9 Supporting diversity, inclusion, and creativity

> Great ideas push the world forward. And they can come from anywhere. At Apple, we rely on our employees' diverse backgrounds and perspectives to spark innovation. So we're hiring more inclusively, choosing partners who make diversity a priority, and creating opportunities for the next generation.

Apple, Inc. (2016)

"Inclusion inspires innovation."

This is not merely an empty slogan: it is part of the mission statement of Apple, Inc., the most profitable company of all time, according to *Fortune* magazine (2015). In the words of Apple CEO Tim Cook (2016):

> We want every person who joins our team, every customer visiting our stores or calling for support to feel welcome. We believe in equality for everyone, regardless of race, age, gender, gender identity, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation. That applies throughout our company, around the world with no exceptions.

However, declarations of non-discrimination and calls for equal opportunity do not by themselves produce the kind of representative social institutions (especially schools, workplaces, and governmental organizations) that would demonstrate a truly inclusive society. In this chapter we explore some of the

reasons why — and some of the tools available to help us to change this situation, to bring the benefits of diversity to our workplaces and our lives.

From monoculture to diversity

Social scientist Danielle Allen uses the metaphor of a **monoculture** to analyze this lack of diverse representation in so many parts of our society today: "In the United States generally, demographic diversity is indeed a fact. It has been a feature of this country's makeup since the founding." But "that same level of diversity does not necessarily appear in the millions of organizations — businesses, churches, organizations, and associations — that populate civil society. To the contrary, in many sectors we continue to observe a high rate of monoculture across organizations and institutions." (Allen 2016)

Apple is no monoculture, but it has a long way to go before its own employee demographics could be considered roughly comparable, at all levels of corporate organization, to the demographics of the societies in which it operates. Globally, for example, only 31% of the company's employees are female, compared to nearly 50% of the global population that is female, according to the World Bank (2016). Demographic gaps like this are not due to women choosing to exclude themselves from the waged workforce; at the turn of the millennium, 75% of US women aged 25 to 44 were employed, and that proportion has only increased since then. Yet women remain "seriously underrepresented in scient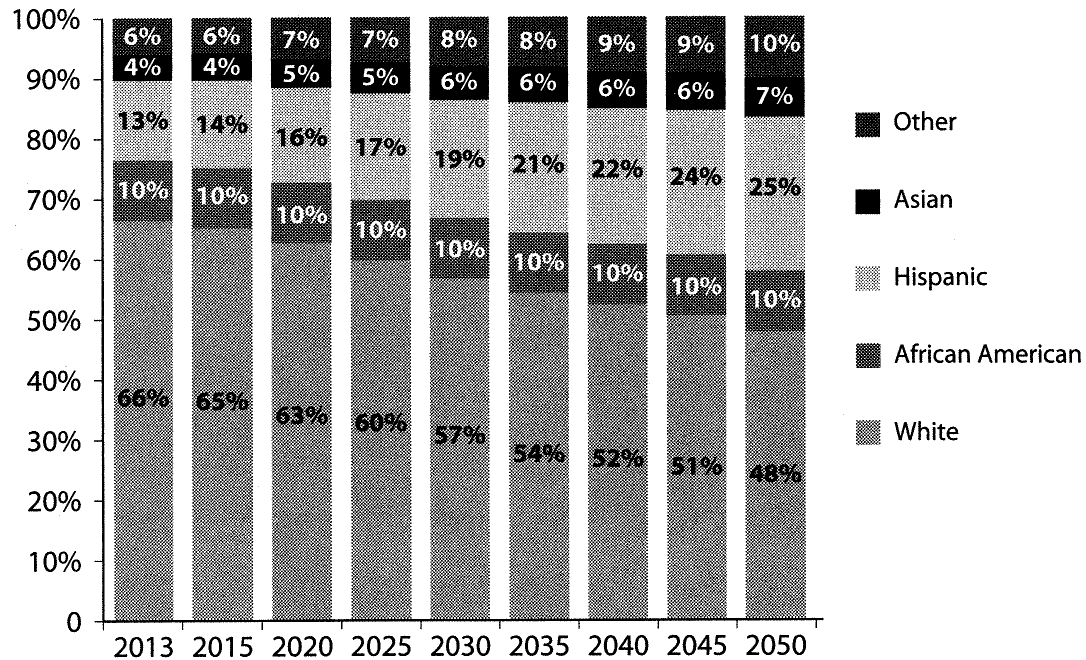ific and technical careers" (Betz 2005). In the so-called **STEM** fields that "new economy" companies like Apple draw upon — science, technology, engineering, and math — only 26% of the US workforce was female in 2010 (Schenck et al 2012). And even women who do find employment in STEM fields face yet another barrier: they are paid, on average, between 82% and 87% of what men are (American Association of University Women 2015).

