

Shades of support: An empirical assessment of D&I policy support in organizations

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Abstract

In this research, we aim to develop a better understanding of the different ways in which employees can advance or resist the diversity and inclusion (D&I) policies implemented by their organization. To this end, we complement prior work by distinguishing between employees' attitudinal and behavioral opposition versus support for D&I policies. We combine these to distinguish different combinations of attitudinal and behavioral responses that characterize specific groups of employees, which we label opponents, bystanders, reluctants, and champions. In a large-scale survey study conducted among employees from seven organizations located in the Netherlands ($n = 2913$), we find empirical support for the validity of this taxonomy and its value in understanding the likelihood that employees advance or resist D&I policies. Furthermore, we find more convergence between attitudinal and behavioral support when employees perceive a more positive climate for inclusion. Together, these results advance existing scholarly work by providing both a theoretical account of and empirical evidence for the different ways in which D&I policies may find support or resistance from employees. In addition, our work offer practitioners a practical tool to examine the likelihood that D&I policies meet support or opposition from their employees and therefore enables them to design and implement more effective D&I interventions.

1 | INTRODUCTION

Diversity and inclusion (D&I) has become a central theme for many contemporary work organizations. Creating a diverse workforce in which all employees, regardless of their differences, feel included offers great potential. It may help organizations to comply with legal standards, to create a positive employment image, to better connect with their suppliers and clients, and to optimize internal work processes (Jackson & Joshi, 2011; Phillips et al., 2011). To reap these benefits, a growing number of organizations has implemented D&I

policies, including affirmative action policies, diversity training programs, employee resource groups, and mentoring systems (Kalev et al., 2006).

Unfortunately, such attempts to create a more diverse and inclusive organization are often ineffective (Dobbin & Kalev, 2016; Groeneveld & Verbeek, 2012; Kalev et al., 2006). Research suggests that a prime reason for the failure of many D&I policies is the lack of support—or even resistance—they receive from employees within the organization (Avery, 2011; Iyer, 2022; Oreg et al., 2011; Wentling, 2004). This opposition may come from both minority

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employees (who may face stereotype threat; Roberson & Kulik, 2007) and majority employees (who may feel overlooked; Jansen et al., 2015). This resistance resonates with broader societal changes. For example, in the United States, numerous states have recently implemented legislative changes banning the teaching of D&I topics (Ray & Gibbons, 2021).

Yet, empirical studies on how organization may identify origins of policy resistance and what they can do to foster more support are still scarce. Instead, prior work has mainly focused on examining diversity attitudes in a more general sense. One strand of work is aimed at identifying the extent to which people recognize and acknowledge the importance of diversity as an abstract value (i.e., the degree to which they have a positive stance towards the topic of D&I; see Rattan & Ambady, 2013 for a review). This line of work details that there are substantial differences in the degree to which people have positive attitudes towards the topic of D&I in general. Another prominent line of research is focused on revealing the degree to which people support specific D&I policies that are not necessarily implemented by their own organization (e.g., the degree to which are supportive of affirmative action policies as a tool to increase representation of minorities; cf. Harrison et al., 2006). This line of work details that people's resistance to or support for specific D&I policies is determined by both the content of the policy (e.g., the degree to which the D&I policy benefits some groups and not others), and the communications surrounding the implementation of the policy (e.g., whether or not the necessity of launching the policy is explained). Together, extrapolating these findings to an organizational context, there is likely to be significant variation in employees' support of organizational D&I policies.

However, to date, much less scholarly attention has been devoted to detailing the origins and nature of D&I policy support within organizations. As a result, we know very little about the attitudes and behaviors that lead employees to advance or resist actual D&I policies implemented by their organization, or what can be done to increase their support. This is unfortunate from both a scientific and an applied perspective. For scholars, gaining a better understanding of the range of responses employees can show to D&I policies within their organization will help them to better theorize when employees are most likely to oppose, accept, or advance D&I interventions. For D&I practitioners, identifying the reasons why and ways in which their policies may raise opposition and understanding under which conditions more support may be fostered allows them to design and implement more effective D&I interventions.

