambiguous Experiences with and Observations of Gender-Based Discrimination (GBD) at Their Current Workplaces

	Ambiguous Personal Experience w/GBD						Ambiguous Observation of GBD					
	True		False		Total		True		False		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Men	54	40.9	78	59.1	132	100	67	50.8	65	49.2	132	100
Women	36	51.4	34	48.6	70	100	36	50.7	35	49.3	71	100
Total	90	44.6	112	55.4	202	100	103	50.7	100	49.3	203	100

Table 26: Cross-Tabulation of Sex and Participants' Ambiguous Experiences with and Observations of Gender-Based Discrimination (GBD) at Their Former Workplaces

	Ambiguous Personal Experience w/GBD						Ambiguous Observation of GBD					
	True		False		Total		True		False		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Men	56	42.4	76	57.6	132	100	69	52.3	63	47.7	132	100
Women	41	56.9	31	43.1	72	100	39	54.2	33	45.8	72	100
Total	97	47.5	107	52.5	204	100	108	52.9	96	47.1	204	100

Policy Communication Index

Canary et al.'s (2013) policy communication index (PCI) was included in the survey to assess the relationship between policy communication and Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy attitude. The PCI measures policy communication in organizations across five factors: meeting discussions (i.e., communication involving the “details, background, and explanations of the policy” in the context of meetings), human resources communication (i.e., “communication with human resources representatives or trainers”), coworker interactions (i.e., “informal interactions with coworkers”), supervisor/coworker written instructions (i.e., the “ways in which supervisors and coworkers provide instructions about the policy in writing”), and personal expressions (i.e., “how participants use their personal values, opinions, and suggestions in communication about the

focal policy,” Canary et al., pp. 482-484). Items in the PCI are measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale. Factors were reliable at .90, .79, .85, .80, and .89, respectively.

An examination of the correlations table (Table 17) indicates that all five PCI dimensions were significantly correlated with one another, and significantly positively correlated with perceptions of policy abuse, policy familiarity, and perceptions of organizational gender diversity; additional significant relationships are discussed in the subsequent sections. Independent samples *t* tests were performed to assess whether mean PCI scores differed for men and women; there were no significant gender differences found between participants’ PCI dimension scores.

Policy Knowledge Measure

Canary et al.’s (2013) 8-item policy knowledge measure was included to act as an added validation measure for the GDIPAS’s policy familiarity dimension. Items are measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale and include questions like “I received enough training about [policy],” and “I know how to find information I need about [policy]”. The policy knowledge measure was reliable at .84.

On average, men scored higher on policy knowledge ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .71$) than women ($M = 3.58$, $SD = .72$); this .22 difference, $CI [.0076, .4247]$, was significant $t(200) = 2.04$, $p = .04$. The effect size as indexed by Cohen’s *d* was .31; this is a medium effect size. An examination of Pearson’s *r* indicated that policy knowledge was significantly positively correlated with policy familiarity, policy support, perceptions of organizational gender diversity, human resources communication, and supervisor/coworker written instructions. Policy knowledge had a significant negative relationship with perceptions of industry gender inequity. See Table 17 for a full summary of correlations.

Old-Fashioned and Modern Sexism

Swim et al.'s (1995) old-fashioned and modern sexism scales were included to understand the relationship between personal beliefs about or orientations toward gender roles and equity and policy support. As described in Chapter Four, the old-fashioned and modern sexism scales measure individuals' levels of old-fashioned (i.e., espousal of traditional gender roles, gender-based differential treatment, pejorative stereotypes about women) and modern (i.e., post-feminist beliefs about equality) sexism. This 13-item measure is scored on a 5-point Likert-type scale such that higher scores indicate higher levels of old-fashioned and modern sexism. The old-fashioned sexism scale was reliable at .79. Item four of the modern sexism scale performed poorly and was removed to raise the reliability of the modern sexism scale; once item four was removed the scale was reliable at .81.

Independent samples *t* tests were performed to assess mean differences in old-fashioned and modern sexism for men and women. While a significant gender difference was not found between men and women's old-fashioned sexism scores, men typically scored higher on modern sexism ($M = 2.82$, $SD = .84$) than women ($M = 2.45$, $SD = .78$). This mean difference of .37, CI [.1406, .6076], was significant $t(202) = 3.16$, $p = .002$, and had a medium effect size, $d = .46$.

A series of correlation analyses were conducted to understand the relationships between old-fashioned and modern sexism and the other survey variables. Results indicated a significant positive relationship between both old-fashioned and modern sexism and perceptions of policy abuse, perceptions of organizational gender diversity, meeting discussions, coworker interactions, and personal expressions. Both sexism variables were significantly negatively associated with policy support. Old-fashioned sexism has a significant positive relationship with human resources communication, and a significant negative relationship with policy familiarity and policy

knowledge. Modern sexism had a significant negative relationship with perceptions of industry gender inequity. Finally, old-fashioned and modern sexism were significantly positively correlated with one another.

Expanded Model of Organizational Identification

Identification and Identification types were measured using Kreiner and Ashforth's (2004) expanded model of organizational identification. Their measure is composed of 41-items across seven subscales assessed on a 5-point Likert-type scale. Subscales address organizational identity strength (i.e., "the extent to which there is a common sense of purpose, clear and unique vision, feeling of unity, and specific mission") and incongruence (i.e., "the extent to which the mission, goals, values, and beliefs of the organization are inconsistent"), as well as participants need for organizational identification (i.e., "ambivalent identification (i.e., "mixed feelings about one's association with the organization"), neutral identification (i.e., "one's lack of identifying and disidentifying with the employing organization"), disidentification (i.e., in which "a person distances [themselves] from [their organization] while nonetheless remaining a member of it"), and identification (i.e., a sense of oneness or belonging with an organization, Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004, pp. 13-14). During the data collection process an error occurred on the platform used to distribute the survey (i.e., Qualtrics). It was not until the end of data collection that I noticed that the identification subscale was not being displayed to participants. Because of this, the present study cannot speak to the relationship between organizational identification and the GDIPAS factors. Some inferences can be drawn, however, from Study Two of Phase One, where participants successfully completed the GDIPAS variables and Kreiner and Ashforth's (2004) identification measure; these inferences are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Eight.

Of the remaining subscales, organizational identity strength, organizational identity incongruence, need for organizational identification, ambivalent identification, neutral identification, disidentification were all reliable at .83, .87, .73, .91, .91, and .92, respectively. Independent samples *t* tests were performed to assess whether mean scores differed for men and women; there were no significant gender differences found between participants' organizational identity and identification scores. A series of correlation analyses were performed to gauge the relationships between the organizational identity and identification subscales and the other survey measures; notable findings from these initial analyses are found below (see Table 17 for complete correlation data).

The GDIPAS and Identification

Examination of the correlation table indicated that policy abuse had a significant positive relationship with all organizational identity and identification dimensions except organizational identity strength. Policy familiarity and perceptions of organizational gender diversity were positively correlated with organizational identity strength and need for identification, while policy support had a significant positive relationship with organizational identity strength. Perceptions of industry gender inequity was positively correlated with organizational identity incongruence, ambivalent, neutral, and disidentification. In terms of negative relationships, policy familiarity and policy support were significantly correlated with organizational identity incongruence, ambivalent, neutral, and disidentification.

The Policy Communication Index and Identification

Of the PCI dimensions, none were found to have a significant negative relationship with any of the organizational identity or identification measures. All PCI dimensions had a significant

positive relationship with organizational identity strength and need for identification, while meeting discussions, coworker interactions, and personal expressions were significantly positively correlated with organizational identity incongruence, ambivalent identification, and disidentification. Interestingly, neutral identification was not significantly associated with any of the PCI dimensions.

Identity, Identification, and Policy Knowledge

As expected, given the significant positive correlation between policy familiarity and policy knowledge, the relationships between organizational identity and identification types and policy knowledge mirrored the those with policy familiarity. Policy knowledge had a significant positive correlation with organizational identity strength and need for identification, and a significant negative relationship with organizational identity incongruence, ambivalent identification, neutral identification, and disidentification.

Identity, Identification, and Old-fashioned and modern sexism

Organizational identity incongruence, ambivalent identification, neutral identification, and disidentification were significantly positively correlated with old-fashioned and modern sexism. Neither old-fashioned nor modern sexism were found to have a significant relationship with organizational identity strength or need for identification.

Social Desirability

Strahn and Gerbasi's (1972) shortened version of the social desirability scale was included to assess the relationship between socially desirable responding (i.e., attempts to present a socially acceptable or desirable self-image; Crowne & Marlow, 1960) and the GDIPAS variables. Strahn and Gerbasi's M-C 10(1) version of the M-C SDS is composed of 10 items scored on a 5-point

Likert-type scale; the measure was reliable at $\alpha = .77$. Again, an independent samples t tests was performed to assess whether mean social desirability scores differed for men and women; there were no significant gender differences found between participants' social desirability scores. A series of correlations were performed to understand the relationship between participants scores on survey variables and socially desirable responding. Social desirability was found to have a significant positive relationship with policy familiarity, policy support, perceptions of organizational gender diversity, organizational identity strength, human resources communication, and policy knowledge. Conversely, significant negative correlations were found between social desirability and organizational identity incongruence, ambivalent identification, neutral identification, and disidentification. These patterns were consistent with the previously reported relationships.

Open-Ended Questions

Five open-ended questions were added to the survey instrument to complement the interview data and get a broader variety of thoughts and opinions about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (GDIP). Questions pertained to participants' perceptions of policy effectiveness, relevance, and knowledge, as well as what they wish their employers knew about GDIPs and their observations of GDIPs in action (see Appendix C for items). In all, 140 participants responded to some or all of the questions in a meaningful way. While 204 participants answered some or all of the open-ended questions, 64 were removed for plagiarism (i.e., pasting material from online sources into text boxes), nonsensical responses (i.e., writing gibberish or illegible answers), or off-topic responses (i.e., not answering the question). Responses to the open-ended questions were completely voluntary and did not count toward participants' response totals; unless removed for plagiarism, participants were not penalized for removed or missing responses. In all, 115

participants responded to question one, 116 responded to question two, 113 responded to question three, 80 responded to question four, and 63 responded to question five.

Analysis of Open-Ended Questions

Open-ended response questions were analyzed qualitatively with the interview data. Once the responses were cleaned, they underwent two rounds of coding alongside the interviews. Respondents' individual survey data were consulted to provide added insight into participants' open-ended responses when necessary. Findings from the open-ended questions are presented in the following chapter.

Mixing Methods: Analysis

While Phase One of this project employed an exploratory mixed methods approach (i.e., a scale was developed through the qualitative review of several studies and refined through both quantitative and qualitative methods), the purpose of the dissertation, its overall parallel design (i.e., the simultaneous collection of quantitative and qualitative data), and the analysis process most align with triangulation. To reiterate, triangulation aims to collect and compare complementary data in order to achieve “a more complex understanding than analysis of one type of data would permit” (Myers, 2014, p. 305). Through this process, quantitative results are contextualized and given depth, while qualitative data is given strength. Within the present project, the various data types and methods of collection acting to strengthen one another – one is not given more importance over another.

Despite occurring separately at first, the quantitative and qualitative analyses provided understanding of the phenomena or research questions and informed one another during the analysis process through “cross-talk” or a semi-iterative approach (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009).

Throughout the analysis process, insights from each were brought together to inform the findings, or meta-inferences. As the initial qualitative analysis was occurring, I would reference the relationships found in the quantitative analysis and note what statistical tests I might consider running next. As the initial quantitative analysis was occurring, I would note what I might look for in the interview and/or open-response data. Results and findings from each method were then brought together to create meta-inferences; this was achieved by quite literally sitting in the data. Findings from each were organized – along with transcripts, analytic memos, codebooks and research questions – and printed. Whiteboards were used to literally and figuratively draw connections between findings and results and construct new research questions or points of focus. In the end, all data types were used to inform and answer each research question.

While messy, this mixed methods approach allowed the dissertation project to overcome the limitations of a single method design. For example, while interviews allowed me to interrogate participants' sensemaking processes regarding their past experiences and present perceptions of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, surveys allowed me to overcome the limitations of self-selection and hear from those who might feel unsafe voicing their anti-Gender Diversity and Inclusion opinions.

Conclusion

This chapter described the methods and measures used to collect interview and survey data and the participants in each method of Phase Two of this dissertation project. Within this chapter, the initial analytical procedures used to interpret the interview data were outlined, and the reliabilities of all survey measures, as well as the initial relationships among them, were described. Finally, the procedures for mixing the methods and creating integrated meta-inferences were explained. The following chapter details the findings of Phase Two.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PHASE TWO RESULTS

This chapter details the results of Phase Two of this dissertation project. Recall, the research questions answered in this chapter are: (Guiding RQ) How do members of organizations in the tech industry construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their personal beliefs, attitudes, and experiences with and perceptions of gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) in the workforce, and intra- and extra-organizational interactions?; RQ2) How and with whom do members of tech organizations communicate about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (e.g., development, implementation, enactment, information), both intra- and extra-organizationally?; RQ2a) What resources do organizational members use to obtain or enhance policy knowledge?; RQ3) What contradictions, if any, are present in the policy knowledge construction process?; RQ4) What relationship, if any, is present between organizational identification, identification types, and Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy attitudes?; and RQ4a) What role does organizational identification play in the policy knowledge construction process? In general, the data suggest that participants rely very little on policy texts to construct policy knowledge. Instead, participants relied on their past experiences, personal beliefs, dominant social discourses, and interactions with others to construct knowledge about policy implementation and enactment.

Overall, participants had little knowledge of the content of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy texts and reported having few conversations about their organizations' policies as texts intra- or extra-organizationally. Instead, participants primarily reflected on experiences with and observations of gender-based discrimination and conversations with others about gender-based discrimination and Gender Diversity and Inclusion more broadly to engage in meaning

construction about the meaning of sexism and discrimination (i.e., what counts as sexism or discrimination), their ability to enact policy (i.e., whether they could prove actions were sexist or discriminatory), organizational implementation of policy (i.e., whether they would do something about reported discrimination), and the role of the individual versus the organization in creating equitable workplaces. When participants discussed policy texts they predominantly reported doing so in formal organizational contexts (e.g., employment onboarding). Participants indicated that instead of discussing policy texts, they were more like to discuss Gender Diversity and Inclusion as a social issue informally with coworkers, friends, and family members. Several contradictions emerged in the data as participants discussed the myth of ‘jerks’ and ‘good people’ in policy construction, the invisibility of sexism, and the contradictory role of Human Resources. These findings are discussed according to research question and in greater detail in the following sections.

The Role of the Self in Policy Knowledge Construction

This section addresses the guiding research question and RQs4-4a: 1) *How do members of organizations in the tech industry construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their personal beliefs, attitudes, and experiences with and perceptions of gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) in the workforce, and intra- and extra-organizational interactions?*, 2) *What relationship, if any, is present between organizational identification, identification types, and Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy attitudes?*, and 3) *What role does organizational identification play in the policy knowledge construction process?* The interview data indicate that policy knowledge construction occurs through a series of sensemaking processes, and that personal experiences with gender-based discrimination at work may influence individual’s need for organizational identification. Survey data provide additional insight into the role of personal attitudes and orientations toward sexism on policy support.

Identity and Sensemaking in Policy Knowledge Construction

Interview participants predominantly constructed knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through a sensemaking process in which they reflected on their past experiences, interactions, and intersectional identities. Through these sensemaking processes participants were able to understand: 1) the effectiveness of GDIPs, 2) what needs to be done to mitigate sexism and improve the experiences of marginalized folks in tech, 3) their sense of or need for organizational identification, and 4) their role in fostering diverse and inclusive organizations.

Although each interview participant's story was unique, similarities among them emerged such that I was able to form three archetypes, or groups, to categorize their experiences and resultant perceptions: The Veteran, The Neophyte, and The Ally. In the following subsections I identify and define each archetype, drawing on participants' disclosures to illustrate to role of identify and sensemaking in policy knowledge construction.

The Veteran

Participants classified as Veterans were highly aware and knowledgeable about sexism in the workforce. Moreover, they were keenly attuned to the intersectional nature of discrimination. While most Veterans had worked for a substantial amount of time in the tech industry, their status as Veterans is rooted most heavily in their myriad experiences with discrimination and advocacy work both intra-and extra-organizationally. Whereas Bridget described her experiences with sexism as well as age discrimination, Lydia characterized her experiences with sexism as inextricable from her experiences with transphobia:

As a transwoman, I feel strange about [Gender Diversity and Inclusion] in particular ways, because for me, I can't personally divest my own experience of sexism from my experience of transphobia. So, it's [sexism and transphobia] the same thing for me. I've had incidents at work where people make offhand Caitlyn Jenner jokes because they think that's funny, and it's not funny. And you know, I don't really

care, on someone level, whether it's sexist, or transphobic, or whichever one it is. It just hurts.

Through there intersecting identities and experiences with discrimination, Veterans formed expectations for sexism in the workforce. Sophie²⁴ described how their identities (i.e., female presenting, non-binary, person of color) not only intertwined with their perceptions and experiences of sexism, but also shaped their expectations for gender-based discrimination in the workforce. In line with standpoint theory, Sophie believed that marginalized persons had a better understanding of and realistic expectations for sexism in the workplace. They explained, "I think women of color have more realistic expectations [about sexism entering the workforce], and I think older women also tend to as well. I will say that when I started – I had heard that it was bad, but I didn't believe it was as bad as what I was about to experience." While Sophie expected some level of discrimination, they attributed their initial naivety to age and expressed concern for cis-gendered women entering the technology sector without preparation for discrimination:

In my last position I did a lot of work around mentoring and managing the summer intern classes, and the non-binary and the gender non-conforming engineers that are interns that I worked with, had a very clear expectation of the setting that they were in, who even they could talk to about their gender identity, and things like that. Some of the younger women from especially the elite colleges, so like the MITs and the Stanfords and the things like that, I think didn't acknowledge that there was a gender issue at all. And this came up when I had invited some of them [to a local advocacy network event]. I would invite the interns to come to the meetings and the events that I co-organized for women and non-binary engineers in Sunny City, and frequently the younger women from these types of institutions would just ask me like, "Why? I don't understand why this is important. I've never had any issues." One of the young women that I had worked with a couple of years ago, she was like, "50% of my class is female, so I don't see a gender disparity and I don't see any issues with gender."

²⁴ Sophie prefers they/them pronouns.

Whereas the younger, cis-gendered women from elite institutions adopted post-feminist attitudes toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion, Sophie saw sexism as inevitable and worried for the women they mentored.

And I think a lot of those young women ... I would love it if they never encountered any sexism, ever in their careers. But I think for some of them it's a matter of time and I think for some of them it's like once they get to that second or third job, something's going to happen unfortunately. And I think that's something that's also a little bit unfortunate about a lot of the pipeline focused initiatives because I think it also sets some of those younger women at those institutions up for failure and sort of setting unrealistic expectations about what the world is going to be like, or what the industry's going to be like once they leave college and go to work.

Sophie saw current Gender Diversity and Inclusion efforts as failing the next generation of women²⁵ in technology. While Sophie hoped that they would not experience sexism, Veterans described sexism as an inevitability. Rather than prepare womxn for the types of discrimination they will undoubtedly face in their careers, Sophie believed pipeline efforts meant to get more womxn in technology were neglecting a very important part of Gender Diversity and Inclusion: how to retain womxn once they entered the workforce.

Indeed, Veterans' own negative experiences with Gender Diversity and Inclusion (policies) throughout their careers left them eager to separate work from other aspects of their lives. Through their experiences with gender-based discrimination and organizations' failure to implement policies, Veterans came to believe that identification with an organization was not necessary for personal fulfillment. While Lydia and Miriam expressed that they had learned to keep their work separate from the private lives and to find connection and fulfillment outside of the workplace, Sophie went so far as to choose a place of employment that would allow them to keep their distance from their organization and colleagues by working remotely.

²⁵ Sophie's concerns spoke to cis-gendered women rather than non-binary and non-conforming persons who she saw as aware of discrimination.

While Veterans were characterized by a strong sense of advocacy and personal responsibility in making the workplace better for other womxn, they often talked about the emotional labor, work, and energy required of persons in minority positions. Bridget described the everyday toll she felt working as an older²⁶ woman in tech, “I’m tired. I mean, it’s just an extra layer of work. I have to do a lot of thoughtful camouflaging to fit in.” Beyond the everyday experiences of fitting in to an industry dominated by white men, Veterans spoke of the energy expended by pushing people to be more inclusive. While Veterans categorically supported speaking out against sexism and calling others out for discriminatory practices, they were wary of taking on too much and exhausting themselves. Lydia said, “I’ve had to learn to pick my battles, and that sucks, because I really wish I had infinite energy to take on everything.” Veterans recognized that because of their intersecting identities they would be battling for representation, equality, and inclusion on many fronts for the rest of their lives. As such, energy had to be spent wisely and with consideration; they could not take on every observed or experienced instance of discrimination.