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STEM

Fields of work and study rooted in science, technology, engineering, and math (many of which remain disproportionately male).

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Within the United States, Apple's workforce is a diverse one in terms of overall race and ethnicity — currently only 54% of Apple's employees are White, compared to 72% of the US population as a whole as of 2010 (Apple 2016; US Census 2016). However, it is unclear whether people of color are proportionally represented in the highest-earning ranks of Apple's management, marketing, and engineering professionals. In the overall US economy, census numbers from the turn of the millennium were not encouraging: "Hispanics and African Americans were overrepresented in 'service occupations' (20% and 22%, respectively, compared to 12% of Whites)

and 'operators, fabricators and laborers' (21% and 18%, respectively, compared to 13% of Whites)" (Worthington et al 2005). As with women, people of color are also underrepresented in STEM fields in the US; only 6% of STEM jobs were held by African Americans and only 5% by Hispanics in 2010 (Schenck et al 2012).

If left unaddressed, such disproportionalities will only become more troublesome because the demography of the US as a whole continues to change. The Bureau of the Census estimates that by 2044 the nation will be a **majority minority** country, meaning "more than half of all Americans are projected to belong to a minority group (any group other than non-Hispanic White alone)" (Wan & Kaplan 2017; Colby et al 2015). This movement to a more diverse population is most evident in urban areas, which are the economic centers of the high-tech economy (and of the college labor market discussed in chapter 2): "In 2010, 22 of the nation's 100 largest metropolitan areas were minority white, up from just 14 in 2000 and 5 in 1990." (Frey 2016) And since much of the growing diversity of the US is represented by young people, the high-tech industry in particular needs to be attentive to what demographers call a growing **cultural generation gap**, the difference in experience and outlook "between the diverse youth population and the growing, older, still predominantly white population." (Frey 2016) Thus Apple, and other leading new economy companies like it, continue to pledge publicly to work toward a more representative workforce.

Labor force makeup by race/ethnicity, projected to 2050

	2013	2015	2020	2025	2030	2035	2040	2045	2050
Other	6%	6%	7%	7%	8%	8%	9%	9%	10%
Asian	4%	4%	5%	5%	6%	6%	6%	6%	7%
Hispanic	13%	14%	16%	17%	19%	21%	22%	24%	25%
African American	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%
White	66%	65%	63%	60%	57%	54%	52%	51%	48%

(Carnevale & Smith 2016)

With a brand like Apple's, catering to an upscale, global, highly-educated target market of consumers, we might question whether this political stance in favor of diversity and against discrimination is simply a feel-good marketing strategy — especially since, as workforce scholar Anthony Carnevale notes, "an increasingly diverse customer base will be unwilling to do business with institutions that exclude them." (Carnevale & Smith 2016) But Apple, like other Fortune 500 companies, is pursuing a diverse workforce over the long term for more than merely public relations reasons. Research on innovation demonstrates clearly that **diverse teams** often "make higher-quality decisions, identify better solutions to work problems, and achieve greater creativity and innovation" than homogenous teams, because the members of a diverse team bring a greater range of information and experience to a problem (van Knippenberg et al 2013). Or, as one of the leaders of Google recently put it, "People from different backgrounds see the world differently. Women and men, whites and blacks, Jews and Muslims, Catholics and Protestants, veterans and civilians, gays and straights, Latinos and Europeans, Klingons and Romulans, Asians and Africans, wheelchair-bound and able-bodied: These differences of perspective generate insights that can't be taught. When you bring them together in a work environment, they integrate to create a broader perspective that is priceless." (Schmidt et al 2014)

