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Valuing Differences in the Workplace

Sixth in the Theory-to-Practice Monograph Series

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Foreword

The idea for participating in the University of Minnesota theory-to-practice monograph series originated in 1987 at the first Executive Committee planning session of the American Society for Training and Development's Multicultural Network. The need for a book to address the concerns of valuing differences and effectively managing diversity in the workplace became apparent with constituents' increasing requests and through the Multicultural Network's philosophy and mission.

Modeling the statement from ASTD's Strategic Plan (April 1987) that "collaboration is essential for the actualization of beliefs," this monograph has been produced through the combined efforts of the network's Executive Committee, the ASTD Research Committee, and the University of Minnesota's Training and Development Research Center.

This monograph is not just another contribution to the myriad of references on methodologies in the ever-expanding field of human resource development (HRD). Rather, its purpose is to assist practitioners engaged in the process of shifting away from the paradigms of yesterday's monocultural environments.

Each contribution is by no means complete within itself. Together these works provide a place to begin, a means to recognize ideas that seemed out of reach, and validation that HRD's old paradigms finally are shifting from a monocultural to a multicultural focus for organizational effectiveness.

Ben Harrison
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1988–1989

SECTION 1

Concept and Theory

Introduction to the Monograph

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All the monographs in the Human Resource Development Theory-to-Practice series resulted from the collaborative efforts of a diverse number of people and organizations, but this particular one has attempted consciously to take advantage of the collaborators' cultural diversities and capitalize on their benefits. The authors of this volume have a specific interest in valuing differences in the workplace and are keenly aware of how valuing or not valuing differences has, and will continue to have, an impact—either positive or negative—on their organizations' goals.

As Ben Harrison explains in the Foreword, the purpose of this volume is to provide help for HRD practitioners interested in or already engaged in the process of shifting to a multicultural focus for organizational effectiveness. Some of the authors share their own organizational experiences or approaches to maximizing the advantages of a diverse work force. Others share ideas for assessing an organization's readiness to incorporate an approach to valuing differences. This volume also provides some theory and history as background to Barbara Walker's "Valuing Differences" work at Digital Equipment Corporation.

The Process

This monograph began developing one autumn evening in late 1988 during a symposium to which a number of distinguished HRD practitioners had been invited. They came together at the University of Minnesota in St. Paul to hear and respond to Barbara Walker's presentation of her Valuing Differences work at Digital. Before the symposium participants left the next day, they were committed authors who had collaborated to develop an outline for this monograph, as well as for their own particular chapters. Everyone left with some sense of the whole, some excitement, and some assurance that this monograph would become a reality!

But the process really began long before the symposium. It started as an idea of ASTD's Multicultural Network. Through the combined leadership of Fred Swan and Richard Swanson, it became a joint venture of ASTD's Research Committee and the University of Minnesota's Training and Development Research Center. The network chose the topic. Those who knew Barbara Walker's work identified her as the distinguished scholar, and she was invited to present the concept to a gathering of distinguished practitioners in the field. These practitioners were identified and invited to the symposium, with the idea that each would write or collaborate on a response to Walker's presentation. The rest is history!

The Monograph

The topic of diversity and valuing differences led to the group's discussion of ways the monograph might be different from others in the series—perhaps even have a different type of cover. The cover has not been changed, but differences have been incorporated into the text. Whereas the other monographs have focused on theoretical research-based studies, this volume focuses on Walker's conceptual model, describing a successful response to the challenge of valuing diversity in the workplace. The other authors' contributions address the theory behind this intuitive model, its history, and ways to make a valuing differences approach work in an organization.

The monograph is divided into four sections. Section 1 focuses on Walker's "Valuing Differences: The Concept and a Model." The other chapters in the first section present relevant theoretical perspectives. Section 2 provides historical background and points to the need for valuing differences in the workplace. Section 3 deals with the issues of readiness and openness to differences in the workplace. Section 4 concentrates on applying the approach.

In Section 1, Walker presents the concept of valuing differences and describes the small group work of Digital's Core Groups as a model to help people and their organizations learn how to capitalize on the

benefits of a diverse work force. Some of the language in her description is unique to the Core Group work. Fred A. Swan and Mary Ann Smith provide a theoretical perspective on Walker's approach from a review of selected literature on human differences. Shakura A. Sabur relates the development of small group training to Walker's Core Groups and suggests that a valuing differences approach is essential to expanding the productivity of an increasingly diverse work force. Completing the section, Sandra J. Johnson addresses the question of enhancing productivity within a diverse work group from the perspective of the social psychology of intergroup relations.

In Section 2, Zaida I. Giraldo traces the history of the struggle to achieve equality in the work force, from anti-discrimination legislation to affirmative action and equal employment opportunity (AA/EEO) and beyond to valuing diversity. Winifred I. Warnat looks toward the next century with her focus on preparing a highly diverse work force to meet the needs of the workplace.

In Section 3, John W. Robinson proposes that Adam Smith's historical formula for the success of this nation—that each individual works to optimize his or her own situation—is once again being recognized in such programs as quality of work life (QWL) and participative management. Next, from a personal perspective, Steve Hanamura describes the importance of oneness—working together in harmony for a common goal—while respecting and valuing differences. Then, both Garfield DeBardelaben and Kathleen Parker Lamb look at the components for assessing readiness to adopt a valuing differences approach in an organization. This section ends with Cleotha Jackson's suggestions for preparing an organization to adopt and implement an approach to valuing and managing diversity.

Walker begins Section 4 with an account of the evolution of Valuing Differences work at Digital Equipment Corporation (DEC), as a product of the organization's core values and the insights developed through AA/EEO work. Next, John H. O. Purnell and Albert Tervalon recount their story of the innovative Springfield plant, which is committed to being a multicultural, highly productive organization. Grant M. Ingle recounts the history of discrimination in a large, highly diverse university setting, its efforts to develop a commitment to addressing issues of difference, and the potential that the small group approach of valuing differences has for bringing about change in a multicultural campus setting.

In relating the story of working with diversity at Ford Motor Company, Ernest J. Savoie discusses three key learnings: multiple approaches to managing diversity must be used for effectiveness; changing long-standing attitudes about diversity is difficult but possible; and managing diversity is ongoing. Vapordeal Sanders talks about gaining awareness of the need for a stronger emphasis on valuing diversity at 3M Company through a survey, employee opinion

polls, a needs assessment, and the subsequent development of a program to manage diversity. In the final chapter, Armida M. Russell provides a transition from "how we have done it" to "how you might do it" by suggesting some implementation strategies, evaluation and follow-up ideas, and some cautions.

The thoughtful manager or practitioner interested in how to proceed surely will find some or all of these chapters a welcome companion on the road to a valued, empowered, effective, and productive work force.

Valuing Differences: The Concept and a Model

Barbara A. Walker
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Human Resources and Human Relations
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Author's Note: This paper provides an overview of the key principles and the process for valuing differences in the workplace. A later chapter describes the application of the Valuing Differences approach at Digital Equipment Corporation, where the concepts were conceived and implemented.

Valuing Differences: The Concept

"Valuing Differences" is a cluster of concepts that shapes an approach to helping people deal with issues created by their differences. This approach focuses people on the value of differences to help them become open to learning from people they regard as different and to help them build empowered relationships in which they work together interdependently and synergistically.

On one level, valuing differences is an approach to the work of affirmative action and equal employment opportunity, but it is more than that. It is a way of helping people think through their assumptions and beliefs about all kinds of differences—individual, cultural, geographical, and organizational. As such, valuing differences is an approach to both the work of personal growth and development and the work of increasing an organization's productivity.

Capitalizing on the value of differences

It is often acknowledged that differences among people and cultures are the wellspring of life's richness and excitement. But the reality is that differences create discomfort and conflict. As a result, managers and leaders in the workplace face the critical challenge to find the most effective way to help people deal with their differences. This issue is even more significant in any organization with an international work force.

Generally, people are comfortable with their sameness. Some managers insist that the best way to reduce conflict and maintain harmony is to focus on the ways in which people are alike. It is argued that people work together best if they ignore their differences.

* When this chapter was written, Walker was Manager, International Diversity, at Digital Equipment Corporation.

When, however, people believe that their differences make up an essential part of who they are, they may find it difficult to see the ways in which they are alike. They may even see their sameness differently.

Having to stay focused on the similarities often means that those who recognize their differences feel left out and devalued. Ignoring differences, therefore, not only supports the fiction of a homogeneous work force, but it leads to the potentially dangerous conclusion that differences are unacceptable.

Differences in and of themselves fuel creative energy and insight. They are the points of tension that spark alternative viewpoints and ideas and ignite the kindling forces behind creativity and innovation. They are the reference points for probing the meaning of beliefs and core values and for refining the understanding of who we really are.

Difference is intrinsically valuable to individual growth and development. Diversity, the mix and various combinations of human differences, is essential to growth and synergy in any organization. People and their differences make up the foundation of an organization's ability to develop broad perspectives and to approach business problems in new and creative ways.

This valuing differences model outlines and explains the work of helping people and their organizations learn how to capitalize on differences and reach their fullest potential. The work begins by focusing people on their differences.

At the core of the valuing differences approach is the wisdom of an old adage: "Every person is, in many respects, like all other people, like some other people, like no other person" (Kluckhohn and Murray, 1948). Human beings share many of the same hopes and fears. But in important ways, people are different from each other; not only as unique individuals but as members of groups that share a perspective of the world unlike that of any other group. Valuing people requires paying attention to these differences.

If people feel that their differences make up an essential part of their worth, then they feel most valued when they believe they are seen in their fullest dimensions, both as individuals and as members of their own group(s). The central valuing differences task is learning to pay attention to people as unique individuals, while recognizing and taking into account their differences as members of particular groups. This is the real work of individualizing people; that is, learning to see them in their fullest dimensions. This work enables people to see others as equal though not the same.

Valuing Differences: Principles and Process

The Valuing Differences model is based on the following key principles.

1. People work best when they feel valued.

2. People feel most valued when they believe that their individual and group differences have been taken into account.
3. The ability to learn from people regarded as different is the key to becoming fully empowered.
4. When people feel valued and empowered, they are able to build relationships in which they work together interdependently and synergistically.

These principles have shaped the content and steps in a process that helps people sort through their beliefs and assumptions about others and their individual and group differences. The following are the five steps in this process.

1. Stripping away stereotypes.
2. Learning to listen and probe for the differences in people's assumptions.
3. Building authentic and significant relationships with people one regards as different.
4. Enhancing personal empowerment.
5. Exploring and identifying group differences.

These steps are involved in the work of an ongoing process of personal development and growth. The first four are not necessarily sequential and may be undertaken simultaneously. The fifth step, for reasons explained later, should be undertaken after some of the other work has been done. The following discussion highlights some of the critical points in the valuing differences process.

Stripping away stereotypes

The first step in the process is to help people learn how to identify and strip away their stereotypes, defined in this work as fixed inflexible notions about a group. Gordon Allport (1979) wrote that prejudice is "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" (p. 9). In other words, stereotypes, whether positive or negative, are the heart of prejudice and block the ability to think about people as individuals.

It is important not to confuse stereotyping with the processes of prejudgment and generalization, which are essential aids to thinking and building an orderly life. But many generalizations are based on misconceptions and errors in judgment. Sometimes people over-generalize and stereotype simply because they do not have the facts. It is necessary to recognize that stereotypes develop when people are unable to reverse and erase their prejudgments after they receive new information and facts. In the valuing differences process, participants are encouraged to examine their prejudgments openly and, where possible, to substitute facts.

Erasing stereotypes liberates people from the need to manage their lives by force-fitting others into neat, tidy categories and roles. It is also an important step in learning to accept one's own differences. In

doing so, people are better able to manage the tension of holding on to their own views, while respecting and protecting others' rights to believe differently, even in ways that appear flatly contradictory to their own values and beliefs.

Building relationships with people one regards as different

Another step in the valuing differences approach is encouraging people purposefully to do the work of building authentic and significant relationships with those they regard as different. Too often, individuals only take the time to get to know, depend on, and trust those with whom they feel most comfortable—usually people they view as most like themselves. They do not take the time to build relationships with people whose differences make them uneasy.

This is a particularly disturbing problem for personnel professionals who struggle with the question of how to achieve parity at the top of an organization. Managers in these positions, often white men, fill the positions regarded as critical only with people whom they feel they know and can trust, and on whom they can depend. A first step toward breaking this cycle is to encourage managers to go out of their way to build meaningful, authentic relationships with people they regard as different.

Relationships across the lines of group differences give people an opportunity to understand that members of different groups have been socialized into different but equally valid assumptions and ways of seeing the world. As a result, one can understand that conflicts and tension created by differences are not always irreconcilable clashes in values and principles, but sometimes are mere differences in perspective.

"Bonding," a term used to describe the work of building authentic and significant relationships, deepens the investment in learning about issues one would not even think about otherwise. Honest ignorance of some issues created by differences is, in part, the result of a natural process of selective self-education. Often people simply do not choose to learn about issues that do not appear to affect them personally. Bonding helps people understand others' viewpoints and the burdens that they feel they carry. For some individuals, this is a significant point of human connection: When allowed to see another person's pain, one works harder to see that other person in fuller dimensions.

In addition, bonding deepens the investment in being authentic; that is, being the same person with others as one is with people in one's own group. Authenticity is important particularly when developing relationships across the lines of differences because it is a key to trust. The more people can trust others, or at least predict their behavior with some accuracy, the more they are willing to depend on them.

Developing such relationships is an important step in learning to take one another seriously and in eliminating the patronizing behavior that may occur between colleagues who are uneasy with each other. When people get to know each other, it is more likely that they will give honest feedback and even share important, unsolicited information. Although people may have some highly divergent differences, some of which they may never understand, they acquire the ability to see each other as potential allies, if not friends.

The process of bonding with people regarded as different, like building any significant relationship, is not without risks. In learning to depend on others, people risk the possibility of being let down and feeling devalued, sometimes even betrayed. Part of the valuing differences work is taking the time to put these risks in perspective.

Enhancing personal empowerment

Enhancing one's sense of inner personal power is a pivotal step in the valuing differences approach. It is at once both the means and the end of the work. The more comfortable people are working with and learning from others regarded as different, the more empowered they become. The more empowered people are, the more open they become to learning from differences in the perspectives of others.

The ability to grow and learn is often constrained by a self-referent point of view; that is, seeing one's own way as the right way and the norm by which to measure all others. Audre Lorde (1984) states that individuals are inclined

> to see human differences in simplistic opposition to each other: dominant/subordinate, good/bad, up/down, superior/inferior. . . . Too often, we pour the energy needed for recognizing and exploring difference into pretending that differences are insurmountable barriers, or that they do not exist at all. (p. 114)

Locked into an either/or approach to life, people become threatened by any deviation from their perceptions of the norm. They fear that others' differences mean that they must change. Therefore, they close in and join ranks with people whom they believe to be most like themselves. They respond like victims. The difference between feeling and not feeling like a victim is one's sense of personal empowerment—one's ability to accept, move toward, and even embrace different ideas and perspectives. The process of opening oneself up and becoming comfortable with others' differences is then synonymous with empowerment.

An empowered person listens and probes for differences in others' assumptions and even "tries on" different perspectives to glean others' strengths and wisdom. People like this will take risks to build authentic relationships and, though making mistakes from time to time, allow others the right to do the same.

Personal empowerment deepens the ability to trust in oneself and in the constructive potential of others. It allows one to commit to stay in the dialogue and wrestle with the complexities of issues created by differences. This sense of empowerment helps individuals accept and even anticipate change and, in some cases, figure out ways to respond productively to those who have not learned to value differences.

When people are empowered, they are more comfortable with the fundamental question underlying almost all conflict: "By whose standards shall we decide, yours or mine?" Rarely is there an easy answer to this question. However, people who have internalized the understanding that power is not a zero-sum game are more willing to share it. Sometimes they learn that the answer can be: "Ours." Personal empowerment enables an individual to accept the fact that there may be times when complex issues must be decided on the basis of others' standards. Certainly empowered people include in their search for the answer the well-being of others and the success of the whole.

Identifying group differences

The last step in the valuing differences process is working together with the people regarded as different to identify and articulate the core identity issues held by different groups. This involves probing for group differences in the assumptions and perspectives that shape people's values and views of the norm, or their interpretation of what the norm should be. In some cases, a group's difference may be a shared perspective that has developed as a result of the way it has been treated by another group. In other cases, the differences may be cultural. Studying the implications of group differences regarding issues such as building relationships, sharing power, and styles of bonding is a component of this work. Understanding group differences is an important step toward developing effective strategies to help people learn how to work together interdependently.

Although this work is critical to helping people deal effectively with issues created by differences, it requires a careful approach. Whenever possible, participants in the process should be encouraged to begin by learning to recognize stereotypes. Otherwise they may find themselves working at cross purposes. The problem with focusing on identifying group differences lies in the risk of promulgating stereotypes. The question is: Can individuals talk safely about group differences without legitimizing or reinforcing stereotypes?

Allport (1979) struggled with this same question in his classic work. He stated that

> probably in no case can it ever be said that a group difference marks off every single member of a group from every single nonmember. . . . Strictly speaking, therefore, every statement concerning a group difference (unless suitably qualified) is an exaggeration. (p. 37)

He added that in identifying group differences "perhaps the best that can be done is to say that members of a [group] all use the term 'we' with the same essential significance" (p. 37). In the valuing differences process, participants explore together the information that the groups share about themselves in an effort to arrive at the truth about group differences.

Addressing All Differences

In this country, each group protected by Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) legislation seeks the power to influence others and to make changes consistent with its standards for a better world; non-EEO groups also seek the same power. But, traditional EEO approaches focus on protected-class groups to the exclusion of others. Consequently, there is an "us versus them" view of the work, which victimizes and disempowers everyone. It reinforces the prevailing notion that people of difference, those in the EEO groups, have no power, and those in the non-EEO groups have all the power and responsibiity for making changes.

The shift in focus

Valuing differences neutralizes this disempowering approach by shifting to a view of every individual as a person of difference. To bring about meaningful and lasting change, the task is to build environments in which every person feels valued and empowered. Each one must perceive that there is an opportunity to influence the process of making the choices and tradeoffs necessary to correct the inequities imposed on victimized groups.

This will occur only when people trust that their own perspectives will be heard. Then they can be open to hearing and taking into account others' perspectives. They become willing to examine their own behaviors and may even be willing to alter their thinking about the issues of power and control in their relationships with others, including EEO-protected groups.

The word "differences" in the term "valuing differences" is all-inclusive. It applies not only to the traditional EEO differences, but also to other categories that must be dealt with effectively. Included are obvious differences, such as geographical and cultural perspectives on work styles and ways of doing business. Included, too, are less obvious but important and more subtle differences such as thinking and learning styles, which have received little attention. Whether dealing with one end or the other of the continuum of obvious to subtle diversity, valuing differences provides an inclusive focus for working with differences in a way that opens up blocked communications between organizations and between people.

It is important to note that, in a valuing differences environment, valuing may include a wide range of positive responses to differences. At a minimum, it means recognizing and accepting the fact of difference. It may mean going as far as actually embracing the difference; that is, adopting or using it in one's own thinking or behavior. In some cases, it means caring enough about another person or group to expend energy exploring and studying the assumptions behind the difference. Or, valuing a difference may mean simply respecting and accepting it as worthwhile, without the need to understand it and certainly without giving in to any impulse to judge it.

Race and sex as metaphors

The valuing differences approach often refers to race and gender as metaphors for all differences. This reference is based on the discernment that, whatever the difference, the dynamics of the conflict or struggle created by discomfort with differences are the same. The same question underlying EEO issues also underlies issues created by other kinds of differences: "By whose standards, yours or mine?"

Raising one's level of comfort with the issues one regards as either most difficult or emotional allows one to become open to dealing effectively with issues created by any kind of difference. In the United States many people regard race and gender as two of the foremost emotional issues. The perspectives and patterns of our relationships in these areas reinforce behavior in other areas of discomfort and conflict created by differences. Accomplishing the valuing differences work in these areas may provide people with the key to opening up to thinking differently and to unlocking their rigid perspectives on the world.

Moving Beyond the Multicultural Approach to Differences

The goal of the valuing differences approach is substantially broader than that of multicultural work. Multicultural programs give people the opportunity to study a wide range of specific cultures. Though these programs can be an important part of the valuing differences process, it is important to distinguish between the two. First, the differences people must learn to deal with often are not cultural in the strictest sense of the word. For example, whites, blacks, men, women, gays, and physically disabled people are not distinct cultural groups. Categorizing them so simplistically only reinforces stereotyped thinking.

Second, a strict multicultural approach to learning about differences can be impractical because it would be extraordinarily time consuming. In the United States alone, the number of cultures and subcultures is overwhelming. In effect, valuing differences is a

simpler approach. It focuses primarily on helping people develop an empowered mindset that is comfortable with differences, some of which a person may never have an opportunity to study but must still respect.

Using small groups in the valuing differences process

The work of learning to value differences is accomplished best in small, ongoing discussion groups. Howard and Howard (1985) describe the theory behind the value of these groups.

> Most of us learn best from our own experience, not simply from having things happen to us but from reflecting on what happens, both alone and in exchanges with others, so that the meaning of our experience becomes clear and we can make choices on growing awareness rather than unchallenged assumptions. . . . Very often such learning is enhanced and deepened when we work with a supportive group—a group where we can do more than discuss ideas objectively. We need a chance to work experimentally with the ideas, as scientists experiment in a laboratory, and then apply our finding to our lives. (p. 126)

Small groups are laboratories in which people help each other explore the issues created by differences with others. Most people join these groups because they intuitively recognize that the honest, in-depth exploration of differences cannot be done in isolation. It must be done with others and, in most cases, with people one perceives as different. Other people make a conscious decision to join these small groups to take a disciplined approach to thinking critically about issues raised by differences.

In small group work, it is essential that people take into account how highly emotional the work of dealing with differences can be. This means that the groups' leaders should know how to help participants feel safe. When people talk openly and honestly about differences, they often feel threatened and challenged. With or without justification, they believe that they are being asked to change, and they feel the risks that come with honest self-disclosure. According to an old saying, one may accuse oneself of prevarication or theft, but seldom of prejudice.

Only when people feel safe, do they hear and learn from one another. Therefore, the first and foremost responsibility of the small group leader is to help participants establish and maintain a safe environment in which they are willing to explore the issues as peers and maintain the dialogue.

Developing Human Potential and Increasing Organizational Productivity

Valuing differences legitimizes a focus on people's personal needs as individuals, managers, and leaders. Given the issues and conflict created by differences, this work becomes a unique context for exploring a broad range of issues critical to personal development, including such issues as intimacy and loneliness. Because organizational productivity relates directly to effective use of human resources, development of individuals as managers and leaders is a critical outcome of the approach.

Management development

Productivity depends on how well people work together, which in turn depends on how they deal with each other's differences. Prejudice, intolerance, and insensitivity to individual differences create barriers to becoming effective managers and to being managed effectively. Valuing differences provides an opportunity for managers to learn how to work with these issues and how to tap into the strengths of all people, including those regarded as different.

The Hawthorne Studies of the 1920s and 1930s demonstrated, among other things, that worker morale and productivity improved as a result of paying attention to employees. The valuing differences model and approach posits that paying attention to people and their differences is a principal form of valuing them. When they feel that they are valued and that their differences add value, they are motivated to do their best work.

Leadership development

The valuing differences approach allows participants in the process to work on developing leadership skills and attributes such as empathy and authenticity, as well as the ability to be forthright and to take risks. It provides an opportunity for managers to work through and refine their views and assumptions about power and the processes for empowering people.

This work helps an organization's leadership to multiply faster than it would otherwise. As more people are empowered to deal with issues created by differences and are in touch with their leadership skills and responsibilities, the organization is then in a powerful position to establish specific strategies to capitalize on its diversity and the synergy of differences as sources of collective growth, creativity, and strength.

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Theoretical Perspectives on Human Differences in the Workplace

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The purpose of this chapter is to review selected literature that supports the underlying principles of Barbara Walker's Valuing Differences model as presented elsewhere in this monograph. Although Walker uses the term "differences" to imply all types of differences, this review is limited to individual and group social differences. It examines six theoretical categories:

- Values
- Attitude change
- Human differences
- Cultural differences
- Stereotypes
- Small group development.

A brief definition of valuing differences precedes the discussion of the theories.

Valuing Differences

The verb "valuing" implies action or doing and refers to the active aspect, or actualization, of value. Kellerman (1971) defined valuing as "an active consideration with respect to worth" (p. 1093). It follows that the nature of valuing is behavioral.

Given the realities and inequities of American social systems, it also is important to note that the term "differences" is not a code for "deficits." Williams (1972) discussed a "Deficit versus Difference

Model" and cautioned that "one can be unique and different without being inferior" (p. 80).

That individuals learn to value the differences of others and to symbolize or demonstrate this in their behavior, is inherent in the Valuing Differences model.

Values Theory

The term value has been defined in many ways. Myrdal (1969) said reality is perceived in different ways.

> There are two types of conceptions held by people about reality . . .'beliefs' and 'valuations'. . . . Beliefs express our ideas about how reality actually is, or was, while the valuations express our ideas of how it ought to be, or ought to have been. (p. 15)

In his hierarchy of needs theory, Maslow (1959) equated basic values with basic needs, suggesting that an individual's values and needs are interdependent and change over time. While most theorists agree that values are a consequence of environment and culture, Weisskopf (1959) said that this is only partially true. He proposed that

> The ultimate ground of values, however, is rooted in the ultimate ground of being. Values have an ontological source. Even those who reject metaphysical arguments can learn from a basic concept or symbol which stood for the ground of being, such as God, nature, the Universe, etc. Whenever the awareness of this relation between the ground of being and values was lost, values began to disintegrate. (p. 109)

In this view, differences that exist between individuals are placed in a context of interdependency—which suggests a value system at work—because these differences originated from the same ultimate "ground of being." Weisskopf (1959) identified four types of value systems. In descending order of their correlation to positive mental health, they are: integrative, union upward, union downward, and repressive.

Anthropologists such as Margaret Mead (1953) have advanced the notion that individuals from a particular culture hold values representative of the value system of the culture of origin. Smith (1969) also believed that the relationship between the individual and the environment determines personal value orientations.

Kluckhohn (1956) compared cross-cultural value orientations based on three dichotomous clusters of preferences. They are:

1. Person and Nature
   a) Determinate-Indeterminate
   b) Unitary-Pluralistic
   c) Evil-Good

2. Person and Person
   a) Individual-Group
   b) Self-Other
   c) Autonomy-Dependency
   d) Active-Acceptant
   e) Discipline-Fulfillment
   f) Physical-Mental
   g) Tense-Relaxed
   h) Now-Then
3. Both Nature and Person
   a) Quality-Quantity
   b) Unique-General

Both cross-cultural psychologists and cultural anthropologists generally agree that values not only affect an individual's view of reality, but also constitute a dynamic and changing system of behaviors influenced by environment and culture.

According to Argyris (1971), organizations have distinct cultures and operate as social systems. Walker describes the workplace as reflecting the complex set of values inherent in a multicultural environment. In an attempt to respond to the issues arising from social differences, she and her colleagues sought to balance the varied values in ways that acknowledge innate differences. As a result, four essential elements of the valuing differences process emerged:

- Identifying and erasing stereotypes and myths about each others' groups
- Building authentic relationships with members in the different groups to broaden one's understanding of the issues created by those group differences
- Examining and learning how to listen for the assumptions that drive others' perceptions and perspectives
- Raising the level of personal and group empowerment by stripping away the ways we impose limits on ourselves.

This process provides a way to operationalize Weisskopf's (1959) integrative value system.

Attitude Change

According to McGuire (1968), early theorists equated social psychology with the study of attitudes. McGuire defined attitude change in relation to "how a person's feelings, beliefs, or behaviors are influenced by stimuli received from other people" (p. 108).

Newcomb (1963) found that an individual's acceptance into a group holding different beliefs and values from those of the individual "is an important source of attitude change" (p. 265). Wrench and Wrench (1973) said, "Major changes in attitude involve a redefinition of identity on the part of the person whose attitude is changing" (p. 305).

They added that the function which attitudes serve—that of organizing the individual's world and giving that person a meaningful place in it—"implies that when his *[sic]* world changes, he *[sic]* will modify his attitudes in such a way as to recreate meaningfulness" (p. 309).

Attitude change is what Walker's Core Groups are designed to achieve. These groups serve as controlled laboratories for attitude change. Individuals are encouraged and enabled to explore and gain resolutions for the issues raised by the differences of others.

McGuire (1968) offered four theoretical approaches to attitude change: Consistency theory, perceptual theory, functional theory, and the information-processing paradigm. They are relevant to the ways attitudes are changed in Core Groups.

Consistency theory

McGuire (1968) said individuals tend toward keeping their beliefs, feelings, and actions coherent by seeking resolution to the conflict derived from contending forces. The individual's belief is changed through introspection about "already held beliefs that are discrepant from the given one and related to it" (p. 114).

Perceptual theory

The perceptual approach to attitude change assumes a predisposition (frame of reference) different from or contrary to what is considered desirable. Individuals change their perceptions of environmental demands to conform to felt needs. The expectation of an authority figure or of one's group of reference may not change one's evaluation of the goal, but may change the perception of the task.

The attitude changes because the perception of the task has changed. Individuals maintain their original set of ideological principles but reinterpret the task so that perceptions different from the ones to which they previously were responding are operative.

Functional theory

The functional approach suggests that attitudes correlate with satisfying the individual's basic needs. A person's attitude may have little or nothing to do with the person, group, or object toward which the attitude is expressed. Because hostile attitudes serve as a psychological defense mechanism and tend to be ego-defensive, favorable information or contact with the out-group tends to be ineffective in attitude change.

Information-processing theory

The information-processing approach presumes an organic relationship between communication processes and attitude change, which

depends on behavior resulting from persuasive communication. McGuire (1968) referred to this view as the "learning theory approach, since it calls attention to the learning mediator that the other approaches tend to neglect." He further stated that, "It should be understood that the information-processing approach deals not only with the mediational role of learning, but also gives equal stress to the mediational role of yielding, attention, etc." (p. 117).

The criteria for the information-processing approach to attitude change consist of six sequential behavioral steps. The individual must:

- Receive the message
- Pay attention to the message
- Understand the intent of and the desired response to the message
- Yield or "buy into" the implication of the message
- Retain the new posture resulting from yielding to the message
- Engage in new behaviors that correspond with the new posture resulting from the message.

McGuire's (1968) analysis of this approach identified two phases for measuring how an independent variable, such as the method of transmitting the message, will affect its impact on attitude change: Analyze how the independent variable will affect each of the six behavioral steps, and analyze the prevailing social environment to determine how much variance in each of the behavioral steps may occur in the given social environment.

McGuire's four theoretical approaches are applied through the interdependent learning systems that core groups provide in that people can ask questions and learn from one another in safe environments. McGuire said that asking questions is one way of effecting attitude change. Questions provide a means for individuals to examine their beliefs about themselves, others, and the world in order to form more realistic beliefs about individual differences.

Human Differences

Historically, the study of human behavior has been conducted in two major categories described by Howell and Dipboye (1982) as the individual difference approach and the general characteristics approach. The individual differences approach recognizes that human beings differ in significant ways, while the general characteristics approach looks for generalities and seeks to explain how all people think or behave. Both approaches are essential for discussing and understanding the Valuing Differences model for workplace change.

Individual differences approach

The formal study of individual differences in the profession of clinical psychology is rooted in Charles Darwin's Theory of Evolution. According to Wrench and Wrench (1973), the credit for pioneering the

study of individual differences must be given to Sir Francis Galton, Darwin's cousin. Galton's work, along with that of John Watson, Sigmund Freud, William James and others, led to psychological testing and the various branches of Western psychology that we know today.

Mrydal (1969) noted, "The principle that all human beings have equal rights and that equalization of their living and working conditions is a supreme ideal" (p. 83). In his discussion about nature and nurture, he contrasted the radical and conservative views of psychology. Where the radical school of thought blames society's imperfections on the environment, the conservative school sees human nature as unchangeable and responsible for making individuals and society what they are. Myrdal viewed the conservative school as dominant and inclined toward a policy of laissez-faire. The Valuing Differences model would more likely adhere to the radical school of thought, which sees the environment and individuals as interdependent and changeable.

Literature abounds with variables in the cultural context that account for individual differences. Therefore, any cogent discussion of individual differences must include considering the contextual base for differences. Some writers have suggested that individuals, to a degree, model the culture of their origin. Others have believed that each individual is unique. It is apparent that individual differences surface in many ways—both across and within cultures.

General characteristics approach

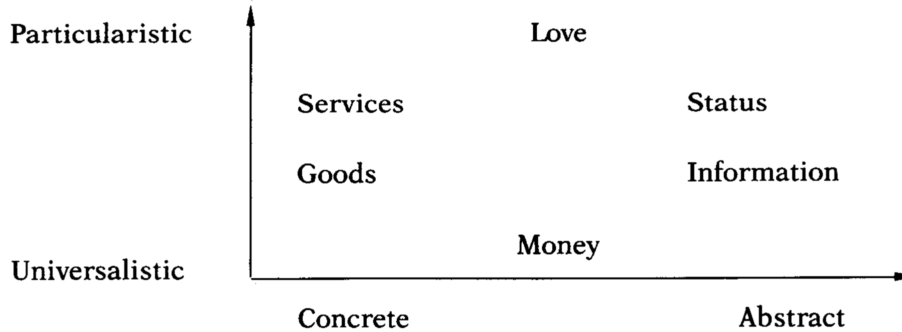
Triandis (1972) describes subjective culture as "a cultural group's characteristic way of perceiving the man-made part of its environment. The perception of rules and the group's norms, roles and values are aspects of subjective culture" (p. 4). By this definition, a group of musicians, athletes, or employees of a particular corporation or industry would qualify as a culture group.

Triandis (1976) believed that conflict occurs in intercultural interactions due to each interactor's inability to "know, for example, how the other analyzes his *[sic]* social environment and what constitutes a reward for the other" (p. 14). He added that, "Effective intercultural communications require 'isomorphic attributions'. Isomorphic attribution corresponds to this idea: If I had been raised in that culture and had had the kinds of experiences that he has had, I would do exactly what he did" (p. 14). He argued that one needs to know the subjective culture in order to reward the other. This notion implies that understanding the other interactor's subjective culture enables one to know the right cues and make isomorphic attributions.

