The Surprising Effects of Diversity in Different Types of Jobs

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Introduction
Diversity

• People from different backgrounds sharing the same spaces and interacting with each other in
  – Workplaces
  – neighborhoods
  – Schools
  – Cities

• Different kinds and degrees of interaction
Diversity
Diversity on many dimensions

- Culture
- Gender
- Dress
- Religion
- Race
- Sexual orientation
- Nationality
- Language
- Age
- Occupation/job
- Musical preferences
- Politics
- Ethnicity
- Etc.
Does diversity affect outcomes?
(Think of ethnicity, for example)

- Workplace performance
- Company performance
- Classroom performance
- Sports team performance
- Public investment in schools, public health and parks
- Scientific progress
- Cultural vitality
- Social peace
- Trust
Does diversity affect outcomes? 
(Think of ethnicity, for example)

- Workplace performance
- Company performance
- Classroom performance
- Sports team performance
- Public investment in schools, public health and parks
- Scientific progress
- Cultural vitality
- Social peace
- Trust

What do you think?
The answer may vary with…

- Dimension of diversity (ethnicity, politics, gender…)
- Performance measures
- Individuals’ experience with diversity
- Context: occupation, economic conditions, type of activity, etc.
What does research tell us?

- Anything and everything: good, bad and no effects
- Studies focus on a particular organization, occupation, community, etc.
- Skill and diversity confounds
- Research comes in different sizes, forms and qualities
- **Cannot** make, on the basis of extant research, general statements of the kind:

  \[
  \text{Diversity on } x \text{ is good/bad for outcomes in domain } y
  \]
Can’t state even this:

- *Ethnic diversity in team sports is good/bad for winning*
  - Research found racial and ethnic diversity has negative effect on winning in basketball, positive in hockey, and nil in baseball
  - What’s going on?
  - It turns out that diversity has different effects in different occupations, positions, roles
Let’s start with some theory

• Performance of a unit – *team, organization, community, nation* – depends **how well** its **members work together**
  – (given their abilities, which we will assume, for now, are not correlated with the diversity dimension)

• How well they work together depends on:
  – *How well they collaborate*
  – *How creatively they solve problems*
  – *How well they communicate*

• The balance of these determines the *net effect of diversity* on how well people work together - performance
Working together and diversity

• The 3Cs of how well individuals work together
  
  • Collaboration
  • Communication
  • Creativity

Net effect of diversity on performance: +, -, 0
Working together and diversity

Diversity effects on performance

- The 3Cs of how well individuals work together
- Diversity impacts each of the 3Cs

- **Collaboration**
- **Communication**
- **Creativity**

Bias: less concern, trust
Working together and diversity
Diversity effects on performance

• The 3Cs of how well individuals work together

• Collaboration
• Communication
• Creativity

• Diversity impacts each of the 3Cs

Bias: less concern, trust
Language, symbols
Working together and diversity

Diversity effects on performance

• The 3Cs of how well individuals work together

• **Collaboration**
  - Negative
  - Bias: less concern, trust

• **Communication**
  - Negative
  - Language, symbols

• **Creativity**
  - Positive
  - Complementary heuristics, ideas

• Diversity impacts each of the 3Cs
Working together and diversity
Diversity effects on performance

• The 3Cs of how well individuals work together

• Collaboration

• Communication

• Creativity

• Diversity impacts each of the 3Cs

Net effect of diversity on performance is indeterminate:

+, -, 0
The balance of positive and negative effects

Depends on moderating factors

- The nature of the **tasks** carried out by the diverse employees
- The **relationship** between members of different groups that form the basis of diversity

- *I will focus on tasks*
- *Will conclude with inter-group relations*
The rest of the presentation focuses on tasks that are complex and interdependent. Will compare such tasks in promotion and in prevention. Specifically, offense and defense in soccer.
Task focus and organization roles
Prevention and promotion (regulatory focus theory, Higgins 1997)

**Promotion jobs**
Positive outcomes and promotion of team goals
- Ex: Sales, R&D, scoring goals, teaching, marketing

*Attributes*
- self-selection by individuals seeking to strike out, more selfish
- powerful individual incentives encourage disunity

**Prevention jobs**
Protection against harm and negative outcomes
- Ex: Preventing lawsuits, purchasing inferior inputs, conceding goals

*sAttributes*
- self-selection by group oriented and less selfish
- external threats encourage cohesion and unity, individual performance stands out less
Diversity reduces collaboration more in promotion than in prevention

Promotion
• individuals are more selfish
• Individual performance stands out
• individual incentives more powerful, encourage disunity

Prevention
• individuals are more group oriented and less selfish
• external threats encourage cohesion and unity
• individual performance stands out less
Diversity effects on communication and creativity are similar in promotion and prevention.