This should sound familiar: it is similar to the idea from chapter 6 that the "weak ties" in your social network (the acquaintances who are most different and/or distant from you) will often actually have the most unique and valuable information for you as you pursue your job search. As Danielle Allen puts it, "Everyone is benefited by a rich social network and harmed by a relatively isolated or resource-impoverished social network. [...] More egalitarian societies, scholars have shown, are generally more connected societies, and connectivity is equalizing." (Allen 2016) In this way, avoiding discrimination and embracing diversity on the job (and in the job search) is not just the right thing to do — it is the competitive advantage that companies will need to survive.

bridging ties

Intentional, mutual, respectful interactions and relationships between individuals with from diverse backgrounds which help to increase overall understanding and empathy across boundaries of difference, enhancing the cohesion and performance of diverse teams.

Unfortunately, the research on diverse teams has a downside: When individuals in diverse teams don't understand or appreciate the value of their diversity, their performance can actually decrease, as members fall into "us" versus "them" factions that thwart cooperation and trust (van Knippenberg et al 2013). Allen argues that organizations need to invest in what she calls the **art of bridging** in order to bring diverse groups characterized by weak ties together: "bridging ties do not arise merely by virtue of assembling a group of people characterized by demographic diversity in a single location. Bridging ties emerge when individuals are able to interact successfully across boundaries of difference. They emerge when people have been able to convert an initially costly social relationship into one that brings mutual benefit." Thus it is not enough to simply assemble teams of employees from diverse backgrounds; firms must cultivate a climate of inclusion and respect in order to reap the competitive benefits of that diversity.

Occupational segregation and gender stereotyping

A student's trajectory into a career — starting with their major and continuing through any certificates, internships, or other high-impact academic or extracurricular experiences — is in one sense an individual and idiosyncratic choice. But at a group level, we can see some persistent patterns in those choices that correlate to demographic categories of diversity. It is important to understand such patterns, and to consider the cultural expectations or structural limitations which may motivate or constrain the individual choices that make up those patterns.

One of the most important categories for analyzing major and career choice is a student's **socioeconomic status** or **SES** — a term referring to the aggregate resources at one's disposal, based not just on the student's income and wealth, but also the educations, occupations, and geographical locations of the student's parents or guardians. As early as the 1960s, in a study of over 30,000 college students, James Davis found that the higher one's SES, the more likely one would choose a career in humanities, medicine, law, physical, biological, and social sciences and the less likely one would choose a career in engineering, education, and business (Goyette & Mullen 2006). A recent study from the early 2000s found similar results, concluding that "Low-SES students are more likely to choose vocational majors even after other factors like tested proficiency, college characteristics, expectations, and work values have been considered. High-SES students choose [arts and sciences] majors" (Goyette & Mullen 2006).

These kinds of choices might be understood using some of the models for the college labor market that we discussed in chapter 2. For example, low-SES students might be making a rational economic choice under "human capital theory" to take the most direct route to an economically secure, vocational career. On the other hand, they may also face the kinds of structural limitations posited by "segmentation theory" so that their choice of vocational majors is made without the kind of information and experience that a high-SES student would have had access to while growing up. Researchers still debate to what degree our choices in the job market may be attributed to the freedom of personal "agency," and to what degree those choices are constrained, channeled, or even determined by the "structure" of the imperfect society that we find ourselves living in.

Nowhere is this dilemma more acute than when considering the combination of career choices and cultural expectations that result in certain occupations employing a disproportionate amount of women versus men — what scholars call **occupational sex segregation**. Recall that one of the biggest transformations in the labor market over the last fifty years, especially in terms of college-educated workers, has been the entrance of women into the paid workforce. Just compare: "In 1973, less than 44% all women were employed, constituting only 38% the total workforce. In contrast, by March 1996, more than half the U.S. workforce was female, and nearly 60% American women were employed" (Fitzgerald et al 2001). But this numerical increase has not been evenly spread throughout all industries and occupations. For example, two scholars in the *Journal of Higher Education* (Goyette & Mullen 2006) point out longstanding gendered patterns of choosing college majors: "Men have traditionally concentrated in fields such as business, engineering, chemistry, and physics while women have studied education, humanities, nursing, and psychology." By the early 2000s, "more than 90% of preschool and kindergarten teachers, dental hygienists, secretaries, child-care workers, cleaners and servants, nurses, occupational

and speech therapists, and teachers' aids [were] women," according to the US Department of Labor (Betz 2005).