Triandis' (1976) work also suggested that there is a greater attraction between individuals whose views of human exchange have some

overlap, because it provides a useful way of viewing human exchanges. He used Foa's (1971) work to describe how six kinds of exchanges differ from each other: Love, status, services, money, information, and goods. Figure 1 shows the relationship among the exchanges as they differ qualitatively. They form a circular pattern.

Figure 1—Relationship among types of human exchange



Adapted from Triandis, 1976.

Since love, services, and status are exchanged with particular individuals, Foa describes these exchanges as particularistic. Money and goods are universal and can be exchanged anonymously through a third party. Information and status are abstract, while services and goods are relatively concrete.

Another way of looking at human differences is to consider cognitive style differences. In a study of the cognitive styles of children, Hilliard (1976) concluded that Afro-American children learn best from a relational, interactive cognitive style and that Euro-American children tend to learn best from a rational, analytical cognitive style. Some of the characteristics identified for each of the styles include:

Rational	**Relational**
Precision	Approximate
Memorize facts	Remember essence
Controlled	Expressive
Rules	Freedom
Direct	Indirect
Hierarchical	Democratic

Triandis (1976) pointed out that any differentiations made in various cultures are significant. He stated

> It is well known, for instance, that different languages have many or few words for particular parts of the environment. . . . A person who makes a refined differentiation in a particular domain of the environment will often find it difficult to deal with a person who makes no such differentiations, and vice versa. (p. 16)

Generally, the research indicates that across cultures, the degree of differentiation is the most significant measure of difference.

A key aspect of the Valuing Differences model is the expectation that individuals in Core Groups will examine their own beliefs and values and consider, with others who are different, the differences in their subjective cultures. Then they are enabled to examine and understand the degree of differentiation between them.

Cultural Differences

Herskovits (1955) defined culture as the human elements of the environment. Culture is the world view of an individual, a group, or a nation. The general term culture is overarching (macro), while subjective culture is specific (micro) to individuals holding similar attitudes, roles, and values (Triandis, 1972).

Hall (1973) suggested that knowledge of culture is particularly important to Americans due to their ethnocentric attitudes. The awareness of one's own culture in contrast to others is seen as a mitigator of ethnocentric tendencies. Hall provides a system for analyzing culture at different levels, which he labels technical, formal, and informal.

Socio-psychological differences

Jung's (1964) levels of the human psyche parallel Hall's levels of culture. He identified four levels of the human psyche: conscious, personal, transpersonal unconscious, and cosmic unconscious. These levels can be likened to an iceberg. Culture on the technical level and the conscious part of the human psyche are like the tip of the iceberg. The formal level of culture and the personal and transpersonal unconscious part of the human psyche are analogous to the parts of the iceberg just above and below the surface. Turbulence may cause more of the part below to be seen. The informal level of culture and the cosmic unconscious part of the human psyche lie far below the surface as does most of the iceberg.

The informal level, like the cosmic unconscious part of the human psyche, is the unknown. Human beings tend to fear the unknown and respond at a survival level. Their responses tend to be ethnocentric and stereotypical. The Valuing Differences model emerged as a result

of individuals and groups working on ways and means to reduce the fears people have about others whose differences are unknown and misunderstood. Part of this work consists of activities allowing individuals to get to know themselves and others in a safe environment.

The study by Triandis, Feldman, Meldon, and Harvey (in Triandis, 1976) of black and white perceptions of the social environment provides insights into the American black and white subjective cultures. The findings include:

- Blacks distrust the ecosystem. "By ecosystem distrust, we mean that an individual distrusts every aspect of his environment, including the idea that the parts of the environment influence each other in lawful ways" (p. 43).
- Both groups are heterogeneous. For example, black high school students responded similarly to white college students, while blacks who were unemployed for a long period responded similarly to the white high school students. Triandis et al. believed this was attributed to blacks having middle-class points of view and white high school students with problems sharing the viewpoints of hardcore unemployed blacks.
- The hardcore unemployed had different perceptions about work roles. They had expectations different from what the jobs provided and tended to hold cynical views of work situations.
- Black, hardcore unemployed people showed positive affect and formality. They expected more formal, friendly relationships on the job than whites.
- Both groups saw screen stars of their own group as less prejudiced than screen stars of the other group.
- Only black militants, black men, and "hustlers" were seen as more trustworthy by blacks than by whites.
- Middle-class samples of both groups saw greater legitimacy in establishment roles than other samples.

The study has many implications, but one of today's realities is that the U.S. economy is facing a shortage of competent, productive workers. The unemployed are a potential source for a revitalized U.S. labor pool. In this regard, the findings of this study may be helpful in developing ways and means of integrating this group into the mainstream of the work force. Furthermore, the insights may be helpful in developing education and training strategies for this group. Use of core groups is one strategy.

Foster, Jackson, Cross, Jackson, and Hardiman (1988) suggested that individuals may differ from others in their referent groups by how they experience their social status and the environment. The authors identified the following five generic stages of social development.

Naive/no social consciousness. At this stage, the individual has no consciousness of being a cultural group (early childhood).

Acceptance. The individual accepts the roles and status assigned by the general society to the individual's referent group.
Resistance. The individual becomes angry and resists any vestiges of previously assigned roles or status. Hostility and "acting out" behaviors are common characteristics of this stage.
Redefinition. The individual transcends old ways of thinking about the environment.
Building bridges. The individual, at this stage of development, has gained a new frame of reference and is open to experience the myriad of differences in the environment.
One may imagine the potential for interpersonal misunderstandings and conflict between individuals or groups who are at different stages of social development.

According to Walker, the Valuing Differences model promotes personal development by encouraging individuals to explore their values and perceptions of the environment. The fifth stage of the Foster et al. (1988) model correlates with the Valuing Differences model's personal development goals. It provides a conceptual framework for viewing socio-psychological differences within and across both subjective and general cultures.

Socialization

Hayles (1982) suggested that "the differences in how people are socialized and treated lead to different strengths and capabilities" (p. 7). Hayles listed characteristics derived from research, showing higher average strengths or ability levels for various groups.

1. Women compared to men—superior in promoting harmony; fine coordination; verbal ability; encouraging cooperation; intuition and empathy; interpersonal skills; visual, auditory and tactile senses.
2. Men compared to women—superior in visual-spatial tasks; math skills; average physical strength.
3. Dark-skinned compared to light-skinned populations—superior in resistance to skin diseases.
4. Hispanic and black Americans compared to the general American population—fewer negative physical and psychological responses to crowding.
5. Black Americans compared to white Americans—greater expertise at making decisions involving equity and fairness considerations.
6. Black Americans compared to white Americans—greater skills at repressing anger.
7. Hispanic and black Americans compared to white Americans—superior in using field-sensitive thinking style.
8. Asian-Americans compared to all other Americans—superior mathematical ability.

9. Persons who can function effectively in two or more cultural contexts—superior at leading small multicultural problem-solving groups.
10. Other comparisons—regarding such issues as family orientation, coping with reduced standards of living, willingness to sacrifice for friends, and so on—all favor women and/or racial/ethnic minorities (pp. 7–8).

Hayles' (1982) summary of characteristics is useful for forming some new perspectives about various social groups. The utility of the observations must be viewed in the context of generalizing group strengths and capabilities as opposed to identifying individual strengths and capabilities.

Socio-psychological phenomena have been the concern of other cross-cultural studies. Anthropologists have attempted to analyze differences across cultures by identifying dimensions of cultural variations, such as cooperation and individualism. Social psychologists have described these dimensions as the interplay between allocentrism—seeing from the other's perspective—and idiocentrism—seeing from one's own perspective—in a culture. At the psychological level, allocentrism-idiocentrism reflect the dimension called collectivism versus individualism (Hofstede, 1980). Triandis et al. (1988) stated that allocentrism is correlated positively with social support (collectivism), while idiocentrism is correlated positively with emphasis on achievement (individualism). The Valuing Differences model balances social support through the Core Group process and achievement through a corporate culture that values and empowers individuals.

Cross-cultural researchers such as Triandis (1988), Hofstede (1980), Kluckhohn, and Strodtbeck (1961), defined cultures traditionally referred to as Third World as collectivist. They suggest that individualist cultures comprise all of North America north of the Rio Grande, Europe, and North Africa.

Studies about cultural variations provide a useful context for viewing socio-psychological differences. Those who see the world through the eyes of their referent groups respond to workplace issues and situations differently than others who sees the world through individualistic eyes. Walker describes the Valuing Differences model as an approach that capitalizes on the synergy of differences; people feel most valued when both their individual and group differences are considered.

Stereotypes

Walker describes stripping away stereotypes as the beginning of the valuing differences work. Much of the research on stereotypes uses "contact hypotheses" as a frame of reference. Campbell (1967) indicates that a stereotypic belief is a perceptive response to a stimulus—in this case, the stereotyped person or group. The intensity of the

stereotype depends on the differences between the members of the observer's group and the person or group being stereotyped. The frequency of contact also contributes to the relative intensity of the stereotype. Campbell explained his contact hypothesis as follows:

> The more opportunities for observation and the longer the exposure to the out-group, the larger the role of real differences in the stereotypes. This implies that the nearer out-groups will be more accurately stereotyped, and that out-groups with the most interchange of persons and interaction will be most accurately stereotyped. (p. 821)

In addition, research by Riordan (in Huges, 1983) concluded that

> Interaction with members of another culture group will improve attitudes only when the contact is on terms of equality and cooperation and when it is given institutional support. Otherwise, attitudes may actually become less favorable. Furthermore, when the participants are not from groups accorded an equal status in society, compensatory terms of contact may be required to overcome the strong initial prejudices involved. (p. 49)

Allport (1958) insisted that stereotypes "are primarily rationalizers. They adapt to the prevailing temper of prejudice or the needs of the situation" (p. 199). Stereotyping seems to reveal more about the individual holding stereotypic beliefs than about the person or group being stereotyped. Gordon (1954) postulated that stereotyping is a means of relieving intrapsychic tensions when he said, "Stereotyping, therefore, can be considered as an analgesic devised by the mind to protect itself against anxiety, that is, pain" (p. 575).

Although stereotyping may serve a psychological function to help individuals make sense of their environment, it also reduces the quality of intercultural relationships. A stereotype is like a printer's printing plate cast in type metal from a mold; the plate cannot be changed unless remolded. The same is true for mental patterns; they also require remolding.

Small Group Development

As Walker suggests, this remolding can be done best in small groups such as the Core Groups at Digital Equipment Corporation (DEC). It is commonly agreed that, although groups—like individuals—are unique, they, too, share some general characteristics. Theories of group development are based on patterns of interactions in groups over time; that is, how people in the group interact—individual to individual, individual to leader, individual to group—and how the group accomplishes its tasks. Banet (1976) identified three models of group development—the linear, helical, and cyclical models.

The linear model

The linear model of group development parallels the step growth process of individuals to that of groups. Growth is orderly, sequential, predictable, and temporary. Although the number and description of ascending phases that groups undergo vary with each theorist, Banet (1976) proposed that the linear model reflects the world view most associated with Western culture.

The helical model

The helical model of group development follows no particular flow or order. The group process is viewed as regressive, spiraling, and burrowing to the deepest level of significance for group issues. The model is therapeutic and psychoanalytical. It depends on a group leader and is commonly used in psychotherapy groups. Banet (1976) stated that the helical model's major strengths are its thoroughness in dealing with difficult issues and its unwavering belief that "the child is father to the man" (p. 174).

The cyclical model

Stressing intrapersonal and interpersonal growth and learning, this model uses a cyclical process that is dynamic and ever-changing. Banet (1976) described this process as one in which

> . . . the group is a collection of individuals who have gathered together to derive the principles of change that govern their lives and to discover a way to order their behavior in accordance with that principle. The group is less a community than a theater—an energy field where individual growth and change unfolds. (p. 175)

He also suggested that in this Yin/Yang type model, a paradox occurs. Simultaneously, the group develops "appreciation of the now and the potential to transcend the polarized field of apparent opposites" (p. 176).

The Hampden-Turner Model (1970) for psycho-social development and underdevelopment presented in the next section is an example of the cyclical model. The model provides a framework for describing the work of Walker's Core Groups and the Valuing Differences approach.

Core group process as it relates to individual and group development theories

The Hampden-Turner Model of psycho-social development provides a basis for comparing the Valuing Differences model to other theories of individual or group development. Hampden-Turner (1970) suggested that the "development of existential capacities in one man *[sic]*

is interdependent with the "development of such capacities in other men *[sic]* and the total relationship may be regarded as a continuous process" (p. 37).

The model is analyzed in Table 1 (see page 32) alongside the findings of five other major theorists—Martin (1964), Taylor (1964), Rogers (1965), Maslow (1954), and Bunker (1965)—and Walker. Hampden-Turner stated, "Every segment of my cycle model has been cited by five or more theorists of psychological development as a criterion for positive mental health and mature functioning" (p. 40). The segments of the model may be viewed as links in a chain. They are "parts of a continuum of relational facts which comprise a whole" (p. 40).

Because each researcher's model evolved from different perspectives and approaches to individual development, comparing them in the Hampden-Turner framework promotes understanding of their similarities and differences. It is evident that Walker's Valuing Differences approach compares favorably to the other models in regard to criteria for positive mental health and mature functioning.

Conclusion

Research by cultural anthropologists, social psychologists, cross-cultural psychologists, and applied behavioral scientists support Walker's model. Examination of six categories of theories—values, attitude changes, human differences, cultural differences, and small group development—has provided insights into the success of core groups in promoting the value of differences in the workplace. The approach is well supported by theory.

Value orientations and systems in relation to culture have been examined. The workplace is a culture that brings together people from various other cultures. Therefore, differences in value orientations are important to consider because they affect the individual's view of reality and cause a dynamic system of behaviors in the workplace culture. Core groups provide a forum for considering value orientations and developing Weisskopf's (1959) integrative value system, which correlates highly with developing positive mental health.

Central to the valuing differences work is attitude change through individuals working in groups with others who are perceived as different. Newcomb's (1965) work indicated that significant attitude change takes place when an individual is accepted in a new environment in which the reference group holds political and social views different from those of the individual. Triandis et al. (1963) and others suggested that attitudes change and productivity increases when diverse groups receive training for outcomes that were similar to those listed for Walker's Core Groups.

Table 1—Relationship Between the Hampden-Turner Model of Psycho-Social Development, the Walker Valuing Differences Model, and Selected Research Findings

Hampden-Turner Model		Walkers's Valuing Diffferences Model	Martin's Tolerant Personality Profile	Taylor's Creative Personality Profile	Roger's Dynamics or Self-Insight	Maslow's Correlates of Self-Actualization	Bunker's Changes in the Behavior of T-Group Members
Segments	**Description**						
EXISTENCE	Projects own moral creative synthesis.	Relativism.	Idealistic outlook, Equity, Fair play.	No data.	Has social initiative, is choosing own future.	Creative, Original, Inventive.	Expresses new ideas, experiment with new behaviors.
A) PERCEPTION	Unconventional vision seeks balance and equity.	Self-knowledge can be gained through knowing others perceived as socially different.	Humanitarian perception, highly empathetic, tolerant of ambiguity, sympathetic.	More observant... more emotionally sensitive... broadly directed attention.	Now understands persons in his environment.	More efficient perception of reality with unusual capacity to detect the spurious and fake. Greatly pained by, but still conscious of, the discrepancy between "is and ought."	Show sensitivity for other's feelings.
B) IDENTITY	Actively seeks new self-knowledge. Symbolizes new aspects of identity.	Values self as unique entity and as a part of others.	Greater self-insight.	More self-accepting ... more introverted yet bold.	Has achieved self-insight and understanding of his dilemma.	Accepting of "animal self" as part of total self. Self-insight, self-knowledge, and self acceptance.	Show awareness of own behavior. Show insight into self and others.
C) COMPETENCE	Learning and growing are inherent in living; competence is actively sought.	Competence is gained through experiencing self in relationship to environment and significant others.	Stronger self-confidence and belief in ability to influence events.	A strong need for mastery.	Shows planfulness and willingness to act for himself.	Unconventional ambitions—a mission to improve some aspect of the world—very strong personality.	Reflect self-confidence. Control manifest anxiety.

D) INVESTMENT AUTHENTIC & INTENSE	Invests self and commits to others genuinely and with intense focus.	Invests self, time and energy in a symbolic manner with intense focus.	Greater concern with self-expression. Readier admission of weakness.	More devoted to autonomy...divergent thinking: Moral comment...self-assertive...more involved and impulsive. Naturalness.	Tells facts frankly.	Great powers of work and concentration, strong need for self-expression, absence of pose, can't and guile, with great depth of feeling, spontaneity, impulsiveness.	Communicate and "send behavior" in general. Express stronger feelings with less inhibition.
E) SUSPENSION AND RISK	Spontaneously shifts to neutral to gain understanding. Suspends assumptions.	Strip away stereotypes, put aside assumptions and become open to experience "differences."	Undogmatic, trustful altruistic personalities. Give others benefit of doubt. Tolerate, uncertainty, modify their judgements easily. Can detach themselves more.	More adaptive, more spontaneously flexible...long range risks for greater gain.	Objectively self-critical and undefensive.	Fresh and "innocent" perspectives, can face the unknown with less fear than most, can be tentative. Likes ambiguity and unstructured situations. Capable of mystic, ecstatic and oceanic feelings.	Exhibit greater flexibility. Take bigger risks.
F) BRIDGING THE DISTANCE	Stretches self to reach out to nontraditional others with compassion—to bring compassion.	"Finds a way to cave," views bonding with out-groups as acceptable—actively seeks out those who are different for dialogue and understanding.	Sympathy for underdog, supported immigration of aliens, international assistance, support for Negroes.	No data collected.	Capacity to relate to adults.	Deep feelings of sympathy and identification with all humanity—gemeinshaftsgefuhl—feels a basic underlying kinship with most distant persons.	Accept and tolerate greater shortcomings in others.

Table 1 continued

continued **Table 1**

Hampden-Turner Model		Walkers's Valuing Diffferences Model	Martin's Tolerant Personality Profile	Taylor's Creative Personality Profile	Roger's Dynamics or Self-Insight	Maslow's Correlates of Self-Actualization	Bunker's Changes in the Behavior of T-Group Members
G) SELF-CONFIRMING IMPACT AND SELF-TRANSCENDENCE	Finds self-confirmation through transcending own personality—gains universal self-concept—"I am because we are."	Self-confirmation is gained through "different" others. Self uniqueness is accepted and transcended—"I am because we are."	More popular in the community, but otherwise no clear findings.	Excites, disturbs and threatens people. . . behavior controlled by self-concept. . . .	Socially skillful, leadership capacity.	Achieve considerable self-actualization along with a high capacity for frustration and deprivation.	Relate successfully to others. Involve others.
H) DIALECTIC LEADING TO SYNERGY	Interdependent relationships are formed through struggle for understanding and dialectical confrontation.	Seeking out dialogue with different others to work through differences, uncover sameness, and create synergy.	No data collected. Greater stress on mutual assistance and cooperation.	More often making supervisors angry. Capacity to make richer syntheses.	Friendships with own and other gender. Acts cooperatively.	Capacity to take blows and knocks, with a "situational hostility" towards the pretentious, hypocritical and self-inflated, and willingness to fight others for their own good and for what is right. Combine with synergistic powers, the capacity to reconcile opposites and achieve deeper, more profound interpersonal relationships.	Take a stand on issue. Encourage participation, create interdependence with others.
I) INTEGRATION OF FEEDBACK AND COMPLEXITY	Integration of experience is gained by verifying and applying the learnings from the dialectic and an expanded consciousness.	Experiencing people, objects, time and space from a multimenlonal continuum of acceptance and valuing differences in self and others.	More education, and greater valuation of intelligence, greater capacity to abstract from concrete experience, prefers complex and abstract art.	More complex solutions. . . insatiability for intellectual ordering. . . resistance to idea reduction. . . more complex as a person.	Takes responsibility for events and has intellectual and emotional understanding.	Concern with eternal and basic issues—widest frame of reference—intellectual— superior capacity to reason and to form an autonomous code of ethics. Deep sense of responsibility for events.	Tolerate new information. Receive communications (no data on complexity).

Adapted from Hampden-Turner, 1970.

Although sometimes individual differences have been perceived as deficits, the Walker model promotes valuing differences, not deficiencies. Examination of some social and psychological research on human differences revealed various theories regarding how individual differences develop, categories of differences, and occurrence of differences across cultures. Williams (1972) cautioned that "one can be unique and different without being inferior" (p. 80).

The ways cultures differ on a macro (overarching) level and a micro (subjective) level were examined. Hall's (1973) levels of culture—technical, formal, and informal systems—were compared to Jung's (1964) levels of the human psyche—conscious, transpersonal unconscious, and cosmic unconscious. The valuing differences approach addresses the fears people have about others who are different by developing a safe environment for exploring each other's macro and micro cultures.

Walker's model is made operative primarily through the use of core groups. As shown in the comparison to other models, the Valuing Differences approach closely parallels other research-based, small group models and theories of socio-psychological development. Those who have used the model know intuitively that it is effective. Obviously, the next step for Walker and other human resource development professionals is a formative evaluation of the model to demonstrate without question that it will reeducate workers to value differences and use them to create a more productive and, at the same time, rewarding workplace.

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Valuing Differences as a Business Issue

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Valuing Differences is an approach to helping people in the workplace deal positively with the issues created by their individual differences (see Walker, this volume). The concept cuts across disciplines, businesses and nations, and it can be an essential element in organization development (OD) work. In other chapters of this monograph, specific OD and training considerations, techniques, and approaches to developing valuing differences programs illustrate the concept's broad focus. According to Waterman (1987), training programs should not just 'train' in the narrow sense but should build relationships and forge new cross-organizational bonds to encourage improved teamwork. Valuing differences in the workplace contributes to this objective. This chapter addresses the approach in relation to some general OD and training methods and suggests that its use is both a business and an economic issue.

Valuing Differences, Affirmative Action, and Equal Opportunity

The different systems of the human body (Wilson, 1959) work together to help sustain it. The body depends on its different parts to maintain efficiency and work interdependently toward the goal of sustaining life. This natural phenomenon demonstrates the importance of differences. But in the body of the organization, appreciating these differences does not translate necessarily to valuing individual differences such as gender, race, religion, culture, socioeconomic status, politics, ethnicity, and education.

Because individual differences were not valued in the workplace, EEO and affirmative action legislation played an important role in changing the complexion of employment patterns during the late 1960s through the late 1970s. Legislating inclusion of women and minorities, however, produced an underlying negative result—limited career advancement, salaries, and upward mobility (Work, 1984).

The differences that women and minorities have brought to the workplace have not been valued in ways that could have empowered them. Human resource development issues have not been addressed nor have procedures been employed to help people deal with the fact of differences. AA/EEO failed to legislate the next step—treating everyone as valuable sources of creative input for solving company

problems. As resources, these underutilized groups remain untapped (Dickens, 1982). In fact, given the potential of this country's diverse work force, AA/EEO efforts have only scratched the surface.

In this volume, Barbara Walker identifies valuing differences as broader than managing diversity, affirmative action, or traditional EEO strategies. This broader concept is supported by changing world demographics projected for the 21st century by the U.S. Department of Labor (1987) and the concomitant "need to utilize new and different individual and group perspectives, talents, and skills as clients, customer and constituent bases become altered in terms of the racial, ethnic, and cultural mixes" (Work, 1988, p. 2).

The "global village" theory (Martel, 1986) recognizes the growing interdependence of humanity and the impact of universal communication on creating a new environment for businesses and other organizations. Martel states that the universality of communications "is enhancing the development of national attitudes and consciousness, and it also is contributing increasingly to the growth of global attitudes and even to a global consciousness" (p. 76). He adds that these developments are creating networks that cross traditional boundaries of nationality, race, and creed and that these changes are making people more interdependent as they facilitate the exchange of goods and services (p. 80). Not making a conscious effort to understand, anticipate, and make use of this interdependency will stifle an organization's ability to recognize opportunities for growth in technologies and markets and will result in stagnation and failure.

The Valuing Differences approach is predicated on paying attention to the many differences that people bring to the work force and on demonstrating that taking these differences into account increases the individual's sense of inner, personal power. The differences exist in styles of work, thinking and learning, leadership, interpersonal relations, communication, management, and problem solving. They also include race, gender, and ethnic differences. These individual differences are recognized and appreciated in small groups Walker calls Core Groups.

Organizational Change and the History of Small Group Training

Camp, Blanchard, and Huszczo (1986) define organization development as "a long-term, planned change process that is based on behavioral science theories and open systems theory and is aimed at simultaneously enhancing organizational effectiveness and individual employee perceptions of the quality of work life within the organization" (p. 296). An effective OD strategy means the planned changes must become part of the organization's everyday reality; that is, they must be institutionalized to become permanent. The stimulus for change may come from forces outside or within the organization.

In 1946 the Fair Employment Practices Act (FEPA) presented a stimulus for change to community leaders attempting to implement that federal mandate in Connecticut. Lewin, Beene, Bradford, and Lippitt conducted a workshop to help these community leaders. This team shared the belief that its approach "would lead to more productive organizations and more satisfied adult employees" (Camp et al., 1986, p. 345).

Following a discussion of the civil rights issues, experiences, and problems of enacting the FEPA provisions, it became apparent that the participants' behaviors were affecting group dynamics, which influenced the workshop's outcome. A new kind of formal learning began, incorporating an understanding of one's own behavior in relation to others. The National Training Laboratory for Group Development (NTL) evolved "to encourage planned change in social systems and to understand and facilitate individual and group development" (p. 346).

The Training Group (T-group) technique became the basis for developing a variety of more structured, team building training techniques such as laboratory education, sensitivity training, and encounter groups. The role of the trainer (directive or nondirective), type of agenda (structured or unstructured), length of sessions, and composition of the group (strangers, relatives, employees) constitute types of variations in groups influenced by the T-group methodology (Camp et al., 1986, p. 348). Current practices based strongly on T-group methods include such titles as "human potential seminars," "interaction labs," and "team building skill training." The T-group technique proved the power of small group discussions, which has been tapped in quality circles, employee participation groups, group problem solving sessions, role clarification techniques, and collaborative management-by-objectives (p. 356).

The target audiences for the early T-group sessions were industry managers. "It was thought that, by improving a manager's understanding of his or her own behavior, of group dynamics, and of the needs of others, he or she would be more effective in relating to subordinates and ultimately improving productivity" (Camp et al., 1986, p. 346). However, participants were finding that they were unable to transfer their new skills and knowledge back to the workplace.

In addition to the difficulties of applying what was learned to organizational settings, Camp et al. (1986) suggested other problems with T-groups:

- Being "burned" by superiors and subordinates when participants attempt to use self-disclosure skills back on the job
- Difficulty relating changes to other settings
- Lack of control over who would lead T-groups
- Lack of information about the process and outcomes

- Lack of "screening" participants to reduce the "casualty rate" (For example, some participants felt worse after the experiences; some consulted mental health professionals within six months of attending the sessions.)
- Loss of executives who gave up stressful corporate life after their consciousness had been raised (pp. 351–352).

At the same time, NTL began shifting from social or industrial psychology to a more clinical approach. The result was a shift of focus to intrapsychic processes and individual behavior, which further minimized the training's influence on organizational change. The result: More companies initiated their own managerial training programs to ensure integration of skills and knowledge with workplace dynamics. Walker's Digital Valuing Differences approach typifies this change. The diversity of Digital's work force is an example of significant internal change results which, in turn, have led to the institutionalization of valuing differences as an OD strategy.

The Valuing Differences approach corrects the weaknesses, while capitalizing on the strengths of the small group technique. It uses voluntary participation in Core Groups as "labs" where people help each other explore the issues created by their differences (see Walker). Camp et al. (1986) maintain that this type of small group technique provides a process for group members to "support and build the trust to open up and take behavioral risks by stretching beyond one's typical behavioral repertoire in a safe setting. . . . to discover new ways of relating to others and to receive feedback on those attempts."

They suggest further that the process is based on Kurt Lewin's Action Research model, which maintains that "interpersonal styles are based on long-held beliefs. . . . [that] can only be changed and improved when individuals are able to examine them personally and discover whether their beliefs are satisfactory or not" (p. 349).

The Valuing Differences Core Group work represents the kind of change that can bridge training and OD effectively, because it supports specific organizational goals. This approach provides a new way to view the workplace. It facilitates recognition of the interdependence and oneness of the organization's workers, enabling them to invest in the well-being of others and in the organization's success.

Organizational Change and Training the Trainer

Although there are a number of resource materials that address aspects of valuing differences training, according to Work (1988), "successful training efforts. . . . are more a function of trainer understanding and preparedness than specific training materials" (p. V). A recent training approach, "Emotion-Negative" (p. 11), can be applied to valuing differences because of its emphasis on the trainer's skills in processing and intervening—skills that help unlock what Walker calls rigid perspectives on the world.

Examples of Emotion-Negative training are "those designed to promote pluralism and intercultural understanding, that seek to eliminate racism and sexism in the workplace, or that endeavor to gain organizational acceptance of and involvement in affirmative action and equal employment opportunity programs" (Work, 1988, p. 107). The basis of Walker's Valuing Differences approach is the belief that raising one's level of comfort with the issues of race and gender—regarded as the most difficult and emotional—may enable one to deal effectively with issues created by any kind of difference.

In applying this approach, Work (1988) cautions that "while the idea is to try and establish a context in which changes in values and attitudes can take place, such a context, by its very nature is emotion-laden and can likely give rise to significant training tension" (p. 5). Walker's approach recognizes the highly intense emotional nature of this kind of training and emphasizes the use of a trained group facilitator whose primary role is to "keep people safe" during Core Group sessions.

The Work (1988) approach incorporates provocation as a method for "unfreezing" to effect change before "refreezing" around new information and experiences designed to crystallize recognition and acceptance of differences. The key to these effective training programs is the facilitator's advanced skills in group process and intervention techniques. Caution should be exercised to ensure that Emotion-Negative training programs will be used "not just to 'train' in the narrow sense, but to build relationships and forge new cross-company bonds to encourage improved teamwork" (Waterman, 1987, p. 228). The benefits to corporate productivity are worth the investment in well-trained facilitators.

Changes in the Workplace

According to Martel (1986), one of the significant changes affecting the workplace is a result of the shift from a "higher growth, industrial activity-dominated economy to a slower growth, service activity-dominated one" (p. 5). The economy is not stimulated to create more products as a result of providing services. Martel states further that the top 20 occupations expected to produce the most jobs (a total of 9.2 million) during the next decade are service-sector jobs requiring only limited training and expertise (p. 137). In a service activity-dominated economy, more attention is paid to the quality of the services provided. There is more direct impact with consumer services, which are labor-intensive and involve a great amount of human contact. Low paid, part-time, and less educated workers perform many of the direct consumer services in jobs such as hotel maid, fast-food employee, or nursing home attendant. Job training programs must be designed to accommodate higher turnover and be sensitive to the

differences inherent in a work force dominated by women, people of color, teenagers, and the elderly.

This leads to a second trend affecting the workplace—the changing complexion and diversity of the work force. As the work environment becomes more diversified with the inclusion of more people of color and women, the entire organizational and procedural context of the workplace will have to be reexamined and restructured to capitalize on the richness of this diversity. The dynamics of the human factor take on a more important role as the work environment changes. More than company loyalty determines employee retention and work quality (Martel, 1986, p. 46).

A third trend affecting the workplace, according to Martel (1986), is change in organizational structures. A slow evolution in the structure of many businesses is apparent in a shift to tying the organization's progress to collective rather than individual job performance (p. 147). A classic example is the Chrysler Corporation story in which workers shared in the company profits (Iacocca, 1984). This strategy kept the company from going bankrupt and increased worker motivation. Lincoln Electric Company of Cleveland, Ohio, presents another example. In this case, benefits to motivate workers were tied directly to company performance and increased profits (Martel, 1986, p. 145). The collective valuing of differences is a "business issue" when considered in relation to significant changes such as these, which affect performance in the workplace (United States Department of Labor, 1987).

The Competitive Edge

Viewed as a source for organizational survival, valuing differences becomes a business issue. Organizations that lead and stay competitive are those that recreate themselves and their way of doing business through encouraging individual expression and creativity (Waterman, 1987, p. 7). Waterman postulates that "the only true source of renewal in a company is the individual." He further explains that "when companies dispirit individuals, they defeat their ability to change" (p. 2).

Individual growth and development is an integral part of Walker's Valuing Differences approach. It maintains that the diversity inherent in the mix of human differences is essential to an organization's growth and synergy. An organization's ability to gain a broad perspective on issues and approach business problems in new and creative ways stems from its deliberate management of and respect for work force diversity (Walker, this volume).

A corporate culture that values the differences inherent in a diversified work force will produce an environment that promotes increased profits and productivity. For-profit or nonprofit, the business that will have the competitive edge, according to Xerox Chairman David T. Kearns in a three-part series of training videotapes (Copeland Griggs

Productions, 1988), is the one that values, respects, and institutionalizes the differences that the diverse work force brings to the workplace. In another videotape, Procter & Gamble Vice-President of Manufacturing Stona Fitch echoes this theme, maintaining that "the first companies that achieve a true multicultural environment will have a competitive edge. Diversity provides a much richer environment, a variety of viewpoints, and greater productivity. And, not unimportantly, it makes work more fun and interesting."

The Valuing Differences approach empowers individuals to reach their highest potentials and make their greatest contributions to the job and society. To reach corporate goals, interdependent workplace relationships are critical. Walker clearly points out the manager's responsibility for enabling workers to be more productive through an approach that values all differences.

There are obvious advantages to deliberate management of differences, which are similar to those identified by Dodd (1987) in relation to intercultural effectiveness skills. He lists them as "the ability to form better interpersonal relationships, to develop broader economic bases for business, to create more penetrating friendships, to stabilize ethnic identity, and generally to conclude intercultural tasks more efficiently" (p. 6). Walker would add the ability to trust in oneself and in the constructive potential of others through personal empowerment. Valuing differences, therefore, encompasses "developing a cultural fit between one's interpersonal style, one's corporate culture, and the culture in which a person is working" (Dodd, 1987, p. 6).