In addition to affecting their need for organizational identity, participants’ negative experiences with organizational implementation of GDIPs – as well their perception that sexism would persist throughout their careers – left many with what could be described as a pessimistic – but perhaps realistic – attitude toward organizations’ Gender Diversity and Inclusion efforts. While they lauded the importance of these policies, Veterans doubted whether organizations actually cared about making change. Miriam, who had worked in tech longer than any other interview participant, spoke to this concern, specifically in the context of startup companies:

²⁶ It is important to note that age was a common topic among women working in startups. While they were only in their 30s, they were ‘old’ by startup standards, which are typically run by men in their 20s. At 30+ years old, the ‘older’ women in this study were seasoned startup veterans.

I'm definitely going to show my cards here, but in a capitalist culture, human resources are always exploitable – especially in tech, especially in startups. When you have venture capital backing and you're expected to grow at really fast rates and become profitable really quickly, human resources are not considered. And so, things like fairness, and equity, and emotional wellbeing, and emotional safety, they don't make money. And unless you're creating an environment that is unsafe and that you could face liability for, there's no incentive to change anything.

Here Miriam articulates a tension between profit and culture. From their experiences, Miriam and the other Veterans came to understand that in a world in which profit-centric thinking ruled, diversity and inclusion would be a low priority unless incentivized by an outside force. Despite their outlook, all Veterans believed work could be done to improve GDIPs and make workplaces more inclusive.

To make progress, Veterans believed that organizations need to internalize Gender Diversity and Inclusion as a core value and authentically and intentionally do the work of creating an inclusive culture. According to Miriam, tech organizations, and startups in particular, with venture capital are often able to buy the appearance of diversity instead of doing the work of developing diversity and inclusive cultures. She explains,

[Tech companies] don't do anything [to change]. They just have to be able to pay for [the appearance of diversity]. So that's my problem. It's great that we're having conversations about discrimination and tech and sexism in tech. What I don't like that's happening, and it's always been the case, is that people make a big stink, companies hire a crisis management team, they figure out how to manage it, and they pay for that and then they move on. And there's never any consequence for it. ... They can just pretend like they care instead of actually doing the hard work, and it really is hard work, of making sure that you're creating healthy, sustainable businesses and environments for women and people of color.

As a Veteran, Miriam was aware of the strategies tech organizations use to create a façade of diversity. Instead of paying lip service to Gender Diversity and Inclusion, Veterans contended that organizations must do the work. That is, organizations must do more than create policies, hold

diversity and inclusion lunch meetings, and hire more people of color – they must active work to mitigate bias and prevent discrimination.

The Neophyte

Participants classified as Neophytes were less experienced, both in the tech industry and with sexism. Here, Neophyte is not used to denote a newcomer or novice, but a recent convert. While generally inexperienced in the workforce and with discrimination, the women in this category expressed recently becoming more aware of the existence and extent of sexism in the workforce and society more broadly. These awakenings were largely the result of recent media coverage involving conversations about the #MeToo and Time's Up movements, as well as their first encounters with workplace sexism. Sarah explained how the media has helped her recognize sexism:

I personally feel like I'm actually just opening my eyes to what those kinds of, to even those minor, everyday actions and what they are. I think up until this point when things are being talked about more freely in the media, I wouldn't have even considered those moments or thought about those moments as sexist or I wouldn't have thought of those moments as sexist even though they were. I would have just been like "They are just part of life."

Before increased media coverage, Sarah did not have the knowledge needed to recognize interactions for what they were. Instead, she believed that microaggressions were just mundane, perhaps annoying interactions. She explains:

I'd say more of the media where the actions are being called out, the actions are being defined, the actions are being talked about [made me more aware of sexism]. For example, to me one example is being talked over. I know I mentioned that earlier but, in the past, I would have probably been annoyed but I would not have thought anymore of it.

Neophytes like Sarah were just starting to understand, define, and identify sexism, and reactions to these experiences as legitimate. Essentially, Neophytes were engaged in a sensemaking process

– reflecting on past experiences and cultural messages to bracket and label what they have experienced and are currently experiencing and witnessing at work. Diana described a time when she wasn't sure if she experienced sexism:

So I know one time – this was not at this current job but it was, I was in a similar role in a different job and I was, we were onsite with a customer and I was wearing like a business dress and it was like one of those like form fitting Calvin Klein ones that wouldn't look good on me now, but it did like four years ago [laughs] and this guy was like, "You really shouldn't wear that. It's really distracting to everyone in the office." And I was like, "Excuse me? What?" I was shocked. I just was like, "Okay?" I was also like 23, and so I didn't have like as much maybe like balls to say back to someone who was like considered sort of my peer but not really my peer. Um, it was very weird, and it was someone who I liked, too. Like I really enjoyed working with them. It was very, it was so weird. Although I don't know that that was necessarily like a sexist, thing. It was definitely inappropriate to say to someone.

Diana's description highlights Neophyte's need to make sense of their burgeoning encounters with sexism. Here we see Diana identify the offender as a man, peer, and someone she liked; she described herself as younger, more timid. From her 'advanced' perspective she still has trouble labeling the interaction as sexist. Instead, Diana labeled it "weird" and "inappropriate." When asked how she differentiated "inappropriate" from "sexist," Diana said she wasn't sure if her colleague's comments were sexist, because of the hypothetical possibility that he might also comment on another man's clothes. In our conversation Diana worked to define sexism; she eventually did so by comparing "uncomfortable" encounters. Comments on her clothing were inappropriate because they could be made to anyone regardless of gender; her boss ignoring her idea until it was present by a male colleague was sexist because she felt as though her boss doubted her capability due to her gender.

Unlike Veterans, Neophytes' identities rarely played a role in their sensemaking processes. That is, while Neophytes may have expressed awareness of intersectionalities and privilege, most did not recognize how their whiteness, social class, gender identity, or sexuality allowed them to

remain unaware of the pervasiveness of gender-based discrimination in the workforce. Indeed, identities such as age and race were only mentioned by Neophytes when discussing the power and position of white men. Gillian described a time when she (possibly) experienced sexism at work.

When I got moved over to the new team that I'm on now, I was meeting my boss for the first time. I was trying to get a head start on the work, because I had been briefed on what it was going to be doing beforehand. At our formal meeting where we met each other for the first time, I let him know, "Hey, I've already started doing this, this, and this." I don't know if this is something, but he just turns to me and goes, "Aw, great. Good girl," like I was this adorable little dog that did something cute and amazing and actually did work. I was just like, "Whoa. That does not seem professional at all."

While a Veteran would almost certainly describe Gillian's boss's behavior as sexist, Gillian – new to the organization and workforce – was not so sure. Gillian knew that the exchange was inappropriate and unprofessional, but rather than call it sexist, she first attributed her boss's behavior to his age:

I just looked at him and then I looked around the room, and everybody looked at me and I could tell that they had all heard it, too. We just moved on from then. Nobody said anything. It was just an eye-contact thing. He's an older guy. He's in his late 50s. He's a grandpa. Everybody else in the room was a bit younger. I think all the younger people heard it, and I tried to explain it was just, he's from a different generation. That's how I explained it to myself.

Gillian explained that in that moment she thought her boss *may* have been sexist, but that “unprofessional” comments like his were part of “working with old white guys.” Gillian remains uncertain, however, about how to make sense of what happened. She said,

I'm unsure. Like I said, there is a part of me that wants to be like, "Maybe he totally regretted it as it was coming out of his mouth," and there's a part of me that thinks, "Maybe he is sexist." I don't know. I can't say.

Over the course of our conversation Gillian reflected on a past event, her other interactions with her boss, and dominant discourses about what constitutes sexist behavior versus a sexist person. While Gillian said that engaging in sexist behaviors does not necessarily mean the person is sexist,

she was hesitant to label her boss's behavior as sexist. Instead, she rationalized his comment, drawing on his age and whiteness to minimize the statement and label it as inappropriate.

Without a history of discrimination, Neophytes were more likely than Veterans to remain optimistic about organizational policy implementation. However, as they began to encounter workplace sexism and witness organizational inaction (i.e., failure to implement GDIPs), Neophytes' trust in GDIPs and the organization waned. While they did not express the same distrust of human resources as Veterans, Neophytes were starting to believe that HR might not be their best resource. After reaching her limit with a former project manager Diana approached her company's HR department for intervention:

I had a call with like, like my HR person and she was like, [mocking, high-pitched voice] "Here's what you can do." She was useless, well I thought she was [useless]. She was just like, [mocking, high-pitched voice] "You know, you can just, you just to have to stand up for herself, Diana. Blah, blah, blah." And I'm like, yes, that's true, but I also need you to intervene and do something about this behavior because it's not acceptable to me. I don't know if they ever did that, but...To be like, you know, just like "you just really need to stand up for yourself and like push back on this," – which I'm not disagreeing with what she said, totally fine. But I think like at that point it was, it was too late, and someone like his manager needed to like address the behavior with him and like I needed to hear that something was going to be done about it. And like I never got any of that.

While Diana's interaction with HR made her doubt human resources departments in general, she mostly kept her distaste confined to that particular company; it did not change her perceptions of belongingness in her organization or the technology sector. Indeed, Neophytes did not report changes in identification even when faced with gender-based discrimination. Whereas Veterans' need for identification was impacted by persistent encounters with discrimination, Neophytes remained identified or neutrally identified with their organizations and reported wanting to feel connected with their place of work. Even if disappointed with their current organization's Gender Diversity and Inclusion practices, Neophytes predominantly believed that there were 'good'

organizations out there (i.e., that problems with Gender Diversity and Inclusion were mostly abnormal).

Neophytes' recent awakening manifested not only in uncertainty about GDIPs and organizational implementation, but also uncertainty about what can be done to improve Gender Diversity and Inclusion (policies). Typically, participants who fell into this category believed that organizations should do more to educate their employees about their existing policies. Diana suggested organizations make "employees aware of [policies and reporting processes], but not in a boring HR way" as a means of empowering employees. Diana and other Neophytes believed that with more information, women who experience gender-based discrimination may feel less insecure about reporting sexism.

When asked whether they would report sexism or speak up about observed discrimination (i.e., about their role in creating a more diverse and inclusive work environment), Neophytes overwhelmingly said that their action was contingent on the severity of the infraction; all were comfortable reporting overtly sexual or discriminatory behaviors but said they would likely ignore "weird" comments or every-day forms of sexism (i.e., microaggressions). Neophytes' discomfort with reporting more subtle forms of sexism aligns with their newly forming perceptions of sexism and lack of experience. Diana articulated Neophyte's uncertainty with sexism and discomfort when she said she would worry that reporting sexism would hurt someone's career:

I guess just because like it just, it could depend on like the level. Would it be like a passing comment? And do I have the authority to really call someone out just for like one comment that they made? And I don't feel like I do really, because like what if that's the one time ever that they only said that, and they never said anything like that again. Now, is that probably the case? No. Probably not because behavior tends to repeat itself. Um, but I feel like that's where, that's what would go through my mind in this situation. Would, it be like, "Oh my gosh, am I going to ruin like some...like is this guy going to get fired?" Like I wouldn't necessarily want that to happen. I mean, I don't know. Um, it just seems like, I know they're like someone

who's being sexist, like that's super wrong, but they're still like a human too, and I don't want to like ruin somebody's life. I don't know if that would happen.

Lack of policy knowledge, experience, and clear definitions of sexism caused Diana to question her power and ability to report someone for making sexist comments. While Neophytes were becoming more aware of sexism in the workplace, they were still in the process of making sense of what sexism is, the purpose of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, and their voice in creating inclusive workplaces.

The Ally

All participants classified as Allies were white men in the mid- to late-30s; two had worked in tech for more than 10 years, while one had worked in the industry for less than five years. Despite having never experienced gender-based discrimination themselves, Allies believed sexism in the workplace was a pervasive issue. Matthew attributed his awareness not only to the media, but to the conversations he's had with others. He explained,

Every time a story [about sexism or sexual harassment] comes out [in the media], I see women I know and respect saying, "Oh yeah, like I've, I've had to avoid these kinds of situations" or "I've had to do this or I've had to do that." ...You know, every woman that I've ever talked to has some kind of, some story of in a situation that was scary or worse and you know, it's almost like it's a matter of routine because that's what you deal with. It's not something I've had to deal with. So, you know, I don't always think of it in that context, but I absolutely believe that the stories we hear are only a small portion of the stories that happened.

Like Matthew, Jack and Nathaniel discussed learning about extent of sexism through conversations with coworkers, friends and family members. Further, all had heard or witnessed microaggressions against women at work (e.g., men ignoring women, speaking over them, repeating their ideas for credit).

Through reading stories in the media, having conversations with women, and observing microaggressions at work, Allies came to understand the importance of Gender Diversity and

Inclusion policies in creating welcoming environments. Matthew called on his identities to articulate why preventing discrimination, and moreover, not allowing ‘jerks’ into organizations is important. He said, “I’m a CIS gender, heterosexual, midwestern, white male – like I’m about as insulated as you can get, right? But if I don’t want to work with [jerks], how does somebody who is slightly lower on the privilege ladder – how are they going to feel?” Matthew believed strong GDIPs were necessary to prevent “jerks” from engaging in discriminatory behavior. Indeed, as a characteristic, Allies believed that stronger, clearer policies, were key to increasing Gender Diversity and Inclusion. Allies assumed that by strengthening policies their organizations and the tech industry as a whole could hire and retain more diverse recruits.

Of the three archetypes, Allies were most confident that organizations would take action in cases of reported gender-based discrimination. While their confidence could be attributed to their race, age, power status, gender, or lack of personal experiences with gender-based discrimination, it may also be attributable to their senses of identification. In general, as Allies’ organizational identification increased, so did their faith in organizational action (i.e., policy implementation) in cases of gender-based discrimination. Nathaniel, perhaps the participant with the strongest sense of identification in this project, was certain that his organization and its members would implement and enact GDIPs. When discussing how his wife’s organization (mis)handled a case of sexual harassment, Nathaniel vehemently declared, “I would have not heard of that happening at Social Media Organization.” To Nathaniel, GDIPs were ironclad shields against discrimination, infallible and guaranteed to protect marginalized persons.

While Allies were supportive of GDIPs and recognized their positions of power as white men within their organizations, tension emerged as they considered their role in advocating for

others. Generally, Allies were comfortable calling other men out for microaggressions²⁷ and sitting on policy-related committees. When it came to speaking up for women, however, Allies were less certain. Allies wanted to support women in their decisions to report sexism (i.e., act as allies), but did not want to take away women's agency by reporting the incident on their behalf. During our interview, Jack told the story of one of his colleagues who has regularly experienced sexism since onboarding with Jack 1.5 years ago. Jack described their interactions, saying:

I always tell her kind of the same thing: "You should tell the partner. You know that's obviously inappropriate and unacceptable. Tech Developer has a pretty clear policy on that," and so on. But like I never am like, "If you don't tell them, I'm going to tell them." It's [her] decision. You know? And I kind of leave it at that.

While Jack was aware of his organization's Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies and agreed that what his colleague was experiencing was wrong, Jack would not take the decision away from her. Whereas the womxn in this study reported that they wouldn't report sexism on behalf of another woman out of fear that they or the victim would face additional discrimination or retaliation, Allies somewhat ironically made sense of their positions of power in such a way that they feared taking agency away from women by taking the risk of reporting sexism.

Sexism and Policy Support

The survey data indicated that online participants were typically supportive of Gender Diversity and Inclusion ($M = 3.99$, $SD = .88$). Analysis of the open response questions suggested contrary opinions, however. Whereas all interview participants supported Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, many survey respondents believed GDIPs were inherently unfair and left men open to "reverse discrimination" as "unqualified" women and minorities were "given" positions and promotions for the sake of promoting diversity. To understand the discrepancy between the

²⁷ As a recent hire with less organizational power than Matthew and Nathaniel, Jack was more uncertain about his ability to "rock the boat."

high policy support scores and the respondents I conducted an independent samples *t* test to see if sex differences existed in mean scores; mean differences between men and women's policy support scores were not significant. I then turned to social desirability as an explanation. Social desirability, as noted in Chapter Six, is a person's tendency to respond in a way that they believe would enhance how others see them. As expected, social desirability was significantly positively correlated with policy support, $r(20) = .005$. In other words, participants who indicated high policy support were also likely to respond in socially desirable ways.

Survey respondents often grounded their negative perceptions of GDIPs in personal experiences and gendered assumptions about women's ability to do and interest in tech-based work. Arguments about women's natural (in)ability to do tech-based work spoke to Swim et al.'s (1995) definition of old-fashioned sexism, while arguments that disinterest and not discrimination were responsible for gender discrepancies in tech were consistent with definitions of modern sexism. Indeed, an examination of the correlations table (see Table 17) indicated that old-fashioned, $r(-.51) = .0001$, and modern, $r(-.64) = .0001$, sexism were significantly correlated with policy support such that participants with high scores on either sexism measures were likely to have low policy support scores.

Given the open-ended responses and the correlations between policy support, sexism, and social desirability, I decided to run a hierarchical regression analysis to assess the extent to which policy support could be predicted from age, sex, old-fashioned and modern sexism, and social desirability, in addition to the remaining GDIPAS subscales. Age and sex were entered into the regression model in step one as control variables. Sex and age accounted for 1.8% of the variance of policy support; this change was not significant (see Table 27 for the complete regression results). Step two assessed the extent to which old-fashioned and modern sexism contributed to changes

policy support variance. Step two significantly changed the model and accounted for 43.9% of variance in policy support. Social desirability was entered in step three; social desirability significantly changed the model and accounted for 3.3% of variance. Finally, in step four, the remaining GDIPAS variables (i.e., perceptions of policy abuse, policy familiarity, perceptions of industry gender inequity, and perceptions of organizational gender diversity) were entered into the model. Step four significantly changed the model and accounted for an additional 12.6% of the variance of policy support. The overall regression model was significant, $R = .79$, $R^2 = .62$, adjusted $R^2 = .60$, $F(9,189) = 33.722$, $p < .001$. The t ratios for the individual regression slope of each predictor variable were examined to assess how each variable uniquely contributed changes in variance for policy support. While neither sex (or gender identification as worded in this study) nor age significantly contributed to changes in R^2 , all other variables acted as significant predictors of changes in R^2 . In all, nearly 60% of variance in policy support was predicted by orientations toward sexism, social desirability, and the GDIPAS subscales.

The guiding research question and RQ4-4a asked how members of tech-based organizations make sense of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their personal attitudes, beliefs, experiences, identities, and interactions. As the above sections have demonstrated, Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge construction occurs as organizational members reflect on their past experiences, social discourses (e.g., gender), identities and identifications, and interactions with others. In the next section, I explore how organizational members construct policy knowledge by interacting with others in various intra- and extra-organizational systems.

Table 27: Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Policy Support ($n = 198$)

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Sex	.174	.130	.094	-.110	.100	-.060	-.095	.097	-.052	-.025	.088	-.013
Age	.111	.076	.103	-.071	.063	-.066	-.048	.061	-.044	.000	.054	.000
Old-fashioned Sexism				-.244	.067	-.246**	-.209	.066	-.210**	-.176	.065	-.178**
Modern Sexism				-.587	.069	-.539**	-.601	.067	-.551**	-.486	.077	-.446**
Social Desirability							.247	.070	.183**	.131	.064	.097*
Policy Abuse										-.122	.059	-.150*
Policy Familiarity										.317	.060	.278**
Industry Gender Inequity										.227	.053	.236**
Org. Gender Diversity										.139	.053	.156**
R^2		.018			.457			.490			.616	
F for change in R^2		1.839			78.466**			12.325**			15.550**	

Note: * $p < .05$ and ** $p < .01$

Policy Communication Across and Within Systems

Research question two asked: *How do members of tech organizations construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (e.g., development, implementation, enactment, information) across and within intra- and extra-organizational activity systems?* The interview and survey data provide insight into how and with whom participants discuss Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies and issues both within and external to organizational boundaries. Further, results provide insight into participants' knowledge of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. This section first examines how policy knowledge construction occurs in the intersections of organizational systems, before turning to external (i.e., extra-organizational) systems. I then explore emergent findings related to participants' policy knowledge and perceptions of policy communication effectiveness. Finally, I discuss how participants reported acquiring policy information (i.e., where organizational members turned for informational support).

Organizational Systems

Human Resources Communication

Within organizational boundaries, participants predominantly reported talking about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in formal organizational training sessions (e.g., onboarding, annual training, meetings). While participants partook in these formal training modules, they often described training procedures as boring, cheesy, or outdated. For example, Sophie said, "There was [training] during my onboarding. It was very much like a cut and dry, 'Do you agree to not discriminate against anyone because of their blah blah blah' kind of thing." Sophie was unable to recall her organization's Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.

Others described participating in regular training on their organization's diversity and inclusion policies and approved behaviors. While repeated training was only mandatory for managers in some organizations, others were required to repeat their diversity and inclusion training every other year. Lydia described her organization's policy training procedures positively, saying that the organization updated the online modules to reflect current social topics:

Someone got the memo about intersectional aggressions... Every year we have to do this sort of like HR training about workplace behavior and things like that, and this has come up in the last two years that something you say might appear to be okay because you're talking to another white person, but you're talking to a woman so it's different, or you're talking to another man but it's a black man, and you know, so like – and transphobia has been a very active part of that. So, yeah, someone did get the memo and I've been very pleased about that.

