Hiring the "Other"—A Biographical Narrative Inquiry
of Progressive Human Resource Professionals

William R. Osmun

ORCID Scholar ID # 0000-0001-6254-2559

A Dissertation

Submitted to the PhD in Leadership and Change Program of Antioch University
in partial fulfillment of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

March 2019

This dissertation has been approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of PhD in Leadership and Change, Graduate School of Leadership and Change, Antioch University

Dissertation Committee

- Philomena Essed, PhD, Chair

- Lize Booysen, DBL, Committee Member

- Robert Giloth, PhD, Committee Member

Acknowledgments

Thanks to the many people who have supported me and this research from start to finish. Jon Wergin, who advised me through the program, and Philomena Essed, my persistent dissertation chair who offered guidance, encouragement and many, many book suggestions. The Antioch staff and professors. The invaluable Deb Baldwin, Steve Shaw, and Elaine Gale. Kim Ibara, my long term supporter (and editor extraordinaire). The C10 and C11 cohort members—you provided inspiration, support, and levity though good times and bad. Roxanne Swogger-Coey for her friendship and validation support. Peggy McIntosh, for her courage, scholarship, support, wisdom, and guidance. Thanks also to the other committee members: Lize Booysen and Robert Giloth, your support and critical insights were invaluable.

To the 17 participants of the study who took their precious time to share their personal and professional experience with me. I appreciate your courage, integrity, intentionality, and love for humanity. To the staff and board of directors at The SOURCE for their support at the beginning of this work and to the amazing team at the Urban League of West Michigan who were there for me at its conclusion. A very special thanks to my editor/mentor, Norman Dale. Without Norman, this dissertation would have never seen the light of day.

And finally, to the many others—family, friends and colleagues—who inspired, supported, loved, and sacrificed for and with me over the course of this work.

My humble and sincere thanks to you all.

Abstract

Employment is the key to economic and social mobility through which one can potentially manage and maintain self-respect, purpose, dignity, agency, and meaning. Human resource professionals (HRPs), therefore, as gatekeepers to employment have an immense potential impact on the lives of historically marginalized populations and their communities. The purpose of this study was to better understand why HRPs hire from historically and structurally marginalized populations and what resistance they face as a result. While many studies have looked at the phenomenon of hiring discrimination and its opposite, there is a dearth of literature and understanding of the "micro" dynamics of progressive hiring. This study centered on interviews with 17 HRPs who had a reputation of intentionally and successfully hiring from structurally targeted and marginalized groups. Using biographical narrative inquiry, I asked: what motivates HRPs to hire from historically and structurally marginalized populations and what challenges and resistance do they face preceding, during or as a result of these efforts? From the results of the interviews, themes were identified which included insights into how the participants defined the non-traditional talent pools (NTTPs) they focused on; the distinctions between hiring because of organizational goals versus personal motivation; the nature of resistance HRPs encountered in progressive hiring and their means for dealing with this; strategies used for outreach to NTTPs, how HRPs defined success, and overall key insights, as seen by the participants. The themes were reviewed in relation to a number of normative frameworks in the literature that prescribe models for combatting discrimination and, more generally for leadership and change. The study concludes with suggestions for how its results and conclusion contribute to research and, when framed as recommendations, to practice. This dissertation is accompanied by the author's MP4 video introduction and is available in open

access at AURA: Antioch University Repository and Archive, http://aura.antioch.edu/ and

Ohiolink ETD Center, https://etd.ohiolink.edu/

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter I: Introduction

All of us "other" someone or some group. All of us!

—john powell, Director of the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, Berkeley

Employment serves as more than just the tradeoff of labor for money. Employment is the critical factor in achieving independence, establishing purpose, and creating meaning in one's life. Voltaire said, "Our labour preserves us from three great evils—weariness, vice, and want" (Voltaire 1759/1990, p. 166). However, entry into or access to employment is not necessarily an easy or equitable path. In a society that, in theory, advocates meritocratic values, the best person for the job should be given the appropriate access and opportunity. Yet in practice many face insurmountable barriers as their skills, experience, knowledge, and talents are filtered through gender, race, disability, and other group and structural factors that should not play a role.

There is a considerable amount of academic and non-academic literature focused on the incidents and impacts of employment discrimination on the individuals involved. From my perspective, the question is not why or how employment discrimination manifests in an organization, though these are important questions worthy of continued research. My interest lies in looking at this issue through a different lens. While some groups pass easily through the initial gates controlled by a HRP and many go on to find appropriate and meaningful employment, significant portions of historically and structurally marginalized populations struggle to make it through the very entryway of the hiring process; they are stopped by roadblocks that include personal and cultural biases that exist toward certain targeted groups (Fiske & Markus, 2012; Klein, 2008; Massey, 2007; Nieto, 2010; Tilly, 1998). These biases are part of our cultural fabric and inform the HRP during the hiring process just as they inform the actions and perceptions of the population at large. However, there are HRPs who intentionally disrupt these internal and cultural biases, thereby increasing the possibility that historically and structurally marginalized

populations can pass through the gates and engage in meaningful employment. Understanding and analyzing how this process unfolds is the focus of this dissertation.

Investigating and analyzing what motivates some HRPs to push against the status quo, focusing on their specific role, is critical, yet-to-be-explored research in academia. Within the status quo, I posit that a discriminatory cycle is at play: cultural dehumanization of targeted populations is an indicator of employment discrimination, which limits economic and social mobility, defined by Rothman (2005) as "the movement of individuals or families from one level in the stratification system to another" (p. 223). This, in turn, reinforces cultural biases. This reinforcement perpetuates cultural stereotypes of targeted populations, which in turn results in the cultural dehumanization of the targeted populations. So, to repeat, this research explores how it is that some HRPs transcend this discriminatory cycle. Rothman (2005) states:

> The consequences of class, race or ethnicity, and gender are the most pronounced in areas such as distribution of earnings and wealth, judgments and evaluations of social prestige, access to political power, and life chances such as the risk of illness and access to health care, crime and justice, and educational opportunities. (p. 1)

These aren't the only identifying attributes but, as Rothman (2005) indicates, they are the most prominent.

The Problem Context in Brief

Understanding why HRPs hire from historically and structurally marginalized populations and what resistance they face as a result, may provide a framework for future practices, processes, and policies that can perpetuate equitable hiring strategies. At a macro level, the human resources (HR) role is typically not seen as instrumental in the perpetuation of White supremacy and cultural stereotypes, but as the strategic business partner responsible for managing the resources which are human (Schuler & Jackson, 2005). This belief is consistent with my own experience as a business consultant. Most HR professionals I have spoken to informally do not see themselves as biased or in a position of power to address or influence this

critical social issue. Nonetheless, I focus on HRPs because their job places them in a gatekeeper role that empowers them to decide from which groups or communities to recruit, who is considered a good fit, who is qualified and desirable enough to merit consideration, who enters and proceeds through the interview process, who is ultimately hired, and what rate of pay new hires will receive for that role. HRPs are influential cultural gatekeepers, whether or not they accept or acknowledge this responsibility.

Yet when personal and cultural biases negatively influence any of the subjective decision points along the hiring continuum, the social, economic, and health outcomes of target populations are adversely impacted, and they are often dehumanized in the process. But the HRPs whose practices are to be studied in this dissertation, go against the grain. While there has been a considerable amount of research done on various aspects of employment discrimination, I am not aware of any that explores the issue from the perspective of the HRP who markedly hires from populations that have been historically and structurally discriminated against. Exploring the motivations and challenges that HRPs experience is the first step in the creation of potential interventions that could reduce discriminatory hiring practices. There have been attempts to legislate diversity with policy decisions, but this is difficult as many parts of the hiring process are subjective and ultimately determined by individuals—individuals who hold conscious and unconscious biases about target populations that can and do influence hiring decisions. As will be reinforced in Chapter II, there is a gap in employment discrimination literature regarding HRPs' perspectives and experience related to the factors required to disrupt cultural stereotypes. This gap highlights a research need to increase the understanding of how discriminatory hiring practices are disrupted and how equitable hiring practices are supported within organizations.

Scope of the Study

The focus of this study is on HRPs who have been identified as having chosen a different narrative, namely of hiring from within historically and structurally marginalized talent pools. Whereas it is more common in studies, as well as in practice, to focus on one or a few marginalizing factors, my approach is broader. In a pre-study of recent employment discrimination research (Osmun, 2015), I compiled a non-exhaustive list of 21 discriminatory attributes, the nature of which will be discussed in Chapter II. Against the background of this wide range of possible discriminatory factors, I investigate HRPs who hire from groups that have been historically marginalized and are still structurally discriminated against. Additionally, I am interested in situations where the identity of the HRP is dissimilar to the marginalized groups to whom they are focused on. The attributes are likely to include race, gender, class, sexual orientation, physical ability, age, religion, and criminal background. Analyzing the factors that allow for and support this shift away from the status quo will provide insights into the individual HRP's motivation, challenges, and experience; however, it may not address or provide practical insights into ways to shift their peers toward equitable hiring practices.

Understanding why HRPs hire from historically and structurally marginalized populations and what resistance they face as a result, may provide a framework for future practices, processes, and policies that can perpetuate equitable hiring strategies. The broad purpose of this study, then, is to understand the motivations and challenges HRPs experience when hiring from historically and structurally marginalized populations and, also, to understand if and how these conditions humanize the targeted populations in the eyes of the HRP.

In spite of their key role in shaping organizational demographics, HRPs I have spoken with do not see themselves as empowered social change agents or gatekeepers who perpetuate the status quo. Yet, directly or indirectly, the decisions they make impact many: individuals

seeking employment (the ability to meet wants/needs, reach one's potential, get access to health care, find one's purpose, find meaning in life), their families (provide resources, obtain insurance, meet basic needs, provide security, address transportation needs, enable social mobility), their communities (increased tax base, reduced crime, beautification), work organizations (provide diversity of thought, perspective, growth) and cultures (disrupt or maintain cultural stereotypes about targeted populations)—and it is such decisions and their ripple effect that can lead to the institutionalization of inequality.

Research Goals

The goals of my research were as follows:

- to identify and interview HRPs who have a history of intentionally and successfully hiring from structurally targeted and marginalized groups;

- to codify the interviews and analyze for insights, themes, and patterns related to their motivations and related challenges;

- to draw conclusions based on this analysis.

Research Questions

Recognizing the important yet poorly understood influence, attitudes, and practices of HRPs in working with historically, and in that sense, structurally marginalized populations, the principal research questions here are:

1. What motivates HRPs to hire from historically and structurally marginalized populations?

2. What challenges and resistance do they face preceding, during, or as a result of these efforts?

While open-ended, the first question about underlying motivation to hire from targeted or marginalized populations, presumes that HRP participants' explanations go down one of three

general paths, which can be inferred from more general antidiscrimination and diversity literature such as Kandola (2009), Klein (2008), powell (2012), Rothman (2005) and Tilly (1998).

1. The motivation to hire from targeted or marginalized populations results from personal experiences and/or a critical awareness.

2. The HRP were directed to hire from targeted and marginalized populations and are not personally motivated to hire from any particular population.

3. Some combination of 1 and 2 that results in a wider, middle path.

In this research, I focused on critical awareness agency, that is, that the HRPs are personally motivated regardless of the degree of initial organizational support. I also assume that that the HRPs have some degree of management support, or at the very least have not been told directly not to hire from the targeted marginalized populations.

My research results provide insight and clarity into the importance of critical awareness. Based on other studies of critical awareness (Freire, 1998, 2000; Thalhammer et al., 2007; I. M. Young, 2011), I anticipated that many of the participants would be able to identify moments, events, or periods of their lives when critical awareness was a factor in changing their perspectives. I suspected that the awareness process may be more evolutionary, taking place over time and resulting from a cascade of events and situations (Senge, 1994; Vaill, 1996). I also considered that there was a singular event, critical incident, or epiphany that would bring this awareness to light (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson, & Maglio 2005; Ellinger & Bostrom, 2002).

The research was built on a number of key concepts in the broader literature of dehumanization, marginalization, and antidiscrimination. While not intending to be exhaustive, in regard to the second question, the significant challenges that HRPs face in overcoming discrimination in hiring are probably best understood in terms of the following dynamics:

othering, ranking systems, marginalization, dehumanization, critical awareness, diversity, inclusion (belonging), equity, and social justice. These will be briefly defined and described in the following section and revisited in more detail in the Chapter II literature review.

Key Concepts in Understanding Discrimination in Human Resource Management (HRM)

What influences and challenges do HRPs and the marginalized populations whose hiring they mediate face and what are key concepts for overcoming these barriers? Here I will briefly explain the terms most useful for grasping these challenges. The first four—othering, ranking systems, marginalization, dehumanization—concern forces underlying discrimination and bias, while the others—critical awareness, diversity, inclusion (belonging), equity, and social justice—point to the changes and directions that empathetic HRPs may be using to overcome discrimination. A more thorough review of these and related terms, concepts and theories will be left to the next chapter.

Othering. *Othering* is an umbrella term that captures the overarching in-group/out-group and dehumanizing processes found in racism, sexism, homophobia, classism, and other practices of group and individually based exclusion. While individuals can and are othered, a more challenging social problem concerns group-based othering. I. M. Young (2011) defines a social group as a "collection of persons differentiated from at least one other group by cultural forms, practices, or way of life" (p. 43). Based on this definition, she explains: "Othering is a way of normalizing one's own group, while defining others as 'deviant in relation to the dominant norm'" (p. 123).

Ranking systems. Othering is actually a critical component of ranking systems. According to Massey (2007), categorical stratification or segmentation can be found in all human societies and is based on ascribed or achieved characteristics; Massey writes: "Stratification

systems order people vertically in a social structure characterized by a distinct top and bottom"
(p. 2).

Nieto (2010) states that within ranking systems there are two primary roles: agents and targets. Agents are "social groups that are overvalued and normative . . . [and members of this role] "receive unearned advantage and benefits" (p. 29). Targets are "devalued and 'otherized'" (p. 30) and subjected to marginalization. This valuing and devaluing of identity attributes is a social construct that is often embedded in the unconsciousness of a culture and reflected in shared or common implicit bias. This framework of agents or targets is limiting and naïve; instead, it is better to distinguish between dominant and non-dominant groups.

People are usually very good at determining where they fall in the ranking system within a specific social context, how mainstream society sees their social group's typical competence, integrity, trustworthiness, and other attributes (Diamond, 2016). One can often spot those that act out of line with their rank, which is often set and only slightly malleable. This process and experience are neither accidental nor random. "Stratification does not just happen. It is produced by specific arrangements in human societies that allow exploitation and opportunity hording to occur along categorical lines" (Massey, 2007, p. 242).

Marginalization. Marginalization is a result or expression of ranking. The needs, wants, desires, and potentially even the humanness of those within the marginalized group are minimized by the dominant culture. It is a common term used when referencing how non-dominant cultures or attributes tend to be devalued, undervalued, or discarded by the dominant culture. It has been usefully defined as follows: "Marginalization comprises those processes by which individuals and groups are ignored or relegated to the sidelines of political debate, social negotiation, and economic bargaining—and kept there" (Hanagan, 2008, para. 1). On those margins, they are often unseen, unimportant, and secondary to the dominant culture.

Marginalization occurs as a result of implicit and explicit bias and the systemic practice of ranking or stratification. Slavery, red-lining, sexism, and the way we fund public education are just some of the many ways in which systems of marginalization are created to protect and promote the dominant groups.

There are many ways in which groups are marginalized. Marginalization and exploitation occur when people in one social group expropriate a resource produced by members of another social group and prevent them from realizing the full value of their effort in producing it (Massey, 2007).

Dehumanization. Freire (2000) states that humanization is humankind's central problem, an "inescapable concern [that] leads at once to the recognition of dehumanization" (p. 43). Research on the psychology of hatred-related behavior shows that dehumanization is frequently associated with legitimizing inhuman acts against others (Bandura, 2002; Bar-Tal, 1988; Kelman, 1973). But even before physical aggression takes place, *dehumanization*—the denial of a group's (full) humanity and/or the attribution of animal characteristics—or the related, less commonly used term, *infrahumanization*—the belief that one's in-group is relatively more human than some targeted out-group (Haslam, Bain, Douge, Lee, & Bastian, 2005; Leyens et al., 2000)—can be seen in the perception of groups and their members. These members might not actively be discriminated against or stigmatized yet, and even presented as a relatively abstract other. Accordingly, and most simply put, dehumanization means denying targets some typical human or uniquely human qualities.

Othering, ranking, marginalization, and dehumanization are inter-related and insidious ways in which individuals, groups, and cultures devalue other human beings. Bias research suggests our psychological hardware has developed in a way that allows for in-group/out-group segmentation and creating shortcuts while our software is designed for fast thinking (Kahneman,

2011) that makes us vulnerable to the evolution of stereotypes. This hardware/software combination, when unchecked, has the potential to spiral out of control and lead to horrific situations.

Given this pattern, how can one transcend bias and find ways not only to see but also value human beings that are different from oneself? Some key forces for overcoming bias and which are explored in the research with HRPs are: critical awareness, diversity, inclusion (belonging), equity, and social justice.

Critical awareness. Related to and resisting of practices of othering, critical awareness is about levelling the playing field. The pivotal question is not "do we other?" but "how do we other?" There may be a discoverable set of strategies, methods, ideologies, lenses, and rationalizations involved in the process of othering an individual or group. In HRP practice as studied in this dissertation, this could be used to uncover blind spots and shared experiences. Instead of becoming polarized in a narrow victim/perpetrator dynamic (Emerald, 2016), critical awareness recognizes that most of us, other or are being othered on the basis of preference or bias factors (Freire, 2000; Nieto, 2010; I. M. Young, 2011). In theory it offers an opportunity to explore all the ways in which we other. This critical awareness can lead to the recognition, reduction, and eventual elimination of othering.

Since we all other someone or some group, the question of how one develops critical awareness must be considered from both the oppressed and oppressor perspectives. For the purpose of this research, I focus on critical awareness agency—how HRPs are personally motivated to reach across differences, regardless of the degree of initial organizational support.

Diversity. Diversity is equivalent to the term heterogeneity. But in its use as a policy instrument is often viewed from a single bi-nominal lens, which Tilly (1998) calls "bounded pairs" (p. 7), for example, Black and White or male and female. Many companies consider

diversity as a question of demographic numbers, such as the number of Blacks in an organization or the number of women who are in management. This oversimplification of diversity may be the easiest way to identify issues or track changes in the workplace, but it does a tremendous disservice to all involved. It is true that Blacks are often excluded from employment and women are not in leadership positions at an equitable distribution rate; however, people do not fall into such simple categories as men or women, Black or White. We are all much more complex than this binary framework allows. In essence, diversity implies difference. But whereas difference can be taken to imply measures of relative worth amongst the qualities being compared, "'diversity' is a neutral term" (Kandola, 2009, p. 5).

Within an employment context, diversity is often linked to compliance, be it legal or organizational. Kandola (2009) suggests that the motivation of many companies to have diversity programs is to avoid lawsuits or bad public relations, so they measure change by counting the number of people within a target population or in certain roles. This is consistent in my professional experience as well. Companies (often through their HR departments) seek to prove compliance through quantitative tracking of specific demographic information, often failing to see the humanity of those attached to those markers.

Inclusion to belonging. These are presumptively important conceptual tools directly opposed to the forces of dehumanization and marginalization. They are about seeing previously othered and marginalized groups as part of one's in-group or community.

There is a subtle difference between inclusion and belonging. Inclusion is required for belonging to occur but the feeling that you belong is not required for inclusion. Nieto (2010) states: "Inclusion has a subtext . . . people who are members of target groups are okay as long as they're not too different from agents" (p. 115). This means that, much like the notion of tolerance, there is only agency from those in the dominant culture who have the privilege and

ability to decide to include or to tolerate others. If getting target populations in the door is diversity, and getting them to a seat at the table is inclusion, then belonging may be proving to them that they are welcomed, valued, heard; they become co-definers of norms, values, and behavioral expectations. In the context of employment, the HRP can ensure diversity and even inclusion but they cannot, on their own, determine if belonging has been achieved. This must be decided by the employee. The HRP can make the effort and create the context to facilitate the experience but in the end, the experience is owned by the employee. The key to reaching belonging is relationship-building.

Equity. Equity goes a long way towards creating an environment of belonging. Unlike equality, which is the equal distribution of resources, equity distributes resources where they are needed and works at balancing the scale. Middle class and White, heterosexual males tend to benefit from the dominant U.S. narrative, status quo, and perceived cultural superiority. As a result of social privilege and advantage, they may require less effort or fewer resources to assimilate into traditional work environments, as most leaders in the United States are also cisgender White males. Those whose attributes are socially devalued may have a more difficult time being hired, accepted, and promoted. Maintaining a system versus an individual perspective, Tilly (1998) defines inequalities "that last from one social interaction to the next, with special attention to those that persist over whole careers, lifetimes, and organizational histories" as durable inequalities (p. 6). Thus, to create an equitable organization, resources may need to be reallocated to support those in targeted populations whereas those in agent populations may not require the same level of attention. It is at this juncture that the HRP, as gatekeeper, can be crucial in achieving equity.

Social justice. One's ability or inability to gain appropriate employment, regardless of non-relevant attributes, is a social justice issue. Typically, HRPs are either directly or indirectly

involved in the hiring process. As a result of their social power, based in position and local rank, HRPs inadvertently become the gatekeepers of social and economic mobility. They are, I posit, susceptible to the same cultural biases that resonate within society as a whole, thus making discriminatory hiring outcomes probable. In addition to power relations, institutionalized oppression and issues of equity, social justice advocates also seek "to establish a more equitable distribution of power and resources, so all people can live with dignity, self-determination, and physical and psychological safety [creating] . . . opportunities for people to reach their full potential within a mutually responsible, interdependent society" (Goodman, 2011, p. 4). I suspect that most HRPs or organizations, though thinking of themselves as fair in judgment, would not identify with this power and empowerment-based approach. Thus, understanding the hiring approach of those who do is crucial from the perspective taken in this dissertation.

Impetus for the Study

Contribution to positive social change. This dissertation is rooted in my professional experience and commitment to positive social change, which entails the eventual elimination of biases that keep so many individuals and communities marginalized. Klein (2008) states that each year, employers in the United States lose over $64 billion as a result of voluntary turnover resulting from perceived unfair treatment; the cost of discrimination that prevents historically and structurally marginalized populations from doing needed work and thereby lifting up their families and communities is undoubtedly even larger. Burns (2012) in a study focused on discrimination of gay and transgendered people, uses the apt phrase relevant across our society: "the costly business of discrimination" (p. 1). In short, we cannot afford to intentionally or inadvertently waste the opportunity of engaging all in the nation's economic and societal work. By looking closely into one critical locus of change, the professional practices of HRM, a window of change is opened. Understanding the implications of how and why some HRPs

humanize historically and structurally marginalized populations, has the potential to alter and improve outcomes for individuals, families, organizations, and the community—if that humanization leads to employment. It must be emphasized that while not within the scope of the research, this humanization is likely to have limited positive impact if there are not concurrent positive changes in the hiring organization. When employees are not supported by positive relational practices, and inclusive organizational practices, high turn-over ensues resulting in negligible progress for marginalized groups (Klein, 2008).

The significance of this study can also be understood in terms of its relevance to the specific practice of HRPs and to a wide range of scholarly studies of the discrimination perpetuated as the result of cultural stereotyping and unconscious bias in employment as well as other contexts. These potential contributions from my work will be seen more clearly in Chapter II when I situate the topic within relevant research areas. Here, I will briefly state the case.

