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FOURTH EDITION

DIVERSITY in ORGANIZATIONS

MYRTLE P. BELL • JOY LEOPOLD



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4th Edition

DIVERSITY in ORGANIZATIONS

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In remembrance of and gratitude for having known and loved
Dr. Bertina Hildreth Combes, whose mantra continues
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Preface

This, the fourth edition of *Diversity in Organizations*, was written in a time of significant focus on diversity-related societal, and thus individual and organizational, trauma and upheaval. As we write the preface for this edition, we are in the second year of the COVID-19 pandemic. In the United States, Black, Latino, and Native Americans were more likely to contract and die from COVID, further clarifying some of the many race-based life-threatening disparities in the country.

This global, deadly disease has spread to virtually all corners of the world, and, at the time of writing, there have been nearly 167 million cases and about 3.5 million deaths worldwide. These numbers are continuing to rise, as most countries are still battling surges in cases, struggling to distribute vaccines amid resistance to vaccination from some, and facing variants that may be resistant to the measures taken to fight the disease.

During the same timeframe, the public murder of George Floyd, an unarmed Black man, by a White male police officer while three other officers did not stop it and prevented bystanders from intervening, roiled Minneapolis, the nation, and much of the world. Floyd's murder, coupled with Ahmaud Arbery's videotaped murder by a White father and son who claimed he looked suspicious as he jogged in a Georgia neighborhood, and Breonna Taylor's execution by Kentucky law enforcement executing a "no knock" warrant, awakened many to the stark differences between African Americans' and other people's daily lives in the United States.

Floyd's horrific death, the $27 million settlement to his family, and the spectacle of the police officer's trial, which included attempts to villainize Floyd and justify his having been unjustifiably murdered in the street, were concurrently appalling and galvanizing. The subsequent homicide of 20-year old Daunte Wright, also by a Minnesota police officer, soon after the settlement and during the trial, re-emphasized that there is still monumental work to be done. During the same period, Asian Americans were targeted in hate crimes, harassment, and bullying in public settings. Although many believed such acts were new and related solely to COVID-19, anti-Asian sentiment has long existed in the United States. These hate incidents and crimes were perpetrated by diverse people, including members of some minority groups. The model minority myth and the complexity of inter-ethnic stereotyping and violence contribute to hostility toward Asians from Whites, who may think they're too successful, and to antipathy and lack of solidarity among minority group members. As well, Asians' distrust and stereotyping of and hostility toward some minority group members contributes to the lack of solidarity with other minorities.

Despite these examples and other heart-wrenching evidence of the continued need for diversity studies, since the first edition of *Diversity in Organizations* was written (2005), considerable progress has occurred. Barack Obama, a Black man, was elected President of the United States in 2008 and re-elected in 2012. Kamala Harris, a woman of Black and Asian heritage, was elected Vice-President in 2020, inspiring women and people of color worldwide. Laws prohibiting same-sex marriage were overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2015, although in at least one state, government entities continued to refuse to recognize such marriages for years afterward.[1] In the aftermath of George Floyd's murder, disgust, public outcry, and continued, diligent work of the Black Lives Matter Movement, many organizations began or significantly increased their diversity and inclusion efforts. Although some of such efforts may be performative, some organizations allotted significant financial and other resources and risked boycotts to help bring about

[1] Thiessen, M. (2021, April 16). "Alaska Denied Benefits to Gay Couples Despite Court Rulings." https://apnews.com/article/alaska-us-supreme-court-marriage-courts-899c43ed24f890454f153204e9c06f26, accessed 4/16/2021.

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substantive, overdue change. For example, Apple launched a Racial Equity and Justice Initiative with a $100 million commitment to "challenge the systemic barriers to opportunity and dignity that exist for communities of color, and particularly for the black community."[2] In its efforts to advance racial equity, Target pledged to spend more than $2 billion with Black-owned businesses by 2025.[3] Financial pressures resulted in multiple sporting organizations agreeing to long overdue name and mascot changes that denigrated Native Americans, despite threats to boycott teams from fans. In response to a new voting law in Georgia that disproportionately affected minority communities, Major League Baseball moved the 2021 All-Star game, a significant financial draw, from the state.[4] This move is contrasted with MLB's decision *not* to move the 2010 All-Star game when Arizona passed a law that would allow law enforcement to ask anyone for their "papers, please," apparently targeting undocumented Latinos and those who failed to report them.[5] As the deliberate decisions of the MLB, Target, Apple, and many others suggest, many organizations and individuals are now more aware of and actively supportive of increased diversity, equity, and inclusion. This support counters the overt resistance and barriers to widespread, constructive change from many other sources. These continued barriers, resistance, hate, and hostility make efforts to educate and change attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors even more critical. When attitudes and beliefs remain unchanged, organizations can nonetheless control and affect behaviors. In addition, changing demographics and activism from the population continue to contribute to change, even amid strong resistance.

Changes to This Edition

This edition continues with the research- and data-based foundation of previous editions and includes references to hundreds of seminal to new articles drawn from communication and media studies, criminal justice, economics, education, health, management, and psychology. Data from the U.S. Census Bureau, Department of Justice (DOJ), Department of Labor, and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) bolster empirical research, with the DOJ and EEOC providing evidence of people's continued experiences with discrimination and harassment at work or while seeking work. This edition includes a general updating of employment, population, and educational data in each chapter, new legislation and court cases, and considerable new research. Other key changes include:

- "Quotable" features, which include noteworthy quotes from research, attorneys, Chief Diversity Officers, researchers, or others in every chapter.
- A section on diversity careers, including prevalence of such jobs and skills required.
- Interviews of five people doing diversity work, from entry-level positions in Human Resources with diversity responsibility, to Vice-President of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion.
- Discussions of equity, intersectionality, and structural and systemic racism.
- Sections on diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) in media organizations and ways media shapes perceptions relevant to DEI.
- Expanded discussion of privilege as sources of unearned and often unacknowledged advantages and disadvantages related to race, religion, sex, sexual orientation, and other areas.
- Examples of real organizations' and leaders' diversity- and social justice efforts.
- Inclusion of information on Dominicans, the fifth largest Latino population group in the United States.
- Expanded data and research on sexual orientation and gender identity and expression and a glossary of related terms.
- Discussion of ableism, including contemporary forms and internalized ableism.
- An Appendix including Diversity in Practice mini-cases with questions to consider for applied learning.

