

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL ROOTS OF DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT

Michael Brazzel, PhD, CPCC, PCC

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DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT

Diversity management is an emerging field of theory, research, teaching and practice. While there is no consensus among diversity management practitioners about purpose, methods, outcomes and values, a working definition of the field is:

Diversity management uses applied behavioral science methodology, research and theory to manage organizational change and stability processes, that support diversity in organizations and eliminate oppression based on race, gender, sexual orientation and other human differences, in order to improve the health and effectiveness of organizations, while affirming the values of respect for human differences, social justice, participation, community, authenticity, compassion, proaction and humility, effectiveness and health, and life-long learning.

From the perspective of this working definition, the purpose of the diversity management field is to improve the health and effectiveness of organizations. It is a field that uses applied behavioral science methods, research and theory. It is focused on change and stability processes involving diversity and social justice in organizations. Diversity management is a values-based field and values are integral part of the definition and how practitioners conduct their work.

Diversity management is a cross-disciplinary field that uses applied behavioral theory and methods. The applied behavioral sciences include: anthropology, economics, education, human resource management, organization behavior, organization development, political science, psychology, social work, and sociology.

The applied behavioral sciences address the whole range of human systems: individuals, groups, organizations, communities, and societies. Each level of system can be further divided into subsystems and key aspects of the environment for that level of system. Psychologists are likely to be concerned with intra-personal (or intra-psychic), individual, and interpersonal levels. Organization behavior practitioners interested in small groups focus on group members, the group, and the intergroup and organizational environment (Gillette and McCollom, 1995, p. 5.) Organization development practitioners may subdivide the organization level to include organization subsystems, the organization, and the inter-organization network environment.

The diversity management focuses on organizations. Organizations are viewed broadly. They can include for-profit businesses and industries; non-profit and non-governmental organizations; prisons; police departments and courts; educational institutions and systems; local, regional, national and global government bodies; labor unions; religious organizations; community organizations; organizations concerned with environmental, consumer safety and civil rights issues; political parties. They include organizations that are set up on a temporary and on a long-term basis; single organizations and networks of organizations; organizations located in one nation and global organizations.

Diversity management interventions into organizations and organizational change and stability processes can include working inside organizations – with individuals and groups/teams in organizations, parts of the organization, and the whole. Diversity management interventions may also involve changing

organizations from the outside, rather from inside the organizations, by organizing and working with community and societal groups concerned with diversity and social justice issues in organizations.

Diversity management addresses both diversity and social justice issues. Diversity refers to:

1. The many differences among people, including age, class, ethnicity, gender, health, physical and mental ability, race, sexual orientation, spiritual practice, stature, education level, job level and function;
2. Cultural differences;
3. Levels of system;
4. Different ways diversity and social justice are experienced including, cognitive, behavioral, physical, emotional, and beliefs/values experiences.

Social justice is defined and used here to mean the elimination of oppression. Human differences provide the richness of a varied human experience. They are also the basis for defining group identities and memberships which form the foundation for oppression.

Oppression is the systems of inequality, privilege, and violence – i.e., racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism and other forms of oppression – that are institutionalized in the cultures, policies, and practices of society and organizations and internalized in individuals. Oppression results in privilege for members of dominant groups of people and harm and violence for marginalized group members. The privilege that results from oppression and give advantages to dominant group members is the unearned, unacknowledged rights, benefits and opportunities that are a form of “affirmative action” for dominant group members. The violence of oppression results from actions, behaviors, and practices that are experienced by marginalized group members as life-diminishing, life-deadening, life-threatening, and life-ending as opposed to life-enhancing, life-enriching, and life-giving experiences.

Diversity and social justice are two sides of the same coin. They can be viewed separately and they cannot be separated. The diversity management field, and its focus on human differences, exists because of the richness and advantages embedded there for humans and because of the ways use differences to harm and privilege each other. Human differences are easier to focus on. Because oppression is more difficult, oppressions issues are often ignored or avoided. “Social justice issues must be addressed in order to achieve the potential of diversity” (Miller, 1994, p. xxvi).

Values

The diversity management field is based in values. One list of values for the diversity management field is included in the working definition of diversity management. There is no consensus or research about values held by diversity management practitioners at this early stage in the life of the field. Diversity management is related to the diversity and the organization and human systems development (OHSD) fields, for which lists of values are also available.

Diversity Field. A list of values for the diversity field was developed by the Diversity Collegium (2001), a group of 25 diversity practitioners who began meeting in the early 1990s to explore and better understand the field and practice of diversity. Their list of values is part of a conceptual framework prepared for a discussion at a June 2001, Diversity Symposium at Bentley College to encourage a “universally accepted conceptual framework for the practice of diversity” (p. 5). They divide the diversity field into three branches: individual and group diversity, organizational diversity, and societal diversity (pp. 3-4). The diversity management field corresponds in part to the Collegium’s organizational branch. The Collegium considers social justice issues to be part of the societal branch, whereas they are included as an integral part of the entire diversity management field in the diversity management working definition.

Organization and Human Systems Development Field. A list of values was developed by Gellerman, Frankel, and Ladenson as a part of “A Statement of Values and ethics by Professionals in Organization and Human Systems Development” (1990, pp. 372-393). The statement and the list of values for the OHSD field resulted from a participative, 1981-1990 research study that involved review and input from

individuals and organization development organizations, associations, and networks in more than fifteen countries (p. 366). The OHSD field is also referred to as organization development (p. 366). Diversity Management overlaps with the OHSD field.

The three lists of values for the diversity management, diversity, and OHSD fields are shown in Table 1. There are substantial overlaps among the lists.

Table 1. Values of Diversity Management and Related Fields

Diversity Management Field (Diversity Management Working Definition)	Diversity Field (Diversity Collegium, 2001)	Organization and Human Systems Development Field (Gellerman, Frankel and Ladenson, 1990)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect for human differences • Social justice • Participation • Community • Authenticity • Compassion • Proaction and humility • Effectiveness and health • Life-long learning 	<p>Global Values:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Justice and fairness • Respect • Love/caring/empathy/compassion • Responsibility • Family/community/relationships • Integrity/honesty/truth • Life/reverence/preservation • Spirituality • Learning/knowledge • Freedom <p>Business Values:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Innovation • Markets/customers • Quality/productivity/profitability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Life and the quest for happiness • Freedom, responsibility, and self-control • Justice • Human potential and empowerment • Respect, dignity, integrity, worth, and fundamental rights • Authenticity, congruence, honesty and openness, understanding, and acceptance • Flexibility, change, and proaction • Learning, development, growth, and transformation • Whole-win attitudes, trust, cooperation-collaboration, community, and diversity • Participation, democracy, and appropriate decision-making • Effectiveness, efficiency, and alignment

Perspectives and Paradigms

The terms “diversity management” and “Managing diversity” came into use in the United States in the 1980s. The diversity management field emerged in the 1990s. The overall managing diversity “movement” was a response in organizational decision-making and management processes both to:

- The demands raised by the civil-rights and women’s liberation movements, Supreme Court rulings, and federal civil rights, equal opportunity, and affirmative legislation and regulation in the 1950s and 1960s and
- The recognition of competitive and economic self-interest by organizations for effectively managing the differences represented by an increasingly diverse workforce.

