

## Models of Diversity Training

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DURING the past decade, attention to diversity has grown exponentially in U.S. organizations. The exigencies of an increasingly multiethnic, multicultural, and bigender labor force have led more and more corporations, governmental and nonprofit agencies, and educational institutions to implement a variety of training programs and related initiatives focused on reaping the benefits and avoiding the pitfalls associated with diversity. The results of one recent survey (Wheeler, 1994), for example, showed that 79% of 406 companies were using or planning to use some type of diversity training. In another set of surveys (as reported by Caudron, 1993), the proportion of organizations indicating they had or were planning diversity-training programs increased from 47% to 75% between 1990 and 1991. Finally, in a 1994 poll of 2,313 organizations with more than 100 employees, 56% re-

ported providing diversity training, compared with 40% in 1992 (Silverstein, 1995).

Despite the growth of diversity training, the term does not refer to any one specific activity. It can be used to describe many workplace interventions, ranging from 1-hour briefings to organizationwide change initiatives. Although diversity training efforts typically have some features in common—for example, a focus on domestic diversity and its implications for the workplace—such efforts can vary broadly in how they are conceptualized and implemented. The driving forces, the assumptions and goals, and the strategies and techniques employed can differ significantly between one diversity training initiative and another. In this chapter, we explore the assumptions, goals, strategies, and conceptual frameworks that guide diversity training efforts—in short, the “why, what, and

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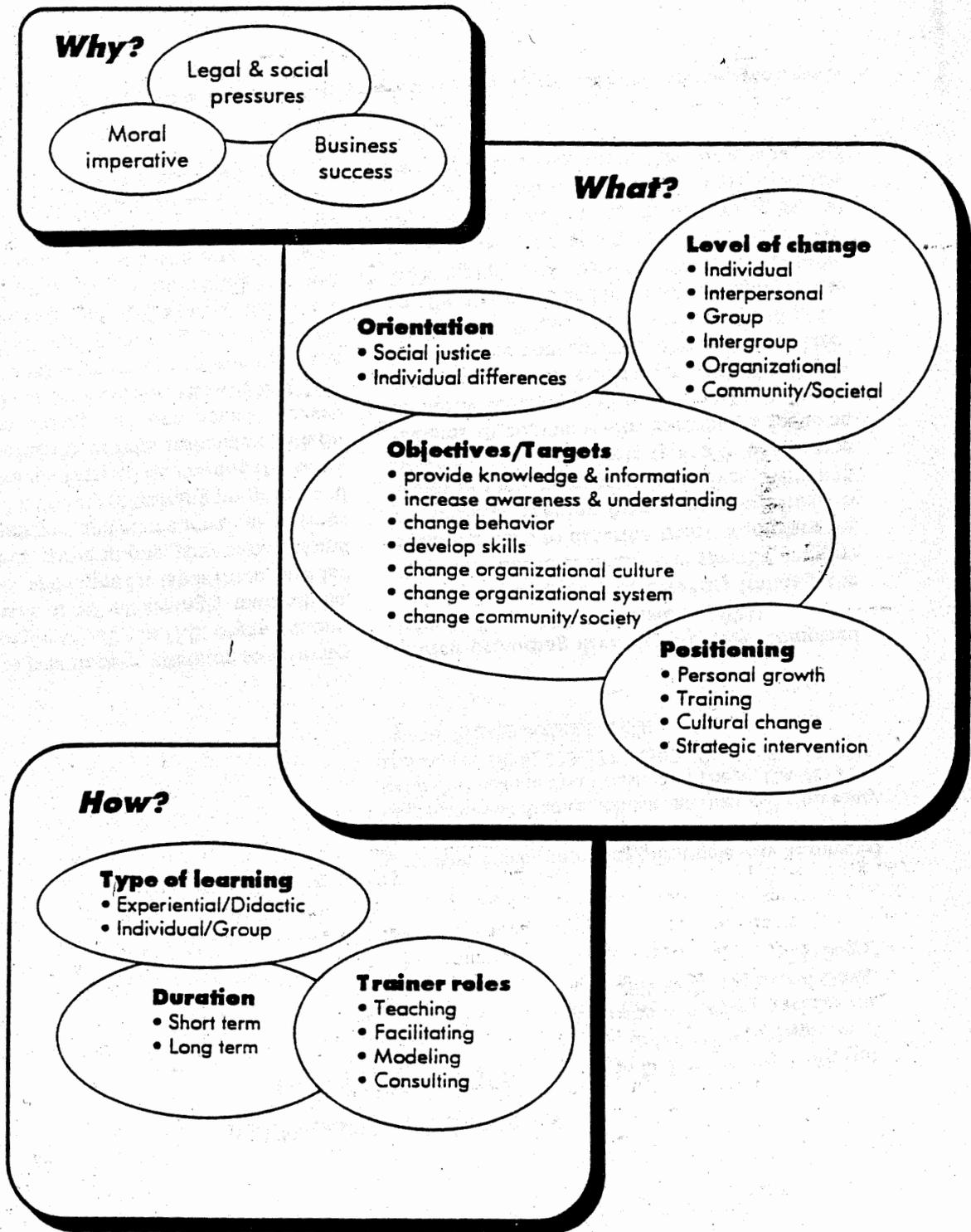


Figure 16.1. Diversity Training: The Why, What, and How

how" of diversity training. Our intent is not to provide a comprehensive review of training techniques or designs or to address the broader dynamics of cultural diversity in organizations (see e.g., Chemers, Oskamp, & Constanzo, 1995; Cox, 1993; Ferdman, 1992; Triandis, Kurowski, & Gelfand, 1994), but rather to consider the range of issues underlying the planning and use of diversity training. Figure 16.1 presents the framework for the chapter and a summary of the topics discussed.

It is important to highlight at the outset that diversity training is one component of a larger set of diversity initiatives and interventions. Many organizations in the United States actively employ a variety of strategies and techniques to deal with the increasing heterogeneity of the workplace and the community. In large part, the definition, goals, and focus of diversity training depend on whether or not organizations use it as part of a broader strategy for integrating and working with diversity.

Understanding that diversity training can be only one component of diversity initiatives becomes especially important when distinguishing between diversity training and intercultural training. Pruegger and Rogers (1994), following Triandis (1986), describe intercultural training as being "concerned with increasing our ability to communicate with culturally diverse people and monitoring and adjusting our behavior to deal effectively with those of different cultures" (p. 370). Brislin and Yoshida (1994b), focusing on intercultural communication training, define this as "formal efforts designed to prepare people for more effective interpersonal relations when they interact with individuals from cultures other than their own" (pp. 2-3). Diversity training can overlap greatly with intercultural communication training in that it often incorporates the same goal. Moreover, many methods and tools included as components of diversity training are derived or adapted from intercultural training approaches. Indeed, these are often discussed interchangeably (e.g., see Chapter 4, this volume; Triandis et al., 1994). Thus, telling diversity and intercultural training apart can be difficult sometimes if the focus is solely on techniques and training modules. A hallmark of much diversity training is its connection to organizational needs and objectives. Also, in contrast with intercultural training, working effectively across cultural differences comprises only

one focal issue for most diversity training initiatives.