While it is true that many women select sex-segregated careers, we must recognize that those selections are made with differing degrees of freedom given our culture's widespread **gender essentialist stereotypes** — beliefs, biases and assumptions that the proper roles of men and women in society are necessarily and permanently separate and unequal. Gender essentialist stereotypes often claim that men and women have different innate strengths or weaknesses that directly affect or predict their workplace performance. You've no doubt heard these "urban legends" about gender: that men are genetically less "caring and nurturing" in their relationships, that women are genetically less "mathematical and spatial" in their thinking, and that between them men and women have irreconcilably different communication styles. Such stereotypes can to be held by *both* men and women — and they can be very slow to change. One study found that "Children learn these stereotypes at ages as young as 2 to 3 years old and begin to incorporate gender roles into their considerations of careers at ages 6 to 8" (Betz 2005).

The reason we classify such ideas as stereotypes is the fact that research by psychologists and sociologists over the last few decades has demonstrated repeatedly that "men and women are basically alike in terms of personality, cognitive ability and leadership." In fact, one of the leaders of this research, Janet Hyde, is a professor here at UW-Madison. In response to the stereotypes of gender essentialism that permeate our culture, her research has developed and defended the **gender similarities hypothesis**: the idea that "males and females from childhood to adulthood are more alike than different on most psychological variables," and that most differences which do appear "seem to depend on the context in which they were measured." Hyde cites one striking study as an example where subjects "were told that they would not be identified as male or female, nor did they wear any identification," and as a result "none conformed to stereotypes about their sex when given the chance to be aggressive. In fact, they did the opposite of what would be expected — women were more aggressive and men were more passive." (APA 2005; Hyde 2005)

It is crucially important to appreciate how much of the peer-reviewed research shows such gender stereotypes to be false, because those stereotypes can have such large negative effects on girls and women over their lifetimes. For example, take the stereotype about math ability based on gender (a stereotype which Professor Hyde's own research has repeatedly debunked). A

1973 study of freshman students at the University of California-Berkeley revealed that "only 8% of the women, versus 57% of the men, had taken four years of high school math. [...] Thus, 92% of the freshmen women at Berkeley were prevented by lack of math background from even considering 15 of the 20 major fields" (Betz 2005). Such stereotypes around quantitative knowledge, and their effects on the resulting patterns of majors for men and women, still persist today, even at the most selective of universities; for example, a recent study found that "men earn almost 80 percent of the degrees in economics at Yale and over 70 percent of the philosophy, math, and computer science degrees. Conversely, women earn over 70 percent of the sociology, psychology, and anthropology degrees" (Mullen 2010). Fortunately, there is progress being made. In fact, right here at UW-Madison, more female mathematicians teach, mentor and conduct research than at nearly any other major math department in the country. These scholars are not only helping to change the face of math here and now, but also making it easier for the next generations of women to pursue the path. Disentangling individual agency from structural constraints in these situations can be difficult — we don't want to dissuade talented students from pursuing the social sciences, for example, no matter what their gender — but at the very least, we can do our best to help break down barriers to women's ability to participate in the STEM fields if they so choose.
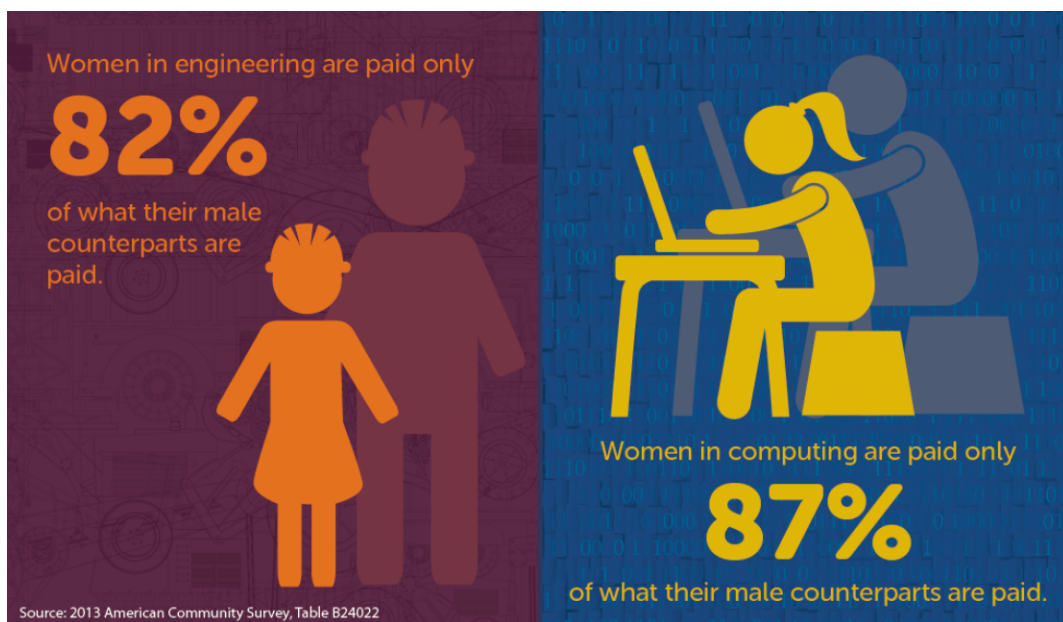

