The Secret to Inclusion in Australian Workplaces:

Psychological Safety

CATALYST

About the Catalyst Research Centers

The Catalyst Research Center for Equity in Business Leadership examines and documents workforce demographics and their impact on employees, companies, communities, and society. In particular, the Center identifies how women's underrepresentation affects corporate governance and executive teams, and it explores how diverse leadership contributes to business success. By verifying gaps in representation and creating results-oriented solutions, the Center's findings and recommendations help organisations diversify leadership.

The Catalyst Research Center for Career Pathways exposes root causes of gender gaps from the classroom to the boardroom, conducting research that sorts myth from fact, identifies the true problems that hold women and other underrepresented groups back from advancement, and provides a solid basis for more effective talent development. The Center's findings allow businesses, media, governments, and individuals to gauge women's progress and develop solutions and action plans to advance women into leadership.

The Catalyst Research Center for Advancing Leader Effectiveness explores a central challenge facing today's business leaders: how to leverage employee diversity to achieve success through inclusive decision-making and talent management. The Center's research examines the nature, impact, and practice of inclusive leadership. It helps committed leaders learn how to become individual change agents, shaping the workplace culture by role modeling effective interpersonal interactions and capitalizing on opportunities to build inclusive talent management systems.

The Catalyst Research Center for Corporate Practice conducts research distinguishing sound talent management strategies from programmatic fads and documents best practices. These findings enable organisations to strategically create and support inclusive cultures for both women and men. The Center's partnership with its Expert Community, a consortium of business leaders who contribute to and act on the Center's work, informs organisational policy and practices, leading to actionable solutions and systemic change.

About Catalyst

Founded in 1962, Catalyst is the leading nonprofit organisation expanding opportunities for women and business. With operations in the United States, Canada, Europe, India, Australia, and Japan, and more than 800 member organisations, Catalyst is the trusted resource for research, information, and advice about women at work. Catalyst annually honours exemplary organisational initiatives that promote women's advancement with the Catalyst Award.

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What Makes a Leader Inclusive?

Today's business problems are far too complex for any one leader to solve. That's why the most effective leaders—rather than relying solely on their own wits—turn to others to find solutions. The best leaders achieve great results by including diverse voices and creating a workplace culture that enables innovation.[1]

What's their secret? In a prior report, *Inclusive Leadership: The View From Six Countries*, Catalyst found that the key may lie in four critical leadership behaviours. Catalyst surveyed more than 1,500 employees working in six countries—Australia, China (Shanghai), Germany, India, Mexico, and the United States. These employees said they felt more included when they perceived that their managers: 1) empowered them to succeed; 2) held them accountable for doing good work; 3) courageously took risks to uphold their principles; 4) and were humble enough to admit and learn from mistakes. In turn, these feelings of inclusion predicted the ways in which employees contributed in the workplace. The more included employees felt, the more they said they expended discretionary efforts to help their teams, and the more they reported innovating.

The present study examines just how inclusive leaders—those who enact the four behaviours of empowerment, accountability, courage, and humility (EACH)—achieve these results. Based on a survey of over 250 Australian professionals, we find evidence that **EACH behaviours create psychological safety, cultivating the right conditions for inclusion and innovation.** We also offer practical insights and tips from interviews with extraordinary leaders of highly successful and inclusive teams about the practice of EACH behaviours in Australian workplaces. Our discussions with these leaders suggest that the EACH approach may be particularly critical to success in Australian workplaces where egalitarian cultural norms are idealised.

Psychological Safety Is Key to Fostering Inclusion and Innovation

In the current study, we examine the relationships between perceptions of EACH leadership behaviours, inclusion, and employee innovation. Specifically, we uncover *how* the EACH leadership behaviours foster inclusion and, ultimately, innovation among employees. It turns out that feeling safety in a workgroup is a critical part of the equation.

INCLUSION = UNIQUENESS AND BELONGINGNESS

What does it feel like to be included? Catalyst's six-country study found a common formula for inclusion—one that held equally for both men and women.[2] In most countries, employees experienced inclusion when they simultaneously felt both a sense of uniqueness and a sense of belongingness.