Because of these influences, diversity management practitioners and organizations that are addressing diversity and social justice concerns hold a variety of perspectives and paradigms about diversity management. For example, in 1992 Patti DeRosa listed six approaches to diversity training:

- **Affirmative action/equal employment opportunity (AA/EEO):** providing organizational compliance with laws and regulations.
- **Valuing differences:** supporting greater personal and interpersonal awareness and respect for human differences.

- **Managing diversity:** improving organization productivity and profit out of business necessity.
- **Inter-cultural relations:** improving interpersonal communications and relationships across human differences.
- **Prejudice reduction:** reducing bias and stereotypes in personal and interpersonal awareness and relationships and supporting personal and interpersonal healing and reconciliation, and
- **Anti-racism / anti-oppression, liberation theory:** providing social justice and systemic change at all levels of human system (DeRosa, 1992).

As with diversity management practitioners, organizations also view diversity management in many different ways. The following are different paradigms which organizations use for giving meaning to the concept of diversity management:

Uphold Sameness, Prohibit / Discourage Differences.

The purpose of diversity management for this organization is to maintain an organization of sameness by formal or informal policy and include only people in the work of the organization who fit the prescribed organizational culture. Others, who do not have the correct race, gender, educational or geographic background and other qualifications, are excluded. Differences are permitted only within the limits and prohibitions of the organization. This organization intentionally or unintentionally and consciously or unconsciously maintains dominance and oppression that benefits those with the acceptable qualifications and is to the detriment of those who do not.

Diversity Management Paradigms
• Uphold Sameness, Prohibit / Discourage Differences
• Appreciate Everyone
• Compliance
• Assimilation
• Accept and Celebrate Differences
• Organizational Learning
• Social Justice.

Appreciate Everyone. The organization strives to treat each person the same and encourages employees to appreciate and get along with each other regardless of cultural differences. It sees everyone as individuals and attempts to be color-blind, gender-blind, and blind in general to human differences. Judith Palmer refers to this as “the golden rule” paradigm (Palmer, 1994, pp. 253-254). “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.” The organization strives through diversity management in this paradigm to maintain a culture of sameness, to suppress differences or to deny that they exist.

Compliance. The organization makes good-faith efforts to recruit, hire and retain sufficient numbers of women, people of color and others who are under-represented in its workforce to comply with moral and federal equal opportunity and affirmative action requirements. David Thomas and Robin Ely refer to this approach as the “discrimination and fairness” paradigm (Thomas and Ely, 1996, pp. 81-83). Palmer calls it the “right the wrongs” paradigm (Palmer, 1994, pp. 254-256). The purpose of diversity management, here, is to meet employment goals for under-represented groups of employees and insure equality, respect, and fair treatment for them.

Assimilation. The organization is clear about employee norms for dress, style, education, how work needs to be performed and other ways of being in the organization’s workforce. Employees are asked to accommodate to these norms – to assimilate. Often the norms represent a narrow band-width of thought, appearance, and behavior that fits the style and approach of organizational leaders. Some differences are tolerated when the organization works to maintain visual workforce differences – in the sense of “look different, but act and think in ways that fit into the organization’s norms.” Roosevelt Thomas describes this assimilation or melting pot approach to diversity management as the traditional approach to managing people for U.S. organizations. He contrasts it with an approach that values and empowers all employees for all their differences (Thomas, 1990, pp. 7-15).

Accept and Celebrate Differences. The organization accepts, celebrates, and values diversity because it makes business sense, provides competitive advantage, and is a source of creativity, innovation, and productivity. Thomas and Ely describe this diversity management approach as the “access and legitimacy” paradigm (Thomas and Ely, 1996, pp. 83-85). The organization is concerned with achieving

differentiation, rather than assimilation. All employees are appreciated and valued because of their differences. Marilyn Loden refers to this approach as the “valuing diversity” paradigm (Loden, 1994, pp. 294-300). Palmer calls it the “value all differences” paradigm (Palmer, 1994, pp. 254-256).

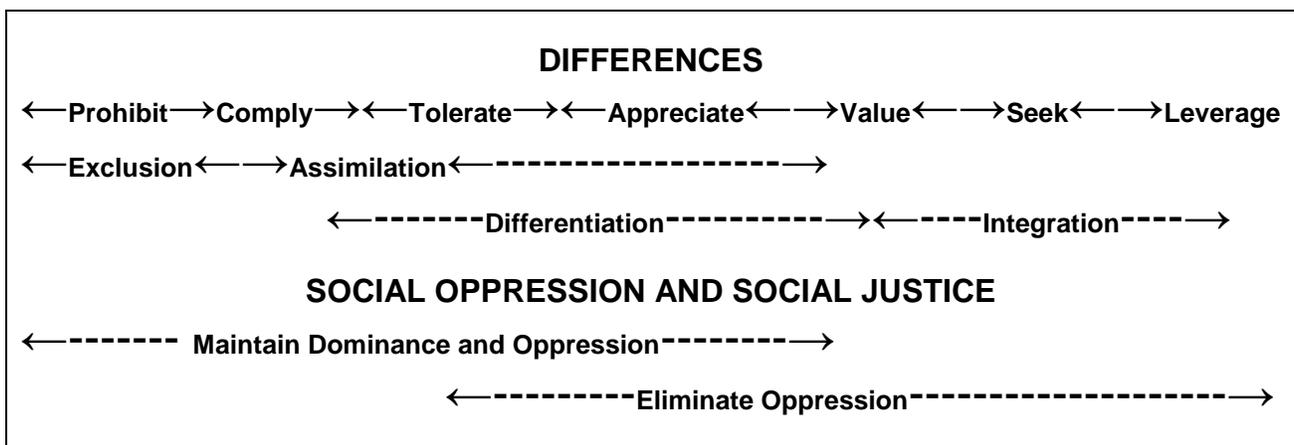
Employees from different cultural backgrounds permit the organization to serve its customers better and to create niche markets that would not otherwise be available to it. The organization notices and accommodates differences in employee requirements involving food, dress, religion, language, holidays, and family/work concerns. With cultural competency by the organization and its employees, attention is paid to leadership, communication, and teamwork across cultural differences, including race, gender, ethnicity, and nationality (Tropenaars and Hampton-Turner, 1998; Kochman, 1981; Gilligan, 1982; Kanter, 1977; Tannen, 1994). Jean Kim refers to this organizational approach of encouraging employees to understand each other’s culture as “cultural enlightenment” (Kim, 1994, pp130-134).

Organizational Learning. The organization learns from the cultural differences of employees about how to do its work in fundamentally different and more effective ways. The different cultural perspectives and work styles of all employees lead to a widening and reframing of the issues around what work the organization does and how it does that work. Thomas and Ely refer to this way of thinking about diversity management as the “learning and effectiveness” paradigm (Thomas and Ely, 1996, pp. 85-86). The organization leverages diversity by integrating and internalizing differences among employees to support its learning, growth, and effectiveness. In this case, the organization is concerned with integration of cultural perspectives, work styles, and other differences, rather than the concepts of differentiation or assimilation associated with other differences paradigms.

Social Justice. The organization works to eliminate oppression based on race, gender, sexual orientation and other differences. Racism, sexism, heterosexism and the other “isms” that are institutionalized in organizational policies, programs, norms, and structures are barriers to people being able to do their best work. In this context, Elsie Cross defines managing diversity in terms of the amelioration of oppression and concludes that managing diversity efforts focused solely on differences miss the real issue of oppression (Cross, 2000). The benefits of diversity cannot be realized fully until the privilege and harm that result from oppression are addressed.