Relevance to understanding HRP practice. The study of the practice of HRM represents a large and multidisciplinary body of literature (Rynes, Colbert, & Brown, 2002; Schuler & Jackson, 2005). Even more has been written in textbooks and voluminous popular literature that aim to guide those practicing in the field (Armstrong & Taylor, 2014; Smith & Mazin, 2011). Some studies and, again, more practical work guides do address questions of equity in hiring but I have not found any that drill down into the central issues I examine, which is about practitioners who confront and overcome systemic discrimination. By looking at their perspectives and stories, this under-researched but vital question of how to counteract bias against hiring historically and structurally marginalized populations, can potentially reveal the opportunities and challenges within HR practices and possibly why most HRP would not consider themselves powerful change makers.

Work to eliminate employment discrimination has led to legislation, trainings, and employment diversity efforts (Klein, 2008). This research may call into question the efficacy of that legislation and training as a way to change systems, while at the same time opening up insights into attitudes, perceptions, and efforts that move HRP towards equitable hiring practices.

Contribution to applied research on discrimination. The study joins significant change-oriented research into the broader nature of discrimination in Western society. In Chapter II, as literature on bias in a range of contexts is reviewed, I hope to show how my work will connect—be informed by and, in the end inform—other applied studies of counteracting discrimination across varied settings.

Finally, I believe that this work will make a positive contribution to change theories based on the idea that employment discrimination is perpetuated as the result of cultural stereotyping and unconscious bias. Positive deviance during the hiring process may provide insights into ways to counter the conditioning that results from cultural and personal bias. "Positive deviance is founded on the premise that at least one person in a community, working with the same resources as everyone else, has already licked the problem that confounds others" (Pascale, Pascale, Sternin, & Sternin, 2010, p. 3). I would add that the HRPs in this study are not only working with the same resources (i.e., talent pool, community, industry) but also within the same cultural constraints and subject to the same biases as their peers.

Limitations of the Research

The overall limitations of any qualitative study have been described and debated voluminously in the past several decades, especially with the greatly increased use of qualitative approaches. Some discussion of these alleged limitations will be presented in Chapter III, so here I would just note that the most common concerns are with the limited sample size that arises

from more intense interaction with subjects (Marshall, Cardon, Poddar, & Fontenot, 2013; Mason, 2010) and the implications that sample size has for generalizability (O'Reilly & Parker, 2013)—which is not what qualitative studies commonly aim for anyway. In response to these generic limitations, which are well known and widely desired in publications—both those for and those less enthusiastic about qualitative research—there are also well-known responses that apply here, especially that to understand profound changes and how they came about in the mind and work of HRPs, their stories need to be told and critically examined.

When seeking participants, I relied on a sample drawn mainly from outside my own circle of experience and asked potential participants to self-select based on their standards of success. In advance I knew that it was possible, due to different understandings of the issues, that I may have been directed to practitioners whose work is not what I would consider progressive; some, for example, could have been routinely just following company or legal requirements without ever thinking much about the kinds of forces described above that cause hiring discrimination. But luckily, the interviews showed that this was not the case for any of the 17 who participated. The group included exemplary change makers who provided the insights I was seeking concerning overcoming discrimination. Further discussion of limitations that became clearer in the course of this research, appears in Chapter V.

Outline of Chapters

This chapter has provided a general introduction to the study. The purpose of the research is to better understand the motivations and ramifications that HRPs experience when hiring marginalized others into their organizations. The second chapter frames the study though a review of employment discrimination literature and an analysis of the issues from a general HRP perspective that is relevant to the study topics. It also provides an overview of several normative frameworks for progressive practice generally.

The third chapter describes the qualitative research method and its use in this research: biographical narrative inquiry centered on open-ended interviews with 17 HRPs and subsequent thematic analysis. The fourth chapter presents the results of the interviews, extensively quoting what was said and organizing the responses into several major themes.

The fifth and final chapter considers the results in terms of the meaning for practice and theory and includes a discussion of how the results relate to the several important normative frameworks described in Chapter II. Implications are considered for practice and future research, as well as the study's limitations.

Conclusion to Chapter I

In Chapter I, I have outlined the context, scope, research goals and questions and have briefly considered key forces that underlie hiring discrimination: othering, ranking systems, marginalization dehumanization—as well as important concepts for overcoming discrimination—critical awareness, diversity, inclusion and belonging, equity, and social justice. While these are not the only frameworks from which to analyze this phenomenon, I posit that there is a social and cultural discriminatory cycle at play, and these perspectives start to shed light on the intersectionality and malleable nature of this issue.

These frameworks provide insights into potential challenges and motivations that affect the perceptions, efficacy, intentions, opportunities, and success of HRPs who work toward hiring marginalized others. They will be reviewed in terms of relevant literature in the next chapter.

Legislation, policies, politically-correct mission statements, and media images on a website showing a few people who represent diversity are not enough to counteract the multitude of influences that affect decisions made by HRPs during the hiring process. One does not need to be a racist, sexist, classist, etc., to be influenced by cultural conditioning that results in hiring those who represent the dominant narrative (Bonilla-Silva, 2010). When considering these

critical factors and processes through both a biological and cultural lens, concepts like belonging, equity, and social justice can appear out of reach for humanity. Yet there are those who act as positive deviants and strive to overcome biological and cultural conditioning, those who take risks on behalf of others in some of the most basic and mundane ways. I have yet to meet an HRP who entered the profession because he or she saw a chance to become the social and economic gatekeeper for a community of marginalized individuals. Yet that is exactly what many have become, whether they acknowledge and understand the significance of the role or not. This dissertation examines this role, embraced or not, as a contribution to understanding and improving practices that significantly affect the well-being of historically and structurally marginalized groups in America.

Chapter II: Literature Review

> If you were to ask me, from all the world polling Gallup has done for more than 75 years, what would fix the world—what would suddenly create worldwide peace, global wellbeing, and the next extraordinary advancements in human development, I would say the immediate appearance of 1.8 billion jobs—formal jobs. Nothing would change the current state of humankind more.
>
> —Jim Clifton (2011) from *The Coming Jobs War*

Chapter II explores literature that can inform the proposed research by illuminating three principal questions. First, I look at the nature of the profession that does the hiring, whose mind-set and activities keep historically and structurally marginalized groups from equitable employment, and yet, in some cases, do the opposite—the ones whose work is the main focus of this dissertation. I review experiences specific to hiring practices, policies, procedures, goals, intentions, and limitations, with a primary focus on this change to the hiring of members of such marginalized communities. Second, I discuss what can be learned from the extensive literature about discrimination—emphasizing hiring discrimination—why it exists and what the harmful consequences have been both to those who are the targets, and those who are the agents of prejudice. This will identify and describe barriers and constraints that limit the number of, or access to, diverse and qualified candidates. Third and finally, this review asks: what leads to change? What are the concepts, mind-sets, and practices, emphasizing the HR profession, that challenge the status quo of discrimination in employment?

The subject matter and flow of the review are depicted in Figure 2.1.
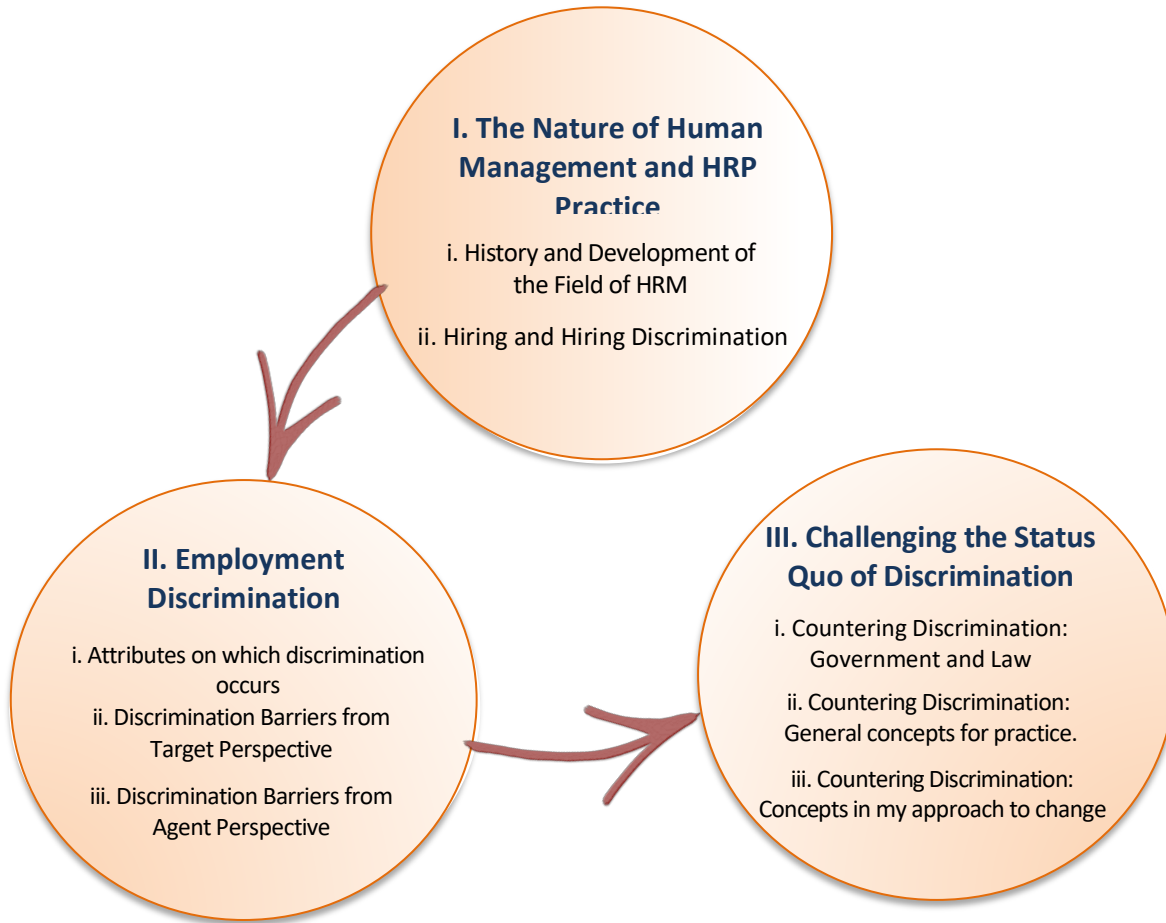
Figure 2.1. Topics and flow of literature review.

Based on this review, I close Chapter II with a summary of gaps seen in the literature and a hint at what all this implies about choice of methods for addressing those gaps. It should be noted that while the following discussion is primarily about the literature I have also referred, sometimes at length, to experiences related to my own work training HRMs, among others.

The Nature of HRM and HRP Practice

To appreciate the challenge of the fundamental change under study here, it is necessary to see what HRPs do, to understand the field in which they function. This section begins with a general overview of HRM and HRP activities. Then I provide a brief overview of the specific practice of hiring, which segues into selected literature on discrimination in the hiring of historically and structurally marginalized groups.

History and development of the field of HRM. Human resource management in organizations, has been defined as "managing the employment relationship" (Legge, 1995, p. 62). Kaufman (2007) says: "as a generic activity involving in production . . . [HRM] goes back to the dawn of human history" (p. 20). His review traces the modern development of HRM from "industrial welfare work" (p. 20) and the creation of "separate employment office(s)" (p. 20) within late 19th century firms. He adds that the "rise of the employment management function is tightly linked with another seminal development—the emergence of scientific management" (p. 20). It is interesting, in terms of my proposed work and focus, how two distinctive purposes—serving the well-being of underprivileged workers and the efficient operations of the company—were both foundational to HRM. In changed ways, these continue to present HRPs and their organizations with potentially conflicting interests of would-be employees and the company.

Evolving in name and, more arguably, in the nature of the practice from what long was called "personnel management" (see Caldwell, 2003), HRM is now an activity occupying many thousands of professionals in large, medium and even an increasing number of small private and public organizations (U.S. Department of Labor, 2016). HRPs who are lower on the corporate hierarchy perform tasks that tend to be functional in nature, whereas those in leadership levels of the organizations provide high level strategic value (Cascio & Aguinis, 2005).

As in any modern profession, outside the traditional and socially long-established ones such as in medicine and education, there are wide differences of views from within the field and by those who study organizations, on both the nature and purpose, and the effectiveness of HRPs. In regard to effectiveness, in 2005 a popular article in the technology sector business magazine *Fast Company*, was titled simply "Why We Hate HR" (Hammonds, 2005), and it joined in and stirred up existing and continuing debates over just what these departments and

professionals have to contribute (Cappelli, 2012; Legge, 1995). More germane to this dissertation are the discussions in the literature on what HRM and its professionals accomplish. Extensive handbooks exist overviewing the practice (e.g., Armstrong, 2006; Boxall, Purcell, & Wright, 2007), making it clear through their voluminous and numerous chapters that many different issues and activities are involved in HRM. There are also numerous trade publication books (e.g., Mitchell & Gamlem, 2012; Smith & Mazin, 2011) that advise HRPs on how best to do what they do, and several key periodicals varying from scholarly to popular, devoted to this field (e.g., *Human Resource Management Journal, HR Today, Workforce*).

It is important to recognize that the factors that underlie employment discrimination as seen in the overall outcomes, can arise in all steps and procedures of HRM, not only in the focus stage here of hiring. Roehling, Roehling, and Odland (2008) identify six areas where discrimination can and does occur within the scope of the HRP's practice: hiring, placement, compensation, promotion, discipline, and discharge.

Hiring and Hiring Discrimination

The primary focus of this dissertation is on the hiring process.[1] Hiring is more than just finding the "right" people; it is also making sure that, once hired, they are in the right position and have access to the resources that will enable them to be successful in their job.

Cascio and Aguinis (2005) outline the general recruitment process that many organizations follow. The recruitment machinery is typically set into motion by the receipt by the

---

[1] It is important to note that hiring is not where discrimination begins in the employment cycle. Discriminatory practices and perspectives in the form of stereotypes or what Steele (2010) would define as "stereotype threat" (p. 5), can occur well before hiring begins, including in biased career counseling, family cultural beliefs, lack of educational opportunities, being raised in an under-resourced neighborhood, the limit of one's network, or even family wealth. All can negatively influence perceived opportunities and options killing dreams before candidates even consider applying for jobs, thus relieving the hiring process of the challenge of discrimination.

HR office of a staffing requisition from a particular department. They suggest questions such as the following that often arise in recruitment:

- How and where should we recruit?

- What media or other information sources should we use?

- Assuming the recruiting will not be done in person, what type and how much information should we include in our advertisements?

- How much money should we spend in order to attract qualified applicants? (Cascio & Aguinis, 2005, p. 51)

The decisions based on how these questions are answered, will determine who has access to the information about job openings. From that point, potential employees ask themselves if they have the skills needed to do the work. Historically and structurally marginalized populations will, in all likelihood, ask themselves if people like them will be accepted and allowed to flourish (Klein, 2008).

Cascio and Aguinis (2005) list the varied principal methods of recruitment:"employment agencies, educational institutions, professional organizations, military, labor unions, career fairs, outplacement firms, walk-ins, write-ins, intracompany transfers and company retirees, employee referrals" (p. 267). Yet, many of these run the risk of not effectively reaching marginalized communities. Marsden (1994) identified employee referrals as one of the most commonly used recruitment methods but showed that informal network channels also have significant impact. He goes on to warn: "Organizations that recruit informally thus will be unlikely to reach heterogeneous applicant pools" (Marsden, 1994, p. 981), due to the fact that most people have homogeneous networks.

Formal recruitment methods tend to increase the need for higher levels of sortation and selection, as broader field of candidates vie for openings (Marsden, 1994). Capturing a broader field of candidates creates another set of problems for HRM. As Cappelli (2012) points out:

The Internet has replaced job advertisements in newspapers, one of the key factors driving the financial decline of the latter, and software has replaced most recruiters. Because job applications are done online, applicants rarely talk to anyone, even by e-mail, during the hiring process. (p. 60)

This lack of personal connection does not benefit communities that value internal relationships and have been misunderstood and stereotyped by the dominant culture. Cappelli (2012) argues that vague descriptions and nebulous qualifying requirements, arising from internal disagreements and the fear of federal antidiscrimination regulations, lead to an onslaught of applications that need to be sorted and assessed quickly and effectively. This creates additional problems. In her broad exposition of *"how big data increases inequality and threatens democracy"*—the subtitle of her book—O'Neil (2016) discusses the use of software packages that are designed to filter out applications (i.e. people) stating that "72% of resumes are never seen by human eyes" (p. 114). While the goal is to cut costs, build in efficiency, and eliminate human bias, O'Neil asserts that the "computer learned from the humans how to discriminate" (p. 116) and she claims that they have become very efficient at it.

In addition to using software to sift through resumes, many organizations also explore social network sites to confirm not only the applicants experience but also their potential compatibility and risk. Accessing and monitoring social network sites as a method of sortation or background checking has the potential of being discriminatory as it can provide information about one's membership in a protected class (Brown & Vaughn, 2011): "Another controversial issue surrounding the use of social network sites is the variability in type and amount of information publicly available across an applicant pool. This inevitable reality prevents a completely standardized collection of predictor information across all applicants" (p. 220). Employers are not required to disclose which social network sites are being used or the criteria used when evaluating those sites.

The decision to hire an individual is the culmination of the hiring process. At this point, one or more stakeholders are given the responsibility to determine who will be the best fit based on the application, interview(s), background check, past experiences, and understanding of the departmental and/or company culture. If the company is able to find more than one candidate that meets the basic requirements of the job description, then a decision as to whom to hire may be based on the other attributes that the candidates possess and the perceived fit of each one.

When asked about decisions in their work on hiring, the usual fallback position HRPs maintain is that they are simply trying to hire the best candidate for the job. But it is a much more complex process. The hiring process involves a substantial amount of subjective decision making, which makes it vulnerable to personal, professional, and cultural bias and discrimination. Furthermore, striving to achieve ostensible objectivity and to achieve fair and equitable treatment—for example, through testing does not provide escape from this. Tests are beset with findings and controversies over the extent to which testing in the hiring process contains biases against different cultural groups (P. L. Roth, Bever, Bobko, Switzer, & Tyler, 2001).

Typically, those involved in the hiring process will evaluate the hard and soft skills of each candidate while simultaneously attempting to determine how well each new candidate might fit into the corporate and/or departmental culture. But "fit" can simply be code for maintaining the status quo. Many HRPs attempt to hire people who will successfully assimilate into the dominant culture and not create unwanted conflict, the assumption being that those who are considered homogeneous to the dominant demographics and culture of the organization will think and behave similarly, thus reducing extraneous conflict. Cascio and Aguinis (2005) stated that the conscious or unconscious questions the interviewer(s) are driving at, are: "Is the applicant likely to 'fit in' and share values with other organizational members? Is the applicant likely to get along with others in the organization or be a source of conflict?" (p. 293). Clearly,

as innocent as this may seem to the HRP for whom a foremost goal is a harmonious merging of new employees with the existing workforce and organization, an implicit advantage is conferred on those who are most like current employees. Given the existing workforce, a transgendered disabled non-White candidate, for example, is very unlikely to meet that expectation, a priori!

Writing specifically about blue-collar workers, Royster (2003) stated: "Older men who recruit, hire, and fire young workers choose those with whom they are comfortable or familiar" (p. 184). Typically, those with whom we (and here *we* almost invariably mean White middle-to-upper class males) are most comfortable or familiar are those who are from our own in-groups. The larger concern, as it relates to equity and social justice, is that those in power are almost all from that dominant demographic; this means that when HRPs hire to the norm of the organization, they may actually be perpetuating discriminatory and inequitable outcomes, even when the demographic trend for HRPs is now White women (Ulrich, Younger, Brockbank, & Ulrich, 2013).

Klein (2008) unpacks common but faulty assumptions around hiring practices with the following list of misbeliefs, which often serve to legitimate or rationalize preference for dominant group candidates:

- The most qualified person for a job can be clearly determined.
- Businesses hire the most qualified people.
- Most managers aren't biased.
- Objective performance criteria can be easily established for any job.
- Once a person is hired, everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed, limited only by individual abilities.
- If a person works hard enough, he or she will be recognized and rewarded. (pp. 2–3)

As indicated earlier, the results reported by Uhlmann and Cohen (2007), illustrate the almost tragic dilemma that the more one tries to, and thinks one is being "perfectly objective," the more likely we are to unwittingly discriminate in hiring decisions. The belief in objectivity also feeds into (unconscious) reluctance to see difference and to gain knowledge about how

discrimination happens. The latter is a necessary condition to be able to recognize own bias. The extent to which HRPs' assumptions or presumptions are impaired and even negated by inherent individual and cultural systems of belief that underlie discrimination, will be taken up below in the discussion of system justifying ideologies.

Employment Discrimination

As this dissertation explores the work and beliefs of HRPs who work to change discriminatory practices, it is critical to understand what it is that they are steering away from, that is, how employment discrimination usually plays out. This knowledge is crucial in order to recognize how these professionals fall into, or avoid, traps and habits to potentially perpetuate an invisible norm. It is necessary to look at what is known about both patterns/impacts of discrimination—that is on what basis it occurs, and further at the barriers experienced both by those who are Nieto (2010) calls "targets," and those who perpetrate discrimination, in Nieto's terminology, the "agents." Because of the dissertation's focus on HRPs in hiring discrimination and overcoming it, the final part of this section is lopsidedly longer than the rest; in it the forces maintaining the status quo receive close scrutiny from several perspectives.

Attributes on which discrimination occurs. Employment research shows that discriminatory practices in the workplace are historically anchored (Nkomo & Hoobler, 2014), yet, as shown, for example, in the case of Arab and Muslim candidates, exacerbated due to quite recent world events (Hosoda & Stone-Romero, 2010; Malos, 2009; Widner & Chicoine, 2011).

Women, across social categories, make up 59% of the labor force yet continue to struggle to reach management and executive positions and obtain equal wages for equal work (Byron, 2010; P. N. Cohen, Huffman, & Knauer, 2009; Dencker, 2008; Hess, 2013; L. M. Roth, 2009; Salvaggio, Streich, & Hopper, 2009). White males with a criminal background are marginally more likely to be hired over similarly qualified Black males without criminal records (Pager,

Western, & Sugie, 2009). Discrimination due to age (Diekman & Hirnisey, 2007), weight

(Roehling et al., 2008), and sexual orientation (Dispenza, Watson, Chung, & Brack, 2012;

Klawitter, 2011) are additional factors that I report on throughout this chapter.

A first question is: on what basis does hiring discrimination occur? What are the

attributes that have led some to be at an inherent disadvantage in recruitment? In a review of

recent employment discrimination research (Osmun, 2015), a list of 21 common characteristics

was developed (Table 2.1). These are the most common I found but should not be seen as an

exhaustive list. Presented in alphabetical order, each of the individual attributes creates risks of

discrimination during the hiring process.