Corporate systems that encourage and actively design ongoing opportunities for employees to develop harmonious "fits" that recognize and accept differences unleash a flow of energy that multiplies and accelerates creativity. Jerome M. Rosow (cited in Work, 1984) identifies the following positive forms of individual behavior that can result directly from managing differences in the workplace:

- Motivation to work at optimum levels
- Involvement and commitment to the product or service
- Optimum output in quantity and quality of product
- Interests and work goals that are linked to the goals of the organization
- Healthy competitiveness to succeed and achieve on the job
- Interpersonal and group or team efforts that support cooperative achievement and reinforcement of combined efforts
- An achievement/reward/performance loop
- Creativity, initiative, innovation, willingness to change, and the use of personal talent to make new ideas work
- Loyalty, honesty, and integrity—personal standards that are a credit to the organization (p. 115).

In an interview, Roosevelt Thomas, director of the American Institute for Managing Diversity at Morehouse College-Atlanta stated that

"unlike affirmative action, which was considered a social, moral and legal responsibility, managing diversity is a business issue." Dr. Thomas also pointed out that a "growing number of large corporations will find themselves at a competitive disadvantage unless they start managing diversity" (Schmidt, 1988, p. 25).

Conclusions

The workplace is changing. The ability to anticipate and prepare for changes in business, occupations, and personal life must improve. Organizations must perfect skills in making change work for them, not against them. Valuing differences is a business issue in that it requires an investment of time and money and plays a key role in developing and implementing corporate strategic plans to increase profits and productivity.

To reach corporate goals and maintain a competitive edge, management of interdependent workplace relationships is critical. The concept of valuing differences requires changing the way the workplace is viewed—as an environment to produce goods and services. It requires a view of the workplace as an environment overflowing with possible solutions to organizational problems and challenges because of the wealth of information and creative energy present in the various perspectives a diversified work force brings. It requires valuing each person as a resource to improve company performance and calls for a new outlook attuned to empowerment.

As the world becomes more of a global village, the need for addressing the relationship between valuing differences and corporate productivity will increase. At the same time, training programs and materials specifically designed to empower trainers and consultants to bring about organizational and personal changes are required to harness the collective energy a diverse work force brings to the workplace.

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Diversity in the Workplace: How Does a Valuing Differences Approach Enhance Intergroup Relations?

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As we move toward the next century, diversity—differences among people—in the workplace has been identified as an important organizational issue. Many HRD authors have discussed the changing demographics of the U.S. labor pool. The dominant group of white males is shrinking, and their numbers will continue to diminish as they are replaced by workers from traditionally subordinate groups—women, minorities, immigrants, differently abled, and older workers. Roberts T. Jones (1989), Assistant Secretary for Employment and Training for the U.S. Department of Labor, states that due to a shrinking workforce employers are no longer in a buyer's position and that "a large percentage of the new growth in the labor market will be women, minorities, and immigrants. That means that over the course of 20 or 30 years, the workforce will become more heterogeneous from a race standpoint, from a skills standpoint, and from an experience standpoint" (p. 13).

Ready or not, employers will have to deal with a greater likelihood of conflict among groups and individuals because of the growing diversity. Many organizations and HRD consultants have already begun to address this issue. The Valuing Differences approach developed by Barbara Walker with Digital Equipment Corporation is one example (see Walker chapters). This chapter relates the approach to relevant social psychology research and theory on intergroup relations as a way to link theory and practice.

Valuing Differences and the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations

To address the question of how a valuing differences approach might enhance intergroup relations, it is necessary to understand the small group work of valuing differences, as well as to define some related terms and concepts. This section will look at some of the

social psychological theory that relates to this work. It will examine definitions of a group, intergroup behavior, and intergroup relations and will explore Core Group work as Walker has defined it.

What is a group?

Sherif and Sherif (1979) define a group as follows:

> A delineated social unit with properties which can be measured and which have consequences for the behavior of its members. These include, at least, (1) structure or organization—that is, a power dimension as measured by effective initiative of members, and (2) a set of norms regulating behavior of the members in pursuing goals, in relationships with one another and with out-groups and their members—that is, evaluative dimensions which can be assessed in terms of what is upheld in the group and what is treated as deviate. (pp. 8–9)

Tajfel and Turner (1979) conceptualize a group as "a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership of it" (p. 40).

Groups, therefore, consist of people who share some values, beliefs, and norms, which are evidenced by their behaviors with others in their group or with members of other groups. The behaviors are enforced by social consensus and by the power inherent in the group's structure.

Intergroup behavior and intergroup relations

Sherif and Sherif (1979) define intergroup behavior in the context of intergroup relations. It includes "only those behaviors and associated attitudes that stem from membership in or aspired membership in a human group" (p. 8). They further explain that "whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identification, we have an instance of intergroup behavior" (p. 9).

In other words, not all acts between groups can be classified as intergroup behavior. The behavior must relate to a distinction between an in-group and an out-group; that is, one identifies with the norms and goals of one's own group (in-group) as distinct from those of the other's group (out-group). Recognition of intergroup behaviors—how people distinguish between in-groups and out-groups in their interactions with each other—is an element of the valuing differences work, but it is not the whole story.

Valuing Differences small group work: Intergroup relations, sensitivity training, or personal development?

Walker does not define her small group work as intergroup relations, sensitivity training, or personal development. However, elements of each of these methods have an apparent relation to the work of valuing differences.

Sensitivity training. The small group work of a valuing differences program could be viewed from the perspective of sensitivity training. Burke (1982) defines sensitivity training as small group discussions in which the group members "receive feedback from one another regarding their behavior in the group, and this feedback becomes the learning source for personal insight and development. Participants also have an opportunity to learn more about group behavior and intergroup relationships" (p. 21). Although this kind of learning may be happening in the core groups, the work of valuing differences is more than sensitivity training.

Personal development. Valuing differences also can be viewed in terms of Argyris' theory of interpersonal competence. He defines an interpersonally competent person as "one who owns up, openly expressing what he or she thinks and feels; expresses feelings to others when experiencing an emotion; and experiments, trying new behaviors and seeking to learn from these attempts" (Burke, 1982, p. 33).

Walker refers to the personal development aspect of valuing differences work. Yet, she makes it clear that it is more than personal development, as it takes place within the context of a particular business and within the framework of that business's goal to be productive. In other words, "what's in it" for the employee has to do with "what's in it" for the organization as well.

The context: Stereotyping and prejudice

Groups have histories that cannot be ignored. According to Sherif and Sherif (1979), groups are "historical affairs" (p. 10); they do not exist in a vacuum. In addition to organizational context, the work of valuing differences must be seen within the larger social context of American society—a heterogeneous mix of cultures, norms, beliefs, and values—and its particular history. From this larger social framework come the issues played out daily by groups within a particular organizational context. Stereotyping and prejudice are part of this context.

Stereotyping and categorization. Allport (1958) defines a stereotype as "an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category." He adds,

"A stereotype, then, is not a category, but often exists as a fixed mark upon the category. . . . [It] acts both as a justificatory device for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group, and as a screening or selective device to maintain simplicity in perception in thinking" (pp. 187–188).

According to Allport (1958), stereotyping can be viewed as a cognitive device that helps simplify perception and thinking processes. He outlines characteristics of the categorization process.

1. It forms large classes and clusters for guiding our daily adjustments.
2. It assimilates as much as it can to the cluster.
3. The category enables us to identify a related object quickly.
4. The category saturates all that it contains with the same ideational and emotional flavor.
5. Categories may be more or less rational. (pp. 19–21)

The problem with categorization—and, therefore, with stereotyping—is not that it is inherently bad or negative but that it can be either rationally or irrationally based and, once established, is difficult to change. According to Allport (1958), "irrational categories are formed as easily as rational categories. Probably they are formed more easily, for intense emotional feelings have a property of acting like sponges. Ideas, engulfed by an overpowering emotion, are more likely to conform to the emotion than to objective evidence" (p. 22). Regarding the negative aspects of stereotyping, Allport concludes that "the rationalizing and justifying function of a stereotype exceeds its function as a reflector of group attributes" (p. 192).

Prejudice. What is prejudice? Allport's (1958) simplest definition is "thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant" (p. 7). He acknowledges, however, that prejudice can be favorable as well as unfavorable, and presents three stages in the historical transformation of the meaning of prejudice.

1. To the ancients, *praejudicium* meant a precedent—a judgment based on previous decisions and experiences.
2. Later, the term in English acquired the meaning of a judgment formed before due examination and consideration of the facts—a premature or hasty judgment.
3. Finally the term also acquired its present emotional flavor of favorableness or unfavorableness that accompanies such a prior and unsupported judgment (p. 7).

Allport (1958) summarizes his view of negative ethnic prejudice as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he [or she] is a member of that group" (p. 10).

These definitions of stereotyping and prejudice inform and relate to the work of valuing differences, providing a historical and social psychological perspective on the development of prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behavior in conflictive intergroup relations. They also remind us that stereotyping, or categorization, can fulfill a positive function as well as a negative one.

Valuing Differences and the Enhancement of Intergroup Relations

The Valuing Differences program at Digital developed as a pragmatic response to the problems of group differences in an organization and to social justice legislation. It was not set up to test social psychology theories. However, the actual work of valuing differences relates to aspects of the social psychology of intergroup relations.

Sherif and Sherif's (1979) definition of groups in terms of social units having structure and norms with which a member of the group (in-group) identifies and to which that member's behavior conforms implies that in-group members differ from members of out-groups. The researchers studied the process, or causes, of intergroup conflict (competition) and the importance of superordinate goals for reducing conflict between groups (cooperation). They defined superordinate goals as "goals which are compelling for members of two or more groups and cannot be ignored, but which cannot be achieved by the efforts and resources of one group alone" (p. 11).

Sherif and Sherif (1979) recognize time as an important variable in reducing conflict in that "various superordinate goals over a period of time were necessary to sustain cooperation between groups, to permit procedures acceptable to both to be established and then transferred from one situation to the next" (p. 11). They also named contact and communication as important elements for reducing conflict between groups, but only when they are part of cooperative efforts to reach superordinate goals. (Also see Worchel, 1979). In fact they found that without superordinate goals and a cooperative situation, contact and communication could intensify conflict.

In the core group work of valuing differences, the organization may provide superordinate goals that will interest everyone in learning how to work together more productively for the benefit of the whole. In Walker's description of the program at Digital, she uses words and phrases such as interdependence, synergy, productivity, empowerment of all persons in the organization, and seeing all persons as persons of difference as well as unique individuals. This language recognizes a "superordinate group"—the organization. In fact, one may ask: Can Digital (or any organization) constitute an in-group? [Allport (1958, p. 41) asked, "Can humanity constitute an in-group?"]

Sherif and Sherif (1979) state that "everything we know about human culture, and language in particular, informs us that our reference groups have ready-made categories for us." In our interrelationships we tend to distinguish between "those who are for us" and "those against us" (pp. 16–17). Core groups can provide a setting for working through these negative categorizations and stereotypes that people bring with them into an organization from their group identities.

Contact, communication, and time are integral to core group work. The Valuing Differences approach provides a medium for contact and communication over time in a safe setting by allowing employees from all levels and functions to work together toward recognizing each person's uniqueness as well as his or her group differences. This also allows for the discovery or recognition of a superordinate goal, which changes group members' stances from "mine versus yours" to "ours."

Blake and Mouton (1979) discuss getting to the underlying problems of organizations' intergroup conflict, rather than relying on solutions that revolve around winning and losing. Mediation is one approach, but it "results in power-based decisions or in compromising differences, rather than in identifying and relieving underlying problems" (p. 19). Getting to the underlying issues, use of "controlled explosions" (release of pent-up tensions) in a safe place, and shared awareness (pp. 24–26) may be part of what takes place in core groups, in addition to working together on superordinate goals.

Valuing differences can be viewed, in terms of Blake and Mouton's "Conflict Resolution Grid," as a "9, 9" type approach (1979, p. 27). Blake and Mouton define "9, 9" as an approach in which "disagreement is valued as an inevitable result of the fact that strong-minded people have convictions about what is right." It involves "candid discussion . . . maturity and real human skill . . . time . . . disagreements . . . [and] problem-solving constructiveness" (p. 29). It is a confrontational approach, allowing people to get to the underlying issues and work through them.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) distinguish between realistic and social competition. Realistic competition is related to realistic group conflict theory (R.C.T.) in the work of Sherif and Sherif. It is based on competition for scarce resources in a win or lose struggle; that is, real competition. Because Tajfel and Turner (1979) do not believe that all intergroup conflict can be traced to realistic group conflict conditions, they also look at social comparison as a basis for competition, hence, social competition. Social groups provide their members with social identity—"those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from the social categories to which he [or she] perceives himself [or herself] as belonging" (p. 40). Social categorizations, as they see it, are cognitive tools that "do not merely systematize the

social world; they also provide a system of orientation for self-reference: They create and define the individual's place in society" (p. 40).

Social competition, therefore, has to do with superior and inferior status positions that are institutionalized within a larger social structure, such as a dominant white male system versus a subordinate black (minority) system in the United States. In these situations, intergroup conflict has been institutionalized. Differentiation has been achieved in an accepted, socially stratified system. Tajfel and Turner (1979) explain that

> the aim of differentiation is to maintain or achieve superiority over an out-group on some dimensions. Any such act, therefore, is essentially competitive. This competition requires a situation of mutual comparison and differentiation on a shared value dimension. (p. 41)

This differentiated status structure remains intact as long as it is accepted, as long as the "status relations are perceived as immutable, a part of the fixed order of things. . . . It becomes insecure when the existing state of affairs begins to be questioned" (p. 45).

Thus, when a subordinate group begins to question whether inferior status is legitimate, efforts for social change leading to a more positive group identity (e.g., "Black is Beautiful") are bound to follow. The hitherto dominant group will launch a socially competitive counter effort aimed at maintaining the status quo.

There is an implication here for valuing differences work. Core groups may work as status equalizers, providing structure for "social creativity" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 43) instead of social competition. In valuing differences core groups, both the in-group and the out-group(s) may become (redefine themselves as) one larger in-group. This provides a way for social change to occur within an organization, which can eliminate the need for social conflict.

Power is the real issue here. Walker talks about the difficulty of building authentic and significant relationships with people one regards as different. She discusses the difficulty organizations have in achieving parity at the top because top managers, traditionally white males, want to promote or recruit people they think they can trust and depend on; people they know, like themselves. She suggests that encouraging managers to build purposefully meaningful and authentic relationships with people they regard as different is a step in the direction of breaking this cycle and redistributing the power.

In the same vein, Kanter (1977) discusses the effect of uncertainty in business organizations that

> causes management to become so socially restricting; to develop tight inner circles excluding social strangers; to keep control in the hands of

> socially homogeneous peers; and to prefer ease of communication and thus social certainty over the strains of dealing with people who are "different." (p. 49)

She calls this tendency to recruit or promote people similar to oneself "a reliance on 'trust' through 'homosocial reproduction' " (p. 54).

This implies that Valuing Differences Core Groups can provide a way within an organization for managers and employees from a variety of cultures, groups, work functions, and organizational and power levels to build significant relationships and establish trust levels, allowing the possibility of more heterogeneous promotion and recruiting. The groups effectively set up new networks among people in an organization. This ultimately broadens the scope of people one trusts and promotes a shift away from "homosocial reproduction."

Core groups may decrease or erase an organization's power imbalance, in which one group has dominated other groups, and dependent groups have become "invisibles" (Apfelbaum, 1979, p. 196). Apfelbaum states that those who have power create this domination/subordination relationship, and "the dissymmetry, which is the consequence of power, then helps guarantee the continuation and the perpetuation of that power" (p. 196). A vicious cycle ensues in which the subordinated groups are trapped on the underside of power.

This relationship establishes an "us versus them" situation. According to Apfelbaum (1979), the subordinated group becomes a "non-group," and the power of the dominant group becomes internalized and "needs decreasingly to be expressed overtly. [In this situation] tokenism is indispensable for maintaining the verisimilitude of [a social] mobility illusion, and for denying the existence of. . . exclusionary practices, while at the same time buttressing them" (pp. 198–199).

The method for overcoming this domination is called regrouping. The minority group speaks out to reclaim a positive social identity by "a positive revaluing of the peculiarities and the specific characteristics" that have been devalued and by "rediscovering its own cultural roots and historical background" (Apfelbaum, 1979, p. 203). A valuing differences core group may provide a setting for regrouping and revaluing and for decreasing the probability that a domination/subordination power cycle will occur.

Nemeth (1979), on the other hand, discusses the role of minority influence on the group's majority. In opposing pressure from the majority to conform, a minority can exert influence "if it consistently maintains [its] position in the face of real or imagined majority pressure, [thus posing] its position as an alternative" (p. 228). According to Nemeth and various studies he cites, there are two key behavioral

acts that promote a minority's influence. They are: Consistency in maintaining a position (p. 228) and "the creation of the perception of a position in which they are confident;" thus, "the majority. . . is susceptible to persuasion from a committed minority" (p. 230).

Ambivalence-amplification theory of behavior is another aspect of dominant-subordinate intergroup relations. Katz and Glass (1979) hypothesize that

> ambivalence potentiates threat to self-esteem in situations of contact with the attitudinal object. . . . [and] that this sense of threat gives rise to threat-reducing efforts that are often manifested as extreme behavior toward the attitudinal object, either positive or negative depending upon the structure of the situation. (p. 57)

In other words, when one feels ambivalent about one's behavior and attitude toward a person perceived as lower in status, the ambivalence produces a threat to one's self-esteem. This threat, needing to be resolved, pushes one to respond with either an extremely negative or an extremely positive behavior. Katz and Glass' ambivalence-amplification theory of behavior toward low status out-groups may apply to valuing differences work.

Core groups may provide a setting in which a dominant-group member's ambivalent feelings about a subordinate-group (low-status) member become salient (amplified), while, at the same time, the core group's expectation is that this person will be fair-minded and respond in a positive manner toward the (perceived) lower-status member. The dominant member will most likely respond in a positive manner. This happens because the dominant member wishes to conform to the group's expectations (norms) in order to reduce any threat to his or her own self-esteem. This setting, therefore, can reinforce positive behavior and promote the likelihood of positive behavioral and attitudinal changes, as group reinforcement continues over time.

This process can also be seen as a way of reinforcing behavioral changes. It establishes a state of cognitive dissonance for a dominant-group member through sharing positive information about a subordinate group. This causes the dominant-group member to seek to reduce the dissonance by changing attitude/affect.

However, according to Worchel (1979), this behavioral approach will not work on its own, any more than increased contact or communication or superordinate goals would by themselves. He explains that

> the overall impression gained from the research is that *no single method will be effective in all situations.* Probably the most effective method for reducing intergroup conflict involves a combination of such factors as reducing threat potential, open communication, exchange of information, and the existence of superordinate goals. This same combination is also probably necessary to sustain cooperative interaction once it has begun. (p. 268)

This precisely fits Walker's findings about what Valuing Differences Core Groups can provide in an organization—a setting that maintains the continuation of factors Worchel believes are necessary to reduce intergroup conflict.

Conclusion

This chapter has related the work of valuing differences (described by Walker) to theory and research from the social psychology of intergroup relations. It has examined the historical context for prejudice and stereotyping in the United States and the changing demographics of this country's work force.

As projected, increased workplace diversity could bring about either rising conflict in intergroup relations, higher productivity, or both. This review of literature on the social psychology of intergroup relations has revealed ways in which a program such as the Core Group work of Valuing Differences can enhance intergroup relations. It can provide a setting for ongoing contact and communication over time and for employees from conflicting groups to understand and work through differences in a safe, cooperative, non-threatening environment. But, it requires a perceived superordinate goal.

As other authors in this volume have indicated, there are many things an organization must consider before, during, and after taking on such a program for change. One very important element of Digital's Valuing Differences program is that it has been institutionalized by the organization as a function, with official company policy and employment of full-time valuing differences managers. This adds the vital dimensions of power and organizational support needed to accomplish its goals and objectives.

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SECTION 2

History and Setting for Valuing Differences in the Workplace

Early Efforts at Achieving a Diversified Work Force: Going Beyond EEO/AA

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The history of the United States has been written as a series of painful struggles to achieve the promise in Jefferson's resounding statement, "All men are created equal." Beyond Jefferson, many have been and continue to be committed to making a reality of the larger concept that all men and women are created equal. This struggle has been difficult and is by no means over. And yet this volume's theme, "valuing differences," may be viewed as heralding sufficient accomplishments to indicate that we may be ready for a major paradigm shift. This shift would take us from a model based on remedial efforts to make all men and women equal—which we have labeled "equal opportunity and affirmative action"—to one that points beyond merely achieving equality and recognizes the inherent value in diversity.

Developing a new paradigm would require business organizations in the United States to acknowledge that a traditional white, male Anglo-Saxon model of productivity is not the only viable one and that a different approach, such as Japan's, can also be successful. It would also reveal that tailoring our productive forces to one traditional model can cause organizations to ignore potential resources available in the United States. Some of these resources might provide the exact improvements needed to salvage a productivity system that is showing signs of wearing out.

The focus of this chapter, however, will not be on dramatic future changes—that is, on how valuing diversity will work—but, on some major developments in early efforts to accommodate diversity within the labor force. The focus also will include efforts to achieve diversity via affirmative action and equal opportunity programs. It is hoped this will provide some explanatory background to help answer the question of how we reached this point in our history.

But first, another theme must be addressed; one that was debated increasingly during the '80s under the Reagan administration—the often acrimonious disagreement between partisans of affirmative action programs and opponents of those programs. It seems clear that the current debate over affirmative action is between those who believe programs designed to achieve affirmative changes inherently violate the fundamental principles on which the United States was founded and those who believe U.S. history is full of inequality and unfairness. The latter believe inequities occur in the operations of the political system, including the legal system as well as social and economic systems. They feel equality and fairness can come only with major adjustments made through specially designed programs.

To bolster their positions, the first group can point to ringing phrases found in the *Declaration of Independence* and the *Constitution.* The second can point to volumes of history depicting de jure and de facto segregation and discrimination suffered by blacks, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, immigrants, women, Jews, Catholics, older workers, the disabled, and, in short, just about anyone who was not a white, able-bodied, Protestant male.

The first group further claims that affirmative action programs are not only unfair and in violation of our founding principles, but that they stigmatize their recipients by fostering the belief that they are less competent than white males.

The second group tries to get the message across that white males were the major recipients of preferences and that affirmative action programs are only tepid attempts to equalize this centuries-old tradition of preferences.

Although this dispute may never be resolved to everyone's satisfaction, any movement from an affirmative action approach to one stressing the inherent productive value of diversity is bound to

alleviate some tensions of this dispute. If we accept the concept that a diversified labor force has the potential to become a better labor force, then, ideally, the need for statutory and regulatory intervention to bring about valuing diversity eventually will disappear as market forces take over.

Early Attempts to Deal With Diversity in the Work Force

From the earliest days of U.S. history, some groups have had the power to discriminate against others. According to Grimes (1964),

> Men have associated attitudes of superiority with their own situations whenever they have had the power to enforce their views. Puritans were reluctant to grant equality to Quakers; Protestants were reluctant to grant equality to Catholics; Christians were reluctant to grant equality to Jews; whites were reluctant to grant equality to Negroes. Immigration, however, produced religious and racial diversity in America, and democracy armed each new generation with the power to contest the claimed superiorities of previous settlers.

By the 20th century many of these early arrivals to our shores had found a hard form of acceptance through assimilation, but many had not. Of those who had not, American blacks stand out. Even though a Civil War had been fought to emancipate blacks from slavery, the nation and the Supreme Court tolerated and accepted a succession of Jim Crow laws in the South. A type of collusion allowed the South to violate the letter and the spirit of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Amendments to the *Constitution* with the passage of laws that stripped blacks of educational, political, economic, and social opportunities and segregated them into a despised underclass. It was left to Northern blacks, in coalition with whites whose consciences would not allow them to participate in this collusion, to begin the long process of removing legal barriers to equality by forming associations to promote equal rights. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in 1909, and the Urban League was founded in 1910.

In 1939, the efforts of organized equal rights supporters yielded a small but significant commitment from the federal government with the establishment of a Civil Rights Section in the Department of Justice. This section's mandate was to enforce the civil rights statutes passed during the Reconstruction Period after the Civil War. Finally, after more than half a century, the government appeared ready to begin the process of providing black citizens with their rights under the Constitution.

In 1943, President Roosevelt signed an Executive Order requiring nondiscrimination clauses in defense contracts. Although this decision might have had a humanitarian basis, there is no doubt that it

also was based on the exigencies of the war effort. With millions of men removed from the labor force, their replacements were suddenly perceived to be valuable and deserving of government protection, a new development in American labor history. At this point, a brief digression is necessary to review the condition of the American labor force and how its history contributes to the development of the theme.

The American labor force

Theorists often have resorted to a common model that divides the labor force into "primary" and "secondary" categories. The primary labor force holds the jobs that tend to pay well, offer security, and provide fringe benefits such as vacations and retirement plans. The secondary labor force is a mirror image of the primary labor force, offering poor-paying jobs with low fringe benefits and little job security. The primary labor force comprises largely white males, with minorities, women, and recent immigrants relegated to fill the jobs in the secondary market. It was, in fact, this division that brought about the model of labor referred to previously. The model that emerged in the United States set the standard for:

- pay (a very high standard)
- working conditions (a relatively low standard)
- working hours and working shifts (inflexible)
- vacation time (relatively little)
- seniority rights (rigid)
- merit (often secondary to seniority)
- motivators (mainly money)
- career paths (rigid).

In short, a very inflexible and compensation-fixated model of labor came to dominate the primary labor market.

Questioning this model may not occur to most people because, by force of history, it is assumed that this is the natural and, therefore, the only way to order labor. In any event, World War II opened up the primary market to blacks, women, and other formerly dispossessed individuals previously relegated to the secondary labor market. As they flowed into this market, however, policy makers were faced with major decisions. What would be the standard of pay—that of the primary market or the secondary market? What would be the conditions of labor—the higher ones of the primary market or the lower ones of the secondary market? What about leave policies—the inflexible ones of the primary market or the more flexible ones of the secondary market (United States Department of Labor, no date)?

Labor unions (to which those in the secondary market rarely belonged) suddenly found themselves fighting for the rights of non-union members, albeit with the avowed purpose of maintaining their

gains fought for and won prior to World War II, until their membership returned from the front. When changes occurred, therefore, such as enabling black employees to work beside whites in nonsegregated facilities, providing day care for mothers in the labor force, protecting the rights of pregnant women to return to their jobs, and requiring equal pay for equal work, they were envisioned only as temporary measures, not fundamental changes to American labor's accepted paradigm (Banner, 1974; Chafe, 1977; Sealander, 1983).

That is why, with the notable exception of civil rights for black individuals, the changes disappeared with hardly a blip in the history books. But the fact that the civil rights issue for black citizens could not be dismissed so easily kept alive the flowering diversity within the labor force that had begun during World War II.

Desegregation and civil rights

President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights began its task shortly after the end of the war. Truman had asked the group to investigate the impact of racial discrimination on the economic and social well-being of black citizens. When the committee issued a report in 1947, it focused attention on major structural inequities in the nation. In 1948, President Truman responded to the report by asserting his right as Commander-in-Chief of the armed services to outlaw racial segregation in the armed forces. For the first time in the history of the nation, blacks and whites were to be treated equally in the armed services and, when the time came, to fight side by side with them. Although this may appear to some as a very small and inadequate step, it was, in fact, revolutionary with reverberations that can be felt today.

In the '50s, the NAACP led an assault on segregation laws, particularly those that kept black citizens from educational opportunities available to whites. In 1954, the five education cases joined together as Brown v. Board of Education (347 U.S. 1954) were decided by the Supreme Court. It concluded "that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

The massive resistance mounted by the Southern states to the desegregation of their schools and public facilities caused an exponential growth of support in the rest of the nation for the civil rights of black citizens. When Americans sat in front of their television sets and watched Southern sheriffs club people demonstrating for basic human rights or observed officials bar the entrance of black children into schools and libraries, a shudder of recognition went through the nation.

Millions began to realize that the land of opportunity was also a land of segregation and discrimination, of violence and hatred for persons with different-colored skin. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was

an attempt, finally, to make a reality of the nation's founding principles and to eliminate, once and for all, the ugly scar of discrimination. What many people perceived to be the culminating act, however, turned out to be only the opening salvo in a battle against discrimination that continues today.

Efforts to Achieve Diversity by Affirmative Action/Equal Employment Opportunity

The incentive for civil rights activism was rooted in the inequities heaped on black citizens, but other groups as well, could point justifiably to their own history of mistreatment. Native Americans and Mexican Americans, with claims of being dispossessed of their lands, were subjected to much the same type of discrimination as were blacks. Immigrants whose skin color or religion did not allow them to be assimilated into the majority population suffered their own history of discrimination, with some of the tactics as violent as those employed against blacks. Females, who had only received the right to vote in 1920, could point to centuries of de jure and de facto discrimination affecting their rights to own property, receive an education, enter the professions, work in nontraditional fields, and so on.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act also provided protection against discrimination for all of these groups. The employment protections as detailed in Title VII of the Act represented the opening wedge for diversifying the labor force and bringing it, 25 years later, to the verge of a major shift in philosophy.

Once it was recognized that civil rights legislation was an effective way to deal with prejudice-based barriers to employment equity, other groups suffering from discrimination began pressuring Congress for similar protection. In 1967, persons over the age of 40 were able to secure protection from employment discrimination in the Age Discrimination in Employment Act. This act greatly expanded the numbers of people covered by civil rights legislation. Everyone, including white males, became a member of a protected group during the time they spent in the labor force between the ages of 40 and 65 (later expanded to 70). Indeed, white males have not been reluctant to call on the act when terminated from employment or penalized in some fashion because of becoming older.

In 1972, disabled persons, almost totally excluded from the labor force since the early days of industrialization, were able to secure their civil rights under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act (VRA). This act not only promised those who are disabled though capable of working rights to employment, but it also stated that employers would be required to take affirmative action and make reasonable accommodation on their behalf. The VRA was the first federal law

requiring employers to adjust their expectations or working conditions to give people access to jobs. The concept of reasonable accommodation, a major change in the accepted model of labor, caused surprisingly little resistance when first introduced. The reason for this was that the number of people and places affected were relatively small at first and, apparently, no employer wanted to be perceived as against the disabled, the blind, or the deaf.

The explicit requirement that the workplace should change to fit the worker, however, violated a fundamental principle of the old paradigm, which had required that workers change to fit the workplace. Employers only now are beginning to realize that a fundamental change has occurred in the basic principles of employment because of the responsibility to accommodate the disabled. Largely due to the development of the concept of reasonable accommodation, a quiet revolution has been going on for more than 15 years, gradually adjusting employers to the idea that they should honor reasonable requests to change whatever is necessary to enable employees to do their jobs. In the main, not only have employers accepted this, they have tended to agree, more or less, that these changes are proper and just.

Adjustments needed to enable women to do their jobs have not been as readily accepted or provided. Accommodations for child-bearing and child-rearing obligations, which tend to fall solely or predominantly on female employees, have been resisted more or less successfully by employers up to the present day. As the requirement for reasonable accommodation does not exist in the Civil Rights Act, Congress found it necessary to amend Title VII in 1978 to ensure that female employees receive medical coverage and not suffer losses for having to leave the labor force temporarily because of pregnancy. Employers still are not obligated to provide child care facilities or flex-time arrangements for women with children. These issues will become major ones in the 1990s as child-rearers continue to enter the labor force in major proportions.

In 1972, Vietnam Era veterans were given protection from discrimination and, in addition, rights to affirmative action by the Vietnam Era Veterans Readjustment Act. Veterans of earlier wars had been given a variety of employment privileges by federal, state, and municipal governments. These privileges included bonus points on civil service exams (usually five or ten points) or, sometimes, lifetime or absolute preference in civil service jobs. According to Saltzstein (1986), such benefits have resulted in substantial gains for veterans in the public sector. In addition, certain groups of veterans have been provided with education and training benefits to equip them for higher level jobs.

Meanwhile, the approach to protecting workers in the labor force that began in the '60s had become the natural one, ergo the only one. Although some of these benefits were available to veterans of the

Vietnam War, some were not. When Vietnam veterans' organizations began to clamor for privileges similar to those given to earlier cohorts of veterans, it was assumed that the affirmative action approach would be the appropriate way to help the veterans. However, because no federal agency issued regulations to add teeth to the act, such as requiring the setting of goals and timetables for hiring these veterans, a very checkered pattern of employer responses emerged. Under the Reagan Administration, some attempts were made to monitor the condition of Vietnam era veterans by requiring employers to report on their numbers. In March 1988, the first report, entitled *Vets-100,* was required to be submitted to the U. S. Department of Labor.

The result of all of this regulatory activity since 1964 is that nearly the entire labor force of the United States consists of categories of employees who have been given protection from one or another form of discrimination which has been labeled illegal. The categories include federal protections on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, religion, age, disability, and Vietnam Era military service. In addition to those categories, state protections from discrimination have been enacted on the basis of marital status, political affiliation, union membership, AIDS, arrest records, sexual preference or orientation, matriculation, personal appearance, or accent (Commerce Clearing House, 1988, 8037–8050).

With this enormous expansion of regulatory activity, employers have come to accept responsibilities for dealing with major social problems as they affect the employment opportunities and upward mobility of workers. More or less willingly, employers have had to deal with the successive needs and demands of different populations of people who have entered the labor force in a succession of waves. The primary labor force is now an integrated work force. The demands of this labor force are breaking down the old model and building up a new model for work and productivity in the United States (United States Department of Labor, 1987).

It is possible that we are on the threshold of a major paradigm shift. With that in mind, other chapters in this monograph may serve as guideposts for those employers seeking to bring their enterprises into the new world of productivity—an all-inclusive world in which resources are fully tapped, not discarded with profligate wastefulness.

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Preparing Workers for the 21st Century: Relating Vocational-Technical Education to Diverse Training Needs in the Workplace

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The United States is becoming part of an interdependent global economy. If the nation is to compete successfully on an international basis, it must produce goods and services acceptable to the international marketplace. Close scrutiny of work force supply and demand as it relates to the educational preparation of the nation's workers is required if we are to meet the demands of successful competition.