[2] Mihalcik, C. (2020, June 11). "Apple CEO Tim Cook Announces $100 Million Racial Equity and Justice Initiative." https://www.cnet.com/news/apple-ceo-tim-cook-announces-100-million-racial-equity-and-justice-initiative/, accessed 4/16/2021.
[3] Maheshwari, S. (2021, April 7). "Target Says It Will Spend More Than $2 Billion with Black-owned Businesses." https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/07/business/target-black-owned-businesses.html#:~:text=Target%20will%20spend%20more%20than,equity%20in%20the%20United%20States, accessed 4/16/2021.
[4] Carroll, B. (2021, April 6). "MLB Moves All-Star Game to Colorado Amid Uproar Over Georgia Voting Law." https://www.npr.org/2021/04/06/984711881/mlb-moves-all-star-game-to-colorado-amid-uproar-over-georgia-voting-law, accessed 4/16/2021.
[5] Zirin, D. (2021, April 9). "The Last Time People Tried to Get Baseball to Move the All-Star Game." https://www.thenation.com/article/society/all-star-game-arizona/, accessed 4/16/2021.

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Part I

Introduction, Theoretical Background, and Legislation



Chapter 1 Introduction

Chapter 2 Theoretical Background and Foundation

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 and inclusion in organizations. Specifically, they should be able to:

- explain the meaning of "diversity" in the United States and some considerations used in determining the meaning of diversity in other areas.
- explain differences among diversity, equity, and inclusion.
- discuss population demographics and their meaning for workforce and customer diversity.
- discuss differences between individual discrimination and systemic racism and their effects.
- explain ways that organizations that seek to attract, retain, and value diverse applicants, employees, customers, and clients can do so.

Key Facts

- Since the 1960s, changing population demographics, anti-discrimination legislation, and changing attitudes have considerably increased diversity in many organizations, with more people of all backgrounds being represented in various occupations.[1]
- Despite considerable progress in representation (of some groups, in some jobs and organizations), significant barriers to diversity and inclusion persist, limiting individuals, organizations, and society.[2]
- Individual, organizational, and stakeholder activism, and social movements, such as the Civil Rights, Women's, Gay, #Black Lives Matter, and #MeToo Movements, have helped to stimulate significant change.[3]
- Working and learning in environments with people who are different can benefit us through intellectual engagement, perspective taking, and greater understanding of the implications and benefits of diversity. Diversity makes us smarter.[4]

[1] Hsieh, C. T., Hurst, E., Jones, C. I., & Klenow, P. J. (2019). "The Allocation of Talent and US Economic Growth." *Econometrica*, 87(5): 1439–1474.

[2] Lucas, S. (2013). *Just Who Loses?: Discrimination in the United States, Volume 2*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press; McGhee, H. (2021). *The Sum of Us: What Racism Costs Everyone and How We Can Prosper Together*. New York, NY: One World/Ballantine; Stiglitz, J. (2012). *The Price of Inequality*. London: Penguin UK.

[3] Clark, M. D. (2019). "White Folks' Work: Digital Allyship Praxis in the #BlackLivesMatter Movement." *Social Movement Studies*, 18(5), 519–534. Leopold, J., Lambert, J., Ogunyomi, I., & Bell, M. P. (2020). "The Hashtag Heard Round the World: How #MeToo Did What Laws Did Not." *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion*. DOI 10.1108/EDI-04-2019-0129; Nummi, J., Jennings, C., & Feagin, J. (2019, December). "#BlackLivesMatter: Innovative Black Resistance." *Sociological Forum*, 34:1042–1064.

[4] Phillips, K. W. (2014). "How Diversity Makes Us Smarter." *Scientific American*, 311(4), 43–47.

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- Organizations that purposefully address barriers to diversity and inclusion are more successful at achieving diversity and inclusion objectives than organizations that place less emphasis on them.[5]
- The "business case" for diversity is insufficient to motivate organizations to value applicants, employees, and customers from all backgrounds, but when they do so, this can benefit organizations in many financial ways.
- Moral and social reasons for organizations to value applicants, employees, and customers from all backgrounds are now being openly acknowledged and are shaping decisions of many leaders, customers, stockholders, and other constituents.[6]

Introduction and Overview

Heightened Focus on Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion

After decades of individual and organizational efforts with limited effectiveness, attention to racial inequity and organizations' role in contributing to injustice or working for change significantly increased in 2020. The COVID-19 pandemic and disproportionate deaths of African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans increased awareness of racial disparities in access to quality healthcare and paid time off for illness (both tied to certain types of employment) and the widespread consequences of this lack of access. Certain groups' overrepresentation in jobs deemed "essential," yet otherwise devalued were also apparent.[7] Hate crimes against Asian Americans increased during the pandemic, because the virus originated in Wuhan, China, and was sometimes referred to as the "China," "Kung," or "Wuhan" flu. While wearing masks was recommended for everyone by the Centers for Disease Control, both Asian Americans and African Americans wearing masks reported greater experiences with public discrimination and harassment than normal, albeit for different reasons.[8]

During the same timeframe, two videotaped homicides against Black men and one state-sanctioned homicide of a Black woman were also awakenings to many non-Black people about the stark differences in African Americans' everyday experiences and those of other Americans. George Floyd's death at the hands of four diverse Minnesota policemen and Ahmaud Arbery's death by two White men who claimed he was suspicious as he jogged in Georgia were both videotaped and played repeatedly. Public outrage ultimately led to arrests of the Minnesota policemen and the vigilante father and son who killed Arbery, who, despite video evidence, had not been arrested for more than two months after the homicide.[9] The fatal shooting of Breonna Taylor as she slept by police officers issuing a "no-knock"[10] warrant in the middle of the night was also a repeated topic of traditional and social media news, contributing to more individual and collective activism.

The Black Lives Matter (BLM) Movement, formed in 2013 after Trayvon Martin was killed, had continued working for change and was poised for more success during 2020.