Accordingly, the purpose of the present research is to offer a better grasp on the prediction and development of D&I policy opposition versus support within organizations. To this end, we introduce a different approach separating attitudinal from behavioral support. This allows us to develop a novel taxonomy distinguishing between different classes of opposition versus support employees can show in response to D&I policies. This taxonomy categorizes employees into distinct groups depending on their attitudes and behaviors towards D&I policies within their organization. Next, we derive predictions about the distinction between attitudinal and behavioral

support and the relation between them. We empirically test the validity of our taxonomy and predictions in a large-scale cross-sectional data set collected among employees from several organizations.

1.1 | Attitudinal versus behavioral support for D&I policies

Our starting premise is that employees differ in the extent to which they have positive attitudes towards their organization's D&I policies and in the extent to which their behavior supports these policies (Avery, 2011). Attitudinal support refers to the extent to which employees consider the D&I policy good, meaningful, and credible. Behavioral support involves the extent to which employees contribute to the successful implementation of a D&I policy and publicly express their support for the policy. Attitudinal and behavioral D&I policy support are likely to be positively associated. The Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991, 2002) postulates that one's behavior is the result of one's positive attitudes towards that behavior. Indeed, with regard to the topic of D&I support, this prediction has already received some empirical backing (e.g., Hiemstra et al., 2017).

Yet, although we expect that attitudinal and behavioral support for D&I policies are related, we pose that at times they may also be distinct and that they should therefore be considered different constructs. This notion corresponds with ample evidence demonstrating a gap between one's attitudes, behavioral intentions, and actual behaviors (for a review see Sheeran & Webb, 2016). When it comes to D&I policy support, the attitude-behavior gap may be particularly pronounced, because social desirability pressure may force employees to publicly act favorably towards D&I policies irrespective of their deep-rooted attitudes. That is, employees may publicly express their support for D&I policies out of strategic considerations (e.g., the wish to be seen as a moral person) instead of intrinsic motivations. Similarly, it may be possible that employees have positive attitudes towards the organization's D&I policy, but do not voice these to others. For example, employees may refrain from publicly expressing their support for the organization's D&I policies because they anticipate this to be a dissenting opinion and fear to be rejected by others.

Together, we posit that employees may fall into one of four categories based on the degree to which they attitudinally and behaviorally support their organization's D&I policies. Our taxonomy is displayed in Figure 1.

Opponents are employees who do not stand behind the organization's D&I policy and also refrain from behaviors supporting the policy. These employees are most likely to resist the successful implementation of D&I interventions. Bystanders are employees who have a positive stance towards the organization's D&I policy, but do not support the policy with their actions. These are employees who, once confronted with the implementation of the D&I policy, will not hinder but also not help its realization. Reluctants are those who support the organization's D&I policy in their behaviors, but not in their attitudes. These are employees who visibly back the D&I policy but do so for different reasons than intrinsic motivation (cf. Bamberg &

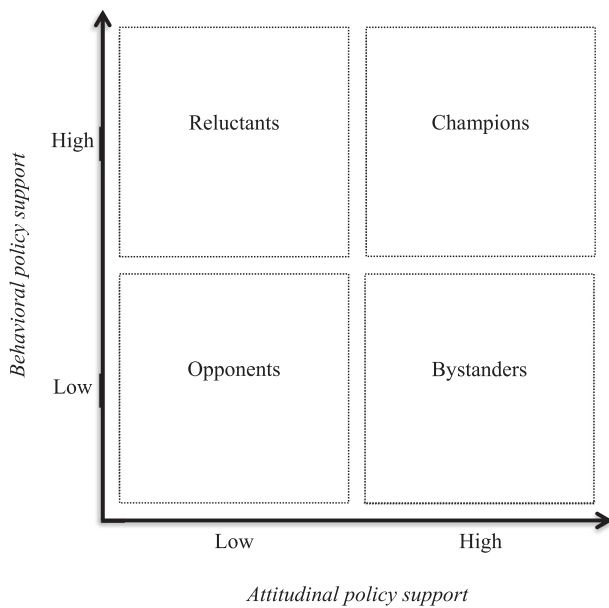


FIGURE 1 Taxonomy of Diversity and inclusion (D&I) policy support defined by attitudinal and behavioral policy support.

Verkuyten, 2021; Kutlaca & Radke, 2022). Finally, champions are those who not only have a positive view of the organization's D&I policy, but also actively engage in its successful implementation. These employees act as ambassadors of the policy to other employees.