Table 2.1

List of Attributes From Literature on Employment Discrimination (from Osmun, 2015)

Attribute	References re Attribute as Basis of Discrimination
Accent	Hosoda and Stone-Romero (2010)
Age	Buttner, Lowe, and Billings-Harris (2009); Diekman and Hirnisey (2007); Gillespie and Ryan (2012)
Credit Score	Volpone, Tonidandel, Avery, and Castel (2015)
Criminal Record	Pager et al. (2009); Uggen, Vuolo, Lageson, Ruhland, and Whitham (2014)
Disability	Dispenza et al. (2012); Draper, Hawley, McMahon, and Reid (2012); Draper, Hawley, McMahon, Reid, and Barbir (2014); Reed, Franks, and Scherr (2015); Roehling, Roehling, and Pichler (2007); Stone and Stone (2015)
Education	Dispenza et al. (2012)
Ethnicity	Barron, Hebl, and King (2011); Bauermeister et al. (2014); Bell, Kwesiga and Berry (2010); Bendick, Rodriguez, and Jayaraman (2010); Buttner et al. (2009); Derous, Ryan, and Nguyen (2012); Dispenza et al. (2012); Hosoda and Stone-Romero (2010); Malos (2009); Nunez-Smith et al. (2009); Tassier and Menczer (2008); Widner and Chicoine (2011)
Gender	Aberson (2007); Barron et al. (2011); Bauermeister et al. (2014); Buttner et al. (2009); Byron (2010); Dencker (2008); Dispenza et al. (2012); Gillespie and Ryan (2012); Hess (2013); Klawitter (2011); Nadler and Kufahl (2014); Ortiz and Roscigno (2009); Reed et al. (2015); Roehling et al. (2007); Roehling et al. (2008); L. Roth (2009); Ruggs, Hebl, and Williams (2015); Salvaggio et al. (2009); Self, Mitchell, Mellers, Tetlock, and Hildreth (2015); Tilcsik, Anteby, and Knight (2015); Volpone et al. (2015)

Attribute	References re Attribute as Basis of Discrimination
Immigration Status	Barron et al. (2011)
Indigenous Heritage	Barron et al. (2011)
Marital Status	Nadler and Kufahl (2014)
Name	Widner and Chicoine (2011)
National Origin	Bell et al. (2010); Dispenza et al. (2012); Hosoda and Stone-Romero (2010); Malos (2009)
Nepotism	Padgett, Padgett, and Morris (2015)
Race	Aberson (2007); Barron et al. (2011); Bauermeister et al. (2014); Bell et al. (2010); Bendick et al. (2010); Byron (2010); Gillespie and Ryan (2012); Nunez-Smith et al. (2009); Pager et al. (2009); Self et al. (2015); Tassier and Menczer (2008); Uggen et al. (2014); Volpone et al. (2015); Widner and Chicoine (2011)
Religious Orientation	Lund-Dean, Safranski, and Lee (2015); Malos (2009)
Sexual Orientation	Bauermeister et al. (2014); Dispenza et al. (2012); Klawitter (2011); Nadler and Kufahl (2014); Reed et al. (2015); L. Roth (2009); Tilcsik et al. (2015)
Skin Color	Hersch (2011)
Socioeconomic Status	Bendick et al. (2010); Dispenza et al. (2012); Ortiz and Roscigno (2009)
Veteran Status	Stone and Stone (2015)
Weight	Roehling (1999), Roehling et al. (2007); Roehling et al. (2008); Ruggs et al. (2015)

In addition to these specific bases for discrimination, there is considerable research exploring interlocked attributes that may increase the potential impact for discrimination at the point of hiring. Combinations of attributes that have been studied include:

- Race and gender (Aberson, 2007; Byron, 2010; Ortiz & Roscigno, 2009; Self et al., 2015; Volpone et al., 2015);

- Race and ethnicity (Bendick et al., 2010; Nunez-Smith et al., 2009; Tassier & Menczer, 2008; Widner & Chicoine, 2011);

- Gender and sexual orientation (Nadler & Kufahl, 2014; L. M. Roth, 2009; Tilcsik et al., 2015);

- Religion, ethnicity and national origin (Malos, 2009);

- Sexual orientation, acquired disability and gender (Reed et al., 2015);

- Weight and gender (Roehling et al., 2008).

The list could go on, for, undoubtedly, most any imaginable combination of two or more attributes for which individual bias has been identified, exists and impacts applicants in hiring processes. While some of these attributes appear on the surface to be particular to individuals (e.g., body weight, women's marital status) such factors cluster within broader groups whose historical experience has been severe and disproportionate hiring discrimination. I turn now to successive sections on literature about the experience of such communities—what Nieto (2010) calls the targets of discrimination—and then on to those she deemed to be the agents, in the organizations wherein the discrimination is practiced. In both I explore causes and consequences of discrimination.

The experience of discrimination for target groups. For historically and structurally discriminated against communities, their disadvantages cluster in a daunting array of problems that are circularly connected. In philanthropy today, the phrase, *structurally under-resourced communities,* seems to be the preferred term as opposed to poor, impoverished, urban, inner city, Black, or marginalized communities, as it puts to onus directly on the conditions and human choices that create environments leading to inequitable outcomes (see, for example, Open Communities Alliance, n.d.). Under-resourced is often interchangeable with the term *underserved* (though, I believe underserved has a slightly paternalistic connotation as it relates to the social contract).

What are some of the key barriers and constraints that limit the number of, or access to, diverse and qualified candidates? Understanding the root causes of inequitable outcomes is one way to uncover these barriers. An integrated source case for grasping these realities has been recently compiled by PolicyLink (an Oakland-based group focused on research and action on

racial and economic equity) and the Program for Environmental and regional Equity (PERE) at
the University of Southern California recently compiled *An Equity Profile of Grand Rapids*. The
report states:

> Cities are equitable when all residents—regardless of their race/ethnicity, and nativity,
> neighborhood of residence, or other characteristics—are fully able to participate in the
> city's economic vitality, contribute to the city's readiness for the future, and connect to
> the city's assets and resources. (PolicyLink, 2017, p. 10)

Grand Rapids is the second largest city in Michigan and is where I have conducted most
of this research. The report outlines key inequities that manifest in the Greater Grand Rapids area
related to unemployment:

- "Black and Latino residents are more than twice as likely to be unemployed than
  White residents" (p. 25).

- "Nearly 22% of African American adults ages 25–64 are unemployed, compared to
  less than 7% of their White peers" (p. 30).

- "People of color face higher rates of joblessness at all education levels compared to
  their White counterparts" (p. 49).

Regarding wages:

- "Wages have declined since 1979 for all workers, but most drastically in the bottom
  half of the wage distribution" (p. 25)

- "No race/ethnic group has a median wage high enough to be called a living wage for
  a family of one adult and two children" (p. 34).

Regarding poverty:

- "Latino, Black and mixed/other race residents of Grand Rapids experience poverty at
  rates that are about three times as high as their White peers" (p. 38).

- "Renters of color are the most likely to be paying more than 30% of their incomes on
  rent" (p. 75).

Regarding education:

- "The number of disconnected youths, defined as those who are not working or in school, is on the rise, and 73% of disconnected youth are youth of color" (p. 60).

- "Among people of color, nearly 30% have not completed high school while the share of White residents is only 6%" (p. 61).

- "By 2020, 44% of Michigan's jobs will require an Associate's degree or higher. While 52% of the White population has an Associate's degree or higher, only 9% of Latino immigrants, 17% of African Americans, and 24% of U.S.-born Latinos have the same educational attainment" (p. 63).

- "Only about half of Latino children attend pre-kindergarten or kindergarten. Only 17% of Black Students and 23% of Latino students meet grade-level proficiency at the end of third grade" (p. 64).

- "Black and Latino students are still five and seven times more likely than their White peers to drop out of high school" (p. 65).

Regarding transportation:

- "26% of Black households are without a car and low-income Black workers are far more likely to rely on public transit than other low-income workers" (p. 75).

- "Low-income residents are more likely to use other transportation options such as carpooling, public transportation, and walking" (p. 80).

These inequities are a barrier to social and economic self-sufficiency and cannot be fully understood in isolation as they are a culmination of interdependent and interconnected factors. Wages, unemployment, rent, poverty, education, and transportation create a crippling web that is substantially more difficult to break out of than any single factor alone.

In essence, the term *under-resourced* means that community members do not have access to resources that are needed to create equitable outcomes. We are talking about poverty, but not just poverty, due to the seemingly unavoidable intersectional relationship between poverty, race, and gender. Sharkey (2013) suggests that neighborhoods—and their troubles—are passed from one generation to the next; resident families are likely to remain in similarly under-resourced neighborhoods for generations. Sharkey argues that much of the racial inequity we see today is the result of disadvantaged neighborhoods a generation ago and that those coming from generationally disadvantaged neighborhoods are more deeply impacted by the lack of resources than those who have only lived in structurally under-resourced neighborhoods once. Sharkey calls this experience of generational poverty "inherited inequality" (p. 9).

While there are a number of conditions that create a structurally under-resourced community, a primary one is lack of access to successful and well-resourced school systems. Structurally under-resourced school systems not only add to the devastation of a community but also affect potential employers by not providing adequately prepared adults who can meet minimum employment requirements and expectations. This dynamic, as well as some of the approaches that can be used to work against it, can be seen in a case in Grand Rapids that I know directly from my own professional work.

Serious racially based unemployment and underemployment in Grand Rapids has been a pattern for many decades. As reported by Jelks (2006), a 1928 study by the National Urban League found that in the then thriving and diversified industrial city, "only sixty-three African Americans were employed by the seventy-four largest firms . . . the largest employer . . . the Hayes-Ionia Company, manufacturer of automobile bodies—employed no African Americans in its eighteen-hundred-member workforce" (p. 87). One of the national Urban League's

researchers, posited "handicaps" faced by African Americans rooted in discrimination and issued a warning 90 years ago, which is still relevant:

> If Grand Rapids fails to make provision for these young people on whose preparation the city is spending money, they have no alternative but to seek opportunities elsewhere. The city can ill afford to have its educated Negro youth desert it, while only those who are satisfied with the unfortunate conditions remain. (Moss, as cited in Jelks, 2006, p. 88)

Data from the Center for Educational Performance and Information (n.d.) of the Michigan Department of Education, indicate that Grand Rapids Public Schools had a graduation rate of only 65.5%, in 2016 (Scott, 2017). This means that, even when there are good jobs (ones that pay at least a living wage with reasonable hours and benefits) available within the community, many individuals struggle to meet basic requirements due to the systemic failure of the local public-school system. I have worked with employers who have difficulty finding adults with high school diplomas or GEDs who can pass basic reading, logic, and math tests at a 6th-grade level. Many employers have an expectation that employees need to come to the job with the skills and experience necessary to begin and are therefore unwilling to train them in remedial skills.

This expectation is, in part, a result of recently high unemployment rates that put employers in the position of having a large and often desperate talent pool from which to choose. The ability to move elsewhere that Moss worried about in 1928, may not be so much of an option today. Many employees were forced to retain jobs that were unsatisfactory to them. The irony of the situation is that as employers pushed politicians to lower their taxes, schools lost the funding that was necessary to provide a high-quality education, thus leaving local businesses without prepared applicants and in the position of needing to educate employees themselves, a costly and time-consuming task that they are ill equipped to perform and resistant to take on.

Experiencing employment discrimination due to schooling issues in disadvantaged communities is entangled with transportation and housing barriers. All three are interconnected:

housing needs to be affordable and within reasonable proximity to employment. The connection

between inadequate transportation and unemployment has long been recognized as in studies of

suburbanization's impacts: "Numerous job seekers in the central city could fill the jobs in

suburbia, but due to their low income, lack of transportation, discrimination, or a combination of

these, they find following jobs to the suburbs extremely difficult" (Campbell & Dollenmayer,

1975, p. 389). Some form of motorized transportation is required to get to the employer but cost

and proximity play a critical role.

The cost of a community's overall transportation infrastructure and network (this

includes roads, weather conditions, proximity of housing to places of employment, gas prices,

insurance costs, maintenance fees, and accessibility to public transportation) can limit the

number of potential prospects for an employer. There is a direct correlation between the wage

one needs and one's transportation options (Sanchez, 2008; Sanchez, Shen, & Peng, 2004). Not

surprisingly, people living in impoverished circumstances have fewer viable options when it

comes to transportation.

Key barriers for/from the agents of employment discrimination. Being agents of the

suffering of others generally does not make for easy and happy lives in the long run. Freire

(2000) has argued that the denial of freedom and well-being of the oppressed devastates

perpetrators, as well. In discussing dehumanization (a concept that will be explored further

below), Freire said that it "marks not only those whose humanity has been stolen, but also

(though in a different way) those who have stolen it (p. 44). This idea was brought up long

before by W. B. Du Bois who worried about the souls of White folks as well as those of Black

folks:

> The White-man as well as the Negro is bound and barred by the color line . . . Deeply
> religious and intensely democratic as are the mass of Whites, they feel acutely the false
> position in which the Negro problems place them. (Du Bois, 1903/1994, p. 179)

In this section I will use several different but overlapping approaches to describe and try to understand patterns of employment discrimination from the conventional and troubling perspectives of those whose work maintains the status quo. In essence, I am building up the conceptual tool-kit to be used in this dissertation's analysis of those "agents" who struggle against the status quo in employment discrimination. The parts of the conceptual tool-kit and key references about each are shown in Table 2.2. It is stressed that these concepts overlap and inter-relate; separating them is for the sake of discussion.

Table 2.2

Concepts for Understanding Employment Discrimination.

Concept	References re Concept
Microaggressions	Essed (1991); Pérez Huber and Solarzano, 2015; Sue (2010); Sue et al. (2007)
Unconscious (implicit) bias	Banks, Eberhardt, and Ross (2006); Byron (2010); Dencker (2008); Draper et al. (2012); Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity (2015); Pager et al. (2009); L. M. Roth (2009); Self et al. (2015); Staats (2014); Staats, Capatosto, Wright, and Jackson (2016)
In-group/out-group	Bell, et al. (2010); Bergman, Palmieri, Drasgow, and Ormerod (2012); Elliot and Smith (2001)
Othering	Nieto (2010); Pager and Shepherd (2008); powell (2015); powell and Menendian (2016); Spivak (1985); I. M. Young (2011)
Ranking Systems	Diamond (2016); Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002); Goodman (2011); Hays (2008); Massey (2007); Rothman (2005); Tilly (1998)
Marginalization	Massey (2007); Massey and Denton (1993); Mays, Cochran, and Barnes (2007); Prasad, D'Abate and Prasad (2007)
Dehumanization	Freire (1968/2000); Haslam (2006); Lipsky and Burk (2009);
System-Justifying Ideologies	Jost and Hunyady (2005)

Microaggressions. Microaggressions have been defined by Sue et al. (2007) as follows:

Racial microaggressions are brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color. Perpetrators of microaggressions are often unaware that they engage in such communications when they interact with racial/ethnic minorities. (p. 271)

With a few modifications, microaggressions can be extended to any group that experiences discrimination. While Sue et al.'s (2007) definition refers to race, it is not hard to think of how the same humiliations happen in interactions with all who have attributes that form the basis of discrimination as outlined earlier. In fact, Sue (2010) followed up on the co-authored article with a full text which is expanded to discussions of microaggressions in regard to gender and sexual orientation in addition to race. Sue attributes the origin of the term to Chester Pierce an African American doctor and psychiatrist who in 1970 defined microaggression as "subtle, stunning, often automatic, and nonverbal exchanges which are 'put downs'" (as cited in Sue, 2010, p. 5).

Historically and structurally marginalized individuals often have a nuanced and experience-based understanding of discrimination. The concept of racial microaggressions captures the experience that some have on a regular, an everyday (Essed, 1991) basis. The micro-ness or everyday-ness can make what is personally experienced and understood difficult to explain, perceive, or even comprehend, especially if you are not on the receiving end of the experience. The HRP who is an agent of employment discrimination may be acting out of unconscious bias in ways that create microaggressions, "a form of everyday suffering that has been socially and systemically normalized and in effect minimized" (Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2015, p. 304). For someone who is on the receiving end of these microaggressions, explaining the experience to one who has never known it is like trying to describe a shadow to a blind man. It has to be emphasized that micro as these taken-for-granted aggressions may seem, they must not be treated as idiosyncrasies, things not to make an issue of, that the agent did not really mean. Essed (1991) explains:

> When racist notions and actions infiltrate everyday life . . . the system reproduces everyday racism . . . Because discrimination and prejudice are fused in the notion of racist practices, there are no grounds . . . to identify intentionality as a necessary component. (p. 50)

Unconscious/implicit bias.

Maybe we now realize the way racial bias can infect us even when we don't realize it, so that we're guarding against not just racial slurs, but we're also guarding against the subtle impulse to call Johnny back for a job interview but not Jamal. (Barack Obama after the Charleston church shooting in 2015, as cited in Staats et al., 2016)

It is within the normal function of the human brain to process incoming information and, in combination with experiences and sensory receptors, to create categories and associations from that information. Many of these categories are based on in-group vs. out-group assessments (see below) a process that is unconscious and automatic—or in the parlance of a huge literature in psychology and, based on that, in law (e.g. Banks, et al., 2006), *implicit.* The Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity (2015) defined implicit bias in a way that underscores the challenge faced in this dissertation of accessing negative as well as positive biases behind employment discrimination:

Implicit bias refers to the attitudes or stereotypes that affect our understanding, actions, and decisions in an unconscious manner. These biases, which encompass both favorable and unfavorable assessments, are activated involuntarily and without an individual's awareness or intentional control. Residing deep in the subconscious, these biases are different from known biases that individuals may choose to conceal for the purposes of social and/or political correctness. Rather, implicit biases are not accessible through introspection. (para. 1)

While implicit associations do not necessarily need to align with people's declared beliefs, there is a general tendency to favor in-groups over perceived outgroups (Staats, 2014, p. 17). Researchers cite implicit bias as a primary factor within hiring discrimination (Byron, 2010; Dencker, 2008; Draper et al., 2012; Pager et al., 2009; L. M. Roth, 2009; Self et al., 2015).

Bias, in general, is a prejudice that can be favorable or unfavorable (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006) but it is usually referenced in the context of unfavorable. Allport (1979) cited the *New English Dictionary* definition of prejudice: "A feeling, favorable or unfavorable, toward a person or thing, prior to, or not based on, actual experience" (p. 6).

Although they are synonyms, prejudice seems to imply less reasoning than bias. Bias can be unconscious/implicit or conscious/explicit. A widespread premise of the employment discrimination research seems to protect the discriminating actor, suggesting that, while the employment continuum is riddled with discrimination against groups of people who share common attributes, virtually none of it is done consciously and therefore the intent is not malicious. Biases, from this view, are largely hidden and held by otherwise "good people" (as Banaji & Greenwald, 2013, used the phrase). I do not think the researchers are naïve about the possibility of intentional or explicit discrimination occurring, as there are laws that address such behavior. When examining hiring discrimination in the employment continuum, avoiding the elephant in the room of intentional discrimination, is not only unscholarly but also irresponsible. When researching the scope of discriminatory actions, one must include the obvious albeit difficult to prove practice of intentional exclusion, ranging from individual acts to practices that allow bigots to rationalize and actualize their beliefs. None of this is to suggest that implicit bias does not play a significant role in hiring discrimination; however, it is critical to acknowledge that HRPs are human beings and have the potential to act from explicit as well as implicit bias.

In-groups and out-groups. If the overall assumption is (and I think that it is) that explicit, conscious, intentional discrimination is being addressed through laws, policies, and procedures, and that only a few misguided souls are purposefully creating malice during the hiring process, then why are so many people vulnerable to discrimination across such a wide range of attributes? In-group favoritism or out-group exclusion can be seen as a potential, primary reason. This distinction is traceable to the idea of "social closure" as originally formulated by Max Weber: "By social closure, Weber meant the process by which social collectivities seek to maximize rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles" (Elliot & Smith, 2001, p. 259). Social closure theory points to

in-group favoritism as a reason for individuals or groups being excluded from opportunities or positions so that dominant group members can obtain or maintain those positions or opportunities (Bell et al., 2010; L. M. Roth, 2009; Sapolsky, 2017). Bergman et al. (2012) write: "People tend to show favoritism toward their in-groups and to derogate, dislike, and exclude members of other groups, especially when those out-group members are ethnic minorities" (p. 65). According to social closure theory, in-group favoritism can occur through conscious intent or unconscious bias. Interestingly, none of the authors cited above go so far as to suggest that those in power are normally consciously biased against any one group or attribute, so the idea that they might be hiring unknowingly on unspoken, partly unconscious in-group/out-group distinctions based on characteristics similar to their own, seems plausible.

Othering. The term "othering" appears to have been first used by Spivak (1985) to describe a key strategy used by colonists in rendering peoples whose lands were invaded different and lesser, as part of the imperial project. This usage built on a longer discussion in postcolonial studies (e.g., Said, 1978) of how Europeans and later Western society in general looked on peoples they colonized as "the Other." The idea is inherent in the work of ethnographers (who for much of their field's history were always studying "the Other"), existentialists—notably De Beauvoir (1949/2011) in her *Le Deuxieme Sexe (The Second Sex)*—and other postmodern thinkers. It has since found wide use in critiques of dehumanizing and in-group/out-group processes in the literature of racism, sexism, homophobia, and various other practices of group- and individually-based separation. Othering is a way of normalizing one's own group, thereby rendering other groups as "deviant in relation to the dominant norm" (I. M. Young, 2011, p. 123).

Anchored in historical inequalities, othering is usually more consciously experienced by those subjected to the process and can be less visible to dominant groups (Essed, 1991). powell

and Menendian (2016) define othering as "a set of common dynamics, processes and structures that engender marginality and persistent inequality across any of the full range of human differences based on group identities" (p. 17).

Othering is not limited to identity attributes and may include broader in-group/out-group aspects and dynamics. It is a process of exclusion, which may manifest initially as a subtle emotion and then move along a continuum toward aggressive avocation, up to and including genocide.

> Dimensions of othering include, but are not limited to, religion, sex, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status (class), disability, sexual orientation, and skin tone. Although the axes of difference that undergird these expressions of othering vary considerably and are deeply contextual, they contain a similar set of underlying dynamics. (powell & Menendian, 2016, p. 17)

The cognitive function of categorizing is a survival strategy and biologically determined. Who we stereotype, however, and why, is based on personal experiences, norms, values, material interest, and intergroup relations. Society, along with cultural and implicit bias (see below), provide indicators and reinforcement about those who should be valued and those who should not. Othering manifests not only in personal behaviors and attitudes that create separation and disconnection but also in society through processes and practices—which, is examined in this dissertation, include hiring as conducted by HRPs.

Othering can be an expression of circles or closeness or disconnection. powell (2012) illustrates this concept by drawing a "circle of human concern" (p. 14). Inside the circle, nearest the center point, are the people and groups that we hold most dear: close family members, such as parents and children. Just outside the center are community, religion, ethnic group, or country. Moving further away from their center, are individuals for whom there are feelings of less concern. Then, there are those groups that fall outside the circle. According to powell and Menendian (2016), in the United States these groups tend to be the incarcerated, immigrants,

sexual minorities, African American men, and in recent years, Muslims. These groups align with Nieto's (2010) idea of target groups as well as most of those identified in existing employment discrimination research (see Pager & Shepherd, 2008). powell (2015) suggests that the further away a group is from the center, the less they are seen as human. In 2015 he made the following remarks on this:

> Literally, some people are not seen as human; we may notice them but we don't see them and if they are not seen as human you will not pass policies that benefit them, even if those policies would save money. You want to punish them. (Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, 2015, 20:36)

Similarly, Crenshaw (1989) discusses the erasure of Black women due to a "single-axis framework that is dominated in antidiscrimination law and that is also reflected in feminist theory and antiracist politics" (p. 139). This tendency to see individuals or groups through a single lens or as less than human, is part of the dehumanization process that makes employment discrimination possible.

