

The Impact of College Experience on Future Job Seekers' Diversity Readiness

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Abstract

Many organizations value workplace diversity and devote large expenditures to achieve this. As a college student entering the workplace, being diversity ready represents an asset to organizations. This study considers the impact of college on students' diversity attitudes and their diversity readiness in preparation for encountering a diverse workforce. Therefore, we examine whether level of diversity exposure relates to diversity attitudes in incoming students, and whether time in college, one's minority status, or one's major might affect their diversity attitudes. We also examine the relationship between diversity attitudes and diversity behavioral intent for students who are about to enter the workforce given that being diversity ready may be seen as an asset to organizations. Results suggest that one's level of exposure, time in college, and major predict diversity attitudes to a limited extent. However, minority status strongly predicts one's diversity attitudes and diversity attitudes also strongly predict diversity behavioral intent.

Keywords: Diversity, Attitudes, College Experience

Introduction

Though organizational scholars remain divided on the effects of diversity on work group performance (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998; Webber & Donahue, 2001), for managers and practitioners the costs associated with mismanaging diversity are clear (Jackson et al., 1992; Robinson & Dechant, 1997)--increased turnover and absenteeism among disenfranchised groups, and the organization becoming a target of costly lawsuits. Additionally, organizations with a poor diversity reputation lose their competitive edge and may struggle to market their products to an increasingly diverse consumer base (Cox & Blake, 1991; Robinson & Dechant, 1997). Thus, employers continue to value diversity in their organizations and make significant expenditures to create and maintain diversity in the workplace. More than 70 percent of Fortune 500 companies have diversity initiatives (Digh, 1998; SHRM, 1997) and US companies are estimated to spend between \$200 and \$300 million a year on diversity training (Flynn, 1998).

This emphasis by organizations suggests that a diverse workplace is fast becoming a fact of life, and future employees should be prepared to participate in an organizational culture where diversity is embraced and comfortably interacting with diverse others is expected. If college age job-seekers can enter the workplace having exposure to diverse environments and positive diversity attitudes, they may appear more attractive to potential employers. One may therefore consider examining the college experience of students as an indication of relevant influences on diversity readiness. Universities serve as an important point of contact with diverse others and this contact may shape and inform individual diversity attitudes.

Therefore, in this paper, we examine the college experience of students as an indication of relevant influences on diversity readiness. Given that universities serve as an important point of contact with diversity others, this contact may shape and inform individual diversity attitudes.

Literature Review

Examining diversity attitudes in higher education have been of interest to researchers since *Brown v. Board of Education* (Engberg, 2004). University environments in particular present an ideal environment for studying race relations and resulting diversity attitudes given that higher education also provides many individuals their first opportunity for “meaningful cross-racial interaction” (Chang, 2002, p. 1). Studies of diversity attitudes using a student sample have therefore focused on interventions such as facilitating direct contact as well as redesigning curricula to facilitate improved intergroup attitudes.

The findings of prior related research provide a good foundation for examining students’ diversity attitudes as they evolve over students’ college years. We seek to further contribute to this literature by sequentially examining the attitudes of students upon entry, across their four years, and the implications of their diversity attitudes upon leaving college. It is also our position that examining students’ diversity attitudes may provide valuable insight into how these attitudes evolve and the implications of such for both educational institutions and business organizations. The hypothesized relationships are presented in Figure 1.

Diversity Attitudes

Generally speaking, an attitude is a summary evaluative tendency toward a psychological object captured in attribute dimensions such as good/bad, (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2000; Eagly & Chaiken, 1998). Given that attitudes develop around evaluative responding implies that an attitude encompasses direct and indirect experiences of individuals. Through experience it becomes plausible for a variety of attitudes including those related to diversity to be developed. Diversity attitudes involve being aware of and accepting both the similarities and differences that exist among individuals (Miville et al, 1999).

Diversity Attitudes and Contact

Experiences that occur with dissimilar others result in mental associations linking diverse others with relevant prior experience and a corresponding diversity attitude. Experience is integral in attitude formation and the contact hypothesis suggests that intergroup attitudes may be improved by interaction with dissimilar others.