These paradigms are interrelated. The range of organizational perspectives and paradigms are summarized in Chart 1 as continua of differences and social justice paradigms.

Chart 1. Interrelated Perspectives and Paradigms of Diversity Management



Many, if not most, organizations, who are concerned with diversity management, are focused on the management of differences and operate out of one or more of the differences paradigms. They may stand for prohibiting differences and excluding specific groups of people or they may stand for including people. Inclusion can mean different things to different organizations:

- Compliance with EEO/AA laws and regulations or tolerating, appreciating, valuing, seeking, or leveraging differences and
- An organizational stance in support of assimilation, of differentiation, or of integration of differences.

Organizations may be operating out of several of the differences paradigms at the same time.

Fewer organizations intentionally choose both to manage differences and to address the gains available from the pursuit of social justice – the elimination of institutionalized racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression. Organizations that operate out of the left side of the differences continua also operate out of a social injustice or dominance and oppression paradigm, whether intentional or not.

In contrast with the working definition of diversity management described above, the range and variety of these perspectives and paradigms lead to multiple ideas about the purpose of the field of diversity management. In regard to human differences, some consider the purpose of diversity management as the discouragement or prohibition of differences. Others see diversity management's purpose as seeking and leveraging differences for the benefit of organizations. These contrasting views about purpose involve a range of organizational stances toward human differences from exclusion to assimilation, differentiation, and integration. The purpose of diversity management may also be defined in relation to the stance of organizations toward social injustice and justice and can range from maintaining dominance and oppression to eliminating oppression within and outside the organization.

The diversity management field, and the managing diversity perspectives and paradigms are based in the historical and theoretical roots of the field. The historical roots of diversity management are the social unrest of the 1960s and 70s and demographic and economic changes of the 1980s and 90s. These historical events and changes have sometimes resulted in confusion and conflict about whether diversity management should address only diversity or both diversity and social justice. Diversity management's theoretical roots are in the applied behavioral sciences, community organizing and social action. The patterns of theory, research, teaching and practice that have evolved for the field have resulted from the historical and theoretical roots of diversity management.

HISTORICAL ROOTS

Diversity management is rooted in the social protest, civil rights, and liberation movements of the 1950s, 60s, and 70s; judicial rulings and federal civil rights and equal opportunity legislation in the 1950s and 1960s; and demographic and economic changes in the 1980s and 90s.

Social Protest, Judicial Rulings, and Legislation

This section describes some key events and time lines in the history of diversity management and depends on the work of Clare Swanger (1994), Maurianne Adams, Lee Ann Bell, and Pat Griffen (1997), and Elsie Y. Cross (2000), and on information from the internet websites of key organizations.

- In 1954, *Brown v. Board of Education* was argued successfully before the U.S. Supreme Court by Thurgood Marshall, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) Legal Defense and Education Fund. In that case the Supreme Court overturned the 1896 separate-but-equal doctrine in 1954 and in the next year ordered desegregation of public schools.
- In 1955, Rosa Parks, a black woman, was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama bus to a white man. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. organized a year-long boycott of Montgomery buses.

- From that time, Dr. King joined with other leaders and freedom workers from the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC), Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and other organizations to provide employment and voter education and lead peaceful, non-violent marches, rallies, boycotts, lunch counter sit-ins and strikes for racial equality. These efforts were met with ridicule, threats, beatings, fire hoses, police dogs, arrests, bombings, fires, and murder. More than forty people were killed in the struggle for civil rights between 1954 and 1968 (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2000).
- By the mid-60s, Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Eldridge Cleaver, and others from the Black Panthers, Nation of Islam, and Black Nationalist Movement advocated retaliatory violence and the separation of races.
- President John Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Medgar Evers, and Robert Kennedy were assassinated and civil rights leaders and workers murdered.
- Between 1965 and 1968, protests against racial inequality erupted in more than 160 cities and towns across the country. These protests often involved confrontation with police and local authority and destruction of homes and businesses in black communities.

Other protest, social liberation, and civil rights movements began in the 1960s.

- Anti-Vietnam War protests, draft-card burnings and marches were organized.
- The counter-culture movement grew among young people.
- In 1962, Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta co-founded the United Farm Workers, a union and civil rights organization for farm and migrant workers. They organized a strike against corporate grape growers and a national grape boycott which lasted from 1965 to 1970.
- In 1968, The National Council of La Raza was founded as a Latino civil rights advocacy group.
- The American Citizens for Justice was founded in 1983 to organize for pan-Asian civil rights.
- The American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee was formed in 1980 to combat defamation and stereotyping and defend the rights of people of Arab descent.
- The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, working against anti-Semitism, racism, and hate crimes and with the Southern Poverty Law Center, which was formed in 1971, provided leadership in tracking and working against racist and neo-Nazi white supremacy groups like the National Alliance, Klan, and Patriot militia groups.
- The Gray Panthers were founded in 1970 by Maggie Kuhn to work against age discrimination and as advocate for the national health care system (Gray Panthers, 2000).
- Following the lead of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, legal and civil rights education organizations were formed between 1969 and 1993 to protect the civil rights of Native Americans, Mexican Americans and Latinos, American Arabs, Asian Pacific Americans, women, children, gays and lesbians, people with disabilities, and poor people.
- The American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded in 1968 by Clyde H. Bellecourt and others for the protection of the rights of Native Americans (American Indian Movement, 2000). AIM participated in the 1969, nineteen-month occupation and reclaiming of Alcatraz Island and organized the 1972 Trail of Broken Treaties March on Washington and the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee. It founded Women of All Red Nations (WARN) in 1978 to address issues facing Indian women and their families. Warn helped expose the U.S. federal program of involuntary

sterilization of forty-two percent of the native women of childbearing age during the 1970s (Churchill, 1994).

- Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963 and raised awareness of abuse, discrimination, and violence against women. Women's liberation and consciousness-raising groups were formed across the country. The National Organization of Women (NOW) was formed in 1966 and the National Women's Political Caucus followed in 1973. Mass marches, demonstrations, rallies, and get-out-the-vote campaigns were organized to focus on increasing the number of women elected officials, support of the *Equal Rights Amendment*, ending sexual harassment and violence against women, reproductive freedom and women's health issues, and opposing racism and bigotry against lesbians and gays.
- The gay and lesbian rights movement grew out of the Stonewall riots in 1969 – three days of riots in New York City touched off by a police raid of a gay bar in Greenwich Village. The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force was formed. National marches on Washington for lesbian and gay rights were in 1979 and 1987. Two direct action protest groups, ACT UP and Queer Nation were organized in 1988 and 1990 to advance gay and lesbian rights.
- Beginning in 1957 and continuing until the 1990s, Congress passed a series of civil rights laws forbidding discrimination on the basis of gender, color, race, religion, national origin, age, or physical disability in areas of employment, education, housing, voting, and public accommodations. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided for enforcement of discrimination prohibition through private litigation and suits brought by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). In 1973, AT&T employees won a pay-discrimination class-action lawsuit against AT&T, involving a \$50 million consent decree, higher wages, and back pay for women and people of color. As part of the court's decision, AT&T became the first company to engage with the EEOC in an affirmative action agreement.
- Congress passed the equal rights amendment to the *U.S. Constitution* in 1972 stating that "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex." The amendment was ratified by only thirty-five of the necessary thirty-eight states by the 1982 deadline. The Americans with Disabilities Act was passed by the Congress in 1990. In 1994, the *Violence against Women Act* became federal law.