The women of UW-Madison math

Tullia Dymarz, *geometric group theory* ● **Autumn Kent**, *geometry and topology* ● **Qin Li**, *applied math* ● **Gloria Mari-Beffa**, *math physics and differential geometry* ● **Julie Mitchell**, *computational mathematics* ● **Leslie Smith**, *applied math* ● **Betsy Stovall**, *analysis* ● **Lu Wang**, *geometric analysis* ● **Melanie Matchett Wood**, *number theory*

UW-Madison (2017)

Even with more proportional participation in the most high-paying fields, however, the combination of occupational segregation and gender stereotypes still leaves us with a disturbing, and persistent, economic statistic: the **gender wage gap,** or difference in average earnings between men and women, even when controlling for education, experience, and occupation. As

reported by the *New York Times* recently (2015), "In 1963, when President John F. Kennedy signed the Equal Pay Act, a woman working full time year-round typically made 59 cents for every dollar paid to her male counterpart. By 2013, the latest year of available census data, it was 78 cents on the dollar." Even avowedly progressive "new media" high-tech companies are not immune from these patterns; in 2017 the US Department of Labor charged Google with allowing "systemic compensation disparities" between the men and women it employs — a situation which, since Google is a major government contractor, may violate federal employment laws (Levin S 2017). This example reminds us that, unfortunately, a college education is no solution to the gender wage gap problem, even though 57% of all college degrees now go to women versus men: "The higher the level of education, the bigger the gap" (Twenge & Campbell 2010; NYT 2015).

Even in high-paying STEM jobs, a gender pay gap persists

Women in engineering are paid only
82%
of what their male counterparts are paid.

Source: 2013 American Community Survey, Table B24022

Women in computing are paid only
87%
of what their male counterparts are paid.

(American Association of University Women 2015)

As we have seen, occupational segregation and gender essentialist stereotypes help to explain much of this persistent wage gap. However, we must also consider the effect of family responsibilities outside of paid work, at different stages of one's life, which themselves differ by gender in our society — and which also fall into longstanding stereotypes. Writing in the *New York Times*, Jill Filipovic (2016) points out that "Women's earnings peak between ages 35 and 44 and then plateau, while men's continue to rise." Part of the reason for this is rooted not just in attitudes about the value of female workers, but also

in attitudes about the way motherhood and fatherhood should unfold in contemporary society: "When women have children, they're penalized: They're considered less competent, they're less likely to be hired for a new job and they're paid less. For men, having a child helps in hiring and pay" (Filipovic 2016). This bias is only exacerbated the higher the woman's occupational status is: "women in high-paying, demanding jobs, like doctors or lawyers, are more harshly penalized for time spent away from the office, and clients" (White 2016). And remember, these effects are in addition to the other cultural assumptions about women's and men's roles that result in women shouldering greater burdens of unpaid work in the home: "In the United States, women spend about four hours a day on unpaid work, compared with about 2.5 hours for men. The difference starts early: American girls ages 10 to 17 spend two more hours than boys on chores each week" (Miller 2016).