The United States economy is undergoing dramatic restructuring—from an industry base to an information base, from manufacturing to service, and from a national marketplace to an international marketplace. Education is the vehicle that must prepare individuals for this major change. The economic well-being of the nation depends on the effectiveness of the educational system in response to the change. It must respond with speed and accuracy.

This chapter looks at the trends, challenges, and priorities the vocational education system faces as it seeks to prepare workers for the changing workplace. It includes recommendations regarding strategic planning, new methods and approaches, professional preparation and development, and resource development and coordination.

Education and the Economy: Trends

As the year 2000 looms before us, we see four major trends that affect the vocational-technical education system: changing demographics, advancing technology, an evolving global workplace, and a heightened need for educational reform. The statements and statistics in the following sections provide further information about these trends.

Changing demographics

- Fewer youths; more adults; more minorities, especially with limited English proficiency (immigrants)

- More school dropouts, especially among minorities; more work force dropouts, especially among older workers
- Women and minorities as a larger portion of the work force—traditionally the least occupationally prepared/skilled.

Some related statistics:

- Eighty percent of new entrants into the work force will be minorities, women, and immigrants by the year 2000.
- Over 1 million youths drop out of school each year, and youth unemployment is triple the overall unemployment rate.
- Seventy-five percent of those who will be working in the year 2000 are already in the work force.
- Younger workers will drop from 30 percent of the work force in 1985 to 16 percent in the year 2000.
- One out of every four new workers will be an immigrant.

The William T. Grant Foundation Report (1988), *The forgotten half: Non-college youth in America,* points out the following statistics.

- Young male graduates between the ages of 20 and 24 who were not enrolled in college in 1986 earned 28 percent less in constant dollars than a comparable group in 1973.
- The annual dropout rate among 14- to 24-year-olds fell from 6.3 percent in 1973 to 5.2 percent in 1983.
- Forty-four percent of high school students are in the labor force at least part of the school year.
- Far fewer youths with high school diplomas are able to obtain full-time, year-round employment now.
- Overall, less than 49 percent of all non-college bound male high school graduates were working full-time one to two years after receiving their diplomas; down from 73 percent in 1974.
- Employment for under-age-twenty male graduates in high-wage sectors—manufacturing, communications, transportation, utilities, and forestry—fell from 55 percent in 1968 to 37 percent in 1986.
- Only 43.7 percent of 20- to 24-year-old males earned enough in 1985 to support a family of three above the poverty level.
- Marriage rates among 20- to 24-year-olds have plummeted—down 46 percent between 1974 and 1985; among blacks, down 62 percent.
- Among families headed by a person under age 25, the poverty rate almost doubled between 1973 and 1985.
- Young adults, ages 18 to 23, with basic academic skills in the bottom fifth of the distribution relative to their peers in the top half are:
  —8.8 times more likely to have left school without a diploma
  —8.6 times more likely to have had a child out of wedlock
  —5.4 times more likely to be receiving some form of public assistance

—5.0 times more likely to be at a poverty-level income and not in school of any type
—3.6 times more likely to be neither working, nor in school, nor taking care of a child
—2.2 times more likely to have been arrested in the previous year.

Advancing technology

Impact on the economy:
- Expanding development and use of advancing technologies in the workplace
- Increasing automation of both the goods-producing and the service-producing sectors of the economy
- Increasing need for technologically competent workers
- Increasing number of workers facing technological obsolescence.

Workforce 2000, a recent report of the Hudson Institute on work and workers in the 21st century, identifies the following five technologies as having the greatest impact.
- Information and storage processing technologies
- Communications technologies
- Advanced materials technologies
- Biotechnologies
- Superconductivity.

Impact on the worker:
- More low-skill/no-skill jobs; more high-skill jobs
- Decreasing need for occupationally specific skills
- Increasing need for transferable, multidimensional skills
- Further technology-prompted social satisfaction (the technology "haves" vs. the technology "have nots").

Impact on education:
- Escalating information explosion
- Increasing dependence on information technologies
- Increasing use of information technologies in instruction, knowledge, and skills development
- Increasing need for knowledgeable workers.

Evolving global workplace

The international marketplace:
- Declining national superpowers
- Increasing interdependence with foreign economies
- Increasing work force and product competition, especially from developing nations

- Increasing off-shore employment, especially for low-skill, no-skill jobs.

Economic development:
- Continuing creation of multinationals and megacompanies (more mergers)
- Continuing growth of entrepreneurship
- Continuing expansion of the service sector
- Continuing decline of worker productivity.

The worker:
- Decreasing need for manual skills
- Increasing need for organizational and communication skills
- Increasing need for understanding world cultures and economies
- Increasing worker dislocation
- Individual work life starting later and lasting longer.

Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) projections for 1986–2000:
- The labor force will look very different in 2000.
  —People under 25 years of age will have a smaller share, as will those who are 55 and older.
  —Women will have a larger share, as will blacks, Asians, and Hispanics.
- The service-producing sector will provide most of the new jobs.
  —20 million by 2000.
- Most of those jobs will be in services and retail trade.
  —Health and business services will account for more than half the growth in services.
  —Eating and drinking places, in retail trade.
  —The only job growth area in the goods-producing sector will be in construction.
- Occupational employment distribution—where most workers will be (over 50 percent in the top 4 categories):
  1. Service workers—17.2 percent
  2. Administrative support, including clerical—16.6 percent
  3. Marketing and salesworkers—12.3 percent
  4. Managerial and management-related workers—10.2 percent
  5. Teachers, librarians, and counselors—4.3 percent

  Representing 60.6 percent.

Where the jobs will be (according to the BLS):
Fastest growing occupational areas from 1986 to 2000:
1. Computer and data processing services
2. Outpatient facilities and health services
3. Personnel supply services

4. Office of health practitioners
5. Credit reporting and business services
6. Legal services
7. Nursing and personal care facilities
8. Research, management and consulting services
9. Residential care
10. Miscellaneous publishing.

Industries generating the largest number of new jobs from 1986–2000:

1. Eating and drinking places
2. Offices of health practitioners
3. New and repair construction
4. Nursing and personal care facilities
5. Personnel supply services
6. State and local government education
7. Machinery and equipment wholesalers
8. Computer and data processing services
9. Grocery stores
10. Hotels and other lodging places.

What the jobs will be according to BLS

Fastest growing occupations from 1986 to 2000

	% Change in Employment	**% of Total Job Growth**
1. Paralegal personnel	103.7%	.3%
2. Medical assistants	90.4	.6
3. Physical therapists	87.5	.2
4. Physical and corrective therapy assistants and aides	81.6	.1
5. Data processing equipment repairers	80.4	.3
6. Home health aides	80.1	.5
7. Podiatrists	77.2	0
8. Computer systems analysts, electronic data processing	75.6	1.2
9. Medical records technicians	75.0	.1
10. Employment interviewers, private or public employment service	71.2	.3

Occupations with the largest job growth from 1986 to 2000

	% Change in Employment	% of Total Job Growth
1. Salespersons, retail	33.5%	5.6%
2. Waiters and waitresses	44.2	3.5
3. Registered nurses	43.6	2.9
4. Janitors and cleaners, including maids & housekeeping cleaners	22.6	2.8
5. General managers and top executives	24.4	2.7
6. Cashiers	26.5	2.7
7. Truck drivers, light and heavy	23.8	2.5
8. General office clerks	19.6	2.2
9. Food counter, fountain, and related workers	29.9	2.1
10. Nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants	35.4	2.0

Other BLS projections from 1986 to 2000

Fastest declining occupations	% of Decline Employment
1. Electrical and electronic assemblers	−53.7%
2. Electronic semiconductor processors	−51.1
3. Railroad conductors and yardmasters	−40.9
4. Railroad brake, signal and switch operators	−39.9
5. Gas and petroleum plant and system occupations	−34.3
6. Industrial truck and tractor operators	−33.6
7. Shoe sewing machine operators and tenders	−32.1
8. Stations installers and repairers, telephone	−31.8
9. Chemical equipment controllers, operators, and tenders	−29.7
10. Chemical plant and system operators	−29.6
11. Stenographers	−28.2
12. Farmers	−28.1

A need for heightened educational reform

Literacy:
- Less need to read at low-skill/no-skill levels
- More need for abstract reasoning at higher skill levels
- Increasing need for basic, functional, and technological literacy.
- Some data:
  - —Fifty percent of all new jobs will require education beyond high school.
  - —Thirty percent will require a college degree.
  - —Sixteen percent of high school graduates will go directly from high school to work.
  - —Only 4 percent of available jobs will be low skill.
  - —Twenty to 40 percent of dislocated workers are functionally illiterate.
  - —Workers will change jobs on the average of five to six times, and change occupations three times during their work lives.

Adult learners:
- Work-related lifelong learning will be a reality.
- Continuing education is a haven for workers, including educators.
- Expand role of career development and guidance throughout an individual's work life span.

The delivery system:
- Diminishing occupationally specific skill development in secondary vocational technical education
- Expanding occupationally specific preparation at the post-secondary level, beneath the baccalaureate
- An expanding and diverse vocational technical education service delivery system
- Less and less dominance by any single provider
- Increasing collaboration between employers and providers.

Education and the Economy: Challenges

As we move toward the year 2000, we see four major challenges for vocational-technical education: serving more diverse populations, adapting to technological change, stimulating worker performance and productivity, and revitalizing vocational-technical education. The following sections provide further information about these challenges.

Serving diverse populations

- Untapped human resource pools (the unserved and underserved):
  - —Dropouts
  - —Women
  - —Minorities
  - —Immigrants
  - —Older workers/adults.
- Responding proactively to changing demographics
- Serving dropouts
- Prevention/intervention—both ends of the education-work life span spectrum

Adapting to technological change

- Improve by giving concentrated attention to the critical thinking, technical, and occupational skills development of women and minorities.
- Develop multidimensional and transferable occupational skills.
- Take stronger initiative in developing and maintaining a technologically literate and competent work force.
- Develop instructional quality and capacity in the creative application of information technologies (pre-service and in-service vocational teacher education; professional development).
- The fields selected most often by women remain education, nursing, and therapy—20.6 percent of women's choices; 3.9 percent of men's (obverse holds true for engineering-related occupations).
- The attrition rate for women who enter scientific and technical careers is 50 percent higher than that of men.
- Women are twice as likely as men in those fields to be underemployed.
  - —Need to keep options open, reduce attrition, and promote equality of opportunity.

Stimulating worker performance and productivity

- Provide understanding of world cultures and economies as they relate to the world of work in the United States.
- Give more attention to developing sustaining entrepreneurial skills.
- Build skills that accommodate changing careers, such as organizational and communication skills and career development and guidance.
- Address the growing mismatch between available jobs and workers' skills.

Worker quality, productivity, and flexibility are stressed in a recent report of the National Governors' Association, *Making America work:*

Jobs, growth, and competitiveness (1987). It provides four recommendations relevant to vocational-technical education for developing productive workers.

- Build the bridge between the classroom and the marketplace.
- Encourage the private sector to invest in training that emphasizes the broader skills necessary for a more flexible work force.
- Reorient state training programs to reinforce state economic development strategies.
- Address the expanding definitions of literacy to give special attention to:
  —Functional/workplace literacy
  —Technological/scientific literacy.

Service delivery:

- Recognize the diversity and complexity of the vocational technical education delivery system where, for the most part:
  —The secondary level provides generic, world-of-work career development.
  —The post-secondary level provides occupationally specific preparation.
  —Employers provide job-specific skills training and retraining.
  —There is an increasing need to give attention to elementary education (career awareness; employability skills development).

Rising education and skill requirements (Workforce 2000):

- Median years of education required by new jobs created between 1984 and 2000 will be 13.5 compared to present 12.8.
- U.S. Department of Labor ranked occupations to a specific set of skill criteria on a scale of one to six, with six being the highest skill rating. The following are skill ratings of select job categories.
  1. Engineer—5.1
  2. Management—4.4
  3. Teacher—4.2
  4. Technician—4.1
  5. Marketing & Sales—3.4
  6. Precision production—2.5
  7. Machine setter—1.8
- The fastest-growing jobs require much higher math, language, and reasoning ability than current jobs.
  —Forty-one percent of new jobs will require top-ranked skills compared with present 24 percent.
- Slower-growing jobs require less.
  —Only 4 percent of new jobs can be filled by individuals with the lowest skill levels compared with present 9 percent.

Developing programs and curricula to improve international understanding:

- 1988 International Youth Skill Olympics, Sydney, Australia:
  - —Seventeen youth from the United States participated.
  - —VICA was the organization designated to represent the United States by former President Nixon in 1973.
  - —The U.S. won five medals—one silver, four bronze—the most ever.
  - —First-place Korea won 12 gold medals; 21 medals total.
- The U.S. is the only nation with total volunteer involvement.
  - —Students volunteer to participate.
  - —Instructors volunteer to work with the student contestants for one year.
  - —Industry representatives volunteer to set up, conduct, and judge the contest in which we compete.
  - —Our involvement is 100 percent industry funded.
- U.S. held in high regard because of:
  - —Integrity
  - —Sense of fair play
  - —Willingness to help others to our own detriment (CNC machining contestant).

Revitalizing vocational technical education

New knowledge and skills development:

- Concentrating on skill currency and changing skill demands
- Determining performance standards
- Preparing individuals for lifelong learning throughout their work life span.

Occupational literacy:

- Jobs currently in the middle of the skill distribution will be the least skilled of the future.
- Unless workers have higher standards of education and skills, it is likely unemployment will rise, especially as service occupations are automated.
- The traditional basics of reading, writing, computation, and computer know-how are essential—but they are not enough.

Seven skill clusters:

- *Basic skills*—Reading, writing, computation and computer know-how
- *People skills*—Interpersonal relations, group process, and communication skills
- *Organization skills*—Planning and reference skills, decision making and problem solving skills, systems understanding
- *Thinking skills*—Holistic and intuitive thinking, creativity, abstract reasoning

- *Evaluation skills*—Application analysis, synthesis, and assessment skills
- *Technical skills*—Technology-based information, scientific and technological process skills, model building, psychomotor skills
- *Career skills*—Employability skills, work attitudes adaptation skills, entrepreneurship skills (risk-taking)

And an eighth skill—the most important—learning how to learn.

Education and the Economy: Priorities

What are the priorities for vocational technical education? What should they be? Based on the trends and challenges given here, four are obvious: untapped worker pool, competent and relevant educators and administrators, a competitive work force, and human resource/human capital development.

The untapped worker pool

- Attracting dropouts, minorities, limited-English proficients, immigrants, women, and older adults
- Starting early by connecting to elementary education to build academic, pre-technical, and pre-employment skills; career awareness
- Providing additional support services and specially designed programs
- Overcoming institutional barriers to selection and retention of the underserved population
- The prescience of the Perkins Act, which mandates serving special populations—untapped worker pool.

Competent and relevant educators and administrators

- Strengthening preservice and inservice vocational technical teacher education; professional development
- Providing occupational and technological updating for instructors
- Recruiting quality instructors from business and industry
- Relating instruction to employment and the workplace
- Developing leadership within the field.

A competitive work force

- Developing the ability to learn how to learn
- Emphasizing workers' skills that prepare them for occupational and career changes
- Recognizing the reality of work-related lifelong learning/recurrent education throughout an individual's work life span

- Understanding of world cultures as they relate to our economic well-being and workplace needs—productivity and competition.

Human resource/capital development

- Making employers an integral part of the vocational-technical education process
- Approaching vocational-technical education as builder of the nation's most important resource—its work force
- Connecting vocational-technical education directly to economic development (global economy)
- Building on the diversity of the vocational-technical education delivery system—especially beyond high school, that is, postsecondary and nontraditional education providers.

Recommendations

This discussion of four trends, four challenges, and four priorities leads to four recommendations on the future of vocational-technical education.

Recommendation one: Strategic planning

- Restructure and strengthen the vocational-technical delivery system.

Recommendation two: New methods and approaches

- Develop and implement a range of work-centered teaching/learning strategies that target unserved and underserved populations.

Recommendation three: Professional preparation and development

- Select and maintain effective and up-to-date-vocational, technical occupational educators and administrators.

Recommendation four: Resource development and coordination

- Build symbiosis and synergy between education and public- and private-sector employers.

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SECTION 3

Assessing Readiness: Openness to Differences

Updating and Optimizing Adam Smith

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In the 18th century, Adam Smith (1776) believed a capitalistic society succeeded because each individual worked to optimize his or her own situation. As a result, society as a whole was successful—as though an unseen hand were controlling it. What is different about today's success equation? The same ingredients are employed, but in a different mix.

Consider technology, for example. Despite patent laws and copyrights, intellectual property is transferred rapidly between businesses and countries. A secret process that once gave many years of market protection now provides only months of protection at best.

Financial resources move globally, and stock exchanges are operating some place in the world 24 hours a day. The owners of a corporation may be distributed among many countries; another element of national hegemony has gone global. It is becoming increasingly clear that the one key element that cannot be transferred beyond the national boundary is the local work force. It is the knowledge and skill of the work force and the ability to optimize a product or service that is the true and lasting strength. In that regard, the pluralistic nature

of U.S. society should be a unique strength. Unfortunately, it has taken the pressure of global competition to recognize that fact.

World Leadership

When the United States was the clear world leader after World War II, the success formula seemed relatively simple. Raise adequate capital, design a product, and sell it. Then the game started to change. By the 1980s the country found itself beginning to lose market share. However, there were still enough contradictions to encourage the belief that things would return to "normal" when. . . . After all, did the United States not invent the microprocessor, the 747, and the space program? Was not the unseen hand of success guiding our destiny? Still, the disconcerting footprints of the future began to appear in the present: The footprints might be leading us on a downward economic track, not up.

The world dynamics change

What had changed? At the end of World War II, the United States had no damage to its homes, factories, or productive capacity. People worldwide were starving for food, products, and services. The United States implemented the Marshall Plan and other aid programs to help the world regain its identity and productive capacity. Other governments and business leaders were taught accounting systems and management techniques. They were required to account for the aid in dollars and learn English as the standard language of business. The result was a burgeoning marketplace for U.S. goods and services. The dollar became the world currency. While accounts formerly had been cleared through London banks in pounds sterling, they were now cleared through New York banks in dollars. Unwittingly, even the Russians got into the act by lending dollars from the London branch office of the Moscow Narody Bank. When the loans were repaid in dollars, Eurodollars were created. Seemingly, America could do no wrong.

Business as usual in the U.S.A.

What was happening in the United States at the same time? As a practical strategy, many U.S. businesses were working to optimize technology. They were creating superb products in the aerospace, electronics, medical, computer, and other fields. However, many of the products were marketed before the design was fully developed to satisfy the customer totally. These well-intentioned approaches made the businesses vulnerable to others who were not just optimizing technology but optimizing the design and people factors within their plans.

U.S. manufacturers became narrow islands of technological excellence for their own sakes rather than businesses working to meet the needs of customers. Many lost touch with their own work force as well. They neglected their roots. One of the nation's greatest strengths —a pluralistic society—was partially ignored. The United States historically has absorbed people from all over the world. Many of our greatest discoveries and inventions were developed by naturalized Americans who were driven here by persecution. Some of our global competitors with homogeneous societies have missed that opportunity.

In recent years, the United States also has missed that opportunity. Adam Smith's formula for success has been set aside. However, there are indications that his principles are once again being recognized as valuable for regaining the U.S. position in the world marketplace.

Significant Development

The Quality of Work Life (QWL) movement is one indicator of such a change. It focuses on improving the work environment so employees may find work more pleasurable. At the same time, managers also discover that productivity improves. Motorola's Participative Management Program (PMP) represents a variation on this theme. Through the PMP, Motorola has been able to achieve some remarkable successes. The approach and its accomplishments are the focus of the balance of this paper.

Motorola's Participative Management Program

Participative management at Motorola is based on several key assumptions. Paraphrasing from the PMP description, the key assumptions are:

1. Employees' behaviors are a consequence of how they are treated. Employees are treated as though they are intelligent, learning, involved, and responsible.
2. Every employee needs and expects to live in a rational world. Under the PMP, management is open to competent influence and the rationality of its decisions is subject to challenge.
3. Every employee's effectiveness depends on how acutely aware he or she is of Motorola's and his or her job demands.

The overall purpose of the PMP is to bring key resources into balance so that business may prosper. The PMP combines financial resources, management leadership, and employee creativity and competence. The essential elements that differentiate the PMP from other QWL programs are creativity and competence. From the employee perspective, the PMP assumes that the person doing the job knows it better than anyone else. The employee is considered the best reservoir of ways to solve problems on the job. Therefore, each individual's contribution is recognized and appreciated.

The PMP is demanding. It requires good interpersonal communication among employees who work in teams. It also requires effective communication among the teams, managers, and supervisors. Employees must learn to interpret information in a constructive, objective manner to solve a problem. Management, too, must learn to think rationally and plan effectively. In fact, management's task is greater than in conventional organizations. Managers operating in a PMP environment must use employees as resources for creative ideas and alternative solutions they themselves might not have considered.

In this way, the PMP leads to substantial learning as team members and management learn from each other. The exchange of ideas helps people and the business grow and prosper. To succeed, teams must concentrate on strengths; doing so values differences.

The process employed in the PMP approach is taught in a formal training program required for all team members. Courses include:

1. Introduction to PMP
2. Business
3. Interpersonal skills
4. Goal setting
5. Problem solving.

These courses are necessary ingredients for establishing a base line and a common language for all employees.

The PMP helps beat the competition. By way of example, several years ago Motorola management was confronted with the prospect of intense offshore competition in the United States from foreign producers. The competitors were sourcing their products from low-wage-cost manufacturing locations in Asia. The competition was expected to enter the U.S. market with new low-cost products. Many Motorola managers considered that the only way to survive was to have company products built also in low-wage-cost Asian factories. However, the management team approached the employees and asked them to work out a plan for building the product at home for the U.S. market with a higher quality level and lower cost than that of the international competitors.

The PMP teams not only succeeded in the United States, but, in at least one instance, the radio-paging product that resulted was successfully exported to Japan. That product line now has captured a significant share of the Japanese market. It was done by using the U.S.-based PMP teams to optimize an already excellent product.

The PMP is not simple. It requires managers to put aside traditional ideas of a highly structured organization. It requires each individual to concentrate not only on his or her own strengths but also on those of co-workers. Simply stated, mutual respect for all is a key element of success.

The term "line-of-sight" allows one to think about the concept from another perspective. Essentially it means, "What you see is what you get." For example, if management says it promotes employees based

on merit, it must do just that. Similarly, actual performance of employees must be the criteria for measurement of their contributions, not shallow misperceptions or stereotypes.

In today's workplace, employees are likely to come from a wide variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds. Since the PMP helps one focus on another person's strengths and value their differences, it encourages learning to trust people and evaluating them based on performance—not on rumors, hearsay, or subjective judgment.

Sometimes this is made more difficult because two individuals speak English as a second language. Opportunities for misunderstandings can flourish, demanding careful attention to the process. In such situations, both parties have to assume that the other person is well-intentioned and is working toward a common goal. This challenge becomes particularly difficult when one misses a goal and the other may want to blame him or her. However, despite these and other such complex challenges, favorable business results have demonstrated consistently that PMP works for Motorola.

Conclusion

If Adam Smith were to analyze the economic picture today, he would, no doubt, have to revise his model. The unseen hand, though still active at the macro level, has become visible at the micro level in organizations where employees are encouraged to appreciate each other's strengths. Most likely, Adam would be pleased.

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From Diversity to Oneness: A Personal Statement on the Importance of Valuing Differences

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This chapter addresses the need to strive for a common goal while recognizing and valuing others' differences. Oneness means helping people work in harmony with others and within themselves. It is the ultimate goal toward which most of us strive. Oneness empowers individuals and organizations to develop themselves to their fullest potential and leads to the completion of tasks.

Why Oneness?

Peter, Paul, and Mary, a well-known folk-singing group during the 1960s, recently met for their 25-year reunion. On a television special for the Public Broadcasting System, Paul Stookey remarked that a way of measuring how our society has changed is reflected in the magazines we read. In the 1950s we read *Life,* in the 60s *People,* in the 70s *Self,* in the 80s *Us,* and in the 90s we will read *Me.*

There has been a major shift in this country toward promoting things that will enhance only oneself. Americans experience a daily media blitz, encouraging them to buy this or that product, all in an attempt to help them feel better about themselves. This approach focuses people on taking care of themselves and makes it difficult to promote oneness with others. In addition, changes in the work force are increasing the challenge to promoting oneness.

In a presentation given at the American Society for Training and Development Conference in Dallas (1988), Julia Walsh said "corporate America" is preparing to spend $2 billion dollars on training by the 1990s. Much of that money is for training diverse entry-level workers, many of whom will be deficient in reading, writing, and math skills. The changing demographics—with more women, minorities, and other nontraditional workers entering the work force—and the ongoing changes in technology bring new training and development challenges to management. They also create new questions about diversity and oneness for companies to address regarding their investment in making a diverse work force more productive. Diversity is a fact. Developing oneness is necessary for getting the task done.

The Added Value of Oneness

Oneness is not sameness. It adds value to an organization by focusing diversity on common goals. Here is an example. During the 1960s, the Green Bay Packers dominated play in the National Football League, winning three straight championships. Jerry Kramer (1968) described an incident in which the team stopped to eat on their way to their training site before the start of the season. The restaurant owner was pleased that the championship Packers stopped at his establishment. But he had one requirement. The black players would have to eat in the kitchen or back on the team bus. Much to his surprise, the entire 40-man roster filed into the kitchen and then back out to the bus. Their behavior reflected the philosophy of Coach Vince Lombardi; that each member of the team was valued for his difference. They played together, ate together, and worked together toward a common objective—winning. The Packers had big-name players like Bart Starr, Paul Hornung, Jim Taylor, Willie Wood, and Willie Davis, but, as a team, they were one unit.

Barbara Walker, in this volume, states that one of the core principles behind effectively incorporating difference into the workplace is that each individual must be and feel valued for his or her individual differences. Coach Lombardi did this with all of his players and they knew it. What is surprising is that he did it without civil rights laws directing him not to discriminate against people due to their race, creed, or color. Each player was valued both on and off the field. The offensive and defensive units, as well as members of the special teams, knew their responsibilities. The restaurant incident demonstrates valuing differences while maintaining oneness.

E pluribus unum, from many comes one, was well-established for that team. Whites and blacks from the South, North, East, and West banded together for a common purpose—to win the Super Bowl. The term "added value," then, means that each person has something to offer an organization that no one else can provide. The question for companies is, "What service do you need?" The individuals or group working to provide the service should listen carefully to the answer, and then develop their unique combination of skills and strategies to deliver that service. This produces the "added value" that presently is unattainable.

Creating the Climate for Oneness

The following stories illustrate the importance and value of creating a climate for oneness.

A five-year-old boy stood beside a train preparing to leave for Berkeley, California. He was one of 30 children living in the Southern California area who had to travel to Berkeley to attend the California State School for the Blind. Over 100 students attended this school,

which was the only place in the state where blind children could receive an education.

"Why do I have to go?" the boy cried out with tears streaming down his face. "Because we love you," his mother replied. Despite the impending separation, both the mother and the father saw the value of education in preparing their son for the future. Before Public Law 94142 passed in November 1975, blind children were penalized for their difference. The educational system required those who did not live close enough to an institution to go away to school. Public Law 94142 now allows for all handicapped children to be mainstreamed into schools in their own districts. If special help is required, arrangements are made so that students and parents can meet with school officials to work out educational needs.

Feelings of brokenness and separation can easily be mended or endured if there is a common goal. In the case of this boy and his family, the goals were to maintain oneness as a family and to educate the boy. The climate of love had been established so that when they did need to be apart, the larger goal of obtaining an education was possible. That little boy, now an adult, is successfully self-employed in his own consulting business.*

Another story was told a few years ago by former major league baseball star and now TV personality Bob Uecker on the Tonight Show. During spring training before the opening of a major league baseball season, 50 players showed up, each hoping to make the major league roster. There was room for only 24. One of the team officials walked into the locker room and asked, "How many of you want to be on the squad opening day? Raise your hand." Fifty hands went up in the air. "How many of you think you will be on the squad? Raise your hand." Thirty hands went up in the air. "How many of you expect to be on the squad? Raise your hand." Nineteen hands went up in the air.

Notice the difference between what people said they wanted, what they thought, and what they expected. Needless to say, this particular team has been in last place for two or three seasons in a row. In contrast, the little boy's parents expected their son to be successful and they did what was necessary.

Likewise, successful businesses expect to reach their destination or goal before they have achieved it. Creating an expectant climate, one in which you know and believe that the different worker can have a positive impact on the company, leads to readiness for effectively handling any problems that may arise.

Climates are created all the time: Some by legislative mandates; others by management directives; and still others by a sense of commitment to empower all employees to do their best for themselves as

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* The story refers to the personal experience of the author.

well as for the company. The climate for oneness, based on understanding and respecting differences, is created through this type of commitment.

What role does expectancy play in helping organizations get past road blocks to understanding and respecting differences? What if someone in the company says to himself or herself, "Why should I have to get ready to deal with these different people?" The following principles can be a basis for building the necessary expectations and commitment.

1. We are more alike than we are different. Most of us want to succeed, make money, and be loved. These common denominators supersede any differences we might have.
2. Each person has something unique to offer the workplace. A climate in which the company expects difference to be an asset rather than a liability will allow for a free-flowing exchange of ideas.
3. We can celebrate the differences in others. This simply means we can acknowledge that each one of us has a unique gift or talent to offer that no one else can bring to the company (their added value).

Another personal story may help illustrate the effect of expectancy. In 1981 I was a member of a choral group in Portland, Oregon. We typically performed four classical concerts during the year. Our director was contacted by the producer for a well-known rock star. We were asked to sing backup to this person while he performed a concert in Portland. I showed up at rehearsal just like everyone else, four hours before the performance. When the producer saw me, he went to the director immediately and said, "He's not singing."

"What do you mean 'He's not singing'?" replied the director.

"Well, he's blind."

"What does being blind have to do with his ability to sing?"

"The choir will have to run on stage while our performer is singing, and he may trip over the extension cords and knock over the microphone."

"You tell him that he can't sing," quipped the director.

For the next ten minutes, discussion on this matter was heated. I was not going to back down from my position that I could perform, but the producer was dead set against my going on stage. Finally we agreed that I could go on stage during rehearsal. If I blew it, I wouldn't perform. (Note: The proper way to guide someone who is blind is to allow the blind individual to hold onto the elbow of the person in front of him or her.)

After the performance, the producer apologized to me. He went on to say that two days before this concert in a different city, a blind woman did not walk on stage properly. She tripped over the cord and knocked over the microphone. This producer learned that even though he had encountered someone who appeared to have similar

characteristics—in this case sight loss—he still had a choice to make because each individual is different.

It is incumbent upon both an employer and an employee to assume responsibility for preparing adequately for performance. Understanding and valuing difference does not mean excusing performance that is not up to standards. But understanding and valuing difference invites people to share in striving toward a common objective and to allow this process to happen from different vantage points. Employer and employee still must be held accountable for performance standards.

In getting ready for the 1990s and for the year 2000, all must strive to work toward oneness continually while respecting and valuing differences in others. In *The functions of the executive,* Barnard (1938) says, "To try and fail is at least to learn; to fail to try is to suffer the inestimable loss of what might have been" (p. xxvi). To say it another way: To try and fail is to learn; but to fail to respect and value differences in others is to suffer the inestimable loss of what we might become in striving towards oneness.

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Assessing Organizational Readiness for Adopting the Concept of Managing and Valuing Differences in the Workplace

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Author's Note: From observations in clinical psychology settings and from organizational involvements, it is my belief that when individuals are personally identified as important and their contributions are acknowledged and rewarded, they are likely to be happier and more productive than when these conditions do not exist. Intuitively it seems to me that any organization desiring to be productive and to compete successfully in the marketplace will adopt whatever means necessary to accomplish this end. However, it is common knowledge that in many organizations employees feel disrespected and see little opportunity for personal growth or advancement.

Assessment of Top Management

Barbara Walker has developed an approach that addresses the concern of dealing with issues of human diversity and productivity in the workplace. She contends that diversity is essential to growth and synergy in an organization. She also proposes that the word "differences" refers to all differences, not just those that historically have been the focus of Equal Employment Opportunity and Affirmative Action programs. Walker further contends that in learning to value differences, one must strip away stereotypes and examine assumptions and different perspectives in order to build authentic relationships (see Walker chapters in this volume).

Determining whether this approach would be successful in a particular organization requires an assessment of that organization's readiness. While Walker states that the work of valuing differences is not organization development (OD) but, rather, a personal development approach to change in an organization, this chapter will look at assessing readiness from an OD perspective. Pfeiffer and Jones (1978)

justify the need to assess an organization's readiness for an OD intervention by stating that "the most sophisticated techniques employed by the most competent and experienced consultants and managers are doomed to fail when the organization itself is unready to undertake a project of planned change" (p. 219). They further suggest that one of the best strategies for change agents to gain entry into an organization is

> to begin OD efforts by conducting assessment, diagnosis, and team development activities with top management. The change agents can legitimize themselves, support for the OD effort can be garnered, and the top group can demonstrate that it is willing to subject itself to the process. (p. 219)

Franklin (1976) also suggests that, among other factors, great commitment to the project and strong support from top management are essential to a successful OD intervention. Without this commitment, the time, money, and access to people at critical levels of the organization may not be made available.

Frequently, even when all other indicators of OD readiness are positive, the commitment to the status quo in the organization may be so strong that a major change intervention may be virtually impossible. The corporate culture may not support any deviation from its norms. Very often, the chief executive officer (CEO) and other members of top management set the tone of an organization's culture. An interview or series of interviews with the CEO, as well as an opportunity to observe the CEO's behavior, may reveal whether or not that organization is ready to adopt the concept of valuing differences.

Katz and Miller (1987) describe several key characteristics that would enable management to view diversity as adding value to the organization. The following list of questions incorporating these characteristics could be useful in assessing an organization's readiness for a valuing differences intervention. A positive response to them would suggest that the concept may have at least a chance of being considered by the organization.