At a minimum, diversity training implies a concern for the impact of differences among people on their interactions and on the organization, including issues related to working in and with a heterogeneous workforce. More broadly, it can address issues related to the implications of diversity for organizational change as it is affected by competition, customers, products, and the marketplace. The definitions of diversity in specific organizations, however, can range from those focused on race, gender, ethnicity, and other group-based categorizations, to those that encompass individual differences, lifestyles, and job functions (Wheeler, 1994). Many, but not all, of these differences are reflected in cultural diversity. Thus, definitions of diversity can also vary in the degree to which they employ culture and cultural differences as central concepts. In part, these choices may depend on an organization's motivation and goals for undertaking diversity training. We discuss these in more detail in the following section.

### **The "Why" of Diversity Training**

Organizations conduct diversity training for a multiplicity of reasons. Some of these reasons are more explicit than others. In this section, we discuss some underlying motivations that prompt organizations to introduce diversity training. These factors are important not only in affecting whether or not training is adopted but also in determining the role of the training in the organization and the form it takes.

We discuss three general categories of motivators: (a) the moral imperative, (b) legal and social pressures, and (c) business success and competitiveness (Cox, 1993). Although we treat them separately in this discussion, these arguments typically cut across diversity initiatives. In most cases, they operate jointly in various combinations to prompt and frame organizational approaches to diversity. Because the stimulus that leads organizations to embark on diversity initiatives and diversity training efforts may not always be clear, explicit, or stable over time, it can be useful to consider how different rationales can relate to the road taken.

Many, if not most, diversity initiatives embrace inclusion as a desirable goal. This concept cuts across all three types of motivations but is framed differently and takes on different connotations within each. Similarly, the various motivations can be reflected in alternative visions of the "ideal" organization and different goals for diversity efforts. Thus, we give *inclusion* and *vision and goals* special attention as we discuss each of the three driving forces behind diversity training.

### The Moral Imperative

The history of the United States is often cast in terms of the struggle for justice and equality and against oppression. This legacy has had a strong impact on the motivation for diversity initiatives and on how they are framed. Debates over how best and most fairly to deal with differences in society have long been a feature of civic discourse in the United States (e.g., see Ferdman, 1990, in press; Frederickson & Knobel, 1982; Glazer, 1988; Kitano, 1991; Taylor, 1992). This pattern continues during the 1990s, and diversity training is very much in the middle of the debate (e.g., see Macdonald, 1993; Mobley & Payne, 1992; Silverstein, 1995; Swisher, 1995).

Fundamental disagreements persist in the United States whether it is best to strive for assimilation, amalgamation (the melting pot), or pluralism. The notion of multiculturalism is a relatively recent entrant into this debate and is also the source of much contention. Diversity training and other diversity initiatives grounded in the moral imperative typically adopt the orientation that pluralism and multiculturalism are the best options for all individuals, groups, and society in that these choices are likely to lead to the most positive outcomes. *Multiculturalism* means recognizing and valuing the range of cultural and other group-based differences among people (see, e.g., Katz, 1989). It also entails seeing these differences as providing essential contributions to society and therefore striving to eliminate invidious and ethnocentric comparisons, as well as finding ways to foster positive expression of the differences. Berry (1993) and Cox and Finley-Nickelson (1991) describe pluralism or integration as involving the coexistence in one society or organization of groups that differ

along cultural dimensions while maintaining distinct ethnic and cultural identities and practices.

A related perspective stemming from the moral imperative emphasizes the importance of acknowledging and working to address the long history of racism, sexism, and conflictual intergroup relations in the United States. Because certain groups have been and continue to be the targets of widespread, pervasive, and institutionalized discrimination, its impact is still very much a part of the American fabric. Proponents of the moral imperative argue that it is incumbent on the beneficiaries of this historical pattern of oppression, discrimination, and bias to begin to truly "level the playing field" in a way more consistent with the values of liberty, equality, and justice. Leveling the playing field involves, in part, heightening awareness of the inequities and recognizing, for example, how the experiences of people of color and White women have differed from those of White men.

Thus, the desire to contribute to the development of a better society by "doing the right thing" can be an important motivation for diversity training. As many businesses recognize the important role they occupy in society, they acknowledge responsibilities toward their members and toward the larger communities in which they operate, including the obligation to increase opportunities for all people and to help their stakeholders—whether employees, potential employees, customers, or residents of the community—live a better life.

Addressing diversity constructively can be one aspect of this. Cox (1993), for example, points out that "it is certainly prudent to include, among many goals of organizations, social responsibility objectives such as promoting fairness and improving economic opportunities for underachieving members of society" (p. 12). Most organizations that engage in diversity initiatives, however, do not explicitly frame these in the context of the moral argument. This is not usually a primary or overt reason for U.S. organizations implementing diversity training programs (e.g., see Morrison, Ruderman, & Hughes-James, 1993; Wheeler, 1994). Nevertheless, the moral perspective (with the associated struggle against oppression) is very much a part of the language and background of diversity in organizations (e.g., see Cross, Katz, Miller, & Seashore, 1994) and thus offers a useful lens for under-

standing diversity training and other diversity initiatives.

*Inclusion.* When President Clinton first took office in 1993, he pledged that his government would "look like America." What he meant is that every citizen should believe that she or he was adequately represented in the government; this can happen to the extent that the demographic diversity of the country is reflected among public officials at all levels. Justice and fairness, the reasoning goes, demand that artificial obstacles based on the legacy of prejudice and discrimination be removed, such that all individuals have equitable chances to succeed. Group identities and cultural differences should not be the basis for invidious distinctions or hurdles. Instead, people should be proud of them and find ways to use them for the benefit of all. These values are reflected in Maya Angelou's (1993) poem "On the Pulse of Morning," written for and recited at President Clinton's inauguration.

Viewed from the perspective of the moral imperative, inclusion implies not only eliminating barriers to opportunity based on group differences but also supporting every individual to reach her or his full potential (e.g., see Jamison, 1984; Taylor, 1992) without requiring cultural assimilation.<sup>1</sup> Not only does every person have the right to become her or his best possible self, but to the extent that society encourages this, all will benefit. Thus, in this approach, inclusion is seen as providing benefits to individuals, groups, organizations, and society as a whole. The dilemma here, then, becomes how best to accomplish inclusion of both individuals and groups (e.g., Ferdman, 1995). Terry (1994) describes the challenge this way:

The problem of the "one and the many" . . . now frames the problems of everyday life. How much unity, how much diversity is the right mix to build a creative and long-term viable future in neighborhoods, communities, the nation, and the globe? The temptations and pressures to err in either direction are enormous. Yet the challenge confronts us: Build a unified society without uniformity. (p. 113)

Even among those who agree that inclusion "without uniformity" is a worthy goal, there is disagreement on the best way to get there. Be-

cause of this disparity, the moral imperative can take on a variety of forms when applied through organizational diversity initiatives, depending on the orientation—social justice or individual differences—that is adopted (see the discussion below regarding alternative orientations to diversity training).

*Vision and Goals.* The moral imperative and its variations are associated with particular visions of the "ideal" organization that are, in turn, related to the goals set for diversity initiatives and the criteria used to assess their effectiveness. Although proponents of the moral arguments for diversity initiatives often disagree as to whether or not the focus should be on reducing systemic oppression or on accepting and valuing the full range of human variation, they agree that the ultimate emphasis must be on both individual and social change. Organizational efforts are seen as but one piece of this broader agenda. Cobbs (1994) frames it this way: "In our organizations, we must fight to make valuing diversity a bedrock value and not something that is optional or somehow outside the parameters of how business is conducted" (p. 27).