- Hence the net effect of diversity is *more favorable in prevention than in promotion*
  - May be positive in both, but more positive in prevention
  - May be negative in both, but less negative in prevention
  - May be positive in prevention, negative in promotion

Bifurcated effects of diversity in promotion and prevention.
Time spent together

*Time heals all wounds – deepens them*

- Learning to work together reduces negative effects and enhances positive ones
- Discovering deeper differences and consolidating factions makes performance worse in diverse teams

- Time spent together by members of a group allows them to reciprocate behavior with like behavior
- Individuals’ experiences early in their team tenure may generate a virtuous or vicious cycle

The two effects may operate within the same team in different subgroups
Empirical Study: Soccer

Soccer and other team sports

- Player behavior is completely transparent
- Extreme Interdependence
  - Requires close cooperation, frequent interaction and rapid (split-second) coordination (more than in baseball)
- Team composition and behavior
  - Determined by strategic interaction with the rival team
- Incentives
  - Players have strong financial incentives to perform
- Data
  - Lots of data for top leagues

Game played in plain view (replay in slow motion from different angles – everything discoverable)
Soccer: The Beautiful Game

With John-Gabriel Licht and Jin Park

Referee on field + 2 assistant referees on line

105m (115yd)

68m (74yd)

10 players and a goalie per team

Sort of like hockey (ball instead of puck, feet instead of stick, but no hitting, no kicking and no playing behind the goal)...

The most popular (playing and watching) sports in the world

Second only to... nothing
Germany 1:0 Argentina

Pass Network

Players:
- Höwedes [0-120]
- Schürrle [31-120]
- Kroos [0-120]
- Hummels [0-120]
- Kramer [0-31]
- Özil [0-120]
- Boateng [0-120]
- Schweinsteiger [0-120]
- Lahm [0-120]
- Müller [0-120]
- Götze [88-120]
- baller [0-120]
- Palacio [77-120]
- Lavezzi [0-46]
- Zabaleta [0-120]
- Higuaín [0-77]
- Messi [0-120]
- Mascherano [0-120]
- Demichelis [0-120]
- Romero [0-120]
- Garay [0-120]
- Biglia [0-120]
- Pérez [0-86]
- Rojo [0-120]

[*] minutes played

Research by FAS

Carlson School of Management
University of Minnesota
Patterns of interaction - Working together in Subgroups:
The German team

Promotion - Offense

Connectors - Midfielders

Prevention - Defense
“After Edward [a Nigerian] arrived, the team bought an eighteen-year-old Nigerian attacking midfielder with cornrows named Samson Godwin. Because the old Ukrainian coach couldn’t speak English with the Nigerians, the club brought in a new Serbian manager, who had spent ten years playing for Southampton Football Club in England. The Serb, in turn, recruited four players from former Yugoslav countries. Suddenly, Yuri skippered a polyglot unit than included a coach and players whose languages he couldn’t himself speak.” “With the arrival of the foreigners, the team had nothing resembling unity. It broke down into factions. You would walk into the team dining room and find the various nationalities eating at their own separate tables... Edward and Sampson went to Dyminskyy [the club president] and told him that players weren’t giving passes to the Nigerians.”
An important UEFA Championship game

“Bayern should have been ahead inside two minutes when Robben, perhaps selfishly, chose to shoot and saw his effort blocked by visiting goalkeeper Victor Valdes with both Gomez and Franck Ribery pleading for the pass in perfect positions.”
Bundesliga
The Top German National League

Clubs are nonprofit corporations. Teams are majority (50+1) club owned, but may change

18 teams, 2 relegated annually to second league, and two promoted from there (~)


Revenues: television and gate revenues, sponsorships and marketing of team brands
Dataset and variables