1.2 | Aligning attitudes with behaviors: The role of climate for inclusion

Our taxonomy may prove useful to identify which employees are most likely to advance or resist the organization's D&I policies. A relevant follow-up question is how organizations may foster D&I policy support. Hence, we aim to provide empirical evidence for the conditions under which employees' positive attitudes towards D&I policies are also reflected in their behaviors. To do so, we again build on the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991, 2002) which delineates that the degree to which individuals' attitudes are aligned with their actual behaviors is in part determined by the social norm they experience (also see Avery, 2011; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005). In our context, this social norm refers to the belief that one's work environment is supportive of D&I (i.e., has a positive climate for inclusion; see Nishii, 2013). This implies that there will be more convergence between one's attitudes and behaviors towards organizational D&I policies when employees perceive a positive climate for inclusion. For example, when employees have a positive stance towards their organization's D&I policies, and when they perceive this also holds for their coworkers and leader, they are more likely to also display policy supporting behaviors (e.g., publicly voicing their support). In contrast, when employees are favorable towards the organization's D&I policies, but perceive to be alone in this regard, they will be more likely to refrain from policy supporting behaviors.

Hence, we expect that to the degree that employees have more positive climate for inclusion perceptions, the more likely it is that their positive attitudes towards the organization's D&I policy are reflected in their behaviors. In other words, our hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 1. The positive relationship between attitudinal D&I policy support and behavioral D&I policy support is stronger as climate for inclusion perceptions are more positive.

2 | METHOD

2.1 | Participants

To assess the validity of our taxonomy and to test our hypothesis, we conducted a large-scale survey study among employees. This study was approved by the Faculty Ethics Assessment Committee of Utrecht University. The study was part of a data collection project we developed at Utrecht University (i.e., the Netherlands Inclusivity Monitor). Participants were 8817 employees of seven different Dutch organizations. Of these people, 3677 employees opened and started the questionnaire. The 2913 employees who completed the questionnaire (34.74% male, 64.37% female, 0.65% indicated that they did not identify as male or female, 0.24% missing, $M_{age} = 43.77$, $SD_{age} = 11.76$) formed the study sample. A minority of our participants (8.89%) indicated being different from their coworkers in terms of ethnicity. Participants had been working at the organization for 9.66 years on average ($SD = 8.93$) for an average of 33.33 h a week ($SD = 4.91$). Furthermore, 12.11% of the participants held a managerial position (0.24% missing). Finally, 40.23% of the participants completed university education, 43.25% completed higher vocational education, 13.63% completed lower vocational education, 2.71% completed secondary school, and 0.03% completed primary school (0.14% missing).

2.2 | Procedure

Employees of the seven organizations were sent an email with a link to our online survey. After providing informed consent, participants were asked to complete a demographics form, which asked them to indicate their gender, age, number of years they have been employed at the organization, number of hours of paid work at the organization, and highest obtained level of education.

2.3 | Measures

2.3.1 | Attitudinal D&I policy support

Based on the theoretical framework of Avery (2011), we created a new scale to measure attitudinal D&I policy support. The items were assessed on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*)

to 7 (*completely agree*). We formulated five items: (1) "I think the D&I policy of this organization is good," (2) "I think the D&I policy of this organization is useful," (3) "I think the D&I policy of this organization is credible," (4) "I support the D&I policy of this organization," and (5) "I trust the D&I policy of this organization" ($\alpha = .92$).

2.3.2 | Behavioral D&I policy support

We also created a new scale to measure behavioral D&I policy support, consisting of four items, assessed on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *completely disagree*; 7 = *completely agree*): (1) "I contribute to the successful implementation of the D&I policy of my organization," (2) "I show others that I consider the diversity initiatives of my organization useful," (3) "I play an active role in letting the D&I policy of my organization succeed," and (4) "I publicly declare that I support the D&I policy of my organization" ($\alpha = .88$).