Contact Hypothesis

Intergroup contact has long been considered one of psychology’s most effective strategies for improving intergroup relations (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003). The contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Pettigrew and Tropp 2000) therefore has represented a promising and popular avenue for reducing intergroup bias and conflict. Support for the contact hypothesis has been found in the literature as Amir (1969) found that the extent to which individuals interact with different cultural groups results in more positive attitudes toward people from those groups. More recent research supports the notion that closer contact mitigates negative views of different groups. Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) reported the results of a meta-analytic review of tests of the contact hypothesis based on 203 studies involving over 90,000 participants. Cheng (1999) found that a racially diverse environment on college campuses increases the likelihood that groups will socialize with each other and discuss racial issues. Brickson (2000) also shows that a large body of research illustrates the positive effects of contact specifically in educational settings settings, which has particular relevance for this study. The empirical evidence suggests that contact has an important role in explaining positive attitudes toward diverse others. As such the following hypothesis is offered:

H1: Individuals who have been exposed to more diverse environments will have more positive diversity attitudes

Diversity Attitudes across College Years and Curriculum

Support has been found in the literature for the effect of intergroup contact on attitude change through interpersonal attraction, and studying the cumulative effects of contact will be useful in better understanding the phenomena.

Both lab and longitudinal studies have been helpful in shedding light on the intergroup effects of prolonged contact, but in general more studies examining this relationship are necessary. This sentiment is echoed by Lopez (2004) who suggests that it is necessary for researchers to confirm whether long-term patterns of intergroup contact may have the greatest impact compared to more short term or situational contact that is often studied. As such we propose to examine the following hypothesis as a means of assessing whether prolonged contact with diverse others across one's college years should show more positive diversity attitudes above and beyond isolated contact:

H2: Students will show more positive diversity attitudes the longer they are in a diverse college environment

Pettigrew and Troop (2000) reported that contact effect sizes were greater for White Americans than others who have traditionally held minority status and disadvantaged positions in the United States. Given that White Americans typically come to higher education institutions from more ethnically homogenous environments, it would seem that they would be more able to gain new insight from interacting with individuals from other groups (Gurin, Peng, Lopez, and Nagda, 1999). For other minority students, ethnically diverse environments are more likely to be familiar given the demographic reality and necessity of such interactions (Gurin et al., 1999).

Given that intergroup contact with non-minorities is likely to be more prevalent for minorities, the expectation is that across their four year college experience, their interaction with dissimilar others will be familiar enough that it may not result in extensive changes in their intergroup attitude. However, because of the restricted contact with minority groups that is common to most White Americans, increased outgroup contact for non-minorities over their college years may result in more positive diversity attitudes for dissimilar others with whom they would have previously had limited interaction.

H3: Non-minorities will show more changes in their diversity attitudes as compared to minorities across four years of college

When considering other specific choices across a student's college life that may affect their attitudes, choice of college major may potentially affect on diversity attitudes. Previous research relating diversity attitudes and curriculum indicates that experience with a diversity-related curriculum results in generally positive outcomes. Lopez (2004) found that a curriculum that included race and ethnicity predicted higher levels of racial awareness and support for equity programs among White students. Hurtado (2005) also found that during an academic year, students who engaged in diversity related courses scored higher on a number of outcomes such as cultural awareness, pluralistic orientation, and the belief that racial inequality is a problem. Similarly, Gurin, Nagda, and Lopez (2004) specifically found that enrollment in diversity courses influenced racial attitudes across racial groups.

Given the content of college majors, it is not inconceivable that a student's major choice may expose them to curriculum differences. In social science areas such as psychology and philosophy, students are more likely to take courses which include race and gender issues and focus on intergroup awareness, tolerance, and interaction. Business students on the other hand, receive some exposure to diversity related but still have fewer compulsory courses which focus on intergroup differences. We therefore expect that students who are more exposed to issues surrounding intergroup contact may across their college life establish a more positive attitude toward diversity than students who typically have less exposure to the subject matter. We therefore hypothesize that:

H4: Non-business majors will show more positive diversity attitudes as compared to business majors across four years of college

Diversity Attitudes and Diversity Intent

Based on the theory of reasoned action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) attitudes affecting behavioral intentions are influenced by the extent to which individuals associate behavior with positive or negative outcomes. This follows from the premise of the theory that intentions to behave have a direct impact on actual behavior and that intentions are predicted in part by attitudes. Evidence of the close relation between intent and behaviors has been shown in a review of studies related to the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen, 1991).