1. Do the CEO and members of top management perceive that valuing differences will be valuable and good for them?
2. Would the CEO and members of top management be comfortable in an environment in which women and people of color are included in the power structure?
3. Does management see differences as resources that could be used to help achieve its goals?
4. Is acceptance of differences included as part of corporate language?
5. Do the CEO and top management have a vision of being "inclusive"?

6. Are there support systems in the organization to allow the valuing differences concept to thrive? What are the systems?
7. How extensive is the revolving-door phenomenon? This question addresses the frequently observed phenomenon of women and people of color who enter organizations and are not given support or are not promoted and who, consequently, leave due to frustration or termination.
8. Do the CEO and top management model behavior that indicates authentic acceptance of difference?
9. Do the CEO and top management perceive a connection between valuing differences efforts and the success of their business?
10. Does the corporation's reward system support teamwork?

Assessment of Racial Awareness in the Organization

In addition to obtaining answers to the above questions, it is important to determine the level of development of racial awareness in the organization. Jackson, Hardiman, and Chesler (1981) distinguish six types of organizations according to their racial awareness development level. The first, the Exclusionary Organization, has as its sole or primary mission racial domination. Consequently, efforts to change this type of organization are generally not successful. The second type of organization is the White Male Club, which seeks to establish or maintain white male privilege. Change is possible in this type of organization; however, "it usually takes some form of external force or coercion (i.e., threat or actual litigation, new laws, etc.) before the organization will consider changing its racially inequitable structures and policies" (p. 2).

The Token EEO Organization is the third type. The authors state that it

> is committed to removing some of the "rigidness" inherent in the White Male Club but seeks to accomplish this objective without making too many "waves", and it attempts to change its overall corporate profile by hiring more minorities and women at the bottom of the organization. (p. 3)

Fourth is the Affirmative Action Organization. Although it is committed to increasing access for minorities and reducing or eliminating the overt manifestations of racism in its work force, minority employees are still required to conform to policies, practices, and norms that were established by white men. Fifth is the Self-Renewing Organization. The authors state that "this type of organization is not satisfied with just being an 'anti-racist' organization. It is committed to the process of becoming a multicultural organization" (p. 5). The Multicultural Organization is the sixth type. It is, according to the authors, "one whose self-interest is to enhance its effectiveness and

growth by allowing for and nurturing the full inclusion of the widest variety of cultural perspectives in the organization's mission and operations" (p. 6). By determining the organizational level of development of racial awareness, one will have a general idea of the scope of change that might be expected to occur as a result of an OD intervention. In fact, one could decide whether or not a change effort should be undertaken at all.

Assessment of Employee Satisfaction

An assessment of employees' views of the organization should be obtained to get a sense of the nature and depth of the problems facing the organization. Commonly used data collection methods such as interviews, sensing meetings, and questionnaires or surveys should be used to obtain information about employees' perceptions of their work environment.

Assessing the need for a valuing differences intervention requires information about the prevalence of various forms of discrimination. Personnel officers and records might provide information indicating symptoms of interpersonal distress. For example, a high incidence of employee turnover or absenteeism often indicates an unrewarding work environment. A high incidence of racial discrimination or sexual harrassment lawsuits suggests an insensitive work environment at best.

Questions that reveal employees' perceptions of their value to the organization should be asked. Questions about how effective or successful employees perceive themselves to be in the organization also can reveal a lot about the work environment. What may be more revealing, however, are the explanations for success and effectiveness, or lack thereof.

It is important to realize that employees' perceptions can be as legitimate a reason to initiate an OD intervention or program for change as any other form of data. A person's perception of his or her world is a major determinant of that person's emotional response to it. After analyzing this data from and about employees, change agents should be better prepared to make a decision about whether or not to initiate a valuing differences intervention based on its perceived need and the probability of its acceptance.

Summary

Several approaches have been suggested for assessing aspects of an organization to determine its readiness to adopt the concept of managing and valuing differences. If the data suggests the organization would be enhanced by the presence of a valuing differences philosophy, but that the corporate climate would not support it, the consultant must decide whether or not it would be feasible to bring the

organization to a state of readiness. This may require only implementing appropriate training programs.

But if the organization displays an unwavering commitment to maintaining the status quo, the prudent decision might be not to undertake the intervention. To attempt an intervention when the odds against its success are overwhelming may jeopardize the opportunity for a future attempt at a more appropriate time. If the assessment data suggest the organization is ready to adopt the concept of managing and valuing differences, the consultant may seize the opportunity to assist in achieving the goal.

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Assessing Organizational Readiness To Undertake a Valuing Differences Program

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Our motto is: "We treat everyone exactly the same, and we're proud of it!"

All employees are expected to leave their prejudices at the doorstep when they come in here to work. What employees really think or what they do on their own time can't be management's concern. All we can expect is that employees behave in a neutral, professional manner on the job.

Do these statements sound familiar? They offer valuable information about an organization's culture and readiness to begin a valuing differences program as described by Walker in this monograph. This chapter provides guidelines for assessing a culture's readiness and gives specific examples from the culture at UNC Hospitals illustrating ways to apply these guidelines.

Why Perform a Readiness Assessment?

There are clear benefits to basing the choice and timing of a valuing differences intervention on a thorough assessment of cultural readiness. First, assessment data can help reduce the risk of rejection due to resistance. Even if a valuing differences program is not dismissed within an organization, it may function at a less than optimal level if initial resistance is high. Second, data from a readiness assessment can be used to structure the intervention to minimize incongruity with and perceived threats to the culture.

What is organizational culture? Deal and Kennedy (1982) define it as "the way we do things around here." According to Deal (1986), it consists of elements such as shared values, heroes and heroines, rituals, ceremonies, and stories, and it is protected by a cultural network through which it is communicated. Any given organization may have a "macro" culture common to all members of that organization as well as multiple subcultures created by stable social units within the organization (Schein, 1984). One can assess the elements of an organization's culture and subcultures to determine their strength. A strong culture is the result of homogeneous, stable group membership,

which provides frequent opportunities for intensely shared experiences (Schein, 1984).

For many employees, investing in the establishment and maintaining a strong organizational culture can provide a sense of identity and security. A program designed to transform attitudes and behavior may be perceived as a threat, and employees may resist the change or even reject the effort. For this reason, Schwartz and Davis (1981) propose doing a cultural risk assessment to optimize effectiveness before implementing any change strategy. An initial risk or readiness assessment can estimate the congruence between the organization's culture and the valuing differences approach.

This assessment also can provide data to help determine the appropriate type and level of intervention. For example, a readiness assessment might indicate that Walker's Core Groups approach would be inconsistent with an organization's culture. This would necessitate either reframing the Valuing Differences intervention in terms more congruent with the organization's culture or altering the culture itself before introducing the Core Groups concept. As Wilkins and Bristow (1987) observe, "Executives must be ready to modify their change plans as they uncover new insights about their culture" (p. 26).

Readiness defined

What constitutes cultural readiness for a valuing differences approach? The answer lies in transforming the phrase "ready, willing, and able" into the following equation:

$$\text{READY} = \text{WILLING} + \text{ABLE}$$

An organization could be termed willing if it is open to a valuing differences approach as a way to respond to challenges affecting its continued existence or growth. An organization could be termed able if its culture emphasizes mastery of the prerequisite attitudes and skills that would allow its members to learn about themselves and others using a valuing differences approach.

The formula is additive. It indicates that readiness is willingness plus ability. An adult learner who has the prerequisite skills but lacks motivation will not learn unless additional incentive is provided (Knowles, 1984). On the other hand, an individual who strongly desires to be educated but lacks prerequisite skills, cannot learn unless remediation is successful first (Gagne and Briggs, 1979). Therefore, to be truly ready they must be both willing and able to learn to use a valuing differences approach.

When applying this definition of cultural readiness, it is important to remember that just as an organization's total culture can be assessed for readiness, so may its subcultures. These subcultures may be more or less ready than the total organization to enter into a

valuing differences dialogue. For this reason, a complete readiness assessment of an organization's culture and subcultures is essential to determine the appropriate timing and level of the valuing differences intervention.

Further understanding of this definition of cultural readiness will be gained from looking at the challenges that could render UNC Hospitals willing and the prerequisite attitudes and skills that could make it able to learn from a valuing differences program. In the process, some specific factors will be identified to examine when assessing readiness in any culture or subculture of an organization.

Indicators of Organizational Willingness

Malcolm Knowles (1984) hypothesized and Aslanian and Brickell (1980) demonstrated that adults seek out and engage in learning activities when they face a life change. Individuals may make life changes in order to minimize loss, maximize gain, or accomplish both goals simultaneously.

Just as individuals have "teachable moments," so do organizations, which may experience change in four areas: customers, products and services, work force, and technology (Beckhard and Harris, 1987). Each of these areas will be valued differently by any given organization, depending on its culture. Inability to adapt appropriately to changes in one or more of the highly valued areas may threaten an organization's continued growth or existence. As a result, the organization enters a period of transition—an organizational "passage" or life change. Organizations experiencing these life changes may demonstrate willingness to learn new skills, knowledge, and attitudes congruent with their culture (Deal, 1982).

UNC Hospitals is an organization experiencing these changes. Built in 1951 by the state, this 665-bed public teaching hospital claims as its motto, "By and for the people of North Carolina." An assessment of the current challenges posed by changes in UNC Hospitals' customer base, services, work force, and technology may indicate its readiness (willingness) to learn in new ways.

Customers. UNC Hospitals is located in Chapel Hill, adjacent to the area known as the Research Triangle. Visitors to this area see road signs indicating that it has been designated as a Foreign Trade Zone. They also see markers proclaiming the nearby city of Durham as "The City of Hospitals." Customers outside the hospital family include patients, visitors, and vendors. Each group includes individuals of both genders, all ages, many racial and ethnic groups, various religions, and rural and urban experience.

As the variety of customers served at UNC Hospitals has increased over the last decade, there also has been an increase in the level of competition among the excellent health care facilities in the Research

Triangle area. The ability to meet customers' needs representing multiple cultures could provide the vital "leading edge" in this competition.

Services. The statement of values adopted by the UNC Hospitals Board of Directors in January, 1986, cites three areas of external emphasis: Patient care, research and education, and community service. The hospital serves as a primary care provider for area residents and as a tertiary care center for patients referred from across the state and the nation. It offers educational and research opportunities for health care professionals associated with the University of North Carolina (UNC) Schools of Medicine, Dentistry, Nursing, and Public Health, as well as a wide array of allied health professions. Finally, the hospital serves the community in a variety of ways, including the North Carolina Area Health Education Centers. The institution provides a myriad of services to meet its multiple goals and fulfill the imperative articulated recently by a group of key managers: "Be all things to all people."

Work force. Just as the overall population in the Research Triangle area is increasingly multicultural, the hospital work force also is changing. Traditional boundaries of gender, race, and ethnic origin in the health professions are giving way to the imperatives noted in the *Work Force 2000* report. Nationwide shortages in nursing and the allied health professions combined with competitive recruitment by other area hospitals have resulted in UNC Hospitals' intensive out-of-state recruitment efforts, which further enrich the staff's cultural mix.

Another factor affecting the medical center work force is the combining of staff from the UNC School of Medicine with that of the hospital. Coordinating efforts and mediating potential conflicts between employees from the two different organizations working in the same setting is clearly a challenge.

Diversity of the hospital work force goes beyond basic demographics. Schein (1984) notes that cultural assumptions in an organization can come from the occupational backgrounds of the members. Each of the many health care professions represented on any given multidisciplinary treatment team has its own subculture. These differences in subculture may result in conflicts as health professionals from diverse disciplines bring varying decision making criteria to bear when resolving the same administrative or clinical problem (Delbeque and Gill, 1985). For example, physicians might advocate allocating scarce resources to research equipment, while nurses might place the emphasis on increasing staff to ensure optimum patient care.

Inability to manage such a diverse work force could result in dysfunctional conflict, failure to achieve optimal productivity, and inability to retain staff. Conversely, effective management of differences

can result in the fulfillment of the following key tenet of the hospital's value statement:

> As an organization, our employees, affiliated professionals, and volunteers are our most important resource. . . . We are committed to the development of our human resources to their full potential, for both current performance and future growth. . . . To care for others, we must also care about ourselves. (North Carolina Memorial Hospital, 1987)

Technology. Growth. Diversity. Change. These three words not only describe UNC Hospitals' customers, services, and work force, but they also characterize the technology of health care. For example, a patient may be brought by helicopter to the hospital, financial and clinical data are accessed and processed by computer prior to the patient's diagnosis, and the patient is treated using sophisticated equipment and processes.

UNC Hospitals faces a real challenge as it strives to stretch limited funds, which it must expend under state government guidelines, to meet multiple demands for new technology in patient care, research, and teaching. Once the technology is available, staff must be educated in its use. Failure to use resources effectively and efficiently to meet diverse technological needs could lead to loss of staff and of customers.

Summary of Willingness Analysis

The picture of the hospital, at this point, is that of an institution facing challenges to its continued growth due to increased competitiveness for customers, multiplicity of services offered, diversity of work force, and demands for expensive new technology. Even though the hospital has not yet experienced extensively the inability to provide services due to loss of staff or inadequate technology, effective management of diversity could help it maintain an increasingly elusive competitive edge. In medical terms, the willingness diagnosis for this institution indicates that, although no extreme pathology exists in the area of valuing differences, a wellness effort could prevent future problems.

Furthermore, an assessment of any subculture in this organization might indicate a situation in which a profound life change is moving that subculture toward accepting the valuing differences learning opportunity. For example, the combination of an inability to recruit and retain staff and insufficient funding for essential technology in a patient care area of the hospital might generate an extreme willingness to learn and grow. If diversity has not been valued in this subculture, the life changes it is experiencing—its inability to provide quality care for current patients or to make care available to others who could use it—would make it more willing to undertake a valuing differences program, provided it was able to do so.

Indicators of Organizational Ability

Ability can be operationally defined as mastery of the prerequisite skills, attitudes, and knowledge necessary to undertake a specific activity. A prerequisite is "a task which is learned prior to the learning of a target objective, and which then 'aids' or 'enables' that learning" (Gagne, 1979). Essential prerequisites are the preliminary part of the total skill. Enabling prerequisites are those that make learning easier or faster.

Essential prerequisites. The ability to recognize diverse ideas would constitute an essential prerequisite for Walker's Valuing Differences approach. Use of the intellectual skill needed to identify various perspectives on a given problem is required to fulfill Walker's proposition that differences must first be acknowledged to be valued. At this stage of valuing differences work, discussion of causes of and emotional responses to varying perspectives often are avoided. Likewise, differences in the metaphorical areas of race, gender, or professional affiliation are not openly discussed.

Enabling prerequisites. Prior experience in the organization with encouraging the discussion of emotional issues within small heterogeneous support groups would be an enabling attitudinal prerequisite to valuing differences work. This kind of organization assumes that change is based on culturally endorsed values rather than by regulation of employee behavior.

Data about a culture's mastery of essential and enabling prerequisites for the valuing differences approach can be gathered from several sources. Beyer and Trice (1987) note that organizations meet both practical and expressive needs through rites that are tangible, accessible, and visible activities that convey messages about shared understandings, norms, and values. An examination of these cultural indicators at UNC Hospitals aids us in assessing whether the organization has the prerequisite abilities—management of diverse ideas and experience with small groups—needed to implement Walker's Valuing Differences program as a wellness activity.

Essential prerequisite: Management of diverse ideas

There are several cultural indicators that show UNC Hospitals meets the first essential prerequisite of effectively managing diverse ideas. This organization frequently uses task forces and other ad-hoc groups to bring representatives of diverse constituencies together to solve common problems, such as redesign of the hospital orientation and customer service training programs. Also, staff are "loaned" across departments for the duration of a project. Three specific programs typify the hospital's commitment to managing diverse ideas: Management Institute, Managers' Forum, and the Innovation Grant Project.

Described as "the centerpiece for mid-management development" at UNC Hospitals (Clay, 1988), the Management Institute provides managers from the hospital and the UNC School of Medicine not only with skills and knowledge but also with a common experience. Managers participate in an intensive training program with a fairly traditional curriculum. However, participants explore ways to apply management concepts in small heterogeneous discussion groups. The discussions often lead to acknowledgement of differences among individuals, subcultures, and the primary cultures of the organizations. The result is that participants fulfill an essential prerequisite to the valuing differences approach.

The series of Managers' Forum programs spurs discussion and critical analysis of current trends in the health care industry. Managers from the medical center are invited to participate in the program. They meet at a location away from the medical center for conversation and dinner before a guest speaker's presentation. The group's members represent the diversity of the hospital's staff and the UNC School of Medicine faculty. The presentations have resulted in exploration of a wide variety of perspectives on current health care challenges. This "rite of renewal" is an example of organizational nurturance of diverse ideas (Beyer and Trice, 1987).

Another way UNC Hospitals facilitates management of diverse ideas is through the Innovation Grants program. It provides funds outside the normal budgetary process for exploration and implementation of novel solutions to organizational challenges. All employees are invited to submit proposals, which receive initial screening and ongoing evaluation by a review committee. The project is consistent with the UNC Hospitals Values Statement supporting employee autonomy, creativity, and innovation as well as the valuing differences approach. This cultural assessment indicates that the hospital effectively meets an essential prerequisite by providing opportunities for exchange and implementation of diverse perspectives to organizational challenges.

Enabling prerequisite: Acceptance of Core Groups approach

Examining the institution's approach to other change efforts and its track record with methodologies similar to that of core groups (see Walker in this monograph) can indicate its ability to master skills and adopt attitudes congruent with the valuing differences philosophy.

On November 7, 1988, the UNC Hospitals Board of Directors adopted a policy to ban smoking in the hospital by patients, visitors, and employees effective July 1, 1989. Adoption of this policy was preceded by more than a year's study, including surveys of employees and patients by a management task force. Task force discussion of potential implementation challenges centered around the need to win

support for the policy from patients, staff, and visitors rather than to designate any individual or group as policy "enforcers." This is consistent with the UNC Hospitals Values Statement's emphasis on "collegiality and teamwork, open communication and due process." This history of seeking to change attitudes affecting behavior is consistent with the Valuing Differences approach, but will this organization accept the use of Core Groups? Perhaps.

A similar approach has been used to teach supervisory skills over the last several years. The Interaction Management training program provides a model with groups of six members representing various work groups from across the hospital. This course emphasizes the appropriate use of empathy. Participants frequently share problems and advice with one another and, by the final session, group cohesion is usually high. However, it must be noted that Interaction Management has a specific content and format that keeps people "safe." The organization currently does not have extensive experience with a less structured approach that closely examines individual differences.

Summary of ability analysis

Several indicators show that UNC Hospitals' culture meets the essential prerequisite of managing diverse ideas, while fulfilling the enabling prerequisite of evidencing previous experience in approaches consistent with Walker's Core Groups. If the organization chooses to undertake valuing differences work as a wellness approach, it should be well-equipped to do so.

It is possible, however, that some areas of the hospital are less prepared for such an intervention than is the hospital as a whole. An example of a subculture lacking prerequisite abilities might be a support staff area. This unit would have a stable work group, many of whom are approaching retirement. Throughout the years, a strong culture characterized by an attitude of "don't rock the boat" would have developed, perhaps due to strong discouragement of any conflict of ideas by a forceful leader. Discussion of differences would be curtailed with statements such as, "Each employee is expected to leave their prejudices at the doorstep when they come in here to work. What you really think or what you do on your own time isn't any concern of mine, but I do expect you to behave in a neutral, professional manner on the job."

This leader would promulgate change by decree and run the unit strictly "by the book." A favorite motto would be, "I treat everyone exactly the same." Staff meetings would consist of didactic presentations by the manager with little staff interaction. Key administrators in the unit would see no need to participate in the Management Institute, Managers' Forum, or Innovation Grant project or

expose themselves to diverse perspectives at the hospital or elsewhere because, "We're different from the rest of the hospital. Our manager knows what's best for us."

This subculture would require remediation prior to embarking on a valuing differences approach. Some of the same rites, values, and networks that enhance the ability of the hospital as a whole to undertake a valuing differences program may well be adapted and expanded to subcultures such as this one. Remediation to meet prerequisite conditions would be essential.

Conclusion

A cultural readiness assessment is a tool that can be used by change agents to increase their chances to implement an intervention successfully. This chapter describes some criteria for readiness that can be applied pragmatically in an organizational setting. A careful examination of the willingness of an organization's culture and subcultures can indicate where the valuing differences approach would be most welcome. A review of its ability can determine if it possesses the essential and enabling prerequisites that determine the potential success of such a learning endeavor. The standard is:

READY = WILLING + ABLE

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Preparing an Organization to Adopt and Implement the Concept of Managing and Valuing Diversity

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The Need for Change

The first step in preparing people in an organization to adopt and implement a program for change is to help them recognize the need for change. The following are examples of situations that might reveal this need.

The Situation

A manager with AIDS is removed from his position because customers have indicated a preference not to work with him. A black professional who is dark-skinned is told by a white vice president that light-skinned, curly-haired blacks have more potential to rise in the organization.

In a staff meeting, a white woman's proposed resolutions to a sales problem are overlooked until the same solutions are suggested by her white, male colleague. They are then heralded as innovative. A Hispanic manager's presentations at company meetings are poorly received because of his Spanish accent. A highly qualified Asian applicant is interviewed for a management position seven times. White male applicants with similar or lesser qualifications are interviewed three times before being hired for the same position.

These situations are not vestiges of an era long past, when sexism and racism overtly pervaded society and the workplace. They are not historical anachronisms that predate the passage of Title VII or the Executive Order Program. These are examples of behaviors that have occurred in corporate America during the past year. They are symptoms of the racism and sexism that still exist in the workplace. Although perhaps not blatantly intentional, they reflect the inability of organizations to value and manage diversity in the workplace. Despite 25 years of affirmative action and equal opportunity efforts, these occurrences are all too commonplace today.

Failure to value and manage diversity is evident in the traditional models of management, motivation, and delegation presented in the theories taught in the nation's most prestigious business schools. These models, predicated on homogeneous white, male employee populations, generally have proven ineffective and sometimes even counter productive in working with women, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and other groups of difference. The problem with viewing all employees in the same manner is that the majority culture becomes the norm against which all are evaluated. Those who do not meet the norm are considered below the standard. Copeland (1988) suggested in the videotape series, Valuing Diversity, that this approach ensures that women, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and others will fail consistently.

Throughout the video presentation, Copeland (1988) emphasizes that different people have different feelings about their roles in an organization, how they can make a contribution, and how they want to be recognized for their efforts. What motivates one worker might completely inhibit another; for example, rewarding a person who does not like to be touched with pats on the back or publicly recognizing a person who likes to be isolated from the group may be humiliating. Workers unintentionally humiliated in this manner may become less productive. Such circumstances have led to labeling women and minorities as "difficult" or "unresponsive" to traditional management.

Demographics

For most of the current decade, human resource practitioners have discussed, studied, and written about the demographic changes anticipated for the 1990s and the challenges they will present. *Work Force 2000* (Kutscher, 1987) meetings and seminars have been held throughout the country for many different groups and all levels of management. By now, many are aware of the startling statistics from this report, such as those that follow.

- By the year 2000, approximately 47 percent of the work force will be female.
- Approximately 450,000 immigrants will enter the country each year for the next 15 years.
- Women, minorities, and immigrants will constitute over 85 percent of the 25 million net additions to the labor work force between now and the year 2000.
- The required workplace literary skill level will rise dramatically beyond the mere ability to read and write.
- While requirements for higher skill levels are increasing due to a more technologically advanced society, the school dropout rate among blacks and Hispanics will continue climbing at an alarming rate.

In response to these demographic realities and the failure of conventional management techniques to produce desired results, some corporations are recognizing the need to assimilate this statistical information, assess its meaning for their workplace, and devise strategies for valuing and managing the inevitable and unprecedented diversity that will occur in the years ahead.

Potential Loss of Human Resources

Looking at the historical socialization of this country, there has not been much attention given to the maximum utilization of human resources. The United States has been progressive and successful as an industrial, technological, and, at one point, agricultural world leader in spite of not using all of its human resources.

However, the day of reckoning is approaching quickly as the world marketplace becomes more competitive. It has become a necessity that industry learn to work with people of different cultures, races, sexes, disabilities, and value sets. Traditionally, management at "the top" has been insensitive to the needs and desires of its employees. In some cases, managers have appeared oblivious to the fundamental drives of their subordinates. Because of the changes in the workplace and the marketplace, knowing how to maximize the productivity of employees is becoming a must.

When maximum use of human resources is lost, dollars also are lost in turnover and communication (Jackson, 1988).

Turnover. Because employees are disenchanted with the organization and do not feel they are making a contribution, they seek other employment or start their own businesses. The loss results in mainstream retraining, unemployment insurance claims, and a negative reputation in the local or global community, along with loss of productivity in the workplace.

Communication. Communication is vital to informed decision making as well as to efficient operations (p. 2). In other words, if a diverse work force is not valued because of philosophical differences or stereotypic thought processes, communication can be impaired and not as effective as it should be to maximize the utilization of human resources.

The cost of failing to value diversity is staggering. Although it is impossible to estimate in precise dollar figures the cost of maintaining a pattern that does not manage or value diversity, there have been guesses. Some economists have speculated that the loss could reach $50 billion a year in the United States.

Unlike past considerations of affirmative action, which were largely founded on legal, social, and moral premises, the present impetus for valuing and managing diversity is a bottom line, pragmatic business issue. If American corporations ignore diversity, they will render themselves unproductive, depleted of expertise, and uncompetitive in

domestic and global markets. These market factors will be reflected in higher turnover, higher production costs, and a reduced bottom line.

Questions

How does a corporation that has been indifferent (at best) to the influences of diversity adapt its focus to embrace diversity? What programs and initiatives can be taken to implement the concept of valuing and managing diversity? If top management believes that the corporation's economic survival depends on its ability to include and value those who are different, what strategies should a corporation implement to attract, hire, retain, and promote women, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, handicapped, and other workers? Finally, what barriers must managers overcome to work effectively with people who are different from themselves?

The answers to these questions are not simple. Neither are they likely to evolve on their own. Most organizations will need a catalyst for change, a force that guides the process, gently shaping the organizational initiatives in a way that reflects the value of diversity in order to manage a diverse work force effectively.

Strategies for Change

To manage and value diversity in the workplace and to enact such a change in corporate direction, the support for change must come from senior management. Middle managers, in most cases, lack the power to implement a change toward valuing a diverse, changing work force. After garnering commitment from management, strategies for making changes and suggestions for managing the changes can be developed.

The human resource manager and the human resource department theoretically are positioned best to model the characteristics required for the "change agent" role. Usually they are willing to take the risks and the initiative to influence a solution. However, in some cases, the human resource group can be part of the problem rather than the solution, because many human resource professionals themselves have not yet learned to manage or to accept diversity. In addition, the human resource manager may not be in a key position in the organization. To influence solutions, he or she must be considered a part of senior management. Whether or not this manager is perceived as a member of "the top" management team depends largely on the attitudes of the CEO and other members of senior management.

Roles of Senior Management

In order to promote this attitude, there are several actions that can be taken by the CEO to influence the behavior of other senior

management people and, hence, the entire organization. The following are examples of such actions.

1. The CEO must visibly support the Human Resource (HR) department's efforts, programs, and projects and request equal support from all company officers. To be taken seriously, the human resource manager should be considered on a level with other top managers, compensated accordingly, and considered a peer of other managers in the line organization. If not, he or she will be overridden by the hierarchy and rendered ineffective.

If programs and initiatives are designed by the HR department, and the human resource manager is not in a senior position in the organization where support can be garnered, the entire human resource function will be suspect, and all programs will be less effective. This reinforces the importance of a human resource direct reporting line to the CEO so that relationship building results by association with the senior staff and decision makers. This will enhance the perception of influence.

2. When programs such as valuing or managing diversity in the workplace are designed and developed, the CEO must recognize and state the importance of these programs publicly and how they can affect the bottom line. For example, if in negotiating a major account with a large vendor, the sales representative is from a cultural group different from the person in charge of making the decision, it is essential that the sales representative value the differences of the decision maker. Failure to do so may result in missed communication that could hamper or lose the sale.

As we move toward the year 2000 and blacks, Hispanics, Asians, women, disabled persons, and others become more and more visible in decision making positions, the most tangible reason for a program designed to value differences in the workplace will be reinforced. If the CEO understands, values, and consistently supports such programs, other people in the organization will pay attention.

3. The human resource manager should be appointed to key organizational committees, such as strategic planning committees, budget projection committees, and overall company-wide project committees. In these roles, the manager will become aware of all operations in the company and will be able to ensure that the human resource budget is defended. Thus, it will be less likely that key programs, such as valuing differences in a diverse work force, will be eliminated or rendered ineffective.

4. A portion of middle management performance should be judged according to how well diversity is managed within those managers' units. Many companies have taken this approach with marked success. When managers know their performance appraisal will reflect the success they have had in hiring, promoting, transferring, or training employees of cultural or racial difference, there will be a change

in behavior. Stereotypes, negative behaviors, sexism, and ways of doing business often change when the bottom line is affected.

5. Special interest groups can be formed within the corporation to provide regular feedback to management about issues or solutions on such topics as overhauling the recruitment, performance evaluation, and promotion systems. These group activities can extend to career and self-development opportunities, such as mentoring programs. For example, McDonald's promotes networking throughout its individual career development seminars for blacks, women, and Hispanics who are on a management tract. Participants are encouraged to talk to one another and to regional managers who can influence both their careers and the company's policies.

Similarly, at Wang Laboratories, *Focus Development* is a program designed to provide women, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians with the opportunity to network among themselves at the mid-manager level and to be mentored by a vice president for one year. Many self-development and talent-grooming exercises take place during the year. The purpose of the program is to identify top female, black, Hispanic, and Asian talent to help lead the corporation into the next decade.

Roles of Change Agents

Given the pervasive nature of the change required, it is not likely that the catalyst for change would be an external consultant. The change agent should be one who "lives within" the organization, but whose role permits her or him to act as a third party, external to the particular departments or groups involved.

The change agent must be someone who is able to manage an ambiguous yet influential role. Only by remaining objective will the change agent be able to help the organization become aware of how its behavior affects its current and future work force and, at the same time, be able to monitor the organization's commitment to change.

The change agent must also be someone who understands the nature of organizational change. Barbara Walker (elsewhere in this volume) defines the process of educating people to value differences as a strategy for change. Moving an organization from the point of expressing its lack of appreciation for individuals based on gender, race, or other stereotyped differences to at least the point of acknowledging human differences involves a complete organizational change process.

Change of this nature will not occur as a result of a single event but only as a result of commitment to a long-term process. Despite the 25 years of affirmative action efforts, organizational change of this nature still comes slowly. Those serving as change agents who are unable to maintain a long-term view of this work and to cherish the

small breakthroughs that will contribute to the larger change will be extremely frustrated.

Given the nature of traditional organizations, the change agent often will be the manager charged with helping the organization monitor and enhance its ability to value human differences. The change agent may be a human resource manager and an EEO/AA manager and her or his staff. Those serving in these positions must establish a multidimensional view of the organization and develop and maintain relationships on all levels.

Interventions

Change agents are asked on a daily basis to perform a multitude of interventions—most of them related to conflicts experienced as a result of the failure to value differences. According to Chris Argyris (1970), "to intervene is to enter into an ongoing system of relationships, to come between or among persons, groups, or objects for the purpose of helping" (p. 70).

Some modes of intervention a change agent might use to help an organization learn to value diversity are summarized below with brief examples.

- **Training and education:** Establishing procedures for direct teaching or experience-based learning; for example, programs such as Wang's Managing a Diverse Work Force or Digital's Valuing Differences.
- **Process consultation:** Watching and aiding ongoing processes and coaching to improve them; for example, sitting in on meetings or groups and identifying how decisions or modes of behavior might have a negative impact on people perceived as different.
- **Confrontation:** Bringing together units of the organization (persons, roles, or groups) that are not communicating well to discuss their issues or problems—usually with supporting data; for example, bring together individuals or groups experiencing conflict as a result of racial or gender differences, with data supporting the occurrence or result of this conflict.
- **Data feedback:** Collecting information systematically and then reporting it back to appropriate organizational units as a basis for diagnosis, problem solving, and planning; for example, collecting data on the organization's hiring, retention, and promotion practices and reporting it back as a basis for diagnosis, problem solving, and planning.
- **Problem solving:** Using meetings to focus on problem identification, diagnosis, solution invention, and implementation; for example, meeting with managers to focus on the problems discriminatory practices might cause and inventing some solutions and possible methods to implement them.

■ **Planning:** Focusing activity primarily on planning and goal setting to redirect the organization's future; for example, collaboratively developing plans and setting goals for improving the organization's management and representation of its diverse work force.

The Change Process

The role of the change agent is to facilitate a planned change—the valuing of differences. This individual must help the organization and its employees prepare attitudinally and behaviorally for the present and future diversity of the workplace. The intervention strategy must involve the following three basic concepts: Helping the organization recognize and commit to the need for this planned change, identifying methods for introducing and implementing change, and monitoring the establishment of the planned change.

Helping the organization recognize/commit to the need for change

Conducting an organizational analysis to identify the current situation, problems, and forces that are possible causes of those problems is a first step in intervening. The analysis should specify the actual importance of these problems, the speed with which they must be addressed to avoid additional problems, and the kinds of changes generally needed.

Examples of problems that might exist in an organization that does not value or manage diversity are higher performance appraisals for a particular group or prejudicial treatment of minority applicants. In one Chicago law firm, the interviewer claimed he was administering a "stress test" to a black female law student applying for a job when in the interview he called her a "nigger" and black "bitch" (Staff, 1989).

Identifying methods for introducing/implementing change

It is essential to select a change strategy that is based on the analysis. It should specify the speed of change, the amount of pre-planning, and the degree of involvement of others; identify specific tactics for use with various individuals and groups; and be internally consistent (Kotter and Schlesinger, 1979, p. 113). This reinforces the point made earlier that an internal change agent is the best person to influence managing and valuing differences change in an organization. The internal change agent knows the politics, nuances, culture, and individuals who influence change; therefore, he or she may be more sensitive to the organization's culture and needs when developing the change strategy.