Ranking systems. As group-based identities are central to the process, othering is a critical component of a further force underlying discrimination, ranking systems. According to Massey (2007), all human societies use categorical stratification based on ascribed or achieved characteristics, charactering all "by a distinct top and bottom" (p. 2). Rothman (2005), who defines social status as "the social standing, esteem, respect, or prestige that people command from other members of society" (p. 3), goes on to list occupations, social classes, racial and ethnic groups, and sexes as structural dimensions of social status that are ranked relative to each other. Goodman (2011) ranks nine attributes in her "oppression chart" (p. 7): racism, sexism, heterosexism, transgender oppression, classism, ableism, ageism, religious oppression, and xenophobia. Hays (2008) proposed an "ADDRESSING framework" (p. 2) of primary attributes that shape cultural identity and social status, leading to social stratification. ADDRESSING is an acronym for nine influences Hays sees as defining of individuals' identities:

- age/generational,

- developmental disabilities,

- disabilities acquired during lifetime,

- religion/spiritual orientation,

- ethnic/racial identity,

- socioeconomic status,

- sexual orientation,

- indigenous heritage,

- national origin, and

- gender. (Hays, 2008, p.'2)

This bipartite explanation, even when including numerous attributes, does not fully capture the intersectionality and complexity of social stratification, as context also plays a crucial role. Fiske et al.'s (2002) Stereotype Content Model, which argued that humans place others along two psychological dimensions of warmth and competency, is also limited in that it only addresses U.S. culture. Nevertheless, it has value as it offers yet another lens from which to view social segmentation. Figure 2.2 is based on ideas introduced by Fiske et al. identify characteristics of the four groupings.
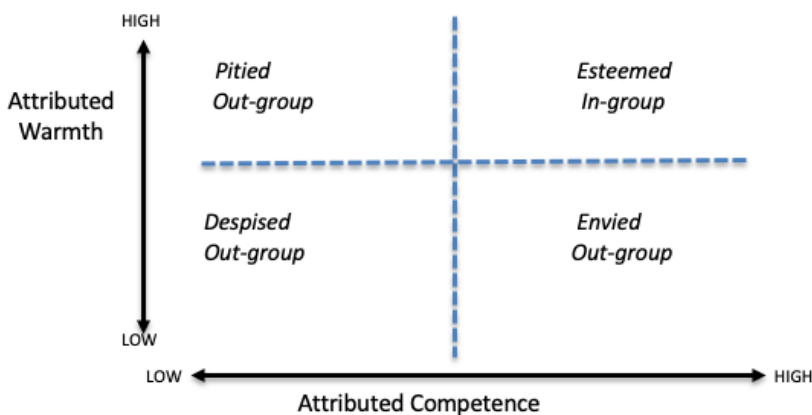
Figure 2.2. The stereotype content model (depicted here based on my reading Fiske et al., 2002).

An example of Fiske et al.'s (2002) findings for specific categories of people is shown graphically, in Figure 2.3.
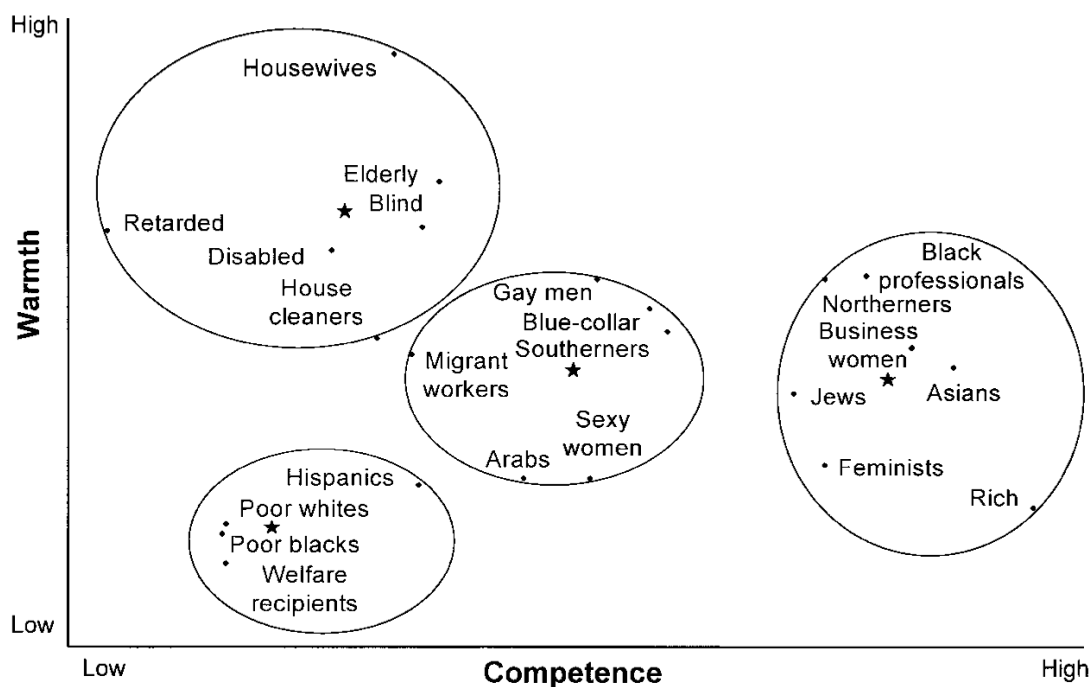
Figure 2.3. Example of graphic depiction of clusters of social groups, ranked according to perceived warmth and competence. This summarized results of surveys of university students from S. T. Fiske, J. C. Cuddy, P. Glick, and J. Xu, "A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition," by S. T. Fiske, J. C. Cuddy, P. Glick, and J. Xu, 2002, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*(6), p. 885. Copyright 2002 by the American Psychological Association. Reprinted with permission.

The top-right quadrant in such diagrams includes people usually viewed as approachable and worthy of respect, that is, people "like us" as seen from the mainstream, primarily White American society's circle of human concern. Those in the top-left quadrant are viewed as likeable but not competent, having experienced some difficulty. Competent, but not seen as friendly, those in the bottom-right quadrant, include Jews or very wealthy people. Those in the bottom-left quadrant are perceived as neither competent nor warm and may not even be perceived as fully human. These ostensible social outcasts, I would surmise, if updated to the present, would also include sex offenders, young Black males, the chronically homeless, and,

present, would also include sex offenders, young Black males, the chronically homeless, and, most recently emerging, undocumented immigrants and Muslims. While the Stereotype Content Model attempts to capture an aspect of a universal process of categorization, each culture determines which groups fall into which quadrant.

Most members of social groups know where they fall in such ranking systems and how others, especially the White mainstream perceives their social group's competence, integrity, trustworthiness, and other attributes (Massey, 2007). Those who "don't know their place" are readily spotted and face remonstrance or much worse depending on the social group in question. The infamous case of the murder of Emmett Till, a Black teenager from Chicago who was unaware of Southern racist expectations of African Americans, stands as a stark example of ranking taken to the extreme (see Whitfield, 1991).

This often-severe social ranking is neither fortuitous nor just by chance. "Stratification does not just happen. It is produced by specific arrangements in human societies that allow exploitation and opportunity hording to occur along categorical lines" (Massey, 2007, p. 242).

Massey (2007) also noted "three basic things" (p. 242) are needed to effectively create social stratification:

> A social structure that divides people into categories on the basis of some combination of achieved and ascribed traits; the labeling of certain categories as social out-groups composed of people who are perceived as lacking on two fundamental dimensions of human social evaluation; the existence of one or more social mechanisms to reserve certain resources for in-group members while extracting other resources from out-group members without full remuneration. (p. 242)

As Tilly (1998) observed: "Humans invented categorical inequality millennia ago and have applied it to a wide range of social situations" (p. 10). Human beings are cognitively programmed to form conceptual categories and use them to classify the people they encounter. I. M. Young (2011) stated: "Societies legitimate class distinctions with ideologies of natural superiority and inferiority" (p. 48).

Diamond (2016) wrote about the intersectionality of power and rank, suggesting that power is what gives rank. She categorized power into the social and the psychological and defines two rank groups within each. Social power, Diamond argued both have global rank and local rank. Global rank is contextually dependent and static within social norms (e.g., race, class, religion, gender, sexual orientation, and physical abilities). Local rank is also context-dependent, but it shifts through time and location, based on local norms, values, conditions, and participants (e.g., seniority, role, popularity/insiderness, communication style). Personal power includes psychological rank and spiritual rank. Psychological rank consists of one's life experiences, emotional fluidity, communication skills, humor, relational skills, and insight into self and others. Spiritual rank is connected to one's larger purpose, vision, transcendent experiences, knowledge of self and others, and awareness of death and life. Viewing rank through a lens of power allows for a more complex understanding than Fiske et al.'s (2002) Stereotype Content Model. Diamond's model allows for greater personal agency. One is genetically predisposed to many attributes that come prepackaged with meaning and judgment, attributes and circumstances that fall within the category of social power. The engagement of personal power, attributes that can be developed and honed over time, explains rank outliers and provides an avenue for advancement. Diamond shows that we are not at the mercy of global and local rank—we have the ability to leverage and develop attributes that also lead to power and fluidity in rank.

Marginalization. Marginalization is a common term used when referencing non-dominant cultures or attributes that tend to be devalued, undervalued, or discarded by the dominant culture. It is a result of ranking whereby basic needs and aspirations, and even the humanness of the marginalized groups is minimized by the dominant culture. Marginalized groups often feel and seem invisible (Nieto, 2010) to the dominant culture, a dynamic so well

portrayed fictionally by Ellison (1952) in his classic, *Invisible Man*. Marginalization occurs as a result of implicit and explicit bias (see below) and ranking systems (see above).

Massey (2007) argued that people are naturally prone to favor frameworks or perspectives that give them advantages and privilege their own access to material, symbolic, and emotional resources. Using strategies such as "social closure" (p. 17), group members successfully confine social ties to other in-group members. Through a strategy known as opportunity hoarding, one social group restricts access to a scarce resource, either through outright denial or by exercising monopoly control that requires out-group members to pay rent in return for access.

Segregation, both physical and economical, is another common form of marginalization. This can range from overt spatial segregation as was practiced in the post-reconstruction and Jim Crow South, well past the mid-20th century in the United States. But pushing "othered" groups to the side is usually subtler, more insidious across housing, education and, most pertinently here, employment.

> When economic dislocations deprive a segregated group of employment and increase its rate of poverty, socioeconomic deprivation inevitably becomes more concentrated in neighborhoods where that group lives. The damaging social consequences that follow from increased poverty are spatially concentrated as well, creating uniquely disadvantaged environments that become progressively isolated—geographically, socially, and economically—from the rest of society. (Massey & Denton, 1993, p. 2)

Given the focus of this review on the roles and strategies of HRPs, a key topic is research on the marginalization of a wide range of historically discriminated-against populations. Prasad et al. (2007) observed:

> One of the most salient dimensions of marginalization . . . is the exclusion of groups from preferred forms of work and privileged professions. Women, ethnic and religious minorities, the handicapped and others have endured centuries of such marginalization during different periods of time across the world. (p. 169)

There is a substantial body of literature covering marginalization from adequate employment—and redress for this—for women as well as such groups as African Americans (A. A. Young, 2006), the disabled (Hotchkiss, 2004; Thomson, 2017); refugees (Tomlinson & Egan, 2002); and those who have been incarcerated (Pettit & Lyons, 2007). In recent years, in the United States and even more conspicuously in Western Europe the marginalization of Muslim minorities, especially youth, from job markets has been examined as a major factor in radicalization (Lyons-Padilla, Gelfand, Mirahmadi, Farooq, & van Egmond, 2015).

Mays et al. (2007) talked about the impact of social exclusion. Social exclusion is the consequence of being marginalized from resources and desired social groups.

> For those who are socially excluded, there is the psychological experience of loss in both a sense of belonging to a desired group and denial of opportunity to participate in certain social, political, cultural, educational, or economic opportunities and rights. (p. 13)

Dehumanization. The cumulative impact of othering, ranking systems, and resulting marginalization are often rationalized in terms of dehumanization of the target groups. Lipsky and Burk (2009) highlighted the significance of this outcome arguing that "the most obvious forms of oppression typically begin with the denigration and dehumanization of certain individuals or groups" (p. 60).

Freire (1968/2000) suggested that dehumanization does not just speak about those being targeted but also those in power. "Dehumanization, which marks not only those whose humanity has been stolen, but also (though in a different way) those who have stolen it, is a distortion of the vocation of becoming more fully human" (p. 44). The blowback of negative consequences for those who, even if usually not intending it, dehumanize others, may well be one of the insights to be discovered in this dissertation: in other words, it may be found that HRPs who strive for social justice and inclusivity in hiring practices, find their own "humanness" as they come to more fully embrace that of marginalized others. It is therefore critical to the

conversation to understand not only those who are being dehumanized and targeted but those in power who have privilege because you cannot have one without the other. As I. M. Young (2011) pointed out, "indeed, for every oppressed group there is a group that is privileged in relation to that group" (p. 42).

Dehumanization is usually used in connection to atrocities and genocide but not often when referring to day-to-day and often mundane activities such as the employment processes that encompass the hiring, placement, wage setting, promotion, discipline, and firing of employees. Yet when one considers the employment research and unemployment statistics broken down by target demographics, understanding the ramifications that unemployment and underemployment have on economic and social mobility and the resulting negative social determinants of health, then one could argue that atrocity and genocide are not inappropriate corollaries. Whether dramatic or every day, the denial of others' humanness is perhaps the most wounding experience of people from historically and structurally marginalized groups. Economic, and therefore social, mobility depends on one's ability to access employment—that is, one's ability to exchange or sell one's labor, knowledge, and/or skills to an employer. In this sense employment discrimination is probably one of the critical levers that perpetuates structural violence and the American status quo.

Haslam (2006), similarly to Freire, defined dehumanization as "the denial of full humanness to others, and the cruelty and suffering that accompany it . . . an all-too-familiar phenomenon that has become an everyday social phenomenon, rooted in ordinary social-cognitive processes" (p. 252). Employment discrimination, whether it happens during hiring or at some point later in the employment process, fits the criteria of "the denial of full humanness to others." This is supported by Haslam in his distinction of two forms of dehumanization, as he went on to state that when one's human uniqueness is not seen or valued it

is *animalistic dehumanization* in which uniquely human characteristics are denied and the

dehumanized is seen to lack culture and self-restraint, and is coarse, amoral, irrational, driven by

instinct and childlike. *Mechanistic dehumanization* according to Haslam (2006) is characterized

by "inertness, coldness, rigidity, passivity/fungibility and superficiality" (p. 258). Supporting the

argument made earlier in this section, Haslam's conclusions underline the everyday nature of

these:

> Rather than applying only to extreme cases of antipathy, in which the denial of
> humanness to others is explicit, dehumanization occurs whenever individuals or
> outgroups are ascribed lesser degrees of the two forms of humanness than the self or
> in-group, whether or not they are explicitly likened to animals or automata. (Haslam,
> 2006, p. 262)

This description is also in line with Nieto's (2010) distancing down skills which use

"negative and polarizing words to describe Targets: ethnic slurs, accusations of criminality or

terrorism, sexual put-downs" (p. 108).

System-justifying ideologies. The complex forces and barriers that have been reviewed to

this point do not operate in isolation. To understand why and how HRPs resist the temptation to

perpetuate the status quo, hiring more or less exclusively from the dominant culture, it is

important to understand the overall ideologies underlying their actions. System justification

theory seeks to explain "how and why people accept and maintain the social systems that affect

them" (Jost & Hunyady, 2005, p. 260). Kandola (2009) suggests that private enterprise rarely

sees "its role as including the promotion of justice." Jost and Hunyady (2005) compiled 10 types

of system-justifying ideologies that anchor people in the status quo, most of which bear clear

significance in the context of employment discrimination:

> *Protestant work ethic* . . . People have a moral responsibility to work hard and avoid
> leisure activities; hard work is a virtue and is its own reward
> *Meritocratic ideology* . . . The system rewards individual ability and motivation, so
> success is an indicator of personal deservingness. Fair *Market Ideology* . . . Market-based
> procedures and outcomes are inherently fair, legitimate, and just. *Economic system
> justification* . . . Economic inequality is natural, inevitable, and legitimate; economic

outcomes are fair and deserved. *Belief in a just world* . . . People typically get what they deserve and deserve what they get; regarding outcomes, what ''is'' is what ''ought'' to be. *Power distance* . . . Inequality is a natural and desirable feature of the social order; large power differences are acceptable and legitimate. *Social dominance orientation*. . . Dominant groups are superior to others. *Opposition to equality* . . . Social and economic equality is unattainable, undesirable, and detrimental for society. *Right-wing authoritarianism* . . . People should follow conventional traditions and established authorities and not offer unconventional or rebellious ideas. *Political conservatism* . . . Traditional institutions in society should be preserved; social and economic inequality is acceptable and natural. (p. 261)

We are often fooled into believing in our own objectivity, and often the logic is done backwards. People observe an outcome and, then based on their system-justifying ideologies, rationalize the reason for the outcome (Haidt, 2012). This may be one reason why it is so easy to blame the victim. By blaming the victim, one creates the false impression that, had the victim done something differently, he or she would have gotten a different result.

System justifying ideologies reduce moral outrage, guilt and frustration with current outcomes: "The lessening of moral outrage triggered by system justification ultimately contributes to a withdrawal of support for social change" (Jost & Hunyady, 2005, p. 263). I posit that HRPs are as susceptible as any other members of mainstream American society to these cultural ideologies and adapt accordingly. Understanding how some resist their internal psychological and cultural frameworks as well as those of colleagues and bosses is a key point that I examine.

In light of the powerful and insidiousness of the forces and barriers that have sustained discrimination generally and in employment in particular, the focus of this dissertation becomes a puzzle that can be summed up by asking how is discrimination overcome in the everyday work of some HRPs? And, in particular: what are the counterforces that work to change the status quo of historical discrimination in employment?

Challenging the Status Quo of Discrimination

If the increase in the number of chief diversity officers is an indicator of progress, or at least of good intention, then some advancement has been achieved in the United States for some historically and structurally marginalized target groups (Gose, 2006; Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013; Wilson, 2013). This section of the literature review looks at what is known about the ways and effectiveness of challenges to the status quo of discrimination. It begins with a brief look at governmental and legal interventions, a massive topic but one that even in summary form is as much about what cannot be accomplished by these means as what can. Following this, I review broad concepts of how such changes occur including some of the ideas highlighted in Chapter I, such as critical awareness, diversity, inclusion that leads to belonging, equity, and social justice. I turn then to concepts and practices which I have found specifically useful in training that I have facilitated for leaders on how to address racial equity, diversity, and inclusion issues in their hiring practices. These are, I will argue, highly practical constructs such as targeting implicit bias, developing Thalhammer et al.'s (2007) "courageous resistance," and Wergin's (2007a, 2007b) "leadership in place."

Countering discrimination: Role of government and law. It has been over half a century since the Civil Rights Act of 1964 heralded what promised to be massive changes in discrimination in throughout American society including employment. Under Title VII, the Act stated:

> It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer . . . to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. (Civil Rights Act of 1964 § 7, 42)

Hiring is one of the activities that falls under this provision and if a job applicant feels they have been discriminated against, an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) exists to receive and investigate complaints.

Over the years more specific legislation has been passed to confront various forms of discrimination as, for example, the Americans with Disabilities Act. Following from the laws have been executive orders, and an enormous number of court cases, with critical one's going up to the Supreme Court. Judicial decisions set precedents, including prominent cases about discriminatory hiring such as 24-year long struggle involving minority hiring by the Bank of America in Charlotte, North Carolina (Dalesio, 2017). HRPs and their organizations, are certainly mindful of precedents that could be used to constrain or alter hiring practices that might be seen as biased against anyone on such bases as race, gender, sexual orientation, disability and other physical, cultural, and social attributes. The literature on employment discrimination as handled by the U.S. Government, including the EEOC and the courts, is huge and beyond the scope here to review. But perusing this does not give much of a sense that these 50 plus years of government and legal action on employment discrimination has demonstrably reduced the problem. Selmi (2000), writing about the reasons why employment discrimination cases are notoriously hard to win, referred to "judicial hostility to discrimination cases" (p. 555), Selmi asked: "Why is it that courts continually impose roadblocks for employment discrimination plaintiffs that do not exist for other civil plaintiffs?" (p. 555). In a recent textbook for teaching employment discrimination law, Seiner (2015) bluntly assessed the situation:

> Hiring discrimination can be a particularly difficult for a plaintiff . . . because a prospective employee will often have little information about the institution to which she is applying . . . representing someone who believes that she has not been hired because of discriminatory reasons can be extremely difficult . . . racial discrimination in hiring is extremely prevalent. (pp. 294–295)

Elsewhere Seiner (2010) concluded that in the aftermath of two recent hiring discrimination cases heard by the Supreme Court, "Employment-discrimination plaintiffs, who are already confronted with an uphill battle when attempting to establish intent, are now faced with an even more daunting task" (p. 228). The previously mentioned 24-year case fought by

African American applicants for bank jobs in Charlotte, North Carolina, shows that even winning may be not very encouraging for those who challenging discrimination. The suit began in 1993 on behalf of about 1,100 African American job seekers and after many delays and appeals, resulted in a total fine of $2.2 million to be paid by Bank of America (U.S. Department of Labor, 2017), a corporation with assets of approximately $2.3 trillion (YCharts, 2017).

This discouraging prospect for countering employment discrimination by relying on government and the courts, gets worse when one considers how discrimination complaints are processed. When a discrimination complaint is filed, the EEOC gets involved. The EEOC, to repeat, is the federal enforcement arm for Title VII which makes it, "illegal to discriminate against a job applicant because of his or her race, color, religion, sex (including gender identity, sexual orientation, and pregnancy), national origin, age (40 or older), disability or genetic information" (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, n.d.). Yet, according to Cascio and Aguinis (2005), an array of exemptions exist that can be used by employers to circumvent Title VII, which means that the unseen bases reviewed in the previous section, for not disqualifying a candidate can seep in. The result is that so many years after the Civil Rights Act, the EEOC itself issued a report of an internal agency work group listing seven enduring obstacles to nondiscriminatory practices: "Unconscious biases and perceptions about African Americans still play a significant role in employment decisions in the federal sector . . . EEO regulations and laws are not adequately followed by agencies and are not effectively enforced" (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2013, p. 14). We can infer from these findings that discriminatory practices are still amply occurring in the workplace. It is necessary to look elsewhere for the everyday practices that may counter discrimination in employment hiring.

Countering discrimination: Concepts for practice. This section and the next explore concepts and ideas that counter status quo discrimination. It should be noted that the array of

such concepts is broad in this proposal literature review because I see the work that lies ahead as "trying on" a number of frameworks as I strive to understand the work of HRPs who challenge the status quo. Unquestionably, some of these tools will not prove to be so useful or even be redundant. But at this stage, as wide as possible a range of ideas is worth considering.

The present section reviews literature related to ideas that were introduced in Chapter I, namely critical awareness, diversity, inclusion that leads to belonging, equity, and social justice. After that I look at some specific concepts and practices that have been found useful in trainings I have facilitated with leaders across the Midwest, to address racial equity, diversity and inclusion.

Critical awareness. The role of becoming aware and of scrutinizing one's own ideas and practices has been championed as fundamental to change by as indicated in Chapter I, critical awareness is essential to level the playing field of hiring by HRPs who must become aware of their own and their organization's blind spots, the forces described above that maintain the status quo.

It may be possible for HRPs to just do "the right thing" at a gut level and hire equitably, or see their work as merely complying with what governments and the law require. But research shows that unconscious or implicit bias persists always threatening reversion to doing things the "way we always have." What can and, I believe, must be a more conscious, aware critique based on bringing implicit bias to light permanently. Several scholars and scholar-practitioners have laid the groundwork for such changes (Freire, 2000; Lewin, 1946; Mezirow, 1991; Schön, 1983). Back in the 1940s, Lewin developed models of personal and group change aimed at creating societies less beset with prejudice and discrimination. His three-step model began with what he called unfreezing that relied on becoming aware not only of the consequences of discrimination but on the sources in one's own thinking and feelings that sustain discrimination.

