Diversity in Organizations

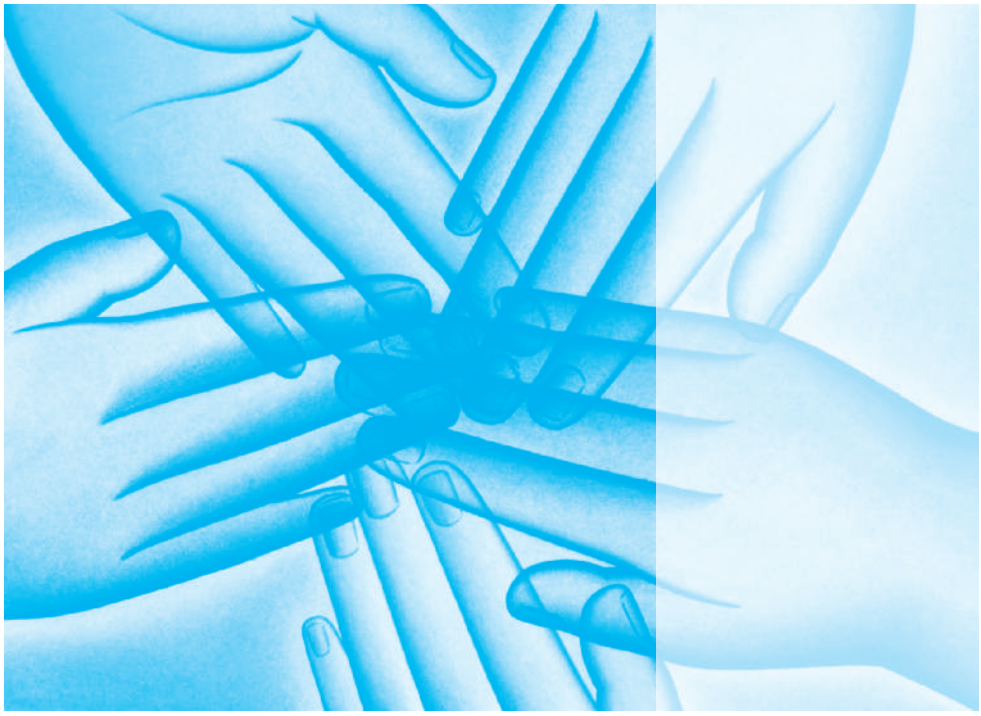
Myrtle P. Bell

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Diversity in Organizations

SECOND EDITION



Myrtle P. Bell
University of Texas, Arlington

SOUTH-WESTERN
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To Earnest, so aptly named.

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Preface

In the years since I wrote the first edition of *Diversity in Organizations*, many significant events related to diversity have occurred. In 2008, the United States elected its first Black president, the man identified as "Barack Obama, U.S. Senator" in the multiracial chapter of the first edition. Although my prescient Goolsby Leadership students in the spring of 2006 referred to him as "the hope of our generation," when I wrote that feature in 2005, I had no thought that Senator Obama would be elected U.S. president. That he was elected was momentous in and of itself, as were the diverse backgrounds of the people who voted for him.

Obama's election led to claims of a "postracial" America, which have not yet been realized. Even so, the diversity of those who voted for him does speak of immense progress from the point where few believed, even in a time of recession and two wars, that a Black man would ever be elected U.S. president or that women would also be seriously considered candidates during the election.

As I began writing the second edition and investigating the status of each racial and ethnic group, women and men, people with disabilities, and other non-dominant group members, it became even more clear that the need for diversity research and study remains strong. Blacks continue to have nearly twice the unemployment rate of Whites—a problem that persists even at the same education levels. Residential segregation and the fact that Blacks with similar credit histories, personal backgrounds, and in similar residential locations were more likely to be given subprime loans help explain the current higher foreclosure rates among Black Americans.[1] Although women became the majority in the workforce as men's jobs were lost during the recession, the wage gap remains tenacious. Sexual harassment, discrimination, and segregation continue to be severe and pervasive problems for working women. Arizona passed a law that seemed to support racial profiling of Latinos. Employer targeting of Hispanics for discrimination and harassment, while at the same time preferring them to and discriminating against Blacks and Whites for some low-wage, often exploitative jobs continues. Although gays and lesbians have served admirably in the military for years, "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" continued to be the law until very recently, and challenges to it continued to be met with tenacious resistance. For every non-dominant group some disparities persist, and, in some cases, have worsened since the first edition. It is no surprise that discrimination