[5] Ely, R. J., & Thomas, D. A. (2020). "Getting Serious About Diversity: Enough Already with the Business Case." *Harvard Business Review*, 98(6): 114–122.

[6] Childers, N. (2020, November 24). "The Moral Argument for Diversity in Newsrooms is Also a Business Argument—and You Need Both." https://www.niemanlab.org/2020/11/the-moral-case-for-diversity-in-newsrooms-also-makes-good-business-sense/; Kowitt, B. (2020, June 23). "How Ben & Jerry's Activist History Allows It to Call out White Supremacy and Police Brutality." https://fortune.com/2020/06/23/ben-and-jerrys-black-lives-matter-george-floyd/; LaMonica, P. R. (2020, June 16). "AT&T CEO Calls for Racial Justice in America." https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/16/business/att-randall-stephenson-mandate-racial-justice/index.html; Shinneman, S. (2017, May 17). "AT&T CEO Doubles Down on Tolerance Is for Cowards." https://www.bizjournals.com/dallas/news/2017/05/17/at-t-ceo-doubles-down-on-tolerance-is-for-cowards.html; Togoh, I. (2020, October 8). "JP Morgan Pledges $30 Billion to Help Remedy Racial Wealth Gap." https://www.forbes.com/sites/isabeltogoh/2020/10/08/jp-morgan-pledges-30-billion-to-help-remedy-racial-wealth-gap/?sh=1df75d4b594d

[7] Jordan, M. (2020). "Farmworkers, Mostly Undocumented, Become 'Essential' During Pandemic." *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/02/us/coronavirus-undocumented-immigrant-farmworkers-agriculture.html

[8] Donahue,E. (2020, July 2). "2,120 Hate Incidents Against Asian Americans Reported During Coronavirus Pandemic." https://www.cbsnews.com/news/anti-asian-american-hate-incidents-up-racism/; Ruiz, N. G., Horowitz, J. M., & Tamir, C. (2020, July 1). "Many Black and Asian Americans Say They Have Experienced Discrimination Amid the COVID-19 Outbreak." https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2020/07/01/many-black-and-asian-americans-say-they-have-experienced-discrimination-amid-the-covid-19-outbreak/

[9] Romo, V. (2020, November, 13). "Father and Son Charged with Murder in Ahmaud Arbery Killing are Denied Bond." https://www.npr.org/2020/11/13/934862159/father-and-son-charged-with-murder-in-ahmaud-arbery-killing-are-denied-bond

[10] Bass, S. (2001). "Policing Space, Policing Race: Social Control Imperatives and Police Discretionary Decisions." *Social Justice*, 28: 1(83), 156–176; Dolan, B. (2019). "To Knock or Not to Knock: No-Knock Warrants and Confrontational Policing." *St. John's Law Review*, 93: 201–231.

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Like the #MeToo movement, social media strengthened the efficacy of BLM, giving voice to countless individuals and providing more accurate information on the movement.[11] BLM protests included representation and support from constituents from all racial, ethnic, age, sex, sexual orientation, and gender identity backgrounds. Although African Americans were and remain the most supportive of the movement, in the month after George Floyd's death, most Americans (67%) expressed support for the BLM movement, including most White (60%), Black (86%), Hispanic (77%), and Asian (69%) people.[12] These diverse individuals, small businesses, corporations, and universities in the United States and around the world vocalized their calls for change, with many providing significant financial support in change efforts. JP Morgan Chase, for example, pledged $30 billion to help remedy the long-standing Black-White racial wealth gap. The University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) provided substantial resources for faculty, staff, and students to support racial equity. Randall Stephenson, then Chief Executive Officer of AT&T, continued his vocal support of Black Lives Matter, and called for other CEOs to speak up and act against racial injustice, which some are now doing.[13]

Other key successes for diversity and inclusion involving sexual orientation and gender identity, Native Americans, and removal of Confederate symbols were obtained during that same time of social reckoning. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Title VII's provisions against sex discrimination included discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity.[14] Financial pressure from investors resulted in the Washington, D.C., professional football team's owner, Dan Snyder, finally agreeing to change the team's name from that of a slur against Native Americans despite having said it would "never" occur. After decades of similar refusal to change, other sports teams and universities also abandoned names associated with racist founders or past racist actions, and confederate symbols were removed in multiple states that had long resisted removing them.[15] In the first seven months after George Floyd's death, 167 Confederate symbols in various states were removed. Only one had been removed in the five months of 2020 before Floyd's death.[16] Thus, glaring evidence of racial disparities provided by the confluence of a global pandemic and racialized homicides against Black Americans brought attention to and commitment to change from diverse individuals and entities. This heightened attention helped multiple other groups who had also long been working for change. Although these changes are important, there is still considerable work to be done at the individual, organizational, and societal levels. In addition, significant concerns about differences between what organizations *say* in response to overt injustices and *do* within their own walls and with their financial resources remain.

Persistent Resistance and Conflicting Research

Despite moral considerations, changes in laws, potential financial benefits for organizations, and many years of discussion, discrimination, exclusion, and broad group-based disparities in compensation, layoffs, and performance management for non-dominant racial, ethnic, gender, physical ability, and religious groups also continue. For instance, one analysis of research conducted over a 25-year period with over 55,000 applicants for nearly 30,000 positions showed no change in hiring discrimination against Blacks and only a

[11] Black Lives Matter. (n.d.). *About*. Retrieved from https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/; Leopold, J., & Bell, M. P. (2017). "News Media and The Racialization of Protest: An Analysis of Black Lives Matter Articles." *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*. 36(8): 720–735; Leopold et al. (2019).

[12] Parker, K., Horowitz, J. M., & Anderson, M. (2020, June 12). "Amid Protests, Majorities Across Racial and Ethnic Groups Express Support for the Black Lives Matter Movement." https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2020/06/12/amid-protests-majorities-across-racial-and-ethnic-groups-express-support-for-the-black-lives-matter-movement/, accessed 1/3/2021. By September, support for the movement was at 55% overall, and 45%, 87%, 66%, and 69% for Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians. "Support for Black Lives Matter Movement Down since June," https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/09/16/support-for-black-lives-matter-has-decreased-since-june-but-remains-strong-among-black-americans/ft_2020-09-16_blm_01/, accessed 1/10/2021.