Implicit bias and cultural fit in the hiring process

Despite their best intentions, even organizations that overtly celebrate their respect for diversity in terms of gender, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and all the other important categories of human culture and experience that we might list, can fall prey to practices and processes that end up reproducing disparities rather than realizing the benefits of diversity. The research demonstrates this unambiguously. As Nicholas Kristof relates in the *New York Times*, "When researchers sent young whites and blacks out to interview for low-wage jobs in New York City armed with equivalent résumés," not only were whites twice as likely to get callbacks than blacks, but "a black applicant with a clean criminal record did no better than a white applicant who was said to have just been released from 18 months in prison" (Kristoff 2016). In another study, from 2003, "researchers sent thousands of résumés to employers with openings, randomly using some stereotypically black names (like Jamal) and others that were more likely to belong to whites (like Brendan)" (Kristoff 2016). The result? "Résumés with White names required about 10 submissions to get one callback, whereas résumés with African American names needed about 15 submissions to get one callback, a 30% advantage for people with White-sounding names" (Worthington et al 2005). Such disparities have been found repeatedly and consistently in these sorts of social science **audit studies** over the past decades: "they revealed average net estimates of 16 percent favoring White over Black job applicants and 14 percent favoring White over Hispanic applicants" (Banaji & Greenwald 2013).

But not just persons of color are at risk for prejudicial treatment in the job-seeking process. The same sorts of personal networking and referrals that we have stressed are so important to build one's career (in chapter 6) can be a source of unconscious bias and discrimination in hiring based on a combination of race/ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic status. As reported

recently in the *Atlantic,* "Many industries — tech and media, for starters — are infamous for disproportionately hiring white, upper-middle class young men who went to elite colleges. Relying exclusively on referrals could deepen workplace homogeneity" (Thompson 2016).

Whatever information you provide about yourself to potential employers online, that "you" who they see is only a **digital puppet** — the limited representation of your experience and value constructed by the traces you leave in the digital realm. Decision-makers will inevitably bring their own preconceptions, assumptions, and, sadly, prejudices to bring that digital puppet to life in their minds — even despite their best efforts not to do so. Thus your online social media profile may be a big part of what recruiters or employers use to decide whether you are a **cultural fit** for their organization. As Northwestern University management professor Lauren Rivera (2015) explained, "The concept of fit first gained traction in the 1980s. The original idea was that if companies hired individuals whose personalities and values — and not just their skills — meshed with an organization's strategy, workers would feel more attached to their jobs, work harder and stay longer." Rivera reports "80 percent of employers worldwide named cultural fit as a top hiring priority."

. . . .

cultural fit

The idea that an employee's values and personality should mesh with the organization's mission and strategy — but frequently misunderstood as a homogenous match between an employee's background and interests and that of the hiring manager.

. . . .

"But cultural fit has morphed into a far more nebulous and potentially dangerous concept," Rivera continued. "It has shifted from systematic analysis of who will thrive in a given workplace to snap judgments by managers about who they'd rather hang out with." Rivera spent nine months interviewing 120 corporate recruiters for her book on the subject, *Pedigree: How Elite Students Get Elite Jobs* (2015). She found that "for these gatekeepers, fit was not about a match with organizational values. It was about personal fit," where managers "reported wanting to hire people with whom they enjoyed hanging out and could foresee developing close relationships with." Such lifestyle- and personality-based definitions of fit can quickly lead to homogeneity — or discrimination.

Some of this might be ugly, overt racism on the part of the interviewer or hiring decision-maker. But such reprehensible attitudes are not the only forces that perpetuate hiring discrimination. Sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2006) points instead to unconscious bias — what he calls "racism without racists" — as a more important factor. The technical term for this is **implicit bias**: one of many unconscious preferences that we might hold, making snap judgments about people on the basis not only of race, but of gender, age, disability, and all sorts of other qualities, when we are confronted

with their name, appearance, accent, or self-presentation. The "implicit" part suggests that *everyone* holds implicit biases of one sort or another — you can't help but absorb and internalize such messages when you grow up in a culture that constantly circulates biased images, messages, stereotypes and stories. As Yale University social psychologist Jennifer Richeson puts it, "This is not the product of some deep-seated, evil heart that is cultivated. It comes from the environment, the air all around us." And as William Kristoff (2006) reminds us, you may even hold a negative implicit bias about a category to which you yourself belong (in fact, you probably do, if you were raised in the culture with everybody else).