[1] Rugh, J. S., & Massey, D. S. (2010). "Racial Segregation and the American Foreclosure Crisis." *American Sociological Review*. 75(5): 629–651.

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charges filed with the EEOC reached their highest number ever, in multiple categories.[2]

Because most people who experience discrimination do not sue, other motivations for fair treatment, non-discrimination, and diversity and inclusion remain important. As a result, organizations are continuing to emphasize diversity and inclusion in recruiting and marketing, funding employee resource groups, supporting diverse family units, and in many other ways. There is still much work to be done, but there is still progress amid retrenchment and there is still hope for a better, fairer, more just future.

Changes to This Edition

As was the first edition, this edition of *Diversity in Organizations* is research-based, using hundreds of articles, chapters, and books from the fields of management, sociology, psychology, economics, criminal justice, and health as resources. This edition contains a general updating of the content of all chapters, including data on population, participation, and employment, legislation, litigation, relevant research, and features. Objectives and Key Facts in each chapter have been updated as well. This edition emphasizes diversity and inclusion and the degree to which "different voices of a diverse workforce are respected and heard"[3] and offers more insight into implications for organizations interspersed throughout the chapters. Each chapter includes new examples of litigation under diversity-related laws, including those recently passed, and new relevant empirical research. Chapter 7 now includes an interview of the chief diversity executive at a major corporation. The discussion of theories has been concentrated in Chapter 2, which includes more psychological theories and processes that affect diversity and research evidence on reducing bias in selection. Section II has been reorganized such that the topics of sex and gender, work and family, and sexual orientation follow each other, improving flow and cohesion. Chapter 16, "International Diversity and Facing the Future," includes more research on diversity issues in an international context and contains a feature essay focusing on the perspective of an international organization on global diversity and inclusion.

Key changes in this edition include:

- Added an adaptation of Cox's Interactional Model of the Impact of Diversity on Individual Career Outcomes and Organizational Effectiveness.
- New research on structured interviews to reduce similarity bias.
- Discussions of new legislation, including the Genetic Information Nondiscrimination Act (2008), Americans with Disabilities Amendments Act (2008), and Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act (2009).
- The inclusion of research on the effects of diversity in the judiciary on judges' decisions.
- New sections on immigrant Blacks and on Blacks and Hispanics.
- New features on Surgeon General Regina Benjamin and Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor.
- New research on race and color discrimination across races.

[2] http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/enforcement/charges.cfm, accessed November 23, 2010.
[3] Pless, N. M., & Maak, T. (2004). "Building an Inclusive Diversity Culture: Principles, Processes, and Practices." *Journal of Business Ethics*, 54: 129–147.

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- New research on discrimination and health care.
- Updated information on participation and employment of older workers since the economic recession.

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I thank the Diversity Connections Consortium and Terry Howard, its founder and fuel, for keeping me thinking, growing, and encouraged to continue this work. I am fortunate to belong to such a group of people so passionate about equality, diversity, and inclusion and thank Ed McFalls for introducing me to the group.

Many thanks are due to Frank McCloskey, the inaugural vice president of diversity at Georgia Power, for agreeing to be featured in Chapter 7 and for helping me focus on what mattered most to say. I appreciate Josefine Van Zanten, vice president of diversity and inclusion at Shell, for her willingness to share how Shell sees diversity from a global perspective. Thanks also go to Karsten Jonsen for making the connection.