[13] LaMonica, P. R. (2020); Mohdin, A., & Swann, G. (2020, July 29). "How George Floyd's Death Sparked a Wave of UK Anti-Racism Protests." https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jul/29/george-floyd-death-fuelled-anti-racism-protests-britain; https://www.businessroundtable.org/equity, accessed 3/1/2021.

[14] Totenberg, N. (2020, June 15). "Supreme Court Delivers Major Victory to LGBTQ Employees." https://www.npr.org/2020/06/15/863498848/supreme-court-delivers-major-victory-to-lgbtq-employees

[15] Brady, E. (2020, July 4). "Opinion: 'NEVER.' The Anatomy of Washington Team Owner Daniel Snyder's Most Famous Quote." https://www.usatoday.com/story/sports/nfl/2020/07/04/washington-nfl-team-daniel-snyder-famous-never-quote/5374437002/, accessed January 3, 2021; Clarke, L. (2020, July 2). "FedEx Calls on Redskins to Change Name Following Investors' Demands on Sponsors." https://www.washingtonpost.com/sports/2020/07/02/fedex-redskins-name-change/; Vigdor, N. (2020, December 15). "Dixie State University in Utah Says It's in Need of a Name Change." https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/15/us/dixie-state-name-change.html

[16] Kaur, H. (2020, February 24). "More than 160 Confederate Symbols Came Down in 2020, SPLC Says." https://www.cnn.com/2021/02/24/us/confederate-symbols-removed-2020-splc-trnd/index.html, accessed 2/25/2021.

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slight decline in discrimination against Latinos.[17] A larger, similar study found persistent racial and ethnic employment discrimination in nine countries in Europe and North America. There was significant discrimination against non-Whites in all countries, with Whites receiving between 25% more to twice as many calls for interviews as non-Whites, depending on the country.[18] In a Canadian study of 20,000 employees in 6,000 firms, for example, researchers found clear salary advantages for White male immigrants over other immigrants.[19]

Persistent discrimination can be attributed to multiple factors, including few or no efforts to educate employees about hiring discrimination and how to avoid it (such as structured interviews and blinded resume reviews); little to no managerial or human resources control and monitoring that would help identify and alleviate discriminatory practices embedded in organizational processes; and inhospitable diversity climates, such that career success and retention of non-dominant group members are limited.[20] These and other contributors to little or no progress in improving equity for non-dominant group members, and importantly, suggestions to alleviate them, including key factors in organizations' success in diversity and inclusion efforts, will be discussed throughout the book. While there is no "one-size-fits-all" blueprint for different organizations and different contexts, there are specific, demonstrable measures that committed organizational leaders can take in their pursuit of their goals.[21]

Along with research on tenacious discrimination in human resources practices, research on the organizational benefits of diversity is not unequivocal, despite a great deal of discussion that says diversity is financially beneficial. Some studies find that diverse organizations are more profitable or productive and have lower employee turnover and higher commitment, while others have produced different results. Some studies show no difference in key indicators such as profit, productivity, performance, or employee turnover between diverse and homogeneous organizations.[22] Type of industry and type of "diversity" studied (race, sex, sexual orientation, etc.), diversity climate of the organization, leader commitment, strategy of the organization, state and local legislation, and region of the country are a few of the many factors affecting success of diversity efforts. These complex and conflicting findings can cause confusion among individuals and organizations trying to implement diversity initiatives and plans. In addition, covert and overt resistance toward diversity efforts has slowed, but has not stopped, progress.[23] Inconsistent research findings and resistance should not be cause for apathy, inertia, or giving up. As will be discussed throughout the book, despite tenacious barriers, concerted efforts of individuals, organizations, and society can improve diversity, equity, and inclusion for the benefit of us all. ■

Terminology

Diversity, equity, and *inclusion* are frequently used terms in diversity-related research, organizations, and in the media. As such, this book uses diversity, diversity and inclusion, and diversity, equity, and inclusion, to generally refer to related efforts to ensure individuals of all backgrounds are treated as valued applicants, employees, and customers. While some research and organizations use slightly different terminology (e.g., "inclusive

[17] Quillian, L., Pager, D., Hexel, O., & Midtbøen, A. H. (2017). "Meta-Analysis of Field Experiments Shows No Change in Racial Discrimination in Hiring over Time." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114(41): 10870–0875.

[18] Quillian, L., Heath, A., Pager, D., Midtbøen, A. H., Fleischmann, F., & Hexel, O. (2019). "Do Some Countries Discriminate More Than Others? Evidence From 97 Field Experiments of Racial Discrimination in Hiring." *Sociological Science*, 6: 467–496.

[19] Fitzsimmons, S., Baggs, J., & Brannen, M. Y. (2020, May 7). "Research: The Immigrant Income Gap." https://hbr.org/2020/05/research-the-immigrant-income-gap

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ely & Thomas (2020).

[22] For some examples, see: Jiraporn, P., Potosky, D., & Lee, S. M. (2019). "Corporate Governance and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender-Supportive Human Resource Policies from Corporate Social Responsibility, Resource-Based, and Agency Perspectives." *Human Resource Management*, 58(3): 317–336; Joshi, A., & Roh, H. (2009). "The Role of Context in Work Team Diversity Research: A Meta-Analytic Review." *Academy of Management Journal*, 52(3): 599–627; Richard, O. C. (2000). "Racial Diversity, Business Strategy, and Firm Performance: A Resource-Based View." *Academy of Management Journal*, 43: 164–178.

[23] Block, M. (2020, October 30). "Agencies, Contractors Suspend Diversity Training to Avoid Violating Trump Order." https://www.npr.org/2020/10/30/929165869/agencies-contractors-suspend-diversity-training-to-avoid-violating-trump-order, accessed 2/25/2021; Brannon, T. N., Carter, E. R., Murdock-Perriera, L. A., & Higginbotham, G. D. (2018). "From Backlash to Inclusion For All: Instituting Diversity Efforts to Maximize Benefits Across Group Lines." *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 12(1): 57–90.

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excellence," "diversity, racial equity, and inclusion"), the focus on ensuring individuals of all backgrounds are valued and have opportunities to thrive and contribute remains the same.