At the individual level, successful diversity initiatives should result in greater personal fulfillment and growth and in more interpersonal effectiveness. At the societal level, successful diversity initiatives should promote more social integration and participation and result in more open communities and workplaces where prejudice, discrimination, and systemic oppression are eliminated as barriers to individual and group advancement. Cobbs (1994) connects these as follows: "Diversity will help us get in touch with our humanity. When I can celebrate differences with others, I don't have to oppress or be oppressed" (p. 28). From the moral perspective, the ultimate goal is essentially "better human beings" (J. H. Katz, personal communication, May 1995).

### Legal and Social Pressures

In part because of the moral imperative, but also because of the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s and the ensuing civil rights legislation, federal regulations, and court rulings, organizations in the United States have faced legal and social demands to become more

inclusive (Cox, 1993), at least in numbers, if not otherwise. These pressures include equal employment opportunity (EEO) laws, affirmative action (AA), and the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). Businesses that enter into contracts with the federal government become subject to EEO/AA laws and regulations. The ADA requires employers to make "reasonable" accommodations for employees and potential employees with disabilities; it also requires that public accommodations, buildings, transportation, and telecommunications be accessible to people with disabilities (Pati & Bailey, 1995; Prince, 1995). Addressing sexual harassment has also become a prominent issue. More and more organizations realize they must take active steps to prevent lawsuits charging discrimination or harassment.

Whether or not organizations view addressing diversity as the right thing to do or as good for business, they are finding themselves under legal pressure to do so. When motivated primarily by legal pressures, the focus of interventions tends to be on specific, targeted groups. Groups not covered by legal mandates—for example, gays and lesbians—would not be addressed. Also, such interventions may be very limited in nature—for example, simply posting information about what constitutes sexual harassment, what to do if one is a victim, and what behaviors should be avoided.

Beyond legal requirements, the demographic shifts in the U.S. population (e.g., larger proportion of people of color and immigrants, more women in the workforce) and the recognition that these changes are occurring has brought wider consciousness of intergroup relations and of the range of group-specific needs. Groups that previously felt pressured simply to blend in now resist this and demand acceptance and inclusion without assimilation as a precondition. In many companies, groups such as women, African Americans, Latinos and Latinas, gays and lesbians, working parents, and persons with disabilities have formed caucus or affinity groups to share experiences, to support each other, and to challenge discrimination. External organizations have also raised consciousness regarding the unique perspectives and needs of diverse groups.<sup>2</sup> Organizations face the need to find constructive ways to help a variety of internal and external constituencies work together more effectively. When motivated in this way, diversity initiatives tend to be

focused more broadly and are less constrained by legalistic definitions of "protected groups." Nevertheless, if the impetus is primarily external and framed solely in terms of special interests, it can be difficult for the organization to articulate clear and forceful arguments for starting and continuing the intervention such that it speaks to all of its members and is perceived as intrinsically linked to the organization's best interests.

Thus, diversity training can be used to respond to pressures from both internal and external groups and to reduce the chances of lawsuits. In some organizations, diversity training has been implemented as part of consent agreements stemming from successful legal challenges to current practices. In such organizations, the initial motivation for diversity training is based chiefly on legal and social pressures and is thus chiefly reactive, rather than proactive.

*Inclusion.* Inclusion as seen from the perspective of legal and social pressures primarily involves removing illegal barriers—whether racial discrimination, sexual harassment, or facilities inaccessible to persons with disabilities—or obstacles perceived to be unfair. Thus, the approach tends to be primarily reactive: Inclusion is considered attained when no one complains; action is taken only when challenges or grievances are brought.

A primary focus of this type of approach has been on the number of representatives of various types of groups in the organization, in part reflecting the emphasis of affirmative action. Typically, less attention has been paid to the experience of people who have already entered the organization. More recently, however, the Department of Labor has called attention to movement into higher-level jobs with its "glass ceiling" initiative (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995).

When diversity training is driven primarily by legal and social pressures, the concept of inclusion can become quite controversial because what is viewed from one group's perspective as an appropriate and fair measure taken to remedy intergroup inequities can be viewed by another group as unfair, wrong, or divisive. Recently, for example, the political establishment in the United States has become embroiled in heated debate regarding the wisdom and efficacy of affirmative action programs. Many

diversity consultants (e.g., Gardenswartz & Rowe, 1993; Katz & Miller, 1995; Solomon, 1993) argue that initiatives framed solely from this perspective are much less likely to be successful because they encounter more resistance from members of groups that do not feel included or believe they have something to lose—in particular, White men.

*Vision and Goals.* Diversity initiatives motivated primarily by legal and social pressures tend to be reactive. This is especially so when training has been ordered by a judge or by a legal settlement. Often, however, organizations that start for these reasons eventually move toward other motivations, especially the business-based argument. If they do not, there is little incentive to maintain active efforts and to make the necessary long-term investments.

The vision to be strived for from this perspective involves complying with the law and avoiding legal jeopardy, as well as averting conflict and maintaining smooth relations among relevant constituencies while steering clear of politics as much as possible. When aimed in this way, the goal of the training becomes making sure employees know which behaviors are permissible and which are impermissible—for example, with regard to hiring—rather than changing the organizational culture. To the extent a diversity initiative is motivated solely by legal and social pressures, it is less likely to address such issues as systemic oppression, cultural diversity and its implications for the workplace, and the potential benefits for the organization. Although these may be touched on, this will tend to be in relatively superficial ways. For example, in addressing inclusion of persons with disabilities, an organization may make the minimally necessary physical accommodations without embarking on any training directed at modifying the organizational climate within which such persons will work.

In this approach, success is defined in terms of avoiding problems and representing target groups across the organization to a degree acceptable to internal and external constituencies, but no more. The effectiveness of a diversity training initiative will be gauged on the basis of prevention of lawsuits and complaints. Illustrating the pervasiveness of this perspective, Noble (1994) reports on a survey of more than 300 companies that was conducted in New York

by the Center for the New American Workforce and that found the following:

Most of the companies indicate they are doing what is necessary to comply with government employment law and little more. For the most part they have not taken the step beyond what would move diversity out of a pigeon hole in the personnel department and into the strategic center of the corporate environment. . . . What companies think of . . . is compliance with affirmative action guidelines and disability law. (p. 27)

Efforts prompted by this motivation are those most likely to be limited to briefings and short courses with little if any experiential content.

#### Business Success and Competitiveness

Perhaps the most pervasive and widely discussed motivation for diversity initiatives in general and diversity training in particular is the expected impact on business success and the bottom line. As viewed from this perspective, increasing globalization and a more diverse domestic workforce are push factors (organizations that do nothing will lose ground), whereas the benefits to be had from working effectively across differences are pull factors (organizations that take advantage, it is argued, will do better and be more competitive; e.g., see Buntaine, 1994a; Cox & Blake, 1991; Jackson & Alvarez, 1992; Thomas, 1990, 1992).

Wheeler (1994) reported that 85% of the organizations responding to his survey cited business need or competitiveness as the primary motivator for using diversity training. In contrast with initiatives framed in terms of affirmative action and equal opportunity, which are based more on the legal and moral arguments, those focused on organizational effectiveness are more likely to be viewed as essential to the organization, to involve more human and financial resources, and to be strategically focused.<sup>3</sup>

Buntaine (1994a) argues for the need not only to frame the business case for diversity but also to go beyond using it as a sales tool and to be as clear as possible about the benefits that organizations can gain from becoming more inclusive (see also Cox & Blake, 1991). These benefits, in Buntaine's view, include improvements among employees in retention, skills,

performance, and development; in the marketplace in terms of being better prepared to work with customers, partners, and suppliers and expanding the range of business opportunities; in the community in terms of a better business climate and quality of life for stakeholders; and in the organization's performance, including productivity and the capacity to deal with change effectively and creatively.