2.3.3 | Climate for inclusion

We assessed perceived climate for inclusion with six items measuring participants' perceptions of the ways in which people in the organization talk about and behave towards "people who are visibly or invisibly dissimilar from most others" (Boezeman et al., [in preparation](#)). For each item, which utilized a bipolar scale, participants indicated the extent to which they agreed more with the statement on the left side or with the statement on the right side. The scores ranged from 1 (*agreeing most with the left statement*) to 7 (*agreeing most with the right statement*) with a higher score indicating a more positive climate for inclusion. Examples of items were: "People who are visibly or invisibly dissimilar from most others are disadvantaged at work when making decisions about tasks, salary, etc.—... taken into account when making decisions about tasks, salary, etc.," and "They are seen as an inconvenience—They are seen as an asset" ($\alpha = .91$).

2.3.4 | Control variable

We controlled for the degree to which employees are aware of their organization's D&I policy, because we expect that this will vary between employees and consider it likely that this affects their attitudes and behaviors supporting the policy. We measured this with one item: "I have a clear picture of the D&I policy of my organization."

2.4 | Analytic strategy

Before testing our hypothesis, we conducted several preparatory analyses. Following the approach of Serrano-Archimi et al. (2018), this included assessing the validity of our measurement model, evaluating the presence of common method variance, and assessing the necessity of conducting multilevel analysis.

2.4.1 | Factor analyses

We first assessed the measures' factor structure with an exploratory factor analysis. We used principal axis factoring with a Direct Oblimin rotation. We found that all items loaded on their intended factors and that there were no cross-loadings above 0.30 (see Table 1). Next, we conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to obtain a more quantitative indicator of the validity of our measurement model. We specified a CFA model in which all items were specified to only load on their intended factor. Based on modification indices, we correlated two pairs of item errors (each within their own construct). The model displayed an acceptable fit to the data, $\chi^2/df = 6.10$, root mean square error of approximation = 0.04, comparative fit index = 0.99.

2.4.2 | Common method variance analysis

We investigated the possible presence of common method variance by adding an unmeasured latent factor (Podsakoff et al., 2003) to our measurement model. The model including this latent factor significantly improved model fit ($\Delta\chi^2 = 30,724$, $\Delta df = 15$, $p < .01$). This implies that some common method variance influenced the validity of the factor structure. The incremental explained variance was on average 10.84% per item. Although there is no clear consensus about cutoff values concerning the incremental explained variance of a common method bias factor, the findings of the meta-analysis of Williams et al. (1989) may serve as a benchmark. They found that, in all of the studies they examined, ~25% of the variance per item was due to common method bias. For the present study, this suggests that common method bias, even though present, is likely to be relatively low and probably did not impact our results substantially.

2.4.3 | Necessity of multilevel analysis

As our data were nested (employees within organizations), we assessed the necessity of conducting a multilevel analysis by calculating the intraclass correlation coefficients (ICC1s) and testing the significance of the between-group variance components of our study variables. An ICC1 statistic is defined as the proportion of between-group variance relative to the total amount of variance (Field, 2005). The ICC1s were as follows: attitudinal D&I policy support (0.08), behavioral D&I policy support (0.05), and climate for inclusion (0.06). None of the study variables had significant between-group variance components, implying that there was no need to control for the nested nature of our data.

3 | RESULTS

3.1 | Descriptive statistics

Table 2 displays the descriptive statistics and intercorrelations of our study variables.

TABLE 1 Factor analysis of study variables (principal axis factoring with a direct oblimin rotation, factor loadings > 0.30).

Item	Factor		
	1	2	3
Factor 1: Attitudinal support			
I think the D&I policy of this organization is good.	0.92		
I think the D&I policy of this organization is useful.	0.80		
I think the D&I policy of this organization is credible.	0.92		
I support the D&I policy of this organization.	0.73		
I trust the D&I policy of this organization.	0.91		
Factor 2: Behavioral support			
I contribute to the successful implementation of the D&I policy of my organization.		0.76	
I show others that I consider the diversity initiatives of my organization useful.		0.84	
I play an active role in letting the D&I policy of my organization succeed.		0.94	
I publicly declare that I support the D&I policy of my organization.		0.83	
Factor 3: Climate for inclusion			
People who are visibly or invisibly dissimilar from most others are			
...looked down upon—...admired			0.79
...seen as an inconvenience—...seen as an asset			0.66
...are disadvantaged in decisions—...are taken into account in decisions			0.81
...have bad things said about them—...have good things said about them			0.87
...preferably excluded—... preferably included			0.85
...not seen as important—...seen as very important			0.73

Abbreviation: D&I, diversity and inclusion.