Employees felt unique when they were recognised and valued for the distinct talents and perspectives they brought to their workgroups. And they felt a sense of belonging when they came to see themselves as "insiders" who shared common goals and interests with colleagues.

These findings tell us that inclusive leadership is a tricky balancing act. By erring too far in emphasizing differences, leaders can diminish an employee's sense of belonging. Yet by over-emphasizing commonalities, leaders risk eroding employees' feelings of uniqueness. Leaders who enact EACH behaviours seem to strike the proper balance between uniqueness and belongingness.

What Is Psychological Safety?

When we propose a novel solution at work, we bear interpersonal risk—the risk of being discredited or damaging our colleagues' impressions of us if we fail. However, employees who feel safe—who believe that their leaders and team members "have their backs"—worry less about these interpersonal risks.

When employees feel safe in their workgroups, they:[3]

- Are willing to take risks regardless of rank or status.

- Freely speak up about problems and tough issues.

- Are confident that honest mistakes will not be held against them.

- Trust their teammates will not act in ways that would undermine their efforts or work.

Forward-thinking leaders prioritise the creation of a psychologically safe work environment. In our interviews with inclusive leaders, we found psychological safety was an important aspect of their leadership styles.[4]

"Giving people an environment where they feel comfortable putting forward an opinion… where they feel like they're safe in putting forward an opinion. Their opinion is actually encouraged, it's sought after."

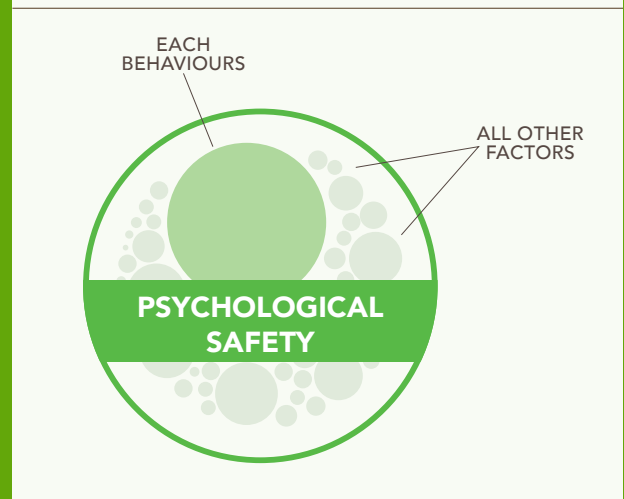—Man, Insurance

MAKING SENSE OF THE NUMBERS

What makes an employee feel psychologically safe is determined by a multitude of factors. In addition to witnessing EACH leadership from his or her manager, an employee's gender, personality, job type—and a host of other factors—all play a role too.

When studying employee experiences and behaviours such as psychological safety and innovation, it is important to keep that complexity in mind. In reality, it would be surprising to identify a single factor that perfectly predicts (i.e., explains 100%) why a person feels psychologically safe.[5]

In this study, we do not seek to identify all the explanatory factors. Rather, our goal is to understand inclusive leadership better. Specifically, we want to examine 1) how much inclusive leadership—as defined by the EACH behaviours—contributes to feelings of psychological safety among employees and 2) how important psychological safety is to inclusion and innovation.

FIGURE 1

Factors Affecting Psychological Safety

EACH BEHAVIOURS

ALL OTHER FACTORS

PSYCHOLOGICAL SAFETY

Identifying a factor that can explain even 10% or 20% of any complex phenomena is noteworthy.[6] Explaining 31% of why a person feels safety at work indicates that leading inclusively is hugely important. By that measure, the findings we report here offer significant insights about the effects of inclusive leadership.

EACH Behaviours Promote Psychological Safety

Relationship of EACH Behaviours to Psychological Safety

Our findings suggest that by enacting EACH behaviours, leaders can promote an atmosphere of psychological safety for their employees.

