Perceived Dissimilarity and Meeting interpersonal Engagement: A within-Person investigation

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ABSTRACT

PERCEIVED DISSIMILARITY AND MEETING INTERPERSONAL ENGAGEMENT: A WITHIN-PERSON INVESTIGATION

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Northern Illinois University, 2020
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I tested a new model of perceived dissimilarity on meeting interpersonal engagement drawing from models of diversity and emotional labor and conceptualizations of interpersonal engagement in the literature. In doing so, this investigation merged the burgeoning meeting science field with more recent focuses and methods from the emotional labor literature to advance our understanding of how diversity impacts the individual experience of dissimilarity in the workplace. Furthering the notion of dynamism in diversity’s effects, the current study investigated meetings as a context that may affect shifts in one’s perception of dissimilarity due to variable attendee composition.

The perception of dissimilarity was proposed to negatively impact meeting interpersonal engagement (i.e., surface acting, communication frequency, information elaboration). This notion of event dependent perceptions of dissimilarity – and the subsequent effects on meeting communications – was explored using an event sampling method. Fifty-five full-time working employees participated in a two-week study in which they provided data following up to five of their workplace meetings. Three different dissimilarity perceptions (surface-level, work-related deep-level, and non-work-related deep-level) were examined in relation to the three indices of meeting interpersonal engagement. Perceived non-work-related dissimilarity was found to be
significantly associated with increased surface acting and decreased information elaboration, supporting some hypotheses.

Contextual moderators (i.e., display rule salience and existing power structures) were also found to have significant influence. Some of these relationships were as hypothesized. For example, there were stronger, positive associations between perceived non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity surface acting in meetings for women compared to men. Several were not as expected. For example, increasing perceptions of perceived non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity were related to significantly more surface acting for White employees compared to employees from other racio-ethnic groups. These findings, along with those for the full investigation, are reviewed within. The implications for research and practice are reviewed in the discussion.
PERCEIVED DISSIMILARITY AND MEETING INTERPERSONAL ENGAGEMENT: A WITHIN-PERSON INVESTIGATION

BY

RUTH ANIEKAN IMOSE
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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Lisa M. Finkelstein
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This work pursues a research question at the intersection of diversity, meeting science, and emotional labor research. Specifically, in workplace meetings of diverse attendees, how does dissimilarity affect how one communicates and engages? This notion of the communicative implications of dissimilarity is explored by integrating emotional labor theory with theorizing about interpersonal engagement (Aronoff et al., 1994) to examine how dissimilarity affects meeting interpersonal engagement. By considering dissimilarity and communications in an increasingly important workplace context (i.e., meetings) that necessitates interaction, this study responds to calls in the diversity literature for more research examining the impact of difference on interactions (e.g., Guillaume, Dawson, Otaye-Ebede, Woods, & West, 2017) and extends growing understanding of emotional labor beyond the customer-employee interface.

Meetings have been described as affect-laden events central to our understanding of the employee experience (Shanock et al., 2013). They can advance organizational goals but also impact attendees in organizationally-relevant ways beyond the meeting setting. For example, Shanock and colleagues (2013) found that faking emotions during meetings impacted attendee perceptions of meeting effectiveness, which were related to both intentions to quit and emotional exhaustion up to three months after one meeting event. Similarly, diversity has been discussed and explored as an antecedent of affective constructs (Imose & Finkelstein, 2018; Kim, Bhave,
Further, though one recent article advocates for investigations of diversity as an input for interaction processes in team meetings (Gerpott & Lehmann-Willenbrock, 2015) and other recent work, including the one cited above, has considered emotional labor within meetings (e.g., Shumski Thomas et al., 2018), these literatures have not yet converged to examine how diversity impacts emotional labor within meetings. Given the ongoing focus on understanding diversity in applied and academic literatures, and the importance of meetings and quality meeting interactions in contemporary organizations, this gap is surprising.

Emotional labor research originated with conceptualizations of labor in customer-facing interactions (Hoschild, 1983). To date, a great deal of research has resulted in a relatively clear understanding of the emotional labor process, specific emotional labor strategies, and their impact – in interactions with customers. Far less research has considered emotional labor in intra-organizational interactions (e.g., Hu & Shi, 2015; Ozcelik, 2013). In teams more specifically, a growing body of literature is exploring how emotional labor unfolds and justifying continued exploration by demonstrating relationships with outcomes such as perceptions of team support and emotional exhaustion, and more distally, satisfaction, performance, and turnover intentions (see: Becker & Cropanzano, 2015; Becker, Cropanzano, Van Wagoner, & Keplinger, 2018). Given these initial findings and the increasingly recognized importance of affect’s influence within organizations and teams (Barsade & Gibson, 2007; Barsade & Knight, 2015), it is beneficial to continue exploring how, and to what extent, employees use specific emotion labor strategies in their interactions with coworkers. The current study advances this literature by
exploring how emotion labor may result from observable and underlying differences among work group members in meetings.

The findings and implications of this work will be of interest to practitioners and researchers. Increasing workforce diversity – though challenging – has been identified as a potential competitive advantage for organizations. Empirical work supports this notion while also demonstrating the potentially deleterious influence of differences within organizations (e.g., conflict, Jehn, Northcraft, & Neale, 1999; creativity, Hoever, van Knippenberg, van Ginkel, & Barkema, 2012). As a result, organizations are investing more resources in diversity and inclusion strategies, that amongst other things encourage authenticity, bringing one’s whole self to work, and embracing differences in an effort to improve the employee experience and ensure productive collaboration across lines of difference. Thus, the quality of interactions between employees is a top concern. While organizational leaders, particularly in non-service industries, may not be fully versed in emotional labor, they are tuned in to the impact of emotions and the importance of genuine emotional display in interactions. Emotional labor, particularly in the context of emotion-triggering meetings, may be one lens through which one can consider authenticity in interactions; thus, the current empirical examination of diversity, emotional labor, and meeting interpersonal engagement more broadly has significant practical relevance.

The current study tests a model of dissimilarity and interpersonal engagement (Aronoff et al., 1994) in meetings. The proposed relationship between dissimilarity and communication replicates past research (Zenger & Lawrence, 1989). This literature is extended by examining how dissimilarity perceptions affect a range of communicative constructs (i.e., surface acting, information elaboration). The hypothesized model suggests that meeting attendees report impaired interpersonal engagement as a result of perceived dissimilarity. This examination
contributes to the diversity and emotional labor literatures in the following respects. First, given the dearth of empirical research on diversity and emotional labor, necessary additional support is lent for the existence of the relationship. Second, given that emotional labor occurs within specific situational contexts (i.e., interactions), I contribute to the nascent literature that examines meetings as one context in which affectively-laden interactions are likely. Finally, though within-person variation in emotional labor has certainly been explored (see: Gabriel & Diefendorff, 2015; Judge, Woolf, & Hurst, 2009), the diversity literature has not yet considered variation in the perception of dissimilarity. Evidence for variation in the perception of difference, and how it impacts meeting communications, would advance our understanding of diversity in organizations and introduce a valuable and new conception of what it means to be “different”. In the following sections, meeting science research, diversity, and emotional labor are reviewed separately before explicating the proposed model and associated hypotheses.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEWS

Meeting Science

Meetings are formally defined as structured, pre-scheduled, and purposeful work-related interactions that occur between two or more individuals in varying formats (Olien, Rogelberg, Lehmann-Willenbrock, & Allen, 2015). As teams become more ubiquitous in increasingly flat organizational structures, meeting activity has increased to, amongst other objectives, troubleshoot, make decisions, generate ideas, and facilitate creativity and innovation. In fact, qualitative work on meeting purposes has found that while furthering team objectives through discussion of ongoing projects is the most prevalently reported meeting purpose, ideation and solution brainstorming is one of the least common meeting purposes reported (Allen, Beck, Scott, & Rogelberg, 2014). Employees spend, on average, six hours attending about 3.2 meetings weekly according to reports (Kauffeld & Lehmann-Willenbrock, 2012; Rogelberg, Scott, & Kello, 2007). Further, Mroz, Allen, Verhoeven, and Shuffler (2018) cited a 1998 statistic that around a 11 million meetings occur daily and a more recent 2015 figure suggesting meeting frequency has increased by about five times with about 55 million occurring daily. And while such figures confirm that meeting activity is increasing, reports that 41.9% of meetings are evaluated as poor (Lehmann-Willenbrock, Allen, & Kauffeld, 2013) suggest that meeting effectiveness can be difficult to achieve.
Meetings have an evident impact in organizations. Mroz and colleagues (2018) suggest that organizations waste billions of dollars on ineffective meetings yearly, which underscores the monetary value of meeting effectiveness and meeting science research. Interestingly, though most have probably complained about meetings or heard others complain about meetings, empirical evidence suggests that the impact of meeting frequency on work attitudes is not quite as direct as expected and can depend on factors such as task interdependence and personal accomplishment striving. For example, Rogelberg, Leach, Warr, and Burnfield (2006) demonstrated that as meeting demands increased for two samples of full-time employees, job attitudes and well-being decreased only for individuals high in task orientation (i.e., accomplishment striving). The extant literature provides empirical evidence for the impact of meetings across levels of the organization.

For individuals, feelings about the perceived value of meeting activities (i.e., meeting satisfaction) are related to their attitudes about their job and well-being. Specifically, in one study, as perceived meeting effectiveness increased, job-related comfort and job satisfaction also increased (Rogelberg et al., 2006). In fact, empirical evidence demonstrates that meeting satisfaction is one component of job satisfaction (Rogelberg, Allen, Shanock, Scott, & Shuffler, 2010). For teams, thoughts, feelings, and evaluations of team meetings (i.e., team meeting attitudes) are related to team task performance indirectly through team members’ perception of their ability to succeed and do well (O’Neill & Allen, 2012). And for organizations, constructive meeting interactions within a meeting can influence organizational success up to two-and-a-half years after the meeting (Kauffeld & Lehmann-Willenbrock, 2012).

Meeting science research broadly explores this notion of meeting effectiveness, pursuing examinations that may be considered from the perspective of input-process-output models of
team effectiveness (Gerpott & Lehmann-Willenbrock, 2015). As inputs, researchers explicate and find evidence for the meeting design characteristics and pre-meeting factors that affect meeting processes and outcomes. Process explorations encompass anything occurring during the meeting event that may influence meeting effectiveness. Finally, any factor that provides perspective on the impact of meetings (i.e., research reviewed above on how organizational life is impacted by meetings) is an output. Given the current study focus on team diversity (i.e., a meeting input) and emotional labor (i.e., a process that occurs within interpersonal interactions) within meetings, the following review of the meeting science literature will discuss meeting processes and inputs with special consideration given to existing knowledge on meeting communications and meeting attendee diversity.

**Meeting Processes**

Investigations of meeting processes include empirical examinations of individual actions, interpersonal interactions, and leader behaviors during meetings. For example, Odermatt and colleagues (2018) explored the effect of uncivil meeting behaviors (i.e., individual actions) on meeting satisfaction and perceived meeting effectiveness in two samples of employed adults. Out of five behaviors (absenteeism, engaging in unrelated activities, nonparticipation, dominating conversation, and inappropriate interpersonal behavior), nonparticipation and inappropriate behaviors (e.g., making fun of or intimidating other attendees) were most strongly related to the aforementioned outcomes. Leader behaviors in meetings have received a considerable amount of attention (see: Baran, Shanock, Rogelberg, & Scott, 2012) as manager behaviors can significantly influence employee attitudes and behaviors even outside of the meeting context.
(e.g., Allen & Rogelberg, 2013). Employee participation in meetings can improve their engagement and this relationship is even stronger when employees perceive high degrees of support from their supervisor (Yoerger, Crow, & Allen, 2015).

Interpersonal interactions: Workgroup communication in meetings

Communication is inherently embedded in meeting activities. In fact, some researchers conceptualize of meetings as a specific type of organizational communication (e.g., Yates & Orlikowski 1992). The literature supports the notion that the ways in which team members interact with each other during meetings matters. For individuals, active participation in meeting discussions is beneficial. Hinkel and Allen (2013) first demonstrated that participation in decision making during meetings is related to increased engagement. Yoerger and colleagues (2015) extended this finding to show that this relationship is strengthened by higher meeting loads. If you have to attend a lot of meetings, may as well speak up! Further, the way in which individuals “speak up” in meetings (voice) is meaningful. Starzyk, Sonnentag, and Albrecht (2018) distinguish between two types of voice: suggestion-focused (i.e., communication of ideas and suggestions for work-related improvement) and problem-focused (i.e., communication of concerns). These researchers found that communication of concerns in meetings was related to decreased state negative affect the next day while suggestion-focused voice was unrelated to next-day state affect. In discussing these findings, they suggest that the two have different implications for employee personal resources. Voicing suggestions may put into motion additional time and energy investments to carry out the suggestion while voicing a concern may immediate benefits that result in affective reaction. Collectively, these findings suggest
communicating with others during meetings has short- and long-term implications for behavior and affect.

For teams, communication patterns during meetings have organizationally-relevant implications. Coded interaction data from ninety-two team meetings demonstrated that the average team meeting discussion contains sixty-nine counteractive statements (e.g., complaining) and only seventeen proactive (e.g., action planning) statements (Kauffeld & Lehmann-Willenbrock, 2012). As evidence of the potentially detrimental effects of such patterns of interaction, these researchers also found that dysfunctional communication, such as complaining or blaming others, was negatively related to meeting satisfaction, team performance, and organizational success in teams across five industries. On the other hand, when teams engage in functional problem-focused, procedural, and action-oriented exchange, they can enjoy increased meeting satisfaction, team performance, and organizational success (Kauffeld & Lehmann-Willenbrock, 2012). Perhaps comfortingly, other research in a sample of German industrial workers suggests that humor (found in all meetings; Rogerson-Revell, 2007) can trigger this type of beneficial communication (i.e., procedural and interaction), and also independently affect performance immediately and up to two years later (Lehmann-Willenbrock & Allen, 2014).