Following the logic of the theory of reasoned action and planned behavior which suggests that behavioral intent is partially predicted by attitudes, we expect that intentions to engage in diversity related behavior, or diversity behavioral intent will be associated with positive diversity attitudes.

Consistent with previous research, diversity behavioral intent refers to the intent to engage in behaviors that are appropriate in a diverse organizational setting (Linnehan, Chrobot-Mason, & Konrad, 2006) such as diversity awareness and cross cultural awareness. Linnehan, Konrad, Reitman, Greenhalgh, and London (2003) suggest that focusing on behaviors and their related intentions may be more useful to managers and diversity trainers. They suggest diversity related behaviors and intent may signal employees who are able to work in and interact with others in a diverse environment. To the extent that employees enter an organization diversity ready, possessing the relevant positive diversity attitudes and diversity behavioral intent, they may appear more attractive to employers who value diversity. Building on Fishbein and Azjen's work on the Theory of Planned Behavior, we expect that the development of more positive diversity attitudes across one's years in college will be associated with improved diversity behavioral intent. The following hypothesis will therefore be tested:

H5: Intentions to engage in diversity related behavior will be positively related to diversity attitudes for graduating college age students

Methods

Participants

Participants were recruited from business and psychology courses from a large predominantly White university in the Southeastern United States and a Historically Black College and University (HBCU) located in the eastern United States. A total of 637 participants provided complete responses for all instruments. Sixty-two percent of the subjects self reported their race as non-minority (White American) and approximately 51 percent of the sample was female. The average age of participants was between 20 and 21 years old and 51 percent were Business majors. Approximately 24 percent of the participants were underclassmen. Table 1 provides a detailed demographic cross section of the study participants.

Measures

Level of Diversity. Level of Diversity assesses how much diversity student were exposed to in their community growing up. This was measured using a single item on a three point scale with 1=exposure to environments with <10 percent minority representation, 2=exposure to an environment with 10-25 percent minority representation, and 3=exposure to environments with >25 percent minority participation.

Measures of four diversity attitudes were collected. They include measures of affirmative action attitudes (AAA), symbolic prejudice (SP), general egalitarianism (GE), and personal value of diversity (PVD). Each was assessed using a Likert scale ranging from "1" Strongly Disagree to "6" Strongly Agree.

Affirmative Action Attitudes. Attitudes toward affirmative action refer to an individual's favorable or unfavorable perceptions related to affirmative action programs. This was measured using a five-item scale developed by Bell et al. (1997). In our sample, the coefficient alpha reliability of this scale was $\alpha=.76$.

Symbolic Prejudice. The measure of Symbolic Prejudice reflects an individual's abstract or sociocultural beliefs about the beneficiaries of affirmative action programs. It was measured using a four-item scale developed by Little, Murry, and Wimbush (1989). Higher scores represented more prejudice. The obtained coefficient alpha reliability in our study sample was $\alpha=.82$.

General Egalitarianism. General Egalitarianism addresses perceptions of equality in society. It was measured using a six item scale developed by Federico and Sidanius (2000). The coefficient alpha reliability obtained in our sample was $\alpha=.81$.

Personal Value of Diversity. Personal Value of Diversity reflects the instrumentality of diversity. It was measured using three items developed by Mor Barak, Cherin, and Berkman (1998) who reported reliability of $\alpha=.53$. The reliability obtained in our sample was $\alpha=.66$.

Two measures of diversity intent were assessed. These were measures of diversity awareness (DA) and cross cultural conflict (CCC). Each of the scales represented subscales developed and validated by Helm, Sedlacek and Prieto (1998) using factor analyzed diversity initiative items. Each scale used a Likert scale ranging from “1” Strongly Disagree to “6” Strongly Agree.

Diversity Awareness. Diversity Awareness reflects being conscious of appropriate actions related to diverse others. It was measured using six items with a reported coefficient alpha reliability of $\alpha=.67$ which was consistent with the alpha of $\alpha=.70$ obtained in our sample.

Cross Cultural Comfort. Cross Cultural Comfort involves being comfortable in situations with or directly interacting with race and ethnicity. This may refer to one’s perception of their own or of others’ race/ethnicity. It is measured using five items with a reported coefficient alpha of $.73$ which was consistent with the coefficient alpha reliability of $\alpha=.72$ obtained in our sample.