McEnrue (1993) conducted interviews with senior managers at a number of Los Angeles firms who told her of the advantages they had gained from "diversity management": "According to them, the efforts had not only improved their understanding of customer needs but also led to new product development, joint ventures, improved employee relations, an enhanced public image, and lower labor costs" (p. 22). From this perspective, diversity training is only one example of a range of organizational actions that can be taken to capitalize on diversity.

*Inclusion.* From the vantage point of business success, inclusion is about making sure the organization uses all productive capacity and potential to the full extent. If employees can be more effective and if the belief is that diversity training will help them do so, then the organization can be more productive and successful. Miller (1994a) describes the concept this way:

Inclusive groups encourage disagreement because they realize it leads to more-effective solutions and more-successful adaptations to a changing environment. Instead of pressuring members to leave their individual and cultural differences outside, inclusive groups ask everyone to contribute to the full extent of their being. (p. 39)

By valuing and encouraging and ultimately including the full contributions of all members, organizations will have a broader range of talent available and will be much more likely to succeed. In this vein, Miller (1994a) goes on to affirm:

The times require speed, adaptability, and the ability to see as much of the landscape as possible. Diversity gives organizations a greater probability of achieving those capabilities than does monoculturalism. An organizational culture biased toward maximum diversity and inclusion offers the greatest po-

tential for 360-degree vision and the broadest resource base for adaptability, growth, creativity, productivity, and high performance. (p. 44)

Thus, inclusion from the vantage point of business success is not limited to particular groups or categories of people. All individuals must be included in their full uniqueness and complexity. Doing this, however, typically includes recognizing the group-based differences among people (Ferdman, 1995). Moreover, once organizations learn to adopt an inclusive orientation in dealing with their members, this will also have a positive impact on how they look at their customer base, how they develop products and assess business opportunities, and how they relate to their communities.

*Vision and Goals.* From the perspective of business success, diversity and inclusion become a key strategic lever for organizational viability and effectiveness. In the same way that teams can be used as a workplace design to bring about higher performance, diversity is used as a means to an end. The goal is to make the organization the best it can be. If this takes including more views, including a variety of people, empowering workers, and effecting social change, so be it, as long as the organization is more successful.

The vision of where the organization is headed becomes quite broad from this angle:

Inclusive and equitable employment practices are only a beginning to the business case. It takes an integrated and sustained effort comprised of a range of internal and external strategies and human resource initiatives—all connected to strengthening business performance—to demonstrate the full value of thinking and behaving inclusively. (Buntaine, 1994a, p. 221)

Because of this systems view, the business success motivation is the most likely to lead to a strategic approach to diversity training, in which the training is only one component of a long-term organizational change intervention. Whether the focus of the training component is on individual behavior and attitudes or on individual improvement, the ultimate goal is a more effective organization. In this view, the success of the initiative is measured in terms of move-

ment toward both the full use of people and the accomplishment of organizational aims, including strategic objectives that go beyond the workforce.<sup>4</sup>

### Combining Motivations

In actuality, the motivations for instituting diversity training rarely operate alone and are more often than not combined in complex ways. For example, a diversity effort can be seen to work to reduce oppression and thereby help people work together more effectively and so result in more profits for the organization. Also, often organizations start out for one reason—for example, they perceive legal risks—but then as a result of an initial intervention, other motivations emerge; they realize that a better workplace can result from the process of change.

Even when the primary motivation is business success, the implementation of the diversity initiative and the content of diversity training are often framed by the moral imperative. Certainly, the motivation for many consultants remains social change (e.g., see Chesler, 1994), but they have learned to make this more palatable to organizations by demonstrating how this can be quite consistent with and actually contribute to achieving business-related goals.

### The "What" of Diversity Training

Diversity training programs can vary widely in both their explicit and implicit goals and in the philosophies that underlie their design. The orientation of the training, the levels of changes it seeks to make, its objectives, and its positioning as an intervention within the organization are key aspects distinguishing alternative approaches to diversity training.

### Orientation

As suggested by the preceding discussion of the various motivations for diversity training and the corresponding perspectives on inclusion, organizations can adopt a variety of orientations to frame their diversity initiatives. These orientations can have important implica-

tions for the range of issues addressed in training and for the training processes used. Two such orientations are discussed here.

Miller (1994b) juxtaposes descriptions of the orientations taken by those favoring a focus on individual differences and those favoring a social justice approach. Jackson and Hardiman (1994) term these the *social diversity* and *social justice* approaches. The major difference between these is the first focuses on culture and on the ways people vary as individuals, assuming it is necessary to move forward and stop holding on to the past, whereas the second focuses on the continuing need to work against discrimination and to reduce systemic oppression (see also Morrison et al., 1993). Miller describes the perspectives as follows:

There is a belief that diversity should be about individual differences. . . . But there is also a belief that diversity should be about correcting the injustices visited upon people and groups. . . . The Individual Differences perspective assumes the fundamental issue of diversity is to create understanding between different individuals. But it too often includes an underlying assumption that addressing discrimination and oppression will result in "pointing fingers of blame" rather than providing a basis for common ground. . . . [In contrast,] the Social Justice perspective calls for addressing discrimination and oppression head-on: identifying what they are, where they are, how they work, what mechanisms perpetuate them, and how to eliminate them. (pp. xxvi-xxvii)

This distinction parallels that made by Judith Palmer (1994), who describes three paradigms that frame work on diversity in organizations: I, the Golden Rule; II, right the wrongs; and III, value all differences. The focus of Paradigm I, the Golden Rule, is on viewing "everyone as an individual and . . . [as] more similar than . . . different" (p. 253). In this view, the goal is to avoid conflict, to eliminate prejudice and other barriers to equal opportunity, and to see everyone as an individual, rather than as a member of groups. Paradigm II, right the wrongs, focuses on remedying the injustices visited on those groups that have been the victims of systematic disadvantage. In this approach, the goal is to ensure that target groups are no longer hampered by discrimination; to do so, systemic bar-

riers and disadvantages must be removed. Finally, Paradigm III, value all differences, focuses on "appreciat[ing] the heritage and culture of many different groups and . . . respond[ing] to the self-image and uniqueness of each individual" (p. 256). Here, the goal is to expand the range of understanding and acceptance of all members of the organization and therefore to permit each person to contribute fully and uniquely. This view incorporates a broad definition of diversity: "In Paradigm III, *diversity* means consciously and sensitively deploying the talents of all the groups in the organization without emphasizing or putting priority on any specific difference or group" (p. 257). Paradigm II is similar to the social justice perspective; Paradigm III most closely resembles the individual differences view.

Miller, Palmer, and Jackson and Hardiman all argue that the most effective diversity initiatives address both systemic issues and individual differences and thus find a way to maintain both orientations simultaneously.<sup>5</sup> This view contrasts with the approach often taken in intercultural training programs, which, though they acknowledge and deal with group-based cultural differences, do not typically address power differences or historically rooted patterns of discrimination.

### Levels of Change

An important dimension along which diversity training programs vary is the levels of change—individual, interpersonal, group, intergroup, organizational, community/societal—that are targeted. This choice will have a direct impact on the training approach. The diversity training and the larger initiative of which it is a part may seek changes at any one of these levels, or more typically, in some combination.