Harvard's Project Implicit has a free online implicit bias test

PROJECT IMPLICIT SOCIAL ATTITUDES

Log in or register to find out your implicit associations about race, gender, sexual orientation, and other topics!

E-mail Address   **LOGIN**   **REGISTER**

Or, continue as a guest by selecting from our available language/nation demonstration sites:

United States (English)   **GO!**

(https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/)

LOG IN   TAKE A TEST   ABOUT US   EDUCATION   HELP   CONTACT US   DONATE

Project Implicit*

The only way to change bias is to change culture. You have to change what is acceptable in society. People today complain about politically correct culture, but what that does is provide a check on people's outward attitude, which in turn influences how we think about ourselves internally." (Wan & Kaplan 2017) So here's the challenge: Explore your own implicit biases with a free online test available from the Harvard University "Project Implicit" at **https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/**

We all have work to do — especially those of us in higher education. As we saw in chapter 2, the data are clear: unemployment rates are lower, and lifetime earnings are higher, for students holding a four-year college degree. But even in the twenty-first century, is a college degree accessible for students regardless of cultural or economic background? "About 30,000 students from poor families score in the top 10 percent on the SAT or ACT college entrance exams and yet don't go to selective schools," reports the *New York Times*, "And nearly a quarter of low-income students who score in the top 25 percent on standardized tests never go to *any* college" (Rosenberg 2016). The *Chronicle for Higher Education* adds, "While 44 percent of whites and 59 percent of Asian-Americans ages 25 to 64 have a higher-education credential, only 28 percent of blacks, 20 percent of Hispanics, and 23 percent of Native Americans do. And 82 percent of students in the top third of the income distribution go to college, versus 54 percent in the bottom third" (Hill 2016).

Even students who are encouraged and able to attend college may face disparities along their career journeys related to income and wealth. As we saw in chapter 5, extracurricular work experiences like internships are increasingly important, not just for gaining real-world job experience and for building a professional network of mentors and contacts, but also for helping a student decide among different career paths. Yet too many students from backgrounds of modest means are unable to pursue internships because of economic constraints, especially some of the most high-profile, unpaid internship experiences that require students to live in expensive urban areas. For example, the *New York Times* notes that "More than 200 federal programs within Washington offer internship positions, some paid, some not. Congressional offices, which hire thousands of interns each year, pay very few of them. And the White House does not pay a single intern out of almost 100." The latest data from the Collegiate Employment Research Institute at Michigan State University (2017) shows that only 68% of employers pay all of their interns, with unpaid internships more likely to be found in "arts and entertainment (36%), educational services (59%), government (37%), healthcare and social services (44%), information services (20%), and nonprofits (50%)." One analyst from the Brookings Institution, Joanna Venator, coined the term **glass floor** for such unpaid internships, arguing that they thwart the very idea of class mobility that college is meant to address (Shepherd 2016).

Creating community and nurturing creativity

The reasons for these disparities may be complex, but the call to action is not. The increasing complexity of our global economy and society, not to mention our sense of basic fairness and equity, make it clear that we must do better. Here at UW-Madison, we can all help to address these persistent disparities.

UW-Madison's recent "Forward Together" report (2014) called out three reasons that diversity is crucially important to nurture on our campus:

1. The **educational rationale** based on empirical evidence suggesting a strong correlation between diverse student populations and the development of critical thinking skills and global/cultural competence.

2. The **leadership rationale** holds that valuing and integrating all voices produces better solutions to challenging and complex problems. Current and future leaders develop the necessary skills through collaborating with others with diverse experiences, identities, and ways of thinking.

3. The **social justice rationale** which recognizes that the need to increase higher educational opportunity for groups historically underrepresented in, or excluded from, colleges and universities is not only ethical and moral, but also necessary for broadening societal returns on higher educational investment.