Results

The means, standard deviations and zero order correlations for all study variables are presented in Table 2. Hypothesis 1 states that those who had been exposed to more diverse environments would have more positive diversity attitudes. We tested this hypothesis using underclassmen (i.e., freshman and sophomores) and the results are summarized in Table 3. Among the diversity attitudes, only the general egalitarianism and personal value of diversity of underclassman was significantly associated with the amount of diversity exposure ($r = .08, p < .05$; $r = .09^*, p < .05$). The means for the different levels of diversity were in the hypothesized direction with those who had been exposed to higher levels of diversity having more positive attitudes than those who had less exposure, though most differences are relatively small. Overall, Hypothesis 1 received minimal support.

Hypothesis 2 states that students would have more positive diversity attitudes the longer they are in a college environment and these results are summarized in Table 4. Though each of the four attitudes was significantly predicted by one’s year in college, the means for general egalitarianism were not in the hypothesized direction. Underclassmen received higher means than upperclassmen suggesting higher levels of general egalitarianism earlier in college life. Each of the effect sizes were fairly strong and ranged from $r=.11, p<.05$ to $r=.24, p<.001$. Hypothesis 2 therefore received moderate support overall.

Hypothesis 3 states that non-minorities would show changes in their diversity attitudes than minorities over four years of college. Effect sizes were significant for all the diversity attitudes (General Egalitarianism, $r=.33, p<.001$; Personal Value of Diversity, $r=.14, p<.01$; Affirmative Action Attitudes, $r=.32, p<.001$; Symbolic Prejudice, $r=.26, p<.001$). However, the means were not in the hypothesized direction. Table 5 summarizes the results. In general, the means for minority students was higher than those for non-minority students. More specifically, the means for upperclassmen minority students at non-HBCU were higher than for any other group on all of the diversity attitudes (General Egalitarianism, $M=4.677, SD=.855$; Personal Value of Diversity, $M=4.933, SD=.805$; Affirmative Action Attitudes, $M=3.878, SD=.960$; Symbolic Prejudice, $M=4.833, SD=.927$). For the HBCU minority students, underclassmen more frequently had higher means on diversity attitudes. Hypothesis 3 received partial support.

Hypothesis 4 states non-business majors will show more positive diversity attitudes compared to business majors across four years. These results are reported in Table 6. All of the diversity attitudes were significantly predicted by major and year in college (General Egalitarianism, $r=.26, p<.001$; Personal Value of Diversity, $r=.11, p<.05$; Affirmative Action Attitudes, $r=.24, p<.001$; Symbolic Prejudice, $r=.22, p <.001$). The means for Personal Value of Diversity and Symbolic Prejudice were in the hypothesized direction however the other means were not. Interestingly, the affirmative action attitudes of business majors actually declined slightly during college. Thus, Hypothesis 4 is partially supported.

An additional analysis was conducted to examine all four potential influencers on a diversity attitudes during college—campus, minority status, year and major. Results of a multiple regression analysis indicate that these variables predict differences in diversity attitudes to different extents. In most cases, minority status is the dominant predictor of attitudes, but for three of the four attitudes, at least one other variable contributes to prediction beyond minority status. Personal Value of Diversity was the least well predicted by these variables and was the one variable that was not correlated with minority status.

Hypothesis 5 states intentions to engage in diversity related behavior will be positively related to diversity attitudes for graduating college age students Table 7 summarizes the results from the regression which shows that in general all of the diversity attitudes significantly predicted diversity awareness and three of the four diversity attitudes significantly predicted cross cultural comfort. Specifically, Personal Value of Diversity had the largest effect size across both indicators of diversity behavioral intent (Cross Cultural Comfort, $r=.53$, $p<.001$; Diversity Awareness, $r=.47$, $p<.001$). Though affirmative action attitudes significantly predicted diversity awareness, it did not predict cross cultural comfort. Thus, Hypothesis 5 received moderate support.

Discussion

Results of this study suggest that the level of exposure to diverse environments before and during college appear to be associated, at least to some extent, with the diversity attitudes of college students. Students from more diverse backgrounds on average did possess more positive diversity attitudes—they were more diversity ready—than those coming from less diverse backgrounds. Further, the level of diversity of college campus seem to play a small roll in enhancing several diversity attitudes during the time individual spend in college.