**Explorations of affect**

Some literature has begun to explore the affective relevance of these meeting communications. As mentioned, meetings are affect-laden events likely because several of the aforementioned purposes for workplace meetings (i.e., decision making, tackling challenging tasks, problem-solving) may trigger affective responses which subsequently influence
employees’ ability to negotiate, resolve conflict, and successfully interact with others (Basch & Fisher, 2000; Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005). Practically, one might imagine that the content of discussions within meetings may dynamically generate an array of transient emotions. The extent to which meetings generate negative feeling is commonly discussed in non-academic outlets (Rogelberg, Leach, Warr, & Burnfield, 2006).

In the empirical literature, Kauffeld and Meyers (2009) conceptualize of communication as expressions of affect in their investigation of meeting interaction patterns. Specifically, they propose that complaining and solutions-oriented interactions are expressions of pleasant and unpleasant affective states. Perhaps not surprisingly, they found that in interactions during fifty-three workgroup discussions, complaining leads to more complaining while solution statements tend be followed by more solution statements. Additional empirical evidence suggests that group mood emerges, and is sustained, in communications. In particular, Lehmann-Willenbrock, Meyers, Kauffeld, Neininger, and Henschel (2011) found that both complaining and interest-in-change cycles of interactions were related to group mood. This finding, from the perspective of sequential analysis, suggests that naturally occurring interactions manifests as affect within team discussions.

Meeting Inputs

The impact of pre-meeting agendas, quality of facilities used, and meeting size have been examined (e.g., Bovie, Bednar, Aguilera, & Andrus, 2016; Leach, Rogelberg, Warr, & Burnfield, 2009). For example, in a study of eighteen meeting design characteristics, Cohen, Rogelberg, Allen, and Luong (2011) found that factors within the larger categories of temporal, physical,
attendee, and procedural design characteristics were significantly related to perceived meeting quality. Specifically, starting and ending a meeting on time, having appropriate space, temperature, and lighting, providing refreshments, using ground rules and a pre-meeting agenda, and finally, keeping meetings small, all significantly relate to increased perceived meeting quality. There is also evidence for the influence of diversity in meeting attendees on meeting processes and outputs.

**Diversity as an input**

The meeting science literature on the influence of diversity, though new, underscores the need for continued examination. Initial evidence suggests diversity influences meeting expectations, behaviors, and communications more specifically. Kohler, Cramton, and Hinds (2012) found that Germans and US Americans had different expectations for the purpose, content, structure, and timing of meetings, and the role of participants. For example, in the US, meetings tend to be larger and used to exchange ideas and garner support. In Germany, meetings are held for decision-making and solving problems. Turning to behaviors, Lehmann-Willenbrock, Allen, and Meinecke (2014) find that German teams tend to focus on problem-analysis and use more counteractive behaviors in comparison to US teams who focus on solution production and use more socioemotional behaviors. Other researchers have found that age diverse teams tend to use less counteractive behaviors (e.g., complaining, no interest in change) during meetings (Maria Schulte, Lehmann-Willenbrock, & Kauffeld, 2013).

Of more relevance, empirical work demonstrates that diversity influences meeting communication process. Nam, Lyons, Hwang, and Kim (2009) found that culturally diverse
teams differ from homogeneous teams in the amount of task-related and socio-emotional communications used during decision-making in a laboratory experiment. Additionally, Kohler and colleagues (2012) demonstrated that Germans and US Americans show different interaction patterns in three samples of project teams, student teams, and software development teams.

Thus, from an input-process-output perspective, attendee diversity is a significant and important meeting input that influences meeting processes. Indeed, Gerpott and Lehmann-Willenbrock (2015) propose that diversity will impact communication processes. In the diversity literature, meetings have been used as a context for the study of diversity (e.g., Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998; Horwitz & Horwitz, 2007) but thus far, diversity researchers have not jointly considered how meetings are a context that necessitate systematic examination in and of themselves. Olien and colleagues (2015) suggest that a meeting science approach is characterized by posing research questions with a meeting focus and studying meetings as an event. By examining how interactions with team members during meetings is influenced by individual dissimilarity, the current study takes a meeting science approach to further elucidate the effects of diversity in organizational groups and teams.

Diversity

Team Diversity and Individual Dissimilarity

Diversity reflects the degree to which there are actual or perceived differences on any number of attributes amongst members of a collective (van Dijk, van Engen, & van Knippenberg, 2012). Individuals within those collectives experience that difference as their
extent of dissimilarity to others on those attributes. Thus, though there are streams of literature that separately consider individual dissimilarity (i.e., relational demography; see: Guillaume, Brodbeck, & Riketta, 2012; Riordan & Shore, 1997) and team and organizational diversity (e.g., Roberson, Ryan, & Ragins, 2017; van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007), considerations of diversity are inherently multi-level (Brodbeck, Guillaume, & Lee, 2011). In reality, diversity at the team or organizational level is engendered through a number of bottom-up, individual level processes and that higher-level collective can reciprocally influence the individual in a top-down way. This investigation is focused on the individual level but, given this inherent interplay, this review will consider the extant literature across all levels.

Changing organizational demographics, new legislation, and an increasingly popular assumption that diversity may beneficially impact an organization’s bottom line heavily influenced the initial research focus on the impact of diversity. Along these lines, team diversity research was originally characterized by a “main effects approach” – with disappointing result (van Knippenberg, De Dreu, & Homan, 2004). Examinations of the direct effect of diversity on performance were inconsistent, for the most part, with investigations finding null, positive, and sometimes negative effects (for reviews, see Milliken & Martins, 1996; van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). As just one early example of a theoretical effects, Ancona and Caldwell (1992) found that functionally and tenure diverse groups of new product team members received lower manager-rated performance and innovation ratings. On the other hand, similarly outcome-focused investigations of individual dissimilarity have been more consistent in demonstrating negative effects. One early study demonstrated that sex and race dissimilarity was associated with decreased intent to stay and more frequent absences (Tsui, Egan, & O’Reilly, 1992). Employees who are different can perceive their organizations as less fair and inclusive (e.g.,
Mor-Barak, Cherin, & Berkman, 1998; visible differences), engage in more interpersonal deviance and organizational deviance (e.g., Liao, Joshi, & Chuang, 2004; visible and underlying differences), and are more likely to turnover (e.g., Jackson, Brett, Sessa, Cooper, Julin, & Peyronnin, 1991; Liao, Chuang, & Joshi, 2008; Wagner, Pfeffer, & O’Reilly, 1984; visible and underlying differences). Together, these findings suggest that while the main effects of team-level diversity are inconclusive, dissimilarity’s impact is substantial.

Without a doubt, diversity research is challenging but continued investigation is necessitated by more than just the need to empirically validate “value-in-diversity” propositions (Cox & Blake, 1991). Organizations are inevitably changing, and there is a recognized obligation to ensure equal participation of all individuals across the employment spectrum (Meyer, 2017). Modern diversity research accounts for the early inconsistencies with more nuanced investigations that typically specify boundary conditions (see: Joshi & Roh, 2009) in examinations of diversity in relation to a broader range of outcomes (e.g., team member health; Liebermann, Wegge, Jungmann, & Schmidt, 2013). Further, scholars also commonly adopt the IPO framework (e.g., Meyer, 2017; Roh, Chun, Ryou, & Sun, 2018) to better elucidate diversity effects and implicate social categorization and information processing theories to identify and investigate probable explanatory mechanisms across levels. In the following, inputs and processes are reviewed before concluding with a discussion of newer theoretical perspectives.
Diversity Inputs

Common diversity typologies

Because diversity refers to any number of dimensions of difference, it is helpful to first review the frameworks typically used to distinguish and group these attributes. Most commonly, distinctions are made between surface- and deep-level diversity (Harrison, Price, Gavin, & Florey, 2002; Guillaume et al., 2012). Surface-level differences capture visible attributes (e.g., age, race, and gender) and deep-level differences refer to underlying attributes (e.g., personality, work values and style, function, educational background). Some researchers further categorize deep-level differences as either value or informational (e.g., Hobman, Bordia, & Gallois, 2003; 2004). While value differences refer to the work values, motivations, and principles that may influence work, informational differences encompass one’s professional, educational, and functional background. Finally, a task-oriented and relations-oriented distinction is commonly used (e.g., Milliken & Martins, 1996; Roh et al., 2018) with task-oriented attributes including any job-related dimension (e.g., functional background, education, tenure) and relations-oriented attributes including any dimension that may more directly impact interpersonal relationships (e.g., age, gender; Roh et al., 2018). This discussion, and investigation, employs the surface- and deep-level distinction though informational and value attributes may be further distinguished in measurement and analysis.
Actual and perceived differences

Diversity as an independent variable may also be distinguished by the extent to which it is examined objectively (i.e., actual differences) or perceptually. Actual differences do tend to be related to perceived differences (e.g., Cunningham, 2007; Harrison et al., 2002) though perceptual investigations of diversity and dissimilarity have been a more recent research focus (e.g., Liao et al., 2008; Sahin, van der Toorn, Jansen, & Boezeman, 2019). Diversity must be perceived to be meaningful and it is the perception of differences that carries psychological meaning and subsequently affects attitudes and behaviors (Riordan, 2000). Even in early diversity work, researchers acknowledged that perceptions underpin and essentially mediate actual diversity effects (e.g., Williams & O’Reilly, 1998) – a notion that has been empirically substantiated. For example, Harrison and colleagues (2002) demonstrated that actual diversity only has indirect effects on relevant outcomes. In their examination, perceived diversity mediated the relationship between actual demographic diversity and social integration. Perceived dissimilarity in surface- and deep-level differences is the diversity construct investigated in the current study.

Processes: Manifestations of Social Categorization and Information Processing

Social identity and self-categorization theories (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) are commonly applied to hypothesize about the consequences of surface-level diversity (e.g., Harrison et al., 2002; van Dijk et al., 2012). Visible attributes are connected to important social identities that lead people to quickly categorize and
create in-groups and out-groups to maximize the social distance between self and other. In organizational teams, this can have negative implications for cohesion, conflict, and ultimately performance. On the other hand, information-processing perspectives are relied upon to hypothesize beneficial effects of difference. When groups of individuals with varying backgrounds, knowledge bases, and perspectives approach a problem, there is greater potential for innovative solutions. In this vein, deep-level differences are viewed as being more relevant to information processing (Zheng & Wei, 2018). The resulting conclusion is a surface-bad, deep-good dichotomy that, though commonly assumed, is not supported in the empirical literature. These findings are reviewed next.

Social categorization

Several processes (e.g., social integration, cohesion, conflict, identification) explored in relation to diversity may be considered manifestations of social categorization. Social integration is commonly examined as a collection of several factors that can include attraction to one’s group, satisfaction with one’s group, and commitment, amongst other things (e.g., Guillaume et al., 2012; Harrison et al., 1998). Using a social integration index comprised of cohesiveness, satisfaction with coworkers, and off-the-job socialization with coworkers, O’Reilly, Caldwell, and Barnett (1989) found that diversity in tenure (i.e., a deep-level difference) was associated with lower social integration in convenience store work units. Further, work considering cohesion in isolation has demonstrated that value, ethnic, and attitudinal (i.e., both surface- and deep-level differences) are associated with the construct (Harrison et al., 1998; Leslie, 2017; Woehr, Arciniega, & Poling, 2013). Meta-analytically, both surface- and deep-level differences
are related to social integration (e.g., Guillaume et al., 2012). Relationship conflict, or “conflict based on a group’s interpersonal relations,” is another indicator of social categorization processes that has been found to result from both types of difference as well (Hobman et al., 2003, pg. 304; Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999; Roh et al., 2018).

There is nuance to the relationship between diversity in surface- and deep-level differences and social categorization processes as contextual factors can result in differential effects across dimensions (e.g., group openness to diversity, Hobman et al., 2003; task interdependence, Guillaume et al., 2012). Further, effects within broad categories (e.g., race, gender) have been found to be non-symmetric. For example, Stewart and Garcia-Prieto (2008) found that the effect of racial dissimilarity on communication behaviors in workgroups was dependent on which racial category the group member belonged to. White group members communicated more when dissimilar while Black group members communicated less when dissimilar. Communication behaviors in turn were related to the extent to which group members identified with their group (i.e., another indicator of social categorization processes). This notion of asymmetry is also accounted for and explored in the current investigation. Importantly, supporting IPO framing of diversity effects, these processes in turn have important implications for individual task and contextual performance, team performance, and turnover (Guillaume et al., 2012; O’Reilly et al., 1989).

Information processing

When diversity is examined as it relates to providing a greater pool of resources for enhanced decision making, constructs such as information integration, information elaboration,
and knowledge sharing are typically explicated. Information elaboration findings will not be reviewed here as it is a critical component of the model discussed in the subsequent section. Studies that examine information processing as knowledge sharing and integration find that diversity is beneficial for enhancing processing while simultaneously making processing difficult.

Demonstrating empirical evidence for the effect of deep-level diversity on information processing, Dahlin, Weingart, and Hinds (2005) found that educational diversity negatively influenced information integration though it positively influenced the range and depth of information used. In their theory paper on the information processing effects of functional diversity, Cronin and Weingart (2007) suggest that lacking fluency in others’ domains may be at the root of the issue. The generally enhancing effect of educational diversity was true for all but the most diverse teams in their sample of MBA student teams.

Surface-level differences can also be tricky. On the one hand, one study found that merely anticipating participation in a racially heterogeneous group led white individuals to exhibit more thorough information processing (Sommers, Warp, & Mahoney, 2008). On the other hand, other work has shown that surface-level diversity (e.g., gender, Baugh & Graen, 1997) can lead team members to perceive less willingness to share critical information. Similar to conclusions stemming from research on social categorization processing, both dimensions of difference may critically impact information processing, which is in turn vital for the performance of diverse teams, under the right conditions (e.g., leadership, psychologically safe climate; Guillaume et al., 2017; Hofhuis et al., 2018). Interestingly, diversity research has rarely integrated both perspectives in theory or investigation, instead studying information processing
mechanisms or social categorization processes in isolation - a limitation that the model reviewed next addresses and tries to account.