Monitoring the establishment of the planned change

No matter how well the valuing differences program or a managing diversity in the work force program is established, due to the nature and emotion of the topic, the unexpected often happens during implementation. Only by careful monitoring can the change agent identify and deal with the unexpected in a timely fashion. Although interpersonal skills are key to the success of the change agent, nothing can overcome a poor choice of strategy and tactics. Effective approaches are essential if lasting change is to occur.

Conclusion

This chapter has suggested some ways to prepare an organization for adopting and implementing the concept of valuing and managing diversity. The need for change, who should facilitate the change (change agent), and some strategies to accomplish the task of changing have been discussed.

Simply put, as we move toward a new century we must understand that we are all in business together. Failure to value and manage differences creates a deficiency in the nation's economic activity. The inability to value and manage differences limits productivity and, ultimately, wealth. To think otherwise produces a fool's economy.

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SECTION 4

Doing It: How It Worked For Us

How the Valuing Differences Approach Evolved at Digital Equipment Corporation

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Valuing Differences evolved as an approach to dealing with the issues created by differences at Digital Equipment Corporation, a Fortune 100 computer manufacturer. In part, the approach unfolded as a natural progression of the core values established when Digital was founded some 30 years ago in Maynard, Massachusetts. However, Valuing Differences is primarily the product of the intersection of Digital's core values and the powerful insights developed in the course of the company's Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity work.

From the start, Digital's culture was grounded in a set of strong values such as "respect for the individual" and "doing the right thing." When the company began struggling with its AA/EEO responsibilities in the mid-70s, Digital leaders saw their primary work as identifying the barriers to doing the right thing and then working to remove those obstacles.

*When this chapter was written, Walker was Manager, International Diversity, at Digital Equipment Corporation.

Talking About Difference

The first major problem identified was Digital's managers' reluctance to talk about the issues of race and sex. The prevailing view was that open and frank discussion, particularly in the presence of minorities and women, was taboo in polite conversation. If they couldn't talk to one another about these issues, they couldn't learn from people they regarded as different.

To help raise their level of comfort in discussing AA/EEO issues, top-level managers were encouraged to come together in small groups where they would feel "safe" and could learn how to "slow down" their emotions. As they began to talk openly and frankly in these small groups, they learned that, although pain and vulnerability came with acknowledging their racism, they were greater victims when they denied them.

They also began to explore other areas traditionally regarded as taboo in the corporate world, such as bonding, intimacy, and love. These subjects added depth and breadth and so enriched the AA/EEO discussions that managers began to regard the work as an opportunity to learn as much about themselves as about "them"—women and minorities. They no longer feared the work as a forced guilt trip, but began to view it as personal development—an investment in their own growth.

Erasing Stereotypes

Over time, other employees—Hispanics, blacks, and white men and women at different levels in the company—joined these discussions, working with the top-level managers in small ongoing groups that eventually became known as Core Groups. Because the initial goal was to raise awareness about the issues and concerns of minorities and women, the early work in the Core Groups was focused on learning to individualize women and minorities by erasing the stereotypes about them. This focus was based on an assumption that by learning to see women and minorities as unique individuals, everyone would be able to work together better to address EEO issues. Instead, even as they erased stereotypes and raised the level of comfort and trust in talking openly and candidly—at times even confronting one another—people within the different race and gender groups continued to feel devalued. As a result, they continued to hold onto conflicting and competing views about which EEO strategies should be put in place.

Valuing All People as People of Difference

Slowly, however, they began to develop the understanding that in one way or another everybody, not just women and minorities, felt victimized and disempowered by racism and sexism. Everyone is a member of some group that has a special interest in the outcome of

EEO issues and, in this sense, each individual is a "person of difference." By focusing attention solely on the issues and concerns of minorities and women, they were, in effect, discounting and devaluing those in the non-EEO groups and protected class groups. This approach reinforced the "us versus them" view of the work, which made everyone feel victimized and, therefore, disempowered.

This insight led to understanding that valuing people clearly means building an environment in which all individuals—each one a person of difference—can feel their interests matter and will be taken into account. As a step toward creating such an environment, a formal distinction was made between the work of EEO and the work of learning to value all people and their differences. At this point it was recognized that the empowerment of all groups, including white males, is a critical step in the process.

Recognizing the Importance of Group Differences

As they continued to sort through their conflicts, participants in the small groups also recognized that again and again they returned to one nagging question underlying all the dialogue. By whose standards shall we decide? Yours or mine? Stripping away the stereotypes had not stripped them of their differences, and their standards were determined by those differences.

In the effort to avoid stereotyping in order to see one another as individuals, they had made faulty assumptions about their similarities. The work designed to help people learn how to deal with different race and gender groups had not taken into account the importance of these group differences. When they ignored the differences, they argued and disagreed because they all felt devalued. This insight led to the next step in the process—focusing on group differences as well as individual differences.

Although there was a fear that the work of identifying group differences was risky because it could reinforce and even legitimize stereotypes about groups, it was recognized that this work was critical. Learning how to recognize and understand the core identity issues of different groups is an important step toward developing effective strategies to help people of difference learn how to work together interdependently.

Having begun the work of building an environment of trust and candor to help people strip away their stereotypes, participants began probing for differences in group assumptions and perspectives that shaped their values and perceptions of the norm. As a result they discovered that they held unexamined and faulty assumptions about their own group differences, which in turn led to faulty assumptions about the differences of others. With Digital as the larger context for the discussions, they studied the implications of group differences

with respect to such issues as building significant relationships, sharing power, and styles of bonding in the workplace.

Valuing All Differences

Participants in Core Groups began to address the full spectrum of EEO issues—not just race and gender but also issues of age, physical ability, and sexual orientation. As Core Groups spread through the company, participants from various organizational, functional, and geographical subcultures began to address a wider range of differences. It became obvious that—no matter what the difference was—the dynamic underlying the conflict and struggles was the same. The question that underlay the EEO dialogues was also at the base of the issues created by other kinds of group differences. By whose standards shall we decide? It was recognized that the process for addressing EEO issues could also be applied effectively to issues created by other kinds of differences.

This more inclusive focus—which became known as "Valuing Differences"—made it possible to address issues created by differences in assumptions between managers and subordinates as well as between staff and line. It provided a way to open up traditionally blocked communication links, such as those between manufacturing and engineering and the highly emotional one between smokers and nonsmokers. It also allowed entry into discussions about the issues created by differences in Europe and Asia, where Digital managers had often become confused, if not offended, by the EEO approach of managers from the United States.

It became evident that there were several discrete steps in the valuing differences process. These steps are:

1. Identifying and stripping away stereotypes and myths about the groups one regards as different;
2. Building authentic and significant relationships with people one regards as different in order to broaden one's understanding of the issues created by group differences;
3. Learning how to listen for and examine the assumptions that may drive the differences in the perceptions and perspectives of others;
4. Raising one's level of personal empowerment by stripping away the ways one victimizes and imposes limits on oneself—individually and as a member of groups; and
5. Exploring and identifying group differences.

Using Core Groups and Other Methods

Today Digital employees regard Core Group work as a unique opportunity for personal and leadership development. These groups usually meet at least four hours a month. They are led by participants who have attended a workshop designed to help them understand that

the honest and candid exploration of assumptions and stereotypes about people and the groups to which they belong is almost always highly intense, emotional work. In this workshop, Core Group leaders develop the skills involved in "keeping people safe." They also learn how to help people identify "what's in it for them" to do the personal development work and how to lead each group in examining "what's in it for Digital;" that is, the connection between the Core Group work and Digital's productivity and profitability.

In 1985, Digital leaders institutionalized valuing differences as a written policy and as a function. As a result, numerous line organizations within the company employ full-time Valuing Differences managers whose work is separate from that of EEO. Part of their work is leading Core Groups.

Although small discussion groups continue to be the backbone of the Valuing Differences approach, the company also uses other means of enabling employees to do the personal development work necessary in this area. The following company-sponsored activities are some examples.

1. *Celebrating differences*—a multicultural approach that gives people the opportunity to focus on the differences of particular groups at given times throughout the year;
2. *UDD (Understanding the dynamics of differences)*—a two-day course designed to introduce employees to the valuing differences concept; and
3. *A network of same-differences interest groups*—includes a number of leadership groups that meet on a regular basis.

Although Digital has not yet learned how to quantify in precise terms the connection between this work and its productivity, the evidence indicates that valuing differences has made a difference at Digital. For the most part, the company relies on what the people involved in the work—internally and externally—tell it. They suggest that Digital Equipment Corporation is a leader in the area of quality of work life and employee relations.

Valuing Differences: The Springfield Experience

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In today's business environment, most corporations only pay lip service to including and using racial minorities, women, and immigrants in the work force as an important business strategy. However, current and emerging work force trends indicate that American business increasingly will have to draw its workers from these traditionally less-skilled groups.

As America moves toward the 21st century, there are growing concerns about its ability to compete in the world market. Selected opinion leaders from Europe, Asia, and the United States have agreed that the United States is not competitive in world markets (*Harvard Business Review*, 1987).

What does U.S. competitiveness have to do with workplace inclusion and use of racial minorities, women, and immigrants? The Hudson Institute reported in *Workforce 2000* (1987) that by the year 2000, over 80 percent of all new workers will represent these groups. And it is commonly agreed that a full, competent, and motivated work force is fundamental for the United States to become competitive in world markets. It follows that corporations must become knowledgeable about this new work force to promote competence and develop motivational strategies. Peters (1987) has suggested placing work force training at the top of corporations' and the U.S. government's agendas.

This chapter describes one company's response to the challenge of such an agenda, with the founding of Digital Equipment Corporation's Springfield, Massachusetts, plant as a new and different way of dealing effectively with the inclusion and use of people of differences at all position levels. The processes employed in Digital Springfield's approach to multiculturalism are described; strategies and results of Digital's futuristic posture in preparing for a new and emerging work force are presented; and some of the issues associated with the successful operation of this complex manufacturing venture with high technology products (disks and tapes), using a diverse work force, also are addressed.

Background

In 1972, Digital Equipment Corporation (DEC) located its seventh manufacturing facility in the inner city of Springfield. The story of the Springfield plant is significant because of the innovative role it was founded to serve. "The plant opened with 11 employees who assembled power supplies and cables for DEC products that were being produced in other Digital facilities" (Saylor, 1983, p. 1).

The operation occupied 13,000 square feet of renovated space in the old Springfield Armory, a complex of buildings that dates back to the Revolutionary War. Today, the Springfield plant occupies more than 300,000 square feet of space located three streets from the heart of Springfield's black community.

The Springfield plant is Digital's major producer of flexible information storage devices. It employs over 700 people, with an annual payroll of several million dollars. The plant is responsible for 8 to 10 percent of Digital's revenue. The work force is a mixture of races and genders at every position level. In addition to meeting its business performance goals, the Springfield plant serves as a model for managing multicultural and Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) issues. The Springfield experience also served as the frame of reference for building another DEC inner city manufacturing facility in 1980 in the Roxbury section of Boston.

It is important to place the founding of Digital's two multicultural plants in context. While the "letter" of EEO and Affirmative Action (AA) requirements worked against Digital's management philosophy, the spirit of the EEO/AA legislation supported Digital's management philosophy (i.e., "doing the right thing"). These Digital plants have provided opportunities for minorities and women to grow and develop in a comfortable learning environment before they are assigned to Digital majority facilities. In addition to serving as a means for operationalizing the corporation's EEO/AA policies, these plants also serve as mainstream profitable business centers.

Digital Springfield has maintained the commitment to gain and keep a highly diverse work force, while simultaneously building a commitment to gain the leading edge in both manufacturing and human technology. Inherent in the challenge to maintain a highly diverse organization was, and is, the need to recognize, acknowledge, use, value, and celebrate individual and group differences and to manage the cultural synergism for value-added productivity.

Over the years, Digital Springfield has attempted to meet this challenge through the empowerment of the individual employee. In recognizing and working through this challenge, Digital discovered a different and dynamic intervention to address areas broader than those

of AA/EEO work. This led to the development and implementation of Barbara Walker's approach to valuing differences in the workplace.

Business and social climate

Fundamental to the endeavor of managing such a diverse organization was the reduction of social and organizational stereotypes, so the plant could be perceived as a competent and progressive business entity regarding its performance. Like any organization, the Springfield plant has had periods of significant accomplishment and periods when the productivity levels have been less than desirable. Probably in large part due to the plant's demographics, the "us versus them" syndrome emerged; that is, Digital Springfield versus Digital Corporation.

Because the Digital Springfield organization was predominantly black, it frequently was viewed as different and separate from other manufacturing facilities in the company. The underlying message about the plant was negative—a deficit model view of "less than and inferior" to its white counterparts, according to Saylor (1983, p. 22). The attitudes and the behavior toward, Digital Springfield corresponded with this deficit model view. The associated implications were far-reaching and served to perpetuate faulty perceptions reflected in the following.

1. Only poor quality products would come out of the Springfield organization.
2. There was inappropriate alignment of personnel with functions.
3. Springfield managers were not as competent as their peers in other manufacturing facilities.
4. Many blacks did not identify with the inner city charter.
5. Many whites were under undue personal, social, and professional pressure to define or describe what it meant to go into a predominantly black environment.

The growth and success of the Springfield plant can be attributed, in part, to its positive response to these and other negative perceptions in building an effective multicultural organization. It was necessary not only to reduce external stereotypes, but also promote *esprit de corps* internally. The organization had to move beyond simply accepting and reacting to negative assumptions and attitudes in order to establish a healthy and productive work environment. All employees at all levels learned about their biases and learned to recognize, acknowledge, and value the skills and abilities of everyone, regardless of their individual or group differences. Everyone had to work very hard to ensure that the dynamics associated with the deficit model view were not perpetuated in the Springfield organization. Saylor (1983, p. 22) describes the deficit model view as follows:

1. Negative and/or limited expectations
2. Lack of support
3. Smaller than normal margin for error
4. Overprotection
5. Promotion ceilings
6. Discounting
7. Limited decision-making power
8. Lack of specific feedback
9. Exclusion from informal lines of communications
10. Isolation
11. Resistance and/or backlash
12. Over scrutinizing.

It was recognized that not valuing differences would create a situation that would decrease individual and group achievement. Although the above statement is generally true for traditional organizations, it is particularly true for minority organizations because their employees tend to hold higher expectations for inclusion and for opportunity to grow and develop within the parameters of legitimate business goals.

Leadership Consideration

In preparing to meet the challenge of maintaining a highly diverse organization, as referred to in the background section of this chapter, Digital's senior management had to have a clear vision, commitment, and specific plans. According to *The Springfield story* (Saylor, 1983), senior management accomplished these objectives by providing their commitment and support. They did so by:

1. Supporting the manufacture of products in a way that provided the potential for a range of skill levels and training and development opportunities;
2. Integrating the inner city organization with the rest of the company, so it was a peer with other organizations of its type and not subordinated or isolated;
3. Creating an environment throughout the organization that acknowledged, valued, and managed racial, gender, and cultural differences;
4. Expecting that an inner city facility would make a positive contribution to the corporation by delivering quality products at stated cost goals;
5. Acknowledging the importance of providing jobs and opportunities for personal and career growth for inner city residents;
6. Valuing the existing and potential skills of the labor market in the inner city;
7. Committing the required technical, financial, legal, managerial, and community relations resources for start-up and development; and

8. Identifying and selecting a management team that was willing and able to handle the criticisms, controversies, and challenges that would occur in the operations.

Desirable Organizational Characteristics

The organizational climate at the Springfield plant encourages employees to be creative. Proposals and ideas are heard, which promotes motivation and inclusion. Employees believe they have a degree of flexibility and can contribute to the success of the plant. This organizational climate encourages employees to take risks. As they demonstrate their ability to handle more, they receive additional responsibilities.

The willingness of plant leaders to take risks and go after new and different products has contributed to the growth and success of the Springfield plant. Digital Springfield won the opportunity to produce mass storage products representing a fairly high degree of technology. The risk-taking, pushing, and fighting for the products allowed the Springfield plant to grow and assume an identity within manufacturing comparable to the company's leading plants.

The overarching organizational culture throughout Digital has been described by many managers as "valuing individual accountability and freedom, and relying on instinct and intuition" (Saylor, 1983, p. 23). This has meant that being emotional, excited, motivated, dynamic, and vital have been valued personal characteristics at Digital. However, when these same characteristics were manifested in the Springfield plant, significant amounts of tension, ambiguity, conflict, and struggle resulted. These consequences were often over scrutinized by others in the larger corporation and viewed as negative organizational characteristics. These negative interpretations often were driven by individuals' stereotypes.

The following are the organizational characteristics that contributed to the Springfield organization's achievement of an effective multiracial, multicultural environment.

1. Diversity in the work force was consciously recognized and appreciated rather than ignored or stifled. This helped to reduce barriers that often developed as a result of different attitudes, values, and behaviors.
2. The organization worked on being clear about its interest in meeting business and social goals.
3. Managers throughout the organization were held accountable for understanding the nature of the multicultural environment and for adjusting their behavior and skills to meet the requirements for working effectively in a multicultural environment.
4. Issues that developed as a result of work force diversity were defined as organizational and management challenges rather than as

"minority" or "black" problems. Resolution of these issues was viewed as an opportunity for strengthening the social system of the organization.
5. Employees at every level in the organization were involved in an ongoing review and refinement of behavior so they could support organizational goals.

Organizational Competencies and Leadership

The key readiness questions relating to organizational competencies in valuing differences are:
1. Does the organization have the capacity and ability to explore and manage the work?
2. How well-equipped are the managers and supervisors to meet the challenge and exploit the opportunities?
3. Is the organization willing to set policies and standards and do the corresponding work for institutionalizing such a program?

Stripping away stereotypes, exploring assumptions about group differences, building authentic relationships with people one regards as different, and enhancing personal improvement are integral to the Valuing Differences work. Accomplishing this work while handling an increasingly multiracial and multicultural work force at Digital Springfield requires leadership competencies that enabled the plant leaders to:
1. Perceive multicultural management as an opportunity to use a nontraditional work force effectively.
2. Be sensitive to and knowledgeable about the issues that commonly arise in diverse work forces, and take initiative in anticipating and averting potential conflicts or in resolving existing ones.
3. Discuss thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and beliefs about race, culture, and sexual differences. Attempt to understand and help others to understand the potential impact of negative assumptions on individual job performance and on overall organizational climate and productivity.
4. Place perceptions and discussion of race and cultural differences in a rational framework by replacing myths, stereotypes, and negative assumptions with facts.
5. Discuss race and cultural factors as legitimate aspects of problem analysis, decision making, and other areas of organizational life.
6. Identify the skills, traits, and characteristics of people in the work force who may be unrecognized or undervalued, and find ways to help these individuals contribute to the company's productivity and enhance personal and public images.

Ongoing Support for the Work of Valuing Differences

In providing the necessary support for valuing differences in the Springfield plant, both Digital and community leadership were (and

continue to be) demonstrated. As an organization in which the philosophy was very different from the norm, the sensitivity, understanding, and management of community perceptions about the organization were (and are) essential. Avenues have been provided for interactions among people of different races and economic groups—both within and outside of the organization. Within Digital Springfield, employees have had access to management, and they feel their views are accepted, appreciated, and valued.

Issues of status, influence, trust, and power naturally are magnified in a multicultural work environment comprised of approximately 50 different cultures. In a multicultural environment, it is more important for employees to assume responsibility for their own growth and development than in a traditional corporate environment. Digital has promoted this idea by providing organizational support and reward systems.

The Springfield plant's key operational value is, "Everyone must contribute to the success of the organization." Therefore, clear and concise performance expectations are essential. Individual development goals and performance goals are linked together. Managers are required to bridge the gap between the competencies, individual employee potential, and the performance requirements of the organization. In addition, they are expected to demonstrate confidence in the employees' abilities to do the job by giving responsibility without "hand-holding." Some failure is tolerated as long as the failure is not repeated and is, in fact, used as a learning experience.

Walker's Valuing Differences approach has been employed continually since the founding of Digital Springfield. The Valuing Differences work itself provides support for its own continuation and growth as it enhances personal and organizational development in a multicultural environment.

Accountability and Expectations

Institutionalizing Valuing Differences demanded a high level of management accountability. Springfield management, in particular, first had to acquire cross-cultural competence. This required interracial leadership skills, an understanding of Digital's management philosophy, and a demonstrated commitment to standardize management's approach to valuing differences. Then the Springfield organization implemented Digital's "Standards and Practices," which were developed at corporate headquarters to guide the work.

Valuing Differences at Digital develops and implements strategies for integrating its principles with the basic values of the corporation. The major operational objectives for valuing differences are to empower a significant number of managers and employees to be leaders of the approach, and help managers and employees understand the

connection between affirmative action, valuing differences, and Digital's productivity and profitability.

In Digital Springfield, the Valuing Differences standards and procedures form the basis for measuring management accountability. The following objectives represent the specific expectations for manager competencies and behaviors.

1. Demonstrate and understand that valuing differences is critical to Digital's business success and productivity.
2. Articulate the differences between valuing differences, equal employment opportunities, and affirmative action.
3. Understand that valuing differences cuts across all lines of differences: race, sex, age, physical abilities, culture, sexual preference, and geography (including international differences).
4. Participate in ongoing experimental activity; that is, discussion groups, Core Groups, Affirmative Action University, and Celebrating Differences.
5. Serve as role models in valuing differences, in language, in communication, and in decision making practices.

Celebrating Valuing Differences

One of the best organizational development strategies employed in the Valuing Differences work is the idea of recognizing and celebrating the differences that exist within the organization. Valuing differences celebration events are published in the organization's newsletter, or bulletin boards and in video conferences and, in several other ways, are communicated internally to the Digital family and externally to the community. This provides public recognition and pride in belonging to a particular group or unit.

These celebrations may occur for organizational units or such groups as Vietnam veterans, handicapped, women, natural origin, and so forth. Celebrations include plays, concerts, food festivals, sports, seminars, conferences, and the like. There are opportunities for the Springfield community to participate in Digital celebration events. Many times there are partnerships with multicultural or women's groups or other associations from the community.

The possibilities for celebrating differences are endless when the philosophy of the organization empowers its leadership to provide support for the holistic development of the work force within the community.

Changed Perceptions, Productivity, and Quality of Life in Springfield

It is difficult to measure the exact extent to which economic and social changes associated with the existence of the Springfield plant have improved the racial climate in the city. However, Digital's action

in going beyond the traditional token efforts to hire minorities is causing the larger community to recognize real and potential contributions of the residents of the inner city neighborhoods. The racial climate was affected positively by infusing into the community all kinds of talent that ordinarily would not have been present.

The expansion of the black working and middle classes built a broader support base for leadership and more communication across racial lines. This has been especially true as blacks from the plant have become members of the Chamber of Commerce and have served as directors on the boards of local banks and colleges. In addition, Digital's leadership and precedence in the hiring and development of large numbers of minorities have provided encouragement to other businesses in the Springfield community to pursue affirmative action goals actively.

Conclusion

This chapter has described Digital's Springfield experiment, the rationale and competencies needed for developing multicultural plants, and the rewards and challenges that emerged. The kinds of issues and problems associated with establishing a multicultural organization reflect the organization's business and social climate. A positive climate for valuing differences work begins with senior management's commitment to and support for establishing a multicultural organization. Suggested leadership competencies for achieving an effective multicultural environment support the value that everyone must contribute to the organization's success.

An accountability and expectation system and an ongoing support system are critical for maintaining an effective valuing differences program in an organization. Celebration events are essential elements for supporting and recognizing this work. There is also strong evidence that valuing differences has had a positive impact on the business inputs, as well as on the quality of life for both the plant and Springfield community.

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Placing the Valuing Differences Approach in a Campus Setting: Complexity and Challenge

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One of the traditional values of a university campus centers on the notion that it is a special place of work and study, where high standards for civil conduct exceed those required by law, the open exchange of ideas is promoted, and individuals can pursue their work and education without fear of harassment or intimidation. It is likely that general acceptance of this ideal is the basis for public shock and disbelief when racial incidents and other forms of bigotry occur on university campuses. At present, university campuses often are not the special places they once may have been, largely due to difficult but inevitable stresses brought about as they move from monocultural to multicultural settings.

The University of Massachusetts at Amherst, for example, has been struggling with issues of difference and multicultural diversity for at least the past two decades. This 20-year figure is significant because the autumn of 1968 marked the first occasion in which significant numbers of urban black students came to study on the campus. With their arrival came the first apparent racial incidents, as well as the initial clues that a predominantly white institution needed to change if the ideal of the campus as a special place was to be realized.

By the year 2000, one-third of the people in this country will be members of minority groups. By 2010, whites will represent only 48 percent of the population. To appreciate the particular challenges raised by this multiculturalism, it is imperative for college campuses to see the unique contribution that a valuing differences approach (see Walker in this volume) might make. First it is necessary to provide an overview of an institutional setting typical of large campuses and place specific change efforts at the Amherst campus within this context. As this discussion will demonstrate, the setting, context, and dynamics of a campus differ significantly from those of a private-sector corporation.

Background

University campuses are unique. Much of this uniqueness is overlooked, unfortunately, when campuses are described only in terms of their educational mission—highlighting the number of students, number of faculty members, and the quality and quantity of facilities

such as classrooms and libraries. Although these elements certainly are critical to any educational institution, emphasizing these alone can result in an incomplete view of large college campuses.

At the Amherst campus of the University of Massachusetts, for example, there are 1,350 faculty members, 19,000 undergraduates, and 6,000 graduate students. What these statistics do not reveal, however, is that this campus may be described more accurately as a small city of 32,000 people, with its own rules and regulations, roads, maintenance crews, police department, utilities, human service agencies, public housing for 12,000, and so on. And like some small cities, the campus has a byzantine governance system, with independent policy-making senates for faculty, undergraduate students, graduate students, and professional staff. Overall policy decisions must be approved by a board of trustees and, increasingly, by a statewide board of regents.

The Amherst campus also can be viewed as a complex, public-sector workplace for 6,000 employees. It incorporates over 200 academic and administrative departments that operate with varying degrees of programmatic autonomy, despite centralized budgetary and personnel functions. There are several distinct employment categories, ranging from faculty to student employees, each with its own particular set of personnel policies and procedures. With the exception of student employees and professional staff, all other employees belong to one of five different bargaining units, each with its own contract and bargaining cycle. To complicate matters further, the campus, as a state agency, is also a large civil service bureaucracy, adding an additional layer of elaborate personnel and budgetary procedures.

Unlike most workplaces or municipalities, however, the campus also is characterized by a very high turnover within some of its populations. Nearly one-third of the undergraduate population—6,000 of 19,000—are new to the campus each year. Similarly, nearly 1,500 of the 6,000 graduate students are newly admitted every fall. Faculty and staff represent more stable groups, but, even in their cases, the campus is just reaching the end of a five-year period in which one-third of the faculty and staff have been replaced through retirements or attrition. Given these relatively high turnover figures, the commonly used phrase, "campus community," which suggests at least some population stability, can be misleading, in that roughly 25 percent of this community's members are new arrivals each year.

The Amherst campus is not unique among public universities. Whether it is termed an educational institution, a small city, a public-sector workplace, or a community, the complexity of a university campus is evident. This complexity, combined with high turnover and changing national demographic realities, causes several implications to emerge for any campus faced with the task of promoting multiculturalism and respect for human difference. Some of these implications are presented here.

1. Efforts to bring about needed change often are hampered by the complexity of multiple governance systems and public sector bureaucracy. For instance, the campus sexual harassment policy and grievance procedure, established in 1982, required more than five years of development. It has remained in a state of continual revision since. Given such delays and a changing cast of interested parties, the initiators of change are rarely the same as those who eventually implement it.
2. High turnover makes it difficult to establish clear values and norms to guide behavior. With over 8,000 new arrivals each year to the Amherst campus, providing an adequate introduction and orientation taxes already scarce resources.
3. High turnover also means that the campus "institutional memory" is relatively short. The lessons learned from a major racial or anti-Semitic incident (and even the incident itself) can be forgotten within a year or two. Among undergraduate students—who have the highest turnover rate—majority students often have little knowledge of past incidents and issues, leading to beliefs that particular incidents were either over-emphasized or had not occurred at all.
4. As with many other campuses, white students often come from home communities where they have had little or no contact with minorities, but live in residence halls containing a level of human diversity they have never encountered. It should not be surprising that the recent wave of campus racial violence has been most evident at institutions where entering students are required to live in campus housing. With rising minority enrollments on the campus, most white students arrive each year increasingly unprepared for the multicultural experience that awaits them.
5. The multicultural imperative brought about by rapid demographic changes nationally threatens to outstrip the rate of change possible for campuses. Ironically, the high rate of turnover among student populations makes lasting change difficult at the same time the need for it is inevitable. Faculty, administrators, and staff are replaced much more slowly than students, ensuring growing tension between an increasingly diverse student body and an educational setting that promises to remain predominantly white and male for some time.

The Amherst campus, like many other universities, has been active in attempting to address these troubling dynamics. The evolution of its efforts and the efforts themselves need further explanation in order to understand the context of future changes.

History

The Amherst campus first developed its public commitment to addressing issues of difference during the late 1960s. With the first

arrival of significant numbers of black students came the rude confirmation that racism was a problem on campus and in the surrounding community. There were repeated incidents, demonstrations, occupations, and the creation of a Department of Afro-American Studies. In a parallel fashion, women raised the issue of sexism, highlighted all too common instances of rape and sexual assault, and established the first women's center on the campus. In what became a local tradition of grassroots concern and activity, faculty, students, and staff in the two residential colleges on the campus clearly declared their support for these efforts and included the mandate to combat racism and sexism in their organizational charters. Courses addressing these topics proliferated within the residential colleges and even began to find their way into the offerings of the more traditional academic departments.

The first Affirmative Action Plan for the campus was published in 1972 and set the stage for several years of internal debate about the most appropriate methods and approaches for improving the representation of minorities and women on the campus. As affirmative action policies and practices gained acceptance and legal legitimacy, an initially decentralized approach gave way to a centralized Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity Office (AA/EO). Under AA/EO policies and practices, the representation of women and minorities among faculty and staff has improved, but at a rate that lags behind both needs and expectations set forth in successive AA/EO plans. The overriding concern has remained one of compliance with AA/EO requirements, leading to an emphasis on recruitment efforts. The impact of campus climate on the retention and mobility of women and minorities has received less attention.

Despite both educational and procedural efforts to improve campus diversity, incidents of racism, sexism and sexual violence, and anti-Semitism increased during the 1970s. Finally, late in 1979, a group of senior faculty approached Chancellor Koffler and demanded action. In response, Koffler established the Chancellor's Commission on Civility in Human Relations in January 1980, and appointed faculty, staff, and students to serve as its first members. The commission was charged with examining social issues such as racism, sexism, and anti-Semitism on the campus and providing recommendations to Koffler for improving the state of civility on the campus (see Dethier, 1984, for a detailed history of the commission during its first four years).

In the spring of 1981, the commission issued its first report, recommending curriculum reform that would integrate information on issues of racism, sexism, and anti-Semitism into required course work; campus-wide educational efforts regarding these issues; and creation of an Office of Human Relations, which would serve as a central agency for formulating educational efforts, improving crisis

intervention, and initiating needed institutional change. Koffler accepted these recommendations and immediately began efforts to implement them.

Although curriculum reform took nearly five years to complete, it resulted in two social and cultural diversity courses required of all students—courses that focus on comparative studies of racial and ethnic difference. The first major educational effort, "The Year Toward Civility," was organized for the 1981–82 academic year at a planning conference that brought together over 300 faculty, staff, and students with experience and expertise relevant to racism, sexism, or anti-Semitism. This form of campus-wide social issues programming has continued as an array of various "awareness weeks" and "awareness months," held throughout each academic year. In the fall of 1982, the Office of Human Relations was established with a mission to enhance the capacity of the campus to anticipate and then respond effectively to the full range of human relations concerns.

The organizational changes that resulted from the commission's first set of recommendations proved in time to be perhaps more significant than the initial efforts at curriculum reform and campus-wide educational programs. What emerged was a system that not only identified issues and possible responses, but also had the capacity to shepherd the change process. The Chancellor's Commission on Civility continued to advise the chancellor about needed change, and the Office of Human Relations, which served as staff to both the commission and the chancellor, implemented needed change and monitored the results. One example serves to illustrate the preventive approach that resulted.

In the fall of 1982, there were several brutal attacks on women alleged to be lesbians in Northampton, Massachusetts, a small city seven miles west of the campus. Staff of the Office of Human Relations and members of the commission, in developing contacts with various minority communities on the campus, learned that most of the victims were students from the campus who lived in Northampton, and the attacks and related harassment were just beginning to occur on the campus itself. In addition, further inquiries revealed cases of gay and lesbian discrimination in employment practices and in human service agencies that served students. These concerns were brought to the commission which, in turn, recommended to new Chancellor Joseph Duffey that the campus nondiscrimination policy be amended to include the phrase, "sexual orientation." He agreed, and the Office of Human Relations worked with gay and lesbian members of the campus community to change the policy and then held educational programs for human services staff.

This example is significant in that it was the first time the campus extended protective policy to members of a minority group not already protected by state and federal law. Previously, campus policy

regarding harassment and discrimination had been modified only in response to changes in state and federal law regarding "protected classes." Furthermore, this policy change was atypical in that it was a preventive step, implemented before major incidents had occurred on the campus instead of afterward.* More importantly, this act of leadership by the chancellor was noted by the campus and paved the way for more extensive exploration of the problems faced by members of the gay community. Within the next three years, the commission's charge was amended to include gay, lesbian, and bisexual concerns; an information and referral program was established for gay, lesbian, and bisexual students; "out" gay and lesbian psychotherapists were added to the Mental Health Services staff; and faculty members initiated a Faculty and Staff Support Group for Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Concerns. All of these innovations occurred prior to the national concern about the AIDS crisis and have few counterparts on other campuses.

By way of this brief look at the history of the Amherst campus, it is possible to gain a sense of the unique way that the term "civility" has come to be defined and operationalized within the campus culture. The "civility" emphasis continues to be a local campus response to the national need for institutional arrangements that go beyond those legally required by AA and EO laws and policies. It is also worth emphasizing that "civility" efforts began with and continue only because of persistent grassroots efforts on the part of dedicated faculty, staff, administrators, and students.

