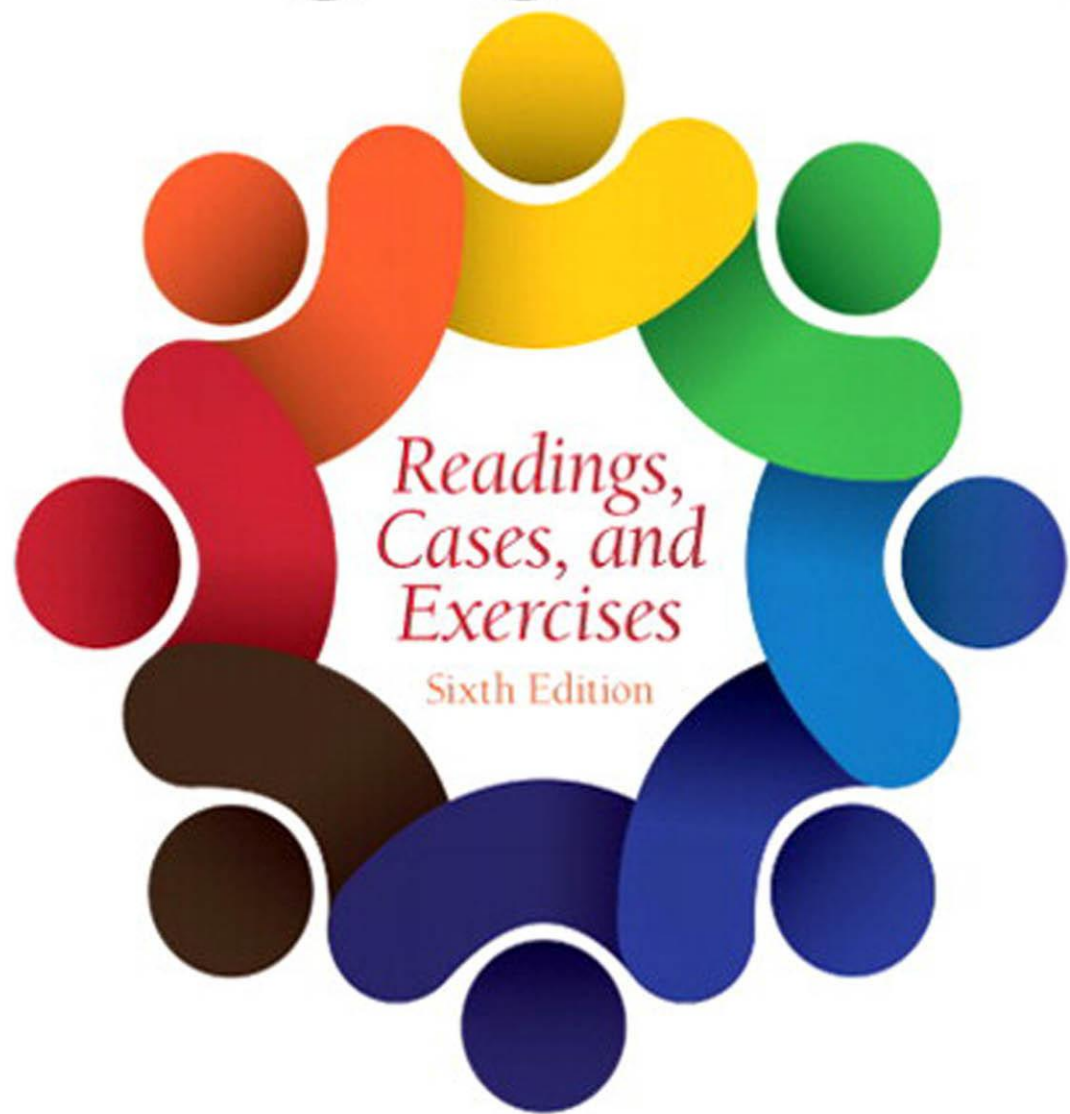


Understanding and Managing Diversity



CAROL P. HARVEY | M. JUNE ALLARD

Sixth Edition

UNDERSTANDING AND MANAGING DIVERSITY

READINGS, CASES, AND EXERCISES

This page intentionally left blank

Sixth Edition

UNDERSTANDING AND MANAGING DIVERSITY

READINGS, CASES, AND EXERCISES

Carol P. Harvey

Assumption College, Professor Emerita

Suffolk University

M. June Allard

Assumption College

Worcester State University, Professor Emerita

PEARSON

Boston Columbus Indianapolis New York San Francisco Hoboken
Amsterdam Cape Town Dubai London Madrid Milan Munich Paris Montréal Toronto
Delhi Mexico City São Paulo Sydney Hong Kong Seoul Singapore Taipei Tokyo

Editor in Chief: Stephanie Wall
Executive Editor: Kris Ellis-Levy
Program Manager Team Lead: Ashley Santora
Program Manager: Sarah Holle
Editorial Assistant: Bernard Ollila
Director of Marketing: Maggie Moylan
Executive Marketing Manager: Erin Gardner
Project Manager Team Lead: Judy Leale
Project Manager: Tom Benfatti
Operations Specialist: Michelle Klein
VP, Director of Digital Strategy & Assessment:
Paul Gentile
Digital Editor: Brian Surette

Digital Development Manager: Robin Lazrus
Digital Project Manager: Alana Coles
MyLab Product Manager: Joan Waxman
Creative Director: Jayne Conte
Cover Designer: Bruce Kenselaar
Cover Photo/Illustration/Art:
© Santhosh Kumar/Shutterstock
Media Project Manager: Lisa Rinaldi
Full-Service Project Management/Composition:
Anand Natarajan/Integra Software Services
Printer/Binder: Courier/Westford
Cover Printer: Courier/Westford
Text Font: 10/12 Minion Pro

Credits and acknowledgments borrowed from other sources and reproduced, with permission, in this textbook appear on the appropriate page within text.

Copyright © 2015, 2012, 2009 by Pearson Education, Inc., 221 River Street, Hoboken, New Jersey 07030. All rights reserved. Manufactured in the United States of America. This publication is protected by Copyright, and permission should be obtained from the publisher prior to any prohibited reproduction, storage in a retrieval system, or transmission in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or likewise. To obtain permission(s) to use material from this work, please submit a written request to Pearson Education, Inc., Permissions Department, 221 River Street, Hoboken, New Jersey 07030, or you may fax your request to 201-236-3290.

Many of the designations by manufacturers and sellers to distinguish their products are claimed as trademarks. Where those designations appear in this book, and the publisher was aware of a trademark claim, the designations have been printed in initial caps or all caps.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Harvey, Carol P.

Understanding and managing diversity: readings, cases and exercises / Carol P. Harvey,
M. June Allard.—Sixth edition.

pages cm

ISBN-13: 978-0-13-354819-8 (alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-13-354819-8 (alk. paper)

1. Minorities—Employment—United States. 2. Multiculturalism—United States.
3. Personnel management—United States. I. Allard, M. June. II. Title.
HF5549.5.M5H37 2015
658.3008—dc23

2013048287

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

PEARSON

ISBN 10: 0-13-354819-8
ISBN 13: 978-0-13-354819-8

From Carol: This book is dedicated to my family: Steve, Kevin, Toni, David, Krista, and the marvelous Maeve. I could not have done this project without their support.

From June: This book is dedicated to the late Roosevelt Thomas, Jr., whose dedication to diversity has been an inspiration.

This page intentionally left blank

CONTENTS

Preface xiii

About the Authors xvii

UNDERSTANDING WORKPLACE DIVERSITY: WHERE HAVE WE BEEN AND WHERE ARE WE GOING? 1

SECTION I UNDERSTANDING INDIVIDUAL PERSPECTIVES OF DIVERSITY 8

1. Diversity Today: Fact or Fiction? 11

Carol P. Harvey

2. Diversity! 12

Jeanne M. Aurelio and Christopher Laib

3. Body Ritual Among the Nacirema 14

Horace Miner

4. Increasing Multicultural Understanding: Uncovering Stereotypes 21

John R. Bowman

5. I AM ... 25

M. June Allard

6. Are You Privileged? 26

Mark Julien and Micheal T. Stratton

7. White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences through Work in Women's Studies 29

Peggy McIntosh

8. The Emotional Connection of Distinguishing Differences and Conflict 38

Carole G. Parker

9. Exploring Diversity in Your Organization 45

Carol P. Harvey

10. The Pitney Bowes' Case: A Legacy of Diversity Management 48

Carol P. Harvey

Integrative Questions for Section I 55

**SECTION II UNDERSTANDING THE PRIMARY DIMENSIONS
OF DIVERSITY: RACE AND ETHNICITY 56**

11. Being An Only: A Field Assignment 59
Carol P. Harvey
12. Thriving in a Multicultural Classroom 60
Michelle R. Dunlap
13. Since We Elected an African American President Twice,
Is Racism Still an Issue in America? 70
Joyce McNuckles
14. Immigration Patterns: The Transition Process 83
M. June Allard
15. The Coca-Cola Company: Then and Now 98
Carol P. Harvey
- Integrative Questions for Section II 107*

**SECTION III UNDERSTANDING THE PRIMARY DIMENSIONS
OF DIVERSITY: AGE, GENDER, SEXUAL
ORIENTATION, AND PHYSICAL AND MENTAL
CHALLENGES 108**

16. How Old Should You Be to Drive a Bus? Exploring
Ageism 110
Sharon P. McKechnie
17. Generational Diversity in the Workplace 111
*Diane M. Holtzman, Evonne J. Kruger, and
Charles D. Srock*
18. Exploring The Gender Gap: What Are the Issues? 120
Carol P. Harvey and Deborah L. Larsen
19. When Women Do Lead: Gender Bias 2013 Style 131
Carol P. Harvey
20. The Paradox of Male Privilege: Toward a Gender
Democracy & Democratic Manhood 133
Steven D. Farough
21. Sorting Through Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
Issues in the American Workplace 142
Gerald Hunt
22. Is This Sexual Harassment? 154
Carol P. Harvey

23. Musical Chairs 156*M. June Allard***24. Professor on Wheels: A Case of Disability and Diversity 158***Mark E. Moore and Caryl L. Martin***25. The Cracker Barrel Restaurants 166***John Howard***26. Cracker Barrel Old Country Stores: Postscript 174***Carol P. Harvey****Integrative Questions for Section III 175*****SECTION IV UNDERSTANDING THE SECONDARY DIMENSIONS OF DIVERSITY: SOCIAL CLASS, RELIGION, APPEARANCE/WEIGHT, LANGUAGE/COMMUNICATION, AND MILITARY SERVICE 177****27. Does Social Class Make a Difference? 179***Carol P. Harvey***28. Social Class: The Fiction of American Meritocracy 182***Colleen A. Fahy***29. Religion in the U.S. Workplace 196***Kathleen M. Fisher, Jeanne M. McNett, and
Pamela D. Sherer***30. Understanding Intercultural Communications in Today's Global Environment 210***Gina Ruxton and Carol P. Harvey***31. Communicating with a Global Call Center Exercise 219***Carol P. Harvey***32. The Culture of the U.S. Air Force and Its Impact on a Mobile Training Team Case 222***Christopher C. Butts, Elizabeth Sanz, Kizzy M. Parks,
and Daniel P. McDonald***33. Fighting for Equal Opportunity: Women's Changing Roles in the U.S. Military 228***Joseph R. Bongiovi***34. Choosing the Board: Charting the Course with Competing Priorities 242***M. June Allard*