Regardless of the employee's rank, job function, race/ethnicity, and gender, perceiving EACH behaviours from their managers significantly predicted feelings of safety.[7]

- The more employees perceived EACH behaviours from their managers, the more psychologically safe they felt—and this was true for both women and men.[8]

  - Comparing employees who perceived EACH behaviours from their managers least and most often, ratings of psychological safety were 80% higher among the latter group.[9]

  - In fact, employees' perceptions of EACH behaviours in their managers accounted for 31% of feelings of safety.[10]

- Two EACH behaviours in particular—empowerment and courage—accounted for the relationship between the EACH leadership approach and safety.[11]

  - Comparing employees who felt empowered by their managers least and most often, ratings of psychological safety were 31% higher in the latter group.[12]

  - Comparing employees who perceived courageous behaviour from their managers least and most often, ratings of psychological safety were 27% higher among the latter group.[13]

Leaders who empower their team members by giving them high-profile assignments signal that they trust their team's capabilities. They understand that empowerment allows team members to feel safe taking on assignments that may feel risky or difficult to manage.

"I feel like it's my responsibility to give as much opportunity to the people that I manage. And that means presenting to board, that means presenting in front of other groups their work, and taking the lead on things….I feel quite passionate about the fact that in order for someone who I'm working with to enjoy their work where they spend the majority of their time, they have to be as motivated and energised as possible. And I think I've seen that happen when someone's allowed to really have space to do that. So I like getting out of the way."

—Woman, Nonprofit

By being courageous, leaders are able to model behaviours such as admitting mistakes. Team members in turn feel safer admitting their own mistakes, making course corrections easier and more timely.

"You have to be courageous enough to let others in, but also admit when you're wrong."

—Woman, Financial Services

In Turn, Psychological Safety Predicts Inclusion

FIGURE 3
Relationship of EACH Behaviours to Psychological Safety and Inclusion

Our findings pointed to safety as a vital link between the EACH behaviours and inclusion. Seeing EACH leadership from their managers had an indirect impact on employees' perceptions of inclusion, and the effect of EACH leadership was mediated by or dependent upon psychological safety.

- The more psychological safety employees felt, the more they felt included in their work groups.[14]

  □ Comparing employees who felt most and least safe, there were wide gaps in feelings of uniqueness and belongingness—the two key components of inclusion.

    · Employees who felt most safe rated their sense of uniqueness 143% higher than those employees who felt least safe.[15]

    · Employees who felt most safe rated their sense of belongingness 175% higher than those who felt least safe.[16]

  □ Psychological safety accounted for 40% of overall feelings of uniqueness.[17]

  □ Psychological safety accounted for 44% of overall feelings of belongingness.[18]

- Seeing EACH behaviours from their managers indirectly affected employees' sense of inclusion. This effect depended on psychological safety.[19]

  □ 33% of the total effect of EACH leadership on uniqueness was attributed to psychological safety.[20]

  □ 46% of the total effect of EACH leadership on belongingness was attributed to psychological safety.[21]

Leaders in our interviews recognised how important inclusion is to team members. Adding new members to an established team can disrupt the established dynamic. By creating a safe atmosphere, team members are able to better support the integration of new members and ideas.

"Bringing somebody in that's different or something in that's different can be challenging. And you've got to work through that so that the individual coming in feels supported. And the individuals that are already in the team actually are open-minded and have a growth mindset...and that's not always easy."

—Woman, Financial Services

Inclusion—Uniqueness, in Particular—Predicts Employee Innovation

Relationship of EACH Behaviours to Psychological Safety, Inclusion, and Innovation

We've shown that seeing EACH behaviours from their managers predicted employees' feelings of psychological safety. And those feelings of safety in turn predicted feelings of inclusion. Going one step further, we also found that the more employees reported feeling included, the more they also reported being more innovative at work—suggesting new ideas and approaches to problems, and identifying opportunities for new products or processes.

Notably, the aspect of inclusion that best predicted self-reported innovation was uniqueness. Feeling valued for one's distinct talents and perspectives had a direct effect on innovation. Inclusive leaders recognise the importance of valuing multiple aspects of their team members' uniqueness.