Unlike Sophie and others who resented or were bored by their training, Lydia appreciated the opportunity to discuss issues of Gender Diversity and Inclusion with her colleagues because her training connected the organization's policies to topics (i.e., intersectionality) that were important to her as a trans woman. Like Lydia, Sarah reported enjoying her organization's training procedures. While Sarah had expressed disinterest in past HR training modules, she attributed her increased interest in participating in Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy training to recent media attention to the #MeToo movement.

In addition to formal training workshops, some interview participants reported receiving written policy related communication from Human Resources. Jack described his experience with written instructions and email-based HR policy communication as time consuming:

Interviewer: How did you learn about these policies? Jack: We all kind of got a manual with them when I started. We got basically a directory of files of all kinds of HR policies that we had to know and adhere to, and we got our Tech Developer manual. It just kind of outlined sick leave policies, harassment, and non-discrimination policies – stuff like that. We all got that when I started. As far as I know everybody who starts at least gets it emailed to them. That's how I got mine. Interviewer: Do you feel like they're a good resource or that they're effective? Jack: I mean, if you can take the time to like page through them, but a company like mine

has so many policy updates and things like that that happen almost constantly. I mean, I get new policy emails like three or four times a day – three or four times a week I should say – and I get so many [emails] a day that’s just like, okay, I don’t really have time, I’m kind of tuning these out. We have this giant library of all these policies and if you really, really need to look something up you could find it, but like any average person kind of sees it, skims it, and forgets it.

Jack described his organization’s policy document as having more than 3000 pages of ever-changing policy text. Indeed, others described having access to large organizational repertoires of written policy information should a need for them arise (see Sources of Information on p. 186). The repetitive and constant email communication about policy changes Jack experienced, however, proved overwhelming and led him to ‘skim and forget’ the policies.

Meeting Discussions

Although most interview participants discussed learning about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through Human Resources training or written communication, others recounted their experiences with policy-related meetings. Bridget and Diana talked about voluntary meetings and seminars²⁸ employees could attend to learn more about Gender Diversity and Inclusion practices. While they supported their organizations’ efforts to educate others on diversity and inclusion, both said the meetings often interfered with other organizational expectations or requirements. Bridget also articulated some tensions with employees’ self-concepts,

There’s all kinds of diversity, inclusion, and equity meetings. They do a lot of example courses of like, “This is how to advocate for your female and POC compatriots so that their opinions are being heard and noted;” “These are the things to look out for that you might be doing, that you’re not aware of.” And so, they do try but I think it’s really challenging, especially because nobody wants to perceive themselves as the villains. So, like, there’re so many stages. One, you have to want to be improving. You have to have room in your schedule to go to those meetings to learn this stuff, because they’re optional. If you have a huge project coming up, you’re not going to take an hour and a half out of your day to go to some training that you think you don’t need.

²⁸ The meetings and seminars Bridget described were sponsored by HR but were not a part of formal training procedures, which were more informational in nature.

From this quotation we can see that members of tech organizations discuss policies or policy-related issues in organizational meetings and that the meetings themselves are imbued with tension as employees must decide how to spend their time – learning about how to increase diversity and inclusion or working toward the organization’s production goals; this tension between productivity and inclusivity will be discussed in greater detail in a subsequent section.

Supervisor Interactions

Only one interview participant reported discussing specific Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies with their supervisor or boss. Miriam recounted her experience as the first woman at her startup organization to become pregnant. At her organization, the only person Miriam could talk to about GDIPs was her boss, the CEO of the company. When Miriam became pregnant, she had to work with her boss to create a maternity leave policy. She explained:

I had the privilege and the burden of being the first mom in EDU Tech, and having to write the maternity leave policy for myself. And this also happened when I was at Grooming Subscription Co. I was the first mom, but I didn't have to do anything for it. But I knew because of the way that my boss is, that I would have to come prepared with data to prove why contributing to my maternity leave policy was beneficial to the company. I also knew that I'm the first mom, but I'm not going to be the last, and I'm the highest ranking woman in the company, so if anyone was going to be able to advocate for quality maternity leave it would be me, or someone under me who was doing it; and they probably wouldn't have been able to kind of be as successful as I think I was in advocating for it, but it was difficult.

Miriam anticipated that her interaction with her supervisor would be contentious but saw advocating for maternity leave policies as her responsibility because of her position of power and privilege as an older – by tech standards – white-passing woman who was financially stable (i.e., able to risk losing her job). Here, and throughout her description of her experience, Miriam discusses how she must appeal to the company’s bottom line and demonstrate the benefit of maternity leave to the company. Company-centric arguments such as this are clear reproductions

of the business case for diversity, a dominant discourse in which appeals for diversity are presented in terms of profit rather than ethics (e.g., the right things to do). Miriam continued her recollection of her interaction with her supervisor saying:

I wrote up a letter of proposal. Incubator Co has a maternity leave policy where I believe it was they pay for like three full weeks of pay if you go on leave, which spread out, I don't know if you know how maternity leave works in California, but there's two different types of leave, there's unpaid leave, and paid leave. Unpaid leave is just job protection, and generally it does not cover young startups, because you have to have at least 50 employees for job protection like FMLA. We also have CFRA – they're basically the same thing. Then there's paid family leave, and paid disability leave. Paid disability leave gives you four weeks ahead of your maternity leave for medical reasons, and six weeks after. Now up to, I believe 70% of your salary up to a certain range, and then above that it's 60% of your salary, and that's new as of 2018. It used to be at like 55%. And then you get an additional six weeks for paid family leave, which can be taken by a woman or a man for maternity or paternity leave. Anyhow, I said, "I would like you to cover my full leave, this is why. Here's what the proposal is, here's what I would like, and here's the business case for why it's good to cover maternity leave." And gave examples of companies that are doing it.

As a startup organization, Miriam's organization is backed (i.e., funded) by an incubator company dedicated to help them grow. Through this relationship, Miriam's organization has access to standardized HR policies that they can adopt wholesale or adapt to suit their needs. Here, Miriam demonstrates that she is not only knowledgeable about the incubator's policies, but the federal and state policy umbrellas that envelop them. Miriam draws on these structural resources (i.e., federal, state, and incubator policies), as well as dominant discourses (i.e., the business case) to inform her written communication (i.e., policy proposal) with her supervisor. Miriam recollected how her supervisor responded to her proposal, saying:

He took what I wrote, knowing this was not my first time going on maternity leave or having a child. He came back to me, and he's like, "I talked to 20 other women, and this is what they said about your request for maternity leave." And I was like, "Okay." It was a battle. He was like, "How do you know you need four weeks before you have the baby? We're only going to cover 12 weeks, total; you can use it for the four weeks." So, I'm like, so basically you want me to choose between my health, because you want me to work up to the day that I'm about to give birth

basically, or financial wellbeing. I have to make a choice between those two things because you think that I shouldn't have time before my due date off or whatever it is because you have an idea that you've decided that it's unreasonable to ask for time before the child. And also, that's what the women that he talked to said. And these women probably had kids in like the '80s and '90s. This is 2019; you know?

To inform their interaction, Miriam's boss contacted women from his personal network and asked them about their experiences with maternity leave and perceptions of Miriam's proposal. His cross-system interactions led him to question Miriam's proposal, and Miriam to believe that he was forcing her into a double bind: either she sacrifices her health or her financial wellbeing.

Miriam described the ensuing argument and his eventual concession. She characterized their string of interactions as a painful, emotionally laborious battle in which she "had to overcome his perceptions and bias of what he thought was right for maternity leave." Despite their turbulent interaction, Miriam recognized her supervisor's willingness to engage in debate:

Another boss could be like, "Tough shit, this is it," and doesn't see value in [maternity leave]. So even though [convincing him is] difficult and painful at times, at least there is opportunity there to be better. Because he's agreed [Diversity and Inclusion] is something that's important to the company and it's just getting him there, pushing him further along, which is a battle.

From Miriam's recantation of her experiences we can see how personal beliefs and experiences and structural resources (i.e., umbrella policies, Discourses) are drawn into cross- and within-system interactions to inform knowledge about policy enactment and implementation, as well as the policy text itself. The emotional labor associated with this work is discussed in a subsequent section.

Occasionally, participants described reporting sexism to or discussing issues of Gender Diversity and Inclusion with a supervisor at a previous organization. While participants did not discuss policies in these interactions, their conversations about gender-based discrimination with their supervisors shaped their expectations for organizational action (i.e., policy implementation).

Diana, for instance, recalled a conversation she had with her former supervisor when interacting with a problematic coworker became too much to handle. She said,

I finally had it with him, and I was like, this is not working for me. Like he's saying a lot of inappropriate things [sexist comments] about other coworkers, he's like saying that stuff about me. He's lying to the customer. It was very bad. So, I'm pretty sure I started with my manager who then was like, "You have to talk to HR about it." He was not helpful. That's literally all he said was just like talk to HR.

Diana's interaction with her supervisor was brief, but meaningful. Through their interaction Diana learned that her supervisor would not take action to stop discriminatory behavior (i.e., implement policy). Instead, her boss referred her to Human Resources, who, incidentally, Diana described as "completely useless" and unwilling to intervene. Neither interaction Diana recalled involved the discussion of policy. Rather, responsibility was deflected: first, by Diana's boss who shifted responsibly to HR, and then by HR who told Diana to change her own behaviors (i.e., stand up for herself). Ultimately, Diana came to believe that neither her boss nor Human Resources would implement Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.

While Diana's supervisor redirected to her to Human Resources, Sophie's²⁹ manager called their behavior into question. At their past organization, Sophie recalled discussing diversity and inclusion broadly with their supervisor. Following their discussion, Sophie was called into a meeting with the CEO who suggested Sophie watch what they say as not to upset others with their point of view. Sophie recalled:

At my last job I was also told that I wasn't allowed to say things like, "I am against fascism," because someone was like, "Well how would someone feel?" And I was like, "Well if they were a fascist, I guess they wouldn't like it, but then I think we have bigger problems." I was pulled into a meeting room with the CEO for four hours, in which he told me that there's no place for politics in the workplace. "How would someone feel if they believed differently? How would you feel if you saw someone wearing a Make America Great Again shirt?" And I was like, "Well as a person who's against fascism, I think you know." And then [the CEO went on] this really weird rambling thing about how like, "Oh you should also watch what you

²⁹ Recall that Sophie identifies as nonbinary and prefers they/them pronouns.

put on social media because you're a representative of this company. And I, as a representative of this company, even though I believe that black lives matter, don't say that because everyone already believes that because white supremacy isn't actually a problem anymore.” And it was just this like rambling – Like, I don't understand what you're trying to tell me besides maybe we employ fascists.

While not about gender, Sophie’s interaction with their supervisor was formative. Through their conversation about politics in the workplace Sophie formed the perception that Diversity and Inclusion policies, including those pertaining to gender, are predominantly put in place to placate marginalized persons while not disturbing persons in more privileged positions. This view was carried forward to their current organization, Meta Tech:

I don't know if it's the case at Meta Tech, but if it's not an explicit thing that people have thought – I think there's a little bit of, “We acknowledge that there are probably people who work here who are great people and have problematic viewpoints. But they are of value to us because of the labor that they provide, and we don't want to cause a controversy. So, let's do the minimum amount to keep the people who are marginalized feel somewhat acknowledged, but without changing things so much that the people on the other side who do constitute a majority, feel put out in any way.” Which is maybe the maximally cynical view, but... [trails off].

Here, Sophie’s interactions with their supervisors culminated in a perception that organizations do not actually care as much about Gender Diversity and Inclusion as retaining the labor of the majority, thus impacting their faith in organizational action and policy implementation.

Coworker Interactions

In addition to formal intra-organizational policy communication, members of tech organizations also engage in more informal policy communication with coworkers. While almost all participants reported learning about and discussing Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through formal organizational processes, very few reported talking about their organizations’ actual policies with coworkers. Interview participants most often discussed GDIPs with coworkers (i.e., peers) when an experience with sexism or gender-based discrimination had occurred. For

instance, Jack described an interaction in which a female colleague disclosed experiences with sexual harassment by senior members of the organization to him. Jack said,

She said these guys would just be like really creepy and say things to her when the partner wasn't around and would try to like – hitting on her at work and would try to go out and get drinks with her and everything. I just remember being like, man [sighs], you know? I feel like we watch HR videos on this shit all the time and people still do that, you know? And she told this to me and a couple of other people that we started together with, and all of us were like, “You should just, you should tell the partner,” you know what I mean? Like Tech Developer has a pretty clear-cut policy on sexual harassment in the workplace and I'm like, “You should just tell the partner. I mean, I'm not going to tell him for you, but like, if it makes you feel uncomfortable you should tell them. Tell the partner.” And that exact story – like three or four variations of it – has been told to me [by different people], you know?

In his story, Jack spoke to his organizational training (i.e., human resources policy communication) and invoked the organizational policy as a resource for action. While he and his friends did not discuss the specifics of the policy, they discussed its existence, the shared organizational knowledge that harassment was not permitted, and the policy's (potential) power to put an end to the unwanted attention and harassment his coworker was experiencing.

While participants may not have discussed organizational policies with coworkers, they often discussed experiences with and issues of gender-based discrimination or sexism with coworkers in person or through the use of information communication technologies (ICTs). Discussions of personal experiences with workplace sexism often served as a brainstorming mechanism through which coworkers generated ideas for circumventing discriminatory practices outside of organization policy. For instance, when Bridget's colleague, Maria, approached her about how to handle sexism at their place of work, Bridget came up with a plan to escalate the issue to Maria's boss and gave Maria suggestions for how to prevent the problem. Bridget recalled:

We'll just call my friend Maria for the sake of this, but Maria has a problem that when she walks into meetings with a bunch of our male leadership, that they don't acknowledge her. And I don't have this problem, so Maria's talked to me about it a

bunch – how she can get better visibility. Because she's in these meetings, but they still kind of treat her like the archaic stereotype of a secretary, even though she's like a lead producer. So in her feedback – which I know that her boss has to read and like give to her – I'll be like, “It's so hard to see you walk into these meetings and have people not acknowledge like your years of [redacted] experience, and all of the great work you did on these,” and I'll list some of her more lauded things that she's accomplished. And then be like, “You know, one way to get like” – and then I'll name people – “Like get so and so to acknowledge you, and so and so to not call your work cute is to do this, this, and this.” And I kind of list those things in her feedback. I tell her in advance that I'm doing that, because I need to level it up to her boss that this is what's happening behind the scenes. Because if she comes to her boss, who's a guy, and is like “This is happening,” then he'll often be like, “Well you just need to like make yourself known.” And it's like okay, but how do you do that? That's such an unquantifiable kind of feedback. And it really puts the onus on the person being ignored rather than on the people doing the ignoring.

Here we see how Bridget and Maria's conversation resulted in the use of organizational procedures/practices separate from Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies to unofficially register sexist behaviors at work. Bridget explained that they used this strategy as a way of effectively escalating the issue to Maria's boss; they did not believe that reporting the issue directly to her supervisor would result in meaningful action.

When asked how she knew to engage in these strategies Bridget drew on her personal experiences and larger social discourses:

Well, my feedback to Maria specifically, has just been based on my own success. So, the guys who don't pay any attention to her, I have a good relationship with. And I can only speculate why, so I don't have any concrete evidence of like why they take me seriously and don't seem to with her. So, I can only advise Maria on mimicking my behavior and see if that helps. And I've tried to be clear with her that I don't know if this will help, but like maybe. And for me that's all like visual positioning. So, I don't bring a notebook and pen to these meetings. I don't, I mean it's very fucking like Sheryl Sandburg, “lean in” bullshit. It's like don't sit on the side of the room; don't come in with your arms crossed, holding your notebook and your pen; sit down at the table. Like kind of relax, like hang out on your phone. Just like act more like you don't care, and that you're not there in service of them, and [act] with the assumption that no matter what you do, you're not going to get fired in that meeting. So just relax a little. And that has helped, a little. But I also that that I've been doing that for so long, that it's kind of like built in.

From this quotation we can see how Bridget drew from her personal experiences with enacting dominant social discourses about visual positioning as espoused by prominent tech figure Sheryl Sandberg to offer advice to her coworker. Rather than perform characteristics associated with women (i.e., caring, service-oriented, self-effacing), Bridget encouraged Maria to adopt a care-free persona in which she exuded characteristics more typically associated with men (i.e., slouching, confidence).

Bridget continued her description of Maria's experience with sexism by drawing on gender norms to explain why she [Bridget] doesn't have the same experiences with the men in her organization:

It's also not fair, because I'm really into sports. And so, some of those guys have had some like really easy ins with me to talk about, like "Oh, I'm doing this trail race this weekend." Like, "I heard that you're sponsored by so and so." And I'll be like oh, I can talk about that. So, I think it's really unfair to be kind of a tom-boy in that environment, where Maria is definitely more of a girly girl. And that just helps my career in ways that are very hard to pin down, and kind of imperceivable [*sic*], but in ways that I can very clearly feel.

Here we see Bridget use gender performance to explain why the men in the organization treat Maria like the "archaic stereotype of a secretary" – Maria is a "girly girl" and Bridget is not. In this coworker interaction, Bridget suggests Maria mimic her own 'tom-boy' behaviors. In other words, Bridget suggests that to mitigate the sexism she is experiencing, Maria should curtail her more feminine characteristics and enact more masculine behaviors. While policy is not discussed, the very act of circumventing policy enactment reinforces organizational knowledge that Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are not designed to handle these forms of sexism. Rather, the onus of responsibility for change is placed on the person experiencing sexism.

Interview participants also discussed talking broadly about issues of Gender Diversity and Inclusion with coworkers. Like several participants, Sophie described most of their organization's

internal communication as taking place on Slack³⁰. Sophie went on to say, however, that the organization was using this software in an effort to increase communication about Diversity and Inclusion efforts and had recently created a Diversity and Inclusion channel in addition to their channel for women. Sophie described the conversations occurring in each channel:

The conversations in the diversity and inclusion channel, and then also the channel for women, there's a little bit of overlap, I think. It does focus a lot around gender, in terms of discussions around diversity and inclusion, as opposed to broader, more varied types of diversity and inclusion, so I guess one of the reasons why I'm not as active as I might otherwise be based on some of my own sort of political leanings and ideas about those topics is because it seems to be very hyper-focused on just one area of diversity and inclusion, and I don't often feel comfortable maybe raising that as a point, so I kind of just hang back and lurk and see. I think for me, those channels are ... I see them as more of an opportunity for me to get a better sense of who I'm working with and what their beliefs are, and sort of where things are there.

While Sophie did not always engage in discussions with their coworkers, observing their coworkers' discussions acted as a means of socialization, helping them learn more about the people they worked with and their coworkers' thoughts and opinions about Gender Diversity and Inclusion. Moreover, Sophie explained that observing their coworkers' conversations gave them insight into whether or not they were similar to their coworkers and if their coworkers would value their perspective:

I was really happy to see that at least here, people were having more open-minded conversations about just in general doing better, and while I wish there was more of a discussion around outside of just gender diversity issues, and also approaching it through a more intersectional lens of talking about race and sexuality and things like that. The discussions that I have seen for the most part also make me feel good about the company I keep at work and things like that. I think I have my hesitations because of some of my past experiences, but so far, the other individuals and their discussions have made me feel like I am surrounded by more people who I could perhaps be a little bit more authentic about my viewpoints and things like that.

³⁰ Slack is team communication system that organizations can subscribe to. This cloud-based system includes services such as instant messaging, file sharing, group threads or topic channels, phone calls, and video messaging.

Through this Information and Communication Technology (ICT) platform Sophie was able to learn about their coworkers' values and orientations toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion on a large scale. Further, they were able to engage in a sensemaking process in which they reflected on past experiences to understand their own ability to speak up about their opinions on Gender Diversity and Inclusion. While Sophie primarily described having a positive experience with their coworkers on Slack, they recalled an interaction that culminated in a decision to withdraw from future interaction with their coworkers about GDIPs:

The conversation was essentially during a company all-hands meeting; the CEO was going through some of the feedback from the employee surveys from the past year, and he was pointing out that there seemed to be a discrepancy between when they were looking at the data, I think the question was something like, "I feel like my voice can be heard and that I can raise these things to management," and there seemed to be a discrepancy in the data in terms of how people were responding. For men, the male respondents, scored very highly in terms of feeling confident and being able to do that, whereas the respondents who were women scored a little bit more low on that scale, and someone – When we have company all-hand meetings, we do it over Zoom. Everyone calls in. Most folks don't actually chat. They don't speak on the call, but if they have something to say, they'll write it into the text chat box, so it'll come up on the side. Someone... As this point was being raised, a man put into the chat, "I don't understand how these numbers could be true. I've never seen anything problematic at the company for women." Which it was just like this total like, "Well, yeah, duh, you haven't." I think it was one of the things where no one – People saw it, but no one addressed it at the time, because I think no one really knew how to address it. I think it was also, there's like a few hundred people on this call, and no one wanted to be *that* person that was like, "Hey."