35. Appearance and Weight: Discrimination in the Workplace 244

M. June Allard

36. Fairfax Metropolitan Hospital: The Candidate 255

M. June Allard

Integrative Questions for Section IV 257

SECTION V MANAGING DIVERSITY IN TERMS OF THE ETHICAL, LEGAL, MEDIA, AND MARKETING ISSUES 259

37. The Ethics of Workplace Diversity 261

Jeanne McNett

38. Ethics and Diversity Cases: Legal Applications in the Workplace 273

M. June Allard

39. How Canada Promotes Workplace Diversity 282

Marc S. Mentzer

40. A Report on the Current Health of the Media 289

M. June Allard

41. Exercises in Media Diversity 299

M. June Allard

42. New Business Opportunities: Changing Consumer Markets 302

M. June Allard

43. Points of Law: The Bar Exam 317

M. June Allard

44. Chick-fil-A and the Media 319

Carol P. Harvey

Integrative Questions for Section V 323

SECTION VI MANAGING ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE AND DIVERSITY: CURRENT ISSUES 324

45. What Do Organizations Do to Manage Diversity? Examining Corporate Leadership, Training, Mentoring, Employee Resource Groups, and Social Responsibility Programs 326

Carol P. Harvey

46. Work-Life Balance Issues: Changing When and How the Work Gets Done 338

Carol P. Harvey

47. The Six Sigma Case: Promotion at the Western Company 347

Rana Haq

48. Diversity and Inclusion Awards: A Critical Examination 353

M. June Allard

49. One Workplace Bully is One Too Many: The Four Faces of Bullying 369

Andra Gumbus

50. A Case of Harassment, Discrimination, or Bullying? You Decide... 379

Andra Gumbus

51. The Path to Inclusion: The Business Case for Diversity at Ocean Spray 384

Carol P. Harvey

Integrative Questions for Section VI 388

SECTION VII CAPSTONE EXPERIENCES FOR UNDERSTANDING AND MANAGING DIVERSITY 390

52. Creating a Case to Better Understand and Manage Diversity 392

Carol P. Harvey

53. Creating Diversity Awareness: A Video Project 395

Cary J. LeBlanc

54. Evaluating Diversity Management: Conducting a Diversity Audit Using Rubrics 399

Carol P. Harvey

Integrative Questions for Section VII 406

This page intentionally left blank

PREFACE

Much has changed since we started writing diversity textbooks. Today, overt discrimination has become less acceptable. There is more awareness of the impact of multiple social identities. There is more realization now that organizations must change the way they manage their employees to maximize the advantages that diversity can bring to the workplace in a challenging global economy, if they are to benefit from the richness of a diverse and productive workforce.

However, as Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) claims and recent lawsuits substantiate, there is still considerable workplace discrimination and harassment. As the workplace becomes more diverse because of demographic shifts, immigration, and global business, there is an increasing need to understand that workers are not all alike and are far less willing to assimilate than in the past. In a highly competitive marketplace, organizations need to manage in ways that promote a feeling of inclusion in order to tap into all the creativity and talent that diversity has the potential to contribute. This is why we write these books.

FOCUS OF THE SIXTH EDITION

We see **diversity**, the ways we differ that may affect our organizational experiences, as a change process that occurs on three levels: the individual, the social identity group level, and the organizational level. Beginning the study of diversity requires that each of us take an introspective look at our beliefs and our own socialization. While most people will deny that they have any prejudices at all, that is simply not the reality. Although it is often an unconscious process, it is quite natural to tend to favor some people over others. We do feel more at ease with some people and less comfortable with others. Once we realize that others may experience the world differently, we need to be open to learning about others' social identities. It is not always easy to understand what a difference race, gender, physical abilities, religion, appearance, and sexual identity may make in other people's lives. Lastly, we examine and evaluate what organizations are doing or not doing to manage the needs of today's diverse workforce. Are they maximizing productivity and minimizing conflict? Are they working toward inclusion by tapping into the potential of their diverse workers?

Because of space constraints, focus of this text is primarily on North American diversity. However, we are well aware that global diversity is an important topic. So, we have added a *Global Notes* feature to incorporate some international perspectives on diversity issues.

NEW IN THE SIXTH EDITION

Ever responsive to the constant changes in workplace diversity, the proliferation of online education, the growth of global business, feedback from our reviewers, and the 2013 revision of AACSB business accreditation standards, we have incorporated many pedagogical and topical changes into this edition. However, we have retained our interdisciplinary approach to diversity with contributions from experts in management, psychology, economics, sociology, law, and business.

New content features include:

- ***New cases that illustrate today's important diversity issues:*** Six Sigma (work-life balance), Joy's Dilemma (bullying), Professor on Wheels (physical challenge), Chick-fil-A (sexual

orientation, ethics, and law), Ocean Spray (the business case for diversity), the U.S. Air Force in Central America (intercultural communication), and When Women Do Lead (gender harassment). Additional cases are available in the Instructor's Manual.

- **Three capstone assignments—complete with grading rubrics:** A case writing research project, the production of a diversity video, and the diversity audit assignments provide a broader selection of capstone course assignments.
- **New material, significant revisions, and updates:** In addition to new cases, articles, and exercises we have substantially revised and updated 14 articles and 5 exercises and added many additional Points of Law, Diversity on the Web, Writing Assignment, and Best Practices boxes.

New pedagogical features include:

- **Global Notes**—which illustrate diversity issues in an international context.
- **Rubrics**—for evaluating all of the capstone assignments.
- **Linkages for Active Learning**—an integrated approach to the organization of the book that begins each section with an expanded introduction followed by an interactive exercise. Laws are placed within the context of their relevant topics. Each section concludes with a major case and integrative questions that synthesize readings and encourage critical thinking.
- **Did You Know ...?**—introductory features to capture students' interest.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXT

This edition is organized into seven main sections. To provide additional linkages for learning, articles are placed with the exercises and cases that illustrate their topics.

Building the Foundation for Understanding Diversity

Section I—Provides students with a foundation for the course. The goals here are to illustrate that diversity is still a workplace issue in the twenty-first century by providing students with basic information by challenging them to examine their own beliefs about differences.

Primary and Secondary Diversity

Sections II and III—Focus on understanding the primary dimensions of diversity: race, ethnicity, gender, age, physical/mental challenges, and sexual orientation.

Section IV—Covers secondary aspects of diversity, such as social class, religion, appearance/weight, communication/first language, and the military experience.

Managing Diversity: Ethical, Legal, Media, and Marketing Issues

Section V—Explores contextual elements that impact diversity such as ethics, the laws in the United States and Canada, the media, and marketing opportunities.

Managing Organizational Change and Diversity: Current Issues

Section VI—Focuses on what organizations can do to improve the ways that they manage diversity and covers emerging issues. Topics include diversity leadership, employee

resource groups, mentoring, flexible work arrangements, training, social responsibility, diversity awards, marketing opportunities, work-life balance, the flexible workplace, bullying, and the business case for diversity.

Section VII—Features three capstone assignments with grading rubrics that provide students with opportunities to synthesize their learning.

THE ASSOCIATION TO ADVANCE COLLEGIATE SCHOOLS OF BUSINESS (AACSB)

In accordance with AACSB's 2013 academic standards that require accredited institutions to demonstrate that diversity is included in their programs in a manner consistent with their individual missions and cultural contexts, our structure and format allow instructors to easily customize the diversity components of their courses according to their individual needs. In keeping with AACSB's focus on assurance of learning, in this edition we have included learning goals at the beginning of each section of the book, integrative questions at the end of each section, and goals for individual articles in the Instructor's Manual, as well as capstone course assignments complete with grading rubrics.

FACULTY RESOURCES

The materials listed below are available online in a downloadable digital format at <http://www.pearsonhighered.com/educator>.

- ***Instructor's Manual***—This extensive resource features course, article, and case outlines, case teaching notes, pedagogical tips, answers to discussion questions, extra cases, assessment materials, and tips for teaching with film.
- ***PowerPoint Slides***—These are available at <http://www.pearsonhighered.com/educator>

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are most grateful to our contributing authors, whose expertise and writing talent makes this text possible. Special thanks to Martin Mitchell from Ocean Spray, who gave so willingly of his time for numerous interviews, and to Maria Alicata, Jillian Pentergast, Lucia A. Doucette, and Katy Beach from Assumption College for their assistance in preparing this manuscript. Thanks to our reviewers.

This page intentionally left blank

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Carol P. Harvey, EdD, is *Professor Emerita* from Assumption College where she was the former Chair of the Business Studies Department and Director of the MBA program. She received her EdD from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, her MBA and CAGS from Northeastern University, and an MA in Psychology from Assumption College. Formerly employed as a manager at the Xerox Corporation, she is currently teaching leadership and organizational behavior at Suffolk University in Boston, and is teaching Diversity in Organizations online for the University of Southern Maine.

Dr. Harvey received the 2011 ALANA faculty award from Assumption College, is the co-recipient of the Roethlisburger award for the best article published in 2002 in the *Journal of Management Education* from the Organizational Behavior Teaching Society, and received a volunteer of the year award for her mentoring of female entrepreneurs from the Center for Women in Enterprise. She can be reached at charvey@assumption.edu or coolidgeroad@verizon.net.

M. June Allard, PhD, is *Professor Emerita* from Worcester State University where she served as Chair of the Psychology and the Social and Behavioral Science departments. She holds a PhD from Michigan State University in Social Psychology with a specialization in cross-cultural research. She is the recipient of nine national fellowships, numerous Distinguished Service and Outstanding Teaching awards, and is listed in numerous national and international directories of scientists and women leaders.

Dr. Allard has conducted academic program reviews and evaluations for over 30 years and is a recognized expert in this field. She currently maintains a consulting practice, designing and conducting research and project evaluations. Formerly employed as a senior scientist in the research and development industry in Washington, D.C., she has directed a wide range of projects on government contracts in industry as well as in university research institutes.

She has been a site visitor for the New England Association of Schools and Colleges for collegiate accreditation and on the doctoral Accreditation Visiting Committee for the American Psychological Association (APA), as well as a member of the APA Departmental Consulting Service. Dr. Allard has lectured on program evaluation in over a dozen different countries (jallard1833@yahoo.com).

Please feel free to contact us at any time to share ideas and resources for teaching about diversity in the workplace.

Always,

Carol P. Harvey & M. June Allard

This page intentionally left blank

Understanding Workplace Diversity: Where Have We Been and Where Are We Going?

Carol P. Harvey
*Suffolk University,
Assumption College, Professor Emerita*

Although there is little agreement on the definition, we have chosen to define **diversity** as the ways in which people differ that may affect their organizational experiences in terms of performance, motivation, communication, and inclusion. Our definition is broad enough to recognize the impact of multiple dimensions of diversity and the ever-changing categories of group memberships that matter to people. To understand where diversity management is today, it is necessary to examine where it has been.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF WORKPLACE DIVERSITY—THE EARLY YEARS (1960s AND 1970s)

We have been writing about diversity for almost twenty years and in that timeframe much has changed. Historically, the United States has always had a diverse population due to its heritage of immigration, slavery, and religious freedom. However, in the 1960s, early civil rights legislation (see Points of Law) became a catalyst for workplace change. The initial focus was on “righting the wrongs” experienced by people with visible differences, particularly race and gender. During this period, there was much confusion about how to accomplish this goal, especially in terms of the Executive Orders that required Affirmative Action plans. Because responsibility for diversity often resided in Human Resources departments that had minimal power to initiate change, most

diversity training focused on how to avoid lawsuits. This approach often led to hiring unqualified workers to fulfill what was interpreted as a “quota” of women and minorities. At times, people were hired or promoted simply because of their race or gender which set them up for failure. Even when qualified women and people of color were selected, they were often expected to behave, dress, and talk like white men. The analogy often used then was that of a “melting pot” where everyone was expected to blend into the organization and minimize their differences. This led to poor morale, job turnover, and even backlash against the very groups the legislation was designed to benefit.