The strongest predictor of most diversity attitudes, though, was minority status. Individuals that come from environments where they were members of race minorities do enter college more diversity aware. This may suggest that while these individual may come from either more or less diverse backgrounds, being a member of the minority population predisposes individuals to develop greater diversity awareness irrespective of the level of diversity in one's environment. This explanation is supported by the experiences of minority college students who attended a HBCU. While the diversity attitudes of non-minorities generally increased during college, the diversity attitudes of minority students in a college environment in which they were the majority stayed the same or declined slightly during their college years.

Each of the diversity attitudes significantly predicted diversity behavior intent indicated by cross cultural comfort and diversity awareness. As suggested earlier this finding has direct implications for both educational institutions as well as employers. Knowing that diversity attitudes predict diversity behavioral intent, there is an opportunity for educational institutions to provide programs which further promote diversity attitudes throughout students' college experiences.

A limitation of the study was the lack of participation by non-minority (White, Caucasian) students from the HBCU campus. The impact of participating as a minority member in a college community where they are effectively minority members would have been particularly interesting and a strong test of the contact hypothesis and would have permitted a deeper investigation of the role that minority status plays in the development of diversity awareness. Further, even though the non-HBCU campus did offer racial and ethnic diversity, this campus was still relatively homogenous.

Overall the results from the study were promising as many of the factors we identified predicted diversity attitudes. Also, diversity attitudes were strongly predictive of diversity behavioral intent in upperclassmen. To the extent that educational institutions can successfully influence students' diversity attitudes across their college life both formally and informally, they may be able to systematically address some of the workplace issues which result from strained interpersonal relations around diversity. Similarly, organizations can also derive benefits from employees who are aware of and equipped to handle the challenges of a diverse organizational environment. The findings which ran contrary to the hypothesized directions may also provide an indication of interesting phenomenon which may be worth exploring. In particular, the finding that minority attitudes were generally better than that of non-minority's across their four years in college even though they are in a predominantly non-minority environment is interesting. This may indicate the need to focus on minority attitudes as most previous studies have more often explored non-minority attitude changes toward minority group members. Future studies should attempt to address these concerns which will undoubtedly add value to this body of literature.