In the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, organizations addressed diversity issues involving discrimination and racial and gender violence because of:

1. *Fear*: concerns that social and community unrest would move into the workplace,
2. *Law*: compliance with equal employment opportunity and affirmative action laws and regulations, and
3. *Values/Ethics*: alignment with organizational moral and ethical standards and values – to do the right thing.

The changes that were anticipated from the civil rights actions and accomplishments of the 1960s did not materialize. Women and people of color were hired into entry-level positions and found it difficult to move up in their organizations. White women were able to move into middle management positions, while women and men of color were caught at the lowest levels of management. Few white women and almost no people of color have reached senior management levels (Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995; Fernandez, 1998). In the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, the organizational experience of white women and people of color began to be described in terms of glass ceilings, revolving doors, empty pipelines, and sticky floors. The salary gaps between white men and women and people of color persist. Employee and consumer discrimination suits against corporate, university, and government organizations continue.

Equal employment opportunity and affirmative action began to generate criticism and resistance in the 1970s, especially among white men concerned about the possibility of increased competition for jobs,

housing, education, and political power by women and people of color. With the election of Ronald Reagan and then George Bush in the 1980s, the federal government began backing away from enforcement of government EEO and affirmative programs.

Demographic and Economic Changes

Demographic and economic changes in the 1980s and 90s caused organizations to focus on profit, innovation, and effectiveness more than fear, law and values/ethics as reasons to address diversity issues. They began to see diversity programs as a way to generate greater organizational effectiveness and competitive advantage, even more than as a response to legal and value issues of discrimination and violence toward white women and people of color (Baker, 1996).

Reasons for Organizational Diversity Initiatives

- **Fear** – Avoid workplace unrest
- **Laws** – Comply with EEO/AA; avoid lawsuits
- **Values and Ethics** – Do the right thing
- **Profit** – Enhance effectiveness and competitive advantage

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The 1987 Workforce 2000 report of the Hudson Institute gave new perspective and impetus to organizational efforts to employ women and people of color with forecasts that white women, people of color, and immigrants would account for 85 percent of the growth in the U.S. labor force and those trends would continue into the next century (Johnston and Packer, 1987). In the 1980s many organizations began to find themselves operating increasingly in global markets and challenged to hire a work force capable of operating in a more-competitive international setting. Competitive pressures in the U.S. economy meant searching out and moving into new niche markets with customers from demographic groups not currently being served by organizations – and expanding their labor forces to people who represent those demographic groups. The economic growth, low-unemployment economy of the 1990s caused greater difficulty in hiring and retaining women and people of color.

Because of these changes, the concept of diversity is being talked about and understood in a very different way from the legal, values, and fear perspectives of the period before the 1980s. Diversity has become an economic value available to organizations that can be managed for profit, organizational advantage, success, and survival. (Prasad, 2001, p. 64.) As an alternative to investing in diversity programs, some organizations are buying insurance policies to protect against legal liabilities from lawsuits, mediation results, and jury verdicts (Abelson, 2002).

Oppression and social justice concerns are increasingly being seen in organizations and the U.S. as peripheral matters. Some organizations are attempting to move their diversity programs beyond “diversity” – seeing diversity as too linked with EEO/AA, race, racism, gender, and sexism. In the place of diversity programs, they are developing programs focused on individual respect, cultural competency, inclusion, and organizational values (Pine, 2001; Wallace, 2001).

THEORETICAL ROOTS

The diversity management movement from the 1980s began to emerge in the late 1990s as a field of study, teaching, research, and practice. The diversity management field is impacted by its history and based in the applied behavioral sciences community organizing, and social action. The applied behavioral sciences are the social sciences and organizational change disciplines with theory and methodology used to explain and bring about organizational through interventions at the individual, group, organization, community, and societal levels of human system. Diversity management interventions can be made at any of the levels of human system. The purpose of the interventions is organizational change.

The theoretical roots of the applied behavioral sciences form a foundation for diversity management which can be divided into categories according to level of human system: individual, group, organization, community, and society.

Individual Theory and Methods

Kurt Lewin, Karen Horney, Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers, Carl Jung, Laura and Fritz Perls and other psychologists developed theories for understanding and influencing individual behavior and development (Segal, 1997). Their ideas formed the basis for current thinking about the ways the thoughts, feelings, physical sensations, belief systems, the unconscious, and the environment impact individual human behavior in families, groups, and organizations. Counseling, coaching, and teaching strategies for helping individuals change and develop, for motivating employees, for leadership development, and for the use of one's self as an instrument of change all originate in theories of individual behavior and change.

Group Theory and Methods

Theories for understanding and influencing group behavior, dynamics, and development have been heavily impacted by the work of key people in three organizations and the group processes developed in each organization for "here and now" experienced-based learning about groups.

The NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science. In 1947, NTL was founded by Kenneth Benne, Leland Bradford, and Ronald Lippitt, who were colleagues of Kurt Lewin (Seashore and Katz, 1994 pp.333-336; Weisbord, 1987, pp. 99-104). NTL is now located in Arlington, VA. The T-group was developed by Lewin, Benne, Bradford, Lippitt, and others in 1946 and is offered in programs provided by NTL. The T-group is an unstructured group that provides learning about interpersonal relationships, information about perceptions of one's self and others, and the development and dynamics of groups. NTL Institute offered a program entitled Human Interaction in a Multicultural Context during the early 1980s that used same-culture and cross-culture T-groups to address race, gender, and cultural differences and oppression issues (Patricia Bidol-Padva, personal correspondence, February 25, 2002).

The Tavistock Institute of Human Relations. The Tavistock Institute was founded in London, England in 1947. In 1957, Eric Trist and Wilford Bion introduced the Tavistock or "Tavi" group: a group that has structure, clear boundaries, and trainers who are in a leader role and who have very limited interaction with participants. The Tavistock group provides learning about individuals' reactions and relationship with leadership and authority and often unconscious group processes such as pairing, fight-flight, and dependency (Weisbord, 1987, pp. 99-104; Segal, 1997, pp. 294-295). The A.K. Rice Institute (AKRI) was established in 1970 to provide programs in the U.S. following the Tavistock Institute's approach to groups. Its national office is in Jupiter, FL. AKRI offers the Diversity Conference and other Tavistock group-based programs that examine the implications of culture, race, gender, and other differences for the exercise of leadership and authority (A.K. Rice Institute, 2002).

The Gestalt Institute of Cleveland. In 1954, The Gestalt Institute of Cleveland was established in Cleveland, Ohio by students of Fritz and Laura Perls, Paul Goodman, and Isadore From. There are other Gestalt Institutes. However, the Gestalt Institute of Cleveland has had the greatest impact on Gestalt therapy (Wheeler, 1998, pp. 84-85) and the applied behavioral sciences. In 1996 the Gestalt Institute began training programs that applied gestalt theory to couples, families, groups, and organizations.

The Gestalt group, following the perspectives of the Gestalt Institute of Cleveland, highlights individual learning assisted by a trainer through interactions with the trainer, other participants, and experience of the group as a whole (Wheeler, 1998, pp. 84-109; Segal, 1997, pp. 294-295). The Gestalt group serves as a container for individual work with attention paid to thoughts, feelings, physical sensations, and value and belief systems of the individual and group.