Here we see organizational leaders and members reviewing organizational survey information on an ICT. On this platform members were engaged in simultaneous voice and video communication, as well as a chat stream where members could offer commentary rather than talk. In the comments a man questioned the perceptions of women, essentially privileging his perceptions over those in marginalized positions. Rather than address his dismissive comments in that moment, Sophie and their coworkers chose to let it go. Sophie made sense of their coworkers' silence on his comment by claiming that neither they nor their coworkers wanted to be *that* person on a call with several

hundred people. In this context, *that* person is one that causes trouble by calling people out for bad behavior or comments; in broader social contexts they might be called a bitch, feminist (pejoratively), or snowflake for taking offense. By rationalizing silence as a desire to avoid *that* person, Sophie and their coworkers reinforced discourses that construct calling out sexist or discriminatory talk/ behavior as making trouble or possibly damaging to one's reputation. Indeed, speaking up about sexism often does have consequences for womxn who can be deemed troublemakers as a result. Sophie went on to say that their coworkers spoke more privately about the man's comment on the women's Slack channel following the call:

Someone had taken a screenshot of what that person had said, posted it in the [women's Slack] channel, and said, "Hey, I just wanted to do a gut check. Am I crazy or did anyone else think this was problematic?" And it spawned this very long conversation, and that was the conversation that I ultimately had to check out, because there was this one side of the conversation was saying, "You know, we should really give him the benefit of the doubt. I know this person personally, and he didn't mean anything by it, and because we have people from around the world, it's important to assume positive intent and no one is trying to be malicious when they're saying things," – which I don't disagree with, but I do also think if you kind of leave the conversation there, you're again putting the onus of dealing with those situations on the people who are being impacted by that behavior, as opposed to addressing the fact that it doesn't matter what that person's intent was. The impact of that communication was this, so let's address that, and then we can roll back to intent, but it was all – It all happened very quickly, and I was just like, "Everyone else seems to be on the same page on this issue, so I will just mute this channel for today, and maybe at a later point once I feel more connected to my coworkers, maybe that's something that I can have a more personal conversation with people in-person about," but yeah. Interviewer: Have you unmuted the channel yet? Sophie: I haven't.

Although Sophie's coworkers did not discuss Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies per se, their conversation engaged with dominant discourses to create knowledge about what counts as sexism (i.e., discourses addressing the role of intent) and who has authority to determine if something was sexist (i.e., discourses surrounding the need for proof or verification of experiences).

As state in Chapter Two, Canary (2010a, p. 36) argues that “intersections [of activity systems] constitute productive sites for investigating the structuration of social systems as cross-system interactions are constrained and enabled by social structure and in turn reproduce (and potentially transform) structure.” In the situation described by Sophie, multiple activity systems intersected as members from every part of the organization converged to discuss the state of the organization. As the meeting was taking place on a mediated platform (i.e., Zoom), a member of a different part of the organization wrote a comment that spurred a conversation about sexism on another ICT (i.e., the women’s channel on Slack). These mediating resources (i.e., “material and nonmaterial resources that system actors use to mediate their activity;” Canary & McPhee, 2009, p. 153) acted as mechanisms through which policy knowledge was constructed. Through these coworker interactions knowledge was created about policy enactment (i.e., who could deem something sexist, who could be called out for sexist behavior, and in what ways they could be called out). Further, Sophie learned about whether or not they felt safe in even discussing issues of Gender Diversity and Inclusion with their coworkers; ultimately, they decided to disengage from further interactions.

The survey data largely mirrored interview participants’ descriptions of intra-organizational policy communication. As explained in Chapter Six, participants were asked to complete Canary et al.’s (2013) policy communication index to gauge how participants communicated about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies across five dimensions: human resources communication, meeting discussions, supervisor/coworker written instructions, coworker interactions, and personal expressions. Survey participants most often reported communicating about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through supervisor/coworker written instructions ($M = 3.51$, $SD = .91$), followed by human resources communication ($M = 3.47$,

$SD = .88$), coworker interactions ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.04$), personal expressions ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.27$), and finally, meeting discussions ($M = 3.02$, $SD = 1.06$). While nearly all interview participants discussed learning about their organizations' Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through HR onboarding or other training and referenced written communication or instructions about policies in the form of HR documents, few interview participants talked about policy texts with coworkers or meetings. Instead, interview participants were more likely to discuss Gender Diversity and Inclusion as a social issue or their experiences with gender-based discrimination at work. Thus, while means for coworker interactions, personal expressions, and meeting discussions were lower than human resources and written instructions, it is possible that survey participants were differentiating between policy text communication and policy issue communication.

External Systems

Family Communication

Only one interview participant reported discussing specific organizational policies with someone beyond the organization's boundaries. Nathaniel recalled sharing his organization's anti-harassment policies with his wife in response to a situation she and her coworker were experiencing at their own place of employment. Nathaniel said,

My wife works for another company, Software Developer. I was really surprised with a series of events she told me. Policies came into this conversation because I was like, "Why didn't you guys just do this?" Um, because like Social Media Organization for example, um, managers are mandatory reporters for things. Like even if it, even if it is innocent, they're required to note it and report it just so it's at least documented.

In his interaction with his wife, Nathaniel described his own organization's policies as a means of informational support (see, Cutrona & Suhr, 1992). According to Nathaniel, hearing about the

policy-related confusion and mishandling of harassment at Software Developer, made him more confident in his organization's policies:

And the fact that [harassment at Software Developer] happened repeatedly to the person, I was like, "Oh, this is not going to be taken seriously." Also, there was initially some confusion about who to tell [at Software Developer] and I was like, that shouldn't happen. Like it should be obvious who to tell. And like there was some confusion about, like the manager wasn't sure – like the manager wanted to be careful about the politics. And I'm like, no, no, no, no, that's not, that's not how that works. Like you tell the manager who then tells somebody else and immediately the intervention begins, managed by a third party. Like that's how it's supposed to go. And I was really confused why that wasn't the case. So, I felt better about Social Media Organization's [policies] after that.

Nathaniel's expressed confusion about his wife's experiences can be attributed to three main areas:

1) his detailed policy knowledge, 2) his faith in organizational policy implementation, and 3) gendered experiences. Unlike his wife and his wife's coworker, Nathaniel was very knowledgeable about his organization's harassment policies. Not only was he aware of the chain of reporting, he knew the specific consequences for repeated infractions and was able to name different aspects of policy. Nathaniel's policy knowledge was unique (see the following section on policy knowledge for more detail); as a manager in his organization, Nathaniel had completed numerous bi-annual training sessions on Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. From his perspective, it was absurd that members of Software Developer, especially those in management positions were unaware of what to do when faced with cases of sexism or harassment. Nathaniel's confusion can also be attributed to a sincere belief that his organization would implement its policies. While Nathaniel had not seen his organization's policies in action, he truly believed that members of his organization would put politics and power aside and follow the organization's policy procedures. As discussed in the subsequent section, Nathaniel's faith in his organization can be partly attributed to his high identification with Social Media Organization. Another explanation for his faith in policy implementation is his gender. While Nathaniel was certain that his organization would take

action in cases of discrimination or harassment, none of the womxn believed without hesitation that their organization – whether their supervisor or Human Resources department – would do something (i.e., implement policy) if they experienced gender-based discrimination. Nathaniel's perceptions of policy enactment (i.e., his wife and her coworker's ability to call for action) and implementation (i.e., organizational action) were constructed from his perspective as a white man in a position of power in a tech organization. Whereas the womxn interviewed had all experienced, witnessed, or heard stories of policy failure, Nathaniel had not. Instead of challenging his views of policy, Nathaniel's interactions with his wife reinforced his perception that his organization would in fact take action and implement Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.

Apart from Nathaniel, interview participants did not indicate that they talk to family members about organizational policies. Nearly 59% of survey participants reported discussing experiences with workplace sexism with family members. While the purpose and content of these conversations is unknown, Lydia reported that if faced with workplace gender-based discrimination she would turn to her wife for emotional, rather than informational support.

Friend and Network Communication

Interview participants also described discussing issues of Gender Diversity and Inclusion, including experiences with workplace sexism, with friends and professional networks. Indeed, 68.0% of survey participants indicated that they had heard stories of workplace sexism from friends. While the content and purpose of these conversations is unknown, within interviews, conversations with friends were typically characterized as venting sessions, though Sarah said that her friends were her primary source of support when dealing with workplace sexism. Through her past experiences and observations, Sarah came to believe that Human Resources would not take action in cases of sexism and discrimination, and that reporting instances of sexism to HR

“wouldn't make a difference or it wouldn't matter.” Rather than waste time and approach HR, Sarah said that when dealing with sexism at work she and her friends instead discuss the situation and come up with avoidance tactics to limit their one-on-one interactions with the perpetrator.

In addition to conversations among friends, interview participants spoke of the importance of professional or formal networks in making sense of Gender Diversity and Inclusion issues. Sophie, for instance, discussed the role of a professional network and community of like-minded individuals in helping them deal with microaggressions at work and characterized it as the first place they would turn for advice:

And I mean, this is just like totally just anecdotal evidence, but for me what's personally really helped is having a network of other women, non-binary, gender non-conforming folks that I can talk to, that I can vent with, that I can work stuff out with. And at the beginning part of my career when I hadn't had as much of that community to go to, when things would happen, when microaggressions would come up and I didn't have anyone to talk to about it, that was really discouraging. And I worry that for some of these younger womxn [just entering the tech sector], in thinking that they don't need to make those connections and thinking that, you know, things are different now, these organizations for womxn aren't important or aren't necessary anymore, that once they realize that it's still necessary, they'll be at a point where maybe they haven't had a chance to develop enough of those connections so that when something does happen, unfortunately they have no-one to go to. And then it becomes one of those things that pushes them out a little bit more, it makes them feel more alienated until, yeah, they do either leave the industry or transition into some other kind of role.

Here we see Sophie describe the importance of professional networks in supporting womxn in tech who would be otherwise alienated by sexism in their workplaces. Sophie expressed concern that womxn just entering tech are adhering to a post-feminist ideology, a belief that inequity and sexism are a thing of the past. In Sophie's talk of alienation sexism is painted as inevitable; it is not a matter of *if* these womxn entering tech experience sexism, it is a matter of *when* and if they have a support network to encourage them to stay in the industry.

The previous subsections have discussed the ways in which participants interact with others to form GDIP knowledge. The following subsection addresses an emergent finding: participants' lack of policy knowledge, their perceptions of policy communication effectiveness, and perceived sources of information.

Policy Knowledge

Discussions of policy communication were severely impacted by interview participants' lack of policy knowledge; with the exception of three interview participants, none could recall the content of their organizations' GDIPs. While participants reported learning about GDIPs through formal onboarding processes, many had since forgotten their organization's policies. Some, like Diana, weren't sure if they had ever completed training. She explained,

I know that we have [GDIPs], but I don't really know the details of the policies other than, like, obviously we don't support [discrimination]. Interviewer: Did you ever learn formally about these policies? Diana: I don't even remember if I did. Although I'm sure we had to do a really terrible sexual harassment training. Those are usually online modules with people dressed up from the 90s I don't know; they're so terrible. So, I want to say we – I'm sure I probably had to do one when I was hired initially. Clearly it didn't stick with me because I don't remember any of it, and if I did have to do one, it would have all been online.

Although Diana could not remember whether she actually completed any type of formal policy training or education, she pulled from past organizational experiences with onboarding to conclude that she 1) most likely participated in some sort of online training, and 2) that whatever training she did or did not do was outdated and "terrible."

Whereas Diana could not remember her training, Sophie wasn't sure their organization's policies were fully developed. When asked if they knew what policies their organization had in place to protect them from discrimination and if they knew where to locate the policies, Sophie said, "No, and I don't think they're fleshed out, really. I think so far, the diversity and inclusion

conversation has been more around the hiring pipeline and recruitment, and less ‘When someone gets in the door what do we do with them?’” Sophie’s lack of knowledge, then, was less about their own unawareness than the actual existence of policy with their organization.

Participants also attributed their lack of policy knowledge or familiarity to simply not needing the information. Gillian said, “I couldn’t tell you [what the GDIPs say]. It was one of those things that we went over in orientation, and I just never needed to look at that information again. I never looked for it, and I don’t know exactly what these policies are.” Here, the assumption is that policy knowledge or familiarity is only necessary when someone wants to enact the policy. Further, this perspective assumes that someone is able to recognize sexism or gender-based discrimination and the need to enact policy. As is discussed with the subsequent research question, members of technology organizations aren’t always able to recognize or define sexism and are quick to rationalize or dismiss their experiences thereafter.

Contrary to those interviewed, survey participants typically reported being familiar with their organization’s GDIPs. On a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) respondents’ average policy familiarity score fell at 3.77 ($SD = 2.9$), indicating that most participants felt as though they and their colleagues were familiar with their organization’s Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies and knew what to do if discriminated against. Participants scored similarly on Canary et al.’s (2013) policy knowledge measure: $M = 3.72$, $SD = .72$. Again, participants’ responses suggested they generally felt knowledgeable about GDIPs, had received enough training, and knew where to find policy information.

Perceptions of Policy Communication Effectiveness

Perceptions of policy communication effectiveness varied among survey and interview participants. Canary et al.’s (2013) policy knowledge measure asked participants to answer

whether they believe they know as much as they need to know about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (PK1), if they believe they've received enough training about GDIPs (PK2), and if they needed more formal training on GDIPs (PK8). Survey participants typically agreed they know as much about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies as they need to ($M = 3.79$, $SD = 1.06$) and had received enough training about GDIPs ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 1.13$). It's important to note, however, that an independent samples t test indicated that men typically scored higher ($n = 131$, $M = 3.82$, $SD = 1.07$) on PK2 than women ($n = 71$, $M = 3.39$, $SD = 1.18$); this difference, .42, CI [.100, .745], was significant, $t(200) = 2.58$, $p = .01$. In other words, men were more likely than the women to report in the survey that they had received sufficient training about GDIPs. Further, survey participants were typically uncertain about whether they needed more formal policy training ($M = 3.04$, $SD = 1.35$).

Whereas the men who participated in the interview portion of this project were typically confident in their knowledge of GDIPs, the women who were interviewed often perceived their training and subsequent policy communication as ineffective. Gillian said, for instance, "I'm trying to remember if we ever did any actual formal training on this. Yeah, I don't think so because I can't remember. I think that answers [whether training was effective]." Diana similarly responded to a question about whether her organization effectively teaches its members about sexual harassment or discrimination policies, saying,

Probably not since I don't really know what they are, and I don't... I think I could get on Slack right now and ask my coworkers and be like, "Hey do you know what our gender and discrimination policy is?" and they'd be like, "Huh?" That would be their response.

Like Gillian, Diana reflected on her own policy familiarity to make sense of her organization's policy communication effectiveness. Moreover, she used her perception of own policy knowledge or familiarity to draw conclusions about her coworkers' knowledge.

Sources of Information

The second part of research question two asked: *What resources do organizational members use to obtain or enhance policy knowledge?* Although participants were typically unknowledgeable about GDIPs, they were confident in their ability to obtain information should it become salient to their lives. Indeed, survey participants indicated that they knew where to find information³¹ ($M = 3.97$, $SD = .97$) or who to talk to ($M = 3.87$, $SD = 1.02$) about GDIPs. Survey and interview participants alike overwhelmingly said they would consult HR training materials and formal policy documents. Diana even said she would find the policy documents on her organization's Human Resources website before talking to a member of HR staff:

I could go find [our policies] if I looked around long enough online, but I don't know [the policies] off the top of my head. Interviewer: When do you think people look these policies up? Diana: I mean the only time I would go to it is if I felt like someone was harassing me. If there was a real issue of gender-discrimination then I'd be like, "Okay, what's the policy" so I can go show it to the HR person and be like, "I have receipts; look at this. Fix this."

Diana uses the word "receipts" colloquially to denote "proof;" in this case, Diana would bring the organization's Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy texts to the HR representative as proof of the organization's responsibility to take action. Like others, Diana did not trust HR professionals to act in her best interest, but relied on their material resources (e.g., websites, texts) for information. The tension between mistrust of and need for HR is explored under research question three.

Other participants described turning to federal policy websites and knowledgeable friends for policy information. Sarah said that if she were to experience discrimination at work she would turn to her friend's website for informational support before consulting her organization's website and online resources. According to Sarah, her friend and fellow interview participant, Miriam

³¹ Note: On average men were more confident that they could locate policy information ($n = 132$, $M = 4.11$, $SD = .94$) than women ($n = 72$, $M = 3.74$, $SD = .99$). The difference of .37 CI [.094, .646] was significant, $t(202) = 2.642$, $p = .009$.

created a website dedicated to providing women with information about their legal rights, as well as insight into various organizations' treatment of women. Sarah said Miriam (and her website) was her main source for federal and state policy information. Sarah recalled:

[The website's] really cool and I think [Miriam's] been my main source about a lot of [federal and state policy] information. Now I know because I had a friend ask me about maternity leave. She lives in Southern City and she was asking if she's required to say when she's interviewing, to tell a company that she's pregnant and I was able to go to Miriam and ask her "What do you think?" She knew some of the information. She was able to look it up relatively quickly for me too.

Not only did Sarah and Miriam act as resources for information in this situation, but the federal and state policies and the technology used to access them acted as sites of information. In this passage we can see how interactions between friends, facilitated by and through mediating resources (i.e., ICTs, policy texts) work to create policy knowledge (i.e., whether Sarah's friend was legal required to disclose her pregnancy). Neither survey nor interview participants said they would consult their supervisor for policy information. Many survey participants did say, however, that they would report instances of sexism directly to their supervisor, indicating trust that the supervisor would 1) be knowledgeable about the policies and 2) implement GDIPs.

Throughout this section we have seen how members of technology organizations engage in policy communication across in within several intra- and extra-organizational activity systems. While interview participants most often learned about policy texts through official organizational means (i.e., Human Resources training and onboarding procedures), their interactions within and across systems taught them about their ability to enact policy, as well as the likelihood of organizational implementation. Interactions often drew on larger social structures like federal policy and social discourses to frame discussions and create meaning about sexism as well as policy. The results presented are not surprising. Scholars have identified the importance of coworker interactions (e.g., Kirby & Krone, 2002) and social discourses (e.g., Buzzanell & Liu,

2005; LeGreco & Tracy, 2009; Nichols & Griffith, 2009) in creating policy knowledge, even when the policy itself is not discussed (Canary & McPhee, 2009). Further, as indicated in Chapter Two, friends, family and online resource are often used for social support, whether emotional, informational, or otherwise. Indeed, when faced with adversity and uncertainty, friends, professional networks, and online resources emerged as sources for emotional, informational, and social network support (see, Cutrona & Suhr, 1992).

Predicting Policy Familiarity

Policy Communication and Policy Familiarity

Based on the interview and survey findings presented above, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to assess the extent to which variance in the GDIPAS's policy familiarity dimension could be predicted from Canary et al.'s (2013) policy communication index variables. Variables (i.e., HR communication, meeting discussions, coworker interactions, supervisor/coworker written instructions, and personal expressions) were entered into the regression in one step. Complete PCI regression results are presented in Table 28.

Table 28: Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Policy Familiarity ($n = 203$)

Variable	Model		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
HR Communication	.545	.079	.607**
Meeting Discussions	-.041	.078	-.056
Coworker Interactions	-.102	.077	-.133
Supervisor/Coworker Written Instructions	.026	.063	.030
Personal Expressions	.072	.057	.117
R^2		.337	
F for change in R^2		20.086**	

Note: * $p < .05$ and ** $p < .01$

The overall regression was statistically significant, $R = .58$, $R^2 = .34$, adjusted $R^2 = .32$, $F(5, 198) = 20.09$, $p < .001$. The model which included all five PCI dimensions as predictor variables accounted for approximately 32.0% of the variance. Policy familiarity scores could be predicted well from all five PCI dimensions with approximately 32.0% of the variance in policy familiarity accounted for by the regression. The t ratios for the individual regression slopes were examined in each step to assess the contributions of each predictor variable. Only human resources communication significantly contributed to changes in R^2 . These results are not unexpected. Canary et al. (2013) found that the PCI subscales accounted for 24% of the variance of their policy knowledge measure. Further, their analysis indicated that human resources communication was the most influential factor for variance in policy knowledge. The results of the present study demonstrate that the PCI also reliably predicts changes in variance for the GDIPAS's policy familiarity dimension.