At the *individual level*, training programs focus on changing people's attitudes and/or behavior or, at the very least, on imparting knowledge and information. At the *interpersonal level*, the goal can be to help employees develop more effective communication patterns or to deal with problematic relationships. At the *group level*, the focus may be on team building and on developing efficacy. At the *intergroup level*, changes may be sought in the patterns of relations between men and women, among racial or ethnic groups, or among the range of

identity groups present in the organization. At the *organizational level*, the changes desired are focused on making the organization as a whole more inclusive and more effective—for example, by removing discriminatory practices and other barriers. The diversity initiative in the case of a focus at the organizational level is designed to create major changes in the culture, structure, processes, and/or systems of the organization. Finally, some diversity initiatives may seek to affect the *community/societal level* in a way that diminishes oppression and increases pluralism and multiculturalism across a wide range of settings and people.

When focused primarily at the level of individual or interpersonal change, diversity training programs are more likely to be specific, temporary initiatives that do not require top management involvement and that are housed in Human Resources or Training Departments. This approach typically minimizes the amount of commitment and the resources allocated to attaining the program's goals. When the desired level of change is restricted to the individual or the interpersonal, organizations are more likely to experience resistance to the training and to find it difficult to develop convincing rationales for taking on the work.

In contrast, to the degree the training is designed as part of a broader organizational-level change effort, it is more likely to be infused throughout all levels of the organization and to require more resources and a longer commitment. In this approach, diversity training is one of a larger set of ingredients designed to move the whole organization in the desired direction. In describing one such initiative, O'Mara, Garrow, and Johnston (1994) write:

The strategy from the beginning was to positively impact the organization culture through planned organizational change. . . . The project began with the assumption that training was only one of several potential interventions and that organizational systems, practices, and policies would likely need changes. (pp. 2-3)

Training geared toward organizational-level change is also linked to desired changes at the interpersonal or group level (e.g., teamwork aimed at modifying affiliation and communication patterns; see Cobbs, 1994) and the intergroup level (e.g., interdepartmental interven-

tions). The difference is that these changes are viewed as important components facilitating and supporting the strategically based process. From a strategic or systems-change perspective, diversity training is not an end point that can be simply checked off once it is done; rather, it is a means to a much broader end.

The targets for change are important in determining not only the objectives of the training, discussed in the next section, but also the criteria for assessing whether or not the intervention has been effective. Issues related to training effectiveness are discussed later in the chapter.

### Objectives/Targets

The various levels of change are closely associated with the range of objectives targeted by the diversity training. These can include providing knowledge and information, increasing awareness and understanding, developing skills, changing the organizational culture and systems, and changing the surrounding community and society. Each of these is discussed below.

Wheeler (1994) separates these objectives into two broad groups, macro and micro:

The micro objectives are those addressing specific skills, knowledge or behavior . . . while macro objectives encompass issues such as culture change, greater retention, improved productivity, or increased sales to diverse markets. . . . There are generally multiple objectives within a program or a training strategy. (pp. 18-19)

An integral part of setting the objectives for diversity training programs is setting priorities regarding the primary goals the organization would like to accomplish via the program. The methods and techniques used to accomplish the goals of diversity training will be affected by the motivation for the initiative, as well as by its orientation and desired level(s) of change. Although the objectives of many diversity training efforts are related to those of intercultural training, the connection is not always straightforward. Indeed, much of what falls under the scope of diversity training can more properly be seen as one component of broader organizational development and change initiatives. Intercultural training typically focuses on chang-

ing individual behavior and attitudes and on preparing individuals to cross cultural boundaries (e.g., Brislin & Yoshida, 1994, 1994b). In contrast, the focus of organizational development is on "planned change of human systems" (Porras & Robertson, 1992, p. 720), such as changing an organization's culture. In organizational development interventions, attitudinal and behavioral change are sought to support the broader strategic and cultural change.

*Provide Knowledge and Information.* Most, if not all, diversity training programs incorporate as a basic objective imparting information to participants. Such information can range from equal opportunity laws and organizational policies against sexual harassment to the nature of the demographic and social changes making it necessary to address inclusion and diversity in the workplace. When this objective is the only one, it can be addressed with relatively short informational briefings or lectures or with audiovisual and written materials. In many cases, training for employees (in contrast with that for managers) focuses on this objective. In Wheeler's (1994) survey, only 36% of respondents rated communication of policies an important objective for diversity training. However, 60% rated education an important objective. This included imparting information about diversity issues, concepts, and terminology.

*Increase Awareness and Understanding.* According to Cobbs (1994), the first step on the path to celebrating people's differences and accepting diversity as an advantage, rather than as a drawback, is to understand the grounds for prejudice and to get familiar with the "thoughts, attitudes, feelings, and assumptions that block our understanding and embracing of diversity" (p. 26). Hence, the objective of increasing awareness and understanding involves addressing the topic of diversity and differences, including race, ethnicity, gender, religion, and other group-based memberships and the ways they affect the workplace and the trainee.

Carnevale and Stone (1994) describe this type of training as aimed "at heightening awareness of diversity issues and revealing workers' unexamined assumptions and tendencies to stereotype" (p. 30). Awareness-based training programs seek to help participants understand cultural differences and become con-

scious of the dynamics that affect their interactions with people from different cultural backgrounds (e.g., Gudykunst & Hammer, 1983). Lindsay (1994) describes this type of learning as a stage in which participants "explore differences as well as understand the societal phenomena of oppression and dominance" (p. 3). To this end, Sue (1991) suggests using exercises that work to uncover stereotypes and images of different racial and cultural groups. Participants can thereby explore differences based on demographics (e.g., gender, race, age), learn how such differences affect their own and their peers' work behavior, and eventually be introduced to the value added by diversity and differences and so gain appreciation for their own and others' values, beliefs, and attitudes. In many ways, this process is analogous to the type of learning addressed in management courses on diversity (see Ferdman, 1994; *Journal of Management Education*, 1994). It is also the area most similar to traditional intercultural training.

Increasing awareness is a primary target for most diversity training. Wheeler (1994), for example, reports that 93% of the companies he surveyed rated this an important objective for diversity training. Despite the overwhelming consensus that awareness must be incorporated into diversity training as a key objective, there is less agreement regarding the issues about which participants need to become aware. In making this choice, the issues raised earlier—including the motivations for the diversity training, the orientation adopted, and the level(s) of change desired—will have a great impact. Awareness-based training can focus on a range of topics, including cultural style differences, the dynamics of prejudice, and the nature of oppression. Training motivated by the moral imperative, grounded in the social justice orientation and/or targeted at systemic organizational or societal change, will be more likely to target awareness of oppression and its manifestations in the workplace as a key objective.