**Newer Theoretical Perspectives and Frameworks**

**Categorization-elaboration model**

Van Knippenberg, de Dreu, and Homan’s (2004) categorization-elaboration model (CEM) integrates both of these dominant perspectives, rightfully asserting that all dimensions of difference may trigger information processing or social categorization processes. In their model, diversity is characterized by the extent to which it may provide a variety of task-relevant information and perspectives to bear on an issue. At greater levels, diversity will engender information elaboration – “the exchange of information and perspectives, individual-level processing of the information and perspectives, feeding back individually-processed information to the group, and discussing and integrating” – when group members are motivated and able to take on the task (van Knippenberg et al., 2004, pg. 1011). Elaboration is the primary process underlying the positive effects of diversity on group performance and should thus increase creativity, innovation, and decision quality. These scholars further propose a moderating effect of social categorization as such processes may impede the information elaboration. Specifically, evaluations of group members based on accessibility of stereotype information (i.e., cognitive accessibility) and how well that information fits group members (i.e., normative fit) may elicit intergroup bias and make effective information elaboration unlikely.
There is a great deal of support for CEM propositions. Homan and colleagues (2008) found that in teams of business students completing a decision-making task, the positive relationship between diversity in openness to experience and performance was fully mediated by information elaboration when the reward structure cut across differences. In another study, age, nationality, and educational diversity were related to information elaboration, when transformational leadership was high. Information elaboration was supported as a mediator and was positively related with team performance (Kearney & Gebert, 2009). Finally, in one compelling study that demonstrates the necessity of overcoming categorization processes, Zheng and Wei (2018) found that majority-minority information brokerage (i.e., the extent to which both majority and minority group members can equally control and influence information processing) mediated the impact of group ethnic diversity on performance, but only when group climate was high. Together, these findings suggest that diversity does influence performance through elaboration of task-relevant information but only if categorization processes are limited (e.g., leadership style, task, or reward structure).

Diversity and emotional labor

At the heart of information elaboration is communication. In their discussion of the CEM, van Knippenberg and colleagues (2004) suggest that effective communication skills are an important aspect of the elaboration process. Taking this notion of communication a step further, one new framework implicates emotional labor - the management of emotional expression during communications - as an important consequence of interactions with diverse others that may be related to affective, attitudinal, and behavioral outcomes at both the individual and team
level (Imose & Finkelstein, 2018). Specifically, this framework of diversity and emotional labor proposes that surface- and deep-level differences may elicit emotional labor under specific system- and individual-level factors. Emotional labor is proposed a mediating mechanism that explains relationships between diversity and outcomes such as communication frequency, state affect, and turnover intentions.

The fully-mediated model proposed by this framework has not yet been empirically examined though some work does support the effect of diversity on emotional labor. For example, Kim and colleagues (2013) found that age and racial diversity significantly influence emotional labor in a sample of university employees. In the only other examination linking these two constructs, Ozcelik (2013) found that differences in dispositional affect amongst coworkers were related to increased emotional labor. Thus, both surface- and deep-level differences may influence emotional labor. This investigation aims to replicate these past works by examining the associations between dissimilarity and emotional labor. It extends these works by considering the dissimilarity’s effects on meeting interpersonal engagement more broadly and the extent to which display rules play a role. In the following, emotional labor is fully reviewed before turning to the specific relationships and hypotheses tested in this investigation.

Emotional labor

Emotional labor refers to employees’ regulation of felt emotion to align with organizational or work group display rules (Glomb & Tews, 2004). Sociologist Arie Hoscild (1983) first discussed emotional labor as it related to service employees’ institutionally-governed, goal-driven emotion management and expression. She used examples of flight
attendants and athletes to describe employees’ exhorting feeling (i.e., faking emotion) or stimulating required emotions (i.e., active attempts at genuine expression) in response to organizational “feeling rules” characterize organizations’ advantage seeking through the commoditization of employee emotions (Hoschild, 1983, p. 56) to. These conceptions of specific emotion management strategies and the rules that govern them remain represented in the modern theories of emotional labor that drive the increasing research emphasis on the relevance of emotions to organizational life.

**Emotional Labor in Organizational Research**

Several early studies brought emotional labor more centrally into organizational research. Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) put forth the first conceptual framework of emotion display as a job requirement and in 1989 were the first to define display rules as expectations for emotion expression – a departure from Hoschild’s feeling rules as what should be experienced. Sutton (1991) employed a qualitative methodology to further this work and identified normative display requirements in a sample of bill collectors. Though there was an early emphasis on role requirements, the shift in focus towards particular strategies is evident in Morris and Feldman’s (1996) proposed four-dimension conceptualization of emotional labor. Their model makes apparent the differential impact that different dimensions likely have on the still focal outcomes of emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction.

Modern conceptualizations situate emotional labor as the regulation of emotion in the work context (see: Grandey, 2015). In this vein, Grandey and Melloy’s (2017) revised model of emotional labor as emotion regulation specifies the process as being triggered by situational cues
(of which display rules remain a dominant antecedent). Subsequently, the specific regulation strategy employed interacts with individual difference and work context factors to affect proximal outcomes (i.e., intra- and interpersonal experience; emotional performance, dissonance, goal achievement) and distal outcomes (i.e., employee well-being and organizational performance; health, job satisfaction, profit, turnover). Next, emotional labor as emotion regulation is reviewed before more thoroughly reviewing the most relevant aspects of the emotional labor framework for this study: display rules and specific emotional labor strategies and their outcomes.

**Emotional Labor as Workplace Emotion Regulation**

**Emotion regulation**

Gross (2014) describes emotion regulation as an active, goal-driven process of shaping which emotions one has, when one has them, and how one experiences or expresses these emotions. It is characterized by the engagement of any of five strategies (situation selection, situation modification, attentional deployment, cognitive change, and response modulation) that are grounded in the modal model of emotion. The model constitutes a situation-attention-appraisal-response sequence in which a psychologically relevant situation is attended to in various ways, appraised in light of the individual’s relevant goals, and followed by an emotional response involving a multifaceted change in the individual’s experiential, behavioral, and neurobiological systems.
Each of the five emotion regulation strategies may occur along this emotion-generative process and to the extent that they occur before the emotion is aroused (or after) engenders the classification of response-focused or antecedent-focused. For example, situation selection is the most anticipatory strategy and involves any action that makes it more or less likely that one will end up in a situation that triggers a specific emotion. On the other hand, response modulation refers to any attempt to influence the experience of the already triggered emotional response.

Connections to emotional labor

Grandey (2000) first mapped emotional labor to Gross’s emotion regulation to bring the existing research on the impact of antecedent-focused versus response-focused strategies to the employee performance and health literature. To do so, the two dominant emotional labor strategies were aligned with the two categories of emotion regulation. Specifically, active attempts at expression (i.e., deep acting; antecedent-focused) were considered analogous to cognitive change and faking emotion (i.e., surface acting; response-focused) was considered analogous to expressive suppression. Though the constructs are semantically different, the two areas consider the modification of feeling and the modification of expression as relevant to well-being. Grandey extended these ideas into the Occupational Health literature and leveraged past work (e.g., Morris & Feldman, 1996; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987) to specify antecedents - and organizational and employee well-being consequences - of the focal emotional labor constructs.
Display Rules

Display rules are a primary antecedent of emotion regulation in the workplace and are central to even traditional conceptions of emotional labor (e.g., feeling rules, Hoschild, 1983). For example, one of Morris and Feldman’s (1996) four dimensions of emotional labor was attentiveness to required display rules. They are considered subjective perceptions that are typically studied at the individual perceptual level though they are recognized as operating at the societal, occupational, and organizational level (Diefendorff, Erickson, Grandey, & Dahling, 2011). Recent work had demonstrated that they operate at the workgroup level as shared unit-level beliefs (Diefendorff et al., 2011).

Though they may vary depending on the particular context, the general objectives of display rules include pleasing customers, maintaining internal harmony, and promoting employee well-being (Cropanzano, Weiss, & Elias, 2003). Along these lines, the extant literature on employee emotional display rules describes three types of requirements for most employees: expressing integrative emotions (e.g., love, happiness) that bring people together, suppressing differentiating emotions (e.g., hate, anger) that push people apart, and masking emotions (Grandey, 2000; Wharton & Erickson, 1993). Nonetheless, there are some roles that require the predominant use of differentiating emotions (e.g., bill collectors). Display rules can be learned explicitly through formal policies and practices though informal means such as through vicarious processes and imitation may be more power and efficient (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989).

A number of antecedents and consequences of display rules have been explicated. Person factors such as extraversion, neuroticism, and dispositional affect have been supported as antecedents (Diefendorff, Morehart, & Gabriel, 2010; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003). Job factors
such as interpersonal requirements have also been explored and substantiated. As further evidence of the influence of informal socialization of display requirements, Diefendorff and Richard (2003) found evidence for the influence of supervisor display rule perceptions on employee perceptions. On the other hand, display perceptions have been found to influence job satisfaction, burnout, and physical symptoms both directly and indirectly (Diefendorff et al., 2011; Grandey, 2003; Schaubroeck & Jones, 2003). Importantly, substantial support has been generated for display rules as a proximal antecedent of emotional labor (Diefendorff et al., 2011; Goldberg & Grandey, 2007; Paul, Hennig-Thurau, & Groth, 2015). Specifically, meta-analytic evidence demonstrates that positive display rules correlate with deep acting while negative display rules correlate with surface acting (Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013).

Emotional Labor Strategies

Deep acting

Deep acting is considered an antecedent-focused emotion regulation strategy in which individual emotion components are manipulated before the emotion has been experienced (Grandey, 2000). Hoschild (1983) initially discussed potentially deleterious effects of deep acting due to the inherently effortful nature of the strategy though empirical work largely discredits this supposition. For example, in one sample of bank tellers, deep acting was negatively related to turnover intentions (Chau, Dahling, Levy, & Diefendorff, 2009). Meta-analytically, deep acting is positively related to job performance and satisfaction (Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013). Potential explanations of such effects suggest that, by aligning inner
processes with external display of emotion, one is mitigating the potential harmful effects of dissonance. The literature largely corresponds with this line of thinking though newer work suggests that under certain circumstances, deep acting may not be so beneficial. Judge and colleagues (2009) found that daily deep acting was linked to lower positive affect in their sample of employees in customer service roles.

**Surface acting**

Surface acting is considered a response-focused emotion regulation strategy (Grandey, 2000) in which the individual only manipulates the emotional expression of his/her reaction to a situation. In this case, neither the situation nor the perception of the situation is manipulated. Surface acting is commonly considered faking to the extent that emotion regulation is concerned with modifying the expression and not the internal feeling and tends to engender more negative outcomes. The construct has been linked to decreased job satisfaction (Cheung & Tang, 2010) and burnout (Johnson & Spector, 2007). Meta-analytically, surface acting is related to lower job satisfaction and higher levels of stress/exhaustion (Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013). Similar to new evidence discrediting the dominant good-bad dichotomy of surface acting and deep acting, some research shows that surface acting is related to better performance for extraverts (Chi, Grandey, Diamond, & Krimmel, 2011).

Collectively, the combination of older and newer findings reviewed would suggest that neither surface acting nor deep acting is inherently harmful or beneficial, but that trait and contextual factors ultimately determine their effects. Further, both deep acting and surface acting
are considered intentional, compensatory strategies that occur in response to difficult situations or negative affective states (Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005).

Newer Perspectives on Emotional Labor at Work

Beyond service encounters

Emotional labor research originally focused on employee interactions with the public and even early definitions incorporate the service-oriented nature of the construct. For example, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) define emotional labor as “the display of expected emotions by service agents during service encounters” (p. 88). Nonetheless, these researchers acknowledged the potential for emotional labor to extend beyond service roles and attribute a large role to display rules in substantiating emotional labor beyond the service context. They describe all roles as “bundles of social expectations” in which “emotions are inevitably experienced” and argue that it will be important to explore how and to what extent they regulate non-customer internal interactions (p. 109). Empirical examinations of display rules in internal interactions demonstrate that they differ across targets (i.e., supervisor, coworker; Diefendorff & Greguras, 2009). Further, researchers have begun to examine emotional labor within intra-organizational relationships (e.g., Kim et al., 2013) though the full explication of display rules and emotion regulation strategies within a study has not yet been undertaken – a limitation addressed in the current work. Perhaps due to the nascent nature of emotional labor examinations in meetings, empirical research has not considered the extent to which meetings in and of themselves are
governed by particular display rules. In the current investigation, I extend the notion of workgroup display rules (Diefendorff et al., 2011) as they govern meeting-specific interactions.