The group theories that have evolved from the work and experience of the NTL, Tavistock, and Gestalt Institutes and other theorists and practitioners emphasize "here-and-now" experience-based learning, action learning, or learning-by-doing. Their ideas form the basis for current understanding of group dynamics and development processes of how individuals are impacted by group experience and of leader, trainer, and facilitator strategies for group training and education and helping teams and groups develop and change.

Organization Theory and Methods

The theories and methods for understanding and influencing organization change and development have also been impacted by the NTL, Tavistock, and Gestalt Institutes and theorists and practitioners who come from those three schools of thought. Core applied behavioral science approaches for understanding and impacting organizations are:

Action Research. Kurt Lewin, Eric Trist, and others developed and used action research (learning-by-doing and learning-through-action) as the central applied behavioral science method of organization inquiry, research, and intervention, as the foundation for organization consulting and as a model for organization change (Weisbord, 1987, pp. 149-152; French and bell, 1995, pp. 137-154).

Action research is research “with”, rather than research “about”, “on”, or “for”. The concept of cooperation with and participation by the people, who are experiencing the problems/issues and are impacted by actions taken, is as important as the concept of action. Action research is also known as participatory action research, participatory research, cooperative inquiry, and collaborative inquiry (Reason and Bradbury, 2001).

The central feature of action research as an organizational practice is participating as a consultant with client organizations in organization change work in order to understand, test, and build theory and conduct research. Action research involves joining with the organizational client in contracting, data collection, diagnosis, action, assessment of learning, identification of next steps, and termination of of the work.

Open Systems Theory. Open systems theory applied to organizations includes concepts that:

- Organizations impact and are impacted by their environments.
- Characteristics of systems reflect the characteristics of larger systems of which they are a part.
- One can intervene at different levels of system to change an organization.

These concepts are now commonplace in the applied behavioral sciences. Fred emery brought the open systems theory of Ludwig von Bertalanffy from physics and biology into the organization-focused work of the Tavistock Institute in 1950. Eric Trist and Ken Bamforth used open systems theory in 1951 to view organizations as socio-technical systems in which social systems and technical systems impact on each other (von Bertalanffy, 1950; Weisbord, 1987, pp. 157-178; French and Bell, 1995, pp. 89-94).

Marvin Weisbord broadened the open-systems perspective of organizations to a whole-systems perspective of working for organizational change in the same room with as many key organizational stakeholders as possible (Weisbord, 1987, pp. 237-252).

Traditional gestalt theories and methods for understanding and influencing individuals, families, and groups were extended and applied to organizations through the Gestalt Institute of Cleveland’s Organization and System Development program (Wheeler, 1987, pp. 104-106). That program was organized in 1973 by John Carter, Leonard Hirsch, Elaine Kepner, Carolyn Lukensmeyer, Edwin Nevis, Claire Stratford, and Jeffrey Voorhees (Nevis, 1987, p. xiii).

Change and Resistance Theory. Kurt Lewin introduced force-field analysis as a way to examine the change and stability forces that operate in organizations (and other human systems) by identifying the driving and restraining forces that lead to change and that maintain the status quo (Ingalls, 1979, pp. 230-231; French and Bell, 1995, pp. 191-193). Lewin believed that driving forces (forces for change) attract restraining forces or resistance (forces to keep things the same) – that is, that change and resistance to change are linked. He developed a change model to describe how change takes place, in which there is:

- *Unfreezing*: reducing restraining forces;

- *Moving*: changing attitudes, beliefs, actions, behaviors, structure; and
- *Refreezing*: achieving a new status quo with a balance of driving and restraining forces.

More detailed organizational change models, including the action research process, have evolved from Lewin's initial work. Much of the recent research and applications of the concept of resistance has come from the work and influence of the Gestalt Institute of Cleveland (Wheeler, 1987, pp. 84-132; Maurer, 1996).

Interview and Survey Data Feedback Methods. Action research requires methods for collecting organizational data and for feedback of the data to organization members. In the late 1940s and early 50s, Floyd Mann, Rensis Likert, and other staff members of the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research developed:

- Survey methods to systemically collect organizational data and
- Employee feedback meetings in which employees worked to analyze and make sense of the data results and identify necessary next steps (French and Bell, 1995, pp. 47-49, 219-227; Weisbord, 1987, pp. 192-194).

Data collection methods have evolved to include individual and group interview processes and structured data-development meetings of larger and larger groups of people.

Organization theories and methods have emerged from the organizational work and experience of members of the NTL, Tavistock, and Gestalt Institutes and other theorists and practitioners. They developed core theories and methods including, action research, open systems theory, change and resistance theory, and interview and survey feedback methods. Much of the theory that underlies organizational methods is practice theory based in action research. Practice theory and methods often circulate among practitioners through informal, often unpublished, word-of-mouth and practice notes. These ideas and others form the basis for current understanding of organization change, stability, and development processes and for consultant-theorist strategies for helping organizations grow and change.

Community and Society Theory and Methods: Changing Organizations from the Outside

For the most part, community and society theory in the applied behavioral sciences is an extension and application of organization theory to community and societal organizations. The traditional applied behavioral science perspective about organization change is that organizations can be changed from the inside through individual, group, and organization level interventions. With the exception of a limited, and not very visible, literature on organization stakeholder theory (see e.g., Mitroff, 1983; Frooman, 1999), the applied behavioral sciences have had little to say about changing organizations from the outside – from communities and society.

Some examples of changing organizations are available from the work of community organizers and social activists:

- Saul Alinsky began community organizing in 1938-39 in Chicago's Back of the Yards neighborhood, where he worked with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) to organize the Packinghouse Workers Union over the opposition of the Chicago stockyard's largest meatpacking companies – Swift, Armour, Wilson and Cudahy (Finks, 1984, pp. 9-18). In 1940, Alinsky established the Industrialized Areas Foundation (IAF) to fund community organizing across the country. By the time of his death in 1972, Saul Alinsky had organized several million people in poor neighborhoods and cities across the U.S. and impacted the behaviors and actions of corporations, city governments, churches, universities, and other organizations (Finks, 1984, p. 267). Some of his most notable organizing efforts include:

- Chicago’s Woodlawn neighborhood in its protest against the University of Chicago’s efforts to expand the campus by clearing part of Woodlawn without consulting residents and
 - Inner-city neighborhoods of Rochester, NY who challenged Kodak employment policies and practices.
 - The IAF continues to train community organizers and support community organizing efforts today.
- Cesar Chavez and Delores Huerta were early IAF organizers in Latino communities in California. They moved on to form the United Farm Workers Union to improve working and social conditions for farm worker and Latino communities in California and to organize a nationwide grape boycott.
 - Martin Luther King, Jr. organized boycotts, marches, rallies, sit-ins, and strikes to improve civil rights, opportunities, and access for African-Americans. He was assassinated in Memphis, TN as he began organizing to address the economic inequities of U.S. industries.
 - The Highlander Research and Education Center in New Market, TN has been supporting social change and training community organizers and citizens groups since the 1930s when it was founded by Myles Horton and others (Lewis, 2001). Highlander has been involved in the social justice efforts of the Appalachian region and the South – labor organizing, civil rights, environmental safety, and community development. The core methodology of the Highlander Center is participatory action research.
 - Paulo Freire wrote Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1996) and raised awareness in Brazil, the U.S., and other countries about the use of education systems and institutions to support classism and other forms of oppression and to reinforce the status quo. He initiated a movement to use education to support liberation and freedom for oppressed people.
 - Ralph Nader researched and wrote Unsafe at Any Speed and mobilized the consumer safety and protection movement.
 - Rachel Carson researched and wrote Silent Spring which was a catalyst for the environmental movement.
 - Betty Friedan was a catalyst for the women’s liberation movement with her book, Feminine Mystique.