The Society for Human Resource Management and Dr. Shirley Davis, director,

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Global Diversity & Inclusion, twice funded a gathering of 100 Global Diversity Thought Leaders to discuss the future of the field and efforts to establish formal credentials for diversity professionals. I am honored to have been part of such a group. As the respected organization that validates the credentials of human resources professionals (e.g., PHR, SPHR, GPHR), having a SHRM certification for those who do diversity work would certainly help bring credibility and legitimacy to the field. I hope SHRM is successful in this important work.

Very special appreciation goes to my wonderful students at UT Arlington, who keep their "diversity hats" on and who e-mail me years later to let me know what a difference the book and course have made for them and to share their continued diversity learning experiences. I thank them for enrolling in my Diversity in Organizations course, for sharing their ideas, questions, and hopes, and for going out into the world of work to make things better, fairer, and more inclusive, helping their organizations, employees, and customers.

I thank Laura Ratcliff Lenoir, Henry Toney, Mingo Johnson, Geylon and Minnie Johnson, and many other ancestors whose lives, love, and sacrifice helped pave the way for me to do this work. I am grateful that my mother, Iris Johnson, instilled in me the value of knowing and opening our home to people from various parts of the world and various parts of town. My heart is open to love and concern for both similar and very different others as a result of early, frequent, and continued lessons from her. Daphne Berry, through the lens of her education in feminist theory and political economy, opened my eyes to aspects of diversity that I may otherwise never have seen; the issues are much bigger than individual acts of discrimination and exclusion. My daughter and son are my inspiration to continue this work, in hopes for a better future and world for them and those who are yet to be born. My husband, Earnest, encouraged me to write this edition and the first, and provided every support imaginable, including well-timed words and cups of coffee when I felt too exhausted to continue. Without him, my work and my life as I know it would not be. Lastly, but most important, I am especially grateful to God for providing me with the tools, courage, and privilege to do this work.

Ancillaries

The Instructor's Resource CD includes an instructor's manual, teaching notes, and suggested testing options. PowerPoint files are also available for each chapter of the textbook.

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SECTION I

Introduction, Theories, and Legislation



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Chapter 1 *Introduction*

Chapter 2 *Theories and Thinking about Diversity*

Chapter 3 *Legislation*

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Chapter Objectives

After completing this chapter, readers should have a firm understanding of the importance of diversity in organizations. Specifically, they should be able to:

- *explain what "diversity" encompasses in the United States and the considerations used in determining the relevant diversity concerns in other countries.*
- *discuss the historical background for the study of diversity in organizations.*
- *define key diversity terms, including types of discrimination, productive characteristics, and inclusion.*
- *discuss research supportive of the individual and organizational benefits of diversity.*

Key Facts

Despite extraordinary corporate and media attention paid to diversity in the past thirty years, discrimination, inequality, and exclusion persist in organizations.

Valuing diversity can benefit organizations in the areas of cost, resource acquisition, marketing, creativity, problem solving, and system flexibility.

If an organization develops a reputation for valuing all types of employees, it will become known as an employer of choice, in which workers from all backgrounds feel they have the opportunity to work, grow, and be treated fairly.

Working in and learning in environments with people who are different can benefit individuals through intellectual engagement, perspective taking, and greater understanding of the implications and benefits of diversity.

A supportive climate for diversity results in benefits for individuals and organizations, but diversity without a supportive climate can result in negative consequences.

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Introduction and Overview

What Is Diversity?

In this book, **diversity** is defined as real or perceived differences among people in race, ethnicity, sex, age, physical and mental ability, sexual orientation, religion, work and family status, weight and appearance, and other identity-based attributes that affect their interactions and relationships.[1] These areas are differences that are based on power or dominance relations between groups, particularly "identity groups," which are the collectivities people use to categorize themselves and others.[2] **Identity groups** are often readily apparent to others, strong sources of personal meaning, and related to historical disparities among groups in treatment, opportunities, and outcomes.