"Everyone is different even though they have a cultural background....But I do believe that once you get to know the person and understand where they're coming from that you sort of see through a lot of those generalisations....There's a lot of points that are different between people. They really are individuals, and they do have differing needs."

—Man, Telecommunications

Psychological safety had an *indirect* effect on innovation—a relationship that was dependent on feelings of uniqueness.

- The more employees felt unique, the more innovation they reported on the job.[22]

  □ Employees who felt most unique rated their innovation 84% higher than those who felt least unique.[23]

- Feeling psychologically safe had an indirect effect on innovation—one that completely depended on an employees' sense of uniqueness.[24]

  □ 100% of the effect of psychological safety on innovation was attributed to uniqueness.[25]

Inclusive leaders understand that uniqueness has a real impact on diversity of thought and innovation.

"Not treating everybody the same and recognizing that people have a different background, have a different way of viewing things, a different way of doing things. But embracing it and recognizing that as a strength and something that makes us unique, that gives us perhaps a different perspective, as I mentioned, but I guess a more innovative way to look at things rather than assuming that the way we're doing something now is right and there is no better way, and we're not open to it."

—Man, Insurance

By Making Employees Feel Safe, EACH Behaviours Can Foster Inclusion and Innovation

Psychological safety is part of the critical pathway linking EACH leadership behaviours to key employee outcomes that can boost team performance, such as inclusion and creativity. Furthermore, our findings suggest that the positive effects of feeling safety are similar for women and men. Yet, as we explore next, women don't often feel as safe as men at work.

Gender and Psychological Safety

In many workplaces, women are underrepresented in positions of power. In some industries, especially those involving STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Math) fields, they are significantly outnumbered.[26] In a previous Catalyst report, feeling different—or feeling like an "other"—based on characteristics that set you apart from your work group, had serious career consequences. Women who felt like an "other" based on one or more characteristics were less likely to be in positions of power and received fewer promotions.[27] In these contexts, women may be less likely to feel safety than their male counterparts. It is easy to see how experiencing otherness because of gender might make an employee feel inhibited in taking interpersonal risks.

- Men and women who felt like an "other" based on their gender reported feeling less psychological safety—even when taking into account their job function, perceived racial/ethnic distinctiveness, and perceived distinctiveness based on marital status.[28]

Yet among employees who saw EACH behaviours from managers equally, there were no differences in psychological safety—even among those who felt their gender set them apart from colleagues in their workgroups.[29]

EACH leadership behaviours may offer critical benefits to men and women in predominantly single-gendered workgroups and to women in fields traditionally dominated by men. Inclusive leaders make sure they recognise issues that are difficult to discuss, such as gender equality, and bring them to the forefront of their discussions with team members.

"I'm making sure that I'm talking to people about the issues. And that is not just talking to my female staff….But it's also about developing my male staff to be the kind of leaders that we need in the future who are aware of those issues. I think it's a lot of work…. But it's really critical. And to be honest, I don't think that happens anywhere near enough."

—Woman, Insurance

EACH Behaviours in Practice—How Australian Leaders Build High-Performing Teams

As noted earlier, we believe that EACH behaviours may be especially paramount to leadership effectiveness in Australia. Australia's culture—like that of many countries around the world—is full of contradictions.[30] Australian leaders must manage these contradictions, and using EACH behaviours can be a powerful strategy for them.

While Australians place great value on egalitarianism, the society is highly stratified, and institutions and business structures are hierarchical.[31] And while on the one hand Australians emphasise high performance and achievement, on the other hand they hold "tall poppies"—individuals whose talents and achievements set them apart from the crowd—in contempt.[32]

In Australia, EACH–centred leadership appears well-suited to managing the kinds of paradoxes created by competing cultural demands. Rather than being leader-centric, the EACH philosophy is a follower-centric approach that elevates followers and encourages learning from their diverse perspectives. The EACH approach engenders a climate of safety where "everyone has each other's back." It's easy to see how this approach would play well to Australian egalitarian cultural norms, while also enabling individuals to avoid the pitfalls of the "tall poppy" syndrome.