Organizational Identity & Identification and Policy Familiarity

The second part of research question two asked: *What relationship, if any, is present between organizational identification, identification type, and Gender Diversity & Inclusion policy attitude scale dimensions?* The results of the previous two sections indicated that identification is more closely tied to policy familiarity than policy support. Specifically, organizational policy knowledge was strongest among interview participants who identified with their organizations (e.g., Nathaniel, Matthew, Miriam). Given the apparent relationship between organizational identification and policy knowledge in the interview data, a subsequent hierarchical regression was conducted to assess the effect of identification on policy familiarity variance in addition to the PCI measures (see Table 29 for the hierarchical regression table. Variables were entered into the regression in two steps. First, all five PCI variables were entered into the model to assess their

contribution to changes in policy familiarity. Then, all collected identity and identification measures (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004) were entered in step two. Results from step one indicated that the PCI dimensions accounted for approximately 29.0% of the variance in policy familiarity. The second model which included organizational identity strength, identity incongruence, need for identification, ambivalent identification, neutral identification, and disidentification as predictor variables, significantly changed the model and accounted for 46.2% of the variance in policy familiarity. The overall regression was statistically significant, $R^2 = .49$, adjusted $R^2 = .46$, $F(11, 187) = 16.462$, $p = .0001$. Policy familiarity scores could be reliably predicted from the PCI dimensions and identity/identification variables, with approximately 46% of the variance in policy familiarity accounted for by the regression. Again, the t ratios for the individual regression slopes were assessed to investigate the contributions of each predictor variable. Human resources communication, organizational identity strength, and need for identification significantly contributed to changes in R^2 .

Table 29: Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Policy Familiarity ($n = 198$)

Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	B	$SE\ B$	β	B	$SE\ B$	β
HR Communication	.534	.082	.580**	.411	.077	.446**
Meeting Discussions	-.044	.077	-.059	.036	.070	.049
Coworker Interactions	-.093	.078	-.123	-.072	.071	-.096
Supervisor/Coworker Written Instructions	.014	.064	.017	-.021	.057	-.025
Personal Expressions	.077	.056	.126	.087	.051	.143
Org. Identity Strength				.331	.075	.357**
Org. Identity Incongruence				-.042	.104	-.053
Need for Identification				-.174	.086	-.157*
Ambivalent Identification				-.135	.090	-.198
Neutral Identification				-.055	.062	-.075
Disidentification				.031	.085	.045
R^2		.308			.492	
F for change in R^2		17.209**			11.264**	

Note: * $p < .05$ and ** $p < .01$

While these findings are informative, it is important to remember that identification was not included in the model due to a sampling error. To provide some insight into the effect of identification on the variance of policy familiarity a hierarchical regression was conducted using the data from Study Two in Phase one. Variables were entered into the regression in one step and t values of the individual regression slopes were assessed to understand the unique contributions of each predictor variable. The overall regression model was statistically significant, $R = .56$, $R^2 = .31$, adjusted $R^2 = .30$, $F(7, 310) = 20.242$, $p = .0001$. The seven identity and identification subscales from the expanded model of identification could reliably predict policy familiarity scores in Study Two, with 30% of the variance accounted for. Examinations of the individual regression slopes indicated that only organizational identity strength significantly contributed to changes in R^2 .

Results from this section have demonstrated that policy communication as measured across five dimensions, and organizational identity and identification as measured across seven dimensions, can reliably predict changes in policy familiarity. To this point, I have presented policy knowledge construction in the tech industry as a sensemaking process and discussed the ways in which knowledge is constructed across systems. In the following section, I examine some of the contradictions and tensions present in the policy knowledge construction process and discuss their roles in enabling, constraining, and shaping knowledge construction.

Contradictions and Tensions in Policy Knowledge Construction

The previous sections have sought to understand how members of tech organizations construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their personal experiences and attitudes and interactions with others, research question three asks, however: *What contradictions, if any, are present in the policy knowledge construction process?* Contradictions

are defined by Canary (2010a) as system or structural level oppositional forces or tensions in the policy knowledge construction process. Given the nature of this project (i.e., interview and surveys with participants operating in many organizations), I predominantly focus on structural contradictions articulated by the participants in this study. First, I examine larger structural tensions rooted in perceptions of human nature and the meaning of t/Truth. I then discuss a system-level contradiction grounded in perceptions of the role of human resources.

The Myth of Good People

One tension articulated by participants pertained to organizations' understandings of human nature (i.e., whether people were inherently good or inherently flawed). This tension between characterizations of people as inherently beneficent (i.e. doing good) and people as inherently barbarous (i.e., uncivilized, cruel, harsh) manifested as organizational leaders made sense of the need for Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. Whereas organizational leaders who perceive human nature as barbarous might align themselves with more Hobbesian philosophies about the need for absolute power (e.g., strict organizational policies meant to enforce order among employees who would otherwise succumb to their uncivilized, cruel or predatory impulses), those who perceive people as inherently beneficent may, as was evidenced by the participants in this study, fail to recognize the importance of creating, implementing, enacting policies designed to protect employees from the organization as well as each other. Failure to develop sufficient Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies places organizational members in positions where they do not feel protected or as though their organization will be able to protect them (i.e., implement whatever policy does exist) in cases of discrimination. This vulnerability was particularly salient to members of startup organizations. Recall, startup organizations are exempt from many federal equal opportunity employment (i.e., discrimination) laws. Further, startup organizations are often

characterized by relaxed, casual cultures in which creativity is prioritized over control. Through this intersection of tensions (i.e., beliefs about human nature, prioritizations of creative) policy knowledge is constructed. Sophie's description of their organization's Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies captures these tensions:

I've experienced this at other companies, as well, but in lieu of concrete policy, the stated policy is, "We hire people who aren't jerks, so we assume that nothing will happen, therefore we don't need a policy because that would constrain individual differences too much," kind of thing, and so there's sort of this, "Oh, we trust your judgment on what you think is appropriate or not," and [the policy] kind of just ends there.

The implication underlying Sophie's statement is that jerks are the aberration, and that by hiring 'good' people instead of 'jerks' Gender Diversity and Inclusion – and the subsequent need for protective policies – becomes a nonissue. Instead, the result is an organization with ineffective policies. Here, we're introduced to another element of the tension between beneficence and barbarism – the myth of 'good people.' The tension begins with the belief that humans are inherently good and the belief that policies to control employees are largely unnecessary and extends to create the 'good people' fallacy, or the belief that good people do not do bad things.

When organizations believe that good people always act appropriately or do the right thing, that their employee base is primarily good, and that the organization itself is doing good, they may extend the 'good people' fallacy to encompass the organization's identity. In other words, the organization (and its members) may come to believe that because they employ good people (i.e., no jerks) and do good things, they can't do bad things (e.g., discriminate). Miriam spoke to this fallacy saying,

A lot of times when you have companies that have altruistic [missions], they feel this already sense of 'we're good people, we're doing the right thing.' But discrimination and sexism are not things that just don't happen because people are good people, they're things that have to be actively – have policies against, and you have to actively strive for equity. And you have to act, all the time, it's not

something that you write a code of conduct for, and then you're done. It's something that in every meeting that you have, making sure that people's voices feel valid, and important, and heard. ... These are just things that have to be kind of actively done, and I think that EDU Tech does some of them. But if I were running my company – which is how I always think – I would have different things in place to make sure that it wasn't happening, because you can't just assume that it's not happening. It's going to happen because it's what we've been trained to do.

In this passage, Miriam counters the prevailing ideology (i.e., good people do good things, people are inherently good), not by selecting the other pole (i.e., people are inherently bad), but by transcending the tension all together (Baxter, 1990; Tracy, 2004). By invoking ‘training,’ Miriam eschews arguments about inherent goodness or badness of people, and instead calls on Lockean *tabula rasa* (i.e., blank slate) rhetoric which ask us to consider how people learn to behave, or, as organizational communication scholars might ask, how we are *socialized*.

The discourses presented in this section were common throughout the interviews, as well as the media. Matthew and I discussed the pervasiveness of sexism in the tech industry and the repeated and heavily reported cases of gender-based discrimination at Uber, as well as his own organization’s attempts to create a new Diversity and Inclusion policy guide. Over the course of our conversation about policy creation, I asked Matthew if he believed policy could help change bad behavior. Matthew said he hoped policies would alert jerks to their “jerky” behavior or teach them to “keep [their] jerkiness to [themselves].” Matthew saw jerkiness as a character trait and policies as measures to weed out or remove bad people. By removing jerks and hiring non-jerks (i.e., good people), Matthew, and others like Sheryl Sandberg³², believe Gender Diversity and Inclusion will become a nonissue; this belief is rooted in the assumption that people are inherently beneficent. While removing problematic employees may promote organizational change (i.e., cultural change that privileges people over profit), as Miriam pointed out, their arguments fail to

³²As discussed in Chapter 1, former Facebook CEO, Sheryl Sandberg, along with many others, have called for an end of ‘brilliant jerks’ in tech (Lyons, 2017).

acknowledge that bias and discrimination are *learned* behaviors in everyone rather than inherent *traits* in a jerky few.

The Policy Exists... But You Can't Prove the Problem is 'Real'

A particularly salient tension that emerged in the interviews was concerned with the nature of t/Truth. Distinctions between Truth and truth can be understood as ontological arguments between objective and subjective perceptions of reality. Whereas an objective approach to truth (i.e., Truth) holds that there is a single, discoverable Truth 'out there,' subjective approaches to truth recognize the role of perception and interpretation in constructing meaning (i.e., truth). When presented with a question, such as "Did she experience sexism?" those with objective orientations toward Truth would call for data-driven evidence. As Truth is discoverable by means of scientific inquiry, objective perspectives value observable (i.e., documented, measured, recorded, verified) evidence of a phenomena. Thus, Truth-based ideologies manifest in organizations or societies as requirements for 'hard' proof or evidence of sexism or discriminatory behavior. When faced with the same question – Did she experience sexism? – the subjective perspectives would seek to understand how the person in question interpreted the event. As a construction born of experience, interaction, and interpretation, truth is allowed to exist within the self and can be known through individual perceptions or uncorroborated observations of events, 'gut'-based feelings, or inherited cultural knowledge. Thus, from the subjective approach sexism exists because she *felt* or perceived sexism.

Within organizations tension between t/Truth is seen in the relationship between the nature of policy and the nature of sexism. Whereas organizational policies often require hard proof (i.e., Truth; e.g., documentation, corroboration, repeated patterns) for implementation and enactment, participants discussed the subjective nature of sexism (i.e., truth). This tension can even be seen

within policies as organizations struggle to create policy for something they cannot readily identify or define. While obviously overt or visible forms of sexism (i.e., sexual touches, verbal declarations of discrimination) are simpler to ‘prove,’ other types of sexism are hard to pinpoint and rely on *feeling* or shared cultural knowledge about what sexism looks like to identify. Bridget described how difficult it can be to deal with “sneaky” or less obvious types of sexism:

Yeah. So, before Wellness App Co, I worked in advertising. And the sexism in advertising was really different than the sexism in tech. In advertising, it was very much based in like objectification. And so, there was a lot of like lewdness to it, but the men that I worked with in advertising, always included me in terms of ideas, and credit, and the work. Like I never felt like they were sexist in terms of my career progression. It was just like occasionally I'd have to be like, please stop looking at my ass. Please stop asking me out to dinner.

Here, Bridget discusses the overt sexism (i.e., sexual harassment) she experienced at her previous place of work. While the men in her office objectified her, Bridget did not feel as though her career progress was stifled; she was included. Bridget continued, describing her experience with sexism at her current place of work in tech:

And then at Wellness App Co in tech, I've found that guys are much more prone to like the “boys only” club. Where they're just like, they work better with guys, they get along better with guys, and they just kind of like don't take women as seriously. And I don't think they're even aware of it, most of the time.

Bridget and others in this study described men in tech as “awkward,” unsure of how to talk to women, and unaware of their behavior. Rather than dismiss the men’s behavior as innocent or innocuous, Bridget painted their behavior as part of a larger problem. Not only did Bridget believe that the men in tech do not take women in tech seriously (i.e., value their skills, insights, or ideas), she described their exclusionary behavior as a form of sexism that was hard to identify. She said,

And so, it's a much more sneaky and hard to deal with kind of sexism, because a lot of the guys are like, “Oh I'm definitely not sexist. Like I would never grab a girl's ass or anything.” And I'm like I would almost rather you grab my ass than not invite me to the meeting.

To Bridget, overt sexual harassment was better than covert, subtle forms of sexism because it was easier to identify and address. While Bridget was confident in her ability to prove and put an end to overt sexual harassment, she and others expressed doubt that organizations would believe their assessment of less obvious forms of gender-based discrimination (i.e. truth) without proof (i.e., Truth). Miriam spoke to the tension between experiences of sexism as truth and the organizational requirements of Truth:

The problem that I have with a lot of discussions around sex and gender bias in the tech industry, is that it is so often that discrimination occurs in ways that is really hard to put your finger on. It's usually legal discrimination – it's things that by the letter of the law are okay, and it's hard to give proof to, right?

Here, Miriam differentiates between sexism as defined legally (i.e., Truth) and sexism as experienced (i.e., truth). She further characterizes experiences of sexism as difficult to define, identify, and prove according to standards of Truth. She continues, drawing on media examples and positioning her argument in current socio-historical contexts:

Even when you read Susan Fowler's letter about what happened Uber³³, some of the examples that she gave were like, “Oh, none of the woman engineers were given leather jackets.” And that feels obvious, but it also feels petty like, “Oh, they didn't get leather jackets.” But it's the little things that really create a culture of discrimination, right? So yeah, I think that it's really difficult to prove and often when you say, “I feel discriminated against.” Again, you have to come with evidence and data that prove that it's true. And if it's just like microaggressions and a series of little things, it's difficult to make it seem valid, and not like you're just complaining about feeling discriminated against, because it's a feeling rather than a fact for a lot of employers.

In this passage, Miriam articulates the tension between truth and Truth as the dismissal of feeling (i.e., truth) in favor of fact (i.e., Truth). According to Miriam, without hard, evidence-based data daily acts of sexism (i.e., microaggressions) are just *feelings* and thus, beyond the purview of organizational policies.

³³ See Chapter One for a description of Fowler's experience at Uber

At the crux of this tension is a systemic dismissal of women's feelings as irrational or illogical (i.e., petty, complaints/whining, childish). We see evidence of this again in Sophie's story about their coworker asking, "Hey, I just wanted to do a gut check. *Am I crazy* or did anyone else think this was problematic?" Underlying this comment is the assumption that without corroboration (i.e., evidence), her perception is not only not real (i.e., True), but irrational (i.e., crazy). Several womxn in this study expressed fear of being perceived as petty, whiny, or irrational if they were unable to support their perceptions (i.e., truth) with evidence (i.e., Truth). Further, they resented the burden placed on them to prove something that was often unprovable. Miriam expressed her frustration, saying:

That's the thing, the burden is on us, right? It's never on the organization to create an environment where discrimination is discouraged and difficult, it's on the discriminated party to be like, "Yes, here are the things that happened that are proof that I am being discriminated against." So yeah, I think you do have to document what's going on, and to be able to come with specific examples of things in order for it to be believed.

Miriam expressed indignation toward organizational requirements for action (i.e., policy implementation). Not only did the discriminated party have to prove that their experiences, which were often unprovable according to objective standards, were real, but the burden of proof required more work than the organization was doing to prevent discrimination.

When oppositional social structures (i.e., perceptions of t/Truth) interact to create contradictions or paradoxical requirements within an organization (e.g., prove the unprovable), employees may begin to feel frustrated, paralyzed, hopeless, and spiral into negative communicative interactions (e.g., Barnard, 1938; 1968; Nicotera & Clinkscales, 2003; Tracy, 2004). Throughout this study womxn expressed frustration regarding the impossibility of turning their truth (i.e., perceptions formed from experience, shared cultural knowledge, and a *knowing*) into organizational Truth (i.e., documented, data-driven evidence of a visible phenomenon). Even

when womxn were able to imagine that they could gather enough evidence to validate their experiences, most were skeptical about whether the effort would be worth it in the end. Miriam explained,

And even then, imagine I say to you and you're my boss, "Hey, Bob keeps having these meetings about this specific thing that I'm supposed to be working on, and he's excluding me from those meetings." Then what? You're going to go to Bob and say, "Hey Bob, why are you excluding Miriam from these meetings?" And then the animosity between you and Bob is going to get worse. And so oftentimes it's like, "Do I want to speak up and advocate for myself, or am I just going to make my life harder?" You know?

Miriam's words speak to the resignation many womxn felt about gender-based discrimination in the workplace. Part of this resignation – or belief that action is futile – stems from power imbalances in the system as policy makers (e.g., governments, organizations) and policy implementers (e.g., organizations) determine what is Truth and what is not. As such, womxn must conform to dominant standards for Truth (i.e., get hard proof, diminish feelings-based evidence) or stay silent.

Human Resources: A Necessary Evil

A primary system contradiction emerged in participants' policy knowledge construction process as they made sense of the role of Human Resources in enacting and implementing policies. While all participants recognized the value of HR resources (i.e., policy text knowledge, written documents, online resources) and said they would consult HR representatives for information, very few believed HR would act in their or others' best interest should they experience gender-based discrimination. As a department, Human Resources acts to serve the interests of the Organization³⁴ as well employees. Throughout the interviews, participants constructed HR's role as dichotomous.

³⁴ Organization is capitalized to signify the company as an entity with its own interests and needs.

Essentially, participants recognized HR as both an agent of change and oppression. While HR, in theory, was there to protect the employees' needs, participants saw HR as predominantly loyal to the Organization. This inherent tension in the responsibilities of HR (i.e., to protect the employees and the Organization) resulted in participants' dis- or mistrust³⁵ of HR representatives, especially in cases of conflict, sexism or discrimination in which participants saw their needs as being diametrically opposed to those of the Organization. Miriam articulated this tension when asked if she would recommend a friend report sexism:

Of course, yeah. I know for a fact we have a zero-tolerance policy for that. So yeah. Interviewer: So, let's say you experienced [gender-based discrimination]. Would you know what avenues to go through? Would you just go to your boss? Do you know what you would have to do? Miriam: Yeah. I would document it. I would write about – The thing is that because of the experiences that I've had, I don't trust Human Resources. They're there to protect the company, not to protect me. So, I would find – I have friends who are employment lawyers. I would consult with them and talk to them about what I should do first and go from there. Interviewer: So, you'd actually contact people outside of your organization before you move forward with in your own organization? Miriam: Yeah, absolutely. I don't trust HR to work on my behalf. Forget that, no way. Who pays them? Who signs their paycheck? Not me.

In this passage, Miriam emphatically voices her distrust of HR representatives: the Organization pays HR, therefore, HR must be more loyal to the Organization. Interestingly, Miriam invokes policy when discussing how she would advise her friend. Miriam's distrust is not rooted in the policy itself, but in the people responsible for implementing it.

Like Miriam, Bridget learned from personal experience to mistrust HR. In our interview Bridget described the HR department at her company as prone to gossip (i.e., sharing the stories disclosed them) and quick to side with those in power. Following a conversation about a sexist interaction Bridget had with her company's Creative Director, she said "...then with that same

³⁵ While distrust and mistrust are often used interchangeably, distrust signifies a lack of trust rooted in personal experience. Mistrust is a general lack of trust or lack of confidence.

Creative Director three people – like a month later – went with claims of sexual discrimination to HR against him...they said that he was too talented to fire and that they [the accusers] could quit if they wanted to.” Bridget said that womxn in her organization knew better than to trust HR and had formed a ‘whisper network’ in which the women of the company helped each other “know who to avoid” and gather evidence (i.e., Truth). Indeed, participants often managed the tension between HR’s conflicting loyalties, and the distrust felt in response, by reclaiming agency. While most participants did not trust Human Resources to act on their behalf, as mentioned earlier, they trusted the resources HR provided. Rather than ask HR to choose between their conflicting loyalties, participants chose to step outside of the tension, gather policy materials and information themselves, and advocate for themselves directly to their supervisors.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter we come to understand how individuals interact with others, drawing on their personal experiences, attitudes, values, identifications, and social discourses to construct Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge. The results presented in this chapter indicate several theoretical and practical implications that are discussed in the subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The technology industry has long had a problem with gender-based discrimination. While tech organizations have created new policies and programs meant to stimulate gender parity and eradicate discrimination, policies are failing, and Gender Diversity and Inclusion remains a pressing issue. The purpose of this dissertation was to understand how members of organizations in the technology sector construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their personal values, beliefs, and experiences, and interactions with others within and outside of organizational boundaries. Ultimately, this project sought to provide insight into why tech organizations were struggling to implement and enact Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies by investigating how members of tech organizations make sense of GDIPs.