Mezirow's (1991) model of transformative learning is especially useful for his idea of disorienting dilemmas that bring about critical examination of one's own assumptions and mind-set. As I anticipated, many of the participants were able to identify moments, events, or periods of their lives that changed their perspectives about factors that had previously led to discrimination. The awareness process tended be more evolutionary, taking place over time and resulting from a cascade of events and situations. There were also single events and epiphanies that brought awareness to light. Thalhammer et al. (2007) suggested that there is a progression of six junctures for consideration when one reaches a crossroad of critical awareness:

> They must notice that something is happening.
> They must interpret what they have seen as just or unjust.
> They must decide whether they should take personal responsibility.
> They must consider various responses and decide on a course of action.
> They must take their decided course of action.
> They must maintain their chosen course of action, reassessing whether to continue.
> (p. 34)

In *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, I. M. Young (2011) also connected self-probing with increasing critical awareness:

> For people to become comfortable around others whom they perceive as different, it may be necessary for them to become more comfortable with the heterogeneity within themselves. The varying and contradictory contexts in which we live and interact, along with the multiplicity of our own group memberships and the multiple identities of others with whom we interact, make the heterogeneity of the subject inevitable. The question is whether to repress or to affirm it. (p. 153)

I. M. Young (2011) suggested that by "calling on agents to take responsibility for their actions, habits, feelings, attitudes, images, and associations, it asks the person 'from here on out' to submit such unconscious behavior to reflection, to work to change habits and attitudes" (p. 151). Self-reflection and taking responsibility are a part of developing and maintaining critical awareness. I. M. Young went on to state that cultural revolution requires changing the habits that produce and reinforce the status quo, and that only happens through individual awareness.

Similarly, Freire used the language of revolution, liberation, and critical consciousness when describing the monumental shift required for transformation but goes well beyond simple changes of habit. Freire speak of the need for critical thinking, cooperation, humility, mutual trust, faith, and most importantly, love, and that the process is not done to or for the people but with the people. In *Pedagogy of Freedom,* Freire (1998) wrote a beautifully poetic passage that captures the attitude and practice that is necessary to maintain critical awareness.

> On the one hand, the necessity for the critical resistance creates in me an attitude of permanent openness towards others, toward the word; on the other hand, it generates in me a methodological mistrust that prevents me from becoming absolutely certain of being right. To safeguard myself against the pitfalls of ideology, I cannot and must not close myself off from others or shut myself into a blind alley where only my own truth is valid. On the contrary, the best way to keep awake and alert my capacity for right-thinking, to sharpen my perception, and to hear with respect (and therefore in a disciplined manner) is to allow myself to be open to differences and to refuse the entrenched dogmatism that makes me incapable of learning anything new. In essence, the correct posture for one who does not consider him or herself to be the sole possessor of the truth or the passive object of ideology or gossip is the attitude of permanent openness. . . . And openness to those who call on us and to the many and varied signs that catch our interest, from the song of the bird, to the falling rain or the rain that is about to drop from the darkening sky, to the gentle smile of innocence and the sullen face of disapproval, to the arms open to receive and the body stiff with refusal and fear. It is my permanent openness to life that I give myself entirely, my critical thought, my feeling, my curiosity, my desire, all that I am. It is thus that I travel the road, knowing that I am learning to be who I am by relating to what is my opposite. And the more I get myself to the experience of living with what is different without fear and without prejudice, the more I come to know the self I am shaping and that is being shaped as I travel the road of life. (p. 120)

This dissertation brings forth the stories of HRPs, stories which I examine for critical awareness and openness.

Countering discrimination: Concepts in my approach to change. The preceding section reviewed several sets of concepts that are of wide general use in combatting discrimination. These are complemented (and to an extent may overlap with) the approach used in my work with the Urban League of West Michigan. One of my roles at the Urban League is to train regional leaders in ways to address racial equity, diversity, and inclusion issues in their hiring practices and in their day-to-day activities. This work is relevant to this dissertation in that

many of the leaders with whom I work are directly or indirectly responsible for hiring practices

or hiring outcomes. For this work, we utilize concepts and practices from seven key conceptual

sources:

- Implicit bias and othering (powell, 2015; Staats, 2014);

- Targeted Universalism (powell, 2015; powell, Menendian, & Ake, 2019);

- Courageous Resistance (Thalhammer et al., 2007);

- Leadership in Place (Wergin, 2007a, 2007b);

- Tempered Radicalism (Meyerson, 2001; Meyerson & Scully, 1995);

- Small Wins (Weick, 1984);

- Radical Collaboration (Tamm & Luyet, 2005).

Let us look briefly at key sources and research related to each of these.

Implicit bias and othering. The significant extent of implicit bias as an explanation for

inequitable hiring has been discussed above. Here, the focus is on what has been found useful to

counter this. In our trainings, we aim to explore ideas of implicit or hidden bias by first

thoroughly exposing the concepts. In Urban League training sessions, we begin with Staats et

al.'s (2016) comment on implicit bias, "The attitudes or stereotypes that affect our

understanding, actions, and decisions in an unconscious manner. Activated involuntarily, without

awareness or intentional control. Can be either positive or negative. Everyone is susceptible"

(p. 14). We follow with the remarks from *Blind Spot: Hidden Biases of Good People*, by

researchers from Harvard University's Project Implicit:

> Bits of knowledge about social groups . . . stored in our brains because we encounter
> them so frequently in our cultural environments. Once lodged in our minds, hidden biases
> can influence our behavior toward members of particular social groups, but we remain
> oblivious to their influence. (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013, p. xii)

For the training, we feel it is essential as well to share an understanding of brain science

and brain architecture, that is, how our brains process information and make meaning of our

experiences, and how we are conditioned to see the world. I draw on Harris and Fiske (2006), as

conveyed by powell (2015) and powell and Menendian (2016). This brings up the results of

magnetic resonance imaging and what it has shown, relevant to what needs to be understood to

target implicit or hidden bias. Comments by john powell underscore this:

> Sometimes when we other people to the extreme we don't even see them as human
> . . . There's a part of the brain that lights up when we see another human being . . . but
> there's some people when we see them, people who are in the far left hand corner [of
> Fiske et al.'s (2002) Stereotype Content Model]. . . When we see them, that same part of
> the brain doesn't light up. . . . another part of the brain lights up, a part of disgust and fear.
> (Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, 2015, 10:23). Although the discovery of
> "mirror neurons" suggests that human beings are soft-wired for empathy, the degree of
> empathy we feel depends on the extent to which we perceive we belong to the same
> social group. In one study, researchers measured subjects' experiences of pain across
> races, but they registered a stronger activation of the brain's anterior cingulate cortex (the
> part of the brain responsible for perceiving the emotions associated with pain) when the
> subject was of the same race. . . . Persons belonging to . . . especially marginalized
> outgroups did not even trigger recognition at a neural level as being *human*, as if they
> were animals or objects. (powell & Menendian, 2016, pp. 24–25)

Powell adds that "In national testing, young Black males tend to fall into this category. It

is difficult to comprehend that as a nation we are disgusted by and fear young Black men" (Haas

Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, 2015, 10:23).

Utilizing these ideas to target implicit bias, we encourage people to identify who and how

they "other" some group or individual. We do not require that they make a public confession, but

we do ask that they engage in honest self-reflection so that we can all proceed from the same

vantage point to the next step, which is targeted universalism.

Targeted universalism. In the context of discrimination, universalism by itself, is

believing in,

> a blanket universal . . . indifferent to the reality that different groups are situated
> differently relative to the institutions and resources of society . . . [targeting universalism]
> rejects the claim of formal equality that would treat all people the same as a way of
> denying indifference. (powell, Menendian & Reece, 2009, p. 16)

Targeted universalism, as defined by powell and Ake, "sets universal goals, then directs our attention to the systems, structures, and institutions that create the problems in the need of transformative change" (as quoted in Flynn & Warren, 2017, p. 54). Although a recent addition to the armoire of anti-discrimination, powell and his associates' work has begun to find application elsewhere including the Oakland Unified School District (Chatmon & Gray, 2015) and internationally in Brazil, India, and South Africa (Leubolt, Fischer, & Saha, 2014).

From a practical point of view, as it relates to increasing diversity within our partner organizations, in training we incorporate a broad definition of diversity into the universal goal of hiring qualified individuals. We then suggest that participants start to develop targeted practices of relationship building in communities with which they may have limited contact, experience, or history.

Courageous resistance. The phenomenon of courageous resistance has a long history, closely tied to what have been historically called resistance movements and associated with some of the most famous resister-leaders such as Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks, Grace Lee Boggs, and Nelson Mandela, to name just a few. The phenomenon goes back as far as those who fought back against empires that invaded indigenous lands in the ancient world (J. J. Collins & Manning, 2016). More recent famous resistance of unquestionably a very courageous nature include the Slave revolts in the Americas (Price, 1996), the French resistance to the Nazi occupation (Cobb, 2009) and the revolts in Jewish ghettos and concentration camps during World War II (Henry, 2014), and the many decolonization struggles seen in the Americas, Africa—notably during the Apartheid regime in South Africa—and in Asia. Closer to the present, Glazer (1999) examined the courageous behavior of whistleblowers, dissidents, and environmental activists. Shepela et al. (1999) called courageous resistance, "a special case of altruism" (p. 787) and tried to explain how certain individuals and groups fought against

oppressors in "more sustained and more deliberative ways" than heroic bystanders. Subsequently Krista Thalhammer and her colleagues (including both Glazer and Shepela) have become influential in advancing the idea with the publication of *Courageous Resistance: The Power of Ordinary People* (Thalhammer et al., 2007).

Thalhammer et al. (2007) define courageous resisters using three dimensions:

First, they are those who voluntarily engage in other-oriented, largely selfless behavior with a significantly high risk or cost to themselves or their associates. Second, their actions are the result of a conscious decision. Third, their efforts are sustained over time (p. 5).

This captures the essence of what I uncovered in this dissertation when interviewing HRPs.

Leadership in place. Wergin's (2007a, 2007b) idea of leadership in place is especially useful in encouraging new approaches to hiring and discrimination among HRPs because of its emphasis on defines leadership in place in the conclusion of his book by the same name. He waits until the end of the edited volume before summing up his and the insights of contributors, by providing a definition, structured as what "effective leaders in place" actually do:

- They recognize the potential for leadership throughout the institution.
- They build relationships of trust that transcend organizational boundaries.
- They frame problems in ways that challenge conventional thinking . . .
- They are not afraid to take reasonable risks.
- They give voice to a sense of shared purpose and future.
- They exhibit patient and persistence, knowing real change is neither predictable nor linear. (Wergin, 2007a, pp. 225–226)

Wergin's (2007a, 2007b) focal setting is the contemporary university. Yet the idea of a fluid leadership that exists throughout an organization, opens the door to day-to-day activities such as an HRP's hiring process as ones in which leadership can be exercised. Similarly, "framing problems in ways that challenge [convention]" (p. 225), are what the HRPs who have been interviewed do, as they "exhibit patience and [especially] persistence" (p. 225) in the face of all those daunting and often hidden forces that sustain the discriminatory hiring status quo.

A sense that leadership in place is having the opportunity, the ability, and the courage to sense the need for leadership in the moment, then seizing that opportunity. Leaders in place have no expectation that their leadership will lead to long-term changes in their professional roles. They see a need for leadership; they step forward and respond; and then they step back. (Wergin, 2007a, p. 224)

In a culture that loves structure and hierarchy, leadership in place feels like a much more natural, fluid, and responsible response to an immediate need, similar to the concepts in sayings such as "do the right thing" or "it takes a village to raise a child." Defining an aspect of leadership in this way allows HRPs to perform actions that are critical to the organization without waiting for or needing policy changes or up-line approval. It is about doing the right thing in the moment while understanding the limits and boundaries that will be acceptable within the organization. Essentially, it allows HRP to work within the boundaries of the written rules while stretching the unwritten rules as they apply to comfort, security, and expectations. Wergin (2007a) goes on to say: "Effective leaders must understand the culture, knowing almost instinctively what the culture will tolerate; they also must know how to challenge and stretch that culture" (p. 232). It is precisely the ability to challenge and stretch the culture that marks the effort of HRPs who hire from non-dominant cultures.

Wergin writes that real change is not linear or predictable, that it takes time and disequilibrium to disrupt and stretch people. Most critically, an effective leader knows how hard to push and how much stress a group or organization can take. Hiring historically and structurally marginalized cultures into an organization creates this disequilibrium. How much disequilibrium can a culture handle at any one time? This is a key question, as there may be negative consequences for the new hire and the HRP. Drilling down on institutions and laudable professional practices based on the ideas of leadership in place is an opportunity yet to be pursued outside academe; the setting of courageous resisting HRPs who go against the status quo

in hiring seems a natural one to apply Wergin's (2007a, 2007b) normative conceptual framework.

   Tempered radicals. Meyerson and Scully (1995) defined tempered radicals as "individuals who identify with and are committed to their organizations, and are also committed to a cause, community, or ideology that is fundamentally different from, and possibly at odds with the dominant culture of their organization" (p. 586). Meyerson and Scully explained the origin of the term, "tempered radical," in a way that sheds light on its potential relevance to this study of HRPs who work both to serve their organizations but also to advance social change:

> We chose the name "tempered radical" deliberately . . . These individuals can be called "radicals" because they challenge the status quo, both through their intentional acts and just by being who they are, people who do not fit perfectly. We chose the word "tempered" because of its multiple meanings . . . tempered in the sense that they seek moderation . . . [but also] in the language of physics, they are tempered in that they have become tougher by being alternately heated up and cooled down. . . . They are also tempered in the sense that they have a temper: they are angered by the incongruities between their own values and beliefs about social justice and the values and beliefs they see enacted in their organizations. (Meyerson & Scully, 1995, p. 586)

   Meyerson's (2001) reasons for exploring the concept of tempered radicals are similar to my own motivation for this dissertation: she stated that she "wanted to explore further the experiences of people who are different from the majority culture and who hold commitments to effect change within organizations that leave little room for such differences" (p. xiv).

   I view tempered radicals as a somewhat different but overlapping phenomenon with Wergin's (2007a, 2007b), leadership in place, which is opportunistic and requires individuals to jump into and out of leadership roles as required. These leaders-in-place are not constantly having to "struggle between personal and professional identities at odds with one another" (Meyerson & Scully, 1995, p. 586) as characterizes the tempered radical. In comparison, tempered radicals always "struggle between their desire to act on their "different" selves and the

need to fit into the dominant culture" (Meyerson, 2001, p. 5). Meyerson went on to describe a

continuum of five strategies that are often used by tempered radicals:

- Resisting quietly and staying true to one's "self,"
- turning personal threats into opportunities,
- broadening the impact through negotiation,
- leveraging small wins,
- organizing collective action (Meyerson, 2001, p. 8).

So, not only does the concept of tempered radical overlap with the concept of leadership

in place, but Meyerson (2001) also brought in Weick's (1984) idea of small wins (discussed

below) as one of the tempered radical's strategies. She stated: "Since most changes are small

incremental adaptations scattered throughout organizations, it may be difficult to recognize this

movement as change, except retrospectively when small effects have had time to accumulate"

(Meyerson, 2001, p. 12). Meyerson's research has revealed, "three primary ways people

experience difference from the majority" (p. 20). She described them as:

1. Those who have different social identities from the majority and see those differences as setting them apart and excluding them from the mainstream;
2. Those who have different social identities and see those differences as merely cultural and not a basis for exclusion;
3. Those who have not cultural but philosophical differences, which conflict with the prevailing values, beliefs, and agendas operating in their organizations. (Meyerson, 2001, p. 20)

Additionally, Meyerson and Scully (1995) identified three interrelated forms of

ambivalence experienced by tempered radicals:

- Tempered radicals are "outsiders within" (p. 589).

- Tempered radicals can act as critics of the status quo and as critics of untempered

  radical change.

- Tempered radicals can also be advocates for both.

The authors stated that "tempered radicals can and will be criticized by both radical and

conservative observers (Meyerson & Scully, 1995, p. 589).

These insights into tempered radicals provided a very useful perspective for consideration when I was coding the interviews.

Small wins. Another concept useful in training those who face the challenge of hiring beyond the status quo of discrimination, is small wins. The thrust of this idea, advanced by Weick (1984), is that problems need to be framed as small, incremental steps forward, because "the massive scale on which social problems are [usually] conceived precludes innovative action because the limits of bounded rationality are exceeded, and arousal is raised to dysfunctionally high levels" (p. 40).

Anyone, notably the HRP who confronts the historic immensity of employment discrimination and all those obstacles reviewed earlier in this chapter, will no doubt agree about how huge and intimidating challenges are. Weick (1984) defined a small win as "a concrete, complete, implemented outcome of moderate importance" (p. 43). He goes on to suggest that "a series of wins at small but significant tasks, however, reveals a pattern that may attract allies, deter opponents, and lower resistance to subsequent proposals" (p. 43). In the years since Weick introduced this idea, it has found wide application in such fields as social justice movements (Lott & Webster, 2006), patient advocacy (Jason, 2012), gender equality initiatives (Benschop & Van den Brink, 2014), and climate change governance (Urpelainen, 2013).

Hiring individuals from historically and structurally marginalized populations can have a similar impact on organizations. HRPs typically do not perform group hiring; individuals are brought in one at a time to fill a particular need. This process allows HRPs to introduce the group to someone from the non-dominant culture in a measured and controlled way. Assuming that the person is successful, or at a minimum, not a failure, this introduction can be seen as a small win, potentially helping to make the path just a bit easier for the next historically and structurally marginalized person to be hired. This strategy of optimism was captured in Weick's (1984)

thought: "Once a small win has been accomplished, forces are set in motion that favor another small win" (p. 43).

If HRPs are able to monitor a group's response to a new hire, then they will have critical information about how to proceed with the next hire. Weick (1984) stated: "Small wins are like miniature experiments that test implicit theories about resistance and opportunity and uncover both resources and barriers that were invisible before the situation was stirred up" (p. 44). Understanding and exploring the successes and resistance that HRPs face as a result of a new hire is a major question I addressed in this dissertation. From a broader perspective, small wins reduce the fear that change needs to be a big deal. They decrease the scope of the work and increase the confidence that one can affect change.

Radical collaboration. Consultants from the National Equity Project (NEP) were the first to introduce me to the concept of radical collaboration. The phrase does not mean only what it sounds like such as a complete break-from-the-past way of collaborating—though it is that—but refers to an interlocking set of applied ideas advanced first by Jim Tamm a former judge at the California, Public Employment Relations Board (Tamm & Luyet, 2005). NEP adapted and extended the idea of Radical Collaboration as it works with organizations and schools across the country on issues related to racial equity. This included the Grand Rapids project that involved a racial equity group that I co-founded in Michigan, the Greater Grand Rapids Racial Equity Network (GGRREN). This is a "network of individuals that center People of Color . . . to promote, produce, and support action that advances racial equality" (Greater Grand Rapids Racial Equity Network, n.d.). The group takes advantage of and emphasizes all the concepts previously discussed (targeted universalism, courageous resistance, leadership in place, and small wins) and wraps them in the framework of radical collaboration. In essence, this encourages people to reframe their relationships with other individuals, institutions, and

organizations that are doing similar work who have similar values and who share the goal of addressing inequity in a multipronged, multilateral, nontraditional approach. Competition, ego, power, hierarchy, money, and history can get in the way of creating the desired change. Radical collaboration seeks to redefine relationships, identifying shared values and common goals.

Radical collaboration also encourages strange bedfellows. Weigel (2012), based on an interview with Ben Jealous, President of the NAACP, discussed the combined efforts of the NAACP and the Tea Party in Texas. Presumptively, these groups are very apart in perspectives, but both are interested in ending mass incarceration, albeit for different reasons—fiscal conservatives want to lower federal spending on incarceration and the NAACP seeks prison reform that will reduce the number of prisoners in the system. In the 2012 interview, Jealous discussed criminal justice reforms that were passed in Texas with the support of the Tea Party. Using an approach consonant with Radical Collaboration, the groups are able to identify value propositions of the Tea Party similar to those of the NAACP. In a completely different environment with very different purposes, IBM used radical collaboration to transform its way of creating technological innovations, from a highly secretive "go it alone" stance to working with research institutes, universities and even potential competitors:

> IBM's "Radical Collaboration" model has been an innovative approach to meeting the challenges of the huge R&D and capital investments that are needed to stay competitive in the global semiconductor industry. This model has required a rethinking of what is proprietary, and what is shared, and where do the boundaries of cooperation end and competition begin. IBM and its partners have managed to stay competitive at, for example, the 45 nm node, at a far lower cost than firms that "go it alone," and there is a large benefit from a larger funnel of ideas and diverse points of view. (Shih, Pisano, & King, 2008, p. 1)

The challenges GGRREN faced and the accomplishments so far are similarly developed from bringing together disparate people. More typically, coalitions of NGOs, for-profits and communities, are often built in accordance with traditional power hierarchies, consolidated

leadership, and prioritization of effort. A small group or single person sets the agenda and allocates resources, and members are expected to either accept this agenda or leave the coalition.

Radical collaboration, as we adapted and defined it, did not follow this path. Combining ideas of targeted universalism, leadership in place, courageous resistance, and small wins, we created a network that encouraged people to seek out partners who had similar agendas while not discouraging or undermining those who had other commitments or priorities. Radical collaboration says that change is not a zero-sum game and that any and all efforts toward the goal of racial equity are valuable. To create real change, efforts need to be collaborative and multi-pronged. When developing the GGRREN, we were not so arrogant as to believe that we knew what would have meaningful impact in the community, nor were we in a position to stifle or dissuade people's passions and hopes simply because they were not our priority. Racial equity was our universal goal, with each leader's individual attempt to create change being the target. We encouraged targeted universalism, courageous resistance, leadership in place, and small wins through radical collaboration as a change model. A traditional assessment of success was put aside, as we believed that the success metric needed to be broadened beyond narrow, time-constrained, singular identifiers due to the overwhelming complexity of the issues. Here is an example. Say that our goal is to increase reading scores by 15%, but at the end of the year the scores have not changed. Traditionally, we would see this as failure. Instead, through the Radical Collaboration model, we would question what would have happened had we done nothing. Would the scores have stayed where they were, or would they have gotten worse? Did we stop a downward slide? Were relationships built that will help efforts in the future? Did we entice others to join our efforts? Did we learn new strategies or techniques from our efforts? Did we provide hope or support to any of the participants? If the answer to any of these questions is

"yes," then we do not believe we failed, as we are not in a position to judge what will make a difference to those for whom we work.

In this research I anticipated that a mind-set of radical collaboration incorporating and blending the other concepts discussed above—targeted universalism, courageous resistance, leadership in place, and small wins—would be reflected in the work of HRPs who counter historic patterns of discrimination. In Chapters IV and V, the results, largely supporting this expectation, are presented and discussed.

The Place of the Proposed Work Within This Literature

It will be clear by now, that I am inspired by and have learned much from diverse sources in the literature. Indeed, I am somewhat in awe of the productivity, creativity and courage of those who have tackled the subject of discrimination. At this point in dissertations, the student is expected to make the case—as stated in the *Dissertation Handbook* (Antioch University Faculty of Leadership and Change, 2018) "that earlier work is either inadequate or incomplete as a source of knowledge for addressing the stated research purpose" (p. 18). In the spirit of radical collaboration, I prefer to see confronting the wicked problem (Rittel & Webber, 1973) of employment discrimination and its mitigation, as a project that is forever going to be incomplete, and that my work is needed to join in an extant discourse better described as ongoing than as inadequate. In that spirit, I do feel that previous research and literature needs to be added to with detailed insights from stories of how HRPs work to change the status quo of hiring discrimination against historically disadvantaged and marginalized groups. Bringing such stories to light is complementary to the studies and ideas described in this chapter. How that was done is presented in Chapter III, followed in successive chapters with the findings about their progressive work.

