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THE EFFECTIVENESS OF DIVERSITY & INCLUSION PROGRAMS WITHIN THE WORKPLACE

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THE EFFECTIVENESS OF DIVERSITY & INCLUSION PROGRAMS WITHIN THE WORKPLACE

A Thesis Presented to The Faculty of the Wall College of Business
Of Coastal Carolina University

By: Madelynne Rodriguez

December 2019

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I. Abstract

The importance of diversity and inclusion programs within the workplace has long been a controversial topic, hindered in part by the lack of quantitative evidence to prove its effectiveness and an overall lack of understanding. Corporate America has been dedicated to only meeting compliance standards and has continually turned a blind eye at the potential positive impact a properly implemented diversity and inclusion program can bring to the table. Unawareness of the true meaning of diversity, and what an inclusive work environment looks like, is also a main contributing factor. Properly implemented diversity and inclusion programs can elevate a business' financial performance, decision-making capabilities, and increase market share. However, clear inconsistencies within program development are apparent across numerous companies, and as a result, diversity and inclusion programs often do not meet their full potential. This paper will explore the insights of new data-driven results that can potentially shift the paradigm of diversity and inclusion with corporate America.

II. Introduction

A: General Understanding of Diversity & Inclusion

In the simplest of terms, diversity means to be in the state of being diverse or being a range of different things. Diversity accounts for a range of unique demographic and psychographic qualities, such as age, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation ([See Appendix A](#)). Over the decades, many have begun to refer to the United States as the “*melting pot*”; a phrase that serves as a direct reflection of the numerous nationalities, religions, cultures, and ethnicities that have merged in the country over the years. With such a diverse and unique community making up the nation, it comes as no surprise that corporate America experiences the same diversity.

When diversity extends into the workplace, the term begins to redefine itself. It is no longer only being a range of different things, no, diversity in a workplace is creating a culture that welcomes, celebrates, and appreciates those who are diverse. A diversity consulting firm even phrases diversity as “allowing for the exploration of these differences in a safe, positive, and nurturing environment. It [diversity] means understanding one another by surpassing simple tolerance to ensure people truly value their differences.” (What is Diversity, 2018).

It is important, however, to recognize that it takes more than just a diverse workforce to create a diversity & inclusion program. What elevates a D&I within a workplace is bringing inclusion to the table. Inclusion is an organizational effort that makes individuals feel as though they are included, welcomed, and treated equally. Creating an environment that is supportive and provides a sense of belonging can lead to a company’s employees feeling like a valuable part of the team. It is the creation of social harmony within the workspace that can ultimately

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lead to more productive workers, who have a stronger bond with the company and can lead to higher employee retention rates in the long term.

B: The History & Development of Diversity & Inclusion Within the Workplace

The origin of the Diversity and Inclusion (D&I) field can be traced back to the Civil Rights era. Throughout the 1600s, the initial civil rights movement battled for social justice, with a focus on creating equality among black and white and illegalize racial discrimination. Among the peak moments within the Civil Rights era lies the 1960s, where the Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Equal Pay Act of 1963, and the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, were created (National MultiCultural Institute). The Civil Rights era sparked a continuum that has brought the corporate world to its current state within the D&I field ([See Appendix B](#)).

Following the legality changes from the Civil Rights era, affirmative action began as strategies to hire a more diverse workforce. Affirmative action policies were put in place to force the hand of the corporate world to begin employing a more diverse workforce. However, it is often said that the implementation of these policies resulted in a large amount of “reverse discrimination” due to numerous individuals being hired for their diversity even if they lacked the qualifications (National MultiCultural Institute). Now while it may seem counter-intuitive to hire individuals who are under-qualified for a position, this allowed for numerous companies to *‘check their diversity box of the checklist’* and not be at legal risk. Unfortunately, this stage of D&I falls deeply into the idea of diversity without inclusion, which does not aid a firm in its growth, innovation or diverse talent recruitment strategies.

Once companies began to hire a more diverse workforce, regardless of whether its intentions were honest or not, the company needed to gain the skills and knowledge to manage

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diversity. Two major problems that a company often faced were the “revolving door” syndrome, where newly recruited underrepresented employees quit after a short time; and second, employees failed to collaborate, trust or accept one another (National MultiCultural Institute). In an attempt to mitigate these issues, firms often implemented new systems, procedures, and training to encourage underrepresented employees.