This project was conducted in two phases. In Phase One, two studies were conducted using an exploratory mixed methods design answer RQ1: *What factors contribute to employees' attitudes toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies?* Through these studies, I developed and refined the Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale (GDIPAS) that measured 5 subdimensions of policy attitude: perceptions of policy abuse, policy familiarity, perceptions of industry gender inequity, policy support, and perceptions of organizational gender diversity. While Phase One was designed to create a new methodological tool, the purpose of Phase Two was to get a deeper understanding of the policy knowledge construction process. Phase Two was constructed using a triangulation mixed methods design to answer the guiding research question and RQs 2-4a. Interview and survey data were collected and analyzed separately and then brought together in a parallel analysis to form integrated meta-analyses. Within Phase Two, survey data were collected to obtain broader insight into the relationship between identification, sexism, personal experiences with and observations of gender-based discrimination, and Gender Diversity

and Inclusion policy attitude variables; essentially, surveys were designed to investigate individual orientations toward policies. Interview data were collected to gain deeper, more nuanced understandings of how participants make sense of their experiences and interactions to construct policy knowledge. The guiding research question asked: *How do members of organizations in the tech industry construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their personal beliefs, attitudes, and experiences with and perceptions of gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) in the workforce, and intra- and extra-organizational interactions?* Results from the guiding RQ were integrated with RQs 4 and 4a³⁶ and indicated that participants' intersectional identities, past experiences with gender-based discrimination, organizational identification, and organizational interactions play a significant role in their perceptions of their ability to enact policies, as well as their trust in organizational action (i.e., policy implementation). More specifically, members of tech organizations were shown to engage in a series of sensemaking processes in which they reflect on their intersecting identities and past experiences and interactions with Gender Diversity and Inclusion to form knowledge about 1) the effectiveness of GDIPs, 2) how to improve the experiences of marginalized folks in tech, 3) their need for organizational identification, and 4) their individual roles in creating diverse and inclusive workplaces. While need for organizational identification emerged as an outcome of participants' past experiences with and organizational responses to gender-based discrimination, results indicated that identification also acted to influence the policy knowledge construction process. More specifically, need for organizational identification and organizational identity strength significantly predicted policy

³⁶ RQ4: What relationship, if any, is present between organizational identification, identification types, and Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy attitudes? RQ4a: What role does organizational identification play in the policy knowledge construction process?

familiarity, and members with high levels of organizational identification were more likely to believe that their organization would ethically implement GDIPs.

Research questions 2 and 2a asked: *How and with whom do members of tech organizations communicate about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (e.g., development, implementation, enactment, information), both intra- and extra-organizationally?* and *What resources do organizational members use to obtain or enhance policy knowledge?* Results from the interview and survey data demonstrated that participants were more likely to discuss Gender Diversity and Inclusion as a social issue with coworkers, friends, family members, and professional networks than actual organizational policies. Moreover, when participants did discuss organizational policies it was typically within formal organizational training contexts; supervisor-subordinate conversations about GDIPs were uncommon and typically pertained to disclosures of experiences with discrimination rather than organizational policy. When participants wanted information about GDIPs, whether at the organizational, state, or federal level, they reported turning to HR resources (e.g., training materials, HR representatives, online policy databases), federal policy databases, knowledgeable friends, and professional networks.

Research question three investigated the role of contradictions in policy knowledge construction: *What contradictions, if any, are present in the policy knowledge construction process?* The data suggest that structural contradictions (e.g., dominant discourses) and system contradictions (e.g., contradictions inherent to an activity system) play a large role in participants' sense of agency (i.e., whether they can successfully enact policies). While structural contradictions pertained to tensions in perceptions of human nature and the meaning of t/Truth, human resources' role as a servant to both organizational and employee needs acted as a system contradiction.

These results have several specific theoretical implications. First, this study introduces identification as an important element of the policy knowledge construction process and highlights its relationship with policy familiarity and trust in organizational action (i.e., policy implementation). Second, this study contributes to knowledge about structural and system-level contradictions, and positions employees' perceptions of agency (i.e., their ability to enact policy) as a product of contradictory forces within the policy knowledge construction process. Third, this dissertation introduces power as inherent to the policy knowledge construction, thus extending structuring activity theory. In the next section, I discuss these theoretical contributions; next, I present and explain this project's methodological and pragmatic contributions. I then review the dissertation's limitations and areas for future study.

Theoretical Contributions

Identification and Policy Knowledge Construction

When this project was initially designed, I posited that organizational identification could act as an influence on participants' attitudes toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies and as an outcome of organizational implementation of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (i.e., how policy texts are written and enforced). Indeed, identification and organizational identity strength were closely associated with perception of policy implementation, and policy familiarity, which was a strong predictor of policy support. Moreover, an individual's need for organizational identification was associated with experience with and observations of poor organizational responses to reported gender-based discrimination.

Identification and Perceptions of Policy Implementation

Participants with high levels of organizational identification were most likely to believe that their organization would take action and implement policy in cases of gender-based discrimination without ever having witnessed or heard of cases in which their organization had implemented GDIPs; their belief was largely based on good faith. Though this finding is consistent with literature that demonstrates that employees with high levels of identification are likely to ignore organizational wrongdoing (Ashforth et al., 2008), it is among the first to demonstrate that organizational identification influences organizational members' perceptions of policy implementation. While participants who believed that their organization would take action were identified with their organizations, I cannot say that a causal relationship exists between these two constructs. Although identification likely played a large role in participants' perceptions of policy implementation, these participants were typically cis-het³⁷ white men and women who had never experienced discrimination along other axes of oppression (i.e., discrimination based on race, sexual orientation, non-normative gender identity). Further, some high-faith participants had relatively little organizational experience and had never witnessed or experienced gender-based discrimination. Thus, their belief in organizational action could be rooted in inexperience.

Identification and Policy Familiarity

At this study's inception, I anticipated that identification would be heavily tied to policy support. As discussed in Chapter Two, highly identification employees may resist organizational change (e.g., new policy implementation) if they feel the policies contradict deeply held organizational values (e.g., profit or perish), or, on the other hand, they may quickly adopt new

³⁷ Cis-Het is used to describe someone whose gender identity matches the sex they were born as and who is attracted to members of the opposite sex (i.e., heterosexual)

policies if they believe they are in the best interest of the organization (Ashforth et al., 2008). Thus, I expected that participants would support or reject GDIPs based on their identification with their organizations' values. Although survey data indicated a significant positive correlation between policy support and all organizational identification types except need for organizational identification, interview data suggested that the more salient relationship was between organizational identification and policy familiarity, a predictor of policy support. Within this study, participants' support (or lack thereof) of GDIPs was more closely aligned with their personal experiences with and observations of gender-based discrimination, orientations toward sexism, and perceptions of policy abuse. Conversely, interview and survey participants who reported strong organizational identities and identification with their organization often reported being or were very familiar with their organizations' Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. While this is somewhat excepted as previous literature on identification and organizational knowledge has demonstrated that identification is associated with information sharing – which could include policy information (Ashforth et al., 2008) – what is interesting is the relationship between need for identification and policy familiarity. While organizational identification pertains to an employee's sense of oneness with their organization and its values, need for organizational identification corresponds to an employee's desire for said sense of organizational belonging. Whereas one might expect someone with a strong sense of identification or need for identification to seek out areas of connection (e.g., look up organizational policies that correspond with personal interests or values), this study indicated that participants with low need for organizational identification were most familiar with GDIPs. Participants with low need for organizational identification were very familiar with their organizations' Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. Participants with low need for identification were typically neutrally identified with their organization, but were

very knowledgeable about their organization's policies, and often about policies within the larger policyscape (e.g., state and federal policies). Participants' low need for identification could be tied to their experiences with and observations of poor organizational responses to cases of gender-based discrimination.

Identification and Organizational Responses to Gender-Based Discrimination

Participants who had experienced or witnessed organizational mishandlings of gender-based discrimination often reported a low need for organizational identification. These participants often distrusted organizations, particularly Human Resources departments, and did not believe that the organizations would implement Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies if they experienced discrimination. Rather than seek employment at an organization that they felt they could identify with, participants who had witnessed or experienced sexism and discrimination throughout their careers chose to distance themselves from *all* organizations, believing it was better to find fulfillment and connection outside of the workplace. While these participants' low need for identification could be explained by research demonstrating that silencing (e.g., creating environments in which womxn feel they can't report or talk about their experiences with sexism) acts as a barrier to organizational identification (Ward & Winstanley, 2003), when taken into consideration with the previous finding about policy familiarity an alternate explanation emerges. As mentioned, participants with low need for identification were also typically knowledgeable about their organizations' policies. The results from this study indicated that participants with repeated experiences with or observations of poor organizational responses to gender-based discrimination were likely to educate themselves about organizational, state, and federal Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies as a means of protection. Rather than trust an organization to act

in their best interest, participants with low need for identification saw themselves as their own best advocates.

The results from this dissertation study suggest that organizational identity and identification are intertwined with experiences with and observations of gender-based discrimination and policy familiarity, and fundamental to interpreting (i.e., constructing knowledge about) policy implementation and enactment. For members of tech organizations with little experience with or observations of gender-based discrimination, identification strength plays a large role in their interpretation of policy implementation (i.e., whether the organization will take action). As sexism in tech is largely invisible and often ambiguous (see contradictions below), when organizational members, relying on their sense of identification, assume that their organization will do the right thing and implement GDIPs, they further silence and marginalize the experiences of their colleagues who have endured workplace gender-based discrimination. On the other hand, observations of and experiences with poor organizational responses to gender-based discrimination (i.e., bad implementation) shape more experienced members of tech organizations' need for identification and desire for policy information (i.e., policy familiarity). While contextualized to the tech industry, these results indicate that scholars should consider examining the role of identification in future studies of policy knowledge construction.

Contradictions and Policy Knowledge Construction

This study identified two new major structural contradictions and one primary system level contradiction in participants' constructions of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge. First, The Myth of Good People addressed how perceptions of human nature (i.e., whether people are inherently beneficent or barbarous) affect organizational approaches to Gender Diversity and Inclusion (i.e., hiring 'good' people or instituting strict policies) members' opinions about the need

for Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies and thoughts about what needs to be done to increase diversity and inclusion (i.e., get rid of jerks or bolster policies). Through this contradiction participants constructed knowledge about whether GDIPs were effective; many believed that organizational beliefs in ‘good’ people inhibited policy development and the creation of diverse and inclusive workspaces.

The next contradiction (The Policy Exists but You Can’t Prove the Problem is ‘Real’) investigated how ontological and epistemological perspectives of truth and knowing act to complicate policy enactment. This contradiction manifested as tension between organizations’ definitions and requirements for proof of sexism and participants’ experiences and interpretations of sexism. Essentially, organizations’ requirements for demonstrating Truth, were oppositional to participants’ experiences of truth. Through this contradiction participants constructed knowledge about their ability to successfully enact GDIPs. Many determined that because they could not *prove* their experiences according to organizational standards for Truth, reporting gender-based discrimination was futile.

Finally, the last contradiction highlighted perceived tensions in the role of HR. Participants described HR as having conflicting loyalties – they were bound to protect the organization from risk and serve employees whose need for GDIP implementation might put the organization at risk. Through this contradiction participants constructed knowledge about their ability to rely on HR as a resource, their ability to enact policies, and the likelihood of organizational policy implementation. For many participants, particularly those with histories of bad HR experiences, this contradiction resulted in a general distrust and suspicion of HR.

While all important in their own rights, the effect of contradictions on perceptions of policy-related agency, or participants’ perceived ability to enact policies, is particularly

noteworthy. Specifically, I posit that contradictory forces within the policy knowledge construction process act to construct employees' senses of agency (i.e., their ability to enact policy), ultimately hindering organizational change (i.e., the creation of more diverse, inclusive, and equitable work environments).

Contradictions and Perceptions of Agency

Of the three contradictions explicated in this study, 'The Policy Exists but You Can't Prove the Problem is Real' most illustrates how members of tech organizations construct knowledge of policy agency, or, their ability to enact a policy, through structural contradictions.

Throughout this study participants articulated the need for data-driven evidence to prove sexism/discrimination and spur organizational action (i.e., policy implementation). While perhaps not immediately problematic, organizational definitions and requirements of proof emerged as inherently contradictory to participants' lived experiences of gender-based discrimination. Essentially, participants' and organizations' perceptions of t/Truth were in tension. Whereas organizations maintained an objectivist perspective of truth (i.e., Truth) that positioned sexism as either existent or nonexistent, participants' experiences aligned with more subjectivist orientations toward truth (i.e., truth) that positioned sexism as grey and murky and allowed for multiple truths or interpretations of events.

Where ontological differences become particularly problematic is in their implications for ways of knowing (i.e., how sexism is identified). Objectivist orientations toward truth subscribe to data-driven ways of knowing; if a definite answer to something exists, it can be found through observation and documentation. Subjectivist orientations to truth, on the other hand, privilege interpretation, sensemaking, intuition, and the like as ways of knowing. Indeed, participants reported that organizations required hard, data-driven evidence of sexism or discrimination before

even considering implementing Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. Unfortunately, participants' lived experiences framed most cases of sexism as something identified through *feeling* and shared cultural knowledge. While some types of sexism are easily documentable (e.g., explicitly sexual touching in a public place with multiple witnesses), the womxn in this study defined sexism as predominantly something they know in their *gut*, that they identify through shared knowledge, lived experiences, a sense of *knowing*. Organizational definitions of proof and evidence rooted in their orientations toward truth and knowing, then, are ultimately diametrically opposed to womxn' experiences and understanding of sexism. Without documentable evidence, however, womxn's experiences are pejoratively deemed 'feelings' (i.e., not rational) by the organization, thus (re)producing organizational discourses and structures that admonish emotion (i.e., feelings) and feminine behaviors (i.e., irrationality) in the workplace.

Contradictory perceptions of truth and resultant ways of knowing create situations in which womxn cannot prove what they are experiencing. Feeling defeated, resigned, and frustrated by the contradictions, womxn choose to stay silent and not report instance of gender-based discrimination. Moreover, womxn, through no fault of their own, begin to contribute to their oppression by silencing themselves and dismissing their *knowing* as crazy or irrational, further perpetuating rejections of feeling as knowledge and pejorative stereotypes of women. Through tensions in t/Truth and knowing, womxn in tech organizations come to question their ability to enact Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies and become less likely to report instances of gender-based discrimination. This dissertation demonstrates the foundational role structural contradictions play in the policy knowledge construction process. Through contradictions members of tech organization make sense of their ability to enact Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.

Specifically, this study demonstrates that when womxn feel as though it is impossible to *prove* what they *feel* is happening, policy enactment is stifled as perceptions of agency are diminished.

This study was set in the technology industry yet as Canary (2010b) noted, while structural contradictions may manifest in particular ways in various contexts, they are “not unique to any particular organization or system” (p. 187). As scholars interrogate policy knowledge construction in other contexts, they should be mindful of the ways in which structural contradictions, particularly those not typically investigated (i.e., metatheoretical contradictions) enable, constrain, and produce policy knowledge.

Power and Policy Knowledge Construction

As noted in Chapter Three, research using structuring activity as a guiding theory rarely examines power as an inherent part of the policy knowledge construction process; instead, power is discussed as an emergent phenomenon. In this project, power is characterized as mechanism through which reality is constructed; it is defined as inherent to society, and both underlying the production of knowledge and (re)produced in the construction of knowledge (Foucault, 1991). This dissertation extends policy knowledge construction research, particularly structuring activity theory, by examining how power produces and is produced by policy knowledge as organizational members in intersecting activity systems interact to create meaning. The results of this dissertation demonstrate how policy knowledge is constructed through power imbalances and simultaneously acts to reify those imbalances; results suggest that in future studies scholars should be cognizant of the constitutive nature of power, as well as the way power is (re)produced in the policy knowledge construction process.

Structuring activity theory (SAT) examines how members of activity systems draw on social structures to inform their interpretations and actions (Canary, 2010a). Canary (2010a)

explained that policy knowledge construction is both enabled and constrained by structural features (e.g., social structures) and has the potential to (re)produce social structures or transform them. While Canary (2010b) argued that too often the policy knowledge construction process is treated as value or power free and called researchers to investigate the effect of structural elements on policy knowledge construction, SAT research often treats structural elements as forces that disrupt or act upon a neutral process. This dissertation diverges from Canary's structuring activity theory in its conceptualizations of structure and power. Within this project, structures are not just resources that actors call upon to inform action. As guidelines for thought and action (i.e., mechanisms of control), social structures *are power made manifest*. Moreover, structures do not act to disrupt or aid neutral processes of construction. Rather, it is through structures that reality and knowledge are constructed (see Putnam, 2013). Thus, if knowledge is created through structures, and structures are power, then policy knowledge is created through, rather than acted upon by, power.

While perhaps a subtle shift, conceptualizing structure (i.e., power) as constitutive of policy knowledge, and power as inherent to society (i.e., present in all interactions), structuring activity theory, and thus research using SAT as a guiding framework or analytical tool, can better interrogate and recognize the political nature of policy knowledge. In other words, by recognizing policy knowledge as a product of power, researchers are forced to give up all notions of policy knowledge as value-free³⁸ and acknowledge the ways in which policy knowledge (re)constructs power and disparity. This recognition of knowledge product of power is particularly important in studies of policies meant to diminish disparity and create more equitable environments for

³⁸ Here, I am not saying that all researchers who use SAT believe that policy knowledge is free of power. However, without explicit recognition of the power dynamics involved in knowledge construction, some may inadvertently treat policy knowledge construction as a neutral process in which power happened to emerge.

marginalized folks. Further, understanding how policy knowledge is created through power allows scholars to more conscientiously move away from text-centered approaches to policy knowledge that ask how a policy's text is scaled up or transformed to create organizational knowledge, and instead investigate how policy knowledge may be constructed with little to no knowledge of the actual text.

Indeed, the results of this dissertation demonstrated how for members of tech organizations, policy knowledge construction, while occasionally informed by policy text, was primarily grounded in interpretations of experiences and interactions with others. As explained in the previous section, while some participants in this study were aware of their organizations' policy texts, most predominantly drew on their identities, experiences, interactions, and social structures to construct policy knowledge. As participants worked to make sense of their ability to enact policy and determine whether their organization would implement policies and act in their best interests, they did so through dominant social structures that shaped their perceptions of reality and resultant policy knowledge. No matter the context of the interaction, participants' construction processes never occurred apart from power; power was present in every interaction and internal sensemaking process as social structures acted to guide and inform thoughts and actions. By positioning power as constitutive of policy knowledge this dissertation was able to examine how members of tech organizations constructed Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge *through* social structures related to perspectives of human nature and the meaning of t/Truth, rather than how these (contradictory) structures disrupted otherwise neutral, value-free knowledge construction processes.

Moreover, the results of this dissertation demonstrate how the policy knowledge participants produced through social structures (i.e., power) reified the structures subjugating them

(i.e., power imbalances). As participants worked to make sense of their agency (i.e., ability to enact policies), many found themselves adopting the very discourses that were limiting their agency (e.g., participating in their subjugation by requiring other women to ‘prove’ sexism, asking if their interpretations of events were “crazy”). While studies using structuring activity theory have demonstrated how the policy knowledge construction process can reproduce social structures and contradictions (e.g., Canary, 2010b), I am arguing that policy knowledge construction *always* (re)produces power. As researchers study policy knowledge construction, it is vital that they ask how the knowledge constructed perpetuates or transforms power. Power need not be negative (Foucault, 1980; 1991). Indeed, power can be used to effect positive organizational change (i.e., the creation of more equitable work environments). Power, must, however, be acknowledged as constitutive of knowledge if we as scholars are to understand how to create more equitable workplaces through Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.

The Interplay of Contradictions, Power, and People

While the previous sections have explored findings and contributions of various aspects of structuring activity theory, it is important to recall that individuals, activity systems, contradictions, and power work together in a complex process of knowledge construction. Though discussed separately throughout this dissertation, these elements are interdependent and overlap. To fully grasp barriers to policy implementation and enactment, we must look at the process as a whole. Within the technology industry, we can see how structural contradictions manifest at the system level as they are enacted by individuals in activity systems (re)producing power and creating barriers to policy implementation and enactment.

In ‘The Myth of Good People’ organizations were described as believing that good people do good things, and thus, that strict Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are not necessary.

Moreover, this perception of human nature led many to believe that simply hiring ‘good people’ and removing “jerks” would solve issues of Gender Diversity and Inclusion. This tension manifested in the technology industry as members of tech organizations acted in activity systems to create – or rather not create – Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy texts and policy knowledge and interpret the actions of others, thus restricting policy implementation and enactment.

The second structural contradiction related to perceptions of t/Truth and ways of knowing. Briefly, this contradiction addressed the tension between organizational requirements for proof of sexism (i.e., objective evidence) and participants’ experience of sexism as rooted in subjective ways of knowing. Barriers to Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy implementation and enactment were created by organizations in the technology industry as members interacted within and across activity systems, drawing on dominant social structures (i.e., conceptualizations of t/Truth) to create knowledge about what counts as proof of sexism. In these interactions members (re)produced power imbalances which privileged one type of knowledge (i.e., objective) over another (i.e., subjective), further silencing marginalized individuals who could not provide the right type of “proof.”

The dis- and mis-trust of Human Resources described in the previous sections and chapters as a system-level contradiction is rooted in organizational members’ (re)productions of the aforementioned structural contradictions. Differences in conceptualizations of t/Truth led members of tech organizations, particularly those in vulnerable positions, to believe that without a specific type of evidence Human Resources departments would not act to protect womxn from the discrimination they were experiencing. This led to the perception that HR representatives had conflicting interests as they were to both protect the organization from risk (i.e., avoid liability by insisting on ironclad proof of sexism) and act as advocates for employees experiencing work-

related gender-based discrimination. Indeed, many participants spoke of “useless” advice they received from HR professionals when they reported ‘subjective’ experiences with sexism at work. These interactions, rooted in dominant conceptualizations of t/Truth, led participants to view HR as useless, ineffective resources in cases of gender-based discrimination; participants trusted HR only to act in the best interest of the organization.