The definition of diversity includes the terms *real* and *perceived* to acknowledge the social constructions of many areas of difference. In particular, race is socially constructed, yet perceptions of race, beliefs about people of different races, and discrimination on the basis of race strongly affect people's life experiences. Similarly, gender is also socially constructed, representing perceptions of how males and females *should* behave, rather than being representative of biological differences between them that might *cause* them to behave differently. These beliefs about the differences between males and females strongly affect the experiences of men, women, and boys and girls in society and organizations.

In contrast to the categories focused on in this book, some research has explored diversity in terms of functional area (e.g., marketing, finance, or accounting), tenure, values, and attitudes as they affect people's organizational experiences. These categories may also be sources of real or perceived differences that affect people's interactions, outcomes, and relationships at work. For example, engineering, finance, and accounting managers typically earn more and have greater occupational status than human resources managers. However, one's functional area at work is less likely to be readily apparent, a strong source of personal identity, or associated with historical disparities in treatment, opportunities, or outcomes in society at large. Thus, this book does not consider diversity in functional area, personality, learning style, and other sources considered in some research. Focusing on *any* individual difference, rather than differences having strong personal meaning and stemming from or coinciding with significant power differences among groups, would make all groups diverse and would make the entire concept of workplace diversity meaningless.[3]

Employment or **labor market discrimination** occurs when personal characteristics of applicants and workers that are unrelated to productivity are valued in the labor market.[4] **Access discrimination** occurs when people are denied employment opportunities, or "access" to jobs. **Treatment discrimination** occurs when people are employed but are treated differently once employed, receiving fewer job-related rewards, resources, or opportunities than they should receive based on job-related criteria.[5] Access and treatment discrimination are forms of employment discrimination. In cases of access or treatment discrimination, people with identical productive characteristics are regarded differently

[1]Dobbs, M. F. (1996). "Managing Diversity: Lessons from the Private Sector." *Public Personnel Management*, 25(September): 351–368.
[2]Konrad, A. M. (2003). "Defining the Domain of Workplace Diversity Scholarship." *Group and Organization Management*, 28(1): 4–17.
[3]Ibid.
[4]Ehrenberg, R. G., & Smith, R. S. (1982). *Modern Labor Economics: Theory and Public Policy*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, p. 394.
[5]Greenhaus, J. H., Parasuraman, S., & Wormley, W. M. (1990). "Effects of Race on Organizational Experiences, Job Performance Evaluations, and Career Outcomes." *Academy of Management Journal*, 33: 64–86.

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because of demographic factors such as race, ethnic origin, sex, age, physical ability, religion, and immigrant status. Productive characteristics include occupational and human capital variables, such as education, skills, and tenure.[6]

Also relevant to how people from different backgrounds are treated is the concept of **inclusion**, which is the degree to which "different voices of a diverse workforce are respected and heard."[7] In inclusive organizational cultures, employees feel as though they are accepted, belong, and are able to contribute to decision-making processes.[8] In addition to efforts to ensure discrimination is avoided and employees are diverse, efforts to ensure employees are also included and able to fully contribute are critical to organizational success.[9] Thus, throughout the book, "valuing diversity" refers to diversity *and* inclusion.

Determining "Diversity" in an International Context

Many issues related to inequality, discrimination, and diversity are similar, but it is important not to apply concepts from one area to another in wholesale fashion without considering contextual factors.[10] Race, ethnicity, sex, age, physical and mental ability, sexual orientation, religion, work and family status, and weight and appearance are important differentiating factors in the United States, and some of these factors are also important in many other regions of the world. Depending on national context, culture, political and socioeconomic structures, and history, different factors of "diversity" will be of most importance in the interactions and relationships among people.[11]

Identifying and studying differences based on power or dominance relations, stemming from historical disparities and perpetuated by continued differential and pejorative treatment, can help determine key identity groups in different contexts around the world. For example, although slavery officially ended after the Civil War in the United States, segregation and discrimination continue to affect the experiences, opportunities, and outcomes of American Blacks. Moreover, even in the United Kingdom, where slavery was considerably shorter-lived than in the United States, long-standing differences in the treatment of Black, Asian, and