The last, and most crucial stage of the D&I continuum is implementing Diversity and Inclusion as a strategic imperative. This is where D&I becomes a pivotal part of the company’s long-term success and is supported by bringing a Chief Diversity Officer to the table (National MultiCultural Institute). This portion of the continuum is one that most firms have yet to reach but can be a strategy that can help a business flourish and become an industry leader.

C: The Need for Diversity & Inclusion

It is no secret that inequality has been at the forefront of controversial conversations since the Civil Rights Era. Inequality for women, inequality for minorities, inequality for the LGBTQ+ community; everywhere you turn there seems to be an inequality debate. While many of us can march for inequality and speak to it in public conversations, we often leave it at the wayside once we are home getting rest for our next day of work. But what happens when those same inequality issues follow you to the workplace? What happens when you are turned down from employment opportunities, given different tasks than coworkers, or generally treated differently because of who you are and what you identify as? While some of these scenarios may seem harsh or farfetched, they are often a painful reality for those who don’t fit in the stereotypical upper-class white male profile.

Despite conversations of social equality sparking almost 100 years ago, the discriminatory environments within corporate America remain extremely prevalent. Despite its distinct feeling, this discrimination is often difficult to measure or justify through quantitative data. However, Harvard Business Review was able to perform a meta-analysis that discovered discriminatory trends in the hiring process concerning African Americans ([See Appendix C](#)); the results? Astonishing. Since the year 1990, White Americans have received 36% more callbacks than African Americans on average (Quillian et al., 2019). The study's results showed a clear invariable trend concluding that African Americans have been dealing with strong discrimination in the workplace. While this study does not account for applicants who may have not been qualified, it is important to recognize that there has been such a slight increase – essentially a statistically insignificant increase – in the hiring of African Americans over the last 25 years.

As surprising as the data may be, most minorities are all too familiar with first-hand discrimination experiences. Many minorities take to what is often well known as “*whitening the resume*” (Kang et al., 2016). Staying true to its name, whitening a resume is where minorities will often take off any culturally or racially identifying professional involvements or change the appearance of their name (Kang et al., 2016). This tactic is employed to help minority applicants be perceived and considered as if they were a ‘white’ applicant and ultimately increase the likelihood of receiving an interview. A recent study of college black and Asian university students found that while applying for jobs, thirty-six percent of students reported having participated in resume whitening, and almost two-thirds of the students reported knowing someone who had

(Kang et al., 2016). It is more than apparent that the evidence of racial biased within corporate American has begun to shape how minorities, both young and old, approach the workplace.

D: The Potential of Diversity & Inclusion

When considering the value that Diversity and Inclusion programs bring to the table, it is common for leadership to overlook numerous tangible and intangible benefits that the program creates. One of the most important from an employee morale standpoint is the creation of mutual respect among coworkers. When a dynamic and diverse work environment becomes the norm within a workplace, a company is more likely to see its employees treat each other respect (Mayhew, 2019). One of the largest reasons being that the more common working with others who have disabilities, different religions, and different races becomes, employees are more likely to identify the strengths of working within a diverse team and become more comfortable within their work environment. This empowerment of a diverse workforce can increase team morale and even reduce the amount of conflict that occurs at work.

Diversity and Inclusion Programs do not only impact the employees but have the potential to elevate the business as a whole. Taking part in diversity and inclusions programs and employing those who may have otherwise been disregarded due to their differences has a strong impact on a company's brand reputation. Not only employing but celebrating and recognizing employees for their unique genetic makeup and mindset can allow for a brand's reputation to flourish (Mayhew, 2019). Each company with a diversity and inclusion program even can take it one step further by promoting within and diversifying its company middle management and above. A company that is known for its values, fair employment practices and

commitment to diversity at every level of employment is better able to recruit and is well received by consumers.

III. The Current State of Diversity & Inclusion Within the Workplace

A: The Stages of Diversity & Inclusion in the Firm

Keeping stride with the Continuum of Diversity and Inclusion, there are four stages a firm will progress through as it implements its Diversity & Inclusion program ([See Appendix D](#)). Every firm within corporate America falls within one of the four categories. The beginning stage focuses on EEO & Legal Compliance. This stage was most widely seen in earlier years when the main focus was when complying with legal mandates and reporting to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Although most firms have progressed past just checking its compliance box, there is an alarming number of businesses that still sit in this stage for its Diversity & Inclusion program.