Although the Commission on Civility and the Office of Human Relations do represent official vehicles for identifying and implementing needed change on the campus, the initiatives that result often conflict with conventional administrative wisdom within both higher education and the larger educational bureaucracy of Massachusetts. Without this continued grassroots support, neither the office nor the commission could be effective.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that the Amherst campus continues to struggle with several issues of difference and with the evolution of the mechanisms for embedding a concern for "civility" more firmly in campus culture. This point should become clearer with a closer look at current approaches and selected problem areas.

Current Approaches

The Amherst campus uses three general areas of change in its effort to become a "special place" once again.

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*Though private-sector colleagues may find nothing surprising in this example, it is rather remarkable from a higher education perspective.

Structural and procedural change

This category includes efforts to articulate policies, rules, and regulations for the campus and establish mechanisms for resolving complaints, responding to incidents, and monitoring results. Examples include AA/EO activities aimed at increasing minority and female representation and ensuring AA/EO compliance; revising and expanding rules and regulations regarding conduct for faculty, staff, and students; refining grievance and complaint procedures; creating additional mechanisms for dispute resolution; collaborating with key agencies for both preventive efforts and better coordination in crisis situations; and regularly evaluating the effectiveness of personnel, programs, and policies.

Educational change

This area encompasses not only programs aimed at students, but also those designed for faculty, staff, and administrators. Examples include addition of two required social and cultural diversity courses to the undergraduate curriculum; campus-wide educational programs that highlight multicultural issues; staff and management training and development programs; educational and cultural programs within the residence halls; faculty development programs that incorporate multicultural concerns; educational efforts about policies regarding specific social issues (e.g., sexual harassment), related support services, and appropriate complaint and grievance mechanisms; publicity surrounding consequences for violators of campus policies; publication of evaluations of program and policy effectiveness; and annual publication of data summarizing the number, type, and disposition of grievances brought to key offices.

Cultural change

These initiatives are directed at changing the culture of the campus through thoughtful use of statements, events, symbols, myths, and rituals to reaffirm values, norms, and a climate supportive of multicultural difference. Examples include incorporation of the goal to become a multicultural institution in the campus mission statement; explicit inclusion of the multicultural goal and related values in campus publications; repetition by campus leaders of key values supportive of multicultural diversity; "tone-setting" orientation events for new students, faculty, and staff; periodic statements prohibiting and promoting certain conduct by campus leaders; rewards for individuals and organizations making a positive contribution to multicultural diversity and understanding; and creation of annual events at which multicultural values are highlighted.

Although these categories may seem straightforward at first, it is important to note that any single event, activity, or publication may

contribute to all three areas of change. For example, a speech by a nationally known minority figure on the legal remedies for racial and ethnic harassment may well have impacts on all three. It should also be emphasized that the category of cultural change, though potentially the most effective and lasting, also can be the most elusive. Efforts to change the culture of a campus are complicated by the need to find symbols, myths, and rituals that are simultaneously attractive and meaningful for faculty, students, and staff. Similarly, gaining campus agreement about a basic list of values supportive of multicultural ideals can be a frustrating experience. The value of academic excellence, for instance, can be interpreted in ways that conflict with values supportive of multicultural diversity. The value of freedom of expression also can clash with multicultural ideals when individuals with a history of public bigotry are invited to speak on a campus.

A closer look at two specific examples of recent change efforts illustrates how the campus has used this framework with relative success in one instance and less success in another.

Success With Reducing Sexual Harassment

Although the refinement of a sexual harassment policy and procedure for the campus continues to be a difficult exercise, efforts in this area have been surprisingly effective in reducing the reported incidence of this unwanted and unacceptable behavior by faculty and staff. During the late 1970s, independent groups of faculty, students, and staff worked on possible policies and grievance procedures aimed at their own constituencies. With the publication of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) guidelines regarding sexual harassment in 1980, campus administrators took the lead in bringing these groups together to develop a sexual harassment policy and grievance procedure agreeable to all parties.

In the fall of 1982, a policy statement defining and prohibiting sexual harassment and an elaborate grievance procedure were issued. A videotape was made of the chancellor and other administrators discussing the issue of sexual harassment and emphasizing the importance of the policy. Similar statements were repeated in administrative memoranda distributed throughout the campus. Feeling that more was needed, an ad hoc group of faculty, students, and staff calling itself the Sexual Harassment Education Committee assumed the task of developing and implementing a top-down educational program for the campus.

The initial barrier to bringing attention to the problem of sexual harassment was the general belief that it was not a widespread phenomenon. In the spring of 1983, the committee commissioned a survey of undergraduate women which revealed that 25 percent of them had experienced sexual harassment—ranging from mild to severe

forms—from faculty and staff members. After publicizing this information broadly, the committee designed a straightforward educational program that included legal background, definitions, and two thought-provoking case studies. Committee members were aware of the administrators' reluctance to attend "training" sessions. Therefore, they advertised them as "Administrative Briefings on Issues of Personal and Institutional Liability Regarding Sexual Harassment." This approach, combined with well-organized sessions, was so well-received that requests frequently outstripped the committee's ability to meet them.

Because the committee members provided this educational program on a voluntary basis, it took more than three years for the program to reach most campus administrators and supervisors. During this period, there were two other developments. Educational sessions were broadened to include nonsupervisory personnel, faculty, and students, with some large administrative units developing their own educational programs. In addition, the first set of sexual harassment cases came forward through either informal or formal grievance procedures, resulting in disciplinary action for several faculty and staff.

When the committee commissioned a second survey of undergraduate women in the spring of 1986, it found that the reported rate of sexual harassment had dropped to 15 percent. On the basis of this survey and anecdotal evidence, it appeared that the unambiguous statements by top administrators, a well-publicized policy and grievance procedure, campus educational efforts, and the fact that violators of the policy were being caught and disciplined had the desired effect. More recently, the administration has taken two additional steps. It published the outcomes of all cases in which complainants brought formal grievances. The administration also strengthened the grievance procedure and vigorously pursued harassment cases on behalf of victims who initially were reluctant to bring complaints by themselves. According to a third survey completed in the winter of 1989, the rate of sexual harassment for undergraduate women had dropped again to 12 percent.

In this instance, all three approaches were used: Structural and procedural steps, education, and cultural changes. In retrospect, it appears that the first two were most effective. The campus was made aware of the problem of sexual harassment and the consequences of violating the policy, and the centralized procedures ensured that violations, if pursued, could result in significant disciplinary actions.

The impact of efforts to change the campus culture regarding sexual harassment are harder to assess. From anecdotal information, it seems that the campus is placing more value on maintaining a workplace free of sexual harassment. For example, initial efforts to present educational programs regarding sexual harassment on a departmental level often met with outright hostility, especially within academic

departments. More recently, however, a small but growing number of university departments request such programs on a regular basis, while others have integrated the topic into ongoing training programs for supervisors and employees. These changes suggest an increasing willingness to take on local responsibility for the issue of sexual harassment. They also suggest that, although important progress has been made in reducing the reported rate of sexual harassment through centralized initiatives, further reductions may require strategies for supporting further cultural change at the departmental level as well.

Continuing Problems With Racial Harassment and Racial Incidents

Like many other colleges and universities, the Amherst campus has been the site of recurring racial incidents involving undergraduates as victims and perpetrators. On the basis of media reports, it appears that the most recent wave of incidents on the Amherst campus (and perhaps nationally) began with a racial brawl at the end of the 1986 World Series, which resulted in one black male student being beaten unconscious (see Hurst, 1987, for a detailed report). In fact, racial incidents have occurred sporadically on the campus since the arrival of significant numbers of minority students in the late 1960s, but they did not receive widespread media attention.

In the spring of 1983, for example, the campus experienced a series of racial incidents and, after considerable investigation and analysis, took several corrective actions. Student disciplinary regulations prohibiting harassment were strengthened and publicized; educational programs regarding racism and racial harassment were broadened; incident-reporting systems were overhauled; and efforts were made to improve the response of the campus police, housing staff, and dean of students staff.

Despite these efforts, low-level incidents continued, punctuated by major incidents in October 1986 and February 1988, which attracted extensive coverage by national media. After each major incident, the campus repeated steps taken in the past, further tightening student disciplinary rules and sanctions regarding racial and other forms of harassment, publicizing policy changes, and increasing the number and variety of educational programs. In many ways, these efforts paralleled campus efforts regarding sexual harassment, but with much less success. There appear to be several reasons for this difference in success.

First, the national climates surrounding these two forms of harassment have been strikingly dissimilar. The impetus for national concern about the issue of sexual harassment came from federal guidelines issued by the EEOC in 1980. These guidelines emphasized that

sexual harassment is illegal because it constitutes sex discrimination, and they outlined several steps organizations had to take to avoid costly litigation. Despite a shared legal rationale for prohibitions against both sex and race discrimination found in Title VII and elsewhere, analogous guidelines for racial harassment have yet to be issued. Furthermore, the Reagan administration clearly gave increased permission to express regressive racial sentiments by attacking affirmative action programs and promoting suspicions about the wisdom of previous civil rights gains.

As a result of this changed climate, new students arriving at college campuses often carry with them negative views of minorities and minority issues. The impact on campus life has been unmistakable.

A 1987 survey of undergraduates at the Amherst campus revealed that 61 percent frequently or sometimes heard racial slurs, remarks, and jokes from their peers. Surveys at other campuses have produced comparable findings. Furthermore, this climate of racial intolerance has developed on college campuses at the same time minority students have become more assertive about their right to work and study in a campus atmosphere free of intimidation and harassment. The result has been an increase in racial tensions, racial incidents, and minority student demands for responsive administrative action.

Second, population dynamics make many campus strategies that have been effective in reducing the incidence of sexual harassment less effective with racial harassment. The primary concern regarding sexual harassment has centered on faculty or staff harassment of undergraduate students or graduate students. Most instances of racial harassment, however, occur among undergraduates. On the Amherst campus, faculty and staff have a turnover rate of only about 5 percent each year, whereas undergraduates have a 31 percent annual turnover rate. Consequently, the impact of educational programs and the memory of past incidents and consequences for offenders is more durable among faculty and staff than it is for undergraduates.

In addition, most of the 6,000 new students who arrive at the campus each year have had little prior contact with minorities in their home communities and no exploration of multicultural issues in their high schools or community colleges. As a result, the campus is pressed with the formidable annual task of quickly communicating community rules about racial and other forms of harassment and an appreciation of multicultural difference to a population that typically is indifferent if not mildly hostile to these concerns. Required courses in social and cultural diversity at present seem to have little immediate impact on this problem, because most of these courses emphasize intellectual rather than personal understanding of multicultural issues.

Third, the combination of a negative national climate regarding racial issues and high undergraduate turnover has created a situation

in which campus efforts to reduce racial harassment may actually assure a high level of reported incidents. The reasons for an initial increase in reports of racial harassment should not be surprising. Education in this area sharpens and expands a campus community's definition of racial incidents: verbal harassment, racist graffiti, desecration of posters advertising minority events, and other acts begin to be reported along with physical assaults. Publicity regarding campus prohibitions against racial harassment and appropriate grievance mechanisms encourage victims to report incidents rather than suffer in silence. In addition, community expectations for a nonthreatening environment are raised, resulting in public outcries when incidents do occur, increased support for victims, and even reports of incidents initiated by nonminority members of the campus.

In a community with a more stable population, it might be reasonable to assume that such steps eventually would reduce the level of reported racial harassment. Unfortunately, the large annual influx of new students to a college campus ensures continuing friction between a small but growing proportion of minority students and their majority counterparts who are ill-prepared for the multicultural setting they encounter. When this friction escalates to incidents, even minor ones, campus initiatives assure that they are very likely to be reported.

In the face of this continuing cycle of racial harassment and sporadic racial incidents, the Amherst campus has continued to develop and implement a range of changes aimed at improving the racial climate. Most of these are additional efforts to continue change at the structural and procedural or educational levels mentioned previously: Campus-wide education about racial harassment, discriminatory behavior, and multicultural diversity, which targets faculty and staff as well as students; development of policies and grievance procedures for dealing with racial harassment that cover all individuals on the campus and closely parallel those for dealing with sexual harassment; and development of improved surveys for monitoring the level of racial harassment.

New initiatives in the category of cultural change include efforts to communicate the campus's multicultural goal and campus values more clearly to potential students and their parents throughout the admissions process; more thorough orientations for students, faculty, and staff; and exploration of strategies to encourage high schools to add courses and other activities aimed at enhancing multicultural fluency. Fortunately, the Valuing Differences approach does suggest additional possibilities not considered previously.

Potentials for a Valuing Differences Approach

The Valuing Differences approach as applied at Digital Equipment Corporation (DEC) has several implications for comparable efforts at

large university campuses. First, this approach consists of more than a single program. It has several complementary components that build on a long-standing and proven corporate commitment to AA/EO efforts. Second, this approach is embedded in a progressive corporate culture whose values inevitably lead to appreciating and using difference in the workplace. Without such a compelling value base, Valuing Differences could be viewed as just another program implemented by well-meaning AA/EO personnel.

Third, these corporate values ensure that voluntary components of this approach are well-attended. Finally, and perhaps most important, it must be emphasized that the Valuing Differences approach is explicitly one of personal development—one that aims at enhancing an individual's multicultural fluency and understanding.

Within colleges and universities, personal development, that is, personal sophistication and expansion, has been assumed to be an essential outcome of intellectual development for students engaged in a 4-year, liberal arts program. There may be some truth to this assumption. The personal development required of entering majority students in regard to issues of multicultural differences must take place in a matter of weeks and months, not years.

On campuses during the 1960s and 1970s, concern arose for addressing the personal development of students more directly. Within schools of education and some schools of management, experiential education surfaced as an accepted way of focusing on issues of personal development needed in a profession. On the administrative side, dean of students offices gave way to offices for "student affairs" or "student life," in which student development theory provided a coherent, broader basis for shaping the day-to-day living experiences of students in residence halls and in a range of other extracurricular services and activities. Within a student development perspective, faculty contributed to student intellectual development, and administrative staff concentrated on issues of personal development for students.

On the Amherst campus, this approach led to nationally recognized educational programs regarding issues of racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, and other forms of oppression in its large residence hall system. Critical components include extensive social issues training for professional and student staff and a range of related academic, social, and cultural activities aimed at both supporting and challenging majority undergraduates.

As campuses become more multicultural institutions, they are now realizing the inadequacy of this bilateral approach. Put bluntly, faculty members have more significance for students than do administrative staff. Multicultural education in residence halls will always be seen as having less value than credited experiences in the classroom. The Amherst campus, like many of its peers, has responded to

this dilemma with the creation of cultural diversity courses required in the curriculum and taught by faculty as departmental offerings.

Unfortunately, even required social diversity courses seem to fall short at present. Dr. Ralph G. H. Siu (1982) stated that colleges and universities face a major paradox when they decide to address issues of multicultural "civility" and understanding. In his view, these institutions are specialists in transferring "symbolic" knowledge—knowledge about things.

Issues of civility, however, are issues of intimate or personal knowledge. To illustrate this distinction, Dr. Siu suggested that knowing the history of humor represents an example of symbolic knowledge. The equivalent example of intimate knowledge would be the ability to tell a decent joke. From his perspective, campuses concerned with promoting civility face major hurdles in making the pursuit of intimate knowledge legitimate in an academic setting and, then, finding vehicles for its transmission.

In DEC's Valuing Differences approach, the use of Core Groups—voluntary, multicultural groups with trained facilitators—appears to be one powerful vehicle for gaining and transmitting intimate knowledge. Such groups can provide a direct route to the development of values supportive of multicultural diversity because they provide an immediate, personal setting for giving and receiving information about human difference. Better yet, formal sanction of such groups and related efforts also serve as an important statement of the values embedded in an organizational culture.

Viewed from this perspective, the Valuing Differences approach promises to provide a significant way for the Amherst campus and other universities to bring about change in campus culture, which has proven so elusive in the past. As of this writing, pilot efforts are underway on the Amherst campus to explore a version of core groups for faculty, staff, and graduate students. Assuming that these pilots are successful, the first critical issues will be those of gaining institutional sanction and support for broader implementation of this promising innovation.

Finding an approach appropriate to undergraduate students represents another question altogether. Voluntary, credited, educational programs based on similar models already exist. Though well-attended, these programs reach only a small proportion of students and an even smaller portion of first-year students. Developing a workable plan for bringing the valuing differences experience to 6,000 new undergraduates each year seems a monumental task. A greater challenge, however, is finding a way to weave the elements of the Valuing Differences approach and the unambiguous values that support it into the fiber of Amherst's institutional culture.

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Working With Diversity at Ford

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Diversity of individuals—differences in gender, race, age, education, culture, or ethnicity—fosters diversity of ideas and opinions. Effective use of this diversity has been essential for Ford as worldwide competition has intensified and the challenges of the new decade have emerged. As one of the world's largest industrial corporations, with customers in more than 200 countries and territories and with 350,000 employees in plants and offices around the globe, Ford will have to be second to none in producing high quality, high value products and services to serve its customers. Working effectively with a diverse labor force will continue to be an essential part of the plan.

The Challenge of Diversity at Ford

The success of a company can be attributed to the critical contributions of its employees. People give an organization its distinctive shape, purpose, direction, and energy. The work force at Ford is highly diverse—far more heterogeneous than in most industrial organizations. Employees are citizens of many countries. They are experts in such dissimilar functions as manufacturing, assembly, sales, purchasing, marketing, finance, engineering, design, law, and employee relations. They are secretaries, machine operators, electricians, tool and die makers, managers, supervisors, analysts, clerks, scientists, engineers, and so on. In addition, they represent different cultures, genders, races, and age groups, bringing diverse values and beliefs to the company.

Though there are many different roles, it is recognized that each is essential to the total team effort. Each employee brings special talents, strengths, experiences, and highly personal ideas to the workplace.

An Historical Perspective

A look at the corporation's history reveals that this work force diversity is not a new phenomenon. Many members of the company's early work force were immigrants who had to adjust to a new country, culture, language, vocation, and way of life. According to Meyer (1981, p. 77), in 1914 only 29 percent of Ford's workers were American-born. The 71 percent who were not came from no fewer than 22 different national groups. Few of them spoke English, which prompted historian Robert Lacey (1986) to remark that the massive Highland Park plant "was a veritable Tower of Babel" (p. 125).

Henry Ford recognized early that, to thrive, the company had to address the ethnic and educational differences among employees. The company undertook a major effort to develop and manage its diverse work force. Free English classes were offered to workers and their families, and a special department was established to help them adapt to their new setting.

Ford was also a leader in consciously creating an even more diverse work force, as related in the following.

1. Lacey (1986) pointed out that, "Henry Ford employed more women than did most other employers in Detroit, and at better wages. By the standard of contemporary enlightenment, he operated at quite a high wattage" (p. 127).
2. Ford was progressive, too, in the employment of the handicapped. In 1919 he employed thousands of men and women with some type of handicap (Ford pamphlet cited in Nevins and Hill, 1954). There was even a special, segregated building for those with tuberculosis. All of the handicapped employees received full wages for their work—work they had little hope of obtaining anywhere else.
3. Ford also led the way in the employment of black workers. According to Nevins and Hill (1957), in 1926 one-tenth of the Ford work force was black, making Ford the employer of more blacks than all of the other American auto companies combined (p. 562). In addition, all black employees received the same wages as everyone else. Lasky (1981) stated that on the occasion of Mr. Ford's death, it was noted in the *Journal of Negro History* that, "Henry Ford never posed as any special friend of any race. But he gave Negroes along with others the chance to help themselves, and in doing so he met the highest test of being a friend" (p. 34).

The company has steadily built on its early tradition of work force diversity. Along the way, progress sometimes has been less than was desired or needed. Nevertheless, the company's goal has been to continue to provide opportunities for all. For example, carrying on the tradition of his grandfather, Henry Ford II was an acknowledged leader in applying affirmative action measures to promote equal opportunity at Ford Motor Company and in the business community. Diversity at Ford is both a heritage and a continuing commitment.

Approaches to Managing Diversity

Managing a diverse corporate population has required much more attention and effort than would managing a homogeneous one. However, valuing diversity and believing in it has been one of the company's strengths. It has been worth the effort. Managing diversity has been carried out according to some basic principles and beliefs,

rearticulated in the 1980s in a document known as Ford's "Mission, Values, and Guiding Principles." The following is one of the key values contained in that document.

> **People.** Our people are the source of our strength. They provide our corporate intelligence and determine our reputation and vitality. Involvement and teamwork are our core human values.

From this overall value, the company has derived certain principles of human resource management. Many of them are vital to the development of a diverse work force. The following are examples.

1. People are the company's most basic and valuable resource. In fact, people *are* the company.
2. Our doors are open to men and women alike without discrimination and without regard to ethnic origin or personal beliefs.
3. All of us must respect individuals as unique human beings with different ideas, opinions, concerns, and desires. This diversity fosters creativity and the dynamic atmosphere the company depends on.
4. People have a natural desire to achieve excellence in what they do, both for themselves and for their organization. Finding the right ways to channel this powerful human urge is one of Ford management's major objectives.
5. While teamwork is crucial to organizational success, teams are purposeful aggregations of committed individuals. The larger entity of the team should always leave space for individuals to function and to create.
6. The company has a core obligation to develop its people. Managers and supervisors, for instance, have a clear responsibility to coach, mentor, and otherwise nurture subordinates so they can reach their full potential. Likewise, people have a reciprocal obligation to contribute to their own development.

Many of these principles of human resource management were applied in dramatic ways during the company's turnaround efforts in the 1980s. (For a fuller discussion see Savoie, 1986.) During this decade, almost every feature and element of the company was rethought, redefined, redirected, and reshaped. This includes how products look and work, as well as how they are designed and developed. It also includes the fundamental ways in which the company addresses its customers, its employees, unions, and even the world. In effect, the very culture of the company has changed (Doody and Bingaman, 1988).

Three Key Learnings

From both Ford's historical development and its recent transformation, three key learnings about managing a diverse work force have evolved. The first to emerge was that, in order to value diversity fully

and to manage it effectively, multiple approaches must be used. No single effort is adequate because there are too many people involved, too many distinct organizations, too many relationships, and too many strong pressures from too many different directions. The result of this learning has been the development of multiple approaches to managing diversity, which concentrate on the following efforts:

1. Creating and refining internal personnel structures and systems that will help assure fair and equal treatment of our diverse members;
2. Educating employees to understand and appreciate the differences among us; and
3. Working with the community to promote an appreciation for diversity in the larger society.

These complementary and reinforcing approaches will be examined in more depth later in this discussion.

The second key learning was that changing long-standing human attitudes is not easy—but it can be done. During the 1980s, some very fundamental management attitudes about relationships and decision making in the workplace were changed—attitudes that had been maintained for years and that stretched from the top of the organization to the bottom. This was the first step in the work of changing personal attitudes about diversity, that is, about differences in culture, race, sex, and ethnic background.

The third learning is one that goes back well beyond the transformation, to the company's early experience with work force diversity. It is the plain fact that the job of managing diversity is never completed. It requires constant attention, regular review of developing situations, continual monitoring of progress, and a steady flow of new ideas. Management must accept this as one of its most important continuing obligations.

These key learnings have led to three principal approaches: Developing internal personnel support systems, developing internal educational support, and working with the community. Following is a discussion of each of these efforts.

Developing internal personnel support systems

To make valuing diversity a reality and a way of life, an organization first must ensure that its internal personnel systems are entirely equitable and reasonable and that they can protect the right of everyone in the organization to fair treatment and progress. If an organization does not have a strong internal framework of fairness, there will be an inevitable perception that it does not value diversity, no matter how many improvements are made or how much education is conducted. The following are some of the ways Ford has made certain that internal systems are sound.

- **Corporate policy.** As a matter of official company policy, "Equal employment opportunity is a high priority at Ford." All employment relationships, whether with employees or applicants, are to be nondiscriminatory with respect to race, color, religion, age, sex, national origin, handicap, or veteran status. This message is recommunicated annually by senior management at each Ford location and measures are taken to implement the policy.
- **Equal opportunity progress report.** Each year, the board of directors reviews the company's progress toward equal opportunity goals established in the prior year. These goals often have exceeded those to which Ford commits as a federal contractor. These high objectives have been established so it is clear to everyone in the organization that the company is committed to building a diverse work force.
- **Performance appraisal system.** Part of the periodic evaluation process for all supervisors and all managers at all levels measures how well they are managing from an equal opportunity perspective.
- **Recruiting.** Like any organization, Ford's ability to attract capable new talent is crucial to the ultimate health of the firm. Likewise, it is important to recruit a wide variety of people so that organizational diversity is maintained. These goals are achieved by intentionally recruiting a diverse group of people. All recruiters are trained to make certain the selection process is free of bias. Recruiting is done at a variety of colleges, including a number of predominantly black and female institutions. The company also participates in career fairs targeted to different minority groups. Recruiting in the present to assure a representative work force in the future requires the exercise of considerable judgment, especially given the continually changing composition of the potential labor force.
- **An open door policy.** The company's salaried employees are assured a formal means for addressing any work-related issues—without fear of reprisal—through discussion with local management, local personnel representatives, and, if necessary, corporate personnel representatives. For employees represented by unions, their labor agreements incorporate appropriate grievance, discussion, counseling, and review procedures.
- **"Let's Talk" program.** This is a formal vehicle that provides salaried employees a direct, confidential line to management on matters of employee concern.
- **Affirmative Action programs.** The company's Affirmative Action Program Committee promotes numerous activities to further the advancement of women and minorities within the organization. These include the following.

1. Expanded development efforts are made among blacks, women, and other minorities to assure more promotions to senior corporate positions.
2. Training programs are provided to make supervisors more aware of and sensitive to affirmative action issues.
3. Increased numbers of college co-op and summer intern opportunities are provided for minorities and women.

Developing internal support through education

Critical formal personnel systems by themselves cannot do the whole job of assuring full recognition of diversity by all members of our organization. The issue of personal attitudes also must be addressed. This is accomplished through formal education and training. In some situations it is most effective to address issues of diversity directly, but other situations may require more subtle approaches. Ford has used education and training to create an environment conducive to the development and effective performance of all its people. The following are some examples of offerings.

- **Managing personnel diversity.** This three-day seminar was developed for Ford in conjunction with an outside consulting firm. It is designed to give our supervisors and managers a balanced and positive approach to affirmative action; a clearer understanding of the responsibilities of managing a diverse work force; a better appreciation of the values that can be derived from work force diversity; and multicultural management principles consistent with sound leadership. Each class is composed of women, minorities, and white males to ensure that a stimulating exchange of viewpoints occurs.
- **Valuing diversity series.** Ford, along with 30 other corporations, sponsored the production of a three-part film/video series dealing with the issues of cultural diversity in the workplace. Much of the focus is on special values associated with the cultures of Hispanics, American Indians, Asians, and African-Americans. The programs help supervisors, managers, and all employees perform and communicate more effectively with people who are different from themselves.
- **"We Are a Team" program.** Ford's "Mission, Values, and Guiding Principles" include the statement, "We are a team." To help make the words a reality, we have developed a formal team-building program, consisting of booklets, a videotape, and a series of training exercises. The program focuses attention on the power inherent in the diversity of people and stresses the value of teamwork as a means of capitalizing on this strength at all organizational levels. The 16-hour program is spread over an 18- to 24-month period to ensure effective reinforcement. Supervisors and managers are re-

quired to conduct this training with all members of their work group present.

- **Apprenticeship program.** The joint Ford-UAW Apprenticeship Program was established in 1942 and has graduated more than 21,000 men and women to full status in the skilled trades. In recent years, a recruiter/counselor activity was established to help recruit and counsel women and minorities for the apprenticeship program. To support the effort, female apprentices and graduates of the program help answer other women's questions about the program and the skilled trades. Ford-developed videotapes also are used extensively in this effort.
- **Career assessment workshop.** A voluntary two-day workshop, conducted with the assistance of a major university, helps salaried employees plan and prepare for their own career development. It emphasizes the role they can play personally in researching potential career paths. Supervisors and managers receive a day of special training to assure they can participate effectively in their employees' career planning and development.
- **Corporate training programs.** Ford has launched major educational efforts in recent years, including five new education and training centers and entirely new curricula. Many of Ford's internal management development and training endeavors stress the importance of equal treatment for all and appreciation of differences. These are common themes in the Salaried Supervisor Institute, Recruiter Certification Workshop, Basic Supervisory Knowledge Workshop, Equal Employment Opportunity Workshop, Employee Involvement/Participative Management Workshop, and the workshops and seminars that elaborate on the core values of the company's "Mission, Values, and Guiding Principles."

Working with the community

Although the company's principal responsibility is to manage diversity and ensure full opportunity for all within its labs, offices and plants, Ford also is dedicated to promoting an appreciation for diversity and equality in the larger society. This effort is supported by the belief that sound human values, widely shared, are the bedrock of freedom and a prosperous nation. The following are some examples of what Ford is doing within the community.

- **Pilot programs in urban schools.** Ford is initiating a pilot urban schools program in middle schools in Detroit, Cleveland, and at least one other major midwestern city. The program is designed to attract minority and female students into math and science classes and to improve their achievement in those classes. As well as providing for personal growth, it is hoped that this effort will also help address two vital needs: the need for high school graduates with

skills that are desired in the labor market; and the need for more technically oriented people in U.S. corporations.

- **Pre-college engineering program.** A Detroit area pre-college engineering program was established in 1976 to prepare minority students to pursue a baccalaureate degree in science or engineering. This organization is governed by a board of directors that represents the Detroit Board of Education, local universities, foundations, parents, and corporations, including Ford.
- **Scholarship programs.** Ford is establishing scholarship programs at approximately 40 universities and community colleges for minority and female students. This Educational Endowment Program is an important way to help address the need for greater representation from minorities and females in technical and professional careers. Overall, the company will allocate $5.5 million to fund these scholarships.
- **Corporate urban program.** The Corporate Urban Program, out of Ford's Civic Affairs Office, serves as a liaison between Ford and minority and women's organizations. It helps to facilitate contributions, advertising, and other requests from external groups for appropriate support in urban areas.
- **Minority supplier development.** Ford actively seeks and helps develop minority suppliers. Company purchasing and manufacturing representatives work with minority suppliers to help them develop specialized business plans, provide seminars in financial planning, and conduct many other services to help these businesses gain a footing in automotive supply markets. The program not only initiates new partnerships with minority suppliers, but also strengthens and supports Ford's ties with existing minority suppliers.
- **Minority dealer program.** Ford operates a minority dealer program that recruits and prepares minorities for careers in automotive sales. As a result, the company has far more minority dealers than any other domestic manufacturer in the industry. The intensive 24-month training program consists of on-the-job training at an assigned dealership near the candidate's home and classes at the Ford Marketing Institute. The combination of in-dealership experience and classroom theory in all phases of the retail automotive business gives minority individuals the skills and techniques needed to operate a dealership successfully.

Ford's multiple approach to managing a diverse work force (valuing differences) has been fashioned over a number of years, and it will continue to be refined and reshaped as needed. It is a key element in Ford's reliance on its people and on its strategy of managing human resources to maximize organizational and individual excellence.

Summary

Although this discussion has focused on what Ford Motor Company is doing in its U.S. facilities, the same principles apply to operations all over the world—though they may take different forms depending on the cultural environment. Indeed, in some overseas operations far greater diversity must be managed than in the United States. In Australia, for example, all company communications must be done in seven languages, and one assembly plant has more than 50 separate ethnic/racial groups.

How does the company deal with such diversity? Its "Mission, Values, and Guiding Principles" are applied worldwide, providing all with an expression of corporate beliefs and managerial preferences. Ford bases its efforts in managing diversity on its belief that the creation of a common worldwide culture will provide an advantage in the intensely competitive global arena in which the company operates. By no stretch of the imagination does Ford want everyone to be the same; rather, it wants to ensure that all can share some common cultural denominators and ways of doing business while also valuing differences.

At the same time, it is recognized that much will always remain to be done in managing people and in managing diversity today and in the years ahead. There is still much to learn about creating, valuing, and managing diversity as an integral part of total work force management. The process is complex and difficult, and it requires constant attention. In the future, global work systems that interrelate and associate people of different countries and cultures will necessitate new approaches to valuing diversity. Organizations with a competitive edge will be those that learn how to maximize the potential of a diverse work force and then capitalize on it.

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Managing Diversity: A Developing Part of 3M's Culture

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Background on 3M Company

3M is a diversified manufacturing company with operations in the United States and 48 other countries. The 82,000 employees invent, produce, and sell a wide variety of high-quality products. These range from popular Scotch brand transparent tapes and Scotchgard brand carpet protector to printing plates, surgical masks, and drapes.

3M's businesses are organized into four sectors on the basis of technologies and markets. These are Industrial and Electronic; Information and Imaging Technologies; Life Sciences; and Commercial and Consumer.

At the company during the 1980s, there was an increased emphasis on human resources. This included the revision and development of more training programs; the creation of more task forces to address issues that affect or concern employees; and a stronger emphasis on valuing diversity in the work force.

The concept of valuing diversity has become a highly visible and common topic at 3M since 1987. This chapter presents an overview of the stimulus for the company to embrace actively the concept of managing diversity actively, and how the company currently is applying its approach.

The Stimulus for Managing Diversity at 3M

The need for a program to address diversity at 3M became apparent through a survey administered by the Minority Advisory Committee, a needs assessment for revising the supervisory development program, and an employee opinion poll.

Minority advisory committee survey—1985

The Minority Advisory Committee (MAC) is a subcommittee of the Human Resource Advisory Committee (HRAC) and serves as advisor to HRAC on minority needs and concerns. In that role, MAC conducted an opinion poll among minority employees to evaluate their knowledge, satisfaction, and concerns regarding the company.

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*When this chapter was written, Sanders was Training Manager, Human Resources Development, at 3M Company.

The MAC Survey results published in July of 1985 indicated the need for a sense of belonging, communication with minority employees, and advancement of minority employees. Herzberg (1968) addressed concerns such as these first two in the context of "hygiene" factors. If these factors are absent, employees feel exceptionally bad. In Herzberg's terms, the third concern, advancement, is a "motivator" factor which, if present, makes employees feel exceptionally good.