[6]Rivera-Batiz, F. L. (1999). "Undocumented Workers in the Labor Market: An Analysis of the Earnings of Legal and Illegal Mexican Immigrants in the United States." *Journal of Population Economics*, 12(1): 91–116.
[7]Pless, N. M., & Maak, T. (2004). "Building an Inclusive Diversity Culture: Principles, Processes, and Practices." *Journal of Business Ethics*, 54: 129–147.
[8]Roberson, Q. (2006). "Disentangling the Meanings of Diversity and Inclusion in Organizations." *Group & Organization Management*, 31(2): 212–236.
[9]Nishii, L. H., & Mayer, D. M. (2009). "Do Inclusive Leaders Help to Reduce Turnover in Diverse Groups? The Moderating Role of Leader-Member Exchange in the Diversity to Turnover Relationship." *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94(6): 1412–1426.
[10]Syed, J., & Özbilgin, M. (2009). "A Relational Framework for International Transfer of Diversity Management Practices." *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 20(12): 2435–2453.
[11]Ibid.

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minority ethnic immigrants (e.g., Turks, Pakistanis, Indians) and their identifiable descendants compared with Whites in the United Kingdom continue to exist. Racial inequality is also an issue in South Africa where there has been a long history of discrimination against Blacks.[12] In Australia, British and European immigrants shaped restrictive immigration policies toward later, non-White immigrants, particularly Chinese and Pacific Islanders.[13] Similar histories and current disparities exist between "minority" and "majority" racial, ethnic, or religious groups around the world. In addition, the status of women makes sex and gender a relevant difference in virtually all societies. Regardless of region, then, particular factors affecting different groups may be identified and then addressed in order to reduce discrimination and increase equality, inclusion, and organizational competitiveness.

Multiple Group Memberships and Permeability of Boundaries

People's group memberships affect their outcomes, opportunities, and experiences in society and in organizations. Such things as employment, compensation, advancement, retention, participation, and competitiveness are a few of the outcomes that are related to demographic background. In the United States, those who are White, male, and do not have a disability generally earn higher wages and have higher organizational status than persons who are non-White, female, or have a disability.[14] Whites are more likely to work in the **primary labor market**, which includes jobs in large organizations, with more opportunities for advancement and retirement, vacation, and medical benefits. Blacks and Hispanics are more likely to work in the **secondary labor market** of low-skilled, low-paid, insecure jobs.[15]

The categories of race, ethnicity, sex, age, physical ability, sexual orientation, and religion are not mutually exclusive. Everyone possesses a racial and ethnic background, age, sexual orientation, and, possibly, religion. Some of the categories are immutable, but others are not and

[12]Shen, J., Chanda, A., D'Netto, B., & Monga, M. (2009). "Managing Diversity Through Human Resource Management: An International Perspective and Conceptual Framework." *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 20(2): 235–251.
[13]Syed, J., & Kramar, R. (2010). "What Is the Australian Model for Managing Cultural Diversity?" *Personnel Review*, 39(1): 96–115.
[14]See, for example, U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau. (2002). "Earnings Differences Between Women and Men." In D. Dunn & P. Dubeck (Eds.), *Workplace/Women's Place: An Anthology*. Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing Company; Braddock, D., & Bachelder, L. (1994). *The Glass Ceiling and Persons with Disabilities*. Washington, D.C.: Department of Labor.
[15]For a discussion of dual labor markets, see Healey, J. F. (2004). *Diversity and Society: Race, Ethnicity, and Gender*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

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may change over one's lifetime. People may be born with or acquire disabilities, and everyone ages. A person may be a member of the majority group in one area but not in another, for example, White and female or male and Latino. A White man may have a disability, be an older worker or of a minority religion, and personally experience job-related discrimination. He may also have a working wife, mother, or sister who has faced sex-based salary inequity or harassment or a daughter or granddaughter whom he would prefer not to have to face such discrimination at work.