Taking one step further from compliance, affirmative action and hiring of the first diversity officers bring D&I to the table as a serious conversation. This is where firms begin to devote money aside for scholarships to support the minority workforce (National MultiCultural Institute). Although this stage is a strong start for a D&I program to become a serious part of company workflows, it lacks sophistication and strategic thinking in its application.

Within the third stage of D&I programs, it is common for companies to begin to deploy diversity and inclusion as a recruitment and retention tactic. This portion of program progression is a pivotal part of creating a D&I program that is both fair and inclusive and serves as a strong accountability tool for the firm. If a company partakes in faulty recruitment claims concerning D&I, it is highly likely that it will experience strong negative repercussions from poor

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new hire experiences. Alongside creating a truly inclusive program, it is also of high importance that the firm does not fall into reverse discrimination and maintains its overall recruitment standards.

As a firm continues to progress through each of these stages, the company's Diversity & Inclusion program begins to develop into its own complex entity. It is when the program reaches this point that firms begin to integrate D&I into the Corporate Business Model. The overall importance of the program has been proved at the compliance, reputation and recruitment levels and now shows the maturity to become fully integrated with the rest of the company's strategic initiatives. It is at this level that firms become global leaders in D&I and reap the benefits of creating a diversified, inclusive and dynamic company culture and environment.

B: Illustrating Diversity & Inclusion in the Firm

It is important to recognize the complexity of implementing a Diversity & Inclusion program within the workplace. Corporate Leadership commonly make the mistake of viewing a D&I strategy as a one-size-fits-all plan that can be continuously replicated with minimal maintenance effort, when in reality, D&I can be one of the most intricate parts of a company's business model. To build a diversity & inclusion program within the workplace that is both effective and drives growth for the business four imperatives should be implemented ([See Appendix E](#)). Each of these imperatives serves as a customizable building block that can be molded to fit each firm's culture, ethics, and office dynamic.

The first is to work from the top down. If a company wants its employees to take a diversity & inclusion program seriously, messaging and attitude must begin with the CEO and other c-suite members. Publicly committing to a D&I agenda, extending responsibilities to middle management and holding them accountable, and encouraging role modeling are all efforts that will allow for the changed view to cascade down through the company and create a positive environment (Hunt, 2018).

A common theme that has shown through for a successful D&I program is that for the program to hold any value it must become a strategic imperative for the firm. Top-performing companies who implement D&I fully tailor their strategic approach to diversity and inclusion by conducting internal research to understand what goals best align with their current company culture and their goals for the future (Hunt, 2018). This internal research can also include analyzing the current employee inherent and acquired traits through people analytics, which helps a company better understand the current demographic and sociographic of its current employees. Taking this customized approach, as opposed to one-size-fits-all, will allow for the initiative to be as closely aligned with corporate values and long-term goals as possible, and will ultimately lead to more sustainable and well-received program.

Once a strong understanding of a firm's employees, the overall goal of the program, and driving success metrics have been identified, the firm can create a pipeline of various initiatives that support the overlying goals of the program. The current data collected through people analytics will help the firm best decide on the type of dynamic for the program that will best resonate with all of the company's stakeholders (Hunt, 2018). The final step to elevate the program is to take customization one step further. Tailoring the D&I program to the needs of

each department or subsector of the business can create a sense of belonging among employees, as they feel they are being recognized as individuals instead of just another minority number (Hunt, 2018). Maintaining each of these imperatives can ensure that diversity remains closely aligned with a company's vision and mission and is supporting the growth of the company.

C: Diversity: A Driver of Success

Many corporations within America view diversity and inclusion as a social-justice issue and often only partake to meet compliance or gain a recruiting edge. However, what most do not realize is that there is a direct correlation between the success of a company and its D&I program. A study that analyzed approximately 600 different business decisions by 200 different business teams found that inclusive teams make better business decisions up to 87% of the time and deliver 60% better results (Larson, 2017). It is these numbers that speak to the financial benefits of creating a diverse and inclusive environment, however, there are still numerous all white-male decision-making teams across corporate America. Almost 38% of decisions in a typical large company are still made by all-male teams (Larson, 2017).