THE VALUING DIVERSITY ERA—(1980s AND 1990s)

In 1987, The Hudson Institute published a landmark study, *Workforce 2000: Work and Workers for the Twenty-First Century* (Johnson & Packer). This report analyzed the population trends and projected the growth of nonwhites, women, and older employees in the workforce, and anticipated the expansion of global business. The authors stated that by 2000 the net newcomers to the U.S. workforce would be primarily women and racial minorities. While the need to understand diverse perspectives was increasing, many managers struggled to do it effectively. The reality was that the workplace was becoming more diverse in terms of not just race and gender but also age, ethnicity, people with physical challenges, and so on. Training tended to focus on identifying differences between groups, which were often generalizations that failed to recognize that people hold multiple group identities, some more important to them than others.

Diversity theorists responded to these changes. Organizations began to realize that workforce differences could potentially offer business advantages and that differences were far broader



Points of Law

Early U.S. Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Laws

Equal Pay Act (1963)—Males and females must receive the same salary for jobs that require equal skill, effort and responsibility.

Civil Rights Act (1964)—Prohibits discrimination in employment in terms of hiring, promotion, firing, etc. on the basis of race, sex, national origin, religion and color.

Executive Orders, 10925, 11246, and 11375 (1961 and 1965)—Required organizations that accept federal funds and/or have federal contracts to submit a written Affirmative Action plan. The plans were intended to demonstrate that the organization was making progress in the hiring and promotion of people from groups that had been previously discriminated against in the past.

Age Discrimination in Employment Act (1974)—Protects workers over forty years of age from discrimination in terms of hiring, firing, promotion, benefits, training and pay.

than just race and gender. In 1991, an article by Cox and Blake explained, but did not validate, six ways that organizations could make diversity a competitive advantage by:

- reducing the turnover costs
- attracting the best talent from diverse groups
- creating a marketing advantage in global business
- improving creative thinking by having input from diverse perspectives
- improving the quality of business decisions
- increasing systems flexibility by developing new policies and procedures and ways of leading.

To their credit, the authors also cautioned that moving from a homogeneous to a heterogeneous workplace required significant organizational changes such as support from top management in terms of diversity training, research, and ongoing monitoring to determine the effectiveness of change initiatives.

In 1992, R. Roosevelt Thomas called for the death of affirmative action, but urged institutions to adopt management practices and policies that would help all employees be productive and to reach their full potential.

In 1996, Marilyn Loden developed a more inclusive framework that classified the dimensions of diversity into two categories: **primary** that are more permanent, less changeable, and more central to one's identity and **secondary** which are usually less visible, less central to one's experiences, and more changeable (see Exhibit I-1). She depicted the dimensions of diversity as a wheel with primary dimensions as the central core and secondary as the outer ring. This classification broadened people's ideas about diversity, was more inclusive of white men, and created greater awareness that most people have multiple dimensions of diversity.

Gardenswartz and Rowe expanded these dimensions to include personality differences as central to one's identity and organizational differences, such as seniority, functional level, management status, or union membership, as a peripheral outer ring (1995).

Primary Dimensions	Secondary Dimensions
Age	Geographic Location
Gender	Military and Work Experience
Race	Family Status
Mental and Physical Abilities	Income
Ethnicity	Religion
Sexual Orientation	Education
	First Language
	Organizational Role and Level
	Communication and Work Style
Adapted from Loden, M. (1996). <i>Implementing Diversity</i> . New York: McGraw Hill.	

EXHIBIT I-1 Loden's Dimensions of Diversity

During this time, capitalizing on the advantages that diversity could bring to organizations was still a challenge. Being diverse was described using the metaphor of a salad or stew where the “ingredients,” that is, diverse people, each contribute their uniqueness to the whole but do not “melt” or change into one. While this is an improvement over expecting assimilation, it also emphasized differences, and generalized stereotypes, rather than finding similarities between co-workers.

Rather than making systemic changes, some organizations interpreted “valuing differences” superficially by having ethnic food days, providing training that involved playing diversity games, or assigning diverse employees to jobs without much authority that involved taking care of other diverse employees and/or investigating discrimination claims. Yet, there were some organizations like IBM and Xerox where the leadership believed that diversity could be a competitive advantage (see the Pitney Bowes’ case); diversity was taken more seriously and resulted in significant organizational change.

Thomas and Ely (1996) developed a model that classified diversity management into three organizational paradigms, or ways of viewing diversity:

- *Discrimination and fairness* as exemplified more in the first era
- *Access and legitimacy* that corresponds to the second era, where differences are emphasized and valued because they help organizations to understand and market to growing diverse and global markets
- *Learning and effectiveness* where organizations connect diversity and its advantages to the organizational mission and goals which was at the time a novel idea for most companies

Toward the end of this period, researchers began to examine what is known as the **business case for diversity**, that is, trying to prove mathematically that a diverse workforce could lower costs, provide a competitive advantage in the global marketplace, and improve the quality of creativity and problem solving. If this sounds a bit familiar, it is basically placing a dollar value on the advantages of diversity that Cox and Blake wrote about in their 1991 article. The results of this effort are controversial and mixed. For example, while MIT’s Kochan et al.’s five-year but small sample study could not confirm the business case, the University of Chicago’s 1996–1997 study of over a thousand organizations found that diversity did have a net positive financial impact on the organizations’ bottom line (Herring, 2010).

Since so many internal and external factors are constantly interacting, perhaps, a more practical approach to proving that diversity generates a return on its costs is to measure the results of individual programs and policies. Then, evaluate and adjust them as needed. For example, if a diverse team with native speakers develops a plan for designing, naming, promoting, packaging, and marketing a product for a particular country, how are the sales trending and what are the changes in your market share? Or, how much did offering a part-time option of working two days a week for three months improve your retention of employees who are new parents over last year’s figures?

THE THIRD ERA—DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT AND INCLUSION IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Today, many managers and organizations realize that diversity can benefit both the individual and the organization but for many reasons, including changes in workforce composition, the acknowledgment of the effects of multiple social identities, and the need

to establish an inclusive organizational culture, diversity is much broader in scope and more complicated to manage than initially imagined. To benefit from the personal and organizational advantages of diversity requires support from the corporate level of an organization.

The workforce is becoming increasingly diverse especially through immigration (see Allard's article) and the expansion of global opportunities, particularly in the BRICKS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, Korea, and South Africa). Increasingly sophisticated forms of technology have made international communication skills practically a job requirement (see Ruxton's article). At the same time, the workforce is becoming increasingly female and older as Baby Boomers defer retirement.

Loden's secondary dimensions of diversity have been expanded to include new categories such as political beliefs, spirituality, physical characteristics, and work styles. Family status has taken on new importance as working parents struggle with workplace balance issues, Muslims experience post 9-11 discrimination, and returning military veterans vie for jobs in a tight economy. Today, most people are no longer defined by a single social identity, or characteristic. Assuming that a person is defined by a single set of characteristics is called the error of **essentialism**. An Asian American man's work life experience may be affected far more by his being a person with a disability than by his race or gender.

In 2002, Miller and Katz authored a book called *The Inclusion Breakthrough: Unleashing the Real Power of Diversity*, which suggested that organizations must need to "break out of the diversity box" mentality and change their cultures, policies, and structures in order to benefit from the diversity of their employees. Like the third paradigm of Thomas and Ely, Miller and Katz call for linking diversity to organizational goals and mission but went a step further to document the need for a more inclusive approach to diversity. It makes sense that when employees, including white men who still hold most of the leadership positions, feel "included" they will feel freer to offer new ideas, safer to point out mistakes in others' reasoning, and be more apt to refer competent colleagues for jobs. All of these can add value to the organization in terms of the advantages of a diverse workforce (see Ocean Spray case).

Despite considerable progress, managing diversity is complex and offers new challenges in the twenty-first century. Women can now fight in combat. There is a second-term African American president. Gays and lesbians can marry in many states. However, women and racial minorities still hold very few board seats or corporate-level positions. There is still no U.S. federal legislation that protects LGBT employees, workplace bullying is rampant, the unemployment rate for people with disabilities is double that of the able-bodied, and the Equal Employment Commission (EEOC) is now filing lawsuits against companies that are requiring genetic information from healthy job applicants discriminated against because of their family's medical history (Trottman, 2013).

After examining the individual and social identity issues, we will frame managing diversity as a change process (see Figure I-1). While external forces such as demographics and the expansion of global business opportunities are pushing for change, it will only happen with supportive corporate level leadership through diversity audits, training and input from employee resource groups (ERGs), and so on. The refreezing process results in practices, policies, and programs such as more flexible work arrangements, recognition through awards, and best practices as supplier diversity programs.

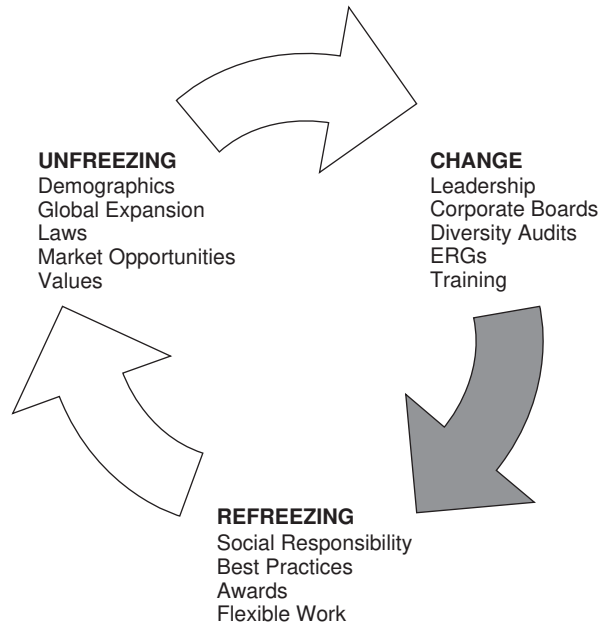


FIGURE I-1 Change Model

Bibliography

- Cox, T. and Blake, S. (1991). Managing cultural diversity: Implications for organizational competitiveness. *Academy of Management Executive*, 5 (3), 45–56.
- Gardenswartz, L. and Rowe, A. (1995). *Diverse Teams at Work*. Irwin: New York.
- Herring, C. (2010). Does diversity pay? Race, gender, and the business case for diversity. *American Sociological Review*, 74 (2), 208–224.
- Johnson, W.B. and Packer, A.E. (1987). *Workforce 2000: Work and Workers for the Twenty-First Century*. Indianapolis, IN: The Hudson Institute.
- Kochan, T., et al. (Spring 2003). The effects of diversity on business performance: The report of the diversity research network. *Human Resources Management*, 42 (1), 3–21.
- Loden, M. (1996). *Implementing Diversity*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Miller, F.A. and Katz, J.H. (2002). *The Inclusion Breakthrough: Unleashing the Real Power of Diversity*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.
- Thomas, D.A. and Ely, R.J. (1996). Making differences matter: A new paradigm for managing diversity. *Harvard Business Review*, September–October.
- Trottman, M. (July 23, 2013). Genetic tests create pitfalls for employers. *The Wall Street Journal*, B-1 & B-7.