Community organizers and social activists use a participatory action and learning process very similar to the action research and action learning processes of the applied behavioral sciences. They participate with people in communities and society to identify important and compelling issues, build relationships, community, and networks, identify and educate leaders, stand for dissent, act to bring change and learn from results of the change process. The organizing, advocacy, activist, and dissent strategies of community organizers and social activists for changing organizations from the outside offer additional perspectives about theory and methods to help organizations develop and change in ways that are healthy and effective for people inside and outside of organizations.

Extensions of Applied Behavioral Science Theory

For the most part, applied behavioral science theorists and practitioners have ignored diversity and oppression in applied behavioral science theories and methods at individual, group, organization, community, and society levels of human system. The void around diversity and oppression in applied behavioral science theory and practice occurs because:

- Diversity and oppression are an uncomfortable topic for applied behavioral theorists, practitioners, and clients,

- Community organizing and social action, in which diversity and oppression work is more central, are not part of the applied behavioral sciences.
- Those action research and practice theories and methodologies, which do address diversity and oppression issues, are often circulated informally as practice notes and by word-of-mouth and are not readily available in published form.

Nevertheless, this wall of silence by applied behavioral science theorists and practitioners supports and maintains racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression. There are a few examples in which applied behavioral theory and methods have been extended to address diversity and oppression:

- Counseling, coaching, and teaching methods and strategies for helping individuals change and develop, for motivating employees, for leadership development, and for the use of one's self as an instrument of change, depend on theories about individual identity development and change. The concept of individual identity reflects the plurality of social identities – race, gender, age, class, sexual orientation, ability – and the forms of social and internalized oppression based on those and other human differences. Most research has been focused on race and gender identity development. The identity development of white people and people of color is impacted by the racism, privilege, and violence of being part of racist organizations and society (Salett and Koslow, 1994; Helms, 1990). The identity development of men and women is impacted by the sexism, privilege, and violence of being part of sexist organizations and society (Kanter, 1977; Connell, 1999).
- Leader, trainer, and facilitator methods and strategies for group training and education processes and helping teams and groups develop and change depend on theories for understanding group/team development processes and how individuals are impacted by group experience. Much of the current theory and methods about the dynamics and development of groups and teams does not consider the impact that oppression can have on groups/teams or the implications of dominant and marginalized group identity and memberships. Clayton Alderfer and others associated with the small-group dynamics work at the Yale School of Organization and Management developed embedded intergroup theory to describe how individuals and social identity groups are affected by oppression in organizations and society (Alderfer, 1994, pp. 221-226; Zane, 1994, pp. 340-341; Gillette and McCollom, 1995).
- Consultant strategies and methods for helping organizations manage change, stability, and development processes are guided by organization change and development theories and methods which, for the most part, do not consider the implications of diversity and oppression for the health and effectiveness of organizations. Bailey Jackson, Rita Haridan, Evangelina Holvino and others developed a model that describes stages of an organization's development from a monocultural to a multicultural organization (Jackson and Hardiman, 1981; Jackson and Holvino, 1986 and 1988). Frederick Miller and Judith Katz added to this model by showing it in a diagram, providing new names for the stages, and adding to the descriptions for each stage (Miller and Katz, 1995). The monocultural-multicultural organization model provides a diagnostic model that considers:
 - Employment/compensation/benefits representation equity,
 - The organization's stance toward differences and the elimination of oppression,
 - Individual and organizational actions and behaviors, and
 - Interventions and outcomes at each development stage.

Books about the theory and practice of diversity management began being published in the early 1990s. Most of these books are focused on differences. A few books address both differences and social justice. See, for example, the edited books by Cross, Katz, Miller, and Seashore (1994); Cross and White (1996); Adams, Bell, and Griffen (1997), and a recent book by Cross (2000). Other diversity books focus on differences, touch lightly on bias, prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination, and avoid the issues of oppression.

As the diversity management field has evolved, more attention is being given to diversity and oppression definitions and theory. Action research and practice theories and methods, which do address diversity and oppression concepts and issues, are often circulated informally among diversity management practitioners as unpublished practice notes and by word-of-mouth.

Diversity Frames of Reference. Discussions of diversity can originate from four different frames of reference:

--*Areas of Human Differences.* Human differences are categorized in different ways by various authors. In a framework Marilyn and Judy Rosener call “*dimensions of diversity,*” they identify differences as primary and secondary human differences (Loden and Rosener, 1991, pp. 18-210). Primary differences are in-born and have life-long impact on people’s lives. They include race, gender, sexual orientation, physical and mental ability, ethnicity, and age. Secondary differences are more changeable, less visible, and have a less-sustained impact on people’s lives. They include religion, class, income, education, and other human differences.

- Areas of Human Differences**
- Primary Differences:**
- Race,
 - Gender,
 - Sexual orientation,
 - Physical and mental ability,
 - Ethnicity,
 - Age
- Secondary Differences:**
- Religion,
 - Class,
 - Income,
 - Education, and
 - Other human differences

--*Aspects of Human Experience.* People are different from each other, as well, in their range of responses about diversity and oppressions issues in terms of: ideas, behaviors, attitudes, physical sensations, feelings, and core values. These areas of response are the aspects of human experience which define reality. Kate Kirkham refers to the ability to move among these aspects of human experience as “depth of understanding and insight” (Kirkham, 1986). Kirkham also refers to the aspects of human experience, when they are combined with levels of human system, as “*dimensions of diversity.*” These aspects of human experience apply to groups, organizations, communities, and society, as well, as individuals.

- Aspects of Human Experience:**
- Ideas,
 - Behaviors,
 - Attitudes,
 - Physical sensations,
 - Feelings,
 - Core values

--*Levels of Human System.* Diversity and oppression issues are often addressed at the individual level, involving personal, intrapersonal, interpersonal work on the issues. Diversity and oppression also have consequences for group and inter-group, organization, community, and society experience. The experiences of individuals are embedded in their involvement and membership in dominant and marginalized groups, organizations, and society. Full consideration of diversity and oppression must involve all levels of human system. Kate Kirkham uses the term, “breadth of awareness,” to describe the ability to explore and move back and forth across the levels of human system (Kirkham, 1986). Kirkham’s dimension of diversity framework is sometimes called the breadth-depth model.