- Provided by IMPIRE AG, a data provider for the Bundesliga and media outlets; supplemental information about players’ birthplace was collected from Wikipedia and other sources on the Internet
- 3,060 games during our sample period, with 28 different teams (because of relegation and promotion)
- 1,723 unique players who played at least 15 minutes in at least one game for a total of 77,406 player-game observations

- Player game performance is rated on a 0-10 scale by IMPIRE AG, using a proprietary formula based on the number and quality of passes, goals, saves, tackles and more, collected continuously in each game and adjusted to player position
- The rating is an objective measure of player performance, using the same rating scheme across all games, eliminating rater bias and “halo effects”
- Team game performance is measured by goal difference, number of goals scored and conceded
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean (S.D.)</th>
<th>Variable description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Season Final Points</td>
<td>46.73 (12.95)</td>
<td>Total points at end of season (3 points for win, 1 draw, 0 loss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goals scored – Game</td>
<td>1.43 (1.26)</td>
<td>the number of goals scored by the team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goals Conceded - Game</td>
<td>1.43 (1.26)</td>
<td>the number of goals scored against the team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal Difference – Game</td>
<td>0 (1.86)</td>
<td>The current team’s final score minus the opposing team’s final score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Performance</td>
<td>6.05 (1.50)</td>
<td>rating is calculated based on game statistics (goals, tackles, saves, passes, etc., by position), rated on a 0-10 scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>Explanation</td>
<td>Number of Groups/Categories (Mean, S.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Diversity</td>
<td>Blau index, player nationality</td>
<td>77 (0.72, 0.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic Diversity</td>
<td>Blau index, player language</td>
<td>32 (0.69, 0.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Diversity</td>
<td>Blau index, player ethnicity</td>
<td>26 {e.g., German is: German, Swiss-German, Luxembourg-German, Austrian} (0.68, 0.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region Diversity</td>
<td>Blau index, player region</td>
<td>8 {Germany, W. Europe, E. Europe, S. America, Middle East, E. Asia, US/Canada/Australia/NZ, Africa} (0.66, 0.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion German</td>
<td>% of German players</td>
<td>2 (0.45, 0.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age diversity</td>
<td>standard deviation of players’ age</td>
<td>Continuous Variable (3.94, 0.71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team tenure diversity</td>
<td>standard deviation of players’ team tenure</td>
<td>Continuous Variable (2.04, 0.95)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Blau Index = 1-Σ[pk×pk] = 1- HHI (Herfindahl Index)

Pk = is the proportion of team members in the kth category, Σpk=100
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean (S.D.)</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Substitutions</td>
<td>2.27 (0.55)</td>
<td>number of substitution in the game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home vs. Away</td>
<td>0.5 (0.5)</td>
<td>team is playing at home stadium or opposing team’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Player</td>
<td>6.01 (0.28)</td>
<td>all-time mean of performance ratings for players in the game (derived from individual performance rating in Bundesliga 2000-09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance (Team quality in a given game)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager Age</td>
<td>47.6 (7.12)</td>
<td>manager’s age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager Experience</td>
<td>13.58 (8.46)</td>
<td>number of years of manager experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stadium Size</td>
<td>48,219 (17294)</td>
<td>home stadium seats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club Age</td>
<td>99.58 (25.54)</td>
<td>years since team was established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variable Name</td>
<td>Mean (S.D.)</td>
<td>Variable Operationalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Performance</td>
<td>6.05 (1.50)</td>
<td>rating is calculated based on game statistics (goals, tackles, saves, passes, etc., by position), on a 0-10 scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Performance</td>
<td>6.02 (0.60)</td>
<td>player’s average performance rating in Bundesliga in 2000-09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team Tenure</td>
<td>803.61 (862.80)</td>
<td>number of days since the players’ first game with his current team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>27.07 (4.04)</td>
<td>player’s age in years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>Categorical Variable</td>
<td>player’s nationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>Categorical Variable</td>
<td>the most common ethnic/linguistic group for player’s nationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Categorical Variable</td>
<td>language that player is most likely to use (based on nationality and place of birth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position</td>
<td>Categorical variable</td>
<td>Defense (including goalkeeper), midfield, forward</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Teams in Bundesliga