TABLE 2 Descriptive statistics and intercorrelations of study variables.

Construct	M	SD	α	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Attitudinal D&I policy support	4.62	1.14	.92	-			
2. Behavioral D&I policy support	4.21	1.25	.88	.49**	-		
3. Climate for inclusion	4.34	0.93	.91	.40**	.17**	-	
4. D&I policy awareness	3.80	1.59	-	.56**	.44**	.20**	-

Abbreviation: D&I, diversity and inclusion.

** $p < .01$.

3.2 | Taxonomy of D&I policy support groups

In line with our proposed taxonomy of D&I policy support groups (see Figure 1), we first categorized respondents into one of the four policy support groups by performing a *k*-means cluster analysis. In this analysis, cases are allocated to one of *k* clusters such that there is minimal within-cluster variation and maximal between-cluster variation in terms of one or more variables (Beauchaine & Beauchaine, 2002). As input parameters

for our analysis, we defined four clusters (based on our taxonomy¹) and entered the *z* scores on the attitudinal and behavioral component of policy support as the determinant variables of the clusters. The resulting clusters are largely consistent with the proposed D&I policy support taxonomy. Inspection of the scatterplot (Figure 2) indicates a clear presence of the expected champions, bystanders, and opponents clusters. However, the expected cluster of reluctants was somewhat less clearly defined with scores being closer to the middle of the plot, indicating more neutral responses. Table 3 displays the prevalence of each of the four D&I policy support groups, demonstrating that champions and reluctants were in the majority and bystanders and opponents in the minority.

3.3 | Hypothesis testing

To test Hypothesis 1, we used the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013; v3.2, Model 1) with attitudinal policy support (mean-centered) as the predictor, perceived inclusion climate (mean-centered) as the moderator, and behavioral policy support as the outcome variable. Attitudinal policy support and inclusion climate accounted for a significant amount of variance in behavioral policy support, $R^2 = .505$, $F(3, 2602) = 297.39$, $p < .001$. As can be seen in

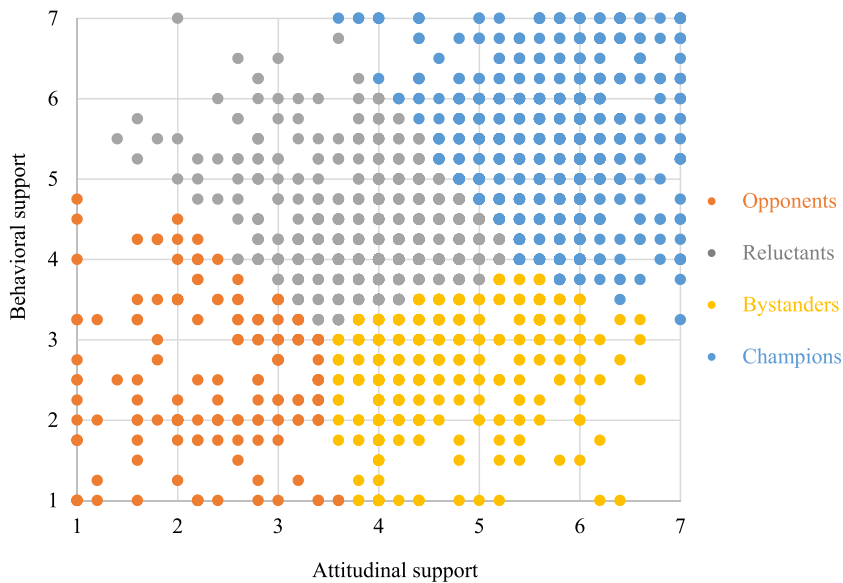


FIGURE 2 Scatterplot of behavioral and attitudinal diversity and inclusion (D&I) policy support.

TABLE 3 Prevalence of members in different policy support groups.

Policy support group	<i>n</i>	%
Opponents	177	6.79
Reluctants	1041	39.95
Bystanders	485	18.61
Champions	903	34.65
Total	2606	100

TABLE 4 Moderation analysis results for behavioral D&I policy support.