White men are considerably more likely to occupy leadership positions (executive, board member, or manager) than other groups. Diversity research indicates that the commitment of top management to diversity increases the effectiveness of diversity initiatives. Therefore, White men are more likely to have the power to implement important changes at the organizational level and to influence behaviors and perspectives about the overall benefits of diversity; their commitment to diversity is essential.

Although data clearly show, and we emphasize here, that members of some groups face more barriers and organizational discrimination, this book stresses the value of diversity to *everyone*. Like Roosevelt Thomas, a pioneer in diversity work, we suggest that "managing diversity is a comprehensive managerial process for developing an environment that works for all employees."[16] At the same time, it is naïve to ignore the fact that membership in some groups or that some combinations of memberships (e.g., minority female) have more negative ramifications for job-related opportunities and success than others.[17] Commitment to diversity requires a concerted effort to recognize, acknowledge, and address historical discrimination, differential treatment, and unearned advantages rather than undermining efforts to address inequities in the name of inclusiveness.[18] The research and recommendations in this book make apparent the need to consider the past and present while working toward a more diversity-friendly future.

Misperception: Diversity is beneficial only to minorities and women.

Reality: Diversity can benefit everyone.

[16]Thomas, R. (1991). *Beyond Race and Gender: Unleashing the Power of Your Total Work Force by Managing Diversity*. New York: AMACOM, p. 10.
[17]For a discussion of the intersection of race and sex discrimination and the need to consider both in research, see Reskin, B. F., & Charles, C. Z. (1999). "Now You See 'Em, Now You Don't." In I. Brown (Ed.), *Latinas and African American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
[18]See Roberson (2006).

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This book is relevant to large and small companies, colleges and universities, religious organizations, military organizations, and any other organizations in which people work or wish to work or that have clients, customers, or constituents. Although under U.S. laws some organizations (e.g., churches, private clubs) are often allowed to prefer certain types of people over others as employees, many of the concepts in this book also apply to such organizations and can be of benefit to their leaders. For example, religious organizations may legally require that employees be members of a particular faith, yet they will likely have employees with work and family issues or may be wrestling with the issue of ordaining women. Similarly, the U.S. military is a unique, historically male organization, yet its issues with sexual harassment and sexual orientation diversity can help inform other types of organizations. As will be apparent from the variety of organizations discussed in this book, diversity issues affect all organizations at some point.

Terminology

In this book, when referring to the U.S. population, the following expressions are used somewhat interchangeably: sex/gender, Blacks/African Americans, Latinos/Hispanics, Asians/Asian Americans/Asians and Pacific Islanders, Whites/Anglos/European Americans/Caucasians, and minorities/people of color.[19] Although the linked terms are not exactly the same (e.g., sex is biological while gender is socially constructed, and not all Blacks consider themselves African American), they are widely recognized, their meanings are generally well understood, and they are often used interchangeably. Even so, there are important differences among them. Indeed, some scholars have argued persuasively that the ambiguity and fluidity of terminology render "race" and "ethnicity" almost meaningless.[20] Some researchers go so far as to use quotation marks at any mention of the word *race* to indicate its lack of meaning.

Like gender, "race is socially constructed to denote boundaries between the powerful and less powerful" and is often defined by the more powerful group.[21] In the United States, these social constructions are reflected by the changes in terminology used by the Census Bureau over

[19]Terminology is discussed further in the following chapters. Individuals' different preferences for particular terms are acknowledged and respected.
[20]See Wright, L. (1997). "One Drop of Blood." In C. Hartman (Ed.), *Double Exposure: Poverty and Race in America*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
[21]Healey, J. F., & O'Brien, E. (2004). *Race, Ethnicity, and Gender*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press, p. 282.

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the years and in court rulings about who was or was not White. Latinos may be of any race, and people may be of more than one racial or ethnic background, which adds to the complexity of understanding race and what it means. Although all Latinos are categorized as such, there are substantial differences in the diversity-related experiences of Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Dominicans and between Black Nicaraguans and White Colombians.