- Levels of Human System**
- Individual -- personal, intrapersonal, interpersonal
 - Group and inter-group,
 - Organization,
 - Community,
 - Society

--*Elements of Culture.* Different individuals have different cultures. These cultural differences also apply to group cultures, organization cultures (Schein, 1985; Deal and Kennedy, 1982), and societal/national cultures (Hofstede, 2001; Trompenaars and Hampton-Turner, 1998). The building blocks for defining and understanding culture and cultural differences are the elements of culture – cultural differences in, for example, power status, authority,

- Elements of Culture**
- Power status,
 - Leadership,
 - Time,
 - Intimacy,
 - Regulations
 - Norms,
 - Structure,
 - Beliefs,
 - Ideology
 - Rewards and punishments,
 - Dress
 - Authority,
 - Language,
 - Space,
 - Laws,
 - Rules,
 - Standards,
 - Values,
 - Assumptions,
 - Spirituality
 - Ways of making meaning,
 - Other

leadership, language, time, space, intimacy, laws, regulations, rules, norms, standards, structure, values, beliefs, assumptions, ideology and ways of making meaning, rewards and punishments, and spirituality (Brazzel, 2000a, pp. 9-11). Oppression issues come into the picture when the differences between monocultural and multicultural organizations and between dominant and marginalized cultures are considered.

At a societal or national level, colonialism is the imposition of the culture of one nation on that of another nation, territory, or people. It can involve military invasion; occupation; expropriation of resources, property, and land; enslaving people; expelling them; forcing them into prisons, camps, reservations, and ghettos; and genocide.

Oppression Theory. The perspective that oppression is a system of inequality that impacts every level of human system is seldom considered in the applied behavioral science or the diversity management literature. Descriptions of oppression theory can be found in edited books by Adams, Bell, and Griffen (1987) and Adams, Blumenfield, Casteneda et.al. (2000), which are based in the work of the School of Education's Social Justice Education Program at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, and by Cross, Katz, Miller, and Seashore (1994), which is sponsored by the NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science.

The purpose of oppression is supremacy and dominance. Oppression includes racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression, all of which are based in human differences. Oppression and the "isms" are systems of inequality, privilege, and violence that benefit dominant group members and harm members of marginalized groups.

Oppression creates privilege for dominant group members because of their group membership, without regard to personal achievements, contributions, and accomplishments (McIntosh, 1989; Kivel, 1996b, pp. 30-32). Oppression also has costs for dominant group members that are often unacknowledged and unrecognized by them (Kivel, 1996a, pp. 36-39; Brazzel, 1998; Johnson, 2001).

The actions, behaviors, and practices of oppression experienced by marginalized group members are life-destroying experiences of violence (Brazzel, 2000b). These experiences range from genocide and slavery – to torture and murder – to discrimination – to denial and silence. The actions, behavior, and practices of oppression have life-diminishing, life-deadening, life-threatening, and life-ending consequences for marginalized group members because of their group membership, without regard to personal achievements, contributions, and accomplishments.

The outcomes of oppression for dominant and marginalized group members can be measured in terms of changes in opportunity, access, health, wealth, income, goods and services. In organizations, oppression results in diminished individual and organizational performance.

Oppression rests on a foundation of (1) prejudice and (2) power exercised by dominant groups over marginalized:

- *Prejudice* is favorable or unfavorable prejudgment and categorization of people based on their group membership. When prejudgment is unfavorable, prejudice is a preconceived suspicion, intolerance, or hatred of individuals because of group membership. Prejudices originate and change as a result of life-long social messages, experiences, and socialization processes that provide guidelines for appropriate/ inappropriate and successful/unsuccessful behaviors. Prejudice forms the basis for seeing dominant group members as "better than," normal, and superior – and marginalized group members as "less than," abnormal, inferior, deficient – even less than human. Prejudice is incorporated in human processes at all levels of system: individual, group, organization, community, and society.
- *Power exercised by dominant groups over marginalized groups* mobilizes and enforces oppression as a system of inequality, privilege, and violence. Dominant groups are groups with power to control and use group, organizational, and societal resources and to establish sanctions, values, laws, standards,

rules, policies, structures, and practices for their benefit and for the disadvantage of marginalized groups and members. The availability of power to support oppression increases with the size and complexity of systems. Individuals have relatively less power than groups, organizations, and society.

The concept of dominant and marginalized groups relates to group identity, not individual identity. An individual dominant group member may hold little or no power over organizational and societal resources. Their dominant group identity confers privilege, however, whether chosen or not. In contrast, an individual marginalized group member may have substantial power from position and individual achievement, and because of marginalized group identity, be denied privilege and subjected to harm without recourse.

Individuals have multiple social-identity group memberships. Most individuals are members of both dominant and marginalized groups. Some of the dominant and marginalized groups and the forms of oppression associated with them are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Social Identity Groups

Human Differences	Dominant Groups	Marginalized Groups	Forms of Oppression
Race	White	Asian, Black/ African, Latino/ Hispanic, Native people, Bi/multi-racial	Racism, Colorism
Ethnicity	White, western European culture/ ancestry	Akan, Arab, Jewish, Iroquois, Kazak, !Kung, Quichua, Roma, Temne, Yoruba, Zhuang, and other cultures/ ancestry	Ethnocentrism, Xenophobic oppression, Xeno-racism, Anti-Semitism, Nativism, Colorism, Colonialism
Nationality	Nationals of US, UK, Canada, France, Australia, other European, white dominant and white settler nations	Nationals of Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Malaysia, Granada, other nations of color; refugee, legal-illegal immigrant/alien, stateless person	Nationalism, Nativism, Xenophobic oppression, Colonialism, Colorism
Gender	Men	Women	Sexism
Gender Identity	Gender-Conforming People	Transgender, Gender-Non-Conforming People	Transgender Oppression
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	Gay, Lesbian, Bi-Sexual	Heterosexism
Religion	Christian	Agnostic, Animist, Atheist, Bahá'í, Buddhist, Hindu, Confucian, Jewish, Muslim Pantheist, Sikh, Yoruba, other spiritual practices	Religious Oppression, Anti-Semitism
Ability	Able-bodied	People with Disabilities	Ableism
Age	Adults	Children, Elders	Ageism, Child abuse, Incest, Elder abuse
Class	Ruling, Owning, Upper class; Upper-middle, Professional, Merchant, Middle class	Lower-middle class, working class, Poor, Homeless	Classism

The description of dominant and marginalized groups in this table applies to the United States, particularly for the human differences of race, ethnicity, nationality, and religion. Dominant and marginalized in these human differences areas may be different for other nations and regions. The mechanisms used for defining dominant and marginalized groups do not vary among regions and nations.

In the case of race, skin color and other human physical characteristics are used to differentiate dominant and marginalized groups. Arguably, there is no region or nation on Earth where people with darker skin are valued as highly as people with lighter skin. Skin color prejudice is embedded and institutionalized in the laws, regulations, rules, structures, and values of the cultures of organizations and nations to create the system of inequality that is racism.

Skin color and language, religion, dress, and other aspects of culture are used to define dominant and marginalized groups in the case of ethnicity and nationality. Economic exploitation by organizations and nations, war, and oppression cause people to migrate and seek refuge from their home regions and nations. Xenophobia and skin color prejudice toward immigrants and refugees are institutionalized in the cultures of organizations and nations. The result is ethnocentrism, xenophobic oppression, nationalism, and racism. When the culture of a dominant organization or nation is imposed on the existing culture of a nation, a region, or a people, the resulting system of inequality and oppression is colonialism.

Oppression as a system is maintained and kept in place by:

- The actions and support of both dominant and marginalized groups,
- Oppression that is embedded and internalized at multiple levels of system, and
- Multiple forms of oppression that are interdependent and reinforcing.

Dominant groups do not always act alone in support of oppression. Marginalized groups can and do act intentionally, unintentionally, consciously, and unconsciously to support racism, ethnocentrism, sexism, and other forms of oppression, even when it is to their disadvantage and harm.