Keeping trend in with diversity driving business success, having a strong D&I program can also lead to an increase in captured market share. In a recent study, it was found that firms with diversity in inherent and acquired traits are "45% likelier to report a growth in market share over the previous year and 70% likelier to report that the firm captured a new market" (Sherbin et al., 2014). Along with increased market share performance and stronger decision making, including diversity within genders and minorities also show a direct correlation to

strong financial performance ([See Appendix F](#)). When considering minority balance within the workplace, those who fall in the upper quartile of diversity are expected to perform 33% better than those who are in the lower quartile. It is figures such as these that have begun to create a new and more powerful case for why diversity and inclusion are a necessary part of the workforce and extend the program's impact beyond that of social justice or human resources.

IV. Why Diversity & Inclusion Can Be Problematic

A: Barriers to Diversity & Inclusion

i. Individual Barriers

There are numerous ways in which diversity resistance is manifested and each has a focus on either the individual or the organization as a whole ([See Appendix G](#)). These forms of resistance can be overt or subtle but often hold the same underlying motivations. Common overt reactions from an individual can be offensive verbal or physical communications or actions with the intent of discrimination in a hostile manner (Thomas, 2008). While they are less common, these forms of diversity resistance are still apparent in today's society. A more common and less aggressive form of resistance is through subtle actions. Within the workplace, it is quite possible to experience coworkers who avoid those who are different from them and often try to diminish a diverse person's accomplishments (Thomas, 2008). It is even possible that diversity resistance comes in the form of avoidance altogether. Lack of acknowledgment does not make employees a part of the solution, but a part of the problem. Now despite their indistinct nature, these actions are still just as offensive as racial slurs or physical contact.

Understanding the psychological motives behind this resistance to diversity and change can often result in unique findings. Some of these reactions can be deeply rooted in childhood

norms and family views, causing a large number of employees to be hesitant to accept an individual they spent a large number of years rejecting. However, not all biased can be blamed on family upbringings. White male backlash is a common resistance to diversity; the emotional response to the large focus on diversity is largely due to fear that white males may lose their competitive advantage in the business field (Thomas, 2008). Personal motives can make it difficult to mitigate diversity resistance and pose a large challenge for firms who plan to implement a diversity and inclusion initiative.

ii. Organizational Barriers

When considering organizational diversity resistance, it is important to understand that, despite being on the organizational level, these perceptions of equality, or lack thereof, stem from the individuals who serve as leadership and guidance to the firm. Courtesy of the EEOC, overt reactions to diversity within the organizational space has become much more limited. It is illegal for a business to implement clear discriminatory HR policies, or show outright resistance to those who are diverse. However, this is not to say that overt resistance has been completely abolished. Small, locally-owned business – depending on the demographics of the town and geographic location – can often show a blatant disregard for compliance and will display overt resistance with little to no repercussions.

Much more common resistance to diversity in the workplace often falls to firms that focus solely on being compliant and disregard the need for creating an inclusive culture. The subtle resistance of these types of companies can often be seen in ways such as turning a blind eye to diversity issues, treating it as a ‘non-issue’, or viewing the program as either too time

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consuming or too complex (Thomas, 2008). It is attitudes like this that create a workspace that creates silent discomfort for those who are different.

Even when a firm has recognized diversity and inclusion as a topic that requires attention, views from leadership can still diminish its value and how serious their employees take the program. Often, business leadership will approach the topic of diversity and inclusion as a human resources issue or a social justice issue (Business Leaders, 2017). What they fail to see is that a strong D&I program is a fundamental business issue and plays a pivotal part in the firm's overall success. Leadership will often use this outlook on D&I like an excuse to dismiss the topic or pass along the task to middle management team members. This can often be an unforeseen recipe for disaster, as the middle management are not in the position to make the hard decisions of the structure of the program and often lack the knowledge on how to properly implement a D&I program.

B: The Current Pitfalls of Diversity & Inclusion Programs

i. Compliance-based Diversity

The beginnings of D&I initiatives stem from numerous historic monumental milestones for equality within the United States. It is because of this that government regulations lie at the core of most diversity and inclusion programs, with an obligation to reach required quotas. In such a data-driven world where the focus is solely on the numbers, there seems to be no reason why diversity and inclusion programs should be treated any differently. It would seem to most companies that by recruiting, employing, and promoting 'x' number of 'diverse' employees should equal doing their part in promoting diversity and inclusion within the workplace. However, what most of the employees who take this route fail to realize, is that a

truly successful D&I program fosters an inclusive and supportive environment. This is something that requires an unwavering amount of dedication, intentional and meaningful actions, and a solid amount of strategic planning (Fan, 2018); all qualities that are unmeasurable in a data analytics approach.