Chapter III: Research Methodology

Chapter III of this dissertation examines the methodology, research questions, data collection and analysis, as well as the rational for using biographical narrative inquiry. It provides detailed explanation regarding the research questions, participants, processes for data collection and the analysis. The chapter starts with a section on what biographical narrative inquiry is, why it is a good fit for this research, my role as a researcher and the importance of understanding my particular positionality. The second section, titled "Research Design," addresses the design of the research, a discussion on the participants, the interview questions, and the interview plan. The third section lays out how the interviews were analyzed through narrative thematic analysis. And the final section discusses some of the limitations of the research.

This dissertation examines the motivations of HRPs and any resulting perceived resistance that they face when hiring from historically and structurally marginalized communities. It offers insights, strategies, policies and potential warnings about barriers related to the hiring process. A systematic literature review revealed a gap that forms the basis for this research: employment discrimination research tends to focus on how, when, and where discrimination happens and not on the experience and perspective of the HRP gatekeepers. As opposed to researching why HRPs might discriminate, which is also a gap in the literature, I have focused my research on the motivations of HRPs who seek to engage with historically and structurally marginalized prospects and analyze the resistance that they have encountered as a result of their efforts.

This exploratory research gives voice to HRPs in their role as employment gatekeepers. Research participants are HR professionals who have intentionally worked to recreate the employment landscape and indirectly impacted marginalized communities. While I collected a

small amount of quantitative data in the form of pre-interview demographic questions, the primary research method took the form of biographical narrative inquiry.

Articulating one's motivation for any action requires a certain level of self-reflection and self-awareness. One's history, identity, and work experiences will also play a role in the formation of the story. Hearing how the HRP makes sense of all of these factors, which parts they bring forward and emphasize and which parts are silenced, was fascinating to record and analyze. Schwab (2010) wrote that "storytelling itself requires a form of translation, that is, a psychic processing of the cultural narratives and conversations into an individual story (p. 115).

Identifying resistance and being able to accurately decipher the reasons for the resistance requires intuition, emotional intelligence and a clear understanding of the social and power dynamics within the work place. Where self-motivation is an internal inquiry, identifying and making sense of resistance requires the HRP to consider the conscious or unconscious motivations, actions and intentions of others. What we experience is a consequence of the action of our organizing schemes on the components of our involvement with the world. Polkinghorne (1988) stated: "Narrative is the fundamental scheme for linking individual human actions and events into interrelated aspects of an understandable composite" (p. 13).

Due to the intersectional complexity and sensitivities of these situations, and considering my own skills and capabilities, I believe that biographical narrative was the best methodological choice for this dissertation. The method allows for the exploration of the lived experience framed in a safe and professional process that allows for respectful listening and deep exploration of themes.

Why Biographical Narrative Inquiry?

Biographical narrative inquiry is the analysis of the stories one tells. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) defined an interview as biographical narrative when the "narrative may

concern the interviewee's life story as seen through the actor's own perspective" (p. 155). For

this research, the stories were captured through oral interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) and

then transcribed into writing for analysis using NVivo analytical software. Bentz and Shapiro

(1998) stated:

> There is a lot of recent hermeneutical work that comes under the rubric of narrative analysis. Narrative analysis is . . . a range of techniques for interpreting the meaning of texts with the structure of stories . . . narrative form implies that something happened to particular subjects in a given lifeworld. (p. 115)

> Narrative and story, according to Polkinghorne (1988), are equivalent terms.

Biographical narrative inquiry "assumes that social action can best be understood from the

accounts and perspectives of the people involved, and thus the focus is on the individual

subjective definition and experience of life" (Schwandt, 2007, pp. 21–22). Chamberlayne,

Bornat, and Apitzsch (2004) discussed narrative inquiry in similar terms, stating that it is, "the

contextualized understanding of human agency . . . useful for investigating and generating new

forms of social practice and in gaining fresh insights into institutional processes" (p. 1). It is also

a methodology suited to capture and understand sensitive and personal experiences (Schwab,

2010). This method allows for the breadth and latitude necessary to explore the personal and

professional motivations for the HRP, as well as allowing them the opportunity to explore

experiences of resistance that they can attribute to their hiring efforts.

Narratives change over time; none of us tell the same story, in the same way with each

telling. Memories shift, new insights come, levels of grace or agitation ebb and flow (Bar-On,

2006; Schwab, 2010). These stories reflect the way that participants make meaning of their

situation in that moment of time. Andrews (2007) talked about analysis of stories in terms of

learning how "people understand the historical moments in which they live" (p. 14). New

knowledge, the audience, time, place or even the telling of the story may affect the presentation

of future versions. There are endless ways how and reasons why we tell the story in the ways we

do. Narrative inquiries focus on these personal stories, "especially their content, themes, and structure" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2012, p. 3).

Roberts (2002) described biographical research for social sciences as "open, reflexive, exploratory, imaginative and creative" (p. 172). While stories must be respected and honored for what they provide, they must also be taken with a grain of salt as they provide only a piece of the truth, at one point in time, from a single perspective—which is why identifying overarching themes from subjects with similar experiences is so critical (Holstein & Gubrium, 2012; Roberts, 2002). Companies, titles, roles, interactions, education, competency, industries, target populations, politics, power dynamics, strategies and numerous other factors will never align perfectly between interviewees and therefore interviews cannot be objectively measured in the same ways that distance, weight, or time can be measured, but it is my belief that common threads, similarities, and overarching truths, can be uncovered, leading us to strategies or practices that create more jobs for people whose access has been restricted due to no fault of their own.

Roberts (2002) described biographical research as:

an exciting, stimulating and fast-moving field which seeks to understand the changing experiences and outlooks of individuals in their daily lives, what they see as important, and how to provide interpretations of the accounts they give of their past, present and future. (p. 1)

Biographical narrative provides methods to capture, understand and value lived experiences. For this dissertation, I relied on the what Holstein and Gubrium (2012) referred to as the "personal narratives of the interviewees . . . [their] emotions, attitudes, beliefs, and interpretations [which] actively shapes or constructs narrative reality" (p. 1). Participants were given the opportunity to share how they construct meaning (Holstein & Gubrium, 2012; Merrill & West, 2009; Roberts, 2002) from the intersection of their work environment and personal perspectives. This is important because "individuals act according to meanings through which

they make sense of social existence (Roberts, 2002, p. 6). Biographical narrative allows for the "interplay between culture, power and available narrative resources, on the one hand, and individual lives and struggles for voice and story, on the other" (Merrill & West, 2009, p. 39). This interplay is where I expected to find insights into my inquiry. The primary research questions here delve into the participants' perspectives, values, and interpretations, that is, how they construct their reality within this interplay of factors in an attempt to uncover why they act on behalf of historically and structurally marginalized populations.

Another important advantage of biographical narrative for this dissertation is that it has been used to give voice to the voiceless and to expose oppression (Merrill & West, 2009; Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Slim, Thompson, Bennett, & Cross, 1993). Merrill and West (2009) state: "A political and conflict standpoint is required to challenge the way in which dominant power structures intrude and shape biographies and the expectations, as well as the selves, within them" (p. 65). The HRPs in this research were selected because they are pushing against status quo hiring practices and the dominant narratives about the groups they seek to employ: groups that have been oppressed and voiceless in the work place and in our communities. I was curious to see if the HRPs view themselves as acting from a political or conflictual standpoint, or if something else is driving their motivations.

Biographical narrative inquiry provided broad flexibility which allowed the participants the latitude to explore and express their experiences in the best way they saw fit. Other methods, such as surveys or highly structured interviews, may constrain or fail to capture the complexity of the subjects' interpretation of events and experiences. This methodological flexibility is key to exploratory research such as this. The work of Merrill and West (2009) supports this perspective in their conclusion: "Biographical researchers have developed more sophisticated understandings

of truth, of the problematic nature of stories and memory, and which includes how dominant stories in a wider culture, or myths, can shape individual narratives" (p. 179).

Nature of the Issue and How Biographical Narrative Inquiry Best Fits That

As discussed in earlier chapters, but which merits repeating, I posit that there is a discriminatory cycle that manifests in employment. The cycle runs as follows: the cultural dehumanization of targeted populations is an indicator of employment discrimination, limiting the economic and social mobility of marginalized communities, which, in turn, reinforces the negative cultural biases. This reinforcement continues to perpetuate the cultural stereotypes of the targeted populations; in turn, this perpetuates cultural dehumanization of the targeted populations. While there may be many points of intervention, employment is a critical factor in the cycle which can be impacted through intentional efforts by HRP. Figure 3.1 provides a visual representation of the cycle.

Figure 3.1. Employment discrimination cycle.

As discussed in Chapter II, extant research clearly indicates that employment discrimination at the point of hiring affects some populations more than others. The overarching issue that motivates this dissertation is that fair and equitable access to non-discriminatory hiring regardless of non-related physical, social or identity attributes is not the norm. As stated

previously, HRPs are gatekeepers to employment, as well as community members who are exposed to the same overarching narratives about biased groups that the rest of us are.

And as gatekeepers to employment, HRPs may not be fully aware of the broader implications and reach of their work as it relates to social justice and equitable outcomes in the community or, if they are aware, the interviews will provide a safe opportunity for them to discuss their experiences. Where, how, and why HRPs search for perspective employees with the specific skills and characteristics has life changing implications for qualified and capable prospects, their families and their communities. This dissertation sought out HRPs who, through intentional hiring, are countering status quo hiring and unconscious dominate narratives.

Narrative research provides a framework for the researcher to explore and uncover the history, thoughts, intentions and interpretations of the participant and to understand if and how participants see themselves within the cycle of primary interest.

Role of the Researcher

Researchers gather information through observation, listening, and talking with participants (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Roberts (2002) suggested that the role of the qualitative researcher requires an "empathetic orientation" (p. 13) and the ability to build trust while remaining an objective "questioner, interpreter and presenter" (p. 13) of the findings. Rubin and Rubin (2005) add that what is important is "how people view an object or event and the meaning that they attribute to it" (p. 27) and that:

> researchers work to figure out what the shared meanings are in some particular group, recognizing that though each person interprets the events he or she is likely, at the same time, to bring to bear the understandings held by peers, family, friends, coreligionists, or members of other groups to which he or she belongs. (p. 29)

Although the HRPs that I interviewed were working in different industries and sectors, they described similar motivations and were experiencing similar resistance. As the researcher, part of my role was to step back far enough from the details of each particular story to find and

focus on these common themes. Additionally, because I am a social justice advocate working in the field of employment equity it was key that I did not express, verbally or nonverbally, any opinions or judgments about the participants' experiences, values or motivations. As a trained practitioner in mediation, empathic and compassionate listening, I have gained proficiency in these critical skills.

Scholars note that the interview process puts the researcher in the dual role of interviewer and learner (Merrill & West, 2009) and that the "researcher inevitably affects what is learned" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 21). While pure objectivity may have been the goal of quantitative research in the past, qualitative researchers have understood that research is more symbiotic than sterile objectivity. Humans are not static machines; we are constantly evolving and changing due to interactions with people and our environment. This includes the interview process as well. I believe the key is to work toward objectivity while remaining aware of how my own biases and desires may influence or impact the research. During the interview process, I stayed on script. I showed engagement and encouraged the HRP participants to speak in-depth about their experiences and I avoided steering or leading questions and comments that might indicate judgement.

Because my inquiry is about motivation and perceived resistance, I anticipated that participants would be speaking about potentially sensitive and emotional situations. Likewise, this dissertation is not just an academic exercise, it is also personal to me. According to Roberts (2002), "both the respondents' 'story' and its interpretation by the researcher are shaped by narrative conventions" (p. 7). Roberts (2002) further stated: "Emotional contact should not be seen as merely a hindrance in research but as (inescapably) part of the research relationships which should be expanded upon through the reflexive monitoring of our own self-involvement" (p. 172). I did not take this as permission to weave in my own story, experiences, and emotions

into the participants' stories, but as a warning that I needed to be aware of the relationship that interviews create and how that might shape the process and analysis going forward. Whittemore, Chase and Mandle (2001) concluded: "Attention to both process and product, art and science, contribute to validity and subsequently quality in qualitative research" (p. 534). The tasks associated with my role included but were not limited to: creating the interview questions and protocol, identifying and inviting subjects to participate, scheduling a time and space for the interview, recording and transcription, analyzing the data and drawing initial conclusions from the interviews. The work of Merrill and West (2009) added to this list importantly; they stated that the task is "how to chronicle such processes and to explain them theoretically (p. 4). They further stated: "People give meaning to their experience, selves and bodies, as well as to their wider social worlds, via language and interactions with others, including the social order; analysis of such meanings is a core task for the social researcher" (Merrill & West, 2009, p. 192).

Given the role and tasks required for biographical narrative, I found this process well-suited for the personal and professional skills that I brought to the table; my credentials for undertaking this work are described in the positionality section below. Prior to commencing the research, I received approval from the Antioch University Graduate School of Leadership and Change's Institutional Review Board (Appendix A).

Positionality

I have worked in marginalized communities since the mid-2000s, initially being trained in empathic listening as a volunteer for a suicide hotline in the early 1980s. Since that time, I have received trainings and certifications in motivational interviewing (Miller & Rollnick, 2012), mediation (Bowling & Hoffman, 2003), Immunity to Change facilitation (Kegan & Lahey, 2001), and Compassionate Listening (A. Cohen, Green, & Partnow, 2011). I gained profound

understanding of how organizations work and in particular the role of HR through university degrees in Management, Supply Chain Logistics, and my current study in Leadership and Change. While studying, I also served as the executive director of The SOURCE, a non-profit organization whose mission is to increase employee retention and engagement through crisis intervention and resource management. I worked as the Michigan State Director of the organization, myCommunity Connect Center for United Health Care, launching a pilot program for Medicaid recipients in the inner city of Detroit which focused on navigating systems in structurally under-resourced communities. Currently, I am the Vice President and Chief Strategist at the Urban League of West Michigan, which has been an affiliate of the National Urban League since 1943. Employment has been embedded into the fabric of the work we do in the community. In addition, I have served on dozens of local, regional, and national committees, and have held board positions in non-profits focused on food justice and equity.

While I am a cisgender, heterosexual, White male who was raised Catholic, my childhood was spent in a racially mixed neighborhood during the 1960s and 1970s. The schools I attended were racially and ethnically mixed with the exception of my middle school which was undergoing a tumultuous and violent process of desegregation while I was there. These personal experiences, and many others, in addition to my formal education and work experiences, have all influenced, driven, and honed my internal, academic and professional understanding of discrimination, marginalization, social justice, privilege and supremacy.

While objectivity in the creation and presentation of the research questions is the overarching goal of much mainstream research, "postmodernists argue that neutrality is impossible because everyone has interests and attitudes that influence how topics are selected, what questions are deemed appropriate, how they are asked, and what means of analysis are considered appropriate" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 27). Given my history and passions about

equitable hiring from marginalized communities, I am aware that my positionality may predispose me to seek out or maybe even influence participants into the direction of sharing their social justice experiences. In light of this I took on board Rosenthal's (1993) minimalist approach to interviewing where there are few verbal interruptions and encouragement is given through nonverbal cues. This approach is in line with techniques I teach within my compassionate listening (A. Cohen et al., 2011) facilitation and practice. I have also found that holding longer pauses allowed the speaker a moment to reflect and share additional information. Additionally, I worked to maintain a calm and relaxed body posture so as not to trigger or make the participant uncomfortable.

Research Design

Research participants. This research sought out the purposeful selection of 12 to 18 full time HRPs who work for mid-range or large organizations and have a reputation and history of hiring from historically and structurally marginalized communities. This criterion meets the suggestion made by Rubin and Rubin (2005) that interviewees have knowledge and experience with the subject (p. 64). Seventeen HRPs self-selected and met the criterion. Smaller organizations often require their HR staff to adopt multiple roles and responsibilities and therefore are not focused solely on HR functions. Identifying HRPs through recommendations by those in or who serve marginalized communities creates a selective grouping vs. a broader inquiry which may net more HRPs but who may have little or no experience in relationship to this research.

The Urban League of West Michigan Employment Department reports directly to me. That, in addition to my role as a corporate facilitator of racial equity and implicit bias training puts me in contact with a large number of companies and HRPs seeking to address diversity, equity, and bias within their organizations. All of these factors placed me in an excellent position

to pursue recommendations from trusted references, leading to the identification of prospective interview candidates. I started the initial inquiry with my own team and then extended invitations within my professional network, asking who they may know in the community that fit the profile. Stated broadly, I was seeking HRPs whose role includes direct hiring and who have a reputation of intentionally hiring from structurally discriminated and, historically and structurally marginalized populations. I also asked the interviewees who they know that also fits the criteria, a process that Biernacki and Waldorf (1981) described as "snowball sampling . . . a study sample [derived] through referrals made among people who share or know others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest" (p. 141). I also reached out to colleagues from other nonprofit organizations whose focus is on the employment of historically and structurally marginalized individuals.

Once potential participants were identified, I reached out directly to the HRPs to briefly discuss the research and inquired into their interest and availability to participate in the interviews. In the initial contact and interaction with the HRP, I was careful not to provide too much information about the research so as to avoid influencing how they would later answer questions, but enough was explained to reassure them that I was not trying to catch them in a discriminatory act nor waste their time with frivolous questions. Once credibility and rapport were established, I set up the interview schedule and sent a descriptive invitation letter to each (Appendix C) along with a consent form (see Appendix B). Slim et al. (1993) warn that "the interview form has a tendency to put unnatural pressure on people to find ready answers, to be concise and to summarize a variety of complex experiences and intricate knowledge" (p. 62). I agreed with this assessment but was also aware that hiring HRPs are very familiar with the interview process. I anticipated that their familiarity and training with this type of exchange would reduce the pressure to find the "ready answer."

Data Gathering and Analysis Interviews

I completed 17 interviews between May 31, 2018, and July 16, 2018. Eleven interviews were done face-to-face and six were completed over the phone due to distance or scheduling constraints. Interviews ranged from 23 minutes to 72 minutes; the average interview lasted 46 minutes. Phone interviews tended to run longer than face-to-face interviews which may have been due to the need for additional explanation to ensure that the meaning of the questions and answers was understood. All interviews were recorded on an iPhone. Audio files were stored in NVivo 12 and sent to my transcriptionist. Participants were given the option to review and edit the transcription if they were so inclined. Only two participants chose to make edits to their original transcriptions.

Participants

Criteria for and selection of participants. The initial goal was to have local community partners identify HR professionals known as hiring from NTTPs and send them the project overview. After reading the overview, the HRPs could self-select into the study by reaching out directly to me. The criteria for the study included HR professionals with a history of intentionally hiring from NTTPs and who worked in mid-to-large organizations. The initial outreach identified six participants, short of the 12 to 18 range that I was hoping to engage. I expanded my reach to HR professionals and workforce intermediaries within my national network. This effort resulted in an additional 11 participants, bringing my total to 17 participants. Reasons given for not participating included being too busy, not being sure their management would approve their participation, needing to run the request by their legal team, or they did not see their work as applicable to the study.

Participant demographics.

Business titles. Titles carry formal power inside and outside of organizations, and the participants held a wide variety of authority and titles within their various organizations. The following list includes the 17 titles. While two shared the same title—VP of HR—they worked in different industries.

- CEO

- EVP & CAO

- SVP, Director of Talent Acquisition

- SVP, HR Director

- VP of HR (2)

- VP, HR Specialist

- Director of HR

- Director of D&I (Diversity & Inclusion), Employee Relations

- D&I Manager

- Senior HR Generalist

- Senior Talent Acquisition Leader

- HR Specialist

- Lead Technical Recruiter

- Managing Director of Admin Services

- Corporate Recruiter Talent Acquisition

- Workforce Program Specialist

Participant gender and race. As noted in Chapter II and consistent with HR demographics (Ulrich et al., 2013), the majority of the participants identified as White women.

Females participants outnumbered males 12 to five. Nine of the participants identified as White (seven females, two males), five participants identified as Black (three males, two females) and three participants identified as Asian (three females).

Industries of participants. Nine industries were represented in the research. Two individuals, having spent decades in HR, recently moved into HR consulting, and two are combining their HR work with the position of adjunct professors. The majority of the HR participants have worked across multiple industries, giving them a broad range of knowledge, experience, and populations from which to recruit. Four represent Manufacturing organizations, four represent Financial Services, and three represent the Food Industry. City Government, Hospitality, Media, Public Transportation, Business Recruiting, and Healthcare were also represented.

Location of participants. Initially, I had hoped to recruit HR professionals solely from the Grand Rapids, Michigan, community, but it became clear from the large number of unanswered emails that I was going to need to broaden my search. The two main reasons to constrain the research to HRPs in the Grand Rapids area were, first, that I am familiar with many of the local organizations who are intentional about hiring from NTTPs; and, second, I preferred face-to-face interviews as opposed to phone interviews. Once it became clear that I was not going to reach my target number of interviews—I ended up with 13 participants from Grand Rapids—I decided to reach out to my national network of contacts and colleagues. This strategy allowed me to connect with HRPs in cities across Michigan as well as individuals from New York, Colorado, Ohio, and Vermont. Their organizational reach ranged from multi-state to international, including several on the Forbes 500 list.

Longevity of participants in HR roles. Longevity in the HR field varied considerably across the participants; their tenure ranged from two years to 35 years with a group average of

12.6 years. Three of the participants have less than five years of experience, while eleven have 13 or more years of experience. The men averaged 13. 25 years in the profession whereas the women averaged 12 years. These 17 professionals have accumulated 215 years of HR experience.

Methodological Details

    Coding. After each interview, I wrote down observations and thoughts about the process and captured anything that initially stood out to me. The audio was stored in NVivo 12 and on Google Drive where it was shared with the transcriptionist. The transcriptionist responded with written copies of the audio. I listened to the audio while reviewing the transcripts and also took note of any observations. The transcription process overlapped with some of the later interviews, which allowed me to rethink the flow and direction of the questions. Once all of the interviews were transcribed and saved into NVivo 12, I printed and reread them. It was through this process that the themes, discussed below, started to emerge. At the point I started the coding process within NVivo 12, staying cognizant that others may appear as I continued to scour the transcripts. It is fair to say that each transcript was reviewed five to seven times.

    Organizational/analytical software. I purchased NVivo software for the data research, storage, sorting, and coding process. NVivo provides an outstanding range of flexibility and functionality for quantitative research. I spent many hours on tutorials and reading *NVivo for Mac Essentials* (Edhlund & McDougall, 2016) to become familiar with the features of the tool. I was able to load and listen to all the audio files produced from the interviews, and all of the original transcripts, as well as capturing copious memos and notes as I delved into the materials. NVivo also provides the advantage of being able to export files to my coding validation partner.

    Validation of codes. I worked with Dr. Roxanne Swogger-Coey on the coding validation. Dr. Swogger-Coey recently earned her Ph.D. using NVivo 12 software for her

quantitative study; therefore, she was familiar with the tool and qualitative coding processes. Using a tool found on google.com, I created randomly selected numbers based on a minimum/ maximum and provided Dr. Swogger-Coey with two randomly selected participant sections of code per topic. Forty topics were coded; thus, Dr. Swogger-Coey received 80 participant samples; some samples contained multiple references to the topic. Not all 17 participants made relevant comments for each topic, and the selection was adjusted accordingly. After reviewing the coded sections, we connected over the phone and via email about the coding dilemmas and rationale.

Interview Questions

Due to the sensitivity of the topic and the nature of the information I was hoping to capture, I use a semi-structured interview style. Slim et al. (1993) state: "A good interview is semi-structured and improvisational, and a good interviewer's aim is to say as little as possible and to listen and learn as much as he or she can" (p. 76). An overarching objective of the interview is for the subjects to speak about "a specific aspect of their life" (p. 63), what Slim et al. called a "single-issue interview" (p. 63) as opposed to a life story, which would be contextually much broader.