Ethnicity refers to a shared national origin or a shared cultural heritage. Thus, "Hispanic" is an ethnic description, although it is often treated as a racial one. "Asian" is another ambiguous term. Is it an ethnicity, since ethnicity refers to a shared national origin, or is it a race, as the term is often used and understood? As with differences among Latinos, there are also considerable differences among Asians who are from Korea and those from India or Vietnam, and among Black Americans, South African Blacks, and those from the West Indies. These and other contextual complexities related to race, ethnicity, sex, and gender and their effects on individuals in organizations will be explored in later chapters.

As discussed further in Chapter 2, instead of the terms *majority* and *minority,* which reflect population size, the terms *dominant* and *nondominant* are used at times to distinguish between more powerful and less powerful groups, acknowledging the importance of power in access to and the control of resources. The powerful control more resources and are "dominant," whether or not they are more numerous (such as Whites in South Africa and men in the United States and most other nations).

The Stimulus for the Focus on Diversity: Workforce 2000

In 1987, the Hudson Institute published Johnston and Packer's research on the changes in the nature of work and in the demographic background of workers in the twenty-first century.[22] The research shocked organizations and the media and was an impetus for much of today's diversity research. Johnston and Packer noted that by the year 2000, 85% of the *net new entrants* into the U.S. workforce would be women and minorities. Often quoted, this statement was widely misunderstood to mean that by 2000, White men would constitute only 15% of the workforce. However, White men were then, and remain still, the largest single group in the **labor force**. It was the *net new entrants* who were increasingly women and people of color. The phrase *net new entrants* refers to the difference between those who entered the workforce (newcomers to the workforce)

[22]Johnston, W. B., & Packer, A. E. (1987). *Workforce 2000: Work and Workers for the 21st century*. Indianapolis, IN: Hudson Institute.

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and those who left the workforce (e.g., via retirements, death). Although women and minorities would comprise 85% of the net new entrants, because of the immense size of the workforce and because White men are the single largest majority in the workforce, it will be a long time before White men are no longer the largest single group. This misunderstanding or misinterpretation of terminology and projections about the increasing diversity of the workforce fueled interest in the topic and prompted concerns about the organizational ramifications of these changing demographics.

In 1997, the Hudson Institute published *Workforce 2020*, which again predicted changes in work and in workforce demographics, but for the year 2020.[23] The report emphasized that about 66% of the workforce would continue to be non-Hispanic White men and women, 14% would be Latinos, 11% non-Hispanic Blacks, and 6% Asians. Most important to the demographics described in *Workforce 2020* was the aging and retirement of large numbers of baby-boomers, resulting in a plateauing of worker age.

What has happened to the U.S. population now that the year 2000 has come and gone and we are proceeding toward the year 2020? Although not exact (because not everyone participates in the workforce), the population demographics are similar to the predictions in *Workforce 2020*. As shown in Table 1.1, White men and women are the majority of the population, followed by Latinos, Blacks, and Asians. The current workforce is indeed more diverse than it was in the prior century, but Whites remain the largest group numerically. The workforce is aging, and younger workers are more diverse in race and ethnicity than in the past. Recession-related economic changes have prevented many aging workers from retiring, resulting in even more age diversity in organizations than in the past. Women are now obtaining more college degrees than men, yet women's earnings continue to be less than men's (see Table 1.1). These issues have important implications for individuals, employers, and organizational diversity.

In addition to the changes in the demographic makeup of American employees, as the Hudson Institute predicted, economic changes and globalization have resulted in more service-oriented jobs and more international customers and business relationships. The loss of manufacturing jobs, where there is less opportunity for contact with dissimilar others, and the growth of service industry jobs, which involve considerable person-to-person interaction with dissimilar others, continue. These changes in types of jobs make awareness of and efforts to understand and learn to interact with those who are dissimilar more

[23]Judy, R. W., & D'Amico, C. (1997). *Workforce 2020*. Indianapolis, IN: Hudson Institute.

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