Further complicating policy implementation and enactment and members’ orientations toward Human Resources was the tech industry’s perception of human nature (i.e., The Myth of Good People). Whereas contradictions surrounding t/Truth led participants to question their ability to meet organizational requirements of proof, organizational perceptions of human nature impacted the creation of effective policies and interpretations of behavior. Through this structural contradiction organizational members created knowledge about what policies were needed and how strong those policies needed to be to create diverse and inclusive work environments. Drawing on perceptions of humans as naturally beneficent, technology organizations – especially startup organizations – are prone to creating broad “no jerks” policies that are so vaguely subjective (i.e., they fail to define what exactly a jerk is and what they do) that they conflict with organizational standards for proof of sexism, and are thus difficult to enforce.

Despite lauding objectivism, the technology industry’s notion of “good people” relies wholly on subjective arguments and perceptions of who is good and what a good person looks like. Enactments of this structural contradiction have the potential to (re)produce discriminatory perceptions of “good people” as organizational members interact to determine who “good” people are (e.g., people like them) and who they are not (e.g., anyone ‘other’).

The technology industry’s perceptions of human nature as determined subjectively is in direct contradiction with their perception of Truth as objective and resultant need for hard proof

of sexism. Through this meta-contradiction (i.e., a contradiction between the structural contradictions creating policy knowledge) tech organizations (re)produce power dynamics in which they control interpretations of who is capable of being sexist and how sexism can be proved. When a “good person” commits a sexist or discriminatory action, objective evidence is then examined through a subjective lens and interpreted through a perception of that person’s goodness. When organizations believe that only bad people or “jerks” behave badly, alternate explanations of hard evidence must exist for “good people” who are accused of sexism. As a result, members of organizations lose faith in the organization’s willingness to implement Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies and take action against gender-based discrimination. In other words, through structural contradictions in t/Truth and human nature, members of organizations not only determine whether GDIPs are necessary and how strong such policies should be, they determine who is capable of engaging in sexist or discriminatory behaviors.

Believing themselves to be good, members determine that those who are like them, who they are friends with, who are also good people, are above reproach no matter their actions. Good people are not sexist; an alternate explanation must exist. Thus, organizational members – drawing from inter- and intra-contradictory perceptions of human nature and t/Truth – construct near paradoxical policies and cultures that require womxn to provide objective evidence of subjective experiences for subjective evaluation by the organization. These impossible standards, created by members of organizations working through oppositional structural contradictions, lead womxn to grow frustrated with Human Resources and begin to expect and accept organizational inaction in cases of gender-based discrimination; thus, reifying power dynamics that silence the oppressed.

This dissertation demonstrates how organizational members (re)create power imbalances and systems of oppression as they interactively construct policy knowledge through inter- and

intra-contradictory social structures. Through this process, barriers to policy implementation and enactment are (re)created at system and structural levels. Although each structural contradiction provides unique insight into the ways in which policy knowledge constructs and is constructed by power, social structures do not exist in isolation from one another. To understand barriers to policy implementation and enactment, scholars must examine how organizational members working in activity systems draw on multiple and possibly competing structures to create knowledge and norms at the system level.

Practical Contributions

This study also offers practical implications for organizations in the technology industry. First, results indicate that employees need more information and training about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. Disinterested in sterile, outdated online training modules, participants indicated that training should be interesting, connected to current social contexts (e.g., the #MeToo movement), intersectional (i.e., address overlapping identities and interactions), and demonstrate an authentic effort to increase an inclusive environment. Beyond informational training, employees of tech organizations need to perceive the organization as genuinely caring about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. Participants suggested that organizational leaders: 1) make Gender Diversity and Inclusion mandatory for all employees, 2) structure meetings such that attendance and productivity are not in conflict, 3) show up to training themselves. While participants were appreciative of Gender Diversity and Inclusion related meetings and programs, with nonmandatory attendance participants felt as though only people already interested were attending, rather than those who might need to attend most. Further, participants often felt like meetings conflicted with organizational expectations for productivity, preventing attendance. Finally, participants suggested that by attending the meetings themselves, organizational leaders would make it clear

to all employees that issues of Gender Diversity and Inclusion were of importance to the organization, thus encouraging attendance for all employees.

In addition to increased training, results suggest that tech organizations must take a hard look at their human resources departments and ensure that they are 1) trustworthy, 2) knowledgeable about the organization's policies and equipped to recognize and assist in cases of discrimination, and 3) properly balancing the needs of the organization and employee. Too many participants reported an inherent distrust of human resources. Many had heard stories of HR representatives violating confidentiality, proving 'useless' suggestions for action, and outright refusing to implement policy in order to protect talent. As the results from this study demonstrate, employees who perceive HR as a threat or incompetent may grow frustrated, believing that they cannot enact policies, thus constraining organizational progress. Thus, organizations that want to foster diverse and inclusive environments must ensure that their human resources departments are advocating not only for the best interest of the organization, but for the interests of the marginalized.

Methodological Contributions

In addition to theoretical contributions, this study has methodological implications for future studies of policy knowledge construction. First, this study provides a new tool for measuring Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy attitude. Second, this project supports the need for intersectional work in policy knowledge construction. Third, this dissertation work contributes to the growing body of mixed methods organizational communication scholarship.

Gender Diversity & Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale

This dissertation project built from Canary et al.'s (2013) policy communication index to construct a new methodological tool for assessing and understanding employees' perceptions of and attitudes toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. While previous policy attitude measures only addressed one dimension (i.e., policy support), the GDIPAS measures policy attitude across five dimensions: perception of policy abuse, policy support, policy familiarity, perception of industry gender inequity, and perception of organizational gender diversity³⁹.

While the measure as presented in this study addresses Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies, the measure was designed to be adaptable other policies and contexts. Adopting or adapting this measure will give scholars and practitioners a more nuanced understanding of not only if employees support a policy, but also their perceptions of policy fairness, relevance, and knowledge.

Intersectional approaches to Policy Knowledge Construction

As Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are (theoretically) designed to give persons in marginalized positions protection and create more equitable workplaces, it is vital to understand how those most affected by these policies construct knowledge about them. Intersectional approaches to policy knowledge construction research allow us to understand how those meant to be served by these policies are interpreting, engaging, and struggling with them. The findings of this dissertation support the need for more explicitly intersectional work in policy knowledge construction, and organizational communication scholarship more broadly.

³⁹ I would like to acknowledge and thank Dr. Vernon Miller and Dr. Bart Collins for their guidance and feedback throughout the development of this scale.

Intersectionality was a cornerstone of this study – both in the methodological choices and in participants’ policy knowledge construction processes. In alignment with standpoint and intersectional feminisms (e.g., Collins, 1990; Wood, 2009) I made the decision to foreground womxn’s experiences with and interpretations of policy during analysis. Placing womxn as the locus of analysis allowed different findings to emerge than are typical. While extant research and popular press articles, as well as the men in this study, typically cite numbers-based or pipeline approaches to diversity, or tensions surrounding meritocracy, womxn in this project articulated tensions related to truth and what it means to *know* something is sexist.

As stated in Chapter Three, intersectional feminism calls scholars keep individual experience in conversation with social structures (Olesen, 2011, p. 134) to better understand the ways in which inequity is (re)produced. By examining the intersections of identity, personal experience, structural contradictions this dissertation answers interactional feminism’s call and provides insight into the ways gender disparity is (re)produced in the policy knowledge construction process. Throughout our conversations, participants explicitly called on their intersectional identities, as well as intersectionality as a concept, to explain their personal experiences with or lack of experiences with workplace gender-based discrimination. Further, participants explicated how their identities shaped their interpretations of interactions and Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies. Finally, participants articulated the importance of intersectionality in policy development. In particular, Sophie called attention to an issue with Gender Diversity and Inclusion that would not have been present in this study without their unique voice and perspective as a female-presenting, non-binary person. They said, “[Organization’s leaders will] use language like ‘something, something, this is why you need to amplify women.’ It makes me feel a certain kind of way where I’m like, I don’t disagree, but then if we are just

viewing gender in terms of these binaries, where do I fit exactly?” As a non-binary person, Sophie was uncomfortable with binary discussions of Gender Diversity and Inclusion. While they wholeheartedly supported policies meant to increase the status of women, they felt that the organizational discourse surrounding Gender Diversity and Inclusion was exclusionary of their experiences and needs. Sophie’s perspective not only highlights the importance of conducting intersectional research in which the experiences and perceptions of the marginalized are foregrounded, but also highlights a limitation of this study which is discussed in a subsequent section.

Mixed Methods Research in Organizational Communication

As a final methodological contribution, this study adds to the growing body of mixed methods research in organizational communication. More specifically, this project extends mixed methods research conducted from critical and feminist paradigmatic standpoints. As discussed in Chapter Three, Myers (2014) noted that mixed methods designs are least commonly used in critical and feminist organizational communication scholarship, but that mixed methods designs could highlight not only individuals’ lived experiences of oppression (e.g., gender-based discrimination), but also “identify relationships among constructs that are important sources of power and domination” (Myers, 2014, p. 314). Indeed, the results from this dissertation support the value of mixed methods research from critical and feminist perspectives, as the qualitative data were able to elucidate participants’ lived experiences of gender-based discrimination (i.e., a source of oppression) and the survey data were able to uncover the role of sexism and identification (i.e., constructs that aid in oppression) in policy familiarity and support.

Limitations and Future Directions

While this study makes several valuable contributions, it also has its limitations. First, this study relies on data collected from participants across a variety of organizations. While the data provide insight into how members of tech organizations construct policy knowledge, without organizational access a deep investigation of how members of organizations construct knowledge about policies within a specific context is not possible. Several attempts were made to gain organizational access, but time constraints necessitated that I collect data online and interview participants across multiple organizations. Future research would benefit from a contextualized interrogation of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy knowledge construction in a particular tech-based organization.

Second, while online data were thoroughly screened according to the inclusion criteria and for integrity, it is always possible that a participant lied about their responses in order to gain access to the survey⁴⁰. Third, interview participants were few and self-selected into the study. Although I was only able to collect 10 interviews, Bernard (2011) argues that only 10-20 participants are needed to reach saturation. Through the interviews I collected I was able to construct several meaningful themes. However, the participants who self-selected into the interviews were already deeply interested in and supportive of topics of Gender Diversity and Inclusion. While the survey data bolstered the interview data by providing a space for (many) dissenting opinions, more interview data needs to be collected to understand the ways in which members of tech organizations with various orientations toward Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies make sense of and construct knowledge about GDIPs.

⁴⁰ Sheehan (2017, p. 148) notes that “faithless respondents,” or individuals who lie to participate in online surveys, can “appear in any online research study where the research is not present when collecting the data.” All online research must safeguard against this limitation.

Further, this study is limited by its primarily binary approach to Gender Diversity and Inclusion. As noted earlier, conversations of Gender Diversity and Inclusion are becoming more intersectional but are often still centered around binary conceptualizations of gender (i.e., definitions of gender that include only men and women). This dissertation addresses intersectional experiences, but still predominantly characterizes issues of Gender Diversity and Inclusion as occurring in a binary, largely as a reflection of participants' treatment and experience of gender. Nevertheless, more work is needed to ensure that scholarship and policies addressing gender aren't further excluding already marginalized folks. Instead, work on Gender Diversity and Inclusion needs to move beyond binary conceptualizations of gender and beyond women's experiences to include a spectrum of gendered experiences.

Again, this study was limited by a methodological error that excluded organizational identification from the final online survey. While the remaining data provided substantial insight into the relationships between organizational identity/identification types and the GDIPAS dimensions, the picture is incomplete. Future research should be done to further assess and confirm these relationships, including organizational identification.

Moreover, additional research should be conducted to test a model of policy support. The data in this dissertation indicated that old-fashioned and modern sexism, identification variables, policy communication variables, and the four GDIPAS variables reliably predict nearly 60% of the variance of policy support. While insightful, a model path analysis is necessary to further investigate and confirm a quantitative model that could be used to reliably predict policy support.

Conclusion

This dissertation sought to understand how members of organizations in the technology sector construct knowledge about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies through their personal

experiences, attitudes, and beliefs, and interactions with others, both intra- and extra-organizationally. This study has demonstrated the importance of intersectional identities, orientations toward sexism, personal experiences with and observations of sexism, as well as intra-organizational interactions in the policy knowledge construction process, especially in the construction of policy enactment knowledge. Further, this study introduced identification as an important element of policy knowledge construction and identified structural- and systems-level contradictions that act to inform policy knowledge.

Gender Diversity and Inclusion efforts in the technology sector must improve if tech-based organizations are going to become hospitable environments womxn. As scholars and practitioners act to make organizations more inclusive, this study indicates that they should consider the tensions acting to constrain policy enactment and foreground intersectionality. Without knowledge from those in the most vulnerable positions (i.e., those who need the policies) and consideration of the contradictions through which policy knowledge about policy meaning (e.g., enactment, implementation) is constructed, Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy initiatives will continue to fail.

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APPENDIX A

Phase One Study One Measures and Items

A.1 Initial GDIPAS Items

- 5.2 Employees at my organizations know how to utilize Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
- 5.3 Employees at my organization know what to do if they experience discrimination or harassment based on their gender
- 5.4 I know what to do if I am discriminated or harassed based on my gender
- 5.5 I am familiar with my organization's Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
- 6.2 My organization needs Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies to protect women
- 6.3 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are important to ensuring equality in the workforce
- 6.4 Discrimination against women is a national problem
- 6.5 All organizations should have policies that protect women
- 6.6 Women should be considered minorities in the workforce
- 6.7 Women should be considered minorities in my organization
- 6.8 Gender inequality is no longer a problem in the workforce (R)
- 6.9 My organization is diverse
- 6.10 Gender inequality is not a problem in my organization
- 6.11 My organization's management is diverse
- 6.12 Discrimination against women in the workforce is largely a myth (R)
- 6.13 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are unfair to some organizational members
- 6.14 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies unfairly help some employees in my organization more than others
- 6.15 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies give some organizational members an unfair advantage
- 6.16 I feel disadvantaged by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in my organization
- 6.17 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies hurt people like me
- 6.18 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies let unqualified employees get ahead
- 6.19 Women abuse Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies to get ahead
- 6.20 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies do more harm than good
- 6.21 Employees can easily abuse Gender Diversity and inclusion policies
- 6.22 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are easily abused
- 6.23 Women often mistake harmless jokes for discrimination or harassment
- 6.24 Organizational leaders are often too quick to side with people who claim they've been discriminated against
- 6.25 Employees often ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies that they do not need
- 6.26 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies help people like me (R)
- 6.27 My organization cares about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
- 6.28 Management at my organization would take action if Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies were violated

- 6.29 Employees at my organization feel comfortable utilizing Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
- 6.30 My organization will take appropriate action if I claim I am discriminated against based on my gender
- 6.31 Everyone in my organization benefits from Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
- 6.32 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies help employees in my organization achieve their goals
- 6.33 Employees in my organization are effectively protected by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
- 6.34 Employees in my organization worry using Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies will get them in trouble (R)
- 6.35 My co-workers would support me if I chose to ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy
- 6.36 I would support a co-worker who chose to ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
- 6.37 I support Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies for all organizations
- 6.38 I support Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in my organization
- 6.39 I would work somewhere without Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (R)
- 6.40 My organization should remove Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (R)
- 6.41 I would leave if my organization removed its Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies

A.2 Old-Fashioned & Modern Sexism Scale (Swim et al., 1995)

Old-Fashioned Sexism

- 1. Women are generally not as smart as men
- 2. I would be equally comfortable having a woman as a boss as a man (R)
- 3. It is more important to encourage boys than to encourage girls to participate in athletics
- 4. Women are just as capable of thinking logically as men (R)
- 5. When both parents are employed and their child gets sick at school, the school should call the mother rather than the father

Modern Sexism

- 1. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States
- 2. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination (R)
- 3. It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television
- 4. On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally
- 5. Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement
- 6. It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in America (R)
- 7. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities (R)
- 8. Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences

A.3. Policy Attitude Measure (Canary et al., 2013)

1. I think [policy name] information is important
2. [Policy name] is a bad policy in general (R)
3. [Policy name] is difficult to use in my company (R)
4. [Policy name] is easy to use in my company
5. [Policy name] is a good policy to have in place
6. I am hesitant to talk about [policy name] at work (R)
7. Messages about [policy name] are not consistent in the company (R)

APPENDIX B

Phase One Study Two Measures and Items

B.1 GDIPAS with Additional and Edited Items

(New items are italicized; edited items are marked with an asterisk). Factor names are consistent with Study 1 and do not represent the final factor titles.

Factor 1: Perceptions of Policy Fairness & Abuse

- 6.9 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are unfair to some organizational members
- 6.10 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies unfairly help some employees in my organization more than others
- 6.11 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies give some organizational members an unfair advantage
- 6.12 I feel disadvantaged by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in my organization
- 6.13 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies hurt people like me
- 6.14 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies let unqualified employees get ahead
- 6.15 Women abuse Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies to get ahead
- 6.16 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are easily abused
- 6.17 Women often mistake harmless jokes for discrimination or harassment
- 6.18 Organizational leaders are often too quick to side with people who claim they've been discriminated against
- 6.19 Employees often ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies that they do not need

Factor 2: Policy Familiarity

- 5.2 Employees at my organizations know how to utilize Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
- 5.3 Employees at my organization know what to do if they experience discrimination or harassment based on their gender
- 5.4 I know what to do if I am discriminated or harassed based on my gender
- 5.5 I am familiar with my organization's Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies

Factor 3: Perceptions of Gender Representation

- 6.4 Women should be considered minorities in the workforce
- 6.5 Women should be considered minorities in my organization
- 6.23 *There are fewer women than men working in my industry*
- 6.24 *There are fewer women than men working in my organization*
- 6.25 *Women are underrepresented in my organization*

- 6.26 *Women are underrepresented in my industry*
- 6.27 *Men often receive more respect than women in my organization*
- 6.28 *Men often receive more respect than women in the workforce*
- 6.29 *Women have fewer opportunities for advancement in my organization than men*
- 6.30 *Women have fewer opportunities for advancement in the workforce than men*
- 6.31 *Men generally have more authority in my organization than women*
- 6.32 *Men generally have more authority in the workforce than women*

Factor 4: Support for Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policies

- 6.2 Discrimination against women is a national problem
- 6.3 All organizations should have policies that protect women
- 6.20 I would support a co-worker who chose to ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
- 6.21 I support Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies for all organizations
- 6.22 I support Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in my organization

Factor 5: Perceptions of Organizational Equity

- 6.6 In terms of gender, my organization is diverse*
- 6.7 Gender inequality is not a problem in my organization
- 6.8 In terms of gender, my organization's management is diverse*
- 6.33 *In my organization, there are just as many women in managerial roles as men*
- 6.34 *The needs of women and men are equally represented in my organization*

B.2 M-C 10(1) Social Desirability Scale (Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972)

- 1. I am always willing to admit when I make a mistake
- 2. I always try to practice what I preach
- 3. I never resent being asked to return a favor
- 4. I never have been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own
- 5. I have never deliberately said something to hurt someone's feelings
- 6. I like to gossip at times (R)
- 7. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone (R)
- 8. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget (R)
- 9. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way (R)
- 10. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things (R)

APPENDIX C

Phase One: Items Removed from the GDIPAS in Study One

- 6.2 My organization needs Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies to protect women
- 6.3 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are important to ensuring equality in the workforce
- 6.8 Gender inequality is no longer a problem in the workforce (R)
- 6.12 Discrimination against women in the workforce is largely a myth (R)
- 6.20 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies do more harm than good
- 6.21 Employees can easily abuse Gender Diversity and inclusion policies
- 6.26 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies help people like me (R)
- 6.27 My organization cares about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
- 6.28 Management at my organization would take action if Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies were violated
- 6.29 Employees at my organization feel comfortable utilizing Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
- 6.30 My organization will take appropriate action if I claim I am discriminated against based on my gender
- 6.31 Everyone in my organization benefits from Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
- 6.32 Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies help employees in my organization achieve their goals
- 6.33 Employees in my organization are effectively protected by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
- 6.34 Employees in my organization worry using Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies will get them in trouble (R)
- 6.35 My co-workers would support me if I chose to ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy
- 6.39 I would work somewhere without Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (R)
- 6.40 My organization should remove Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies (R)
- 6.41 I would leave if my organization removed its Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies

APPENDIX D

Phase One: Items Removed from the GDIPAS in Study Two

- 6.2 Discrimination against women is a national problem
- 6.4 Women should be considered minorities in the workforce
- 6.5 Women should be considered minorities in my organization
- 6.12 I feel disadvantaged by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in my organization
- 6.17 Women often mistake harmless jokes for discrimination or harassment
- 6.18 Organizational leaders are often too quick to side with people who claim they've been discriminated against
- 6.28 Men often receive more respect than women in the workforce
- 6.29 *Women have fewer opportunities for advancement in my organization than men*
- 6.30 Women have fewer opportunities for advancement in the workforce than men
- 6.32 Men generally have more authority in the workforce than women
- 6.34 The needs of women and men are equally represented in my organization

APPENDIX E

Phase One: Final GDIPAS Items

Factor 1: Perceptions of Policy Abuse

1. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are unfair to some organizational members
2. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies unfairly help some employees in my organization more than others
3. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies give some organizational members an unfair advantage
4. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies hurt people like me
5. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies let unqualified employees get ahead
6. Women abuse Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies to get ahead
7. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are easily abused
8. Employees often ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies that they do not need

Factor 2: Policy Familiarity

1. Employees at my organizations know how to utilize Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
2. Employees at my organization know what to do if they experience discrimination or harassment based on their gender
3. I know what to do if I am discriminated or harassed based on my gender
4. I am familiar with my organization's Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies

Factor 3: Perceptions of Industry Gender Inequity

1. There are fewer women than men working in my industry
2. There are fewer women than men working in my organization
3. Women are underrepresented in my organization
4. Women are underrepresented in my industry
5. Men often receive more respect than women in my organization
6. Men generally have more authority in my organization than women

Factor 4: Policy Support

1. All organizations should have policies that protect women
2. I would support a co-worker who chose to ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
3. I support Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies for all organizations
4. I support Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in my organization

Factor 5: Perceptions of Organizational Gender Diversity

1. In terms of gender, my organization is diverse
2. Gender inequality is not a problem in my organization
3. In terms of gender, my organization's management is diverse
4. In my organization, there are just as many women in managerial roles as men

APPENDIX F

Phase Two Interview Screening Survey

The following questions are asked to ensure you meet the criteria of this study.