Group-Level Interactions of Dominant and Marginalized Groups. Oppression is implemented through actions, behaviors, and practices of inequality, privilege, and violence: (1) by the dominant group toward marginalized, (2) among marginalized groups, (3) within dominant and marginalized groups, and (4) by collusion of marginalized groups with the dominant group (Hardiman and Jackson, 1997, pp. 20-23). These categories apply to racism and white people and people of color, to sexism and men and women, to heterosexism and heterosexuals, gays, lesbians, and bi-sexuals, and to other forms of oppression.

Institutionalized Oppression. Race, ethnicity, gender, class, and other group-based prejudice, that is embedded and internalized in the beliefs, values, policies, laws, structures, practices, and behaviors for all levels of system, is too often seen as “normal.” When embedded and internalized prejudice is enforced with dominant group power over marginalized group members, oppression manifests and is internalized as privilege and violence at societal, organizational, and group levels of system. Institutionalized racism, sexism, heterosexism, and other forms of institutionalized oppression contribute to the experience of oppression as out-of-control, unintentional, and unconscious, rather than intentional and conscious. Institutionalized oppression is like a computer virus that reproduces itself in other systems and can only be eradicated by searching and rewriting computer programs line-by-line. Individual prejudice-reduction and awareness work can help reduce individual actions that support oppression. And yet without efforts to eliminate prejudice-based values, policies, structures, and practices that empower institutionalized oppression, oppression continues to operate as a system – as if on automatic pilot.

Internalized Oppression. Group-based prejudice from social messages, experience, and socialization processes can also become internalized as privilege and violence in the beliefs, values, and behaviors of individuals who are members of dominant or marginalized groups (Fletcher, 1999, pp. 97-102). Violence as part of internalized oppression describes the whole range of individual actions, behaviors, and practices that are life diminishing, life-deadening, life-threatening, and life-ending. Violent actions, behaviors, and practices can be self-directed and/or directed toward others. Self-directed violence includes low self-esteem, alcoholism, poor nutrition and health practices, suicide, self-hate. Violent actions, behaviors, and practices toward others include jokes and slurs, silence, avoidance, exclusion, burning, bombing, stalking, lynching, and torching (Brazzel, 2000b).

Dominant group members can internalize as justification for violence both group-based privilege as entitlement and beliefs about the “abnormality” and “inferiority” of others. This internalization process can lead to outward-directed actions, behaviors, and practices that support racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of oppression for the benefit of dominant group members and the harm of marginalized group members. When internalized expectations of privilege and superiority are not realized, dominant group members can turn inward with violence toward themselves or outward toward family, friends, and strangers.

Marginalized group members can also internalize socially-constructed and prejudice-based views of the superiority of dominant groups and inferiority of marginalized groups. Internalized racism, sexism, and other forms of internalized oppression can result in self-directed actions, behaviors, and practices of violence and/or outward-directed violence toward family, friends, associates, and strangers.

Multiple, Interdependent, and Reinforcing Forms of Oppression. Racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression have interdependent and reinforcing results for the experience of oppression at individual, group, organization, community, and societal levels of system. The intersection of multiple forms of oppression has substantive impacts on people’s lives (Pharr, 1988, pp. 53-64). White men experience oppression entirely from a perspective of dominant group memberships. They share dominant group experiences of being white with white women and of being men with men of color. Women of color experience the inequality, privilege, and violence of oppression as members of two marginalized groups. The addition of ethnocentrism, nationalism, heterosexism, classism, ableism, and other forms of oppression multiplies the toll of oppression on people’s lives because of group-membership-based prejudice, privilege, and violence.

Global Diversity Management. The diversity management field has evolved from the historical and theoretical roots which are heavily grounded with diversity and social justice experiences in the United States. The four diversity frames of references – areas of human difference, aspects of human experience, levels of human system, and elements of culture -- and oppression theory have not been applied to the experiences of other nations and regions. That is changing in some areas. Applications in other nations has been encouraged by the documentation of experiences of racism, ethnocentrism, and nationalism by the 2001 United Nations World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance and by the work of organizations like United for Intercultural Action: European Network against Nationalism, Racism, and Fascism and in Support of Migrants and Refugees (United for Intercultural Action, August 2002).

DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT THEORY AND PRACTICE

The diversity Management field assigns a high value to practice, action research, and practice theory because of its roots in the applied behavioral sciences, community organizing, and social action. Members of the field are more likely to describe themselves as practitioners than professionals. Diversity management academics are likely to describe themselves as practice theorists, researchers, and scholars. Because of the theoretical roots of the field, other diversity management practitioners are likely to see and describe themselves in one or more roles: coach, counselor, teacher, trainer, facilitator, group leader, consultant, practice theorist, researcher, scholar, catalyst, organizer, advocate, dissenter, and activist.

Diversity Management Practitioner Roles by Level of System

- **Individual:** Coach, counselor, teacher
- **Group:** Trainer, facilitator, group leader
- **Organization:** Consultant, practice theorist, researcher, scholar
- **Community and Society:** Catalyst, organizer, advocate, dissenter, activist

Diversity-management practice interventions focused on organizational change can be systemic, address the whole organization as a system, and they can be at individual, group, organization, community, and societal levels. Practice interventions can include a range of activities within the organization and outside in the organization’s environment:

- Awareness and skill-building education, training, and coaching,
- Development of support structures, positions, mechanisms, and networks,
- Leadership and diversity-champion development,
- Organization-change imperative, vision, mission, and values statements,
- Team and group building,
- Assessment of and changes in organizational systems, policies, and practices,
- Accountability, performance metrics, evaluation, and feedback systems,

- Internal and external communication processes,
- Management of, or organization of, relationships with customers, suppliers, partner and competitor organizations, past employees, community/society residents, groups and organizations, and other members of the organization's environment,
- Institutionalization of diversity management program changes in laws, regulations, rules, norms, standards, structure, values, beliefs, assumptions, ideology, ways of making meaning, rewards and punishments, and other aspects of the organization's culture.

Practice interventions can include the organization's stance toward differences, inclusion, differentiation and integration and its stance toward the elimination of racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression. Approaches by diversity management practitioners vary in the extent to which they address:

- The individual level of system.....and not the group, organization, community, and society levels,
- The many kinds of human differences, including birth order, geography, personality.....and not race and skin color, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, nationality, and other human differences that underlie more onerous forms of oppression,
- Human differences, inclusion, and cultural competency....and not oppression,
- Prejudice.....and not oppression, including institutionalized and internalized oppression, and
- Awareness and skill building through education and training.....and not structural change.

Descriptions of diversity management practice methods are found, for example, in Baytos (1995), Cox (1993, 2001), Cross (2000), Hayles and Russell (1997), Jackson and Hardiman (1994), Katz and Miller (2001), Loden (1996), Miller and Katz (2002), and Thomas (1990).

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Diversity management as a field of education, theory, research, and practice came into being out of:

- Protest, turbulence, and social unrest about oppression, in the 1960s and 70s,
- Organizational hopes in the 1980s and 90s for profit and competitive advantage from diversity,
- The change-from-the-inside perspective of the applied behavioral sciences, and
- The dissent-from-the-outside position of community organizing and social action.

Diversity management stands now in the 2000s with an emerging clarity about theories and methods for supporting organizational change and an ambivalence about whether to fully address both diversity and the elimination of oppression in this work.

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