ii. Meeting the Margin

To achieve a sustainable program that results in the long-term success of the firm and becomes a strategic imperative the firm must be deciding for growth, as opposed to a decision at the margin. It is quite common for firms to make the decision to recruit just to meet their desired number of 'diverse' candidates, or when their employed diversity numbers begin to decrease (Fan, 2018). It is in this strategic thinking that a company is focusing on 'buying' diversity, as opposed to incorporating D&I as a strategic initiative that can help propel the growth of the firm.

iii. The Creation of Standalone Programs

Often when the conversation of diversity and inclusion comes to the table, leadership is quick to fall into the 1960 safety net strategy. This strategy is one that normally includes diversity training and hiring tests and performance ratings to justify the lack of diversity in recruitment or promotions. Both of these tactics are simply a way through the not-so-small legal loophole of meeting diversity requirements from the EEOC but do little to foster an environment of acceptance ([See Appendix H](#)). These training and tactics take a strong command and control approach to diversity and inclusion, making the program a non-integral part of the company's ethics and strategies. And while some may argue that this strategy does raise awareness of the issue, it is important to recognize that having a standalone program does

not bridge the gap that most minorities feel within the workplace and are often the epitome of diversity without inclusion.

V. Looking Forward

A: Strategies for Diversity & Inclusion Program Improvement

Depending on the stage at which a diversity and inclusion program is in, strategies for improvement can vary. However, some strong tactics can help elevate any program to reach a stage where it is the driving force of change within an organization. A large number of firms struggle with D&I because they feel that the impact and its performance are solely qualitative, thus being extremely difficult to measure. A strategy for overcoming this issue is to begin implementing a diversity & inclusion scorecard. This scorecard can measure and track an employee's perception and experiences within the inclusive environment the firm is attempting to foster. Important metrics to include on the scorecard are an inclusion index and a culture index, which help measure a sense of belongingness and the relationship between corporate and employee core values (Fan, 2018). Taking a scorecard approach allows for measurable experience data to be collected internally and can begin to lend towards a data analytics approach to a firm's diversity and inclusion performance.

Another key strategy to help support the longevity of a diversity and inclusion program is to implement a Diversity and Inclusion council. Having a group of employees who are dedicated to overseeing the effectiveness of the program creates a united front to the rest of the company and displays a sense of dedication to providing direction and setting objectives for D&I. As the council leads the diversity and inclusion program within the workplace the team must employ an ally program, pulling in the majority to support the minority in critical

conversations (Westerhaus-Renfrow, 2018). Creating an ally program and pioneering the diversity and inclusion initiatives can create a more inclusive and accepting environment within the workplace and can also allow for better monitoring of middle-management and an overall increase in accountability throughout the firm.

One strategy that may strike many people as a no-brainer but is often left at the wayside is to nurture an accepting environment that actively seeks out unique perspectives, opinions, and backgrounds (Fan, 2018). When striving to create this type of workplace culture it can be beneficial to ensure that a company's corporate social responsibility programs and diversity and inclusion are closely aligned. At Northern Trust, the Chief Diversity Officer, Connie Lindsey, speaks to the alignment of these two factors. She emphasizes that one of the strongest ways to illustrate social responsibility within her firm is to speak to diversity and inclusion (Vollman, 2016). Becoming inclusive of one another, both at the corporate and personal levels is arguably one of the most crucial factors of social responsibility. Employing allies within the firm is a simple way to begin aligning social responsibility and D&I. Human Resources departments and recruitment are often simple ways to begin aligning values and ensuring that there is proper support for a diversity and inclusion program within the workplace.

B: Suggestions for Further Research

The nature of diversity and inclusion is extremely dynamic and will continue to evolve as societal norms adjust across the world. This idea has most recently been demonstrated in the development of a strong LGBTQ+ support movement throughout the United States. Due to its recent growth in attention and importance, there is limited data to support the benefits of inclusion of members who identify as different sexualities. For further research to strengthen

the argument to push inclusivity past gender or race, future studies measuring how sexuality representation within business teams impact company performance should be implemented.

Along with including LGBTQ+ communities into the impact that D&I has on a company's performance, it will also be beneficial to begin analyzing the effectiveness of each program based on industry. Many of the performance metrics include firms from all different industries to illustrate an overall benefit of D&I. Developing key insights on how D&I can benefit the technology industry, the health industry, or the financial services industry will create a stronger call to actions for industries who may lack strong diversity and inclusion movements.