1. Do you work at an organization in the tech industry?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No (participant exits survey)
2. What type of organization do you work at? Please do not name the organization; simply describe what the organization does.
3. What type of work do you do at this organization?
4. How many employees work at your organization?
 - a. 1-14
 - b. 15-19
 - c. 20-49
 - d. 50-99
 - e. 100-249
 - f. 250-499
 - g. 500-999
 - h. 1000 or more

You have met the criteria for this study. We are very excited to talk to you about your experiences. Please answer the following questions to set up an interview.

1. Please select your preference for the interview portion of the study
 - a. Face-to-Face (only if within a 3-hour driving distance of Zip Code 47906)
 - b. Phone
 - c. Video Conference (e.g., Skype, FaceTime, Zoom)
2. A member of the research team will contact you to set up your interview. Do you prefer to be reached by phone or email?
 - a. Phone
 - b. Email
2. [If by phone] What is the best number to reach you at?
3. [If by phone] When is the best time to try to reach you?
 - a. Early morning
 - b. Mid-morning
 - c. Noon
 - d. Mid-afternoon

- e. Early evening
 - f. After 7pm
4. [If by email] Please enter your email address. This will only be used to set up an interview.
 5. Please create and enter a code (number, phrase, etc.) in the box below, this will only be used to help us connect your survey with your interview. **Make sure to select a code you can easily remember)**

To assist in the interviewing process, please fill out the following demographic survey (6 questions)

1. With which gender do you identify?
 - a. Woman
 - b. Man
 - c. Other
2. How old are you in years?
3. Which of these groups did your income from all sources fall last year?
 - a. under \$9,999
 - b. \$10,000- \$29,999
 - c. \$30,000- \$49,999
 - d. \$50,000- \$69,999
 - e. \$70,000- \$89,999
 - f. \$90,000- \$109,999
 - g. \$110,000- \$129,999
 - h. \$130,000- \$149,999
 - i. \$150,000 or over
2. Please select the racial/ethnic category you most closely identify with:
 - a. White, not of Latin origin
 - b. Latino/Latina/Latinx
 - c. Black or African American
 - d. Asian/Pacific Islander
 - e. American Indian or Alaskan Native
 - f. Other
 - g. I choose not to disclose this information
3. What is the highest degree or level of school you completed?
 - a. Less than high school
 - b. High school degree/GED
 - c. Some college, no degree
 - d. Trade/technical/vocational training
 - e. 2-year degree (Associate's)
 - f. 4-year degree (BA, BS)

- g. Some postgraduate work
 - h. Master's
 - i. Doctorate
 - j. Professional Degree (MD, JD)
4. What is your marital status?
- a. Married
 - b. Widowed
 - c. Divorced
 - d. Separated
 - e. Never Married
5. Which of the following best describes your sexual orientation?
- a. Heterosexual (straight)
 - b. Homosexual (gay)
 - c. Bisexual
 - d. Other
 - e. Prefer not to say
6. Which statement best describes your current employment status?
- a. Working (full-time, salary, management)
 - b. Working (full-time, salary, non-management)
 - c. Working (full-time, hourly, management)
 - d. Working (full-time, hourly, non-management)
 - e. Working (part-time, salary, management)
 - f. Working (part-time, salary, non-management)
 - g. Working (part-time, hourly, management)
 - h. Working (part-time, hourly, non-management)
 - i. Unemployed or retired

APPENDIX G

Phase Two Interview Guide

Thank you for meeting with me today. I would like to start today by briefly discussing your work at your current organization.

- Can you tell me a little bit about where you work and the kind of work that the organization does?
 - How long have you worked at XX?
 - Can you tell me a little bit about your role in the organization and who you work with? Please be sure to use a pseudonym when you talk about specific people.
 - Beyond your work group/team, are there any other people or groups you work with? What about in different departments?
 - Would you consider any of your coworkers friends? Who? Again, please make sure to use a pseudonym when talking about specific people.
 - Do they work in your team/department or where are they located?
- Overall, how would you describe your experience in this organization?
 - How would you describe the culture of your work group? The organization?
 - Can you describe your organizations core values?
 - Do you think these values are shared or exercised by you or your co-workers? If so, how?
 - Can you describe a time you felt as if you really belonged in your work group or organization?
 - What about a time in which you felt as though you didn't belong?
 - How would you feel if you were forced to leave the organization tomorrow?

Before we talk about your organization, I would like to get your thoughts on gender-based discrimination more broadly.

- First, how would you define sexism?
 - How do you know if something is sexist or discriminatory behavior?
- What type of person do you think is most likely to engage in sexist behavior at work?
-

There has been a lot of news in the media lately about women's experiences with sexual harassment in work contexts.

- What do you think about those stories? Do you think this issue is as predominant as it seems? Is it being blown out of proportion?
 - How do you know? Can you tell me a story that illustrates this? Where did you learn this story?
- Do you think that sexism is common in the workforce?
 - What about your industry? Organization?
 - How do you know?

- Do you think that sexism at work is something organizations need to be worried about? Why or why not?
- How would you feel about working at your organization if you found out that someone in your organization was engaging in sexist behavior toward another employee and nothing was done about it? Would you do anything?

As you know, we're talking about Gender Diversity & Inclusion policies today. As part of that, I would like to talk to you about your personal experiences with sexism at work.

- Have you ever experienced sexism at work?
 - In as much detail as possible, can you tell me the story of what happened? [repeat if there are more than one instances of sexism]
 - Who was involved, when/where did it happen? What was your reaction? Please make sure to use a pseudonym when talking about specific people.
 - Did you tell anyone about the experience or report the incident to your organization?
 - At the time, were you aware of any organizational policies that protected you from this type of behavior?
 - What did you know about the policies? Did you feel like the policies were a good resource for you? Why or why not?
 - Did you tell others in your organization about the incident or ask them what could be done about what happened?
 - Using pseudonyms, who did you talk to? What did they say? Why did you choose them to discuss?
 - Did you consult any resources outside of your organization (e.g., online sources, family members, friends)?
 - Using pseudonyms, who did you talk to? What did they say? Why did you choose them to discuss? Did you visit any websites, social media sites, or forums to get information or discuss the situation?
 - If you reported it, who did you report to and what was their reaction? Again, please make sure to use a pseudonym when talking about specific people.
 - Was any corrective action taken? How do you feel about that? [ask about feelings toward the organization]
 - If not, what made you decide not to report the incident?
 - Do you think this type of experience is common in the organization? Do you think it could happen to you or someone else again? How likely do you think that is?
 - How do you know?

- Earlier we talked about moments in which you felt as if you did or did not belong in your organization. Did this experience, or any like it, ever make you feel as if you did or did not belong in your organization?
 - What about your industry?
 - (If they reported it) Did your organization's response influence this change at all?
 - If your sense of belonging/alignment changed, what do you think caused this shift?
 - If nothing changed, why do you think your feelings about the organization didn't change?
 - Did you think this type of experience was likely to happen when you joined the organization?
 - If so, why?
 - Do you think this kind of experience is likely to happen at another company in your industry?
 - How common do you think it is? Why?
 - In what ways did your sense of oneness or belonging with your occupation change after this experience?
 - (If changed) What do you think caused this shift?
 - (If nothing changed) Why do you think your feelings about your occupation didn't change?
 - Do you think anyone entering your occupation or industry expects to experience sexism at work?
 - Why or why not? If so, who?
 - Were there other instances of sexism that happened to you or a friend at this organization that may have impacted your feeling belonging/sense of oneness/alignment in either the organization or your occupation/industry? Are there other stories you would like to share? Where did you learn these stories?

I would now like to talk about your organizations' policies more specifically.

- Are you familiar with policies in your organization that protect employees from sexual harassment?
 - To the best of your ability, can you tell me what these policies say?
 - How did you learn about them?
 - Do you think your organization effectively teaches its members about these policies? Why or why not?
 - Have you ever talked to someone at your organization about these policies?
 - If so, using pseudonyms, who? Do you work with them regularly? (i.e., are they a member of your team or department?) In what capacity do you work with them?
 - Can you tell me about those conversations? In what ways did these conversations influence your understanding of the policies?

- What about someone outside of work? An online resource?
 - Can you tell me about those conversations? In what ways did these conversations influence your understanding of the policies?
- When do you think people in your organization talk about these policies?
- Do you think these policies are necessary in your organization? Why or why not?
 - What about the workforce more broadly? How do you know?
 - How do you think policies like this effect your organization?
- Do you think these policies are effective? Why or why not?
 - What challenges are associated with them?
 - How do you know? Can you tell me a story that illustrates this? Where did you learn this story?
- Who do you think benefits the most from these policies? What kind of people use them? Who is allowed to use them? Do these policies hurt anyone?
 - How do you know? Can you tell me a story that illustrates this? Where did you learn this story?
 - Who is most likely to get accused of sexist behavior at work?
- Generally speaking, how do you feel about these policies? Why?
 - How do you think you formed these feelings?
 - Do you think these policies help or hurt your organization?
- Do you feel like you could use this policy if necessary?
 - What do you think your co-workers would think about you if you used it?
 - How do you know? Can you tell me a story that illustrates this? Where did you learn this story?
 - Would you ever report someone for a violation of this policy? What if the violation didn't happen to you? Why or why not?
 - Is there a circumstance in which you wouldn't report it? Why?
 - Would you ever feel hesitant to report it? When?
 - If you were to turn to someone for advice about using this policy, or to share a story about someone else who has used it, who would you turn to?
 - Why would you turn to that person?

To wrap us up today, I want to ask you one more question. In your opinion, what do organizations in tech need to know about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies? What do you think needs to be done to improve these policies?

APPENDIX H

Phase Two Survey Measures and Items

C.1 Screening Questions

Personal Demographics

1. Which gender do you identify as?
 - a. Man
 - b. Woman
 - c. Non-binary
 - d. Other
2. How old are you in years?
3. Choose one or more races that you consider yourself to be:
 - a. White, not of Latin origin
 - b. Black or African American
 - c. Latino/Latina/Latinx
 - d. American Indian or Alaskan Native
 - e. Asian
 - f. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
 - g. Other
 - h. I choose not to disclose this information
4. Are you currently married, widowed, divorced, separated, or never married?
 - a. Married
 - b. Widowed
 - c. Divorced
 - d. Separated
 - e. Never Married
5. Which of the following best describes your sexual orientation?
 - a. Heterosexual (straight)
 - b. Homosexual (gay)
 - c. Bisexual
 - d. Other
 - e. Prefer not to say
6. What is the highest degree or level of school you completed?
 - a. Less than high school

- b. High school degree/GED
 - c. Some college, no degree
 - d. Trade/technical/vocational training
 - e. 2-year degree (Associate's)
 - f. 4-year degree (BA, BS)
 - g. Some postgraduate work
 - h. Master's
 - i. Doctorate
 - j. Professional Degree (MD, JD)
7. Which of these groups did your income from all sources fall last year?
- a. under \$9,999
 - b. \$10,000- \$29,999
 - c. \$30,000- \$49,999
 - d. \$50,000- \$69,999
 - e. \$70,000- \$89,999
 - f. \$90,000- \$109,999
 - g. \$110,000- \$129,999
 - h. \$130,000- \$149,999
 - i. \$150,000 or over

Organizational Demographics

1. Which statement best describes your current employment status?
- a. Working (full-time, salary, management)
 - b. Working (full-time, salary, non-management)
 - c. Working (full-time, hourly, management)
 - d. Working (full-time, hourly, non-management)
 - e. Working (part-time, salary, management)
 - f. Working (part-time, salary, non-management)
 - g. Working (part-time, hourly, management)
 - h. Working (part-time, hourly, non-management)
 - i. Unemployed or retired
2. How many employees work in your establishment?
- a. 1-14
 - b. 15-19
 - c. 20-49
 - d. 50-99
 - e. 100-249
 - f. 250-499
 - g. 500-999
 - h. 1000 or more

3. Which of the following industries most closely matches the one in which you are employed?
 - a. Forestry, fishing, hunting or agriculture support
 - b. Real estate or rental and leasing
 - c. Technology (e.g., selling or producing technology or tech services)
 - d. Utilities
 - e. Construction
 - f. Manufacturing
 - g. Education
 - h. Wholesale trade
 - i. Health care or social assistance
 - j. Transportation or warehousing
 - k. Finance or insurance
 - l. None of the above

4. Which of the following most closely matches your occupation?
 - a. Management, professional, and related
 - b. Technical Support
 - c. Service
 - d. Sales and office
 - e. Marketing, advertising
 - f. Development
 - g. Maintenance
 - h. Production, transportation, and material moving

C.2 Experience-Based Questions

Personal Experiences

8. I have experienced relatively minor instances of gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at my current workplace.
9. I have experienced relatively major instances of gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at my current workplace.
10. I have experienced relatively minor instances of gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at a former workplace.
11. I have experienced relatively major instances of gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at a former workplace.

Observed Experiences

1. I have witnessed relatively minor gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at my current workplace.
2. I have witnessed relatively major gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at my current workplace.

3. I have witnessed relatively minor gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at a former workplace.
4. I have witnessed relatively major gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at a former workplace.

Shared Experiences

1. Co-workers have shared stories with me about their experiences with gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at our current workplace.
2. Co-workers have shared stories with me about their experiences with gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at a former workplace.
3. Friends [not co-workers] have shared stories with me about their experiences with gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at work.
4. Family members have shared stories with me about their experiences with gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism) at work.

Ambiguous Experiences

1. I have wondered whether something I experienced at my current workplace was gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism).
2. I have wondered whether something I witnessed at my current workplace was gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism).
3. I have wondered whether something I experienced at a former workplace was gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism).
4. I have wondered whether something I witnessed at a former workplace was gender-based discrimination (i.e., sexism).

C.3 Gender Diversity and Inclusion Policy Attitude Scale

Perceptions of Policy Abuse

1. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are unfair to some organizational members
2. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies unfairly help some employees in my organization more than others
3. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies give some organizational members an unfair advantage
4. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies hurt people like me
5. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies let unqualified employees get ahead
6. Women abuse Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies to get ahead
7. Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are easily abused
8. Employees often ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies that they do not need

Policy Familiarity

1. Employees at my organizations know how to utilize Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
2. Employees at my organization know what to do if they experience discrimination or harassment based on their gender
3. I know what to do if I am discriminated or harassed based on my gender
4. I am familiar with my organization's Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies

Perceptions of Industry Gender Inequity

1. There are fewer women than men working in my industry
2. There are fewer women than men working in my organization
3. Women are underrepresented in my organization
4. Women are underrepresented in my industry
5. Men often receive more respect than women in my organization
6. Men generally have more authority in my organization than women

Policy Support

1. All organizations should have policies that protect women
2. I would support a co-worker who chose to ask for accommodations covered by Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies
3. I support Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies for all organizations
4. I support Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in my organization

Perceptions of Organizational Gender Diversity

1. In terms of gender, my organization is diverse
2. Gender inequality is not a problem in my organization
3. In terms of gender, my organization's management is diverse
4. In my organization, there are just as many women in managerial roles as men

C.4 Policy Communication Index (Canary et al., 2013)

1. In meetings, people talk about the background of Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.
2. In meetings, people compare Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies to other work issues.
3. In meetings, people ask for details about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.
4. My supervisor explains Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies in meetings.
5. My supervisor tells me why Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies exists.
6. I learn about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies by learning about consequences of non-compliance.
7. I get written instructions on the job from HR/trainers.
8. People in HR/trainers tell me why Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies exists.
9. I get verbal instructions on the job from HR/trainers.

10. Handouts/fliers are in language I understand.
11. Coworkers and I talk about what is right and wrong about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.
12. These policies have come up in conversations with coworkers.
13. I learn about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies by getting detailed explanations from coworkers.
14. I learn about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies from things that happen at work.
15. Written instructions from my supervisor are given through memos.
16. Written instructions from coworkers are given through email.
17. Written instructions from my supervisor are given through email.
18. I get written instructions on the job from my supervisor.
19. I express my opinion to others about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.
20. I offer suggestions about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.

C.5 Policy Knowledge Measure (Canary et al., 2013)

1. I know as much as I need to know about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.
2. I received enough training about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.
3. I know how Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are used.
4. I know how to find information I need about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.
5. I know who to talk to in order to use Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.
6. I am confused about how to use Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.
7. I understand what Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies are about.
8. I need more formal training about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies.

C.6 Old-Fashioned & Modern Sexism Scale (Swim et al., 1995)

Old-Fashioned Sexism

1. Women are generally not as smart as men
2. I would be equally comfortable having a woman as a boss as a man (R)
3. It is more important to encourage boys than to encourage girls to participate in athletics
4. Women are just as capable of thinking logically as men (R)
5. When both parents are employed and their child gets sick at school, the school should call the mother rather than the father

Modern Sexism

1. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States
2. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination (R)
3. It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television
4. On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally
5. Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement
6. It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in America (R)

7. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities (R)
8. Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences

C.7 Expanded Model of Organizational Identification (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004)

Organization identity strength

1. There is a common sense of purpose in this organization
2. This organization has a clear and unique vision
3. There is a strong feeling of unity in this organization
4. This organization has a specific mission shared by its employees

Organization identity incongruence

1. My organization stands for contradictory things
2. The values of my organization are not compatible with each other
3. The mission, goals, and values of my organization are all well aligned (R)
4. My organization sends mixed messages concerning what it cares about
5. The goals of my organization are often in conflict
6. The major beliefs of my organization are inconsistent

Need for organizational identification

1. Without an organization to work for, I would feel incomplete
2. I'd like to work in an organization where I would think of its successes and failures as being my successes and failures
3. An important part of who I am would be missing if I didn't belong to a work organization
4. Generally, I do not feel a need to identify with an organization that I am working for (R)
5. Generally, the more my goals, values, and beliefs overlap with those of my employer, the happier I am
6. I would rather say 'we' than 'they' when talking about an organization that I work for
7. No matter where I work, I'd like to think of myself as representing what the organization stands for

Ambivalent identification

1. I have mixed feelings about my affiliation with this organization
2. I'm torn between loving and hating this organization
3. I feel conflicted about being part of this organization
4. I have contradictory feelings about this organization
5. I find myself being both proud and embarrassed to belong to this organization

6. I have felt both honor and disgrace by being a member of this organization

Neutral identification

1. It really doesn't matter to me what happens to this organization
2. I don't have many feelings about this organization at all
3. I give little thought to the concerns of this organization
4. I'm pretty neutral toward the success or failure of this organization
5. This organization doesn't have much personal meaning to me
6. I don't concern myself much with this organization's problems

Disidentification

1. I am embarrassed to be part of this organization
2. This organization does shameful things
3. I have tried to keep the organization I work for a secret from people I meet
4. I find this organization to be disgraceful
5. I want people to know that I disagree with how this organization behaves
6. I have been ashamed of what goes on in this organization

Identification

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

C.8 M-C 10(1) Social Desirability Scale (Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972)

1. I am always willing to admit when I make a mistake
2. I always try to practice what I preach
3. I never resent being asked to return a favor
4. I never have been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own
5. I have never deliberately said something to hurt someone's feelings
6. I like to gossip at times (R)
7. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone (R)
8. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget (R)
9. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way (R)
10. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things (R)

C.9 Open-Ended Questions

1. Are Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies helpful or effective? Why or why not?
2. Are Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies necessary? Why or why not?

3. Where would you turn if you needed information about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies?
4. What is something you wish your employer knew about Gender Diversity and Inclusion policies?
5. Describe a time when you or someone you know at your current organization needed to use a Gender Diversity and Inclusion policy. What happened?