In support of these three important diversity goals, we have committed to teach and train our students to be **culturally competent** in a world where people from many different backgrounds, standpoints, and beliefs must interact effectively to accomplish anything of value. The UW-Madison Division of Student Life puts it this way (2016):

Cultural competency is important for our graduates. Wisconsin is an incredible state and we are proud of its traditions. We want to produce graduates who can work with anyone, no matter where they are in the world. Therefore, having a workforce with a high level of cultural competency is critical to the success of the state and campus. Cultural competency increases the ability of our students to think critically to solve problems. It also enables our students to work better in teams and successfully with people of different identities.

We have a particular general education milestone that is meant to address this need for cultural competency: the **Ethnic Studies Requirement (ESR).** The learning goals of these courses include the following:

- *Awareness of History's Impact on the Present:* "how certain histories have been valued and devalued, and how these differences have promulgated disparities in contemporary American society."

- *Ability to Recognize and Question Assumptions:* This means critical thinking skills, "teaching students to harbor a healthy skepticism towards

knowledge claims, whether in the form of media, political, or popular representations, primarily as these relate to race and ethnicity."

- *A Consciousness of Self and Other:* This is important because "Awareness of self is inextricably linked with awareness of and empathy towards the perspectives of others."

- *Effective Participation in a Multicultural Society:* "The ESR should ultimately engender in students the ability to participate in a multicultural society more effectively, respectfully, and meaningfully. This participation may be as mundane as being able to discuss race with a colleague or friend, or to recognize inequities in interpersonal, institutional, or other contexts."

Employers value the cultural competency that you learn and practice through the Ethnic Studies Requirement — and through the kinds of high-impact practices discussed in chapter 5 which take you "out of your comfort zone" and allow you to develop experiences and confidence in dealing with individuals and communities that are different from those you are most familiar with. Remember to talk about these accomplishments in your career narrative — they are important and valuable!

For more on the UW-Madison's efforts, and to get involved yourself, please visit our **Creating Community** web site at **https://diversity.wisc.edu** — promoting equity, diversity and inclusion here on campus.

None of the concerns raised in this chapter are meant to dissuade you from pursuing the major, career, or life that you choose. But it is important to remember that none of us navigate a world where our choices are free from the frictions of history and culture. There is ample room for optimism. Social science has demonstrated that when people recognize their individual implicit biases, they can overcome them. And history has demonstrated that when enough people recognize their society's structural inequalities, they can work to change them. The creative benefits that come from including the talents and voices of all of our constituent communities make it crucial that we never give up this important work.

1. What does it mean to be "culturally competent" and why is that a quality that employers value?

2. What does the term "SES" stand for and how does it relate to workplace equity?

3. What are some examples of "occupational segregation" and how are people trying to address these?

4. What does it mean to hold a view of "gender essentialism"?

5. What is the "gender similarities hypothesis"?

6. What is "implicit bias" and how is it measured?

7. Why might unpaid internship opportunities work as a "glass floor" for some students?

8. What resources exist at UW-Madison for understanding and supporting a diverse campus community?

READ MORE ABOUT IT

American Association of University Women, *Solving the Equation: The Variables for Women's Success in Engineering and Computing* (2015). Addresses gender stereotypes and wage gaps in the STEM fields.

Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Laura T. Hamilton, *Paying for the Party: How College Maintains Inequality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2013). Ethnographic study of a single dorm floor of college women at Indiana University, revealing profound class differences in success.

Mahzarin R. Banaji and Anthony G. Greenwald, *Blindspot: Hidden Biases of Good People* (New York: Delacorte Press, 2013). Great book-length exploration of implicit bias.

Ann L. Mullen, *Degrees of Inequality: Culture, Class, and Gender in American Higher Education* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2010). Compares the experiences of students at a highly selective private university versus a moderately selective public university.

Florencia Torche, "Is a college degree still the great equalizer?" *American Journal of Sociology* 117:3 (2011). Summarizes recent research on the meritocracy and mobility theses of college education.

Lauren A. Rivera, *Pedigree: How Elite Students Get Elite Jobs* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015). A study of the college recruiting practices within several high wage occupations like investment banking and management consulting.