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Closing the Chasm of Subtle Second Generation Discrimination

BY ALVIN EVANS AND EDNA CHUN

This article draws upon insights from Edna Chun and Alvin Evans' forthcoming book Bridging the Diversity Divide: Globalization and Reciprocal Empowerment in Higher Education. *Despite apparent signs of progress in diversity within higher education, deeper cultural change must occur within academe to erode and eliminate subtle behavioral and organizational barriers to diversity. Organizational learning is one of the most powerful levers for such change. This article provides 10 key strategies that will assist human resource professionals in creating a culture of empowerment and inclusion.*

Introduction

In a year in which the democratic nominee for president of the United States is biracial and the republican vice presidential nominee is female, some would deny that discrimination continues to exist in the country. However, the stark reality is that only two black governors have been elected since reconstruction and Barack Obama is only the third African-American senator in American history (Inniss 2008). Of the nation's 100 senators, white women hold 16 of these roles and only eight of the 50 governorships (Inniss 2008). Too few women and minorities are appointed to top state jobs that lead to political careers — of 1,834 top state jobs, only 35 percent were held by women and 16 percent by minorities in the decade between 1997 and 2007 (The New York Times 2008).

Similarly, women and minorities appear, on the surface, to be represented on college and university campuses, both in classrooms and administrative offices. Unfortunately, attainment of diversity in the academy mirrors the relative lack of diversity in national politics. For example, the number of African American faculty still hovers at only 5.3 percent, with little change over the past 15 years (U.S. Department of Education 2003b). While the percentage of white women in administration rose from 35.1 percent to 40.7 percent between 1993 and 2003, the percentage of minority women only rose from 6.7 percent to 9.6 percent in the same time period (U.S. Department of Education 2003a).

Women have had difficulty gaining access to upper-level management or decision-making positions on college campuses and tend to be found more frequently in support roles rather than in executive positions. Minorities are often concentrated in lower-level positions — the mail room rather than the board room. A study of 852 institutions of higher education found that only 23 percent of women are in senior academic roles — a troubling statistic since these roles represent the typical pathway to the presidency. The study also found that the vast majority

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of men and women in senior administrative roles are white, and that only 16 percent of senior administrators and less than 10 percent of chief academic officers are from underrepresented groups (King & Gomez 2008). Gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender workers continue to be locked in the closet and unable to share their whole identity at work. Diverse faculty and staff members often occupy marginal roles and are essentially powerless to make important decisions or allocate resources.

Although the more egregious, blatant expressions of discrimination of the pre-Civil Rights era have dwindled, subtle behavioral and organizational forms of discrimination have emerged. These new forms of discrimination are cumulative, repetitive and take place in the form of micro-incursions. Those who perpetuate these forms of behavior may often do so unconsciously, reflecting what Steve Robbins describes as "unintentional intolerance" (Robbins 2007). In fact, a whole new vocabulary is required for us to talk about the subtle actions that make up the second-generation of discrimination. Research-based constructs based on findings in the social psychological literature describe subtle forms of avoidance; aversive racism that occurs when otherwise liberal individuals reconcile negative feelings by amplifying positive behavior toward minorities (Dovidio, Gaertner & Bachman 2001); and attributional ambiguity when targets of subtle discrimination are uncertain as to how to interpret ambivalent behavior toward themselves (Crocker, Vole, Test & Major 1991).

Bridging the Diversity Chasm

The chasm that minority and female faculty and staff experience can take place through 10 organizational barriers which are intertwined in the power structures of our institutions: hiring; promotion and advancement; lack of support; failure to empower and include in decision making; differing expectations; stereotyping; lack of mentoring; isolation and soloing; tokenism; and the revolving door (Evans and Chun 2007). The road to inclusion requires surmounting these barriers and dismissing the perception of women and minorities as usurpers.

While institutions of higher learning have recognized the need for diversity progress, many have not yet gone from an awareness of what is wrong to doing something about it. Diversity development is a continuum with dimensions that may be present sequentially or simultaneously. Valverde (1998), for example, identifies five stages of diversity development: 1) the monocultural campus; 2) the ethnocentric campus which has a dominant white culture but admits minorities; 3) the accommodating campus that addresses inclusion through policies; 4) the transitional campus with limited pluralism; and 5) the transformed campus that is fully multicultural. Smith (1995) describes the evolving dimensions of diversity as: 1) structural representation; 2) climate and psychosocial environment; 3) educational and scholarly mission; and 4) transformation.

Based upon our experiences, many diversity plans have not yet moved beyond the stage of awareness to empowerment and inclusion. Yet an unparalleled opportunity exists in higher education to harness the power of all talent in service of the research, teaching and service that form the central focus of the mission of our universities and colleges. How do we narrow or, better yet, close the chasm of discrimination and cross the diversity divide?

Organizational Learning

Organizational learning is one of the most powerful levers for bridging the diversity chasm (Chun & Evans, in press). For inequities to disappear, cultural change must occur, and that can only happen when initiatives come from the leadership of an institution and are launched in a formal way. Theorists such as Daryl Smith and Sharon Parker (2005) have pointed out that the model of organizational learning relates to an institution's core enterprise and engages stakeholders to take ownership and make decisions consistent with this mission. The evolutionary process of organizational learning is, by necessity, one that engages both academic and administrative stakeholders and involves them in reshaping their respective subcultures.