**Emotional labor dynamism**

Within-person explorations have become a more recent focus of emotional labor investigations. In contrast to the dominant use of static methods that collect information about emotional labor and associated constructs at one time point, research has shown that people vary substantially in their use of emotional labor strategies within compressed timespans. In one of the first such investigations, Judge, Woolf, and Hurst (2009) found that daily, within-individual variation in surface acting was associated with increased emotional exhaustion and negative mood. Scott and Barnes (2011) further substantiated the notion of individual variance in emotional labor and similarly found evidence for increased negative affect in a sample of bus drivers as a result of daily surface acting. These event-specific investigations demonstrate how work shifts or workplace interactions may impact emotion regulation while even more nuanced, experience-sampling investigations have demonstrated that emotional labor can vary substantially within even one episode (see: Gabriel & Diefendorff, 2015). The use of event-sampling methods and experience-sampling methods has enabled such work and will likely continue to be leveraged for examinations that advance our understanding of emotional labor dynamics in the workplace.
Emotional labor in meetings

In their Cambridge Handbook chapter synthesizing the emerging meeting science field, Olien and colleagues (2019) acknowledge that the interdisciplinary nature of meeting research results in connections with any number of distinct literatures – including emotional labor – to explicate meeting inputs, processes, and outcomes. In this vein, researchers have begun to systematically explore emotional labor as a meeting process in relation to particular inputs and outcomes. For example, the 2013 work by Shanock and colleagues was the first to empirically connect the two and substantiate the value of studying emotional labor during meetings. More recent work has turned to explorations of antecedents and evidence would suggest that the composition of meeting attendees can have substantial influence. For example, Shumski Thomas and colleagues (2018) found that the presence of higher status attendees at a meeting relates to increased surface acting during meetings – that in turn attenuated perceptions of psychological safety during the meeting and meeting effectiveness. Relatedly, Nyquist, Allen, and Erks (2018) found that hierarchical distance was related to increased surface acting. These investigations laid the foundation for subsequent work that considers meeting attendee composition as it relates to all components of the emotional labor framework. The current investigation advances this research by considering how perceived dissimilarity in meeting settings affects meeting interpersonal engagement (discussed below) of which emotional labor is a critical component.
CHAPTER 3
STUDY THEORETICAL MODEL AND HYPOTHESES

Communication is at the heart of diversity’s ability to affect positive outcomes. This notion continues to be acknowledged though understudied in the literature. To explore the broader communicative implications of dissimilarity in meeting contexts, conceptualizations of emotional labor (Grandey & Melloy, 2017) and interpersonal engagement (Aronoff et al., 1994) are integrated. See Figure 1 for the theoretical model examined.

Figure 1. Proposed theoretical model
As discussed, communication – particularly through the elaboration and integration of information - is necessary for diverse groups to benefit from their heterogeneous composition (Van Knippenberg et al., 2004). Aronoff and colleagues (1994) adopt a multi-dimensional approach to examine dispositional influences on what they label affective engagement – the range of emotional responses (evident in both facial display and expressions) and more task-related, communicative behaviors reflecting interest and enthusiasm (e.g., giving opinions and suggestions) in social interactions. They find that ego adaptability, or one’s tendency toward affective regulation, is significantly related to how they engage interpersonally (e.g., task involvement, expressed felt emotion). Similarly, meeting interpersonal engagement is adopted in this investigation to broaden the lens on communication and investigate the influence of perceived dissimilarity on both affective and task-related communicative behaviors. In general, a significant relationship is expected between perceived dissimilarity and meeting interpersonal engagement. The nature of the relationship with each indicator is likely different so each is explicated separately below.

**Emotion Regulation**

Imose and Finkelstein (2018) draw from Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles & Ogay, 2007) to discuss the potential for difference to result in emotion regulation. Broadly, the theory asserts that individuals adjust in interactions to maintain or increase social distance. Particularly relevant to observable differences, one of the foundational principles of the theory
gives prominence to the influence of social category membership in interactions. Further, specific strategies are enumerated relating to either the reduction (i.e., convergence strategies) or amplification (i.e., divergence strategies) of social distance. The theory also acknowledges a role of expectations about the optimal level of accommodation from both which further bolsters the first hypothesis but most importantly, the theory endorses the notion that differences make interactions consciously effortful.

Two investigations more directly support the above propositions. Kim et al (2013) found that age and racial diversity in workgroups significantly influenced emotion regulation in university employee workgroups. These researchers rely on social identity theory, communication accommodation theory, and research on outgroup discrimination dynamics to hypothesize about the relationships and explain their findings. Further, Ozcelik (2013) found that affective incongruence (i.e., mismatch in coworker affective traits and personal goals) was related to increased surface acting. As replications of these findings, I hypothesize the following:

**Hypothesis 1: Within individuals, a) perceived surface-level dissimilarity and b) perceived deep-level dissimilarity will be related to increased surface acting in meetings**

**Perceived Dissimilarity and Communications**

As discussed above, communication – particularly in the form of elaborating and integrating information – is necessary for diverse groups to benefit from their heterogeneous composition. Moreover, there needs to be equal elaboration and integration of that information across all members (majority and minority) for optimal effectiveness (Zheng & Wei, 2018). However, not only is the presence of difference discussed as resulting in interaction uncertainty
(Guillaume et al., 2017), there is also evidence that dissimilarity negatively impacts communications.

In one early investigation, Zenger and Lawrence (1989) found that age and tenure similarity were related to increased communications regarding technical issues. Looking at the reverse just a few years later, Ancona and Caldwell (1992) found that diversity in tenure and function were related to increased communication with similar outsiders. Finally, Harvey (2015) demonstrated that both actual and perceived deep level differences in perspectives were related to less information elaboration. Thus, replicating past diversity literature for the negative effect of dissimilarity on communication, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 2: Within individuals, a) perceived surface-level dissimilarity and b) perceived deep-level dissimilarity will be related to impaired communications in the form of decreased communication frequency

Hypothesis 3: Within individuals, a) perceived surface-level dissimilarity and b) perceived deep-level dissimilarity will be related to impaired communications in the form of less information elaboration in meetings

Unit-Level Influence

Moderators have proven particularly important in diversity research and the literature suggests there are a variety of important factors that would likely influence these relationships (see: Horwitz & Horwitz, 2007; Joshi & Roh, 2009). This investigation explicates two that are properties of the individual as they perceive the broader social context (i.e., perceived display rules) and are situated within it (i.e., existing power structures). Thus, the two are collectively considered unit-level factors.
The Beneficial Effects of Display Rules

Display rules, formal or informal norms for intergroup behavior, should help to reduce some of the negative effect of dissimilarity on meeting interpersonal engagement. The presence of difference is discussed in the work psychology literature as resulting in discomfort and interaction uncertainty (Crane, Thomas-Hunt, & Kesbir, 2017; Guillaume et al., 2017). This supposition is supported in the cross-cultural psychology literature in which researchers describe interactions with people of different backgrounds as anxiety-triggering and empirically support these propositions. For example, Logan, Steel, and Hunt (2015) found that anxiety specifically related to an interaction (i.e., intergroup anxiety) was negatively related to willingness to interact with an intercultural interaction partner.

Uncertainty reduction theory (Berger & Calabrese, 1975) lends additional support to the notion that difference can result in anxiety about an interaction and describes the means through which this interaction anxiety may be managed. This theory, originating in the communications literature, was originally developed for application to interactions between strangers, though the theory has been expanded to established relationships (e.g., romantic relationships; see: Berger & Bradac, 1982) and certainty has relevance to workplace relationships. The theory is explicated in a number of axioms and guiding principles though in general, individuals are theorized to experience uncertainty when interacting with unfamiliar others driven by not knowing what to expect. In response, they will leverage proactive strategies (i.e., figure out ways the other may interact and select particular behaviors accordingly) or retroactive strategies (i.e., explaining behavior after communication event) to reduce that uncertainty.
Relying on, and using, workgroup display rules in communication is one means through which dissimilar others may proactively reduce uncertainty about the interaction particularly to the extent that the maintenance of maintaining internal harmony remains a prevalent display rule objective. This combination of research streams would suggest that to the extent that uncertainty is reduced, dissimilarity’s overarching negative effect on meeting interpersonal engagement would be attenuated. Specifically, I hypothesize the following.

**Hypothesis 4:** Within individuals, unit-level display rule salience will mitigate the positive effect of a) perceived surface-level dissimilarity and b) perceived deep-level dissimilarity on emotion regulation

**Hypothesis 5:** Within individuals, unit-level display rule salience will buffer the negative effect of a) perceived surface-level dissimilarity and b) perceived deep-level dissimilarity on communication frequency

**Hypothesis 6:** Within individuals, unit-level display rule salience will buffer the negative effect of a) perceived surface-level dissimilarity and b) perceived deep-level dissimilarity on information elaboration

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The Role of Existing Power Structures

Of relevance to this investigation are the different patterns of results consistently demonstrated in the diversity literature for in-group versus out-group members or majorities versus minorities (e.g., Stewart & Garcia-Prieto, 2008 discussed above; Tsui et al., 1992). Further, even the limited research that has empirically connected diversity and emotion regulation has found evidence for asymmetric effects (i.e., Kim et al., 2013). In this particular study, racial outgroup members emotionally regulated more than ingroup members when in teams with low racial diversity. Kim and colleagues (2013) argue that in such settings, outgroup members experience more of a burden to align with the dominant norms, behaviors, and attitudes.
of the group (i.e., compensatory conformity; Bhave, Kramer, & Glomb, 2010). This work has parallels in the current study, and I would expect social category outgroup members/minorities to feel a similar heavier burden to further the internal harmony objective and be more likely to emotionally regulate. As a replication and extension of the work discussed, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 7: Within individuals, the positive effect of a) perceived surface-level dissimilarity and b) perceived deep-level dissimilarity on emotion regulation will be stronger for minority group members than majority group members.

I similarly expect that existing power structures will differentially influence the nature of the effects of dissimilarity on more task-related meeting interpersonal engagement.

Hypothesis 8: Within individuals, the negative effect of a) perceived surface-level dissimilarity and b) perceived deep-level dissimilarity on meeting communication frequency will be further attenuated for minority group members than majority group members.

Hypothesis 9: Within individuals, the negative effect of a) perceived surface-level dissimilarity and b) perceived deep-level dissimilarity on meeting information elaboration will be further attenuated for minority group members than majority group members.
Participants were fifty-five full-time employees working in companies throughout the United States and the United Kingdom. Participants worked in a variety of occupations including management consulting, research & development, nursing, and engineering. The sample was predominantly White (53%), followed by Black (22%), Asian/Pacific Islander (13%), Hispanic (7%), and Biracial (5%). The average age of the sample was 31 years ($SD = 5.3$). The majority of participants were female (71%).

Participants were recruited using snowball techniques. A recruitment statement providing eligibility requirements (i.e., employed full-time, attend 3+ workplace meetings weekly), an overview of the study, the time commitment, and compensation was shared throughout the principal investigator’s network and those individuals shared the statement across their network. Interested individuals were directed to reach out to the principal investigator for more details and next steps. An eligibility survey link was provided that confirmed full-time employment and attendance at a minimum of 3 workplace meetings weekly. If eligible, participants were asked to select from one of three, two-week data collection windows for participation. A total of 174 respondents reached out and 137 signed up for one of the three rounds of data collection.
Event-contingent, experience sampling methods were used to administer the study through the ExpiWell platform in two-week intervals. For each of the three rounds of collection, participants were instructed to download the ExpiWell app, access the study using the provided access code, and first review and provide consent to voluntarily participate through the informed consent form. Once informed consent was provided, participants completed a time one, web-based survey that captured demographic information and upcoming meeting information. Participants were instructed to review their work calendars over the upcoming study duration period (i.e., two weeks) and provide meeting dates and times for all eligible meetings. Eligible meetings were described as those that involved two or more other employees, required some amount of problem-solving, and were unlikely to be canceled or re-scheduled. In the final study phase, participants accessed the ExpiWell app after each of up to five eligible meetings to complete a brief diary survey. Participants were instructed to complete post-meeting surveys within 30 minutes of the meeting’s conclusion. Participants who completed a minimum of three post-meeting diary surveys were compensated with a $5 gift card and entered in a drawing to win a $100 gift card.

Of the 174 respondents that signed up, 55 participants began one of the data collection rounds and completed at least one post-meeting survey. Forty-five participants completed at least three post-meeting surveys, up to five, for a post-meeting survey completion average of 3. For the multi-level analysis, all available data was used resulting in a total of 151 post-meeting surveys. Across the meetings, attendee size ranged from 2 to 20 with the average number of attendees ranging from 6.8 to 8.2. Meeting purposes ranged from more routine (e.g., daily check-ins, weekly staff meeting) to preparation for upcoming workshops or programs to administrative (e.g., promotions discussion). Given that 55 signed up for a data collection round, the maximum
number of usable observations (i.e., post-meeting surveys) across respondents would have been 275. The 151 meeting surveys obtained corresponds to a response rate of 55%.

Level One Measures

**Perceived Dissimilarity**

Surface-level similarity, work related deep-level similarity, and non-work related deep-level similarity were measured with two items each (adapted from Hobman et al., 2003; Liao et al., 2008). Responses were made on a seven-point scale (1, not at all similar, 7, very similar). For each dimension of similarity, participants received a more general question (e.g., surface-level: “How visibly similar are you (on average) to other attendees of this meeting?”) and a more specific question (e.g., surface-level: “In terms of visible characteristics (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity), how similar are you to other attendees of this meeting?). Responses were re-coded so that 7 reflected max perceived dissimilarity.

**Emotion Regulation**

Brotheridge and Lee’s (1998) three-item subscale from their Emotional Labor Scale was used to measure surface acting. Respondents were asked to indicate how often they engaged in each of the described activities during the preceding meeting. Responses were made on a five-point scale (1, not at all; 5, to a great extent). An example item is “Make an effort to actually feel
the emotions that you must show.” The mean (across meetings) coefficient alpha for surface acting was \( \alpha = .92 \).

**Communication Frequency**

Participants indicated the extent to which they communicated and contributed their perspective during the preceding meeting. This item was assessed on a six-point scale (1, not at all; 6, to a great extent).

**Information Elaboration**

Participants completed a four-item measure capturing the degree to which they engaged in information elaboration (i.e., exchanged, discussed, and integrated ideas and knowledge with meeting workgroup) adapted from Harvey (2015) on a seven-point scale where 7 represents a high degree of information elaboration. An example item is, “I came up with good ideas that will help us solve the problem” The mean (across meetings) coefficient alpha for information elaboration was \( \alpha = .79 \).
Unit Level Measures

Display Rule Salience

Meeting-based workgroup display rule salience assessed the extent to which participants were aware of emotional display norms and general meeting rules during the preceding meeting. One item was used to measure each: “To what extent were you aware of this work group’s emotional display norms (e.g., requirements to remain cheerful & sociable) during your meeting?” for emotion display norms and “To what extent were you aware of the work group’s general meeting rules (e.g., requirements to not interrupt others) during your meeting?” for general meeting rules. Responses were made on a five-point scale (1, not at all aware; 5, extremely aware) and were experience sampled by collecting after each meeting.