Discussion Questions

1. Recently, there has been a growing movement to abolish Affirmative Action. Develop arguments that support both sides of this debate.
2. Interview someone over fifty-five years of age who lived and worked through these eras. Ask them about their experiences with diversity in the 1960s and 1970s. Does their gender, race, ethnicity, and religion appear to affect their answers? What did you learn?
3. What are some of the reasons that diversity management is so complex?

DIVERSITY ON THE WEB

Go to <http://www.loden.com/Site/Dimensions.html>. Here, you will find Loden's updated wheel of primary and secondary dimensions of diversity.

Circle the three that you feel are the most important dimensions that define your identity.

Write a two-page essay that explains why these dimensions are so important to who you are and support your answer with examples from your life.

DIVERSITY ON THE WEB

To better understand the historical context of diversity today, watch one or more of the following videos. Go to YouTube.com and search by the titles below. The URLs are also listed below.

The History of the Civil Rights Movement

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=URxwe6LPvKM>)

The March on Washington, available on You Tube at

(http://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=march+on+washington+1963&oq=&gs_l=youtu.be.1.2.0l10.0.0.0.193188.1.0.0.1.1.0.0.0..0.0...0.0...1ac..11.youtube)

The Freedom Riders, available on YouTube at

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1zBY6gkpbTg>)

SECTION I

Understanding Individual Perspectives of Diversity

Each of the first six sections of this text is organized to facilitate the process of learning about workplace diversity. Sections begin with learning goals and an introduction to the material that follows. Next, we provide an exercise on experiences that will help you to actively participate in the learning process by considering some new perspectives on diversity that are intended to challenge your knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs about differences. Because diversity is an interdisciplinary topic, the essays and cases that follow were written by experts from business, psychology, anthropology, economics, and sociology. These articles are followed by additional opportunities for active learning: discussion questions, Diversity on the Web, and Writing Assignments. To provide linkages, each of these six sections ends with a unifying case and a set of integrative questions that cut across the articles in that section. The seventh section is intended to connect all of the course material together by providing three options for a capstone learning experience.

LEARNING GOALS FOR SECTION I

- To learn the differences between prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination
- To understand the notion of privilege and how it affects one's life experiences
- To motivate the student to examine his or her own perspectives on difference
- To explore the relationship between differences and conflict
- To explore organizational diversity

Often, we begin a diversity course by asking the question: “Who in this room is prejudiced? Raise your hand.” As expected, only a couple of students are willing to join the instructor and admit that they have some prejudices! At the end of the semester, we ask the same question and almost every hand in the room is raised. Why does this always happen? We have been socialized by family, society, and the media to think that prejudice is always negative, so it is easier to deny it. Then, why do most students raise their hands at the end of the semester? Because they now realize that everyone treats some people differently than others. It is very natural to prefer people like ourselves. Think about your friends. While they may be of mixed races and genders, are they all close to your age? Are there any people with a handicap in the group, and so on?

Basic to understanding Section I is clarification of some terminology that is often used interchangeably in everyday conversation. **Prejudice** is a preconceived evaluative attitude based on a person’s social group membership. Prejudices can come from many sources such as our socialization, our peers, our life experiences, and especially the media and it can be positive, negative, and neutral. For example, you find out that you will be getting a new boss next week and she is a middle-aged female. If you find yourself thinking that she is going to be hard to work for, rigid, even bitchy, and so on, before you even get to know her, this is a negative prejudice. Have you ever “prejudged” a professor, positively or negatively, before taking his or her course based on a few comments on a ratings website?

Stereotypes are an overgeneralized belief that a category of people are alike. Like prejudice, stereotypes are learned not innate which means that they too can be unlearned. While the conscious mind often tells us that of course people are unique, the unconscious mind tries to categorize people, unless we make a deliberate effort to think more deeply about them as individuals. For example, if you think, even unconsciously, that Asians are too quiet to be productive in sales jobs, this is a stereotype because you have prejudged or generalized this idea to apply to an entire group of people. Although it may be true of some Asians, it is also true of some Euro-American whites, Hispanics, and African Americans. Individuals need to be judged on their individual merit and qualifications. Stereotypes can be negative as in the example above, but also can be positive or neutral. A student once provided us with the following example of her manager’s positive prejudice. He would only hire Asian women to work in the computer manufacturing facility “because they have small hands.”

Both prejudices and stereotypes are mental processes that we all experience but **discrimination** is different because it is a *behavior* or action that occurs when we treat people differently because of their membership in some group. It builds on our stereotypes and prejudices. So, following through on the previous example, when young men applied for manufacturing work at this company, the manager threw away their applications. They were not even considered. His stereotype, even though it was positive toward Asian women, resulted in discrimination to male applicants. Denying or failing to examine our stereotypes and prejudices to ourselves is more apt to lead to discriminatory actions. While discrimination can be individual as in these examples, it can also occur in organizations. This is important to understand because managers need to identify and change policies and practices that the *unintentionally* discriminate, that is, structural discrimination, or *intentionally* discriminate, that is, institutional discrimination (Pincus, 2000). There will be many examples of the problem that organizational discrimination causes throughout the cases in this text.

Privilege is an unearned advantage that gives those who have it economic, social, or political power. Privilege is socially constructed, that is, dependent on time and place. For example, in some cultures, older workers are revered for their wisdom but in North America, being younger and attractive gives one privilege in the workplace. Most people with privilege

don't even know that they have it and think that everyone experiences the world the same way that they do. However, less-privileged groups are keenly aware of their lack of privilege and power. In North America, being white, male, and able-bodied confers unearned privileges. For example, have you ever heard anyone say, "I just interviewed a qualified white job applicant." Probably not? However, many of us have heard someone say, "I just interviewed a qualified minority ... woman ... or physically challenged applicant."

The articles in Section I open with two opportunities to discover what you know about today's workplace diversity, *Diversity Today: Fact or Fiction* and the *Diversity!* game. Then, *I Am ...*, *Body Ritual Among the Nacirema*, and *Increasing Multicultural Understanding: Uncovering Stereotypes* provide opportunities for introspection and honest discussion about prejudices and stereotypes. Next, *Are You Privileged?* and *White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences Through Work in Women's Studies* explain and provide an opportunity for you to experience the notion of unearned privilege. Since differences can bring out conflict that escalates if ignored, *The Emotional Connection of Distinguishing Differences and Conflict* addresses this issue. This section closes by providing an opportunity for students to evaluate organizational diversity at their college, university, or workplace and by introducing the reader to an example of how organizational diversity can be well managed with *The Pitney Bowes case*.

Bibliography

Pincus, F.L. (2000). Discrimination comes in many forms: Individual, institutional and structural. Chapter 4, *Readings for diversity and social justice*:

An anthology on racism, sexism, anti-semitism, heterosexism, classism and ableism. Maurianne Adams et al. (eds.) New York: Routledge.

DIVERSITY TODAY: FACT OR FICTION?

Carol P. Harvey
Suffolk University
Assumption College, Professor Emerita

Which of the following statements are fact and which statements are fiction?

1. While increasing the diversity of an organization's workforce may be a good thing to do, in terms of bringing more creativity into the decision-making process, it cannot be proved that a more diverse workforce can make an organization more profitable.
2. The United States leads the world in offering paid paternity leave to new fathers.
3. Finnigan's, a Minneapolis based beer producer, donates 100% of its profits to feeding the hungry.
4. In a May, 2013 Gallop annual survey of Values and Beliefs, 47 percent of the respondents said that they believed that people are born with their sexual orientation and thirty-three percent said that they believed one's sexual orientation was caused by one's upbringing and/or environment.
5. The unemployment rate for persons with disabilities, seeking work, is approximately double that of people without disabilities, seeking work.
6. Since the election of the United States first African American President, racial prejudice has decreased.
7. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, Hispanics are the fastest growing race.
8. UNIQLO, Asia's largest retail and fastest growing clothing chain, which has 1295 locations throughout the world, has a goal of employing at least one physically or mentally challenged employee per store. So far, they have met this goal in 90 percent of their stores.
9. Mentoring can be very important to the careers of diverse employees and the most effective mentoring results from relationships that just develop informally between employees.
10. Bullying occurs more often in the workplace than sexual harassment and most bullies are male.

DIVERSITY!

Jeanne M. Aurelio

Bridgewater State University

Christopher Laib

University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

Most Americans in the workforce experience people who are very different from themselves on a daily basis. Those differences certainly include temperament and personality, but also culture, gender, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, ability, age, and size differences. Much is known about the kinds of differences people possess, yet far too much knowledge is available for any single person to know all about diversity. What is needed is openness to differences, and the understanding that everyone's behavior is partially influenced by their diversity profiles. In the interest of being able to work with others (and they with us), we must continually strive both to educate ourselves on what is known about how and why people are different, and to keep an open mind.

PURPOSE

The purpose of the game **Diversity!** is to provide knowledge about many areas of diversity, plus some information about the U.S. laws regarding these differences. Because the game is played in teams, it will also enable students to get to know one another.

HOW TO PLAY

1. Choose teams of 4–5 people or more. One team will randomly be chosen to select the first question category and level.
2. All teams will debate their answers internally and one team member will raise a hand or use their assigned team noisemaker when the team is ready. The instructor will call on the first team to respond. If their answer is correct, they will receive the number of points indicated and choose the next question category and level. If their answer is incorrect, the instructor will call upon the second quickest team to respond, and so on.
3. In the event that no team answers the question correctly, the instructor will give the correct response. The team that chose last still has control of the board and should choose the next question. Scores will be recorded and the winning team announced at the end of one or two rounds, depending upon the time available. As the class responds to various questions, make note of those you would like to discuss at the conclusion of the game.

Questions on the game board cover five levels of difficulty. Here are some practice questions at various levels. (Answers appear below in Figure 1-1.)

1. *Level 2:* In 1983, this astronaut became the first American woman in space.
2. *Level 3:* This is the number of languages known to be spoken in the world.
3. *Level 4:* In cultures that embrace this religion, men may have multiple wives while women must remain monogamous.

Discussion Questions

After one or two rounds of **Diversity!** the class should focus upon the following questions intended to stimulate interest and learning.

1. Which of the **Diversity!** questions would you like to discuss further?
2. What did you learn as a result of this game that you did not know prior to it?
3. In what areas did you notice that you and/or class members were particularly knowledgeable? In what areas did you lack knowledge?
4. What is your reaction to this experience?
5. How do you think this experience ties in with the purpose of your course?

Jeanne M. Aurelio, DBA, is a professor of management at Bridgewater State University. She has consulted with numerous corporations and federal agencies on topics including organizational performance, diversity, managerial effectiveness, and performance counseling.

Christopher Laib is the assistant director of the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth–Student Activities, Involvement & Leadership Office. He has worked in higher education administration for over fifteen years, presenting training sessions dealing with diversity, ethics, and organization/team development.

Instructor: To access the DIVERSITY! game, see the online Instructor's Manual under DIVERSITY!

1. Sally Ride 2. 6,800 3. Islam

FIGURE 1-1 Answers to Practice Questions

BODY RITUAL AMONG THE NACIREMA

Horace Miner

The anthropologist has become so familiar with the diversity of ways in which different peoples behave in similar situations that he is not apt to be surprised by even the most exotic customs. In fact, if all of the logically possible combinations of behavior have not been found somewhere in the world, he is apt to suspect that they must be present in some yet undescribed tribe. This point has, in fact, been expressed with respect to clan organization by Murdock (1948:71). In this light, the magical beliefs and practices of the Nacirema present such unusual aspects that it seems desirable to describe them as an example of the extremes to which human behavior can go.