VI. Conclusion

From the early Civil Rights movements to today's day and age of highly debated social issues, what social injustice looks like within the workplace has largely transformed over the years. The field of diversity and inclusion has largely changed from meeting EEOC requirements to now cultivating environments that accept and support those who have various inherent and acquired traits. Creating strong diversity and inclusion programs with this kind of support has the potential to provide numerous tangible and intangible benefits for the firm, from increasing employee morale to improved brand reputations, and has even proven to drive financial success within firms.

However, despite all of these supporting metrics, there is still a strong amount of both personal and organizational diversity resistance. Corporate America must continue to dedicate time to mitigate the current pitfalls of diversity and inclusion and implore strategic initiatives that help ensure the longevity of D&I programs within the workplace. Companies who can see

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the value in diversity, inclusion and cultural competence have the opportunity to leverage the unique skills and experiences of its employees and become a global leader for change.

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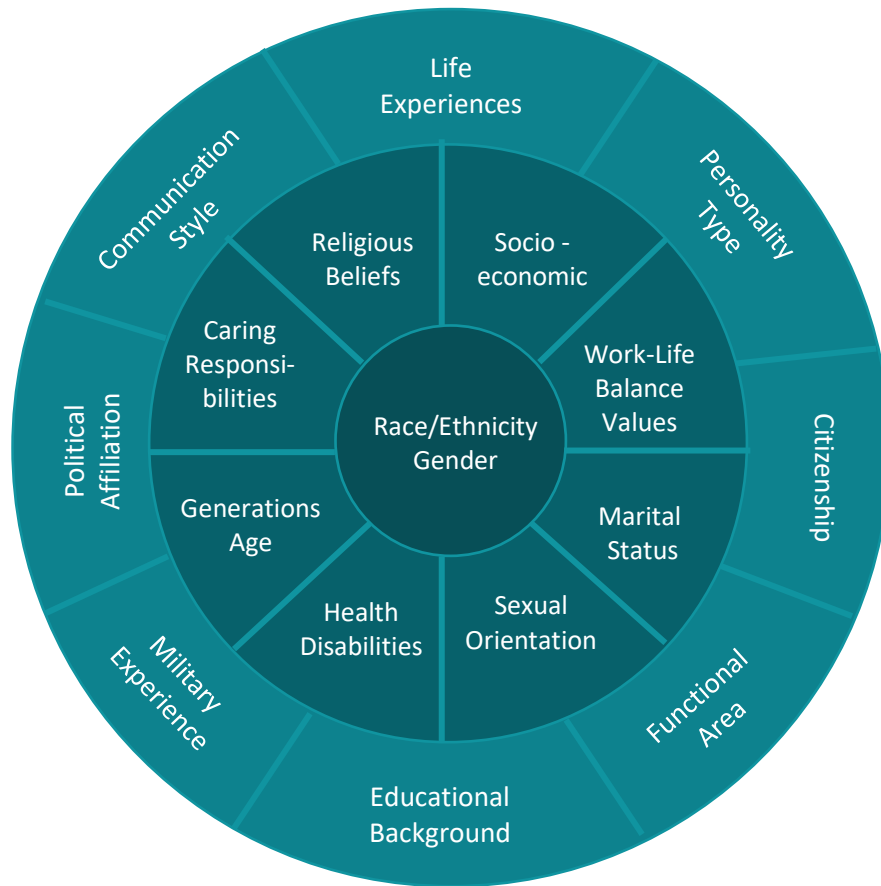
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VIII. Appendices

Appendix A: The Diversity Wheel



Source: (Wooten, 2008)

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Appendix B: Continuum of Organizational Diversity Work



Source: (National Multicultural Institute)