Existing Power Structures

Social category group membership was used to measure existing power structures. Two lenses on existing power structures were explored: gender and race. For gender, women were considered minority group members while men were considered majority group members. For race, white participants were considered majority group members while any other group members (Black, Hispanic/Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American, biracial, other) were considered minority group members.
CHAPTER 5
RESULTS

Analysis Strategy

Given the hierarchical nature of the data (i.e., two levels; meetings nested within individuals), multi-level, hierarchical multiple linear regression models (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002) were estimated to test the hypotheses using the lme4 package in R.

Within- and Between-Individual Variance in ESM Variables

Null multilevel models were estimated for each experience-sampled (ESM) variable to confirm there was sufficient within- and between-individual variance to explain. The null model partitions the variance in a specified variable to within- and between-individual variance components and informs use of the appropriate analysis. Lack of sufficient within-individual variance on all variables but display rule salience would warrant further consideration and perhaps a between-subjects analytic approach. Relatedly, insufficient between-individual variance on display rule salience would suggest it may be best modeled at level one. In general, researchers typically look for a substantive amount of within-person variance relative to between to justify the use of multi-level analysis (see: Judge et al., 2009, Scott & Barnes, 2011). Though
no past research has explored within-person variability in perceived dissimilarity, past ESM research on emotional labor, and surface acting in particular, has found within-person variability ranging between 14% and 39% (see: Judge et al., 2009; Scott & Barnes, 2011). Table 1 shows the results of each null model, indicating a significant amount of within-individual variance in all ESM variables with little to no between-individual variance.

Further, ICCs (an index of how much clustering matters) ranged between 0 and 0.018 with corresponding design effects ranging from 1 to 1.89. Design effects provide an indication of how much the squared standard error is impacted by clustering; design effects greater than 2 suggest level 2 effect is substantial. Given the cluster size of 3, the design effect standard may not be applicable here (see: Lai & Kwok, 2015) though both the ICCs and design effects suggest the person-level effect is minimal across the study’s ESM variables. Specific analyses and relationships modeled for each group of hypotheses are discussed next. Notably, given the finding for little to no level-two variance in display rule salience, it will be modeled as a within-person variable in all relevant analyses.

**Hypothesis-based Analytic Approach**

Level one includes repeated measures of perceived dissimilarity, emotion regulation, communication frequency, information elaboration, and display rule salience (general and emotion rules). The second level of analysis (level two) includes social category group membership (i.e., gender, race).

To test the hypothesized within-individual relationships among perceived dissimilarity and meeting interpersonal engagement (i.e., emotion regulation, communication frequency,
information elaboration; Hypotheses 1 through 3), I regressed each outcome variable on the predictor variables (i.e., three similarity measures). All level one predictors were group-mean-centered. To test the hypothesized within-level interaction effects of display rule salience and the three indices of dissimilarity (Hypotheses 4 through 6), display rule salience was group-mean-centered and modeled in the level 1 equation as a within-level interaction with each perceived dissimilarity variable. To test the hypothesized cross-level moderating effects of power structures (Hypotheses 7 through 9), each variable was added as a level two predictor of the slopes of each level one relationship of interest (e.g., the within-individual relationship between perceived dissimilarity and emotion regulation). Group-mean-centering helps to improve interpretation (Enders & Tofighi, 2007) and, for cross-level interactions in particular, is the preferred centering approach (Aguinis, Gottfredson, & Culpepper, 2013). Multi-level analysis assumption (e.g., normality, homogeneity of variance) diagnostics were completed for all models and assumptions found to be met. Group meeting size, time meeting with group, emotional intensity of meeting, and cognitive demands were planned controls but review of correlations and exploration in models did not support inclusion (i.e., correlations weak and models with controls overestimated). All models were estimated without controls.

Means, standard deviations, and correlations are shown in Table 2. Within-individual correlations are above the diagonal, between-individual correlations are below, and level 1 variables are aggregated across the three meetings into single, average scores for each participant. Though the perceptual measures of dissimilarity are significantly related with each other, the within-person correlations would still indicate that they are distinct. Several correlations also yield initial support for the hypotheses. For example, all three perceptual measures of dissimilarity are significantly, negatively correlated with information elaboration.
Non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity in particular shows significant relationships with all three meeting interpersonal engagement indices, in the expected direction.

Table 1. Parameter Estimates and Variance Components of Null Models for ESM Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Intercept b00</th>
<th>Within-Individual Variance (δ2)</th>
<th>Between-Individual Variance (τ00)</th>
<th>%Within-Individual Variancea</th>
<th>ICCb</th>
<th>DEFFc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Perceived Surface-Level Dissimilarity</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Perceived Work-Related Deep-Level Dissimilarity</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Perceived Non-Work-Related Deep-Level Dissimilarity</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>99.8%</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Emotion Display Rule Salience</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. General Display Rule Salience</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>99.3%</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Surface Acting</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>97.9%</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Communication Frequency</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Information Elaboration</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. n = 151. b00 is the pooled intercept representing average level of variable across individuals. δ2 is the within-individual variance in a variable; and τ00 is the between-individual variance in the variable.
a The percentage of variance within-individuals was computed as δ2/(δ2 + τ00)  
b ICC = Intraclass correlation; computed as τ00/(τ00 + δ2)  
c DEFF = Design effect; computed as 1 + [(m-1) × ICC]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Perceived Surface-Level Dissimilarity</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.39**</td>
<td>.23*</td>
<td>-0.21*</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Perceived Work-Related Deep-Level Dissimilarity</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>0.33*</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>.46**</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>-0.26*</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.28**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Perceived Non-Work-Related Deep-Level Dissimilarity</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>0.40**</td>
<td>0.42**</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-0.26*</td>
<td>-0.21*</td>
<td>0.4**</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-0.22*</td>
<td>-0.42**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Emotion Display Rule Salience</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>-0.36*</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.42**</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.25*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. General Display Rule Salience</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>-0.34*</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>-0.23</td>
<td>0.83**</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Surface Acting</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.43**</td>
<td>0.34*</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.21*</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>-0.35**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Deep Acting</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.31*</td>
<td>0.54**</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Communication Frequency</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Information Elaboration</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
<td>-0.27</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.23</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Gendera</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>.32*</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Raceb</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.30*</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Variables 1 through 9 are within-individual (level 1) variables. Variables 10 and 11 are between-individual (level 2) variables. Within-individual correlations are shown above the diagonal \((n = 151)\); between-individual correlations are shown below the diagonal with within-individual variables aggregated to the between-individual level \((n = 55)\). Means and standard deviations are based on between-individual scores. * denotes \(p < .05\), ** \(p < .01\). a Majority (Male) = 0, Minority (Female) = 1 b Majority (White) = 0, Minority (Black, Hispanic/Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, Biracial) = 1
Tests of Hypotheses

Perceived Dissimilarity and Meeting Interpersonal Engagement

Hypotheses 1 through 3 posed direct, within-individual effects of perceived dissimilarity on the three indicators of meeting interpersonal engagement. Hypotheses 1a and 1b predicted that perceived surface-level dissimilarity and perceived deep-level dissimilarity will be related to increased surface in meetings within individuals, respectively. Hypotheses 2a and 2b predicted that perceived surface-level dissimilarity and perceived deep-level dissimilarity will be associated with decreased communication frequency in meetings within individuals, respectively. Finally, Hypotheses 3a and 3b predicted that perceived surface-level dissimilarity and perceived deep-level dissimilarity decreased meeting information elaboration within individuals, respectively. Table 3 provides the results of the random intercepts, multi-level multiple regressions testing these hypotheses.

Perceived surface-level dissimilarity was not significantly associated with surface acting ($b_1 = -0.09$) providing no support for Hypothesis 1a. However, while perceived work-related deep-level dissimilarity was similarly not significantly associated with surface acting ($b_2 = 0.004$), perceived non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity was significantly associated with the outcome ($b_3 = 0.23, p < .05$), providing partial support for Hypothesis 1b. This pattern of results suggests that increasing perceptions of non-work-related deep-level differences (e.g., personality, personal values) were related to increased surface acting in meetings. Specifically, a unit increase in perceived non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity was related to a 0.23 increase in meeting-based surface acting.
None of the three dissimilarity measures were significantly related to meeting communication frequency (surface-level dissimilarity: $b_1 = 0.13$; work-related deep-level dissimilarity: $b_2 = -0.02$; non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity: $b_3 = -0.19$), providing no support for Hypothesis 2a or Hypothesis 2b. Perceived surface-level dissimilarity and perceived work-related deep-level dissimilarity were also not significantly associated with information elaboration ($b_1 = 0.08$ and $b_2 = -0.11$, respectively) providing no support for Hypotheses 3a or 3b. Perceived non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity was significantly associated with meeting information elaboration ($b_3 = -0.34$, $p < .01$) providing partial support for Hypothesis 3b. The negative beta weight suggests that each unit increase in perceived non-work-related deep-level differences were related to a 0.34 decrease in meeting information elaboration contributions. Taken together, the pattern of results across the three hypotheses suggest that perceived non-work-related deep-level differences negatively affected meeting interpersonal engagement, in the form of more surface acting and less task-related elaboration.

Table 3. HLM Estimates of Perceived Dissimilarity and Meeting Interpersonal Engagement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Surface Acting</th>
<th>Communication Frequency</th>
<th>Information Elaboration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$b$</td>
<td>$SE$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept, $b_0$</td>
<td>2.08**</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>16.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Surface Level Dissimilarity, $b_1$</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Work-Related Deep Level Dissimilarity, $b_2$</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Non-Work-Related Deep Level Dissimilarity, $b_3$</td>
<td>0.23*</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>2.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1 variance, $\sigma^2$ (SD)</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>(1.16)</td>
<td>2.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2 variance, $\tau_0$ (SD)</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>(0.14)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Level 1 predictors were centered at the group mean.
Moderating Effects of Display Rule Salience

Hypotheses 4 through 6 predicted that display rule salience would moderate the relationship perceived surface- and deep-level dissimilarity and meeting interpersonal engagement. Hypotheses 4a and 4b predicted a mitigating effect of display rule salience on the positive relationship between perceived surface-level dissimilarity (4a) and perceived deep-level dissimilarity (4b) and surface acting. Hypotheses 5a and 5b predicted a buffering effect of display rule salience on the negative relationship between perceived surface-level dissimilarity (5a) and perceived deep-level dissimilarity (5b) and communication frequency. Hypotheses 6a and 6b similarity predicted a buffering effect of display rule salience on the negative relationship between perceived surface-level dissimilarity (6a) and perceived deep-level dissimilarity (6b) and information elaboration. These hypotheses were explored for emotion display rules in addition to more general meeting display rules (e.g., norms for interjecting into the discussion). Table 4 provides the results of the fixed effects regression, multi-level multiple regressions testing these hypotheses for emotion display rule salience and Table 5 provides the results of the same models testing these hypotheses for general display rule salience.
Table 4. HLM Estimates of Interactive Effect of Emotion Display Rule Salience on Perceived Dissimilarity and Meeting Interpersonal Engagement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Surface Acting</th>
<th></th>
<th>Communication Frequency</th>
<th></th>
<th>Information Elaboration</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept, $b_0$</td>
<td>2.07**</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>19.48</td>
<td>4.07**</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>29.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Surface Level</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>-0.31</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissimilarity, $b_1$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Display Rule Salience, $b_5$</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Work-Related Deep Level Dissimilarity, $b_2$</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Display Rule Salience, $b_6$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Non-Work-Related Deep Level Dissimilarity, $b_3$</td>
<td>0.25*</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Display Rule Salience, $b_7$</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Display Rule Salience, $b_8$</td>
<td>0.19*</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>2.49</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1 variance, $\sigma^2$ (SD)</td>
<td>1.28 (1.13)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.36 (1.54)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2 variance, $\tau_0$ (SD)</td>
<td>0.003 (0.06)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Level 1 predictors were centered at the group mean.

Within-person emotion display rule salience did not moderate the relationship between perceived surface-level dissimilarity and surface acting ($b_5 = -0.01$) or the relationship between perceived non-work-related dissimilarity and surface acting ($b_7 = 0.08$) providing no support for Hypotheses 4a or 4b. Emotion display rule salience did significantly moderate the within-person relationship between perceived work-related deep-level dissimilarity and surface acting ($b_6 = -0.12$, $p < .05$). Figure 2 presents the plot of this interaction, which shows that the relationship between perceived work-related deep-level dissimilarity and surface acting is dependent on emotional display rule salience in the mitigating way predicted by Hypothesis 4b. At high levels of emotion display rule salience, surface acting appears to be decreasing with increasing perceived work-related deep-level dissimilarity, while the opposite (increasing surface acting
with increasing perceived work-related deep-level dissimilarity) appears to be the case at low levels of emotion display rule salience.