Professor Linton first brought the ritual of the Nacirema to the attention of anthropologists twenty years ago (1936:326), but the culture of this people is still very poorly understood. They are a North American group living in the territory between the Canadian Cree, the Yaqui and Tarahumare of Mexico, and the Carib and Arawak of the Antilles. Little is known of their origin, although tradition states that they came from the east. According to Nacirema mythology, their nation was originated by a culture hero, Notgnihsaw, who is otherwise known for two great feats of strength—the throwing of a piece of wampum across the river Pa-To-Mac and the chopping down of a cherry tree in which the Spirit of Truth resided.

Nacirema culture is characterized by a highly developed market economy which has evolved in a rich natural habitat. While much of the people's time is devoted to economic pursuits, a large part of the fruits of these labors and a considerable portion of the day are spent in ritual activity. The focus of this activity is the human body, the appearance and health of which loom as a dominant concern in the ethos of the people. While such concern is certainly not unusual, its ceremonial aspects and associated philosophy are unique.

The fundamental belief underlying the whole system appears to be that the human body is ugly and that its natural tendency is to debility and disease. Incarcerated in such a body, man's only hope is to avert these characteristics through the use of the powerful influences of ritual and ceremony. Every household has one or more shrines devoted to this purpose. The more powerful individuals in the society have several shrines in their houses and, in fact, the opulence of a house is often referred to in terms of the number of such ritual centers it possesses. Most houses are of wattle and daub construction, but the shrine rooms of the wealthy are walled with stone. Poorer families imitate the rich by applying pottery plaques to their shrine walls.

While each family has at least one shrine, the rituals associated with it are not family ceremonies but are private and secret. The rites are normally only discussed with children, and then only during the period when they are being initiated into these mysteries. I was able, however, to establish sufficient rapport with the natives to examine these shrines and to have the rituals described to me.

*From the *American Anthropologist*, volume 58, #1, 1956, pp. 18–21.

The focal point of the shrine is a box or chest, which is built into the wall. In this chest are kept the many charms and magical potions without which no native believes he could live.

These preparations are secured from a variety of specialized practitioners. The most powerful of these are the medicine men, whose assistance must be rewarded with substantial gifts. However, the medicine men do not provide the curative potions for their clients, but decide what the ingredients should be and then write them down in an ancient and secret language. This writing is understood only by the medicine men and by the herbalists who, for another gift, provide the required charm.

The charm is not disposed of after it has served its purpose, but is placed in the charm-box of the household shrine. As these magical materials are specific for certain ills, and the real or imagined maladies of the people are many, the charm-box is usually full to overflowing. The magical packets are so numerous that the people forget what their purposes were and fear to use them again. While the natives are very vague on this point, we can only assume that the idea in retaining all the old magical materials is that their presence in the charm-box, before which the body rituals are conducted, will in some way protect the worshipper.

Beneath the charm-box is a small font. Each day every member of the family, in succession, enters the shrine room, bows his head before the charm-box, mingles different sorts of holy waters in the font, and proceeds with a brief ritual of ablution. The holy waters are secured from the Water Temple of the community, where the priests conduct elaborate ceremonies to make the liquid ritually pure.

In the hierarchy of magical practitioners, and below the medicine men in prestige, are specialists whose designation is best translated "holy-mouth-men." The Nacirema have an almost pathological horror of and fascination with the mouth, the condition of which is believed to have a supernatural influence on all social relationships. Were it not for the rituals of the mouth, they believe that their teeth would fall out, their gums bleed, their jaws shrink, their friends desert them, and their lovers reject them. They also believe that a strong relationship exists between oral and moral characteristics. For example, there is a ritual ablution of the mouth for children which is supposed to improve their moral fiber.

The daily body ritual performed by everyone includes a mouth-rite. Despite the fact that these people are so punctilious about care of the mouth, this rite involves a practice which strikes the uninitiated stranger as revolting. It was reported to me that the ritual consists of inserting a magic bundle of hog hairs into the mouth, along with certain magical powder, and then moving the bundle in a highly formalized series of gestures.

In addition to the private mouth-rite, the people seek out the holy-mouth-man once or twice a year. These practitioners have an impressive set of paraphernalia, consisting of a variety of augers, awls, probes, and prods. The use of these objects in the exorcism of the evils of the mouth involves almost unbelievable ritual torture of the client. The holy-mouth-man opens the client's mouth and, using the above mentioned tools, enlarges any holes, which may have been created in the teeth. Magical materials are put into these holes. If there are no naturally occurring holes in the teeth, large sections of one or more teeth are gouged out so that the supernatural substance can be applied. In the client's view, the purpose of the ministrations is to arrest decay and to draw friends. The extremely sacred and traditional character of the rite is evident in the fact that the natives return to the holy-mouth-man, despite the fact that their teeth continue to decay.

It is to be hoped that, when a thorough study of the Nacirema is made, there will be careful inquiry into the personality structure of these people. One has but to watch the gleam in the eye of a holy-mouth-man, as he jabs an awl into an exposed nerve, to suspect that a certain amount

of sadism is involved. If this can be established, a very interesting pattern emerges, for most of the population shows definite masochistic tendencies. It was to these that Professor Linton referred in discussing a distinctive part of the daily body ritual which was performed only by men. This part of the rite involves scraping and lacerating the surface of the face with a sharp instrument. Special women's rites are performed only four times during each lunar month, but what they lack in frequency is made up for in barbarity. As part of this ceremony, women bake their heads in small ovens for about an hour. The theoretically interesting point is that what seems to be a preponderantly masochistic people have developed sadistic specialists.

The medicine men have an imposing temple, or latipso, in every community of any size. The more elaborate ceremonies required to treat very sick patients can only be performed at this temple. These ceremonies involve not only the thaumaturge but a permanent group of vestal maidens who move sedately about the temple chambers in distinctive costume and headdress.

The latipso ceremonies are so harsh that it is phenomenal that a fair proportion of the really sick natives who enter the temple ever recover. Small children whose indoctrination is still incomplete have been known to resist attempts to take them to the temple because "that is where you go to die." Despite this fact, sick adults are not only willing but eager to undergo the protracted ritual purification, if they can afford to do so. No matter how ill the supplicant or how grave the emergency, the guardians of many temples will not admit a client if he cannot give a rich gift to the custodian. Even after one has gained admission and survived the ceremonies, the guardians will not permit the neophyte to leave until he makes still another gift.

The supplicant entering the temple is first stripped of all his or her clothes. In everyday life the Nacirema avoids exposure of his body and its natural functions. Bathing and excretory acts are performed only in the secrecy of the household shrine, where they are ritualized as part of the body-rites. Psychological shock results from the fact that body secrecy is suddenly lost upon entry into the latipso. This sort of ceremonial treatment is necessitated by the fact that the excreta are used by a diviner to ascertain the course and nature of the client's sickness. Female clients, on the other hand, find their naked bodies are subjected to the scrutiny, manipulation, and prodding of the medicine men.

Few supplicants in the temple are well enough to do anything but lie on their hard beds. The daily ceremonies, like the rites of the holy-mouth-men, involve discomfort and torture. With ritual precision, the vestals awaken their miserable charges each dawn and roll them about on their beds of pain while performing ablutions, in the formal movements of which the maidens are highly trained. At other times they insert magic wands in the supplicant's mouth or force him to eat substances which are supposed to be healing. From time to time the medicine men come to their clients and jab magically treated needles into their flesh. The fact that these ceremonies may not cure, and may even kill the neophyte, in no way decreases the people's faith in the medicine men.

There remains one other kind of practitioner, known as a "listener." This witch-doctor has the power to exorcise the devils that lodge in the heads of people who have been bewitched. The Nacirema believe that parents bewitched their own children. Mothers are particularly suspected of putting a curse on children while teaching them the secret body rituals. The counter-magic of the witch-doctor is unusual in its lack of ritual. The patient simply tells the "listener" all his troubles and fears, beginning with the earliest difficulties he can remember. The memory displayed by the Nacirema in these exorcism sessions is truly remarkable. It is not uncommon for the patient to bemoan the rejection he felt upon being weaned as a babe, and a few individuals even see their troubles going back to the traumatic effects of their own birth.

In conclusion, mention must be made of certain practices which have their base in native esthetics but which depend upon the pervasive aversion to the natural body and its functions. There are ritual fasts to make fat people thin and ceremonial feasts to make thin people fat. Still other rites are used to make women's breasts larger if they are small, and smaller if they are large. General dissatisfaction with breast shape is symbolized in the fact that the ideal form is virtually outside the range of human variation. A few women afflicted with almost inhuman hypermammary development are so idolized that they make a handsome living by simply going from village to village and permitting the natives to stare at them for a fee.

Reference has already been made to the fact that excretory functions are ritualized, routinized, and relegated to secrecy. Natural reproduction functions are similarly distorted. Intercourse is taboo as a topic and secluded as an act. Efforts are made to avoid pregnancy by the use of magical materials or by limiting intercourse to certain phases of the moon. Conception is actually very infrequent. When pregnant, women dress so as to hide their condition. Parturition takes place in secret, without friends or relatives to assist, and the majority of women do not nurse their infants.

Our review of the ritual life of the Nacirema has certainly shown them to be a magic-ridden people. It is hard to understand how they have managed to exist so long under the burdens which they have imposed upon themselves. But even such exotic customs as these take on real meaning when they are viewed with the insight provided by Malinowski when he wrote (1948:70).

Looking from far and above, from our high places of safety in developed civilization, it is easy to see all the crudity and irrelevance of magic. But without its power and guidance, early man could not have advanced to the higher stages of civilization.

Bibliography

- | | |
|---|---|
| Linton, Ralph. (1936). <i>The study of man</i> . New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. | Murdock, G. P. (1948). <i>Social structure</i> . New York: The MacMillan Company. |
| Malinowski, B. (1948). <i>Magic science and religion</i> . Glencoe, IL: The Free Press. | |

Discussion Questions

1. What general message do you think the author was trying to convey in his description of this culture?
2. What stereotypes could you have about the Nacireman culture and its people if this reading were your only source of information?
3. The many strange and interesting rituals observed by Miner led him to conclude that the Nacirema have a strong underlying belief about the human body. What is this belief?