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Figure 1

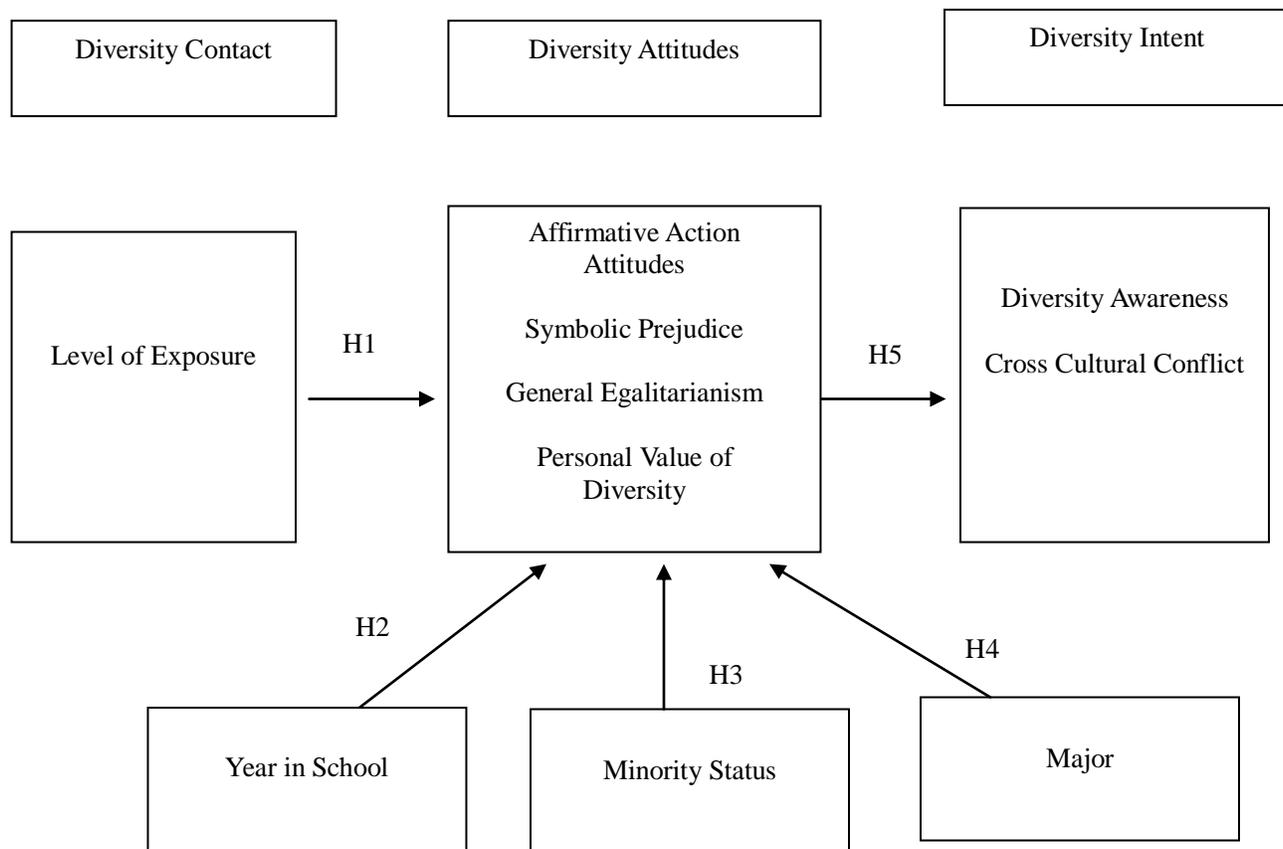


Table 1: Cross Section of Participants by Campus and Race/Ethnicity, Major, and Upper- versus Underclassmen

Year in School	Major		Campus and Race			Total
			Non-HBCU Non-Minority	Non-HBCU Minority	HBCU Minority	
Underclassmen	Business	Count	47	9	12	68
		% within Major	69.1	13.2	17.6	100.0
		% within Campus and Race	46.5	29.0	66.7	45.3
		% of Total	31.3	6.0	8.0	45.3
	Non Business	Count	54	22	6	82
		% within Major	65.9	26.8	7.3	100.0
		% within Campus and Race	53.5	71.0	33.3	54.7
		% of Total	36.0	14.7	4.0	54.7
Upperclassmen	Business	Count	130	48	81	259
		% within Major	50.2	18.5	31.3	100.0
		% within Campus and Race	44.1	48.0	88.0	53.2
		% of Total	26.7	9.9	16.6	53.2
	Non Business	Count	165	52	11	228
		% within Major	72.4	22.8	4.8	100.0
		% within Campus and Race	55.9	52.0	12.0	46.8
		% of Total	33.9	10.7	2.3	46.8

Table 2: Means, standard deviations and zero order correlations for all study variables

Variable	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. General Egalitarianism	4.30	.92	(.81)									
2. Personal Value of Diversity	4.74	.74	.38**	(.66)								
3. Affirmative Action Attitudes	3.51	.92	.51**	.18**	(.76)							
4. Symbolic Prejudice	4.51	1.00	.60**	.32**	.53**	(.82)						
5. Diversity Awareness	4.00	.76	.34**	.46**	.29**	.27**	(.70)					
6. Cross Cultural Comfort	4.66	.69	.21**	.55**	.08*	.22**	.32**	(.72)				
7. Level of Diversity	2.11	.81	.08*	.09*	.04	.04	-.01	.14**	--			
8. Year in School ^a	1.76	--	-.03	.02	.08*	.04	.02	-.01	-.07	--		
9. Major ^b	1.49	--	.05	.05	-.02	.02	.02	.07	.06	-.07	--	
10. Minority Status ^c	1.38	--	.33**	.01	.32**	.25**	.10*	-.01	.17**	.06	-.17**	--
11. Campus ^d	1.17	--	.22**	-.11**	.23**	.20**	.04	-.09*	-.003	.08	-.30**	.59**

Notes: N=637. ^a 1 = Underclassmen, 2 = Upperclassmen; ^b 1 = Business, 2 = Non-Business; ^c 1 = Non-Minority, 2 = Minority; ^d 1=non-HBCU, 2 = HBCU; * p < .05 ** p < .01

Table 3: Hypothesis 1: Diversity Exposure as a predictor of Diversity Attitudes for College Underclassmen