Simple slopes analysis was performed by testing the significance of the slopes at 1 standard deviation above below and above the mean for emotion display rule salience (SD = 1.35). The simple slopes analysis revealed that the relationship between perceived work-related deep-level dissimilarity and surface acting was marginally significant at low (-1 SD) emotion display rule salience (b = 0.17, SE = 0.10, p < .10), and was non-significant at high (+1 SD) emotion display rule salience (b = -0.15, SE = 0.10). From the perspective of emotion display rule salience, these results provide little to no support for Hypotheses 4a or 4b. There was no significant moderating effect of general meeting display rule salience on the relationship between perceived dissimilarity and surface acting (surface-level dissimilarity: b5 = -0.03; work-related deep-level dissimilarity: b6 = -0.08; non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity: b7 = 0.10), again providing no support for Hypotheses 4a or 4b.
Table 5. HLM Estimates of Interactive Effect of General Display Rule Salience on Perceived Dissimilarity and Meeting Interpersonal Engagement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Surface Acting</th>
<th>Communication Frequency</th>
<th>Information Elaboration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept, $b_0$</td>
<td>2.08**</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>17.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Surface Level Dissimilarity, $b_1$</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>-0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Display Rule Salience, $b_5$</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Work-Related Deep Level Dissimilarity, $b_2$</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Display Rule Salience, $b_6$</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Non-Work-Related Deep Level Dissimilarity, $b_3$</td>
<td>0.24*</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Display Rule Salience, $b_7$</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Display Rule Salience, $b_8$</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>1.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Level 1 variance, $\sigma^2$ (SD): 1.32 (1.15) 2.36 (1.54) 1.59 (1.26)

Level 2 variance, $\tau_0$ (SD): 0.01 (0.11) 0 (0) 0.04 (0.20)

Note. Level 1 predictors were centered at the group mean.

Figure 2. Perceived work-related deep-level dissimilarity and emotion display rules interaction

Note. SA – surface acting; PWDLS – perceived work-related deep-level dissimilarity; EDRS – emotion display rule salience
Hypotheses 5a and 5b and 6a and 6b were similarly not supported by the analysis. Emotion display rule salience did not moderate the relationship between perceived dissimilarity and communication frequency (surface-level dissimilarity: \( b_5 = 0.01 \); work-related deep-level dissimilarity: \( b_6 = 0.01 \); non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity: \( b_7 = 0.02 \)). General display rule salience also did not moderate these relationships (surface-level dissimilarity: \( b_5 = -0.06 \); work-related deep-level dissimilarity: \( b_6 = -0.04 \); non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity: \( b_7 = 0.06 \)), providing no support for Hypotheses 5a or 5b from either perspective. Emotion display rule salience similarly did not moderate the relationship between perceived dissimilarity and information elaboration (surface-level dissimilarity: \( b_5 = 0.03 \); work-related deep-level dissimilarity: \( b_6 = 0.07 \); non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity: \( b_7 = -0.01 \)). General display rule salience was also not a significant moderator of the perceived dissimilarity and information elaboration relationships (surface-level dissimilarity: \( b_5 = 0.05 \); work-related deep-level dissimilarity: \( b_6 = -0.09 \); non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity: \( b_7 = -0.04 \)), providing no support for Hypotheses 6a or 6b from either perspective. Taken together, the pattern of results suggests that, within person, perceived display rule salience (emotion rules or general meeting rules) did not meaningfully affect the relationship between perceived dissimilarity and meeting interpersonal engagement.

**Cross-level Moderating Effects of Existing Power Structures**

Hypotheses 7 through 9 predicted that existing power structures (i.e., minority status in race and gender) would have a cross-level moderating effect on the relationships between perceived surface- and deep-level dissimilarity and meeting interpersonal engagement.
Hypotheses 7a and 7b predicted an augmenting effect of minority status on the positive association between perceived surface-level dissimilarity (Hypothesis 7a) and perceived deep-level dissimilarity (Hypothesis 7b) and surface acting. Hypotheses 8a and 8b predicted an attenuating effect of minority status on the negative association between perceived surface-level dissimilarity (Hypothesis 8a) and perceived deep-level dissimilarity (Hypothesis 8b) and communication frequency. Finally, Hypotheses 9a and 9b similarly predicted attenuating effects of minority status on the negative association between perceived surface-level dissimilarity (Hypothesis 9a) and perceived deep-level dissimilarity (Hypothesis 9b) and information elaboration. These hypotheses were explored from the perspective of minority status in both race and gender. Table 6 provides the results of the slopes-as-outcomes, multi-level multiple regressions testing these hypotheses for gender and Table 7 provides the results of the same models testing these hypotheses for race.

Table 6. HLM Estimates of Interactive Effect of Gender on Perceived Dissimilarity and Meeting Interpersonal Engagement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Surface Acting</th>
<th>Communication Frequency</th>
<th>Information Elaboration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$b$</td>
<td>$SE$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept, $b_0$</td>
<td>2.07**</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>16.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Surface Level Dissimilarity, $b_1$</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>-1.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General, $b_{11}$</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Work-Related Deep Level Dissimilarity, $b_2$</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender, $b_{21}$</td>
<td>-0.23</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>-1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Non-Work-Related Deep Level Dissimilarity, $b_3$</td>
<td>0.27**</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender, $b_{31}$</td>
<td>0.42*</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender, $b_{01}$</td>
<td>0.68**</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1 variance, $\sigma^2$ (SD)</td>
<td>1.25 (1.12)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.33 (1.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2 variance, $\tau_0$ (SD)</td>
<td>0.02 (0.14)</td>
<td></td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Level 1 and 2 predictors were centered at the group mean.
Gender did not moderate the relationship between perceived surface-level dissimilarity and surface acting ($b_{11} = 0.04$) or the relationship between perceived work-related deep-level dissimilarity and surface acting ($b_{21} = -0.23$), providing no support for Hypotheses 7a or Hypotheses 7b. Gender was a significant predictor of the within-person relationship between perceived non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity and surface acting ($b_{31} = 0.42$, $p < .05$). Simple slopes analysis demonstrated that this relationship was significant for both women ($b = 0.69$, SE = 0.23, $p < .01$) and men ($b = 0.27$, SE = 0.23, $p < .01$). Figure 3 presents the plot of this interaction and shows that the relationship between perceived non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity and surface acting is much steeper for women (i.e., minority group members) as predicted in Hypothesis 7b, providing support for the hypothesis.

Figure 3. Interaction between perceived non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity and gender
Note. SA – surface acting; PNWDLs – perceived non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity
Race did not significantly predict the slopes of the relationships between perceived surface-level dissimilarity ($b_{11} = 0.17$) or perceived work-related deep-level dissimilarity ($b_{21} = 0.09$) and surface acting but did have a marginally significant effect on the slope of the relationship between perceived non-work-related dissimilarity and the outcome ($b_{31} = -0.38$, $p = 0.06$). Given the p-level, the simple slopes were explored, and the relationships plotted to further understand the nature of the interaction. While the slope for minority racio-ethnic group members was non-significant ($b = -0.17$, SE = 0.23), the one for majority racio-ethnic group members was ($b = 0.21$, SE = 0.10, $p < .05$). The plotted interaction in Figure 4 demonstrates an interesting trend. For minority group members, increasing perceived non-work-related dissimilarity did not seem to affect surface acting much, as the line is relatively flat. For racio-ethnic majority group members, increasing perceptions of non-work-related deep-level differences were related to a significant increase in surface acting. These effects for race are not as expected, though further interpretation will not be provided given the marginal interaction effect and recommendations against reporting marginal effects in the literature because of potential low “evidential value” (see: Olsson-Collentine, Van Assen, & Hartgerink, 2019). Together, the analyses from the perspective of race provide little support for Hypotheses 7a and 7b.
Table 7. HLM Estimates of Interactive Effect of Race on Perceived Dissimilarity and Meeting Interpersonal Engagement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Surface Acting</th>
<th></th>
<th>Communication Frequency</th>
<th></th>
<th>Information Elaboration</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>(t)</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>(t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept, (b_0)</td>
<td>2.10**</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>16.93</td>
<td>4.05**</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>29.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Surface Level Dissimilarity, (b_1)</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>-1.27</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>1.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race, (b_{11})</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Work-Related Deep Level Dissimilarity, (b_2)</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>-0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race, (b_{21})</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>-0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Non-Work-Related Deep Level Dissimilarity, (b_3)</td>
<td>0.22*</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-1.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race, (b_{31})</td>
<td>-0.36</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>-1.79</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>-0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race, (b_{01})</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>-0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1 variance, (\sigma^2) (SD)</td>
<td>1.35 (1.16)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.34 (1.50)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2 variance, (\tau_0) (SD)</td>
<td>0.01 (0.11)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.00 (0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Level 1 and 2 predictors were centered at the group mean.

Figure 4. Interaction between race and perceived non-work-related dissimilarity
Note. SA – surface acting; PNWDLS – perceived non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity
Gender did not significantly predict the slope of the relationship between perceived dissimilarity and communication frequency (surface-level dissimilarity: $b_{11} = 0.13$; work-related deep-level dissimilarity: $b_{21} = -0.28$; non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity: $b_{31} = 0.13$). Similarly, race did not demonstrate a significant moderating effect on the relationships (surface-level dissimilarity: $b_{11} = 0.09$; work-related deep-level dissimilarity: $b_{21} = -0.08$; non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity: $b_{31} = -0.2$). These results provide no support for Hypotheses 8a or 8b from either perspective of existing power structures (see Tables 6 and 7 for model parameter estimates for gender and race, respectively).

Gender significantly predicted the slope of the relationship between perceived surface-level dissimilarity and information elaboration ($b_{11} = -0.31, p = 0.05, 95\% \text{ CI} [0.01, 0.72]$). Simple slopes analysis demonstrated that while the effect was not significant for men (i.e., majority group members; $b = 0.05, SE = 0.08$), the effect was significant for women (i.e., minority group members; $b = 0.41, SE = 0.19, p < .05$). Figure 5 plots these relationships and demonstrate that for women, increasing perceived surface-level differences were related to increasing information elaboration during meetings. For men, increasing surface level differences were related to less information elaboration during meetings. This pattern of results suggests that women (i.e., minority group members) did not suffer from perceived surface-level differences and thus does not support the Hypothesis 9a.
Gender did not significantly moderate the relationships between perceived work-related deep-level dissimilarity \((b_{21} = -0.29)\) or non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity \((b_{31} = -0.01)\) and meeting information elaboration, providing no support for Hypothesis 9b. Similarly, race did not significantly predict the slopes of the relationships between perceived dissimilarity and information elaboration (surface-level dissimilarity: \(b_{11} = 0.08\); work-related deep-level dissimilarity: \(b_{21} = -0.1\); non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity: \(b_{31} = -0.01\)). Collectively, very little support was found for the expected role of existing power structures in further affecting how individuals interpersonal engage during meetings. However, the other significant, though atheoretical patterns of effects would suggest that existing power structures do influentially shape meeting interpersonal engagement as a result of perceived differences.
CHAPTER 6
DISCUSSION

This investigation combined dissimilarity, emotional labor, and meeting science research to examine within-individual variation in perceptions of dissimilarity and how they impacted meeting interpersonal engagement (i.e., surface acting, communication frequency, and information elaboration) within meeting contexts. Display rule salience and existing power structures were examined as important potential contextual factors that further influence these relationships. In doing so, this investigation responds to calls in the meeting science literature for more work examining the effects of difference on meeting processes (Gerpott & Lehmann-Willenbrock, 2015) and responds to calls in the diversity literature for more work examining how emotion regulation results from difference (Imose & Finkelstein, 2018). By doing this with a within-person variation lens, it is the first to propose, test, and find evidence for dynamism in perceptions of difference in surface- and deep-level attributes.
Within-Person Variation in Individual Dissimilarity

Research Implications

This investigation found that a substantive amount of variance exists within-person in the key study variables (i.e., dissimilarity, meeting interpersonal engagement). The findings for emotional labor replicate similar ones from the extant literature which has found consistent support for across- and within-episode dynamism in emotional labor (e.g., Gabriel & Diefendorff; Scott & Barnes, 2011). The current study is the first to provide empirical evidence, from a measurement perspective, for event-based changes in the perception of dissimilarity. This is important given that even early foundational work on the construct position it as a situational variable that influences organizationally-relevant outcomes (Jackson et al., 1991).

Further, theorizing about dissimilarity is often based on notions of one’s perceptions of themselves in relation to a given group (Shemla, Meyer, Greer, & Jehn, 2016). In a more recent meta-analysis of dissimilarity’s effects on social integration and individual effectiveness, even collectives of individuals characterized by low interdependence and no common work product were considered viable work groups to explore the effects of dissimilarity within (Guillaume et al., 2012). In the modern workplace, work is increasingly done in project-based fashion with employees collaborating with various groups concurrently to drive outcomes. That said, more careful consideration of temporal issues related to the perception of difference is warranted as static explorations to date have failed to truly capture the daily experience of being different within an organization. Ployhart and Vandenbos (2010) discuss several cross-sectional observations that were, in some cases, contradictory to findings from repeated measures.
investigations. Further, though this investigation provided initial evidence of dynamism, the analysis did not explore the full extent of dynamism and within-person effects (e.g., spillover effects of experiences in one meeting to others). Thus, even considerations of more traditional outcomes of dissimilarity (e.g., commitment, turnover intentions) would benefit from an examination of how the relationships hold when dissimilarity is considered across time.

**Practical Implications**

The finding for considerable dynamism in dissimilarity suggests that employees do not merely feel different in a static way. Instead, their perceptions of difference are contextually-bound and manifest differently across situations with different collections of people. Within the context of meetings, this practically means that an employee may attend a morning meeting with one workgroup in which their difference is particularly salient and go to a meeting directly after with another workgroup and not particularly different in relation that new collective of individuals. Given the significant findings for the effects of difference on the indicators of meeting interpersonal engagement, this suggests that an employee may very well contribute and engage more or less from meeting to meeting merely as a result as a shift in contextual factors.
Individual Dissimilarity and Meeting Interpersonal Engagement

Research Implications

Three indices of perceived dissimilarity were analyzed across hypotheses to understand the effects of a broad range of forms of diversity: surface-level (e.g., age, gender), work-related deep-level (e.g., professional background, work experiences), and non-work-related deep-level (e.g., personal values, lifestyle). Specifically, hypotheses one through three posed that there would be significant associations between the perceptions of dissimilarity and each of the three meeting interpersonal engagement indices. Support was found for hypotheses one and three from the perspective of perceived non-work-related deep-level dissimilarity. Within individuals, increasing non-work-related difference perceptions were related to more surface acting and less information elaboration across workplace meetings.