> *"Your ego has to be driven by taking joy in the success of other people and creating the context for them to actively engage and be successful."*
>
> —Man, Financial Services

Our interviews with Australian leaders from a range of industries revealed some practical strategies leaders can use to enact EACH behaviours and foster the feelings of psychological safety so essential to building inclusive and innovative teams.

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1. **Provide "Air Cover"**—Leaders can't empower employees to solve problems and perform at their best unless they provide "air cover." Air cover is all about providing protection and support when employees encounter difficulty or challenges in their efforts to innovate and deliver results. Rather than standing by when a direct report's idea is shot down, the leader provides backing both in the open and behind closed doors, with peers and superiors—and does so even when it is not politically expedient. In interviews, several leaders said that providing "air cover" was critical to being an effective leader:

> *"Because I think the best you can do for people is give them the air cover to learn and get experiential learning. But also to be accountable for outcomes."*
>
> —Man, Financial Services

> *"The best thing I can do for you is to ask you some questions to guide you to a framework where you can work it all out yourself. And I want you to also experiment as much as you possibly can once you start feeling comfortable. And I want you to use this opportunity to get as many scars as you possibly can...Because I'm always going to give you the air cover to do it."*
>
> —Man, Financial Services

2. **Create a Coaching Culture**—It's not enough for leaders to role model EACH behaviours; they must also help make the behaviours normative. One leader we interviewed established a practice of peer coaching, where every member of her leadership team, including herself, provided coaching to and received coaching from another team member on a regular basis. This practice helped embed acts of humility, such as owning up to and learning from mistakes and diverse perspectives; empowering others, by providing support and advice; and bringing accountability into the team culture. The practice of peer coaching established EACH leadership as an expectation to which all members of her team were held.

   Inclusive leaders we interviewed found creative ways to implement a coaching culture among their teams. They take an interest in seeking feedback that ensures they are not only communicating effectively but are also implementing effective strategies for the team. They view feedback as an opportunity for professional growth for both team members and themselves.

   "I just recently did a program where my staff did a 360 for me. And that was really cool actually, because it made me see that with my direct reports I was pretty self-aware about how I was managing them."

   —Woman, Insurance

   "I meet with my teams weekly. I also do a weekly blog. So I write out and video out to my national team every week. And I get feedback through that channel as well. We also do engagement surveys so you get a sense of whether it's hitting the mark and whether people are actually buying in."

   —Woman, Financial Services

3. **Share Struggles**—One way for effective leaders to demonstrate courage and empower employees is by being transparent about struggles and adverse circumstances. Rather than avoiding or concealing problems, the best leaders enable employees to share in the responsibility and leadership needed to overcome adversity. They engage followers in reframing problems, as well as identifying individual and team strengths that can be leveraged to achieve positive outcomes.

   "Whenever we're faced with something that's adverse and challenging, we talk about reframing, we talk about.... things that we can control and…what we can do to positively influence an outcome, and positively drive performance as opposed to focusing on all the things we can't control, and making excuses for performance."

   —Woman, Financial Services

4. **Lead With Heart**—Effective leaders aren't afraid to be vulnerable and make authentic connections with their followers. Several interviewees described instances of sharing feelings, beliefs, and personal stories, including devastating tragedies, to make meaningful connections with their direct reports. Many agreed that having the courage to lead with heart in business settings—where emotional expressions are often treated as taboo—paid off by opening the door for employees to do the same. By establishing closer connections with employees, leaders were better equipped to support and empower employees in the ways they needed most.

   "I'm a heart leader… it's different to what they've experienced before. So very much a philosophy of strength and vulnerability. Sharing of yourself and connecting to individuals to understand who they are and what they do. And then being able to lead them. I very much look to set a strategic direction that actually captures hearts and minds. But [it] is very much steeped in performance at the same time."