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Attitudinal support	.57 [−.45, .20]	0.02	27.75	<.001
Inclusion climate	−.03 [−1.15, −.50]	0.03	−1.03	.304
Attitudinal support × inclusion climate	.10 [−.54, .10]	0.02	6.497	<.001

Note: Attitudinal D&I policy support and perceived inclusion climate were mean-centered. Values in brackets refer to 95% confidence intervals. Higher values on the outcome variable indicate higher levels of behavioral D&I policy support.

Abbreviation: D&I, diversity and inclusion.

Table 4, attitudinal policy support was positively associated with behavioral support, $b = .57$, $SE = 0.02$, $t(2602) = 27.75$, $p < .001$. Confirming Hypothesis 1, this relationship was moderated by climate for inclusion, $b = .10$, $SE = 0.02$, $t(2602) = 6.50$, $p < .001$, such that the relationship between attitudinal and behavioral support was stronger when employees perceived a high climate for inclusion ($b = .66$, $SE = 0.03$, $t = 25.33$, $p < .001$) than when they perceived a low climate for inclusion ($b = .47$, $SE = 0.02$, $t = 19.40$, $p < .001$; see Figure 3).

4 | DISCUSSION

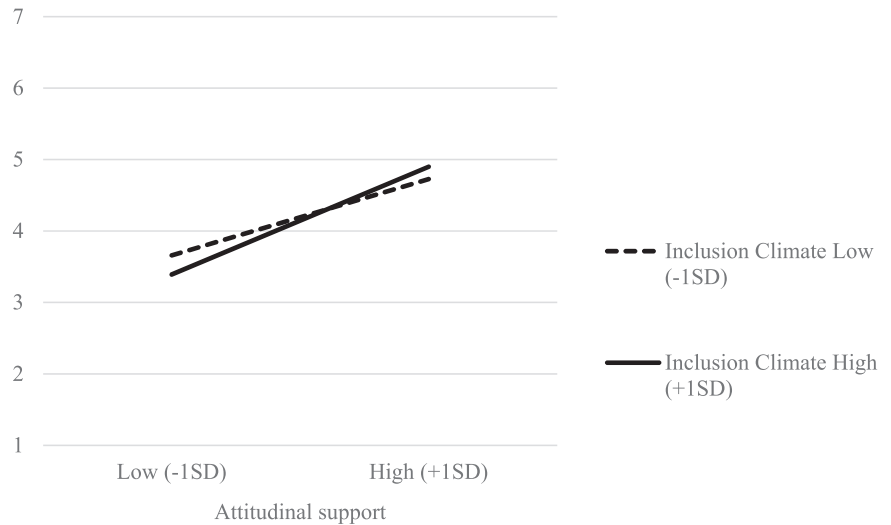
The present research delivered empirical support for the extent to which employees support organizational D&I policies. In doing so, we advance the existing body of research in three ways.

First, we introduced and tested a novel framework for studying employees' support for the D&I policies implemented by their own organization. In doing so, our work is an extension of prior research which has mostly focused on people's attitudes towards diversity in general or towards policies that are not necessarily implemented by their own organization. Based on Avery's (2011) model of diversity support, we demonstrated that attitudinal and behavioral D&I policy support are related, yet distinct concepts. We provided empirical evidence that employees can be divided into four D&I policy support groups depending on the strength of both types of support. We labeled these groups as opponents, bystanders, reluctants, and champions.

Second, we created new measurement scales to assess attitudinal and behavioral D&I policy support, which are empirically distinguishable and internally reliable. As mentioned, little research to date has focused on employees' support for D&I policies as they are enacted in their organizations (Hiemstra et al., 2017). By providing the measurement scales, we hope to encourage more investigations in this area. There is good reason to expect people's support for D&I policy to be different depending on whether they are asked about the D&I policy of their organization or D&I policy in a more abstract sense (whether it concerns specific policy initiatives or not). After all, people may be more critical of the D&I policy in their organization, as it is easier to see the consequences of it in action or believe that the intent may be good but its implementation less so.

Third, we provided empirical evidence for the conditions under which employees' positive attitudes towards D&I policies are also reflected in their behaviors. We found that the degree to which employees' attitudinal support was aligned with their behavioral support depended on the belief that one's work environment is

FIGURE 3 Relationship between attitudinal and behavioral support moderated by climate for inclusion.



supportive of D&I. Supporting our hypothesis, we found that when employees had more positive climate for inclusion perceptions, the more likely it was that their positive attitudes towards the organization's D&I policy were reflected in their behaviors.