4. Assume that you are carrying on the work of Miner and study the Nacireman culture as it exists now in the twenty-first century.
 - a. What additional body-related activities could you observe in their culture today?
 - b. Is Miner's observation about the preoccupation with body and health still valid today? Explain.
 - c. Is Miner's observation about the underlying belief about the human body still valid today? Explain.
5. Describe, as Miner might have, two or more of the body-related activities you listed for question 4(a).
6. How does Miner's article relate to modern business in terms of
 - a. outsourcing
 - b. international business negotiations
 - c. marketing to growing ethnic populations?
7. On a scale from 1 to 10 (10 being very important), how would you rate the appearance and body rituals observed by Miner and by yourself in terms of their importance
 - a. to personal life? Explain your rating.
 - b. to the business world? Explain your rating.
8. Other facets of this culture also yield many rituals today. There is, for example, WIKI, a ritual that appears to involve belief in magic. Student Naciremans trade information with each other in this ritual. They believe that when they read a WIKI, whatever it says, it is indeed fact. Somehow, WIKIs magically hold all-knowing truths. How might this ritual relate to prejudice and stereotypes?
9. Vast numbers of individual Naciremans also conduct a Ritual of Networking using magic boxes to weave social "webs." They exchange pictures of themselves and much personal information with strangers on their webs. "Participants" of the Networking ritual seem to constantly check their webs and respond to them. They walk around webbing; they eat with their boxes and check their webs during meals. The magic boxes are always nearby even when Naciremans are in their shrines devoted to health and appearance ceremonies. It is said that some even sleep with their boxes. This appears to be very ego-centered activity. What does this say about how people in this culture relate to each other?
10. Nacireman market economy also has rituals. Among these is the Business-Hiring ritual. In this ritual, business chiefs check the social webs of those desiring to join their tribes before hiring (sometimes even before interviewing) a position-seeker. Business chiefs do not appear to favor position-seekers who have social webs that indicate values and beliefs different from their own. This is not a secret. It is actually a very curious thing: Large numbers of Naciremans insist upon conducting the social web ritual even though they know that business chiefs may very well disapprove. Business chiefs appear to belong to a different group within this society.
 - a. When a "participant" is both employment-seeking and networking at the same time, hiring rituals assume great importance. How might the Ritual of the Social Networking help or hurt a position-seeker?
 - b. How do these clashing rituals reflect the values of the position-seekers and the business chiefs?

11. Participants in the modern Nacireman market economy sometimes create relationships that only exist electronically. They create groups called “Virtual Teams” whose members never meet each other in person. Considering the rituals of Networking, WIKI, and Virtual Teams, what stereotypes might strangers have about Nacireman culture if these three rituals were their only source of information?

DIVERSITY ON THE WEB

Nacirema Extended

You are a member of a team of anthropologists studying a large and rather diverse group of people. These people have a primitive information and communication system called “Internet” that will provide you with a first glimpse of their culture. To begin examining this culture, the team decides to scan “Internet” for information on their rituals.

1. Read the “Body Ritual Among the Nacirema” article in this text.
2. Using the websites listed at the bottom of this box as a starting point, investigate (scan) Internet for descriptions of one ritual. Be complete in your investigation, searching for symbolism and note how the ritual relates to a holiday or event. What does the ritual celebrate? Are there special roles in the event? Who participates?
3. Using a style similar to Miner’s, record your perceptions of one of the events from the list that follows. A sample description, “Observation of the Cultural Event Called Halloween,” appears on the next page.
4. Based *solely* on the information in your report, what kinds of stereotypes of American culture could result from these observations?

College Graduation Ceremonies

- www.brownielocks.com/graduation.html
- <http://www.wrightwood.com/college.htm>
- <http://mycollegeguide.org/blog/05/2010/college-graduation-traditions>

National Political Conventions

- Search: “United States presidential nominating convention” click on Wikipedia article
- Search: “Political Conventions” click on Wikipedia article

Saint Patrick’s Day Parade

<http://www.saintpatricksdaysparade.com>

Mardi Gras Parade

<http://www.holidays.net/mardigras/parades.htm>

Thanksgiving Parade

http://www.nyctourist.com/macys_menu.htm

Easter Parade

<http://www.ny.com/holiday/easter>

Rose Parade

<http://www.tournamentofroses.com/roseparade.aspx/> Then, click on “Rose Parade.”

Adapted from “Nacirema Extended” by M. J. Allard from C. P. Harvey & M. J. Allard: *Understanding and Managing Diversity* 3rd ed. Prentice Hall, 2005.



SAMPLE DESCRIPTION

Observation of the Cultural Event Called Halloween

Halloween is a very strange custom. It doesn't appear to be a holiday; it is more like an event—an event characterized by at least two rituals and many symbols. There seem to be no special roles for males, females, or elders. The chief rituals appear to be the (1) Ritual of the Pumpkins and (2) Ritual of the Begging.

Ritual of the Pumpkins

The pumpkin vegetable, which apparently is eaten at other times of the year, is not eaten at this event. Instead, the people paint strange faces on pumpkins or carve faces on empty pumpkin shells. Lighted candles are placed inside the carved pumpkins. Decorated pumpkins appear in windows facing outdoors or on display outside of homes.

Ritual of the Begging


This is a special ritual for children. On Halloween night, children dress up in costumes that frequently represent mythical characters—ghosts, witches, monsters, ghouls, cartoon characters. They wear masks to hide their identities. After dark the children go begging from house to house, calling out “trick or treat.” People then open their doors and give candy to the children. Sometimes the children play pranks on the people.

Symbols

Among the prominent symbols of Halloween are ghosts, skeletons, spiders, witches, black cats, graveyards, and monsters, all of which seem to be very frightening, gory, ugly, or sinister in character. Not only are these symbols displayed in the costumes the children wear, but many houses are adorned with displays of them, particularly witches and ghosts.

Sometimes people visit “haunted houses” (eerie houses where frightening creatures lurk in dark corners to scare people). Sometimes, too, people attend social events called Halloween parties where they play strange games such as dunking their heads in buckets of water while trying to catch an apple in their teeth.

These events are sometimes for adults and sometimes for children.



INCREASING MULTICULTURAL UNDERSTANDING: UNCOVERING STEREOTYPES

John R. Bowman

University of North Carolina at Pembroke

INSTRUCTIONS PRIOR TO CLASS

1. Turn to the Uncovering Stereotypes Worksheet: (Worksheet A).
2. Follow your instructor's directions for completing the blank category boxes that reflect different special populations.
3. Working individually:
 - Complete the **First Thought/Judgment** column by writing your first thought about or judgment of each category. Refer to the example given on Worksheet A.
 - Rate each thought/judgment as positive (+), negative (-), or neutral (0) and enter these ratings in the **Rating** column.
 - Complete the **Sources** column by indicating the source of your judgment for each category.

Instructions for Working as a Group In Class:

- Turn to the Uncovering Stereotypes Group Summary Sheet: (Worksheet B).
- Five categories (Family, Media, Experience, Work Experience, Friends) have already been listed on the summary sheet. Add additional categories (derived from your group discussions) to the sheet.
- Take a quick count of the number of positive, negative, and neutral thoughts/judgments made by your group for each of the Source Categories and enter totals on the last line.
- As a class, discuss which sources lead to positive, which to negative, and which to neutral judgments.
- Discuss the implications of having negative or positive stereotypes/judgments from different perspectives; for example, among workers, between managers and workers, and at the corporate level.


WORKSHEET A: UNCOVERING STEREOTYPES			
Category	First Thought/Judgment	Rating*	Sources
Working Mother	<i>Neglects children, busy, tired</i>		<i>Own experience, movies</i>
Transgender Male			
Muslim Female wearing Burqa			
Bipolar Co-worker			
Illegal Asian Immigrant			
Job Applicant with Facial Piercing			
Gay Female President of the U.S.			

*(+) = positive
 (-) = negative
 (0) = neutral

WORKSHEET B: UNCOVERING STEREOTYPES GROUP SUMMARY SHEET			
Source Categories	Positive (+) Thoughts/Judgments	Negative (-) Thoughts/Judgments	Neutral (0) Thoughts/Judgments
Family			
Media			
Experience			
Work Experience			
Friends			
Other			
Total			



DIVERSITY ON THE WEB

1. Take and score the multicultural quiz found on the website below.
 2. Think about your score on this quiz and your responses to Bowman's "Uncovering Stereotypes" exercise.
 - a. What are your primary sources of information about social identity groups that you do not belong to?
 - b. How accurate is your knowledge about these groups?
 - c. How could a lack of correct information contribute to the formation of stereotypes?
<http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/quizzes.html>
- 

I AM...

M. June Allard
Assumption College
Worcester State University, Professor Emerita

Instructions

1. Think about how you would describe yourself to someone you have never met.
On each line below, write a single-word description.

I AM a(an)

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

2. Place a star by the three most important descriptors.

ARE YOU PRIVILEGED?¹

Mark Julien

Brock University

Micheal T. Stratton

University of North Carolina, Asheville

Privilege is defined as the advantages accorded to someone by virtue of the social identities possess and the subsequent disadvantages experienced by someone else in the form of oppression (e.g. males/females; whites/non-whites) (McIntosh, 1989). McIntosh (1989) sees privilege as an “invisible package of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was ‘meant’ to remain oblivious” (p. 3). For instance, you may have privilege if you are a white male from a wealthy family and you’re hired for an internship at a country club that caters to the same demographic social identity. Furthermore, Adams, Blumenfield, Castaneda, Hackman, Peters, & Zuniga (2010) characterize privilege as allowing people to:

Assume a certain level of acceptance, inclusion, and respect in the world, to operate within a relatively wide comfort zone. Privilege increases the odds of having things your own way, of being able to set the agenda in a social situation and determine the rules and standards and how they’re applied ... And it grants a presumption of superiority and social permission to act on that presumption without having to worry about being challenged. (p. 19)

While McIntosh’s privilege checklist focused only on racial and heterosexual privileges, today we need to consider a more inclusive notion that reflects additional ways that one may be privileged based on other social identity characteristics such physical ability, gender, socio-economic status, etc.

Mahoney (1997) notes, “Not seeing the mechanisms that reinforce and maintain privilege is an important component of privilege” (p. 307). Many people who enjoy privilege may not be conscious of their power. This is a troubling phenomenon since self-awareness about our own privileged identity characteristics can help us recognize when others are oppressed and when our actions inadvertently and unintentionally benefit from the inherent advantages. For instance, heterosexual couples might not understand why expressing affection in public might be uncomfortable for some individuals. Those who identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender are less likely to feel comfortable engaging in simple acts such as of embracing or holding hands in a social setting that is favorable to heterosexuals. Wildman and Davis (2002) note, “Privilege is not visible to its holder; it is merely there, a part of the world, a way of life, simply the way things are” (p. 89).

¹We would like to acknowledge the assistance and support of Lynne Prout of Brock University’s Office of Human Rights and Equity Services who introduced us to the concept of privilege and an early version of the privilege checklist.

PRIVILEGE CHECKLIST

Directions: Please check “True”, “False”, or “N/A” (for not applicable) for the statements below that best describe your life experiences. Only use the N/A column if you cannot relate to an item at all (such as for # 2 if you have never flown, or #18 if you do not follow a particular religion). Then total your scores for the three columns.