For non-work-related deep-level differences, the finding for surface acting replicates past literature for an effect of diversity on surface acting in particular (Ozcelik, 2013) and emotion regulation more broadly (Kim et al., 2013). As discussed, information elaboration is typically explored in the extant diversity literature as a well-supported mechanism for the innovation effects of diversity on performance (Kearney, Gebert, & Voelpel, 2009; van Knippenberg et al., 2004). Underscoring the almost necessary but not automatic role of information elaboration stemming from diversity, Harvey (2015) did find that work-related, deep-level differences were related to less information elaboration. Diverse teams need to engage in robust information elaboration to get to the innovative solutions business cases are built off of, but the most different individuals may find it difficult to get past those differences to engage.
Turning to work-related deep-level differences, the lack of support for a direct effect of the dimension is not surprising given an extant literature on deep-level differences such as functional background that is characterized by significant effects of work-related diversity dimensions on positive and negative outcomes, and even null effects (van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007; Hofhuis et al., 2018). The lack of support for effects of surface-level differences is somewhat consistent with empirical work in the extant literature such as Harrison and colleagues (2002) study of undergraduate business student project teams in which the effect of surface-level diversity weakened with increasing collaboration over time while those of deep-level diversity strengthened. Social categorization theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) suggests that people can make immediate judgments about others on the basis of surface-level features. These judgments can oftentimes be inaccurate and not truly reflective of who someone is (i.e., their standing on underlying characteristics) – a notion supported by the moderate but not particularly high correlations found between surface- and deep-level indices of diversity (see Harrison et al., 2002; Jehn et al., 1999). Thus, as groups and teams get to know each other over time (i.e., through collaborative interaction), those surface-level differences become less important. Study participants reported on the length of time they had been meeting with the work groups for each meeting. Across the meetings, average group meeting duration was between 22.55 – 32.52 weeks providing additional rationale for the lack of a direct effect of surface-level differences in workgroups that had been familiar with each other for several months. Thus, the findings for all three dimensions of perceived dissimilarity (i.e., the consistent effect of non-work-related deep-level differences and no significant effect of work-related deep-level differences or surface-level differences) do align with some findings in the extant literature while underscoring the necessity of nuance in understanding and explicating the effects of diversity.
Practical Implications

The results of this work suggest that perceptions of difference in non-work-related factors affect how employees engage in an increasingly critical workplace event. Specifically, the findings demonstrated that being different can lead to more effortful emotion regulation in the form of faking and less task-related contributions. This is concerning. As discussed, using surface acting as an emotion management strategy has been meta-analytically linked to decreased job satisfaction and higher levels of stress (Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013). The strategy has negative interpersonal consequences as well with empirical associations in the extant literature to lower rapport (Butler et al., 2003) and poorer relationship quality (Srivastava, Tamir, McGonigal, John, & Gross, 2009).

Past findings for a relationship between surface- and deep-level differences and emotion regulation (e.g., Kim et al., 2013; Ozcelik, 2013) served as call to action for managers to more intentionally and proactively manage employee social interactions. Strategies include structural approaches (e.g., transparent reward and resource allocation processes to reduce pressures to manage impressions) and more informal approaches (e.g., role modeling authentic engaging) are all levers management can consider pulling to reduce the frequency of the comparatively more harmful emotion management strategy. The findings for variation in the perception of dissimilarity from event to event may warrant a more holistic and collective approach to influencing more beneficial emotion regulation and management. Shaping environments in which every employee regardless of their difference feels that they can authentically engage is the responsibility of every employee in an organization. An inclusion perspective, with its
emphasis on simultaneously accounting for and addressing multiple dimensions of diversity, would advocate such an approach and is associated with a robust literature that informs what leaders and co-workers can do to shape environments in which everyone can authentically engage (see: Ferdman, 2014). In the context of meeting-based events that elicit that perception of difference, meeting attendees can similarly role model authentic communication and establish both formal and informal norms for doing so.

If diverse teams need to leverage their collective perspectives through the elaboration of task-relevant information to get to innovative outcomes (van Knippenberg, de Dreu, & Homan, 2004), organizational leaders should be concerned that the results suggest their most diverse employees may not be engaging at the levels necessary for such outcomes. Managers can play a critical role in ensuring that groups and teams are bringing in those “different” others and fully leveraging the perspectives of the entire group. Engaging in productive task-related debate and even task-related conflict can be an uncomfortable and even challenging experience for groups. However, they can serve as an apparent signal that different perspectives are on the table and that debate is a path that should be pursued over more immediate consensus. Leaders and managers can intentionally role model behaviors such as asking more quiet group members for their opinion before moving on during a discussion. They can also help their groups and teams develop this perspective and encourage them to more independently seek out and integrate potentially divergent ideas and provide strategies and tips for how to do so.

Further, though likely not intentionally, meetings can serve as performance-evaluative moments and the notion that factors such as perceived differences in personal values can lead to lower meeting engagement (i.e., potentially lower performance) should push leaders to broaden their perspectives on how difference influences the experience of work. For example, targeted
development interventions on surface-level dimensions such as gender and race are certainly warranted and important but may not be the only dimensions of difference worthy of consideration and focus. With the current political and social climate, these results make it apparent that employees are not leaving things like differing political ideologies or interests at the (real or metaphorical) office door. The added element of meeting to meeting variation in how one perceives difference and, as a result shows up, is likely manifesting in inconsistent behavior that is also likely perceived by others who may be inadvertently noting this performance variation. As discussed, organizational leaders can consider a number of strategies and approaches to engage themselves and the collective workforce around mitigating such outcomes for people who perceive deep-level differences.

Contextual Influence

Research Implications

The importance of moderators for understanding the effects of diversity has been meta-analytically demonstrated (Joshi & Roh, 2009). In the current study, display rules and social category membership were explored as two groups of contextual factors that could influence the relationship between dissimilarity and meeting interpersonal engagement. Both general meeting display rules (e.g., norms for jumping into a discussion) and emotional display rules (e.g., expectations to be cheerful) were analyzed to explore the relationships posed between perceived dissimilarity and the three indicators of meeting interpersonal engagement in hypotheses four through six. Both race and gender were explored as dimensions relevant to existing power
structures in analysis of the relationships posed between perceived dissimilarity and each of the three meeting interpersonal engagement indicators in hypotheses seven through nine.

Hypotheses four through six were largely unsupported, particularly for general meeting display rules, though there was a significant moderating effect of emotional display rule salience on the relationship between perceived work-related deep-level dissimilarity and surface acting (supporting hypothesis 4b). As expected, when awareness of emotional display rules was high, surface acting decreased with increasing perceptions of work-related deep-level differences. Foundational conceptualizations of emotional labor in the literature connect perceived demands to display particular emotions to emotion management (e.g., Grandey, 2000) and there is substantive empirical support for the relationship (e.g., Diefendorff & Richard, 2003). It is interesting that this relationship for work-related deep-level differences emerged given the absence of a significant direct effect. This is perhaps not surprising though given the inconsistencies noted above in the literature for work-related deep-level differences. As a result, it seems to be another case in which the role of context in truly understanding the effects of diversity is underscored (see for instance: Joshi & Roh, 2009 team diversity context meta-analysis).

The findings of this investigation suggest a different, and potentially advantageous, role of display rules for employees. As theorized, understanding of expectations for emotional display may reduce uncertainty about how to engage and result in more authentic contributions. This beneficial role of emotional display rules is substantiated by theorizing about the positive well-being outcomes of display rules for employees (e.g., Cropanzano et al., 2003) and is further bolstered by empirical work that empirically links positive display rules to work engagement (Ybema & van Dam, 2014). In this study, though the interaction was significant, simple slope
analysis found only a marginally significant effect of low emotion display rule salience on the positive relationship between increasing work-related deep-level differences and increasing surface acting. In other words, when awareness of emotion display rules was low, work-related deep-level difference perceptions were related to more surface acting.

Hypotheses seven through nine were similarly largely unsupported though there was one marginally significant interaction of race with perceived non-work-related deep-level differences on surface acting (7b), and two significant interactions of gender. Specifically, this was for the relationship between perceived non-work-related deep-level differences and surface acting (7b) and perceived surface-level differences and information elaboration (9a). Though the finding for race was marginal, the p-level was just over the threshold at .06 and the simple slopes analysis did find that the relationship between non-work-related deep-level differences and surface acting was significant for majority racio-ethnic group members in particular. Interestingly, increasing non-work-related deep-level differences were related to increased surface acting for majority group members (against what was theorized and expected). This marginal effect may be due to the small sample size and should be further investigated in future research.

Though the literature certainly supports differential effects of dissimilarity on majority and minority group members (e.g., Stewart & Garcia-Prieto, 2008), the more deleterious effects tend to be for minority group members. The finding in this investigation may be due to strong social categorization effects (e.g., Turner et al., 1987) by the majority group. For example, Insko, Nacoste, and Moe (1983) found that when majority group members perceived dissimilarity they self-classified into their in-group leading to more negative evaluations. Within the context of this study, this may suggest that that perception of dissimilarity led to in-group/out-group classifications that resulted in the more effortful emotion management strategy. This finding
does actually replicate a similar one by Kim and colleagues (2013) who found that in-group members showed higher levels of emotion regulation than racial out-group members when racial diversity was high. These researchers theorize that the increased emotion regulation on the part of in-group members may result from efforts to avoid appearing prejudiced or discriminatory. This notion is supported by work on race and external motivation which found that individuals high in external motivation to act without prejudice demonstrated bias in their attentional responses to Black male faces (Richeson and Trawalter, 2008). The finding raises interesting questions about motivations to engage in emotion regulation. Theories such as Giles and Ogay’s (2007) Communication Accommodation Theory suggest group members may have different motivations (i.e., increasing or decreasing social distance) that could influence regulation. Future research should account for motivations in order to tease apart and substantiate findings for in-group and out-group members in this work.

The unexpected interaction effect of gender with perceived surface-level differences in predicting information elaboration may be similarly due to strong social categorization effects for majority group members. The simple slopes analysis demonstrated that men engaged in significantly less information elaboration as a result of increasing surface-level difference perceptions compared to women (who actually engaged more as a result of surface-level difference perceptions).

Finally, one significant interaction effect did support the hypothesized relationship. Women engaged in surface acting significantly more as a result of increasing non-work-related deep-level difference perceptions than men, supporting hypothesis 7b. Other work has not found a significant moderating effect of gender in similar contexts (e.g., Kim et al., 2013), though the emotional labor literature does find gender differences with regard to emotional labor. For
example, Johnson and Spector (2007) found that women were more likely to experience negative consequences when engaging in surface acting than men. However, this finding suggests that it is possible that the salient surface-level difference perception led to intentional regulation efforts to avoid standing out. Collectively, it is apparent that existing power structures additionally influence the manner in which dissimilarity affects meeting interpersonal engagement. The combination of effects (expected and unexpected) suggest more research is necessary to truly explicate the nature of the process.

Practical Implications

Given the findings for the negative consequences of perceived dissimilarity, non-work-related deep-level differences in particular, on meeting interpersonal engagement, the findings for significant moderating effects provide more insight into how organizations may drive more targeted interventions. Starting with emotion display rule salience, the findings suggest one way that leaders can shape more positive outcome for employees who feel different. Specifically, it may be worthwhile to make expectations for emotional display more apparent in meeting settings to reduce any uncertainties about how to engage. Ybema and van Dam (2014) found that positive display rules in particular are related to more positive well-being outcomes while negative display rules do not have similar beneficial effects. This would suggest that efforts may be best invested in emphasizing the positive emotion rules (e.g., showing enthusiasm) and not make negative emotion rules (e.g., requirements to suppress frustration) the more salient ones. Again, the dynamism demonstrated in this study would suggest that it may be worthwhile to continuously reinforce these expectations from meeting to meeting.
Turning to the roles of existing power structures, the findings suggest that social category membership plays an influential role in how employees engage in meetings. More generally, the findings support calls to consider how various dimensions of difference intersect within employees to affect their experiences. For example, it was when women were perceived their difference in terms of non-work-related deep-level dimensions that they were even more likely to engage in surface acting. The finding for this dissimilarity dimension and race, though atheoretical, similarly support this notion of intersectionality. Beyond making emotional display expectations apparent for all meeting attendees, organizational leaders may consider more nuanced approaches.

Finally, the findings for the more detrimental effects of perceived dissimilarity (surface- and non-work-related deep-level) on meeting interpersonal engagement for majority group member employees (i.e., White, Male) would encourage consideration of how diversity is also detrimentally affecting the majority. While efforts tend to be focused on understanding and improving the experiences of minorities in organizations, it is certainly valuable to be attuned to the fact that diversity impacts all organizational members. Jansen, Otten, and van der Zee (2015) find that all-inclusive multicultural approaches to diversity management, which signal that both minority and majority social identities are safe, lead to increased perceptions of inclusion for prospective employees and organizational members. The literature certainly supports broader inclusion approaches as more effective for employees and organizations than diversity management alone (Ferdman, 2014; Sabharwal, 2014).
Limitations

There were three primary limitations with the current study. First, though the intended sample was 200 participants, the resulting sample of 45 participants was considerably smaller and raises concerns about power. This level 2 sample size does surpass the rule-of-thumb guidance of 30 clusters (Kreft & de Leeuw, 1998) though is still concerning given the number and complexity of parameter estimates specified in the various models. Related to power and model complexity, it would be worthwhile to consider how unit-level variables at the meeting level should be best specified in the models - as individual differences or characteristics of the member in a specific meeting. Mathieu, Aguinis, Culpepper, and Chen (2012) specify a number of factors (i.e., standard deviation of level 1 slopes, magnitude of direct effects) and validate a power approximation procedure for future a priori estimation of sample size.