*Develop Skills.* One criticism of training focused primarily on building awareness is that participants do not know what to do with their new learning and how to apply it in the workplace (Carnevale & Stone, 1994). Skill-based training attempts to address this deficiency by targeting behavioral as well as attitudinal changes. Sue (1991) mentions such techniques

as "role-playing, communication training, watching cross-cultural interactions, behavioral rehearsal, and analyzing organizational development and goals" (p. 103) as being potentially useful to this end. The goal is to develop skills that will help employees work effectively in the context of diversity, including the ability to communicate cross-culturally, to deal effectively with conflict, and to be more flexible and adaptable (Carnevale & Stone, 1994). Additional competencies can include mentoring and partnering effectively across gender, ethnic, and other types of differences (e.g., Buntaine, 1994b). Katz and Miller (1993) list 14 skills that they believe are critical for people who work in culturally diverse organizations. To those already mentioned, they add skills related to supporting the change process and flourishing as it happens, including:

Having the courage to speak out, raise issues and act on opportunities for change. . . . Working actively to remove the barriers and blocks that may limit the inclusion of all people's talents. . . . Setting challenging but realistic expectations for change and of each other—realizing it is not a pass/fail test. . . . Tracking progress, and recognizing change doesn't occur in a straight line. (p. 32)

Skill-based training approaches are based on the argument that, to manage their diverse workforces effectively, managers need to develop their communication skills, learn how to exchange feedback, improve their interaction with their coworkers and customers, and enhance their listening skills. Managers should learn how to be attentive to the content of their employees' performance, rather than to the style of their delivery. Thus, if their employees have the desired capabilities and talents to perform efficiently but their techniques are different, it should not stand as a barrier to success (Cobbs, 1994). According to Wheeler (1994), skill-based training "is offered primarily to managers and supervisors" (p. 20). Carnevale and Stone (1994) expand the target trainees and include employees, as well as employers: "Skill-based training provides tools to promote effective interaction in a heterogeneous work setting. It has three important objectives: building new diversity-interaction skills, reinforcing existing skills, inventorying skill-building methodologies" (p. 31).

*Change Organizational Culture and Systems.* Wheeler (1994) reports that 73% of respondents to his survey thought cultural change should be a key objective of diversity training. Also, 73% rated "linkages with other programs and initiatives" as important. As Wheeler points out, however, "making the linkages is easier said than done" (p. 20).

When the diversity training is designed as one component of a larger strategic intervention, it often incorporates some of the elements described above. However, these are integrated in a way that maintains in focus the broader goal of organizational cultural and systems change. Individual-level learning is viewed as a stepping stone or ingredient of the larger changes. When the objective is creating an inclusive workplace (Miller & Katz, 1995), diversity training must provide opportunities for participants to experience what this might be like and to gain the necessary practice that will enable implementing changes in organizational norms and values, policies, and systems. "The education helps to build the new culture, in conjunction with the systems change work that is simultaneously occurring" (J. H. Katz, personal communication, May 1995).

When changing the organizational culture and systems is the target for diversity training, careful attention must be given to the mix of attendees in terms of level in the organization, roles in the change effort, and support and responsibilities once the training is over. The participants should have work- or business-related connections with each other to increase the likelihood that learning will be transferred outside the training context and result in new systems and cultural patterns in the organization. The training events must be integrated with the overall process of change in such a way that they build on each other. Also, the way the training is implemented, who attends when, and how it affects and integrates with other parts of the diversity initiative and the organization's activities are important considerations.

*Change the Community.* Although community or societal change is not typically a core objective for corporate diversity initiatives, once major organizational changes are underway this can become integrated into broader efforts and aligned with the work done by other related organizations. Such efforts are currently underway in the City of San Diego, with its

Livable Communities initiative, and in Columbus, Indiana, where a number of community and business organizations are engaged in strategic cultural change efforts simultaneously. In San Diego, the City's Centre for Organizational Effectiveness and its external consultant, The Kaleel Jamison Consulting Group (headquartered in Cincinnati, Ohio), sponsored a Diversity Institute in 1994 that brought together groups of change agents from a variety of businesses, community groups, and governmental agencies to learn more about strategic approaches for developing inclusive organizations.

### Positioning

Although many diversity training programs share components and objectives, they can often be differentiated by how the training is positioned in the organization and within the broader diversity initiative. How the diversity training program is presented to and perceived by members of the organization—whether as a means to individual development and growth, as training to improve productivity, as a vehicle toward organizational cultural change, or as an essential part of a strategic intervention—will greatly affect both its content and process and thereby its effectiveness.

To increase the success rate of diversity training programs, top management support and involvement are essential (Morrison et al., 1993; Wheeler, 1994). Commitment on the part of management is linked to allocating more resources to accomplish training goals, to considering diversity training as part of the business strategy, to assessing the organization's needs before the training as well as following the training, and to serving as a model for employees, thus in turn increasing their commitment and involvement. When these factors are present, the training is more likely to be presented and to be seen as pivotal for the organization in meeting its objectives.

The issue of when to include training in the context of an organizational initiative is controversial. Elsie Cross, Frederick Miller, and Price Cobbs (see Morrison et al., 1993) advocate education and training as an important first stage in the diversity effort, after doing a comprehensive organizational assessment. Other practitioners, in contrast, such as Ann

Morrison, encourage training later on in the process.

The rationale provided by the first group to support their argument is that a training program will create a paradigm shift, will increase awareness, understanding, and skills of those at the top level of the organization who must lead the change effort, and will serve as the "un-freezing" stage of the change process toward a well-managed, diverse workforce and toward a more inclusive workplace. Those who support positioning diversity training midway or later in the change process explain that a change in attitudes and beliefs is a long-term process, one the organization cannot afford to be waiting for if it is to meet its objectives. Also, they argue, "diversity has to exist before training on how to manage it is offered" (Morrison et al., 1993, p. 44), so energy and resources must be committed to ensuring that members of diverse groups are represented. Finally, they point out, behavioral changes will foster corresponding changes in attitudes, rather than the other way around. Thus, they suggest starting with significant systems changes before emphasizing training.

The first group counters that moving toward inclusion must begin with learning how to work effectively with the range of differences that currently exist in the organization before addressing new ones (Miller & Katz, 1995). Moreover, diversity training positioned as part of a cultural change effort or as part of a strategic intervention will go beyond attitude change to include behavioral changes as a target. Judith Katz (personal communication, May 1995) describes the preferred sequence as follows: (a) Identify and remove barriers, (b) increase awareness and skills, (c) develop new competencies, (d) change systems and rules, and (e) hold members of the organization accountable.

### The "How" of Diversity Training

The way diversity training is oriented and focused, as discussed in the preceding section, will have implications for how it is implemented. Here, we discuss three process aspects of diversity training—type of learning, duration, and trainer roles and competencies—that can vary widely across organizational diversity initiatives.

### Type of Learning

Type of learning will differ according to the strategy and techniques adopted by trainers and the level of change addressed. Two basic learning approaches used in diversity training are didactic and experiential learning. Also varying will be whether the focus is on individual or group learning.

#### *Experiential/Didactic Learning*

Lindsay (1994) suggests that learning objectives can be defined along a continuum describing their level of required experiential involvement, such that providing information and increasing awareness will be on the low end of the continuum and organizational culture change will be on the high end. Gudykunst and Hammer (1983) distinguish between the didactic and experiential approaches to learning. The basic premise of the *didactic approach* is that interaction among people from different cultures will be more effective when there is a reciprocal understanding of the other's culture. The didactic approach is most suited to diversity training that targets primarily knowledge objectives and some awareness because it is based on the cognitive domain and typically involves frontal presentation or group discussion. Pruegger and Rogers (1994) point out that cognitive learning (didactic) is most effective in providing information; however, it is not sufficient to cultivate cross-cultural sensitivity. Didactic methods can also be useful to provide training participants with models that will frame conversations and other more experiential activities, so as to infuse these with new perspectives and ideas and increase the chances for valuable insights.

The *experiential approach* presumes that the best learning occurs through active engagement and participation. This type of learning can involve simulations and role playing, as well as group discussions of individual and collective experiences. According to Pruegger and Rogers (1994), such methods affect attitudes and promote communication skills because participants can transfer the learning to real-life situations outside the training context.