Addressing the Chilly Climate Phenomenon
A second major bridge across the chasm needs to address "chilly climate," or a climate of benign neglect that allows the marginalization of talent to continue. The existence of a chilly climate for minorities and women has been well documented in research literature. What does it mean in practice? Common structural features of a chilly climate in academe include devaluation and hostility that take place within the trivial patterns of daily experience (PS: Political Science & Politics 1999). Since faculty have been at the forefront of identifying symptoms of chilly climate, growing evidence points to how minority faculty experience such marginalization in everyday professional and social interactions (Johnsrud 1993). These insights apply also to administrators and staff, who, in fact, generally have more tenuous employment situations without tenure or other protections.

In addition to feeling unwanted, unappreciated and unwelcomed, minority faculty must continually prove their worth and work harder than their male white counterparts (Johnsrud 1993). Female and minority faculty are often overburdened with teaching and service responsibilities as well as committee obligations (Allen et al. 2002). Within the context of a hostile department, individual faculty or staff members can develop a deep sense of shame, believing that she/he deserves to be treated poorly (PS: Political Science & Politics 1999). Treatment of dominated groups as objects lacking full human subjectivity can damage the self-esteem of those who have been targeted (Hill Collins 1993).

Reciprocal Empowerment
The thematic principle of reciprocal empowerment (Prilleltensky & Gonick 1994) provides a bridge to inclusion since it offers a values-based framework that counteracts forms of oppression that are consciously or unconsciously reenacted within institutional settings. From a definitional standpoint, reciprocal empowerment is a values-based approach comprised of three pillars: self-determination, distributive justice and collaboration (Prilleltensky & Gonick 1994). Self-determination or self-definition is essential for women and minorities. In this regard, Patricia Hill Collins (1993) notes in her discussion of black feminist thought, "self-definition and self-valuation are not luxuries — they are necessary for black female survival." Distributive justice refers to the need for equity in access to resources and also may require active intervention to provide such equitable distribution within the power structure (Prilleltensky & Gonick 1994). Collaboration involves participation in decision-making processes (Prilleltensky & Gonick 1994).

Key Strategies for Closing the Gap
Crossing the chasm of discrimination requires proactive steps to prevent the potential waste of human talent, ingenuity, innovation and creativity and to build a culture of inclusion. A systematic, tactical approach is needed to overcome subtle behavioral and organizational forms of discrimination in the workplace. As part of a results-oriented action plan, following are some key strategies for closing the gap:

1) Secure from the board of trustees and the president sustained commitment for diversity initiatives. Human resource professionals can serve as a channel for communicating the importance and value of diversity programs as identified by institutional leadership.

2) Develop specific mechanisms that foster awareness of the experiences of those who have been marginalized or isolated. Such mechanisms can include mediation programs, listening meetings, mentorship programs and other formal and informal vehicles.

3) Celebrate, communicate and reward small successes. Such successes will eventually move the "building-breakthrough flywheel" (Collins 2001). Momentum will be achieved by pushing steadily and relentlessly in one direction (Collins 2001). While these celebrations may not appear to have appreciable impact, over time

they will gradually move the organizational flywheel.

4) Develop systematic organizational learning programs that address the affective and emotional aspects of change to surface deep-seated cultural assumptions and overcome resistance to change.

5) Create formalized opportunities for intergroup contact through task forces and other institutionalized structures. These experiences will help dispel stereotypes and enhance communication. Research indicates that greater likelihood of success will occur when such groups have meaningful institutional objectives (van Dick et al. 2004).

6) Build an institutional safety net for those who have been traditionally marginalized. For example, create support groups that are safe zones for dialogue facilitated by professionals with backgrounds in social psychology, counseling or related areas.

7) Use the external impetus of accreditation as a catalyst for diversity progress. This process will promote greater accountability in the attainment of diversity outcomes.

8) Conduct a comprehensive climate survey that elicits input about how to improve the campus climate for diversity and ensure that the results generate concrete objectives.

9) Adopt a diversity manifesto that will crystallize the institution's commitment to diversity. Such a manifesto should include expectations for conduct and community. Institutions can develop grass roots support by building buy-in from a broad range of constituencies including student affairs, academic affairs and campus constituent groups.

10) Embed recognition and reward for diversity work within significant organizational processes such as evaluation, tenure, merit pay and budgeting. Such programs will amplify exponentially the potential for genuine and sustained cultural change.

Conclusion

As emphasized earlier in this article, diversity leadership must come from the board of trustees and president in order for enduring change to occur. Organizational culture represents the most daunting challenge in terms of diversity progress, since it is deeply rooted and woven throughout the assumptions, norms, approaches and conduct of members of the campus community. The power of organizational culture cannot be underestimated and, in some sense, outweighs the impact of specific individuals. As human resource professionals attempt to bring about change in cultural assumptions relative to diversity, organizational learning is the most potent instrument for overcoming cultural roadblocks (Chun & Evans, in press). Developing a systematic, structured organizational learning program focused on diversity will gradually begin to shift the internal cultural paradigm. Difficult conversations must be undertaken and resistance is to be expected. Nonetheless, human resource professionals can be "diversity champions" — those mountain climbers who can help bridge the chasm and lead the way to a workplace of genuine inclusion.

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