Life Experiences	True	False	N/A
1. I can talk freely about my sexual orientation or gender identity to fellow students.			
2. If I am selected for additional screening procedures at the airport, I rarely feel it's because of my appearance.			
3. I can kiss my partner farewell at the airport, confident that onlookers will either ignore us or smile understandingly.			
4. I can physically access most stores and public buildings.			
5. People do not consider my age to be a detriment to getting a job.			
6. I can easily find appropriate cards for my partner, to celebrate special occasions like our anniversary.			
7. I feel I am not treated differently because of my size.			
8. At the bottom of the stairs, I never have to wonder how to get to the next floor.			
9. I can be fairly certain my gender will not negatively affect my income.			
10. I can make plans with friends confident that I have the money to be able to do so.			
11. I can be confident that I will not be harassed in the washroom I choose to use.			
12. I can consider getting a visible tattoo without worrying about it affecting my chances for a job.			
13. I got a job or internship because of someone I knew.			
14. If my partner is seriously ill, I know I will be allowed into the intensive-unit to visit her/him.			
15. In my neighborhood, I can walk to my car late at night without worrying about my safety.			
16. When out in public, I can be fairly certain I will not be stared at because of appearance.			
17. If I experience violence in the street, it will not be because I am holding hands with my partner.			
18. If I take time off from work for a religious holiday, I will not be challenged.			
19. When I fill out a form, I can usually check off a box that accurately represents my ethnic identity.			
20. I rarely hear negative jokes or comments about a group to which I belong.			
Total number of checks:			

Bibliography

- Adams, M., Blumenfield, W. J., Castaneda, C., Hackman, H.W., Peters, M.L. & Zuniga, X. (2010). *Readings for diversity and social justice*. New York: Routledge.
- Amoroso, L.M., Loyd, D.L. & Hoobler, J.M. (2010). The diversity education dilemma: Exposing status hierarchies without reinforcing them. *Journal of Management Education*, 34, 795–822.
- Bergerson, A.A. (2003). Critical race theory and white racism: Is there room for white scholars in fighting racism in education? *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16 (1), 51–63.
- Bozalek, B. & Biersteker, L. (2010). Exploring power and privilege using participatory learning and action techniques. *Social Work Education*, 29 (5), 551–572.
- Case, K.A. (2007). Raising white privilege awareness and reducing racial prejudice: Assessing diversity course effectiveness. *Teaching of Psychology*, 34 (4), 231–235.
- Case, K.A. & Stewart, B. (2010). Heterosexual privilege awareness, prejudice, and support of gay marriage among diversity course students. *College Teaching*, 58, 3–7.
- Combs, G.M. & Luthans, F. (2007). Diversity training: Analysis of the impact of self-efficacy. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 18 (1), 91–120.
- DiAngelo, R.J. (2006). My class didn't trump my race: Using oppression to face privilege. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 8 (1), 52–56.
- Mahoney, M. (1997). The social construction of whiteness. In R. Delgado & J. Stefancic (Eds.), *Critical white studies: Looking beyond the mirror* (pp. 330–333). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- McIntosh, P. (July/August 1989). White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. *Peace and Freedom*.
- Wildman, S. & Davis, A. (2002). Making systems of privilege visible. In P. Rothberg (Ed.), *White privilege: Essential readings on the other side of racism* (pp. 89–95). New York: Worth.
- Zinni, D.M., Mathis R.L., & Jackson, J.H. (2011). *Human Resources Management*. Toronto: Nelson Education.

WHITE PRIVILEGE AND MALE PRIVILEGE: A PERSONAL ACCOUNT OF COMING TO SEE CORRESPONDENCES THROUGH WORK IN WOMEN'S STUDIES

Peggy McIntosh
Wellesley College

Through work to bring materials and perspectives from Women's Studies into the rest of the curriculum, I have often noticed men's unwillingness to grant that they are over privileged in the curriculum, even though they may grant that women are disadvantaged. Denials which amount to taboos surround the subject of advantages which men gain from women's disadvantages. These denials protect male privilege from being fully recognized, acknowledged, lessened, or ended.

Thinking through unacknowledged male privilege as a phenomenon with a life of its own, I realized that since hierarchies in our society are interlocking, there was most likely a phenomenon of white privilege which was similarly denied and protected, but alive and real in its effects. As a white person, I realized I had been taught about racism as something which puts others at a disadvantage, but had been taught not to see one of its corollary aspects, white privilege, which puts me at an advantage.

I think whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege. So I have begun in an untutored way to ask what it is like to have white privilege. This paper is a partial record of my personal observations, and not a scholarly analysis. It is based on my daily experiences within my particular circumstances.

I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was "meant" to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, codebooks, passports, visas, clothes, compass, emergency gear, and blank checks.

Since I have had trouble facing white privilege, and describing its results in my life, I saw parallels here with men's reluctance to acknowledge male privilege. Only rarely will a man go beyond acknowledging that women are disadvantaged to acknowledging that men have unearned advantage, or that unearned privilege has not been good for men's development as human beings, or for society's development, or that privilege systems might ever be challenged and *changed*.

I will review here several types or layers of denial which I see at work protecting, and preventing awareness about, entrenched male privilege. Then I will draw parallels, from my own experience, with the denials which veil the facts of white privilege. Finally, I will list 46 ordinary and daily ways in which I experience having white privilege, within my life situation and its particular social and political frameworks.

Writing this paper has been difficult, despite warm receptions for the talks on which it is based.¹ For describing white privilege makes one newly accountable. As we in Women's Studies work to reveal male privilege and ask men to give up some of their power, so one who writes about having white privilege must ask, "Having described it, what will I do to lessen or end it?"

The denial of men's over-privileged state takes many forms in discussions of curriculum-change work. Some claim that men must be central in the curriculum because they have done most of what is important or distinctive in life or in civilization. Some recognize sexism in the curriculum but deny that it makes male students seem unduly important in life. Others agree that certain *individual* thinkers are blindly male-oriented but deny that there is any systemic tendency in disciplinary frameworks or epistemology to over-empower men as a group. Those men who do grant that male privilege takes institutionalized and embedded forms are still likely to deny that male hegemony has opened doors for them personally. Virtually all men deny that male over-reward alone can explain men's centrality in all the inner sanctums of our most powerful institutions. Moreover, those few who will acknowledge that male privilege systems have over-empowered them usually end up doubting that we could dismantle these privilege systems. They may say they will work to improve women's status, in the society or in the university, but they can't or won't support the idea of lessening men's. In curricular terms, this is the point at which they say that they regret they cannot use any of the interesting new scholarship on women because the syllabus is full. When the talk turns to giving men less cultural room, even the most fair-minded of the men I know will tend to reflect, or fall back on, conservative assumptions about the inevitability of present gender relations and distributions of power, calling on precedent or sociobiology and psychobiology to demonstrate that male domination is natural and follows inevitably from evolutionary pressures. Others resort to arguments from "experience" or religion or social responsibility or wishing and dreaming.

After I realized, through faculty development work in Women's Studies, the extent to which men work from a base of unacknowledged privilege, I understood that much of their oppressiveness was unconscious. Then I remembered the frequent charges from women of color that white women whom they encounter are oppressive. I began to understand why we are justly seen as oppressive, even when we don't see ourselves that way. At the very least, obliviousness of one's privileged state can make a person or group irritating to be with. I began to count the ways in which I enjoy unearned skin privilege and have been conditioned into oblivion about its existence, unable to see that it put me "ahead" in any way, or put my people ahead, over-rewarding us and yet also paradoxically damaging us, or that it could or should be changed.

My schooling gave me no training in seeing myself as an oppressor, as an unfairly advantaged person, or as a participant in a damaged culture. I was taught to see myself as an individual whose moral state depended on her individual moral will. At school, we were not taught about slavery in any depth; we were not taught to see slaveholders as damaged people. Slaves were seen as the only group at risk of being dehumanized. My schooling followed the pattern which Elizabeth Minnich has pointed out: Whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work which will allow "them" to be more like "us." I think many of us know how obnoxious this attitude can be in men.

After frustration with men who would not recognize male privilege, I decided to try to work on myself at least by identifying some of the daily effects of white privilege in my life. It

is crude work, at this stage, but I will give here a list of special circumstances and conditions I experience which I did not earn but which I have been made to feel are mine by birth, by citizenship, and by virtue of being a conscientious law-abiding “normal” person of good will. I have chosen those conditions which I think in my case *attach somewhat more to skin-color privilege* than to class, religion, ethnic status, or geographical location, though of course all these other factors are intricately intertwined. As far as I can see, my Afro-American co-workers, friends, and acquaintances with whom I come into daily or frequent contact in this particular time, place, and line of work cannot count on most of these conditions.

1. I can if I wish arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
2. I can avoid spending time with people whom I was trained to mistrust and who have learned to mistrust my kind or me.
3. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure of renting or purchasing housing in an area which I can afford and in which I would want to live.
4. I can be pretty sure that my neighbors in such a location will be neutral or pleasant to me.
5. I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.
6. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
7. When I am told about our national heritage or about “civilization,” I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
8. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.
9. If I want to, I can be pretty sure of finding a publisher for this piece on white privilege.
10. I can be pretty sure of having my voice heard in a group in which I am the only member of my race.
11. I can be casual about whether or not to listen to another woman’s voice in a group in which she is the only member of her race.
12. I can go into a music shop and count on finding the music of my race represented, into a supermarket and find the staple foods which fit with my cultural traditions, into a hair-dresser’s shop and find someone who can cut my hair.
13. Whether I use checks, credit cards, or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.
14. I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might not like them.
15. I do not have to educate my children to be aware of systemic racism for their own daily physical protection.
16. I can be pretty sure that my children’s teachers and employers will tolerate them if they fit school and workplace norms; my chief worries about them do not concern others’ attitudes toward their race.
17. I can talk with my mouth full and not have people put this down to my color.
18. I can swear, or dress in second-hand clothes, or not answer letters, without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals, the poverty, or the illiteracy of my race.
19. I can speak in public to a powerful male group without putting my race on trial.
20. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race.
21. I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.
22. I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of color who constitute the world’s majority without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion.

23. I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a cultural outsider.
24. I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to “the person in charge,” I will be facing a person of my race.
25. If a traffic cop pulls me over or if the IRS audits my tax return, I can be sure I haven’t been singled out because of my race.
26. I can easily buy posters, postcards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children’s magazines featuring people of my race.
27. I can go home from most meetings of organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in, rather than isolated, out-of-place, outnumbered, unheard, held at a distance, or feared.
28. I can be pretty sure that an argument with a colleague of another race is more likely to jeopardize her chances for advancement than to jeopardize mine.
29. I can be pretty sure that if I argue for the promotion of a person of another race, or a program centering on race, this is not likely to cost me heavily within my present setting, even if my colleagues disagree with me.
30. If I declare there is a racial issue at hand, or there isn’t a racial issue at hand, my race will lend me more credibility for either position than a person of color will have.
31. I can choose to ignore developments in minority writing and minority activist programs, or disparage them, or learn from them, but in any case, I can find ways to be more or less protected from negative consequences of any of these choices.
32. My culture gives me little fear about ignoring the perspectives and powers of people of other races.
33. I am not made acutely aware that my shape, bearing, or body odor will be taken as a reflection of my race.
34. I can worry about racism without being seen as self-interested or self-seeking.
35. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having my coworkers on the job suspect that I got it because of my race.
36. If my day, week, or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it has racial overtones.
37. I can be pretty sure of finding people who would be willing to talk with me and advise me about my next steps, professionally.
38. I can think over many options, social, political, imaginative, or professional, without asking whether a person of my race would be accepted or allowed to do what I want to do.
39. I can be late to a meeting without having the lateness reflect on my race.
40. I can choose public accommodation without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated in the places I have chosen.
41. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.
42. I can arrange my activities so that I will never have to experience feelings of rejection owing to my race.
43. If I have low credibility as a leader I can be sure that my race is not the problem.
44. I can easily find academic courses and institutions which give attention only to people of my race.
45. I can expect figurative language and imagery in all of the arts to testify to experiences of my race.
46. I can choose blemish cover or bandages in “flesh” color and have them more or less match my skin.

I repeatedly forgot each of the realizations on this list until I wrote it down. For me, white privilege has turned out to be an elusive and fugitive subject. The pressure to avoid it is great, for in facing it I must give up the myth of meritocracy. If these things are true, this is not such a free country; one's life is not what one makes it; many doors open for certain people through no virtues of their own. These perceptions mean also that my moral condition is not what I had been led to believe. The appearance of being a good citizen rather than a troublemaker comes in large part from having all sorts of doors open automatically because of my color.