When the objective of the training is to change the organizational culture and systems and so it is positioned as part of a strategic

intervention, a high degree of experiential learning is typically used. However, role plays and simulations are less useful unless they are explicitly connected to the organizational issues at hand. In strategically designed diversity education, the experiential techniques most likely to be used involve participants in sharing their own data and perspectives in the context of the training session, as well as in the workplace and in their lives. A key aspect of the training experience for participants pertains to learning how to engage effectively with each other on the issues of diversity and inclusion as they apply to their work lives and to the organization, so as to enhance skills for dealing with and working across differences. Thus, the orientation in this approach is more toward the here and now and toward learning about how differences can be bridged effectively in the training group.

One application of this perspective is a technique called *Perception Exchange*, first developed in the 1970s by the Kaleel Jamison Consulting Group, in which participants grouped along ethnic and gender lines draw pictures describing their views of their organization and the experiences of different groups in it. Later, these pictures are presented to the whole group and discussed. For many trainees, it is the first time they realize that not everyone experiences the work environment in the same way they do and that the variations are often connected to racial, ethnic, and gender identities.<sup>6</sup> This can be a powerful, profound, jarring, and ultimately enriching experience, in particular for those unaccustomed or unwilling to think about how group memberships differentially affect people at work. At the same time, participants are able to develop a shared organizational diagnosis based on the perspectives of everyone in the group, not just a limited subset of people or on a majority view. This process, paradoxically, leads the group to a more coherent, complete, and ultimately inclusive view of their organizational system and can serve as a powerful motivator for developing the knowledge and skills that will undergird broader changes in the organizational culture.

#### *Individual/Group Learning*

The positioning of the training and the desired changes also are related to whether the fo-

cus is on individual or group learning.<sup>7</sup> In many diversity training programs, participants are brought together without regard to their function in the organization or their relationships to other participants. In these organizations, individuals might volunteer for particular sessions on the basis of availability, for example. Some organizations do not go beyond ensuring that all participants are in roughly the same hierarchical level. These approaches are most likely to be adopted when the objective of the training is to change behavior or to develop individual skills and the level of change desired is primarily the individual or the interpersonal. This type of pattern may also be seen when diversity training is one component of a broad menu of courses offered by Training or Human Resources Departments. In this approach, although participants may learn from each other during the course of the training, each takes away the learning individually and therefore has little support or shared experience back in the day-to-day workplace.

When the diversity training is part of a more systemic intervention, more attention must be given to the configuration of the participant group and to the learning that takes place at the group and the organizational levels so that it is more likely to affect what happens when everyone goes back to his or her work site. By ensuring that participants in sessions come from the same work location or function and/or are otherwise connected operationally, the training can affect more directly the culture of interaction of that group. A key issue from this perspective, then, is not only what each person learns but also what all people in the room, as a collective, learn. In the more systemic approach, work teams are often asked to attend training sessions together so that the learning will be collective. When participants form small groups for discussion or other activities, much attention is given to the composition of those groups such that they make sense, given organizational needs and realities, and the tasks typically deal with real organizational issues affecting the business. Similarly, when the focus is on group-level learning, much time and energy are allocated to developing collective norms for the training setting that ideally will be carried back to the organizational setting. These norms (and the process of deriving them) help provide the group with a safe place in which to experiment with the potential of inclusion for more effec-

tive work interactions. It becomes for many participants the first time that they experience a work-related environment where they can both be fully themselves and get work done.

### Duration

The duration of the diversity training, both in terms of specific sessions and in the organization as a whole, will also vary greatly across organizations. Again, as with type of learning, the degree to which the training is seen as part of a system change process versus an opportunity for personal growth or training of employees will have a great bearing on the intensity and length of the diversity training. Those organizations that have embarked on a process of cultural change will see diversity training as part of a long-term process and will have more intensive sessions over more days. For example, in the approach used by The Kaleel Jamison Consulting Group, educational sessions lasting a minimum of 2 and ideally 3 days are held off-site and residentially. Top leaders of the organization are asked to commit to a total of from 12 to 15 days of training as a way to become clear not only about their own personal interactions and skills but also about how the issues of diversity and inclusion connect to all aspects of the business. In this approach, training and education are seen as ongoing processes, rather than as something to check off. Returning to the learning group over a period of time provides an opportunity to deepen the learning and to apply it in the workplace without thinking that the process has to be instantaneous. The payoff from this type of investment is the development of skills and competencies for effectiveness and of meaningful plans for oneself, the group, and the organization (J. H. Katz, personal communication, May 1995).

### Trainer Roles and Competencies

The roles adopted by trainers are an important aspect of the process of diversity training. This aspect relates to the stance taken by those doing the work and affects, for example, who is seen as qualified to do it and what the required competencies are. The functions that trainers may be called on to do include teaching, facilitating, modeling, and consulting.

*Teaching* is a function and competency required of all cultural diversity trainers. Almost all diversity training involves helping participants learn new information and develop new skills. Doing this effectively requires being flexible, having the knowledge base, and being able to deal with conflict constructively. Skills related to facilitation, modeling, and consulting, however, are more likely to be called on to the extent that the training is positioned as a strategic intervention or as part of organizational cultural change. For example, when the group learning mode is preferred, the trainer's ability at *facilitating* and processing group interactions becomes critical. In this mode, every participant in the session must be attended to and considered. Much of the facilitator's task revolves around helping create a group context in which every participant is included. Thus, the trainer working from this role must be proficient in helping create a learning community that allows participants to take risks and to feel safe, as well as to share their new knowledge and insights with each other.

*Modeling* is important because, for many participants, the notion that it is possible to work effectively across differences is somewhat new and even disconcerting. When the trainers (who typically differ from each other along important identity group dimensions) can model how this is done by the way they conduct themselves and work together, this can be a very important source of learning for participants. To model effectively, it is critical to work in diverse teams. Those who work from this perspective believe that diversity training is difficult, if not impossible, to do alone.

Finally, *consulting* is critical when working with leaders and managers. The consultants for diversity training sessions based on a strategic model must be ready at a moment's notice to shift gears and to redesign sessions to meet the needs of the specific group and the specific organization as they relate to the overall objectives for the change effort. Trainers in a consulting mode need to keep the whole organization and the change effort in focus as they lead a specific training event. This means they are familiar with the results of the organizational assessment and the broader organizational issues affecting the participants. Some consulting firms conduct interviews with all participants prior to training sessions, in large part as a way to accomplish this.

Given the variety of approaches to diversity training, the issue of assessing competency of trainers is made quite complex, yet is quite important. In a survey conducted by the GilDeane Group (1993) of 45 diversity specialists or "consumers of diversity training services" (p. 1), over half of the respondents said that sometimes trainers are not adequately prepared or qualified. Although a number of requisite skills probably cut across models of training—Wheeler (1994), for example, lists "sensitivity, knowledge of self, self-disclosure, candor, ability to respect all cultures, ability to 'design on the fly,' [and] maturity" (p. 33)—ultimately the particular roles the trainer will be called on to perform in the context of the overall diversity intervention will be the critical determining factor. Thus, the mix of skills that are appropriate for delivering training geared at individual and interpersonal change and targeted at changing behavior will not be the same as that needed to work effectively toward changing an organization's culture and systems as part of a strategic intervention.