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, social class, and other identity-based areas that affect their experiences, outcomes, and opportunities in organizations and society.[24] These focal areas encompass differences that are based on power or dominance relations among groups, particularly "**identity groups**," which are the collectivities people use to categorize themselves and others.[25] Identity groups are often readily apparent to others (for example, their members are easily identifiable), sources of strong personal meaning, and related to historical disparities among groups in treatment, opportunities, and outcomes. In the United States, Black men, women, and children were enslaved and continued to be treated as second-class citizens after slavery was ended. Racial identity is an important source of pride for many Black people, and thus sometimes well-intentioned statements that "I do not see color" may render invisible this important aspect of their identity.[26] In addition, "color-blind racism" is a unique impediment to diversity efforts.[27] Identity-based attributes affect interactions and relationships between people while also, importantly, affecting people's experiences, outcomes, and opportunities in organizations and society.

The definition of diversity used in this book includes the terms *real* and *perceived* to acknowledge the *social constructions* of many areas of difference. Although many believe that race is biological, research indicates that 99.9% of genetic material is shared among people of different "races" and the concept of race is socially constructed.[28]

Misperception: Racial groups are biologically determined.

Reality: Racial groups are socially constructed. People are biologically the same.

In later chapters, we discuss people's efforts to prove their whiteness, and the changes in the U.S. Census Bureau's definitions of who was and was not White during history. Even though it is socially constructed, perceptions of race, beliefs about people of different races, and discrimination on the basis of race strongly affect people's lives in and outside of work. Gender is also socially constructed, representing perceptions of how males and females *should* behave rather than strict biological differences between

[24] Dobbs, M. F. (1996). "Managing Diversity: Lessons from the Private Sector." *Public Personnel Management, 25* (September): 351–368.

[25] Konrad, A. M. (2003). "Defining the Domain of Workplace Diversity Scholarship." *Group and Organization Management*, 28(1): 4–17.

[26] Holtzman, L., & Sharpe, L. (2014). *Media Messages: What Film, Television, and Popular Music Teach Us About Race, Class, Gender, and Sexual Orientation*. London: Routledge, p. 19.

[27] Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

[28] Gannon, M. (2016). "Race is a Social Construct, Scientists Argue." https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/race-is-a-social-construct-scientists-argue/; Genetics vs. Genomics Fact Sheet. National Human Genome Research Institute. https://www.genome.gov/about-genomics/fact-sheets/Genetics-vs-Genomics; Institute of Medicine (US) Committee on Assessing Interactions Among Social, Behavioral, and Genetic Factors in Health (2006). "Sex/Gender, Race/Ethnicity, and Health—Genes, Behavior, and the Social Environment—NCBI Bookshelf." In Hernandez, L. M., & Blazer, D. G. (Eds.). *Genes, Behavior, and the Social Environment: Moving Beyond the Nature/Nurture Debate*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press (US); Morning, A. (2008). "Ethnic Classification in Global Perspective: A Cross-National Survey of the 2000 Census Round." *Population Research and Policy Review*, 27(2): 239–272; Onwuachi-Willig, A. (2016). "Race and Racial Identity are Social Constructs." https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2015/06/16/how-fluid-is-racial-identity/race-and-racial-identity-are-social-constructs; Pope-Davis, D. B., & Liu, W. M. (1998). "The Social Construction of Race: Implications for Counselling Psychology." *Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, 11(2): 151–161.

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the sexes that might *cause* males and females to behave differently. As with perceived racial differences, beliefs about the differences between males and females strongly affect the expectations of, experiences of, and opportunities for girls, boys, men, and women in families, society, and organizations.[29]

In contrast to the categories of focus 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. (The former positions are also more likely to be held by men than the latter position; sex typing and segregation of jobs, and their negative consequences for women, will be discussed in later chapters.) However, one's functional area at work is not likely to fit the criteria for identity groups—that is, readily apparent, or associated with historical disparities in treatment, opportunities, or outcomes in society at large. No one can look at a person and determine if they are an accountant or an engineer, and people have not experienced societal discrimination because they work in finance or higher education. In addition, focusing on broad definitions of diversity such as functional area can cause organizations that are racially homogeneous to ignore civil rights issues that equal opportunity efforts were originally developed to address.[30]

Social class, referring to one's "position in the economic system of production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services in industrial societies,"[31] meets some of the key criteria for inclusion (e.g., having strong personal meaning and stemming from or coinciding with significant power differences among groups; in some situations, it is also readily apparent or easily guessed). Social class is often measured by education, income, or wealth, but such measures are inexact. Although the effects of social class are not considered in a separate chapter, "practices that exclude, exploit, and limit the potential of poor and working-class people disproportionately affect women and ethnic minorities,"[32] who are covered in individual chapters in this book. For some racial and ethnic groups, upward class movement, along with associated benefits, is possible, given the right circumstances. For other groups, however, even education and income do not insulate them from discriminatory practices and exclusion. For example, regardless of their social class, African Americans must often contend with stereotypes about their education, income, work ethic, and morals.[33] Harvard professor Henry Louis Gates was arrested after his neighbor called the police as he tried to enter his own home.[34] For some Whites from lower-class backgrounds, racial advantages shape their decision making when class solidarity with poor workers of color would seem more logical. Historically, deliberate managerial efforts to foster White workers' perceptions of difference helped create division instead of solidarity with other exploited workers occupying similar

[29] Britton, D. M. (2000). "The Epistemology of the Gendered Organization." *Gender & Society*, 14: 418–434; Lorber, J. (2004). "'Night to his day': The Social Construction of Gender." In Rothenberg, P. *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study*, 6: 54–65.

[30] Dover, T. L., Kaiser, C. R., & Major, B. (2020). "Mixed Signals: The Unintended Effects of Diversity Initiatives." *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 14(1): 152–181.

[31] Bullock, H. E. (2004). "Class Diversity in the Workplace." In Stockdale, M. S., & Crosby, F. J. (Eds.), *The Psychology and Management of Workplace Diversity* (pp. 221–242). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Pyke, K. D. (2010). "What Is Internalized Racial Oppression and Why Don't We Study It? Acknowledging Racism's Hidden Injuries." *Sociological Perspectives*, 53(4): 551–572, p. 565.