4.1 | Practical implications

Our study not only advances the scientific body of knowledge about D&I policy support, but also has a number of important practical implications. The taxonomy we developed will help D&I practitioners to gain a better understanding of the extent to which their policies are supported. In particular, our taxonomy shows that employees whose attitudes are in favor of the organizational D&I policy do not necessarily express these attitudes in their behavior. Hence, there may be more support than one would assume based on what employees show. This is further illustrated by our finding that opponents constituted a small minority of the employees we examined. As these employees are likely to be most vocal, it is important for practitioners to remain aware of the possibility that the majority of employees in fact either have a neutral or a positive stance towards the organizations' D&I policy.

In addition, the measurement scales we developed can be used by practitioners (e.g., in their annual employee satisfaction surveys) to gain a clearer picture of the prevalence of the different support groups present in the organization. This information can be used not only to pinpoint where possible resistance to D&I policies may occur, but also to develop interventions to bolster support. For example, if there appears to be a large proportion of bystanders (i.e., those high in attitudinal support and low in behavioral support), training and enabling employees to act in ways that benefit the successful implementation of the D&I policy seems a fruitful strategy. In contrast, when there appears to be a large proportion of reluctant (i.e., those low in attitudinal support and high in behavioral support), this requires a closer examination of why these employees are skeptical. This can either be for opportunistic reasons (i.e., they want

to appear as unprejudiced by publicly supporting the D&I policy, while in fact they hold prejudiced beliefs; Bamberg & Verkuyten, 2021; Kutlaca & Radke, 2022) or for more constructive reasons (i.e., they hold a critical view of the current D&I policies, but are nevertheless supporting their implementation because "doing something is better than doing nothing"). Understanding and addressing the concerns of the latter group may help the organization to design and implement more effective D&I policies.

4.2 | Limitations and directions for future research

A first limitation of this research is that we used cross-sectional survey data to test our hypothesis. Therefore, we are not able to draw any causal conclusions. That is, with these data we cannot determine with full certainty that positive attitudes towards D&I policies result in supportive behavior, merely that there is a positive association between the two constructs. However, based on theoretical notions (Ajzen, 1991, 2002) and prior work (Hiemstra et al., 2017), we do expect such a causal relationship to exist. Future work may advance the body of research by adopting different research designs, such as experiments or longitudinal survey studies.

A second limitation of our study is that all data were self-reported, which can inflate common method bias (Podsakoff et al., 2003). Although the results of our factor analyses demonstrated the lack of overlap between the scales we used, we did find there was substantial noise due to common method bias. Hence, future studies could attempt to obtain objective indicators of behavioral D&I policy support (e.g., whether employees attend diversity training programs). Similarly, behavioral indicators of D&I policy support could be obtained by adopting a round-robin survey design in which employees are asked to indicate the extent to which others display D&I policy supporting behaviors. Such triangulation of multiple data sources would further increase the reliability and validity of the present results.

5 | CONCLUSIONS

This research sought to develop a better understanding of the degree to which employees support D&I policies and how organizations may foster D&I policy support. To do so, we introduced and tested a new taxonomy of D&I policy support. We demonstrated that employees differ in their attitudinal and behavioral support for D&I policies, resulting in four distinct categories of D&I policy supporters. In addition, we showed that employees' positive attitudes towards D&I policies are more aligned with their behavioral support to the extent that they perceive a more positive climate for inclusion. Together, our research advances existing scholarly work and offers practitioners practical tools to examine the degree to which their D&I policies find support among their employees.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are openly available in Open Science Framework at <https://osf.io/hkj4m/>, reference number DOI 10.17605/OSF.IO/HKJ4M. We archived an electronic copy of the anonymized raw data and the syntax file on the Open Science Framework (DOI 10.17605/OSF.IO/HKJ4M).

ETHICS STATEMENT

The study reported in this manuscript was approved by the ethics committee of the Faculty of Social Sciences of Utrecht University and was conducted in full compliance with ethical standards.

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ENDNOTE

¹ In addition to this theory-informed decision, we conducted a data-based approach to determine the number of clusters. This analysis is included in Supporting Information S1: Appendix 1. The results provide no reason to deviate from our choice to set *k* equal to four.

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