Both lines of inquiry, regarding motivation and resistance, were broad and open-ended, allowing the participant to explore a number of different avenues based on what was most relevant to them at the moment. Bold (2012) acknowledges that our interpretations change over time: "If the same person told the story a week later it would have variation" (p. 31). Thus, as time passes the story evolves based on new information and experiences.

Additional questions, probes, and follow-ups were asked depending on the answers given, or omitted, and the amount of clarity required (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). According to Slim et al. (1993),

> Good questions are those which make sense to and animate the narrator; guide the direction of the testimony while giving him or her plenty of space for self-expression; and ensure that the necessary topics are covered and all leads, however unexpected, are followed through. (p. 76)

The authors advocate short, open-ended questions or the use of precision questions when seeking only factual information. My primary questions fit the initial criteria and the precision of the follow-up questions and were adjusted based any facts that were needed to fill gaps in the narrative. Rubin and Rubin (2005) offer additional clarity on follow-up and probing questions: "Follow-up questions are intended to obtain depth, detail, and subtlety, while clarifying answers that are vague or superficial" (p. 112), whereas, "probes help manage the conversation by keeping it on topic, signaling the desired level of depth, and asking for examples or clarification" (p. 129).

The potential reasons for an HRP to challenge the status quo—and the resistance that they may face as a result—included experiences that are deeply personal. Creating a safe place, mindfully asking the questions, and listening with compassion were important factors in developing trust with the participants. Creating a safe place results from the culmination of a number of factors, the confidentiality form, a well-organized, quiet, and comfortable off-site interview location, and the assurances, credibility and calm demeanor of the interviewer, to name a few.

How one asks questions throughout the interview is important as well. As a facilitator for Compassionate Listening, I have learned how and when to ask probing questions about potentially sensitive issues. A. Cohen et al. (2011), who developed this approach in *Practicing the Art of Compassionate Listening,* stated: "Questions can interrupt the flow of a speaker's story, so make sure to use your questions sparingly and with clarity about your purpose" (p. 46). They further suggest four neutral follow-up questions that can help deepen the inquiry: "Could

you say more about that? Can you help me understand? What was it like for you? How has the situation affected you?" (p. 47).

Slim et al. (1993) also offered the following advice:

- "Keep an open mind which can respond quickly to the unexpected and spot interesting and unusual avenues for further questions" (p. 76).

- Don't confine "oneself to the straight line of the narrator's thought" (p. 76).

- "Identify what is being left unsaid and . . . assess the significance of pauses and silences" (p. 77).

Slim et al. (1993) and Rubin and Rubin (2005) have described interviewing and listening, as, in part, an art form, a sentiment that also rings true in Compassionate Listening circles (A. Cohen et al., 2011). This artistry also comes into play during the Narrative Thematic Analysis, discussed below. In the spirit of this artistry, Rubin and Rubin (2005) warn: "Researchers need to continually examine their own understandings and reactions" (p. 31), essentially so that the researcher does not direct the responses through intonation, comments or body language that could bias the conversation.

Interview Process

After selection and prior to the interviews, I contacted the participants in the study, providing them with a broad understanding of the research, assessing their willingness to share their experiences with me, and providing them with an overview of what they could expect to occur at the time of the interview. I asked if any special arrangements were needed for their comfort and that they agree to turn off their phones during the interview. They were told in advance that the interview was to be recorded. Two of the participants expressed initial reluctance to have the interview recorded but I explained the importance of the recording and addressed their confidentiality concerns to their satisfaction.

Preparation for the interviews included obtaining the meeting space and ensuring that the digital recorder was in working order. I brought the list of interview questions, and a notebook for any momentary note taking. Immediately after the interviews I spent time taking notes of my observations and thoughts.

Due to scheduling and proximity constraints, interviews took place in conference rooms or by phone. When done face-to-face, I sat across from the participants with my notebook and recorder on the table between us. After a brief introduction and a request to turn off or silence their phones, we started the interview. Upon completion of the interview, I downloaded the digital recording into a Dropbox folder and onto my personal computer to reduce the risk of losing the recording.

I started searching for recommendations for participants immediately after receiving all required approvals including the Independent Review Board. I requested that participants set aside a two-hour block for the interviews with the understanding that it would not take the full amount of time. Interviews averaged roughly 45 minutes.

Research interview guide. The Interview Guide (Table 3.1) evolved as I became aware of additional complexity or noted that a few changes in phrasing, transition, or the order of questions would make more sense or be less disruptive to the conversational flow. It is important to note that I did not adhere strictly to the guide as some participants extrapolated extensively and as a result, answered many of the questions in the process.

Table 3.1

Interview Guide for This Study

PHASE OF INTERVIEW	QUESTIONS
Primer:	(*Name of person who referred this participant*) shared with me that you have a history of hiring from non-traditional talent pools. Is that correct? • "What does 'non-traditional talent pools' mean to you?" (in terms of personal history, organizational or community context)

PHASE OF INTERVIEW	QUESTIONS
	• Which non-traditional talent pools do you or have you intentional focused on?
Segue 1	I have two broad areas of interest related to your work. I'd like to start with your motivation around these efforts.
Motivation Questions	• How long have you been intentionally focusing on XXX group(s)?
	• Was it your idea to engage with them or were you directed by somebody?
	• Do you remember what motivated you in the beginning? What inspired you?
	• Has your motivation changed since then? How? Why?
	• Was this your first experience with this population?
	• What activates/practices are you doing to engage with this group? How? Where?
	• When hiring from this group, are there certain jobs or levels within organizations where they tend to land?
	• What have been some of your high point(s) in this work? Any that you would consider as particularly important or rewarding?
	• Would you or do you recommend this practice to others?
	• Do you mentor other HRPs in this direction?
	• Do you have any goals as it pertains to this work?
	• Has this effort become integrated into your job description or evaluations? Do you receive incentives specifically for this initiative?
	• Do you know why your organization chose to go in this direction? Were there organizational events that may have triggered or supported intentional hiring practices?
Segue 2	I'm curious, how have your efforts have been received?
Resistance Questions	• Have you ever gotten any push back or resistance - inside or outside the organization - as a result of your efforts with this population?
	• Can you tell me about those experiences? How did they manifest/occur? What happened? Can you give me some examples?
	• How often do you encounter resistance?
	• What strategies do you have to deal with the resistance?
	• Have any of these experiences effected your motivation or effort?
	• What are you doing or what have you done to build personal or professional resilience?
	(here, interviewer provides the list of 21 attributes):
	Accent, Age, Credit Score, Criminal Record, Disability, Education, Ethnicity, Gender, Immigration Status, Indigenous Heritage, Marital Status, Name, National Origin, Nepotism, Race, Religious Orientation, Sexual Orientation, Skin Color, Socioeconomic Status, Veteran Status, Weight
	• This question is more personal. I'm wondering if any of these attributes trigger memories or thoughts in relation to <u>life events</u> that might have

PHASE OF INTERVIEW	QUESTIONS
	brought you to this point of intentionally hiring people from non-traditional talent pools?
Interview closing statement:	• Related to this topic. Is there anything I missed? Anything I should have asked about or anything else you would like to share

Interview Analysis

Each interview was sent to a professional transcription service upon completion. I thoroughly read all of the transcripts upon their return and sketched out general themes, events, and topical markers that were initially apparent. The transcripts were entered into and coded using NVivo 12 software. According to Roberts (2002), coding "refers to how the data are 'sorted'" (p. 11). Rubin and Rubin (2005) suggest "systematically labeling concepts, themes, events, and topical markers so that you can readily retrieve and examine all of the data units that refer to the same subject across all your interview" (p. 207). I read all of the transcripts and listened to each recording several times while coding for various themes. The coding process took multiple reviews and iterations. Once this process was complete, I reached out to Dr. Roxanne Swogger-Coey, a recent Antioch University Ph.D. graduate, to assist in validating my coding process. This iterative process with Dr. Swogger-Coey increased the validity of the coding.

Narrative thematic analysis. At the conclusion of the coding, all transcriptions were analyzed for themes, concepts, and similar experiences. The focus of the analysis was divided broadly between, first, the subjects' reported motivations and, second, the resistance they perceived as a result. Other sub-themes emerged in the process.

In Chapter II, I identified a number of frameworks—Implicit Bias/Othering (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013; powell, 2015; Staats, 2016); Targeted Universalism (powell, 2012), Courageous Resistance (Thalhammer et al., 2007); Leadership in Place (Wergin, 2007a, 2007b);

Small Wins (Weick, 1984); and Radical Collaboration (Shih et al., 2008; Tamm & Luyet, 2005)—from which to analyze and interpret the data, I anticipated that the findings could lead to concentrating on a few of the frameworks that were especially applicable to the narratives that emerged. Further discussion about these frameworks as lenses on my data, follows in Chapter V.

Perceived Challenges and Ethical Considerations

It was a challenge finding HRPs who were willing to be interviewed and who have been intentional about hiring from NTTPs. Prior to the interviews, I was concerned that sorting personal motivations into relevant and consistent categories may be a challenge due to the potential range of motivations that could be quite broad. Identifying instances of resistance that were linked to hiring from NTTPs also possessed potential challenges. I did not fact check statements or interview those in the organization that the HRP had identified as someone who has resisted or created a barrier for this work; therefore, I relied on the participants' perceptions of the events, understanding that the resistance may have actually been more perception than reality. This did not reduce or eliminate the perceived resistance as important to their experience as an employee and change maker.

In their chapter, "Ethical Issues of Interviewing," Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) assert that interviewing is "a moral enterprise" (p. 62) stating that some of the ethical concerns can be identified in the "ethical issues at seven research stages" (p. 63), which includes thematizing, designing, interview, transcription, analysis, verification, and reporting. Later in the same chapter they discuss the four areas often found in ethical guidelines which include informed consent, confidentiality, consequences, and the role of the research (p. 68).

On the concern about the role of the researcher, I have spoken about my role in earlier sections of this chapter. Confidentiality and informed consent are rather straight forward and were covered prior to the interview sessions. The issue of consequences is less straightforward.

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) recommend "beneficence . . . [meaning] that the risk of harm to a participant should be the least possible" (p. 73) and that the researcher be aware that the interview process involves interviewee risks of potential over disclosure, seduction, and a "quasi-therapeutic" dynamic evolving. I trust that my extensive professional experience with confidential conversations about sensitive topics helped me to remain alert to possible therapeuting of the interview. I did acknowledge and was ever mindful of the potential risk that, due to my long-term role as a discrimination consultant, I might have almost instinctively feltcompelled to help and guide participants as they described difficult situations. Doing that could affect their stories. Awareness of this risk helped me to remain within a research rather than therapeutic interview mode. Ethical considerations about anonymity were mitigated through the confidentiality disclosure and masking of participant identity throughout the dissertation.

Methodological Limitations

The number of interview participants, 17, may be viewed as a limitation but only in the sense that any study that documents individual motivation and perceived resistance will fail to capture every individual motivation or act of resistance. The sample was enough to obtain general saturation within the data collection and coding framework and provided a scope for transferability and quasi-generalizability (Baker & Edwards, 2012). A community's history with marginalized communities—whether the community is progressive or conservative in this regard—may impact the HRP participants' perceptions of resistance, but I did not measure those additional factors. Unemployment rates also vary by city and may increase or decrease employers' willingness, tolerance, desire, or need to hire from historically and structurally marginalized communities. I address a number of additional methodological limitations that came to light through the rest of the process and these are be dealt with or, if that is not possible, brought to light in the final write-up.

Chapter IV: Results

It was a relief, filled with anticipation as I lay down the research, distanced myself from assumptions, and prepared for the interviews. Anticipation grew into excitement as requests for interviews turned into confirmations. Reluctance to participate in the interviews among the intended sample was higher than I expected, and I learned that HR professionals have many reasons to be hesitant and defensive. Over time, the goal was met. The 17 participants were generous with their time, perceptions, professionalism, and self-reflection. Hard questions were asked and answered, for the most part, with authentic responses. Some leaned closer to the company line and others, grateful for the opportunity to share, dove straight into their hearts to reveal their experiences and insights. This chapter introduces participants and expands on themes that emerged in the interviews.

The Findings

Participant profiles. What follows is a brief profile for each of the participants. Their names have been changed to protect their confidentiality. I have attempted to convey a nuanced understanding of each participant, to humanize them in a concise, meaningful, and authentic way.

Adam identifies as a White male and has been working as an HRP in the manufacturing sector for five years. Adam's father passed when he was young; afterward his mother went back to school as a way to support and advance the family. Those early childhood experiences influenced how he understands poverty and marginalization. Adam stated that "I'm a recruiter because, I would say, at the end of the day, there's some intrinsic high I get from being able to offer someone a job."

Ayomide identifies as a Black woman. Ayomide's father was an immigrant from Africa, and he passed when she was just a baby. For the past 15 years, Ayomide has worked as an HRP.

Her experience has crossed multiple sectors and cities, but her focus has been primarily in the

manufacturing industry. Her approach to her work is as both a vocation and as a spiritual

journey. She told me,

> The way I'm challenging myself personally is to really, at the core, love people. I know that sounds corny, but truly love people and love human beings, and really, I guess, serve my talents and my profession through that lens of love first. And really just making sure that at the end of the day I realize that I'm a servant leader who does this work because people, at the core, are my passion.

Roy identifies as a Black male who has worked in the HR field for 13 years across

manufacturing, food retail, and consulting sectors. Without hesitation, Roy shared the issues he

saw within the companies, he did not personalize the resistance he witnessed but, instead, he saw

it as a puzzle to solve.

> I'm not the type of person that sits and moans and groans and complains and points fingers at everybody. I'm the person that says what can I do on my end to ensure that there's an opportunity for others like me, and how can I start the ball rolling.

Grace identifies as a White woman who has worked in HR for 17 years across several

industries. Grace is also an adjunct college professor teaching Human Resources. She had a

practical view of her work. Similar to Ayomide, Grace brings soft-spoken, reflective inquiry to

the work that causes her to reflect on her biases, push her staff, and intentionally work towards

creating an inclusive organization.

> Because the recruiting is one end of that [HR responsibilities], which honestly, is the easier end, and then there's the getting everybody to work and play nicely together end of it, which is a very challenging area when it comes to having a diverse population.

Keziah identifies as a first-generation Asian female who has worked in HR for 14 years.

Keziah has worked in multiple sectors during her HR career. She is currently the CEO of a

temporary to permanent staffing firm that contracts with organizations in need of mid-range to

executive level talent. Keziah was very measured and specific in her conversation; yet more than

once she found herself going down paths that surprised the both of us. The interview lasted over

an hour but the time with Keziah evaporated in her animated and intense stories which ranged

from her first jobs in HR to her hopes for the company she now runs. "I've always been the only first Asian female [within the organizations she worked], and then I start hiring individuals that are very different [to me]. It has to be the passion, so that's why the passion always reigns through for me."

Walter identifies as a Black male with nearly 20 years of HR experience in the manufacturing industry. Broad chested with a baritone voice, his responses came at the measured pace that revealed his legal training. Walter was thoughtfully crafting his answers in a way that I could understand them—like a translator who knows that words do not match experiences exactly but is still working hard to convey the spirit and meaning. Walter's intentionality toward non-traditional talent was presented firm and unapologetic.

> There's few of us [Black men in executive positions], so I want to make sure that other people have an opportunity to see me, talk to me and understand what I've done. You don't have to do what I did, but I want you to know that it's possible.

Lura identifies as a White female working in the food industry. She has held jobs in multiple sectors, and HR is a new role for her. Lura stated that she has had long term relationships with both men and women but did not identify her sexual orientation in the interview, a practical example of her goal to "avoid labeling and just exist as a human." Similar to other participants, Lura holds herself accountable to a personal and spiritual standard so that equity, fairness, respect, and dignity are not platitudes but practices that impact the lives of those she touches. She stated:

> I have a very clear sense of my own purpose. And no matter where my job is, [currently] it happens to be here and happens to be in HR, but to kind of wake people up to wider perspectives and then have that impact their thoughts and speech and action.

Michelle identifies as a White female who has worked in the Healthcare industry for the past six years. Michelle went to religiously conservative schools and chose to expand her worldview by going to a public university. Using a mix of a practical and analytical lenses, she

revealed that as a practitioner in the HR field, she was inspired and sometimes surprised by the

lives, stories, and impact that she was having with those she advocates. She shared,

> I'm kind of a natural geek in that sense because I like to see if we can find the problem and fix it. I also tend to do a lot of self-reflection on how we approach things and how we can better approach them.

Linda identifies as a White female who has worked in the financial industry for over 30

years. She grew up in a religiously conservative community with what she referred to as a racist

father, both of these factors caused her embarrassment and motivated her to see people

differently. Linda is a female pioneer who broke glass ceilings within her organization.

Regarding hiring from diverse populations, she said: "I think it's part of the job, but also a

passion. My daughter married a person of color, and my grandbabies are beautiful, and it's just a

wonderful thing. So, it's also kind of a family thing as well."

Cynthia identifies as a Black female who has worked in city government for nearly 15

years. Cynthia spoke with measured passion, backing up her beliefs with statistics and rationale

that supported the objectives of the organization. Driven and with a reliance on research has

allowed Cynthia to navigate local power structures.

> I realized as I became more conscientious and aware of how even seemingly benign systems can have an unintentional adverse impact on groups if the processes to run those systems are not unbiased and if the outreach is not diversified, so unless you're intentional about changing up things and processes before using the system, then system bias will exist.

Melissa identifies as a White female and has worked in public transportation for five

years, working her way up from a temp worker into an entry level HR position, hiring is one of

her roles. Melissa is married to a Black man and has two children, a boy and a girl. She is an

adult learner, going back to school to earn her bachelor's degree. "So yeah, I would say I'm

pretty passionate about it. She [Melissa's boss] couldn't have picked a better person to probably

be tasked with this. It's challenging, though, to change people's mindset, but I'm up for it."

Tony identifies as a Black male; he is a veteran who worked 15 years in HR in the media industry, he is currently an HR consultant and adjunct professor. When I asked whether he sees himself as an exceptional leader or as an exceptional Black leader, he indicated that the former was most apt. I wondered, though did not ask, whether this resulted from his military experience, his expressed feeling of being "tokenized" early in his career or both. He also explained as follows:

> On some intuitive level, unconscious level, somebody who walks into an organization, that is obviously different, understands very quickly, just from the norms and the things that they observe, what it's going to take to survive in that organization and whether they're willing to make that sacrifice or not.

Anna identifies as an Asian female working in food retail HR for four years. Anna was adopted as a baby and raised in a religiously conservative and racially isolated community by White parents. Vibrant, fast talking, and outgoing, she seemed to have a passion and skill for convincing White males in power that diversity and equity are critical to the business. "I've always had a personal passion. This is something that I feel genuinely authentic about. No matter where I go and what I do, this is just a part of who I am and what I think about."

Rebecca identifies as a White female who has worked in HR for five years, across multiple sectors including healthcare and manufacturing. Rebecca was raised in a conservative church, yet her family was very progressive in the way religious obligation played out. They fostered children, went on missionary trips, and traveled extensively. After 20 years of marriage, her husband abandoned the family. Due to the divorce, Rebecca lost her job working within the church, and then she and her children lost their home. That crisis motivates Rebecca to fight hard for individuals in similar situations and who need a job. She told me that "I have a background in Christian counseling so I'm always very much listening with the ear that someone has a story and it goes beyond the résumé."

Randi identifies as a White female working in the financial services HR for the past 17 years. Sitting bolt upright, Randi answered every question succinctly. Although she talked mostly about the company and its virtues, she also did share a bit about her early upbringing and the impact it had on her world view.

> At that time, there was little diversity (in the small town she grew up in), very closed-minded, and I saw discrimination in ways that I never wanted to follow or bring into any place that I functioned, either personally or professionally.

Steve identifies as a White male working in financial services HR for the past 20 years. Optimism flowed from Steve. Taking a big picture approach, he spoke about the organization's effort to hire from NTTPs in broad brush strokes. But there were also several times when he shared very personal antidotes and stories to exemplify his point. The interview was done via the phone as he transitioned from one meeting to the next. When asked if he thinks about this work as a passion, he said: "Yeah, it's a passion of mine, but I'd say it's an organizational passion and I would say the organization is probably passionate about it because it does make good business sense."

Terri identifies as an Asian female; her mother is White, and her father is an Asian immigrant. As such, she is sensitive to how discrimination affects individuals' behaviors, ambitions, and perspectives. She attended a racially-mixed urban high school that offered her the opportunity to have relationships with a wide range of people. Terri, who sees herself as a non-financial person, has spent 15 years in an HR role for financial institutions.

> I've always had the need to get to know the person rather than look at someone and say that "you're not like me, so I'm going to walk away." I would say it's formulated from high school on. I always had that.

Thematic Analysis

What follows is the compilation of voices that make up the research. My goal is to provide the reader with a comprehensive understanding, a culmination or conglomeration of the

17 interviews while giving each voice a chance to be heard. To humanize the participants in a way that shows the richness, depth, and difference in their personalities, perspectives, experiences, and motivations. The subthemes came from the semi-structured interview guide and were emergently identified. I found that as I became intimately familiar with all 17 interviews, one participant quote would trigger the memory of another quote in a different interview. This processes of continually reading, analyzing, and coding created a more in-depth understanding of the material as the layers, meaning, nuances sifted and re-sifted. After coding all 17 participant interviews, I collated all responses for each of the five emergent themes. Table 4.1 outlines the main themes and sub-themes that have been drawn from the interviews and which are now discussed individually, as well as indicating the numbers of participants who addressed each theme.

Readers will note in the following sections that the themes are categorized numerically, with the most common themes being discussed first. This is not meant to be a value judgment or indicator of importance; there is no statistical significance and no absolute relevance. As this is exploratory research, each perspective, and experience, no matter how unique, should be seen as important and insightful. The goal of this research was to be inclusive of all perspectives and experiences.

Table 4.1

Main Themes and Sub-Themes From Interviews

THEME/Sub-Theme	# of Participants Addressing Theme
1. Non-Traditional Talent Pool	17
Defining Non-Traditional Talent Pools	17
Attributes that impact work and personal perspectives	17
2. Motivation	17
Organizational Motivation	17

THEME/Sub-Theme	# of Participants Addressing Theme
Directed by Leadership	11
Diversity as a goal, that is, it's the right thing to do	11
Regulations and Legal Constraints	11
Business case not charity	7
Lawsuit or reputation	5
Personal Motivation	17
Dual Consciousness	17
Work, passion balance	11
Personal calling/personal experience	10
3. Resistance	17
Manifestations of resistance	17
Solutions to resistance	17
4. Strategies Utilized for Outreach	17
Targeting Non-profits for Outreach	17
Targeting Industry Affiliations for Outreach	10
Targeting Government for Outreach	8
Targeting Marketing & Social Media for Outreach	8
Targeting Education for Outreach	5
5. How Participants Defined Success	17
6. Participants Key Insights	17

Non-traditional talent pool [17 participants]. The term "non-traditional talent pool"

(NTTP), was intentionally selected as there are many ways to describe the situation that I was

hoping to capture. Using common but potentially polarizing terms such as oppressed,

marginalized or discriminated against may carry both a moral as well as a legal implication in the

HR world. I have found that HRPs tend to be well versed in and sensitive to the legal

ramifications of discrimination. Even an unproven accusation of discriminatory practices can

have a detrimental impact on the reputation of an organization. The term "non-traditional" leaves

room for the HRP to interpret the definition more broadly whereas discrimination may cause

them to limit their thinking to those only who are currently seen through the narrow view of a protected class. The terms "oppressed" or "marginalized" could trigger defensiveness or the HRP's implicit biases toward specific groups. I felt that "non-traditional" was non-threatening and might not restrict the way the HRPs defined the population. This section covers two themes—first, the way the participants defined the term "non-traditional talent pool" and secondly, which set of attributes they and/or the company focus on during the hiring process.