In this volume, Barbara Walker has related these types of concerns to the concept of valuing differences. She has based her work on four principles that relate people's best work to their feeling valued in their differences and empowered to work together.

The concerns expressed in the MAC Survey were stimuli for 3M to recognize a need to manage diversity more effectively. It was apparent from the survey that some employees were not in a positive work environment, as described by Herzberg and Walker. Further, they were not experiencing the actions suggested by 3M's Human Resource Principles: "Respect the dignity and worth of individuals; encourage the initiative of each employee; challenge individual capabilities; and provide equal opportunity."

Supervisory Development Program needs assessment—1986

The Supervisory Development Program introduces supervisors to the key knowledge and skill areas of supervision. Before revising this program, a needs assessment was conducted from January through April of 1986. Those who took part in the assessment included past program participants, their respective managers and employees, trainers, corporate committees, and external consultants. When asked what knowledge and skill areas the program lacked, all categories of respondents indicated, "How to manage a diverse group of employees."

Elsewhere in this volume, Barbara Walker has drawn the link between diversity and management development. She states that managers are responsible for productivity, and productivity depends on how people work together. How they work together, in turn, depends on how they deal with each other's differences. Prejudice, intolerance, and insensitivity to individual differences create barriers that get in the way of effective management.

The results of the Supervisory Development Program needs assessment provided another stimulus for 3M to recognize the need to manage diversity more effectively.

Employee opinion poll—1986

3M conducts an employee opinion poll every two years. The poll measures how employees view the company in various areas of employment practices. The results of the 1986 poll showed a noticeable difference on some items when comparing males, females, and minorities. For example, women perceived that they were being dealt with less favorably than men in areas of treatment, advancement, and reward. Minorities compared to whites reflected similar results. These results again reinforced the company's need to manage diversity more effectively.

Strategies for Managing Diversity at 3M

Multiple strategies are emerging at 3M to embrace diversity fully within the company's culture. Some strategies address single needs, identified in the previous section, while others address several needs. These strategies refer to various activities, events, and interactions, indicating that 3M does not view managing diversity as a single action or strategy but as a process that undergirds the actions.

The Change Module in 3M's Supervisory Development Program (1987) makes several points about change that 3M has incorporated into its philosophy of managing diversity. The first is that "change is a process not an event; change in organizations happens when individuals change; change in organizations is a highly personal experience." Replacing "change" at the beginning of each statement with "managing diversity" provides an example of the company's view of the interrelationship between change theory and managing diversity. It is important to remember this philosophy while reading the following review of several 3M strategies.

Messages by the CEO

The first major message on managing diversity was given by 3M's CEO, Allen Jacobson, at the Executive Conference meeting in December 1987. The Executive Conference is a three-day session to review the state of the corporation. On the third day, the CEO addresses the group and presents the next year's goals.

At his presentation, Jacobson included labor market projections for the year 2000, highlighting an increase in the number of women and minorities in the labor market. He stressed the need for the company to take advantage of the total talent in the labor market. To begin acting on this opportunity, he suggested that all division vice presidents should become involved in the hiring process to ensure that consideration is given to women and minorities. In addition, he suggested that designated executives from specific regions should visit regional sales branches and communicate the company's commitment to affirmative action and better management of a diverse work force.

Jacobson delivered a second key message at the Supervisory/Management Meetings in May of 1988. In addition to reinforcing the above ideas, Jacobson (1988) stated, "We want the same diversity in our company as we see in our markets and our communities." In speaking about leadership that supports retention of a diverse work force, he emphasized an environment that is devoid of sexual harassment. He said, "Wherever it happens. . . it has to be stopped."

These statements helped to set the tone and develop a vision of a company culture that embraces diversity. They established a good foundation for other efforts to follow.

Managing diversity training

A three-and-a-half-hour training module, entitled "Managing Diversity," was added to the Supervisory Development Training Program in March of 1987. This module was part of the total program revision based on the needs assessment referred to earlier in this chapter.

The objective of the training session is to explore what it means to manage people of diverse backgrounds. During the introduction, the trainer clarifies the fact that diversity can include many different elements, but that the activities of the session will focus on race, gender, and age in order to look at specific applications. The concepts learned in the session can be applied to other forms of diversity. Participants are asked to bridge the concepts to apply to the diversity within their own work groups.

In her statement about valuing all differences, Walker has referred to this need to consider various types of diversity in work organizations. Her writing supports the importance 3M places on including a thorough overview of the rationale for the Managing Diversity program as part of Supervisory Development Training.

The Managing Diversity Training module includes eight items.

1. Introduction
2. Personal Assessment Worksheet
3. Labor Market Statistics
4. "Managing Differences" Video
5. Managing Diversity Continuum Model
6. Removing Barriers Model
7. Case Study Analysis and Reports
8. Summary and Action Plan

The Personal Assessment Worksheet presents 17 items that reflect stereotypical statements, perceptions, or behaviors. Participants rate themselves on a five-point scale ranging from "not at all like me" to "very much like me." They select the two items that represent a current challenge for them in personally managing diversity. There is a follow-up discussion in pairs and in the large group to allow for sharing and learning.

Labor market statistics on demographic changes are presented. The statistics highlight an increase of women and minorities participating in the labor market between now and the year 2000. The trainer relates the statistics to implications for 3M.

The "Managing Differences" video, part of the three-video series produced by Copeland and Griggs in San Francisco, presents the benefits of having a diverse work force and of valuing diversity within the work force. It also provides examples of ineffective and effective management practices. Participants then discuss a follow-up question and key points from the video.

The Managing Diversity Continuum Model illustrates types of behavior at the extremes of a continuum from overreaction to diversity at one end to insensitivity to diversity at the other. These behaviors are discussed in comparison with those that model effective management of diversity. Walker's writing about a diversity continuum lends support to 3M's program. Although 3M became familiar with Walker's writing after designing the training session, there are signs of kindred minds in regard to the extremes in reactions to diversity.

The Removing Barriers Model illustrates how it is management's responsibility to help remove barriers within a diverse work force. It demonstrates how these barriers block both individual and company success.

The case studies provide an opportunity for participants to develop strategies for resolving a diversity-related management problem. They then present their strategies to the class and discuss them together.

After a summary of the session, participants are asked to complete a personal action plan that focuses either on the individual or on the organization and that also reflects the principles presented.

The overall training design reflects an awareness and skill development model, with the dominant focus on awareness. Incorporating the topic of managing diversity into the Supervisory Development Training Program provides diversity training at the beginning of an employee's management career.

A special effort was made from June to December of 1988 to ensure that all 7,000 members of management, from the CEO to supervisors, received the Managing Diversity Training module. This training was part of the Affirmative Action Task Force proposal that is discussed in the next section.

Affirmative Action Task Force proposal

In January 1988, the Affirmative Action Task Force, a subcommittee of the Human Relations Advisory Committee, developed a proposal to enhance 3M's performance in attaining and managing a diverse work force. The proposal was approved by the Human Relations Advisory

Committee and the Human Relations Policy Committee. This level of approval was critical to the sponsorship of this organizational change.

Organizational change theory emphasizes the need to distinguish critical roles when implementing organizational change. These critical roles, as outlined by O.D. Resources, Inc. (1987), can be described in relation to the Affirmative Action Task Force Proposal. The roles are as follows:

1. **Change sponsor.** The individual/group that legitimizes the change (3M's Human Relations Advisory Committee and Human Resource Policy Committee).
2. **Change agent.** The individual/group that is responsible for implementing the change. (Several departments at 3M, including the Human Relations Department, Public Relations Department, Human Resources Development Department, Staffing Department, and others).
3. **Change target.** The individual/group that must actually change (3M Company).
4. **Change advocate.** The individual/group that wants to achieve a change but lacks sufficient sponsorship (The Affirmative Action Task Force).

The Affirmative Action Task Force proposal included a total of three major strategies with 15 supporting tactics. The following are examples of some of the strategies and tactics.

1. Reaffirm the value of diversity as a company business priority, and set the stage for enhanced efforts to hire, develop, and retain a diverse work force.

- Write articles for the corporate publication presenting an emphasis on diversity.
- Develop stories reinforcing key messages for a variety of internal publications.

2. Improve planning and reporting systems to assist divisions in measuring and monitoring their performance to attain a diverse work force.

- Plans to increase diversity should become part of the Human Resources Review process, such that identification of high potential women and minorities, as well as development plans in general, are compatible with the affirmative action plan of each unit.
- Targets for diversity, along with appropriate action plans, should become part of the annual business plan.

3. Provide the necessary resources and skills for effective hiring and development and for the appropriate environment for retention of a diverse work force.

- Take the Managing Diversity Continuum Module from the Supervisory Development Program and offer special sessions requiring all management, from the CEO to supervisors, to participate. (See

the previous section titled "Managing Diversity Training.") In addition, develop training programs for all employees to increase their understanding of the issues of a diverse work force and to enhance their skills.

- Continue to expand outreach programs to identify, develop, and hire a diverse work force.

Each tactic has an assigned time line. The Affirmative Action Task Force provides a regular status report for its sponsors.

Summary

This chapter on managing diversity as a developing part of 3M's culture has focused on two major areas: the stimulus for managing diversity at 3M and the strategies for managing it. The purpose has been to illustrate how the company not only recognizes the need to manage diversity more effectively, but also is committed to making management of diversity through valuing differences a critical part of the company's culture.

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Managing Diversity as a Process: Implementation Strategies and Beyond

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Author's Note: The concept of managing and valuing differences is in its infancy. The strategies proposed here are based on research and on my personal experiences as a manager and consultant/trainer in the business world. It is important to recognize that personal experiences, as reported by those who represent cultural diversity in all its aspects, can be a valuable gauge for practitioners trying to measure the effects of that diversity on the workplace.

The business world is changing. Increasing numbers of women and minorities are being incorporated into the workplace. Our economy has become internationalized and our commercial interests intersect with virtually every culture on the globe.

As a result of these changes, organizations have begun to recognize that it is wise policy to manage and value cultural, racial, physical, sexual, and religious differences in the workplace. Just as society has begun to accept its own pluralism, the world of business must also grapple with ways of addressing this issue.

The purpose of this chapter is to suggest a process for managing diversity and valuing differences that goes beyond Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) and Affirmative Action (AA). It will require time, effort and patience, and it should be viewed as a long-term process. An assumption is that, in the long run, the acceptance and promotion of cultural diversity will produce greater organizational effectiveness.

Implementation Strategies

There are a number of necessary steps for developing and implementing the process of managing diversity and valuing differences in an organizational setting. Those steps are doing research and a needs assessment, gaining commitment, defining objectives, and developing training programs. They are explained in the following sections.

Doing research and needs assessment

The first step in the process entails gathering data from the organization to identify the needs, challenges, implications, and benefits of

managing diversity. This is an ongoing task. It requires the practitioner to assess and evaluate those organizational systems that promote and foster the culture of the workplace. He or she must consider not only the formal institutions of the business, such as hiring and staffing, orientation, performance appraisal, and career tracking, but also the informal systems, such as the "good old boy" networks, the lines of communication in the organization, and the interaction of members of the company establishment. Tactics and strategies include the following.

1. Identify tools and methods for gathering data that already exist within the organization, such as employee surveys, quality teams, and committee reports.
2. Invite representatives from all levels of the organization to discuss their perspectives on the value of the diversity concept. These focus groups should address and explore the real life situations and experiences that constitute the cultural diversity of the workplace. This procedure should provide an opportunity to create commitment to the process from various levels of the organization. It is important to stress that everyone should have a stake in the process, and that it is not an issue that can be relegated to some other department or to a committee.
3. Align efforts with others in the organization who have an interest in the process. Many companies have councils of blacks, women, Hispanics, the handicapped, and so forth. Their resources should be tapped.
4. Identify external sources that might help the task. The American Institute for Managing Diversity is one such source, as is Copeland Griggs Productions of San Francisco, California. Look for local expertise in the field of workplace diversity as well.

Gaining commitment

After collecting and assessing the data on organizational diversity, it will be necessary to convince the company or organization of the need for the program. The information itself should supply a compelling argument in favor of managing and valuing diversity; however, other references such as national and regional demographic and population trends also should be employed to make the case for the process.

Copeland Griggs Productions (1987) emphasizes that the numbers of ethnic and racial minorities in the United States will grow seven times faster than the white population in the next ten years. At some time in the next century, blacks, Asians, and Hispanics will outnumber whites in this country. "We have no choice [but to value diversity]," they state (pp. 20–21). These demographic changes will affect both the labor pool and the marketplace, according to Copeland Griggs.

Another trend affecting the workplace is the shrinking number of post-baby-boom teenagers. This second trend is creating a smaller work force in this country. The competition for talent at entry-level positions soon will be fierce, and the majority of applicants will be minorities.

The shifting numbers obviously will affect the marketplace as well. Minority buying in this country "is already equivalent to the GNP of Canada," according to Copeland Griggs (1987, p. 21). By the year 2000, spending by blacks, Asians, and Hispanics will reach $650 billion annually; more than twice the sum in 1987.

These statistics should help convince organizations of the necessity for managing and valuing diversity. Simply put, the demographics of the population in this country are changing, and businesses and institutions must decide if they are going to meet this change progressively or not.

There is no reason to be frightened by diversity. A more culturally diverse work force can be of immeasurable help in a culturally diverse marketplace. It is important to promote the potential benefits of the program. For example, productivity will certainly rise in a culturally diverse organization whose members are satisfied that their various needs are being addressed and their differences are being valued (see Walker in this volume). An individual supervisor also will benefit from valuing diversity. One can manage more effectively with a better understanding of the people managed.

Furthermore, the alternative to valuing diversity is to impose an outdated order upon a current situation. The organization might then find itself face-to-face with problems of absenteeism, turnover, and/or costly EEO and sexual harassment suits. To ignore the increasing presence of women and minorities in an organization means that, eventually, they will either ignore the organization in return or fight it tooth and nail. It is counterproductive.

Defining objectives

Once practitioners gain a commitment to managing and valuing diversity from the organization, they must define their objectives and focus for the process. What is to be accomplished? Simple awareness of and sensitivity to the diversity within the organization? Systematic change? The practitioner must address these questions.

It is probably best to set small, measurable goals based on priorities within the organization. If, for example, a department or division experiences retention problems, the objective would be to address that issue and find ways to solve it using a managing and valuing differences process. Is the problem due to the organization's lack of sensitivity to its diverse population? Is there a problem with cultural communication? Are people leaving because they don't feel accepted by the organization?

Once an objective has been identified and addressed, results must be monitored and evaluated. Remember that the differences in the work force will continue to grow dramatically in the coming years, and the changes effected by managing and valuing diversity must be updated constantly.

Developing training

Management and supervisory training should include modules on awareness and sensitivity, as well as problem solving and skill building. The same modules would be appropriate for employee training, with an additional focus on self-development and an emphasis on accountability. A module on dealing with anger, worry, resentment, self-esteem, and confidence would be helpful, too. Participants should be allowed to express their concerns about the issues in a safe environment. Barriers to a multicultural organization should be explored as should strategies to help the organization overcome these blocks.

Training for human resource professionals again should include awareness and sensitivity seminars, but this focus would not be so extensive. Instead, this group would concentrate more on building coaching and counseling skills in order to prepare other participants in the managing diversity process.

As Jackson (elsewhere in this volume) suggests, human resource professionals will be the "change agents." Of course, this assumes they are already aware and sensitive to cultural diversity. Sometimes this is not the case. As an Hispanic woman living in the Upper Midwest, I have encountered white male and female human resource professionals who did not seem to understand or appreciate my cultural background and made no effort to do so. If a human resource professional is "culturally deprived," that is, has had little or no experience in working with people who are different from himself or herself, then awareness and sensitivity training is crucial.

The following is a design I use when training managers and supervisors.

1. Overview on managing diversity:
- Offer a brief explanation of the concept, stressing the wide range of possible differences, such as age, sex, ethnicity, race, and religion.
- Offer examples of the impact these differences might have on the organization.

2. Personal and organizational values exploration:
- Identify personal values systems such as Challenger, Synthesizer, Traditionalist, using an instrument such as the Value Profile (Performax Systems,1986).
- Explore the benefits and challenges to the organizational values systems once the managing and valuing diversity process has been adopted.

3. Managing Differences video (Copeland Griggs Productions, 1987):

- Provide an understanding of the human dynamics that may cause problems among people who are different.
- Generate sensitivity to cultural and gender differences.
- Help remove barriers that exist between people who are different by offering examples of how and where walls are built.
- Show how employees and managers can come to value cultural differences.
- Encourage each manager and employee to take initiative for his or her own development.

4. Action planning:

- Identify obstacles—personal and institutional—to managing diversity, as well as the forces in place that may help overcome these stumbling blocks.

Use the data gathered from the initial research to aid in the instruction. Especially helpful are those "real life" situations that will be discussed in the focus groups. These tales of day-to-day occasions in which cultural diversity is felt most acutely tend to be extremely meaningful for the participants.

Encourage the trainees to continue their exercises and thinking about cultural diversity beyond the classroom. Some impediments to valuing diversity will not be surmounted easily. When a problem arises that requires further examination, participants in the program should be convinced of the benefits of an ongoing search—both personal and organizational—for a solution to the difficulty. This continued participation not only will help clear up the problem itself, but also will help make the trainee feel more involved in the managing and valuing diversity program.

Beyond Training: Keeping the Message Alive

As suggested above, cultural change is a long-term process. It should be addressed with long-term procedures. It will do little good to implement a managing differences process one year only to drop it the next, especially as the facts indicate that the population of the workplace will continue to grow more culturally diverse.

The following tactics and strategies take a long-term view of the process. They can be used to keep the process going after implementing the training and the managing and valuing diversity program.

1. Establish core groups as described by Barbara Walker in this volume.
2. Introduce celebrations of diversity, such as a black or Hispanic culture weeks. Provide music, food, art, and literature of that culture.
3. Keep the message alive by using communication vehicles, such as newsletters and bulletin boards, to publicize "special people"—women, minorities, handicapped—as role models for others in the organization.

4. Joan Engstrom from General Mills (Minneapolis, Minnesota) told me that "small environmental changes have a big impact" on programs such as these. She suggests inviting a nontraditional authority to address a meeting that is usually dominated by white males; for example, inviting a woman financial expert or a black legal expert.
5. Provide the organization with library or learning center resources, which include books, videos, and audio tapes on the various cultures and lifestyles. Publicize it.
6. Identify ways to integrate people who are different into the organization, always keeping in mind that their differences should not be ignored in the integration process. Identify and celebrate the differences.

Evaluation and Follow-up

Based on information gathered from a number of focus groups in my work, it is evident to me that both managers and employees become extremely frustrated by a process that suddenly stops or becomes "just another program." Evaluation and follow-up are crucial to prevent the organization and its personnel from drifting back to the status quo.

Some follow-up ideas for keeping the concept of managing and valuing diversity alive include the following.
1. Monitor the results of the program. If its findings suggest trouble, do not hesitate to intervene.
2. Require the organization to set up a system for follow-up and be certain that individual and group concerns are addressed, even if there is no easy solution to the problem. Be wary, however, of relying exclusively on the organization itself to govern the process. Identify other groups connected to, but not part of, the institution that can help monitor the managing diversity program. These might include the various councils, such as those for blacks, women, or Hispanics.
3. Suggest monthly meetings between human resource officers, affirmative action staff, and representatives of top management to address and monitor continuing areas of concern in the program.
4. Keep an eye on retention statistics, conflicts and conflict resolutions, morale, sensitivity, and productivity. Remember to affirm and promote the benefits of the program along with checking for difficulties.
5. Consider ways of utilizing the diversity that will be beneficial to the organization in that they will be noticed by many. The advertisements for the McDonald's Corporation, for instance, with their emphasis on minorities, the elderly and the handicapped, suggest not only a company that is concerned with issues of cultural diversity, but one that views these diverse groups as a significant market for its products as well.

Pitfalls

There will be troubles in a complex process like managing and valuing diversity. The practitioner should plan ahead to address them. Some suggestions are listed below.

1. Be prepared to deal with apathy in the organization. The more meaningful the data on the program's effectiveness are to the audience, the more willing they will be to continue with the process.
2. There is a tendency to view managing and valuing diversity as another EEO/AA program. If faced with this attitude, note and state that white males are themselves a part of the culturally diverse mix in the organization. This is not simply lip service to that group. Their issues and concerns are as much a part of the valuing diversity program as are others'.
3. The geographic location of the organization might be a source of trouble for the program. Companies located in predominantly white communities do not see the diversity with the same clarity of vision as do others in more culturally mixed areas. They tend to question the need for valuing diversity. This might be a good moment to present the demographic and population trends and their implications mentioned earlier. Although these organizations might not have a great mix of people now, chances are good that they will in the future.

Note: It should also be pointed out here, that although these communities may not have the racial and cultural mix of other areas, they do not want for people with diverse backgrounds. Women, the handicapped, and the elderly know no geographical boundaries. It should be stressed that the valuing differences process includes them as well.

4. Traditionally, the cultures of most American organizations have reflected the values of those in power: white males. Be aware that the tendency is for women, minorities, and people of other differences to mirror that value system. This stifles creativity and innovation and creates mere clones of the existing order.

Afterword

By no means are the suggestions introduced here all-inclusive. Every institution will be faced with different situations in implementing this process, and new troubles and new benefits will arise in each instance. The key is to assess the organizational culture and to address its needs within the conceptual framework of managing and valuing diversity.

It is also important to understand and to stress that the process will take time, and it should be an ongoing effort. Walker's concept of Valuing Differences is new. Its implications and future are exciting. The ethnic mix, which has always been one of the hallmarks of American society and business, is now being joined by increasing numbers of minorities and women. This influx will provide not only

new people in the work force, but also new concepts, new talent, and new ways of looking at the world.

There have been, and will continue to be, problems stemming from this changing mix of people. Communications may be difficult, and misunderstandings may arise. But if people embrace diversity rather than deny it and try to funnel it into an existing order, all can benefit. Each culture, race, sex, and special individual brings to any organization the possibility of unique gifts. They should be encouraged and valued.

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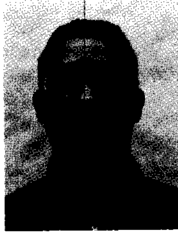

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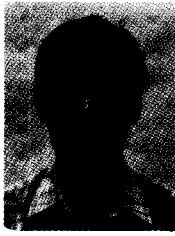

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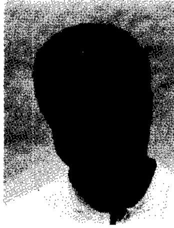
Steve Hanamura is principal of Hanamura Consulting. His consulting services to both businesses and communities include topics such as leadership development, individual and organizational empowerment, cross-cultural training, diversity training, conflict management, team building, disability awareness, managing personal and organizational change, motivation, and taking personal risks. He holds an M.A. in counseling psychology from the University of Oregon.

He is past president of the Portland Metropolitan Chapter of the American Society for Training and Development (ASTD), has represented this chapter as National Issues Chair, and serves as a consultant to Region VIII in program planning. In 1987, he received ASTD's Multicultural Trainer-of-the-Year Award.



Ben Harrison
The Masters of Diversity
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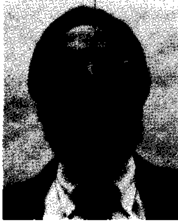
Ben Harrison is nationally known for his work on race and gender, organizational and management development, downsizing, and managing cultural diversity in the workplace. He is a regular contributor to *Black Enterprise Magazine,* writing on human resource management issues affecting people of color. From 1987 to 1989 he served as director of the National Multicultural Network of the American Society for Training and Development (ASTD). His clients have included the IRS, UCLA, TVA, Alpo Petfoods, Inc., Lockheed Corp., Standford University, and New York University.



Grant M. Ingle
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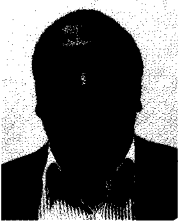
Grant Ingle is director of the Office of Human Relations at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. He has designed and implemented racial awareness training sessions and education about sexual harassment for a top-down approach at the University of Massachusetts. He holds a Ph.D. in organizational psychology from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. In more than 12 years as a consultant in the public and private sectors, Dr. Ingle has specialized in workplace innovation, participation systems, consumer and producer owned and managed organizations, and joint labor/management programs.



Cleotha Jackson
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North American Operations
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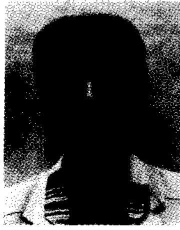
Cleotha Jackson is director of human resources for North American operations at Wang Laboratories, Inc. He joined the company in 1984 as manager of Affirmative Action for the Manufacturing Division. He was formerly with the United States Office of Personnel Management in Boston as Regional Affirmative Employment Programs manager. Before that, he was an equal opportunity specialist for the Office of Federal Contracts Compliance Programs, U.S. Department of Labor.

Jackson also has served as the government representative for the Steel Consent Decree, Allegheny Ludlum, and United Steel Workers versus the United States of America, N.D. Court of Alabama. He is a graduate of Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tougaloo, Mississippi. His awards include the 1988 Black Achiever award and the Martin Luther King Memorial Citation from the University of Lowell.



Sandra J. Johnson
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Sandra Johnson is research assistant in the Training and Development Research Center at the University of Minnesota and is assistant to the editor and publication manager for the research journal, *Human Resource Development Quarterly.* She holds an M.A. degree from United Theological Seminary in Minneapolis-St. Paul and is a doctoral student in training and organization development in the Department of Vocational and Technical Education at the University of Minnesota, St. Paul. She has worked as a teacher, personnel director, and consultant to small businesses.

Kathleen Parker Lamb
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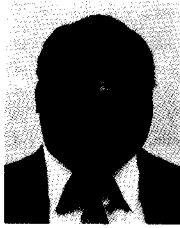
Kathleen Parker Lamb has enjoyed active involvement with the human resource development field in a variety of health care settings. Currently, she is associate director of Human Resource Development at UNC Hospitals, formerly North Carolina Memorial Hospital (NCMH). Her previous position at the hospital was organizational development consultant. She also has had extensive experience as a management trainer and consultant for the 2,000 staff members at North Carolina's largest public psychiatric facility, Dorothea Dix Hospital.

Lamb holds an M.A. degree in speech communication and is completing a Ph.D. in education, with an emphasis on curriculum design, at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She has held faculty positions at N.C. State University and at Meredith College in the field of speech communication and has taught courses in organizational and group dynamics as well as in public speaking.



John H. O. Purnell
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John Purnell is Education and Training manager at Digital's Springfield manufacturing plant. He previously held positions in human resource development with Textron and Union Carbide.

Purnell has served in ASTD leadership positions on the National Executive Committee, the Board of Directors, and regional ASTD chapters. As Region V Vice-President, he received the Leadership Excellence Award for his work with the Regional Council. Other honors and awards include the United Way Outstanding Leadership Award, Minority Network Trainer of the Year Award, and the Rockford (Illinois) Chamber of Commerce Community Leadership Award. He is a founder of the Rockford Area Minority Management Association and a former member of the Oak Ridge, Tennessee, Industrial Development Council.

As a member of the Cambridge College Advisory Council, Purnell designed and implemented a graduate degree program, Managing People and Technology, which involved Digital Equipment Corporation, Aetna Insurance Company, and the Springfield Urban League. He also has been involved in the Partnership for Excellence program in the Springfield public schools.

Purnell holds undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of Tennessee-Knoxville. He has participated in Executive Management Development Programs at Harvard University and is a doctoral candidate at the University of Massachusetts.

John W. Robinson
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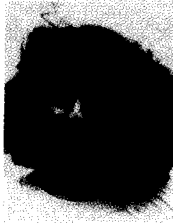
John Robinson is manager of Public Policy and External Relations at the Motorola Training and Education Center. His responsibilities include university relations, development of information systems, satellite systems, and legislative programs. He currently serves on several industry committees and is on the ASTD Board of Directors.

Robinson is the co-author of *The Simplified HF Propagation Handbook*. He has published articles in the *Training and Development Journal* and has presented papers to many professional groups. He holds a B.A. from Northwestern University.



Armida M. Russell
President
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Armida Russell is president of Mendez Russell Training and Development, Inc. The company offers quality programs geared toward personal and professional development, specializing in pluralism in the workplace. Recently she designed a seminar on Valuing Diversity and currently is writing a book about cultural and ethnic differences in the American work force. Russell holds a B.A. in business from the University of Texas at El Paso and is pursuing an M.A. in international management from the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota. She has been in the training and development field for 10 years and has worked in business and industry 13 years.

Shakura A. Sabur
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Shakura Sabur is a training consultant specializing in working with nonprofit organizations. Sabur has 16 years of experience as a trainer, curriculum developer, technical writer, and organizational development consultant. Prior to establishing her own business, she served as director of the Adult Education Department of Camp Fire, Inc. In that role she redesigned and created a professional development program for executive directors, key administrative volunteers, and other paid professionals. She also provided leadership for the formation of a national task force on pluralism to increase awareness of pluralism in the organization. She holds an M.A. in legal research and criminology from Sam Houston State University in Huntsville, Texas. She also is director of ASTD's Multicultural Network.

Vapordeal Sanders
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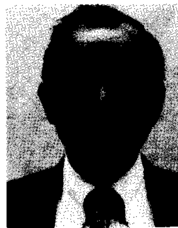
Vapordeal Sanders is president of Dr. Sanders and Associates consulting. Until recently, she was manager of executive development at 3M Company. In this and previous positions, Sanders' responsibilities have included program administration for various human resource development projects and training programs, facilitating seminars for all levels of management, and serving as lead designer and manager for 3M's Valuing Diversity training program. Sanders holds a Ph.D. in communications from the University of Minnesota and is a member of ASTD's Multicultural Network.



Ernest J. Savoie
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Ernest Savoie is director of the Employee Development Office for Ford Motor Company. He is responsible for planning, designing, and implementing human resource development programs for company employees worldwide. He has been a member of the Ford Natural Negotiating Committee since 1976 and is a key architect of new programs and processes in the areas of participative management, employee involvement, employee education and training, employee assistance, employee communications, leadership development, organizational effectiveness, and joint labor-management activities.

A member of the executive board of the Industrial Relations Research Association, Savoie holds a B.A. from Merrimack College and an M.S. in labor economics and industrial relations from Cornell University. He is an adjunct associate research scientist at the University of Michigan's Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations and a member of the advisory board of the Industrial Relations Institute at George Washington University.

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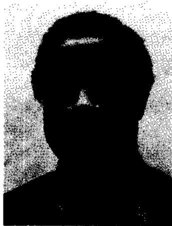
Mary Ann Smith is an assistant professor in the department of Vocational and Technical Education at the University of Minnesota and is staff development leader for the Minnesota Extension Service. She teaches graduate level courses on extension education, supervisory management, conflict management, and team building. She also designs and implements professional in-service training for extension educators, including a recent program on equal opportunity and valuing diversity in the workplace. Smith has presented workshops on conflict management and team building for businesses, public institutions, and professional groups. She holds an M.S. in education from Purdue University and a Ph.D. in education from the University of Minnesota.



Fred A. Swan
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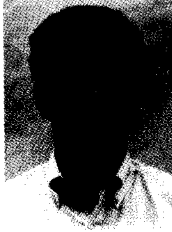
Fred Swan is managing principal of Swan Associates management consultants in higher education, human service agencies, and business and industry. He also consults with the director of Human Resources at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, where he was formerly the manager of staff training and organization development. He holds an M.A. in education in counseling and organization development (OD) from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. He has done advanced study in OD and is a doctoral candidate. Swan is also proprietor of African American Books, a book-selling company that specializes in books about the African American experience and current issues and problems in American society.

Swan is a charter member of ASTD's Pioneer Valley Chapter and founder of its Multicultural Network. He is a member of the ASTD Research Committee and also serves on the Executive Committee of the national Multicultural Network. He received the Multicultural Network National Award for Excellence in Leadership in 1988. Also active in his local community, he serves on a number of boards of community agencies.



Albert Tervalon
Plant Manager
Digital Equipment Corporation
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Albert Tervalon is plant manager at Digital's Springfield manufacturing plant. The plant plays a critical leadership role in Digital's storage subsystems. Tervalon graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) as a mechanical engineer. He received a master's degree in management from Rochester Polytechnic Institute. He has extensive management experience in advanced manufacturing operations. After graduation from MIT, he joined Honeywell in Fort Washington, PA. Subsequently, he spent 13 years with General Electric in gas turbine and circuit breaker manufacturing, was a plant manager for Kulicke & Soffa, and vice president of Operations for Powermate. He joined Digital in 1987.

Since joining Digital, Tervalon has served as vicechairman of the Community 2000 Education Committee in the Greater Springfield area. He is a director of the Chamber of Commerce, a corporator for Springfield Neighborhood Housing Association, and a trustee for the YMCA.

Barbara A. Walker
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Barbara Walker is widely known as the architect of Valuing Differences—a theory-based model now being used in corporations across the country to help employees and managers deal with the issues created by all kinds of differences. Her unique approach to the work

of diversity was pioneered at Digital Equipment Corporation, a Fortune 100 company, which Walker joined in 1979. At Digital, she also has led the development of focus groups, called "Core Groups," as the primary instrument of the Valuing Differences work. In 1983, Walker became Digital's Corporate Affirmative Action/Equal Employment Opportunity manager and established Valuing Differences as a separate function and discipline within the company. In 1987, she began working the issues of diversity on a global basis and became Digital's International Diversity manager.

Winifred I. Warnat
Director, Division of Vocational-Technical Education
U. S. Department of Education
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Winifred Warnat has been the director of Vocational-Technical Education in the U.S. Department of Education since 1984. For more than 15 years, Warnat has conducted research relating to education, technology, and work. She has written more than 40 publications and is writing a book on technical education in the United States.

Warnat represented the U.S. Department of Education at the World Congress on Vocational Education and the International Youth Skill Olympics at Sydney, Australia. Her international experiences also include serving as a member of a U.S. delegation of manufacturing engineering specialists visiting the People's Republic of China and giving technical papers at international conferences. She holds a Ph.D. from American University and is listed in *Who's Who in Frontier Science and Technology* and *World Who's Who of Women.*