   —Woman, Financial Services

Our findings suggest that EACH-centred leadership gets results. By creating a climate of psychological safety, EACH behaviours enable Australian leaders to create high-performing teams characterised by inclusion and innovation. Importantly, the EACH leadership approach may be especially critical to managing individuals in workgroups dominated by a single gender. Compared to those who do not experience "otherness," women and men who feel like an "other" reported less psychological safety—inhibiting their sense of inclusion and limiting their ability to contribute. Perceiving EACH leadership from their managers removes these differences in feelings of safety.

Arguably, our findings are instructive to leaders outside of Australia too. Prior research conducted in North America suggests that leader behaviours such as being open are critical to making employees feel psychologically safe.[33] We therefore suspect that the connections revealed here between EACH-centred leadership and psychological safety also apply in North American workplaces.

Our study adds to growing evidence that EACH behaviours can enable leaders around the world to rise to critical 21st-century business demands—including increasing gender diversity and answering the growing need for adaptability and innovation.

Endnotes

1. Catalyst, *Why Diversity Matters* (2013).
2. Jeanine Prime and Elizabeth R. Salib, *Inclusive Leadership: The View From Six Countries* (Catalyst, 2014).
3. Amy Edmondson, "Psychological Safety and Learning Behavior in Work Teams," *Administrative Sciences Quarterly*, vol. 44 (1999): p. 350-383.
4. Eleven interviewees were recruited by contacting HR and D&I professionals in Australia. HR professionals were asked to provide the names of individuals who fit our inclusion criteria. Inclusion criteria were the following: must lead teams known for their innovative and collaborative nature and must lead teams with at least one of the following characteristics: mixed-gender teams, or teams primarily consisting of individuals with a gender or ethnicity different from their manager. Leaders were also selected based on the following character traits: develops and promotes talent across gender lines, open about his or her limitations and weaknesses, not a self-promoter, speaks up even if his or her opinion is not popular, comfortable in difficult conversations with employees, learns from criticism, emphasises the importance of focusing on the good of the whole, creates transparency by giving others the information needed to do work well, encourages staff to come up with new ideas, and holds individuals accountable for the work they carry out.
5. Paul M. Muchinsky, *Psychology Applied to Work: An Introduction to Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 8th ed. (Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning, 2006).
6. Muchinsky.
7. Linear regression analysis controlled for participant gender, rank within the company, line versus staff function, leader prototypicality, gender balance of the workgroup, leader-member exchange, and perceptions of feeling different based on race. The overall model was significant, $F_{(8,245)}=13.43$, $p<.001$.
8. Perceiving EACH behaviours from a manager significantly predicted safety, $B=.10$, $t(4.82)$, $p<.001$. Participant gender did not significantly predict safety, $B=-.14$, $t(-1.57)$, $p>.05$.
9. Percentages were calculated by first identifying the formula for the slope of the regression line, then calculating the y-intercept at the minimum and maximum reported EACH score. The percentage change from minimum to maximum was calculated with the difference divided by the minimum.
10. Total attribution was calculated by multiplying the regression model R2 by 100. The model R2=.31.
11. Linear regression analysis included employee perceptions of a leader's empowerment, courage, accountability, and humility. The model controlled for participant gender, rank within the company, line versus staff function, leader prototypicality, gender balance of the workgroup, leader-member exchange, and perceptions of feeling different based on race. The overall model was significant, $F_{(11,245)}=9.97$, $p<.001$.
12. Empowerment significantly predicted safety, $B=.15$, $t(2.09)$, $p<.05$.
13. Courage significantly predicted safety, $B=.13$, $t(2.94)$, $p<.01$.
14. Multivariate regression analysis included safety while controlling for participant gender and rank within the company.
15. Uniqueness significantly predicted safety, $B=.70$, $t(12.29)$, $p<.001$.
16. Belongingness significantly predicted safety, $B=.82$, $t(13.77)$, $p<.001$.
17. Uniqueness Model R2=.40.
18. Belongingness Model R2=.44.
19. Participant surveys were submitted to a path model where EACH behaviours predicted safety and inclusion (uniqueness and belongingness), X^2 $(8)=10.43$, $p>.05$, RMSEA=.04, CFI=1.0, TLI=.99, SRMR=.02. Safety predicted inclusion. Examination of the indirect effects indicated a significant path from EACH through safety to uniqueness and belongingness; Uniqueness: $\beta=.23$, $p<.001$, Belongingness: $\beta=.32$, $p<.001$. Direct effects from EACH behaviours to uniqueness ($\beta=.50$, $p<.001$) and belongingness ($\beta=.43$, $p<.001$) remained significant, indicating a partial mediation of psychological safety.
20. Percentages were calculated by dividing the estimate of the indirect effect by the total effect of EACH behaviours to uniqueness. Total effects were significant, $\beta=.70$, $p<.001$.
21. Total effects of EACH behaviours to belongingness were significant, $\beta=.70$, $p<.001$.
22. Linear regression analyses included uniqueness and belongingness and controlled for participant gender, gender composition of the workgroup, and perceptions of difference based on race. The overall model was significant, $F_{(5,245)}=10.88$, $p<.001$. Belongingness was a nonsignificant factor within the model, $B=-.01$, $t(-.08)$, $p>.05$.
23. Uniqueness significantly predicted innovation, $B=.46$, $t(4.76)$, $p<.001$.
24. Participant surveys were submitted to a path model where psychological safety predicted inclusion (uniqueness and belongingness) and innovation. Inclusion predicted innovation. Examination of the indirect effects indicated a significant path from safety through uniqueness to innovation, $\beta=.31$, $p=.001$. The indirect effect of safety on innovation through belongingness was nonsignificant, $\beta=-.02$, $p>.05$.
25. The total effect of safety on innovation was significant, $\beta=.34$, $p<.001$.
26. Josh Healy, Kostas Mavromaras, and Rong Zhu, *The STEM Labour Market in Australia* (Australian Council of Learned Academies Report, (2013).
27. Jennifer Thorpe-Moscon and Alixandra Pollack, *Feeling Different: Being the "Other" in US Workplaces* (Catalyst, 2014).
28. A linear regression analysis was conducted where a participant's job function, perceptions of difference based on gender, race, and marital status predicted psychological safety. The overall model was marginally significant, $F_{(4,245)}=2.06$, $p<.09$. There was a significant main effect of a participant's feeling different based on gender, $B=.06$, $p<.05$. Perceptions of difference based on race, marital status, and job function were nonsignificant covariates, Race: $B=-.04$, $p>.05$, Marital Status: $B=-.05$, $p>.05$, and Job Function: $B=.02$, $p>.05$.