#### **What Works (and What Doesn't): Issues in Assessing Effectiveness of Diversity Training**

We have presented a structure to frame the range of activities comprising diversity training but have said little about effectiveness. Although this is a critical issue for organizations, it is a question that has few answers based on systematic empirical research. In part, research-based answers are scarce because the field lacks investigations that directly assess the impact of the types of factors addressed in this chapter, such as orientation, level of change, positioning, and trainer roles. Also, as the GilDeane Group (1993) points out, there are few, if any, reliable measurement tools and many sought-after changes take a long time to become apparent. Assessments of effectiveness that do exist tend to compare activities that vary on a whole range of dimensions at once and often do not make explicit the researchers' values with regard to diversity (e.g., Ellis & Sonnenfeld, 1994).

Most important, it is difficult, if not impossible, to take an objectivist stance regarding the assessment of effectiveness in that no definitive consensus has emerged regarding what the

goals of training should be and how one would know that they have been accomplished. Because the definition of effectiveness will be linked to the reasons for undertaking training and to its objectives, what works and what does not can only be evaluated in the context of specified objectives and criteria. Moreover, if a focus is placed on traditional training evaluation models (e.g., Goldstein, 1991), this is likely to ignore the ways diversity training is more like organizational development and should be evaluated from that perspective.<sup>8</sup>

Despite these concerns, on the basis of extensive experience with diversity efforts, consultants and managers have developed useful perspectives regarding the parameters of diversity training that make it more or less effective. Sims and Sims (1993), for example, point out that diversity training is most effective in organizations that are committed to inclusion and that make it part of the organization's culture:

[By developing such a culture] committed to diversity and difference training [organizations] (1) empower their employees to feel good about themselves in relation to their individual uniqueness . . . and work; (2) have employees who are more likely to work hard and produce more; and (3) have clear values and expectations for performance and behavior. (p. 78)

Similarly, Wheeler (1994) argues that, for diversity training to be effective, it should be closely linked with the business strategy. He also points out that, often, the problem is that organizations do not clearly specify what they hope to accomplish with the diversity training. In such cases, it would be quite difficult, if not impossible, to assess effectiveness.

A survey conducted by the GilDeane Group (1993) resulted in a list of reasons underlying the failure of diversity training programs. Some major factors cited were insufficient leadership support and lack of commitment on the part of members of the organization, who perceived diversity training as the end result, rather than as the means to a much broader end. In addition, failure to integrate diversity into management systems, policies, and practices was cited as another common pattern in organizations that fail to accomplish the goals of the training.

In another survey sponsored by the Society for Human Resource Management (SHRM)

Foundation and Commerce Clearing House (Rynes & Benson, cited in "Quick-Fix," 1995), 713 members of SHRM were asked about their organization's diversity initiative; 50% of respondents whose companies had done long-term evaluation said the program had mixed or negligible effects, whereas 18% said the program had been ineffective. On the basis of the survey results, Rynes and Benson concluded that effective diversity training programs have the following features: (a) They have top management support, (b) they are integrated with the organization's strategic plans, (c) they are mandatory and comprehensive, (d) all participants are respected by the trainers, (e) they are carefully evaluated, and (f) they hold managers accountable once the training is over ("Quick-Fix," 1995).

Clearly, the general consensus is that broad-based, long-term, strategically focused initiatives are more likely to be effective than narrowly focused, poorly resourced, short-term efforts. This view is generally derived from and consistent with the business success motivation for engaging in diversity training. Many more specific issues, however, are less clear. For example, the impact of alternative learning types or the appropriate mix of trainer roles and competencies are issues for which more investigation could be useful. To adequately assess effectiveness in the future, however, researchers and practitioners will need to be much more specific about how this concept is defined and then measure appropriately. It will not be possible to

make blanket assertions about effective or ineffective diversity training. We will only be able to answer such questions as, How many days of training are best? or, What skills should trainers have? only when we consider them in the context of particular and clearly articulated models of diversity training and of inclusive organizations (e.g., Miller & Katz, 1995).

### Concluding Comment

We started the chapter by pointing out that diversity training is a broad term that encompasses a whole range of activities. The framework presented here is designed to enable making sense of these variations along a selected set of dimensions that are not always immediately apparent but that are nevertheless crucial in distinguishing one diversity training initiative from another. One of our goals has been to show how the various dimensions link with and flow into each other such that, for example, effective training motivated by the desire for business success is more likely to seek organizational change and to be positioned as a strategic intervention. It is our hope that, in articulating these dimensions, we will contribute to more specific and informed discussions of, decisions about, and assessment of diversity training. More critically, we hope this will add yet more energy to the work of developing organizations that are at once truly inclusive and effective.

### Notes

1. Many organizations continue to frame inclusion primarily in terms of fitting in. In these organizations, diversity efforts tend to focus on getting people in the door and then on assimilating them to existing styles and structures (e.g., see Cox & Finley-Nickelson, 1991). Although it is possible to construct morally based arguments that limit inclusion simply to such conditional participation, we believe that organizational initiatives conceived in this way cannot be properly labeled *diversity initiatives* (see also Katz, 1989; Thomas, 1990).

2. Recently, for example, the Denny's restaurant chain faced a series of lawsuits based on claims that it had discriminated in its service of African American customers. Also, the NAACP and other national

and local organizations have often worked with businesses to help them find constructive ways to better serve their communities in a more equitable and broad-based manner.

3. Judith H. Katz (personal communication, May 1995) distinguishes between two versions of the competitiveness perspective. One, which she terms *the HR, or organizational effectiveness approach*, focuses on the ways diversity can contribute to organizational performance primarily by helping people work together better (e.g., through greater intercultural understanding and appreciation). This approach highlights the "soft side" of business. A second approach focuses on the "hard" aspects of business through development of the "Business Case."

a solid, clear cut link to the achievement of strategic business objectives. The business case must explain how becoming a culturally diverse organization will be a crucial lever for future organizational success.

... The business case must directly link to customers, products, performance, and a way of doing business. (Katz & Miller, 1991, p. 3)

This approach is harder to implement and is also more rarely seen in place. (For a review and additional discussion of the competitive advantages of diversity, see Cox & Blake, 1991.)

4. Judith H. Katz ties the full use vision to the HR or organizational effectiveness approach (see Note 3), in which the goal is to help people develop greater understanding of diversity and corresponding skills for functioning well in a multicultural workplace. She connects the strategic vision to the business case approach, in which the goal is not only to increase employee competencies but also to deal more effectively with a range of organizational issues, including external customers and stakeholders, as well as product development, marketing, and continuous improvement.

5. The concept of individual differences as it is described here explicitly encompasses the ways people vary on the basis of their cultural backgrounds (see Ferdman, 1995).

6. See also in this regard the work of Clayton Alderfer (e.g., Alderfer, 1992), which focuses on changing race relations in organizations and is based on intergroup theory (e.g., Alderfer, 1986). In the Race Relations Competence Workshops (Alderfer, Alderfer, Bell, & Jones, 1992) that he and his colleagues developed for the pseudonymous XYZ Corporation, race-alike and cross-race groups formed an important part of the training, which built on a prior organizational diagnosis that highlighted both differences and similarities in how Black and White men and women experienced and perceived race relations in the organization.

7. See Senge (1990) for a discussion of the differences and relationships between personal mastery and team learning.

8. Although, see Chesler (1994) and Jackson and Hardiman (1994) for discussions of how multicultural organizational development diverges in important ways from traditional approaches to organizational development (OD).

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