[34] Weaver, M. (2009, July 20). "Harvard Professor Henry Louis Gates Accuses Police of Racism Over Arrest." https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jul/21/usa-race; Goodnough, A. (2009, July 20). "Harvard Professor Jailed; Officer Accused of Bias." *New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/21/us/21gates.html*

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positions in the economic system.[35] Along with racial, ethnic, and class relationships, class-based differences related to diversity in organizations and their intersections with other diversity areas are considered in many chapters (e.g., work and family concerns for low-wage workers, and part-time work as underemployment, which are more likely for women and minorities).

Employment discrimination occurs when personal characteristics of applicants and workers that are unrelated to productivity are valued in the labor market.[36] **Access discrimination** occurs when people are denied employment opportunities or "access" to jobs because of their group memberships. **Treatment discrimination** occurs when people are employed but are treated unfairly on the job, receiving fewer rewards, resources, or opportunities than they should receive based on job-related criteria.[37] Both are forms of the broader category of employment discrimination. In cases of access or treatment discrimination, people with similar **productive characteristics**, such as performance, education, skills, and tenure, have different experiences because of factors such as race, ethnic origin, sex, age, physical ability, religion, and immigrant status. In a society that ostensibly values and rewards hard work, disparities in rewards despite similar productive characteristics are red flags.[38]

Discrimination limits diversity and harms targets, non-targets, vicarious victims, organizations, and society.[39] A Citigroup study estimated that between 2000 and 2020, anti-Black discrimination cost the U.S. economy about $6 trillion. Importantly, the report also estimated that if racial gaps between African Americans and Whites were closed immediately, the result could be a $5 trillion boost to the U.S. economy in the next five years.[40] This economic boost would affect countless people from all backgrounds.

Discrimination can result from intentional and deliberate actions, or it can be the unintentional result of organizational practices, such as having informal, unmonitored recruiting, selection, or performance evaluation practices. It may be interpersonal, occurring between individuals, or institutional, related to differential access to goods, services, and opportunities, and not necessarily involving any specific interpersonal encounter.[41] Regardless of intent or source, the outcome of discrimination is that members of some groups are systematically disadvantaged while others are systematically advantaged. Systematic advantages for those who do not personally experience discrimination include such things as higher wages and persistently lower unemployment due to hiring preferences. Systematic disadvantages include such things as chronically lower wages (e.g., the wage gap for women) or chronically higher unemployment (e.g., for African Americans and people with disabilities), even with similar productive characteristics), and a host of

[35] Roediger, D. R., & Esch, E. D. (2012). *The Production of Difference: Race and the Management of Labor in US History*. New York: Oxford University Press.

[36] Enrenberg, R. G., &, Smith, R. S. (1982). *Modern Labor Economics: Theory and Public Policy*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman, and Company, p. 394.

[37] 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.

[38] McNamee, S. J., & Miller, R. K. (2009). *The Meritocracy Myth*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

[39] Lucas (2013); McGhee (2021). See also Chrobot-Mason, D., Ragins, B. R., & Linnehan, F. (2013). "Second-Hand Smoke: Ambient Racial Harassment at Work." *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 28(5): 470–491; Goldman, B. M., Gutek, B. A., & Lewis, K. (2006). "Employment Discrimination in Organizations: Antecedents and Consequences." *Journal of Management*, 32(6): 786–831; Miner-Rubino, K., & Cortina, L. M. (2007). "Beyond Targets: Consequences of Vicarious Exposure to Misogyny." *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(5): 1254–1269; Nuru-Jeter, A. et al. (2009). "'It's the Skin You're In:' African-American Women Talk About Their Experiences of Racism: An Exploratory Study to Develop Measures of Racism for Birth Outcome Studies." *Maternal Child Health Journal*, 13: 29–39.

[40] Akala, A. (September 23, 2020). "Cost of Racism: U.S. Economy Lost $16 Trillion Because of Discrimination." https://www.npr.org/sections/live-updates-protests-for-racial-justice/2020/09/23/916022472/cost-of-racism-u-s-economy-lost-16-trillion-because-of-discrimination-bank-says; Peterson, D. M., & Mann, C. L. (2020). *Closing the Racial Inequality Gaps*. Citigroup. https://www.citivelocity.com/citigps/closing-the-racial-inequality-gaps/

[41] Nuru-Jeter et. al (2009).

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other negative individual, organizational, and societal consequences. As noted by research, discrimination harms both those targeted and those not targeted, even though there may be wage and employment advantages for members of preferred groups. Diversity and inclusion is not a zero-sum game, and discrimination harms us all.[42]

Misperception: Discrimination harms only its targets.

Reality: Discrimination harms those targeted, as well as those not targeted.

Along with efforts to avoid discrimination and ensure that employees are diverse, efforts to ensure employees are also included and able to fully contribute are critical.[43] **Inclusion** is the degree to which "different voices of a diverse workforce are respected and heard."[44] In inclusive organizations, employees perceive they are valued, including their unique attributes, and belong.[45] Readers may know of organizations that are quite "diverse," having employees from various backgrounds without being at all inclusive. Unrelated to their productivity or skills, members of certain groups may be clustered into certain types of jobs (e.g., call centers, security guards), while others may occupy more prestigious positions, even in organizations that are diverse by the numbers. In inclusive organizational cultures, all employees feel as though they are accepted, belong, contribute to decision-making processes, and have opportunities to succeed and thrive, in various roles.[46] Throughout this book, "valuing diversity" refers to diversity *and* inclusion.

Structural or systemic racism refers to the ways in which societies foster racial discrimination through mutually reinforcing systems. These systems include public policies, institutional practices, cultural representations, and other norms that work in reinforcing ways to perpetuate group inequity. Included in these systems are discrimination in areas such as education, employment, healthcare, and criminal justice, among others, and discriminatory practices that reinforce discriminatory beliefs, values, and distribution of resources.[47] As will be discussed in later chapters, this discrimination results in disparities across groups in areas such as quality of education, grades, and school retention and completion rates; employment, earnings, and participation rates; health, healthcare and mortality rates; arrests convictions, and sentencing; and, countless other areas.[48] Structural racism and systematic advantages and disadvantages for different racial, ethnic, gender, and age groups are in contrast to widespread belief that hard work is equally rewarded and people "get" what they earn. The **myth of meritocracy** is the idea

[42] Lucas (2003); McGhee (2021); Norton, M. I., & Sommers, S. R. (2011). "Whites See Racism as a Zero-Sum Game That They Are Now Losing." *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 6(3): 215–218; Peterson & Mann (2020).