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Team</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Stadium</th>
<th>Capacity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FC Augsburg</td>
<td>Augsburg</td>
<td>SGL Arena</td>
<td>30,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayer Leverkusen</td>
<td>Leverkusen</td>
<td>BayArena</td>
<td>30,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayern Munich</td>
<td>Munich</td>
<td>Allianz Arena</td>
<td>69,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borussia Dortmund</td>
<td>Dortmund</td>
<td>Signal Iduna Park</td>
<td>80,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borussia Mönchengladbach</td>
<td>Mönchengladbach</td>
<td>Borussia-Park</td>
<td>54,057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC Freiburg</td>
<td>Freiburg</td>
<td>Mage Solar Stadion</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamburger SV</td>
<td>Hamburg</td>
<td>Imtech Arena</td>
<td>57,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannover 96</td>
<td>Hanover</td>
<td>AWD-Arena</td>
<td>49,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hertha BSC</td>
<td>Berlin</td>
<td>Olympiastadion</td>
<td>74,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899 Hoffenheim</td>
<td>Sinsheim</td>
<td>Rhein-Neckar-Arena</td>
<td>30,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. FC Kaiserslautern</td>
<td>Kaiserslautern</td>
<td>Fritz Walter Stadion</td>
<td>49,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. FC Köln</td>
<td>Cologne</td>
<td>RhenEnergieStadion</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. FSV Mainz 05</td>
<td>Mainz</td>
<td>Coface Arena</td>
<td>34,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. FC Nuremberg</td>
<td>Nuremberg</td>
<td>EasyCredit-Stadion</td>
<td>48,548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schalke 04</td>
<td>Gelsenkirchen</td>
<td>Veltins-Arena</td>
<td>61,673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VfB Stuttgart</td>
<td>Stuttgart</td>
<td>Mercedes-Benz Arena</td>
<td>60,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Werder Bremen</td>
<td>Bremen</td>
<td>Weserstadion</td>
<td>42,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VfL Wolfsburg</td>
<td>Wolfsburg</td>
<td>Volkswagen Arena</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Wikipedia*
### Table 2b. Player Game Performance by Position: The effect of position diversity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position Diversity</th>
<th>Defensive Players</th>
<th>Midfield Players</th>
<th>Forward Players</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defensive players</td>
<td>0.335** (0.132)</td>
<td>0.401*** (0.111)</td>
<td>0.138 (0.141)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offensive players</td>
<td>0.395*** (0.146)</td>
<td>0.436*** (0.110)</td>
<td>0.452*** (0.169)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Player Shares**

**Ethnicity with:**

- other players (count)
  - 0.006 (0.006)
  - 0.013 (0.009)
  - 0.002 (0.008)
  - 0.004 (0.010)
  - 0.020* (0.011)
  - 0.061*** (0.012)

- manager (dummy)
  - -0.029 (0.037)
  - -0.02 (0.047)
  - 0.008 (0.038)
  - 0.032 (0.051)
  - 0.145 (0.104)
  - 0.246*** (0.070)

**Individual Characteristics**

- age
  - 0.046** (0.021)
  - 0.148*** (0.029)
  - 0.169*** (0.051)

- age²
  - -0.001** (0.000)
  - 0.003*** (0.001)
  - 0.003*** (0.001)

- team tenure
  - -0.001 (0.009)
  - 0.017 (0.011)
  - 0.000 (0.015)

- team tenure²
  - 0.000 (0.001)
  - -0.002* (0.001)
  - 0.000 (0.001)

- talent
  - 0.995*** (0.018)
  - 0.974*** (0.019)
  - 1.026*** (0.024)
Table 3b. Team performance: The effect of position diversity on game goals scored and goals conceded