29. A hierarchical linear regression analysis was conducted where a participant's job function, perceptions of difference based on gender, race, and marital status was entered into the first block. Employee perceptions of EACH behaviours from their managers were entered into the second block. The overall model for block two was significant, $F(5,245)=17.73$, $p<.001$. As in the previous analysis, there was a significant main effect of a participant's feeling different based on gender in the first block, $B=.06$, $p<.05$. Perceptions of difference based on race, marital status, and job function were nonsignificant covariates, Race: $B=-.04$, $p>.05$, Marital Status: $B=-.05$, $p>.05$, and Job Function: $B=.02$, $p>.05$. When perceptions of EACH behaviours were added to the model, perceptions of difference based on gender was rendered nonsignificant, $B=.03$, $p>.05$. Perceptions of EACH behaviours were a significant predictor of psychological safety, $B=.12$, $p<.001$.

30. Neal M. Ashkanasy, "The Australian Enigma," in *Culture and Leadership Across the World: The GLOBE Book of In-Depth Studies of 25 Societies*, ed. Jagdeep S. Chhokar, Felix C. Brodbeck, and Robert J. House (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2007): p. 299-333.

31. Ashkanasy.

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33. Amy Edmondson, "Psychological Safety, Trust and Learning: A Group-Level Lens," *In Trust and Distrust in Organizations: Dilemmas and Approaches*, ed. Roderick Kramer and Karen Cook (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004): p. 239-272.

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