[43] Nishii, L. H., & Mayer, D. M. (2009). "Do Inclusive Leaders Help to Reduce Turnover in Diverse Group? The Moderating Role of the Leader-Member Exchange in the Diversity to Turnover Relationship." *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94(6): 1412–1426.

[44] Pless, N. M., & Maak, T. (2004). "Building an Inclusive Diversity Culture: Principles, Processes, and Practices." *Journal of Business Ethics*, 54: 129–147.

[45] Shore, L. M., Randel, A. E., Chung, B. G., Dean, M. A., Holcombe Ehrhart, K., & Singh, G. (2011). "Inclusion and Diversity in Work Groups: A Review and Model for Future Research." *Journal of Management*, 37(4): 1262–1289.

[46] Roberson, Q. (2006). "Disentangling the Meanings of Diversity and Inclusion in Organizations." *Group & Organization Management*, 31(2): 212–236.

[47] Aspen Institute (July 11, 2016). "11 Terms You Should Know to Better Understand Structural Racism." https://www.aspeninstitute.org/blog-posts/structural-racism-definition/; Bailey, Z. D., Krieger, N., Agénor, M., Graves, J., Linos, N., & Bassett, M. T. (2017). "Structural Racism and Health Inequities in the USA: Evidence and Interventions." *The Lancet*, 389(10077), 1453–1463; Reskin, B. (2012). "The Race Discrimination System." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 48: 17–35.

[48] Gross, S. R., & Mauro, R. (1989). *Death & Discrimination: Racial Disparities in Capital Sentencing*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press; Penner, L. A., Dovidio, J. F., Edmondson, D., Dailey, R. K., Markova, T., Albrecht, T. L., & Gaertner, S. L. (2009). "The Experience of Discrimination and Black-White Health Disparities in Medical Care." *Journal of Black Psychology*, 35(2): 180–203; Williams, D. R., & Mohammed, S. A. (2009). "Discrimination and Racial Disparities in Health: Evidence and Needed Research." *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 32(1): 20–47.

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that societal resources are distributed exclusively or primarily on the basis of individual merit. Instead, systems that have little to do with individuals' efforts affect where they live, the quality of education they receive, their health, access to healthcare, longevity, and myriad other factors. As brief examples, institutionalized residential segregation and environmental racism negatively affect many African Americans' and Latinos' quality of life, education, and health.

In this book, when referring to the U.S. population, the following expressions are used somewhat interchangeably: sex/gender; Blacks/African Americans; Hispanics/Latinos/Latinx; Asians/Asian Americans/Asians and Pacific Islanders; Native Americans/American Indians; and Whites/Anglos/European Americans.[49] Although the linked terms are not exactly the same (e.g., sex is biological while gender is socially constructed,[50] and not all Black people consider themselves African American), the terms are widely recognized, their meanings are generally well understood, and they are viewed as interchangeable by relevant group members.[51] 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.[52] Some researchers go so far as to use quotation marks at any mention of the word *race* to indicate its lack of true meaning, despite its real consequences in people's lives.

Like gender, "race is socially constructed to denote boundaries between the powerful and less powerful" and is often defined by the more powerful group.[53] In the United States, these social constructions are affected by and reflect the changes in terminology used by the Census Bureau over the years and in court rulings about who was or was not a member of the most powerful group—Whites. 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. Recently, increasing numbers of Whites self-identify as Latino compared to in the past,[54] and vice versa, further suggestive of the social construction of race. There are also substantial differences in the diversity-related experiences of Latinos who are of Colombian, Dominican, Mexican, Nicaraguan, and Puerto Rican origin, with skin color within country of origin also playing a role.[55] In addition, Hispanics are included as "people of color," but researchers have found that instead of skin color, observers judge whether Hispanics are "minority enough" based on Spanish fluency.[56]

BIPOC is an acronym used to describe Black, indigenous, and people of color.[57] This acronym was identified as early as a 2013 tweet, and during 2020 began being used with increasing frequency. Like the term "people of color," an older term which covers the same groups, BIPOC is imprecise and includes groups with similarities and differences. For example, while all "people of color" are subject to discrimination and

[49] Terminology is discussed further in the following chapters. Individuals' different preferences for particular terms are acknowledged and respected. When reporting research, when possible, we use researchers' original terminology.

[50] Torgrimson, B. N., & Minson, C. T. (2005). "Sex and Gender: What is the Difference?" *Journal of Applied Physiology*, 99(3): 785–787.

[51] Jones, J. (2013, July 26). U.S. Blacks, Hispanics Have No Preferences on Group Labels (gallup.com), accessed January 3, 2021.

[52] See Wright, L. (1997). "One Drop of Blood." In C. Hartman (Ed.), *Double Exposure: Poverty and Race in America*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

[53] Healey, J. F., & O'Brien, E. (2004). *Race, Ethnicity, and Gender*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press, p. 282.

[54] Hixson, L., Helpler, B. B., & Kim, M. O. (2011). "The White Population: 2010." *U.S. Census Bureau*, https://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-05.pdf

[55] Duany, J. (1998). "Reconstructing Racial Identity: Ethnicity, Color, and Class Among Dominicans in the United States and Puerto Rico." *Latin American Perspectives*, 25(3): 147–172; Hersch, J. (2008). "Profiling the New Immigrant Worker: The Effects of Skin Color and Height." *Journal of Labor Economics*, 26(2): 345–385.

[56] Sanchez, D. T., & Chavez, G. (2010). "Are You Minority Enough? Language Ability Affects Targets' and Perceivers' Assessments of a Candidate's Appropriateness for Affirmative Action." *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 32(1): 99–107.

[57] Garcia, S. E. (2020, June 17). "Where Did BIPOC Come From?" https://www.nytimes.com/article/what-is-bipoc.html, accessed 2/28/2021.