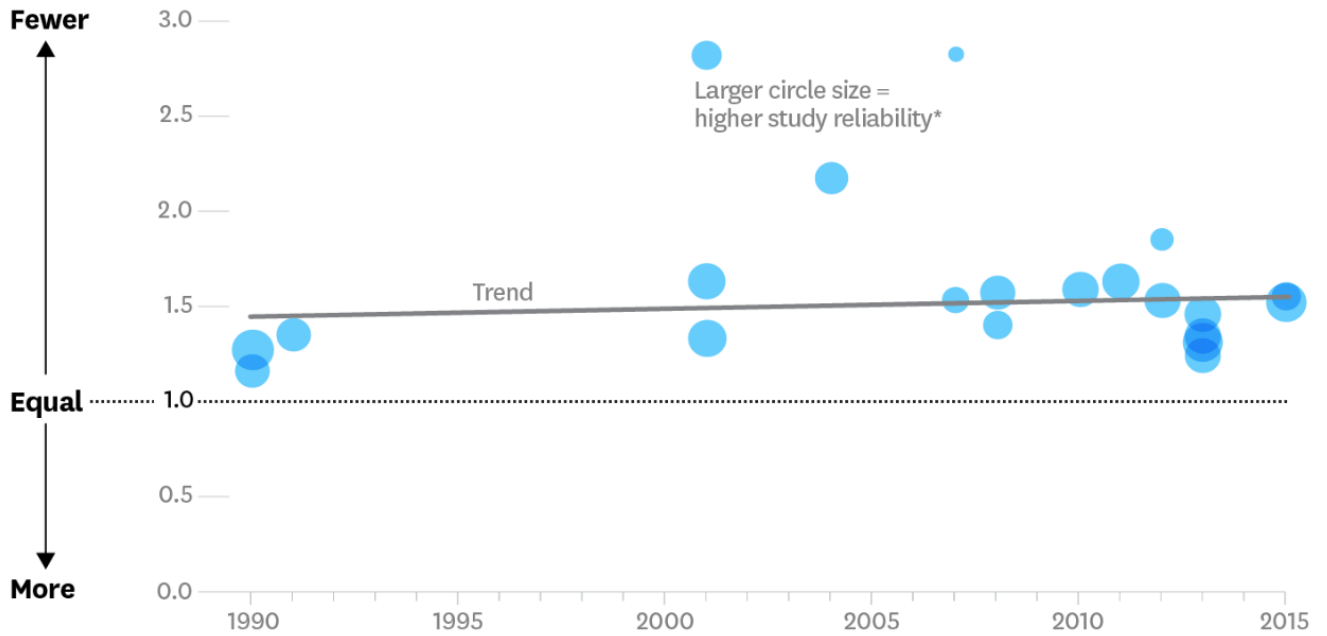
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Appendix C: Black Americans and Hiring Discrimination

Black Americans Have Faced the Same Amount of Hiring Discrimination for the Past 25 Years

An analysis of 21 field experiments contrasting white and black Americans, based on 42,708 applications for 20,990 positions.

DISCRIMINATION RATIO: CALLBACKS FOR BLACK APPLICANTS RELATIVE TO WHITE APPLICANTS



*Study reliability indicates the reliability of the study’s estimate of discrimination relative to other studies, influenced by the number of applications a study sends out, among other factors.

SOURCE “META-ANALYSIS OF FIELD EXPERIMENTS SHOWS NO CHANGE IN RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING OVER TIME,” BY LINCOLN QUILLIAN ET AL., PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, 2017

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Source: (Quillian et al., 2019)

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Appendix D: The Four Stages of Diversity & Inclusion



Source: (National MultiCultural Institute)

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Appendix E: The Four Imperatives



Source: (Hunt, 2018)

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Appendix F: Likelihood of Financial Performance

Percentage of Financial Performance above industry median



Source: (Hunt, 2018)

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Appendix G: A Typology of Diversity Resistance

UNDERSTANDING DIVERSITY RESISTANCE		<i>Levels at Which Diversity Resistance is Manifested</i>	
		Individual	Organizational
<i>Manifestations of Diversity Resistance</i>	Overt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verbal and physical harassment • Graffiti • Intentional and hostile forms of discrimination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intentional discriminatory human resources policies and practices • Retaliation
	Subtle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Silence regarding inequities • Avoidance and exclusion based upon differences • Discrediting of ideas/individuals who are different from the norm 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultures of silence around diversity and discrimination • Mixed messages related to diversity • Diversity as a ‘non-issue’ • Messages that place diversity as ‘too time consuming’ or ‘too complex’ • Secondary victimization

Source: (Thomas, 2008)

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Appendix H: Poor Return on Typical Diversity Programs

% Change Over Five Years In Representation Among Mangers

Type of Program	White		Black		Hispanic		Asian	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Mandatory Diversity Training				-9.2			-4.5	-5.4
Job Tests		-3.8	-10.2	-9.1	-6.7	-8.8		-9.3
Grievance Systems		-2.7	-7.3	-4.8		-4.7	-11.3	-4.1

***Gray: No Statistical Certainty of Program's Effect*

Source: (Fan, 2018)

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