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position Diversity</th>
<th>Goals Scored</th>
<th></th>
<th>Goals Conceded</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defensive players</td>
<td>0.285**</td>
<td>0.207</td>
<td>-0.386***</td>
<td>-0.480***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.131)</td>
<td>(0.167)</td>
<td>(0.144)</td>
<td>(0.183)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offensive players</td>
<td>-0.621***</td>
<td>-0.722***</td>
<td>0.325*</td>
<td>0.408**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.171)</td>
<td>(0.203)</td>
<td>(0.177)</td>
<td>(0.206)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Team Characteristics   |          |          |                    |          |
|                        | (3)      | (7)      | (3)                | (7)      |
| team tenure diversity  | 0.016    | -0.01    | 0.040**            | 0.041    |
|                        | (0.019)  | (0.024)  | (0.020)            | (0.025)  |
| age diversity          | -0.029   | -0.012   | -0.044*            | -0.053** |
|                        | (0.024)  | (0.027)  | (0.023)            | (0.026)  |
| backfield mean tenure  | 0.027    | 0.023    | -0.01              | -0.02    |
|                        | (0.022)  | (0.024)  | (0.021)            | (0.023)  |
| offense mean tenure    | 0.006    | -0.028   | 0.035*             | 0.03     |
|                        | (0.022)  | (0.024)  | (0.021)            | (0.023)  |
| mean age               | 0.000    | 0.008    | -0.021             | 0.001    |
|                        | (0.014)  | (0.019)  | (0.014)            | (0.020)  |
| defense mean talent    | 0.190***  | 0.044    | -0.677***          | -0.688***|
|                        | (0.070)  | (0.103)  | (0.072)            | (0.108)  |
| midfield mean talent   | 0.232***  | 0.174*** | -0.113**           | -0.078   |
|                        | (0.054)  | (0.065)  | (0.054)            | (0.065)  |
| forward mean talent    | 0.497***  | 0.471*** | -0.174***          | -0.211***|
|                        | (0.046)  | (0.052)  | (0.045)            | (0.053)  |
| substitutions          | 0.356***  | 0.350*** | -0.136***          | -0.132***|
|                        | (0.025)  | (0.026)  | (0.029)            | (0.030)  |
| home vs. away          | 0.354***  | 0.356*** | -0.336***          | -0.337***|
|                        | (0.031)  | (0.030)  | (0.031)            | (0.031)  |
| manager experience     | -0.002   | -0.002   | 0.000              | 0.001    |
|                        | (0.002)  | (0.002)  | (0.002)            | (0.002)  |
| German manager         | 0.067    | 0.055    | 0.136***           | 0.169*** |
|                        | (0.041)  | (0.050)  | (0.043)            | (0.051)  |
| Constant               | -4.974*** | -3.274***| 8.314***           | 8.138*** |
|                        | (0.626)  | (0.875)  | (0.632)            | (0.915)  |

Observations: 6,116
If team instead of position diversity is used: no diversity effect

Table 4. Player and Team Game Performance: The effect of overall team diversity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Player Performance</th>
<th>Team Goal Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position Diversity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Team - all players</td>
<td>-0.157</td>
<td>-0.223***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.107)</td>
<td>(0.081)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Player Shares Ethnicity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other players (count)</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.013**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manager (dummy)</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>0.038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.029)</td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
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<td>Team Characteristics</td>
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<td>team tenure diversity</td>
<td>-0.018</td>
<td>-0.032***</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.012)</td>
<td>(0.009)</td>
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<td>age diversity</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(0.015)</td>
<td>(0.010)</td>
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<td>backfield mean tenure</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.013)</td>
<td>(0.008)</td>
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<td>offense mean tenure</td>
<td>-0.021</td>
<td>-0.023***</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.013)</td>
<td>(0.008)</td>
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<td>mean age</td>
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<td>0.015**</td>
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<td>(0.007)</td>
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<tr>
<td>defense mean talent</td>
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<td>0.135***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(0.032)</td>
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<td>midfield mean talent</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.027)</td>
<td>(0.018)</td>
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<tr>
<td>forward mean talent</td>
<td>0.052***</td>
<td>0.059***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.018)</td>
<td>(0.013)</td>
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<tr>
<td>substitutions</td>
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<td>0.055***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.018)</td>
<td>(0.010)</td>
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<td>home vs. away</td>
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<td>0.399***</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(0.010)</td>
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<td>manager experience</td>
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<td>-0.002</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-2.415***</td>
<td>5.149</td>
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<td>(0.541)</td>
<td>(0.913)</td>
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</table>
Time spent together

• Minor positive effect for defense
• Small negative effect for offense
Using alternative measures of diversity

Similar results when using

• National background
• Language
• Region of origin
• German/non-German proportion
Conclusions

Ethnic/national/linguistic/cultural diversity: Good for prevention Bad for promotion. In the context of this study
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Longer time spent together intensifies these effects
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Thanks for your participation!

Let’s have a conversation on these matters