Second, the event-contingent approach could have limited the average cluster size. A commonly used ESM approach involves the deployment of beginning and end of day surveys which may have resulted in the completion of more meeting surveys per participant. Though the goal of the event-contingent approach was to capture meeting-based information as close as possible to the event, analysis of survey responses showed that participants varied in terms of survey completion within the 30-minute window as instructed.

Third, given the nature of collection of all ESM variables at the same time, it is not possible to address the casual nature of these relationships. Relatedly, it is possible that meeting interpersonal engagement influences how one perceives dissimilarity. For these reasons, causal language has been avoided though I acknowledge a causal ordering of constructs is implied by the theoretical model – something future research should substantiate. Finally, the self-report
nature of all study variables does raise concerns about common method variance. The centering of all ESM variables around the group mean did help to mitigate some sources of common method variance.

Future Research

This is the first investigation to propose and find evidence, from a measurement perspective, for within-person variability in the perception of dissimilarity. As a result, much more research is necessary to substantiate these findings and further understand the extent to which it impacts the experience of work. Does the finding for decreased information elaboration and increased surface acting extend to post-meeting interactions? For instance, could one attend a morning of meeting in which they consistently feel different then attend afternoon meetings in which they are objectively more similar but still be affected (i.e., in terms of meeting interpersonal engagement) by those morning perceptions? It would worthwhile to explore the extent to which perceived dissimilarity in one meeting has spillover effects on subsequent interactions and even meetings.

Relatedly, the meeting context bears further consideration as a variety of meeting factors like meeting purpose and meeting attendee status can have additional influence. As mentioned, meetings served a variety of purposes ranging from more routine (e.g., weekly staff meeting) to likely more emergent (e.g., post-client-meeting huddle) and likely engender more or less interaction and affect. Meeting attendees with more or less depth of experience to contribute to a topic may also result in more or less interaction and affect beyond the effects of dissimilarity. The presence of higher status attendees in meeting contexts is known to influence emotion
regulation (Shumski Thomas et al., 2018) and thus would warrant inclusion in future investigations.

This work adds to a growing literature finding evidence for a relationship between diversity and emotion regulation (Kim et al., 2013; Ozcelik, 2013). Given the findings for the role of emotional labor (surface acting) and emotional labor-related constructs (emotion display rule salience), further explicating how emotional labor is affected by difference would be valuable. It would be important to understand whether difference perceptions similarly influence other emotion management strategies (e.g., deep acting; Grandey, 2003). This would provide evidence for the broader range of emotion regulation strategies in the meeting context (Grandey & Melloy, 2017). Given the generally better well-being and interpersonal outcomes associated with deep acting (Grandey & Melloy, 2017), it would be interesting to understand how perceived dissimilarity affects this type of regulation as well.

Other potential theoretical models may position display rules as an explanatory mechanism for the effects of dissimilarity on meeting interpersonal engagement or surface and even deep acting specifically (Imose & Finkelstein, 2018). Given the role of display rules as a particularly strong predictor of emotion management (Diefendorff et al., 2011), it may be possible that dissimilarity results in more emotion management because it heightens awareness of requirements for emotional display – a model not explored in this investigation. The sample size precludes more complex modeling of these relationships which should considered a priori before future investigations. Further, this investigation measured display rule awareness – a departure from typically used measures of display rule knowledge (e.g., DRAI; Matsumoto, Yoo, Hirayama, & Petrova, 2005). Future investigations may explore other related constructs like
agreement with display rules which may have additive or more significant influence in meeting contexts.

The significant influence of gender and race in further moderating the effects of perceived dissimilarity were particularly interesting. Two of these relationships were for perceived non-work-related deep-level differences in particular and speak to the intersectional way in which employees experience the workplace. Employees are not merely women or men, black or white, or introverts or extraverts, but rather black introverted women or white extraverted men. Intersectional theory calls for the consideration of how simultaneously occupying multiple social categories frames one’s work experiences and relevant outcomes (Cole, 2009). Despite a number of theories regarding the effects of multiple group membership such as the double jeopardy hypothesis (Barnum, Liden, & DiTomaso, 1995) or intersectional invisibility (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), there is a paucity of empirical research in this area. A 2019 report found that, compared to White men and White women, the pay gap is bigger for Black women (38% less and 21% less respectively). Further, they generally have less favorable experiences, reflect in higher reports of experiences of workplace micro-inequities (Gloria Cordes Larson Center for Women and Business, 2019). Such findings underscore the necessity of addressing this literature gap.

Instead of the more holistic dissimilarity measures used in the current investigation, it may be worthwhile to separately measure perceptions of difference with regard to the specific surface-level dimensions (e.g., race, gender, age). That approach would allow for the exploration of intersections across multiple surface-level categories. The double-jeopardy hypothesis may suggest that perceiving difference in gender and race in a meeting setting (e.g., being a Black woman in a meeting of mostly white males) may result in even less meeting engagement than
just perceiving difference in the gender category alone. Such investigations would be worthwhile as they may informed more targeted, and thus more effective, intervention approaches (e.g., for particularly vulnerable groups in this sample like White employees who perceived high deep-level differences as well).

Turning more fully to interventions, this work highlighted the deleterious influence of perceived dissimilarity in meeting contexts. Throughout the discussion, potential strategies have been highlighted (e.g., leaders role modeling authentic communications) that may be worthy of an entire stream of research that explores and validates meeting-based interventions. One emerging theme is the potential role of inclusion as a broadly effective meeting intervention strategy. Evidence for the influence of all dimensions of dissimilarity combined with the additive role of social category membership underscores the complexity of social identity. Inclusion approaches are particularly relevant here with the focus on accepting and championing all dimensions of difference. They also represent evidence-based strategies of which there are plenty that may be applicable in a meeting context.

For example, team members intentionally acknowledging and pulling in the ideas of their colleagues during meetings is related to greater group creativity and innovation (De Dreu & West, 2001) while also increasing information sharing (Mesmer-Magnus & De Church, 2009). Leaders using participative strategies in making decisions are also related to better outcomes for employees (Spencer, 1986). Both may be manipulated and examined as potential strategies for reducing the effects of dissimilarity in meeting contexts. Given that there are strategies that both colleagues and co-workers and leaders can use to drive greater inclusion, there are empirically testable questions regarding how status differences affect meeting interactions. Past research has found, for example, that emotion regulation in meetings was related to the presence of higher
status attendees (Shumski Thomas et al., 2018). In this intervention context, it would be interesting to tease apart whether there is differential influence of inclusive leader strategies compared to inclusive co-worker strategies in buffering the negative impact of perceived difference on meeting interpersonal engagement.

Conclusion

The goal of the current study was to explore how within-person variability in perceptions of dissimilarity influenced meeting interpersonal engagement. The study found that perceived dissimilarity in non-work-related deep-level differences in particular influenced two of the three meeting interpersonal engagement indicators. Analysis of contextual influences found that these relationships are further affected by status differences in race and gender (though not in the expected direction in most cases) and display rules. Collectively this investigation sheds new light on how difference affects how we engage at work and lays the foundation for future investigations of within-person variability in perceived dissimilarity in meeting contexts and the workplace more broadly.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX

STUDY MEASURES
Perceived Dissimilarity

*Surface-Level*
1. How visibly similar are you (on average) to other attendees of this meeting?
2. In terms of visible characteristics (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity), how similar are you to other attendees of this meeting?

*Work-Related Deep-Level*
1. How informationally similar are you (on average) to other attendees of this meeting?
2. In terms of work-related informational characteristics (e.g., education, professional background, work experiences), how similar are you to other attendees of this meeting?

*Non-Work-Related Deep-Level*
1. How similar are you (on average) in values to other attendees of this meeting?
2. In terms of non-work-related characteristics, (e.g., personality, personal values, lifestyle) how similar are you to other attendees of this meeting?

Response scale: 1, not at all similar; 7, very similar*

Adapted from Hobman et al, 2003; Liao et al., 2008
*Scores were reverse-coded for the analysis
Display Rule Salience

*Emotional display norms*

1. To what extent were you aware of this work group’s norms (unwritten rules) about the emotions that should be displayed (e.g., requirements to remain cheerful, sociable, etc.) during your meeting?

*General meeting rules*

2. To what extent were you aware of the work group’s general meeting rules (e.g., requirements to not interrupt others) during your meeting?

Response scale: 1, not at all aware; 5, extremely aware

Emotional Labor

“How often did you engage in each of the activities during this meeting.”

*Surface Acting*

1. Pretend to have emotions that you didn’t really have
2. Hide your true feelings about a situation
3. Resist expressing your true feelings

*Deep Acting*

1. Make an effort to actually feel the emotions that you must show
2. Really try to feel the emotions you have to show to be effective in the meeting
3. Try to actually experience the emotions that you must show

Response scale: 1, not at all; 5, to a great extent

Adapted from Brotheridge & Lee, 1998; Judge et al, 2009
Communication

Communication Frequency
1. During this meeting, how often did you communicate and contribute your perspective?

Response scale: 1, not at all; 5, to a great extent

Information Elaboration
1. While discussing with my meeting work group, I contributed to the development of ideas that none of us had thought of before
2. I was a major source of information about the task for other attendees
3. I came up with good ideas that will help us solve the problem
4. I helped this meeting work group generate new ideas

Response scale: 1, ;7, high degree of information elaboration

Adapted from Harvey, 2015
**Perceived Meeting Effectiveness**

Prompt: Rate the effectiveness of the meeting in terms of the following:

1. Achieving your own work goals
2. Achieving colleagues’ work goals
3. Achieving your department-section-unit’s goals
4. Providing you with an opportunity to acquire useful information
5. Providing you with an opportunity to meet, socialize, or network with people
6. Promoting commitment to what was said and done in the meeting

Response scale: 1, extremely ineffective; 5, extremely effective

Rogelberg et al, 2006

**Hierarchical Distance**

1. Will there be any meeting attendees of higher status also attending the meeting?

Response scale: 1, yes; 2, no

**Time working with group**

1. How long have you been working and meeting with this group? (weeks) ____

**Group Size**

1. How many workgroup members will be attending this meeting? (number, including yourself) ______

**Meeting Length**

1. How long will this meeting be? (minutes) _____

**Emotional intensity of meeting**

1. Please rate the emotional intensity of the meeting:

Response scale: 1, not at all emotional; 5; high emotional intensity
Cognitive demands: Knowledge characteristics from Work Design Questionnaire

*Information Processing*
1. This meeting required me to monitor a great deal of information
2. This meeting required me to engage in a large amount of thinking
3. This meeting required me to keep track of more than one thing at a time
4. This meeting required me to analyze a lot of information

*Problem Solving*
1. This meeting involved solving problems that have no obvious correct answer
2. This meeting required me to be creative
3. This meeting involved dealing with problems that I had not met before
4. This meeting required unique ideas or solutions to problems

Response scale: 1, strongly disagree; 5, strongly agree

Adapted from Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006

*Mental Demands*
1. How high were the mental demands of this meeting?

Response scale: 1, very low; 2, very high

Adapted from Task Load Index; Hart & Staveland, 1988

**Demographics**

1. Age: (years) ____
2. Gender (Please select one: Male/Female)
3. Race:
   a. White
   b. Black
   c. Hispanic/Latino
   d. Asian/Pacific Islander
   e. Native American
   f. Biracial
   g. Other: ____
4. Employment status
   a. Full time employment
   b. Part time employment
**Personality**

Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to you. Please write a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement. You should rate the extent to which the pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.

“I see myself as…”

1. Extravert, enthusiastic
2. Critical, quarrelsome
3. Dependable, self-disciplined
4. Anxious, easily upset
5. Open to new experiences, complex
6. Reserved, quiet
7. Sympathetic, warm
8. Disorganized, careless
9. Calm, emotionally stable
10. Conventional, uncreative

Response scale: 1, disagree strongly; 7, agree strongly
Self-monitoring

The statements below concern your personal reactions to a number of situations. NO two statements are exactly alike, so consider each statement carefully before answering. If a statement is true or mostly true as applied to you mark T as your answer. If a statement is false or not usually true as applied to you, mark F as your answer. It is important that you answer as frankly and as honestly as you can. Record your responses in the spaces provided on the left.

1. I find it hard to imitate the behavior of other people
2. My behavior is usually an expression of my true inner feelings, attitudes, and beliefs
3. At parties and social gatherings, I do not attempt to do or say others will like
4. I can only argue for ideas I already believe
5. I can make impromptu speeches even on topics about which I have almost no information
6. I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain people
7. When I am uncertain how to act in a social situation, I look to the behavior of others for cues
8. I would probably make a good actor
9. I rarely need the advice of my friends to choose movies, books, or music
10. I sometimes appear to others to be experiencing deeper emotions than I actually am
11. I laugh more when I watch a comedy with others than when alone
12. In a group of people I am rarely the center of attention
13. In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different people
14. I am not particularly good at making other people like me
15. Even if I am not enjoying myself, I often pretend to be having a good time
16. I’m not always the person I appear to be
17. I would not change my opinions (or the way I do things) in order to please someone else or win their favor
18. I have considered being an entertainer
19. In order to get along and be liked, I tend to be what people expect me to be rather than anything else
20. I have never been good at games like charades or improvisational acting
21. I have trouble changing my behavior to suit different people and different situations
22. At a party, I let others keep the jokes and stories going
23. I feel a bit awkward in company and do not show up quite so well as I should
24. I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for a right end)
25. I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them

Response scale: (T) True; (F) False

Snyder, 1974
Status/Resources

Organization-Based Self-Esteem

1. I count around here
2. I am taken seriously around here
3. I am important around here
4. I am trusted around here
5. There is faith in me around here
6. I can make a difference around here
7. I am valuable around here
8. I am helpful around here
9. I am efficient around here
10. I am cooperative around here

Response scale: 1, strongly disagree; 5, strongly agree

Pierce, Gardner, Cummings, & Dunham 1989

Power

1. I am seen as having power around here

Response scale: 1, strongly disagree; 5, strongly agree