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stereotyping, their experiences with them differ. As much as possible, this book refers to experiences of and research and data about specific groups.

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.[58] "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 Hispanics, there are 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.

Instead of the terms *majority* and *minority*, which reflect population size, the terms *dominant* and *non-dominant* or *marginalized* are more accurate, as they distinguish between more powerful and less powerful groups and acknowledge the importance of power in access to and control of resources. Powerful groups control more resources and are "dominant," regardless of whether they are more numerous (such as Whites in South Africa and men in the United States). Dominant groups make, interpret, and enforce laws and other regulations that affect and control the life chances and opportunities of those who are non-dominant. For example, the U.S. criminal justice system, police forces, the U.S. Supreme Court, Congress, Senate, and the office of the President, who make, interpret, and enforce laws and Executive Orders, currently are and have historically been dominated by White men, which is similar to political and legal systems in many other parts of the world. Although many of the distinctions and terminology discussed are U.S.-centric, the idea of dominant and non-dominant or marginalized groups is not.

Having defined **diversity** 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, social class and other identity-based areas that affect their experiences, outcomes, and opportunities in organizations and society and **inclusion** as the degree to which different voices of a diverse workforce are respected and heard, it is now important to discuss **equity.** Equity refers to the distribution and provision of resources to achieve a fair or just outcome. Where there is a history of discrimination, for example, equity could mean providing special resources and support to help remedy or alleviate disparities. Equity seeks to identify and provide the type and amount of resources and efforts to achieve a just outcome.[59] Equity is often erroneously used interchangeably with equality, which means the same, or exact, distribution and provision of resources. Where there is a history of discrimination and resulting disparities in outcomes, equality of distribution is unlikely to result in equity of outcomes. In an organization pursuing diversity, equity, and inclusion, people of different groups would be well-represented and would feel valued, respected, and heard. Where disparities or previous discrimination existed, those affected would receive focused attention and support to increase equity. This support would vary by the type of inequity or disparity but could include such things as targeted recruitment at particular schools, mentoring or leadership programs, blinded interviews, salary adjustments, or myriad other actions to reduce the cause and continued influence of the disparity.

Much of the research discussed in this book refers only to diversity or diversity-related practices, or diversity and inclusion, without specifically mentioning or measuring equity. As mentioned earlier, this book emphasizes ensuring individuals of all

[58] See Morning, A. (2008).

[59] Espinoza, O. (2007). "Solving the Equity–Equality Conceptual Dilemma: A New Model for Analysis of the Educational Process." *Educational Research*, 49(4): 343–363; The National Association for Multicultural Education, https://www.nameorg.org/learn/what_is_equity.php, accessed 3/1/2021.

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backgrounds are valued and have opportunities to succeed, regardless of the specific terminology used.

Multiple Group Memberships, Intersectionality, and Permeability of (Some) Boundaries

People's group memberships affect their outcomes, opportunities, and experiences in society and in organizations. Employment, compensation, advancement, retention, participation, and organizational competitiveness are a few of the outcomes that are related to people's demographic background. In the United States, those who are White, men, and do not have a disability generally earn higher wages and have higher organizational status than minorities, women, or people with disabilities. However, the categories of race, ethnicity, sex, age, physical ability, sexual orientation, and religion are not mutually exclusive. Further, **intersectionality** refers to the connected nature of various social identities, such as race, gender, and class, and potential for overlapping and interconnected systems of discrimination based on those identities.[60] In intersectionality, the combinations of oppressions uniquely shape individuals' outcomes, opportunities, and experiences in organizations and society.[61] Law professor Kimberlé Crenshaw conceptualized intersectionality in response to the U.S. court system's unwillingness to consider the multidimensionality of Black women's experiences resulting from the combination of race *and* sex discrimination. This combination is a complex and non-additive phenomenon, greater than the sum of the two. As discussed in other chapters, **racialized sexual harassment**, in which women are targeted because of their race or ethnicity and sex, uniquely affects women of color, *because of* racial *and* sexual hostility.[62] Many scholars have investigated other intersections (such as, race, sex, and sexual orientation; race, sex, and disability) and acknowledge different experiences for different combinations for different people.[63]

Along with the intersections of multiple group memberships, some of the categories are immutable, but others are not and may change over one's lifetime. People may be born with or acquire disabilities, and everyone ages. And, a person may be a member of the majority or dominant group in one area but not in another; for example, White and female or male and Black.

Although data clearly show that members of some groups face more systemic barriers and individual acts of discrimination, this book stresses the value of diversity and inclusion for *everyone*. Roosevelt Thomas, a pioneer in diversity work, proposed that "managing diversity is a comprehensive managerial process for developing an environment that works for all employees."[64] While diversity and inclusion efforts should include *all employees*, data show that membership in some groups or that some combinations of memberships consistently have more negative ramifications for

[60] Crenshaw, K. W. (1989). "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum, 1989*: 139–67.

[61] Crenshaw, K. W. (1989).

[62] MacKinnon, C. A. (2013). Intersectionality as Method: A Note. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38(4): 1019–1030; Rosenthal, L., Overstreet, N. M., Khukhlovich, A., Brown, B. E., Godfrey, C. J., & Albritton, T. (2020). "Content of, Sources of, and Responses to Sexual Stereotypes of Black and Latinx Women and Men in the United States: A Qualitative Intersectional Exploration." *Journal of Social Issues*, 76(4): 921–940, quote on p. 922.

[63] For example, Hagai, E. B., Annechino, R., Young, N., & Antin, T. (2020). "Intersecting Sexual Identities, Oppressions, and Social Justice Work: Comparing LGBTQ Baby Boomers to Millennials Who Came of Age After the 1980s AIDS Epidemic." *Journal of Social Issues*, 76(4): 971–992; Purdie-Vaughns, V., & Eibach, R. P. (2008). "Intersectional Invisibility: The Distinctive Advantages and Disadvantages of Multiple Subordinate Group Identities." *Sex Roles*, 59(5-6): 377–391.

[64] Thomas, R. (1991). *Beyond Race and Gender: Unleashing the Power of Your Total Work Force by Managing Diversity*. New York: AMACOM, p. 10.

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