A further paralysis of nerve comes from literary silence protecting privilege. My clearest memories of finding such analysis are in Lillian Smith's unparalleled *Killers of the Dream* and Margaret Andersen's review of Karen and Mamie Fields' *Lemon Swamp*. Smith, for example, wrote about walking toward black children on the street and knowing they would step into the gutter; Andersen contrasted the pleasure which she, as a white child, took on summer driving trips to the south with Karen Fields' memories of driving in a closed car stocked with all necessities lest, in stopping, her black family should suffer "insult, or worse." Adreinne Rich also recognizes and writes about daily experiences of privilege, but in my observation, white women's writing in this area is far more often on systemic racism than on our daily lives as light-skinned women.²

In unpacking this invisible knapsack of white privilege, I have listed conditions of daily experience which I once took for granted, as neutral, normal, and universally available to everybody, just as I once thought of a male-focused curriculum as the neutral or accurate account which can speak for all. Nor did I think any of these perquisites as bad for the holder. I now think that we need a more finely differentiated taxonomy of privilege, for some of these varieties are only what one would want for everyone in a just society, and others give license to be ignorant, oblivious, arrogant, and destructive. Before proposing some more finely-tuned categorization, I will make some observations about the general effects of these conditions on my life and expectations.

In this potpourri of examples, some privileges make me feel at home in the world. Others allow me to escape penalties or dangers which others suffer. Through some, I escape fear, anxiety, or a sense of not being welcome or not being real. Some keep me from having to hide, to be in disguise, to feel sick or crazy, to negotiate each transaction from the position of being an outsider or, within my group, a person who is suspected of having too close links with a dominant culture. Most keep me from having to be angry.

I see a pattern running through the matrix of white privilege, a pattern of assumptions which were passed on to me as a white person. There was one main piece of cultural turf; it was my own turf, and I was among those who could control the turf. I could measure up to the cultural standards and take advantage of the many options I saw around me to make what the culture would call a success of my life. *My skin color was an asset for any move I was educated to want to make.* I could think of myself as "belonging" in major ways, and of making social systems work for me. I could freely disparage, fear, neglect, or be oblivious to anything outside of the dominant cultural forms. Being of the main culture, I could also criticize it fairly freely. My life was reflected back to me frequently enough so that I felt, with regard to my race, if not to my sex, like one of the real people.

Whether through the curriculum or in the newspaper, the television, the economic system, or the general look of people in the streets, we received daily signals and indications that my people counted, and that others *either didn't exist or must be trying not very successfully, to be like people of my race.* We were given cultural permission not to hear voices of people of other races, or a tepid cultural tolerance for hearing or acting on such voices. I was also raised not to suffer

seriously from anything which darker-skinned people might say about my group, “protected,” though perhaps I should more accurately say *prohibited*, through the habits of my economic class and social group, from living in racially mixed groups or being reflective about interactions between people of differing races.

In proportion as my racial group was being made confident, comfortable, and oblivious, other groups were likely being made unconfident, uncomfortable, and alienated. Whiteness protected me from many kinds of hostility, distress, and violence, which I was being subtly trained to visit in turn upon people of color.

For this reason, the word *privilege* now seems to me misleading. Its connotations are too positive to fit the conditions and behaviors which “privilege systems” produce. We usually think of privilege as being a favored state, whether earned, or conferred by birth or luck. School graduates are reminded they are privileged and urged to use their (enviable) assets well. The word *privilege* carries the connotation of being something everyone must want. Yet some of the conditions I have described here work to systemically over-empower certain groups. Such privilege simply *confers dominance*, gives permission to control, because of one’s race or sex. The kind of privilege which gives license to some people to be, at best, thoughtless and, and at worst, murderous should not continue to be referred to as a desirable attribute. Such “privilege” may be widely desired without being in any way beneficial to the whole society.

Moreover, though “privilege” may confer power, it does not confer moral strength. Those who do not depend on conferred dominance have traits and qualities which may never develop in those who do. Just as Women’s Studies courses indicate that women survive their political circumstances to lead lives which hold the human race together, so “underprivileged” people of color who are the world’s majority have survived their oppression and lived survivor’s lives from which the white global minority can and must learn. In some groups, those dominated have actually become strong through *not* having all of these unearned advantages, and this gives them a great deal to teach the others. Members of the so-called privileged groups can seem foolish, ridiculous, infantile, or dangerous by contrast.

I want, then, to distinguish between earned strength and unearned power conferred systemically. Power from unearned privilege can look like strength when it is in fact permission to escape or to dominate. But not all of the privileges on my list are inevitably damaging. Some, like the expectation that neighbors will be decent to you, or that your race will not count against you in court, should be the norm in a just society and should be considered as the entitlement of everyone. Others, like the privilege not to listen to less powerful people, distort the humanity of the holders as well as the ignored groups. Still others, like finding one’s staple foods everywhere, may be a function of being a member of a numerical majority in the population. Others have to do with not having to labor under pervasive negative stereotyping and mythology.

We might at least start by distinguishing between positive advantages which we can work to spread, to the point where they are not advantages at all but simply part of the normal civic and social fabric, and negative types of advantage which unless rejected will always reinforce our present hierarchies. For example, the positive “privilege” of belonging, the feeling that one belongs within the human circle, as Native Americans say, fosters development and should not be seen as privilege for a few. It is, let us say, an entitlement which none of us should have to earn; ideally it is an *unearned entitlement*. At present, since only a few have it, it is an *unearned advantage* for them. The negative “privilege” which gave me cultural permission not to take darker-skinned others seriously can be seen as arbitrarily conferred dominance and should not be desirable for anyone. This paper results from a process of coming to see that some of the power which I originally saw as attendant on being a human being in the United States consisted

in *unearned advantage* and *conferred dominance*, as well as other kinds of special circumstance not universally taken for granted.

In writing this paper I have also realized that white identity and status (as well as class identity and status) give me considerable power to choose whether to broach this subject and its trouble. I can pretty well decide whether to disappear and avoid and not listen and escape the dislike I may engender in other people through this essay, or interrupt, take over, dominate, preach, direct, criticize, or control to some extent what goes on in reaction to it. Being white, I am given considerable power to escape many kinds of danger or penalty as well as to choose which risks I want to take.

There is an analogy here, once again, with Women's Studies. Our male colleagues do not have a great deal to lose in supporting Women's Studies, but they do decide whether to commit themselves to more equitable distributions of power. They will probably feel few penalties whatever choice they make; they do not seem, in any obvious short-term sense, the ones at risk, though they and we are all at risk because of the behaviors which have been rewarded in them.

Through Women's Studies work I have met very few men who are truly distressed about systemic, unearned male advantage and conferred dominance. And so one question for me and others like me is whether we will be like them, or whether we will get truly distressed, even outraged, about unearned race advantage and conferred dominance and if so, what we will do to lessen them. In any case, we need to do more work in identifying how they actually affect our daily lives. We need more down-to-earth writing by people about these taboo subjects. We need more understanding of the ways in which white "privilege" damages white people, for these are not the same ways in which it damages the victimized. Skewed white psyches are an inseparable part of the picture, though I do not want to confuse the kinds of damage done to the holders of special assets and to those who suffer the deficits. Many, perhaps most, of our white students in the United States think that racism doesn't affect them because they are not people of color; they do not see "whiteness" as a racial identity. Many men likewise think that Women's Studies does not bear on their own existences because they are not female; they do not see themselves as having gendered identities. Insisting on the universal *effects* of "privilege" systems, then, becomes one of our chief tasks, and being more explicit about the *particular* effects in particular contexts is another. Men need to join us in this work.

In addition, since race and sex are not the only advantaging systems at work, we need to similarly examine the daily experience of having age advantage, or ethnic advantage, or physical ability, or advantage related to nationality, religion, or sexual orientation. Professor Marnie Evans suggested to me that in many ways the list I made also applies directly to heterosexual privilege. This is a still more taboo subject than race privilege: the daily ways in which heterosexual privilege makes married persons comfortable or powerful, providing supports, assets, approvals, and rewards to those who live or expect to live in heterosexual pairs. Unpacking that content is still more difficult, owing to the deeper embeddedness of heterosexual advantage and dominance, and stricter taboos surrounding these.

But to start such an analysis I would put this observation from my own experience: The fact that I live under the same roof with a man triggers all kinds of societal assumptions about my worth, politics, life, and values, and triggers a host of unearned advantages and powers. After recasting many elements from the original list I would add further observations like these:

1. My children do not have to answer questions about why I live with my partner (my husband).
2. I have no difficulty finding neighborhoods where people approve of our household.
3. My children are given texts and classes which implicitly support our kind of family unit, and do not turn them against my choice of domestic partnership.

4. I can travel alone or with my husband without expecting embarrassment or hostility in those who deal with us.
5. Most people I meet will see my marital arrangements as an asset to my life or as a favorable comment on my likability, my competence, or my mental health.
6. I can talk about the social events of a weekend without fearing most listener's reactions.
7. I will feel welcomed and "normal" in the usual walks of public life, institutional, and social.
8. In many contexts, I am seen as "all right" in daily work on women because I do not live chiefly with women.

Difficulties and dangers surrounding the task of finding parallels are many. Since racism, sexism, and heterosexism are not the same, the advantaging associated with them should not be seen as the same. In addition, it is hard to disentangle aspects of unearned advantage which rests more on social class, economic class, race, religion, sex, and ethnic identity than on other factors. Still, all of the oppressions are interlocking, as the Combahee River Collective statement of 1977 continues to remind us eloquently.³

One factor seems clear about all of the interlocking oppressions. They take both active forms which we can see and embedded forms which as a member of the dominant group one is taught not to see. In my class and place, I did not see myself as racist because I was taught to recognize racism only in individual acts of meanness by members of my group, never in invisible systems conferring unsought racial dominance on my group from birth. Likewise, we are taught to think that sexism or heterosexism is carried on only through individual acts of discrimination, meanness, or cruelty toward women, gays, and lesbians, rather than in invisible systems conferring unsought dominance on certain groups. Disapproving of the systems won't be enough to change them. I was taught to think that racism could end if white individuals changed their attitudes; many men think sexism can be ended by individual changes in daily behavior toward women. But a man's sex provides advantage for him whether or not he approves of the way in which dominance has been conferred on his group. A "white" skin in the United States opens many doors for whites whether or not we approve of the way dominance had been conferred on us. Individual acts can palliate, but cannot end, these problems. To redesign social systems we need first to acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions. The silences and denials surrounding privilege are the key political tools here. They keep thinking about equality or equity incomplete, protecting unearned advantage and conferred dominance by making these taboo subjects. Most talk by whites about equal opportunity seems to me now to be about equal opportunity to try to get in to a position of dominance while denying that *systems* of dominance exist.

It seems to me that obliviousness about white advantage, like obliviousness about male advantage, is kept strongly inculturated in the United States so as to maintain the myth of meritocracy, the myth that democratic choice is equally available to all. Keeping most people unaware that freedom of confident action is there for just a small number of people props up those in power, and serves to keep power in the hands of the same groups that have most of it already. Though systemic change takes many decades, there are pressing questions for me and I imagine for some others like me if we raise our daily consciousness on the perquisites of being light-skinned. What will we do with such knowledge? As we know from watching men, it is an open question whether we will choose to use unearned advantage to weaken hidden systems of advantage, and whether we will use any of our arbitrarily-awarded power to try to reconstruct power systems on a broader base.