Diversity Attitudes	Effect Size (r)	Diversity Exposure		
		Diversity Level 1 M (SD)	Diversity Level 2 M (SD)	Diversity Level 3 M (SD)
General Egalitarianism	.08*	3.93 (1.09)	4.32 (.89)	4.57 (.94)
Personal Value of Diversity	.09*	4.55 (.81)	4.69 (.65)	4.82 (.67)
Affirmative Action Attitudes	.04	3.32 (1.01)	3.48 (.86)	3.33 (.99)
Symbolic Prejudice	.04	4.14 (1.15)	4.56 (.89)	4.50 (1.08)

Note: N=150. * p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p<.001

Table 4: Hypothesis 2: Year in College as a predictor of Diversity Attitudes

Diversity Attitudes	Effect Size r	Year in School	
		Underclassmen M (SD)	Upperclassmen M (SD)
General Egalitarianism	.23***	4.34 (.982)	4.28 (.899)
Personal Value of Diversity	.11*	4.72 (.698)	4.74 (.756)
Affirmative Action Attitudes	.24***	3.38 (.945)	3.56 (.913)
Symbolic Prejudice	.20***	4.44 (1.043)	4.53 (.991)

Note: N=637. Effect size is the correlation between being an upperclassman and levels of diversity attitudes. * p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p<.001

Table 5: Hypothesis 3: Minority Status and Year in School as Predictors of Diversity Attitudes

Diversity Attitudes	Effect Size r	Minority Status by Campus and Year in College					
		Non-HBCU Non-Min Under	Non-HBCU Non-Min Upper	Non-HBCU Minority Under	Non-HBCU Minority Upper	HBCU Minority Under	Non-HBCU Minority Upper
		M	M	M	M	M	M
		(SD)	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)	(SD)
General Egalitarianism	.33***	4.20 (.98)	4.02 (.86)	4.47 (.99)	4.68 (.86)	4.92 (.74)	4.71 (.75)
Personal Value of Diversity	.14**	4.71 (.65)	4.74 (.70)	4.79 (.86)	4.93 (.81)	4.65 (.66)	4.54 (.83)
Affirmative Action Attitudes	.32***	3.23 (.95)	3.31 (.90)	3.59 (.93)	3.88 (.96)	3.84 (.70)	4.00 (.59)
Symbolic Prejudice	.26***	4.30 (1.04)	4.32 (.99)	4.47 (.98)	4.83 (.93)	5.17 (.92)	4.90 (.88)

Notes: N=637. HBCU =Historically Black College or University, Min = Minority, Under = Underclassmen, Upper = Upperclassmen. * p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p<.001

Table 6: Hypothesis 4: Major and Year in College as predictors of Diversity Attitudes

Diversity Attitudes	Effect Size r	Major and Year in College			
		B – Under	NB – Under	B – Upper	NB – Upper
		M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)
General Egalitarianism	.26***	4.26 (.95)	4.25 (.89)	4.41 (1.01)	4.32 (.91)
Personal Value of Diversity	.11*	4.69 (.65)	4.70 (.79)	4.74 (.74)	4.79 (.71)
Affirmative Action Attitudes	.24***	3.42 (1.01)	3.56 (.96)	3.34 (.89)	3.55 (.87)
Symbolic Prejudice	.22***	4.49 (1.07)	4.49 (1.00)	4.40 (1.02)	4.58 (.98)

Notes: N=637. B = Business, NB = Non-Business, Under = Underclassmen, Upper = Upperclassmen. * p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p<.001

Table 7: Hypothesis 5: Zero Order Correlations Between Diversity Attitudes and Diversity Behavioral Intent for College Upperclassmen

Diversity Behavioral Intent	Diversity Attitudes			
	General Egalitarianism	Personal Value of Diversity	Affirmative Action Attitudes	Symbolic Prejudice
	r	r	r	r
Cross Cultural Comfort	.20***	.53***	.04	.21***
Diversity Awareness	.33***	.47***	.25***	.26***

Note: N=487. * p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p<.001

Table 8: Summary Regression Analyses for Diversity Attitudes for Hypotheses 2, 3, and 4

	General Egalitarianism	Personal Value of Diversity	Affirmative Action Attitudes	Symbolic Prejudice
	β	β	β	β
Campus	.09	-.17***	.08	.10*
Year in School	-.04	.02	.07	.03
Minority Status	.30***	.11*	.27***	.21***
Major	.12***	.02	.06	.09*
R	.35	.17	.33	.28
R ²	.12	.02	.11	.08
Adjusted R ²	.12	.01	.10	.07

Note: N=637. * p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p<.001