Defining NTTPs [17 participants]. All 17 participants defined NTTPs. What follows are snippets that encompass the broad variation yet similarly themed definitions. I have intentionally eliminated the specific attributes from within the definition to exemplify the thought process and philosophical perspective of the participants.

Adam: "In my head, it's maybe areas of a city or something that are kind of underrepresented in the workforce. There's high unemployment in that area, and those folks aren't able to get into full-time roles for one reason or another."

Ayomide: "Essentially, [NTTP refers to] *minority*. And fully encompassing those folks who typically haven't fit into the American middle-class worker . . . folks challenged with the normal work structure."

Roy: "You're going outside of your normal way of attracting and helping to work toward retaining people."

Walter: "[NTTP means] anything that may prevent them from fully recognizing their potential because of the way the employer or the society interacts with that barrier."

Michelle: "To me, it means anybody that is either not currently working or might have a barrier to employment of some sort, whether it's a learning barrier, a physical barrier, emotional barrier, anything like that."

Linda: "Those people that, in some ways, have a difficult time finding work and therefore, I think they're automatically classified as non-traditional."

Cynthia: "It means talent pools that have, from most hiring systems, been underrepresented . . . It reflects individuals who have not been—and I'll use the word traditionally included as part of the opportunity in many different ways, intentional way."

Melissa: "Non-traditional? I know for my goal, my goal, is to reach outside of our normal area. When I think non-traditional, I just think outside of the norm of what's been done in the past."

Tony:

> I think the place that I would say that I've always kind of oriented myself around and how I think about looking for diverse talent would be in understanding the existing context, in understanding what that profile looks like and where there are gaps, where there are weaknesses, where there's under-representation, and then trying to find avenues to be able to fill those or close those gaps.

Anna: "What are the barriers that we need to remove for that population? How has the skill set in that population or demographic been seen traditionally and non-traditionally? What are the things we need to do internally in order to help that happen?"

Rebecca: "It means limited resources, marginalized, possibly catastrophic [events] even."

Steve: "When I think of non-traditional pools, I think of it in a lot of different facets, and I think what we're really looking for is diversity of experience, diversity of thought, and how do we bring that talent in?"

Lura: "How about we widen our perspective on compassion and humanity to make a little more room for the conversation in our practices? That'd be good. I'm a little non-traditional about the non-traditional."

Five of the participants—Roy, Keziah, Michelle, Cynthia, and Melissa—emphasized that NTTPs need to be qualified. This distinction came with a bit of defensiveness, maybe in part due to EEO regulations or to some historical backlash to affirmative action.

Keziah:

Because, number one, if their job order first came with "I want to hire a person of color," rather than having to look at what the requirements of the position and who's qualified, (then) we respond with, "We're EEO [Equal Employment Opportunity] compliant," so we start the whole education process with them. It does put them off, some of them, in terms of, "I'm not sure if you're ready," because if the person doesn't work out now, I'm going to have a bad reputation. Not only with the community of me having to do (because of) a bad placement, but secondly, I'm now burning my bridge in this community of what (that) we worked so hard to be passionate about because now I'm now just after the bottom line and not the real education (of the employer).

Keziah's statement indicates the challenges that can occur with trying to navigate the politics of diversity and one's own business demands.

Roy speaks to the effort required to expand the circle of potential employees: "There are qualified people that look different from you. It takes a bit more work to go find them, but it can be done." Cynthia provides a more nuanced view, accounting for the value of diverse employees can provide when servicing diverse communities: "We want the best qualified, but we really want the best qualified to perform the job in our community, as it is today, to meet the public services needs of the diverse community as it is today."

Michelle and Melissa were a bit blunter in their explanation. Michelle said: "You hire because they are qualified for the position." And, Melissa: "It doesn't matter who, as long as you're qualified."

An additional issue worthy of singling out is that the environmental constraints of the community also come into play when defining NTTP. Grace and Steve both mentioned the differences one must acknowledge. Grace stated that St. Louis, Detroit, and Grand Rapids all had different populations to consider; and Steve told a story about trying to develop a call center, but

that the company could not find a large enough local population within the geographic

constraints of their current locations, historically an unwritten constraint for previous projects.

By pushing on the self-imposed boundary, leaders were able to identify a community in need of

good jobs, but that fell outside of the organization's current footprint. Steve's organization

moved forward on the project, benefiting the community and the organization. Grace spoke of

the need to adapt, pontificating that some policies, procedures, and expectations need to be

modified due to the environment, demographics or situation in satellite locations.

 Attributes that impact work and personal perspectives [17 participants]. This was a

second sub-theme from participants' discussion of NTTPs. They had been asked: "What

attributes did the HRP focus on? How have their experiences affected their perceptions of others

and where are the points of intersection? An initial list of 21 attributes was generated from a

literature review (Osmun, 2015; see in Figure 4.1). The list, which focused on peer-reviewed

research, identified specific attributes that were discriminated against at the point of hire. During

the interviews, participants talked about an additional three categories that I felt were worthy of

noting: families, geography and transgender. The *family* category came up in the context of

childhood experiences that influenced their perspective, whereas the topics of geography and

transgender were discussed in relation to the hiring process.

 The reflections on geography are consistent with Sharkey (2013) who, among others, has

written extensively on the impact of neighborhoods on resource allocation. In reviewing my

original research, I found that four of the seven researchers on hiring discrimination based on

sexual orientation (Bauermeister et al., 2014; Dispenza et al., 2012; Nadler & Kufahl, 2014;

Reed et al., 2015) included transgendered individuals in their overly broad definition of sexual

orientation.

Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 were created to present information about the participants' views on several categories of attributes of HTTPs. Figure 4.1. shows attributes (highlighted red cells) targeted during hiring. Experience-based attributes are ones that impacted the HRPs' perceptions about others and are represented by blue highlighted cells in Figure 4.2. Figure 4.3 shows the intersection of the two matrices, with overlapping attributes (i.e., when a participant identified both work and experience attributes), shown as purple.

As seen in Figure 4.1, the most common attribute, which was mentioned by all 17 participants, was race. In this context, race refers to non-White. Thirteen of the participants mentioned gender. I found it interesting that four of the women did not mention gender as being a part of their focus. Gender, in this context, typically refers to women. An exception may be when there is interest or intentional focus on hiring men into positions typically dominated by women, such as nursing. Twelve participants identified "ethnicity," but I think that is deceptive in that many of the participants used "race" and "ethnicity" interchangeably in their interviews, often including the terms "marginalized" or "minority" in the mix as well. Veteran status (discussed nine times) and disability (seven times) were both discussed relatively often too. In total, there were work-related 102 attributes mentioned throughout the 17 interviews, an average of six per participant.

Steve spoke about the fewest number of attributes (four) while Anna had the highest number (nine) of attributes mentioned. Both Steve and Anna spoke about gender, race, sexual orientation, and veteran status, which happen to be four of the five most discussed attributes, Anna also spoke about criminal records, disabilities, ethnicity, immigration status, and socioeconomic status.

Work	Adam	Ayomide	Roy	Grace	Keziah	Walter	Lura	Michelle	Linda	Cynthia	Melisa	Tony	Anna	Rebecca	Randi	Steve	Terri	Total
Race	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	17
Gender	X		X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X		13
Ethnicity	X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	12
Veteran Status	X	X	X					X			X	X		X	X	X		9
Disability (Cognitive or Physical)				X			X	X	X				X	X	X			7
Criminal Record		X		X		X	X					X	X					6
Sexual Orientation				X	X						X		X			X	X	6
Socioeconomic Status		X			X	X	X						X	X				6
Age				X	X						X		X		X		X	5
Education		X				X		X							X			4
Transgender (+)				X			X		X								X	4
Immigration Status							X							X	X			3
National Origin		X							X		X							3
Geography (+)	X										X							2
Indigenous Heritage											X	X						2
Religious Orientation												X				X		2
Weight																	X	1
Accent																		0
Credit Score																		0
Family (+)																		0
Marital Status																		0
Name																		0
Nepotism																		0
Skin Color																		0
Total	5	7	4	8	5	5	7	5	6	5	8	5	9	6	6	4	7	

Figure 4.1. Work-related attributes identified in interviews.

In addition to understanding which attributes participants focused on at work, I was also interested in their personal experienced-based attributes (Figure 4.2), those attributes that impacted their worldviews of others. Throughout the interviews, participants often segued into personal perspectives or events, providing rich data about their lives. I also showed them the list of the 21 attributes and asked if anything on the list triggered a memory of meaningful events that might have shaped their views toward the NTTPs they were focused on.

There were many interesting examples given, but one exemplary story came from Adam, whose father passed when he was very young. Two of Adam's uncles were in the military and

Adam mentioned that he was able to visit both of them on their respective military bases when he was younger, a meaningful connection for Adam. Fast forward to today and Adam is actively engaging with local Veterans groups, attempting to help returning vets find good jobs, an activity that Adam has a passion for.

There were 116 experience-based attributes mentioned by the 17 participants, an average of 6.8 per participant, an increase of 14 over the frequency of mentioning workplace attributes.

Experience	Adam	Ayomide	Roy	Grace	Keziah	Walter	Lura	Michelle	Linda	Cynthia	Melisa	Tony	Anna	Rebecca	Randi	Steve	Terri	Total
Race			X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	12
Education	X	X			X	X			X				X	X	X	X	X	10
Family (+)	X	X					X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	10
Immigration Status		X		X		X	X	X				X	X		X			8
Ethnicity			X				X	X				X		X	X		X	7
Gender		X	X			X	X		X						X		X	7
Religious Orientation				X			X	X	X					X	X	X		7
Socioeconomic Status	X						X	X		X	X			X		X		7
Veteran Status	X				X		X		X			X			X		X	7
Sexual Orientation				X			X		X						X		X	5
Disability (Cognitive or Physical)							X						X	X			X	4
Geography (+)										X			X	X		X		4
Marital Status	X		X											X	X			4
Name		X				X	X						X					4
Transgender (+)				X			X									X	X	4
Accent							X					X	X					3
Age				X			X											2
Criminal Record		X				X												2
Indigenous Heritage									X				X					2
National Origin							X								X			2
Skin Color							X		X									2
Credit Score							X											1
Nepotism							X											1
Weight							X											1
Total	5	6	4	5	2	6	19	6	8	3	2	6	9	8	11	7	9	

Figure 4.2. Personal experience-based attributes identified in interviews.

Viewing the intersectional points between work and personal attributes is another interesting way to view the data (Figure 4.3). Color coding for the first two attributes (red for

work and blue for experience-based) is seen in this matrix, but with purple designating, where both intersected.

All Attributes	Adam	Ayomide	Roy	Grace	Keziah	Walter	Lura	Michelle	Linda	Cynthia	Melisa	Tony	Anna	Rebecca	Randi	Steve	Terri	WORK	PERSONAL	Combined
Race																		17	12	13
Ethnicity																		12	7	5
Veteran Status																		9	7	5
Socioeconomic Status																		6	7	4
Education																		4	10	3
Gender																		13	7	3
Transgender (+)																		4	4	3
Criminal Record																		6	2	2
Disability (Cognitive or Physical)																		7	4	2
Age																		5	2	1
Immigration Status																		3	8	1
Sexual Orientation																		6	5	1
Accent																		0	3	0
Credit Score																		0	1	0
Family (+)																		0	10	0
Geography (+)																		2	4	0
Indigenous Heritage																		2	2	0
Marital Status																		0	4	0
Name																		0	4	0
National Origin																		3	2	0
Nepotism																		0	1	0
Religious Orientation																		2	7	0
Skin Color																		0	2	0
Weight																		1	1	0
Total WORK	5	7	4	8	5	5	7	5	6	5	8	5	9	6	6	4	7	102		
Total PERSONAL	5	6	4	5	2	6	19	6	8	3	2	6	9	8	11	7	9	116		
Total Combined	1	2	3	4	0	5	6	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	4	2	4			

Figure 4.3. Work and personal attributes combined.

Organizational and personal motivation. A vital part of the research is to understand the range of motivation that allows the HRP to practice positive deviance. Pascale et al. (2010) suggested that one "focus on the successful exceptions" (p. 3); they go on to say that "positive deviants often 'don't know what they don't know'" (p. 7). I never had the feeling that any of the

participants thought of their contribution to be exceptional. To them, it seemed, this is just what they do, it is simply their job. This will be illustrated below.

Understanding the complexity of motivation, which may include personal motivation along with corporate motivation provides a vital framework to view transformational change. Figure 4.3 provides clues into the intersectionality of experience-based versus corporate attributes which bring up a broad question: What is the relationship between personal motivation and corporate motivation?

The challenge seems to be balancing the corporate goals with personal motivation. I get a sense that there may be some defensiveness associated with pushing one's personal agenda in a professional setting. Cynthia stated:

> And if I, who was over HR, didn't start working on some strategy, the people we brought in to backfill for these jobs—when you're not intentional about changing things up in the outreach steps—would essentially end up being a new hire population primarily of White employees. We want the best qualified, but we really want the best qualified to perform the job in our community as it is today, to meet the public services needs of the diverse community as it is today.

It feels like something that has to be talked around and not spoken of directly. An unspoken understanding. For example, 11 participants stated that intentionally hiring from NTTPs was a passion, though none of them stated that they only hire or would only hire from a specific group. No one stated that their personal passion would cause them to make unprofessional decisions. Instead, they used their passion within the context of it being beneficial for the organization. To that point, Steve said: "I might say it's a passion of mine, but I'd say it's a shared passion. It's a shared organizational passion. And I think that passion is often organizationally-driven because it does make good business sense."

There is also the risk to those in marginalized communities to be seen as pushing an agenda; they fear losing credibility as a professional—Tony is a good example:

I eventually left [his HR position] in part because I just didn't feel that I ever was really a part of the team there, that I was this token African American [military] officer who got recruited in the specialized program and that's how I was viewed. I wasn't viewed as part of the organization. I was just viewed as this kind of special project and so I ended up leaving.

Or, potentially businesses, as Keziah's remarks seemed to indicate:

So, I'd rather do the front conversation which is harder rather than having to see that not only is the candidate unhappy and they're coming back out of that position, and then now I have to go figure out if I have to refund because of my guarantee or do a replacement.

Yoshino (2006) said that he was given the following advice when he started his career as a professor: "You'll have a better chance at tenure if you're a homosexual professional than if you're a professional homosexual" (p. 17). This advice, while possible intended to be helpful, shows that those that push an agenda for "their own people" risk losing credibility.

Organizational motivation [17 participants]. In the coding process, five additional subthemes surfaced under this category of organizational motivation:

- Directed by Leadership [11 participants];

- Diversity as a Goal [11 participants];

- Regulations [11 participants];

- Business Case [6 participants];

- Lawsuit/Reputational Issue [5 participants].

Participants' statements often blurred the lines between the subtheme, making it clear that for the researcher the idea of firm categories and neat boxes are elusive and unrealistic. There were many "yes . . . and" type of statements as they tried to describe and define the corporate drivers of this work. What was clear, as will be seen below, is that none of the participants that I interviewed were doing this work without leadership approval and knowledge, but the degree and nature, and how and why that support manifested, varied greatly.

Directed by leadership [11 participants]. Ayomide spoke about a past employer who is noted for their triple bottom line approach to business. "Their work was very much led by a thought leader who kind of pronounced a value in his organization, and it literally permeated throughout." Michelle, who is new to her role in Healthcare HR, stated:

> No, definitely not my idea. It's actually part of our strategy as an organization, as a faith-based organization . . . But it comes from the top down, but it wasn't an intentional strategy at first. The strategy was to improve the quality of the hire. Reducing turnover and improving things like patient satisfaction through having a consistent workforce because they're not churning over constantly, and they're more engaged in what they're doing . . . There wasn't a single voice that, other than probably the CEO, you might say the CEO set the tone, but in terms of actual implementation, if you will, execution of a vision around diversity and what that meant for our organization, the execution sat with the team of which I was a part.

> Linda was very clear about the need for leadership support:

> I don't think I could do what I do, the work that we do, without the support of leadership. The top has to support not only the HR function, but the work. It's hard work. They have to support it. They have to believe it. They have to do it as well. I don't think you can survive and do this kind of work without it.

Diversity as a goal—the right thing to do [11 participants]. Adam has seen an increased interest in diversity at the executive level and the managerial level. Why is this important?

> Over time diversity and inclusion has become more important. I would say one of the driving factors for us as a company . . . [is because] the growth that they have within the [affiliate] population is primarily with minority groups. So, it would be Hispanic Americans, Chinese Americans, Vietnamese Americans. [We] started to have a real need to have people in the corporations start to resemble the [affiliate owners] out in the field. (Adam)

> Twice, Grace talked about a goal to "do the right thing for the right reasons": the first time was in terms of attraction and recruitment: "If that can help us attract some people and it makes us able to do more of the right things for the right reasons, we certainly should be considering that." And the second time was about making sure their treatment of employees was equitable:

> Let's make sure that we're doing the right things for the right reasons and not just putting a band-aid on something. We need to look at our practices; we need to look at our policies, we need to look at how we integrate people. (Grace)

Linda reflected on the outcome of profitability as a result of leadership, community and doing the right thing;

> It's totally driven by leadership. I found that at every bank some of the leadership could care less. The other banks that I worked with, didn't care if you get involved in the community, didn't care if you recruited people of color. I didn't want to be a part of those kind of organizations. But ours is truly, truly driven by the leadership. It's the right thing to do. It really is. And that's the message we deliver to the employee base; it's the right thing to do. It's good business. We'll be more profitable.

Similarly, Terri stated that "if we don't have the community support, then how long do we really last? Not to mention that it's the right thing to do."

Regulations and legal constraints [11 participants]. Participants also discussed the importance of regulatory and/or policy constraints as motivational factors that affect diversity efforts for better or worse. These regulations may be specific to the industry that they are in or their particular to their organizational policies.

Grace gave an excellent example of the responsibility that organizations who serve the public have to balance: "We took a pretty firm stance on sex crimes, on theft, and on violence and said, 'you know what? We serve the public; we've got people working closely together; these are bigger issues for us.'" She went on to share about the thoughtfulness which she and her team have about these issues:

> A lot of those situations involves legal questions. So, I can't say that's not always my first thought process because it still is, but I'm also looking at [questions such as]: does this make sense to do? Does this make good business sense to do? Does this make good sense with this employee to do? How much extra effort is it for us? How precedent-setting in reality is it? How much of a risk is it going to present us? And of course, some of this is all just estimations because I don't know specifically, but I think in all of our business worlds, we deal a lot with attorneys and we deal a lot with insurance companies, and they're out to scare us. And so, at some point we have to say to ourselves: "Am I spending more effort on trying to prevent the problem and may just manage it if it actually ever comes to fruition and then I [can] spend my energy on other things that are going to be more helpful for the business and more helpful for employees?" (Grace)

Michelle shared how her industry limits the number of prospects:

I think, is because of the nature of our industry that there are so many required licensures and training programs for this position. It's not easy to come into healthcare if you don't have prior experience or very specific training or licensure.

When confronting a leader who was resistant to recruiting people of color, Linda was able to rely on Executive Order 11246[2] as a way to counter his resistance. She went on to say that, "We have a lot of regulation around people of color and making sure that we're doing our outreach with that population as well and making sure that we have good fair-lending practices" These regulations include OFCCP (Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs) audits through the Department of Labor.

Cynthia, who works for a city government in Michigan spoke about the impact of Proposition 2 in relation to hiring from NTTPs. According to a press release from the University of Michigan Law School (2007):

Last November [referring to 2006], the Michigan state constitution was amended by voter initiative to include Proposal 2, which precludes state entities, including the University of Michigan, from granting "preferential treatment" to individuals on the basis of their "race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin." (para. 1)

Cynthia stated:

We are under the legal perimeters of the State Law of Proposition 2 when making hiring or contracting decisions as a public entity. It prevents race or gender as being the basis of the decision on either. This means that there can't be any decision based on either of those reasons which in turn means that there is an inability to have an evaluation which specifically has those factors as an accountability for achieving goals or anything like that."

She continued that, as a result,

we shy away from having goals because as we understand Proposition 2, if you were to begin holding people accountable for a goal that has been deemed by State law to be illegal, then giving people raises or denying them a raise based on if they meet that goal would be a de-facto criteria and requirement that you're using to judge their performance. Then to me, that would be a problem we would face with the perimeters on the Prop 2

---

[2] This was issued by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965 prohibiting discrimination in hiring and employment practices for federal contractors.

law. We want to follow the law, but that doesn't mean we can't do things (in our processes) better. (Cynthia)

Cynthia assured me that she and her team remain compliant with the Proposition 2 and she has not changed the requirement or standards; what she has changed is the way she has done community outreach.

Rebecca, who hires technical staff for organizations across the globe, runs into H-1B visas, working visas, and working permits in the process for becoming US citizens.

Steve discussed the difficulty in finding qualified people from NTTPs, stating: "There are areas that we have to if it requires licensing and we need people to hit the ground running from a licensing standpoint, we're bound to some degree to recruit in those more traditional pools."

Business case, not charity [7 participants]. Seven of the participants cited a "business case" rationale for their work with NTTPs. Roy, who faced a mix of support and resistance from his leadership, stated: "So I had to, first of all, establish what the business case was associated with it. And then once I got that, then I had to start explaining what the cost associated with it and the [necessary] resources." One of the subtle messages of resistance came to him in this form, when his upline stated, "it is the right thing to do, but we want to put a cap on what that looks like. We want to determine how far we want to go with this." Roy was realistic about his ability to do social justice work in a for-profit company, stating:

> The other thing with that was companies want to make sure that they don't mix that social side and that business side, only because we're not here to solve the social ills of the world. We are here to ensure that our employees are treated fair and that we have equality—and that's whole together a different discussion—but we're not here to solve the social ills.

> Grace, after 17 years in HR, viewed this work through a practical lens:

> We saw a surge in low unemployment. And so, in order to start recruiting people, had to start thinking a little differently . . . So, we opened up. We still have some parameters, and we communicated those for managers, but we're running the background checks and then we're generally making a recommendation to the managers, and if we have to, we'll collaborate on a specific situation. They (managers) were great. They were great about it.

In fact, they were like, "thank God, you finally opened [up] because now we have more candidates to choose from!" From a business perspective, very helpful for them.

Like many organizations, hiring is an imperative, especially for an organization in a very competitive market. Michelle, who is an HR practitioner, stated:

> We need to hire people and we need to hire them faster because we are dying on the vine. I know the manager, and I know my colleagues in talent acquisition struggle to find people for those positions. It kind of came more from that sense of urgency to hire.

The "it" she is referring to is a new hiring method that was meant to remove bias from the hiring practice and increase the speed of hiring. Michelle continued:

> After work got started with an evidence-based selection process, we found that our diversity numbers had increased. It was kind of a pleasant surprise to what had not ever intended to be a diversity initiative. It's still not a diversity initiative, but it's something that we found has been a contributing factor to increasing our diversity.

Reflecting on the evidence-based selection process, Michelle said:

> It's part of our value and our mission and vision on how we operate and how we continue to provide services. It just really fits with the culture of the organization, but it doesn't with every organization, and I recognize that. But I do think that even if you're in a for-profit organization if you look at the business side of it if we can hire a more engaged, higher-quality individual, we're providing training that fits with how we want them to work, it makes business sense.

When asked if targeting those who were in the NTTP category was a passion, Tony, an African American veteran, said:

> That's a hard one to answer. I'm not sure that I can actually say it rises to the level of a passion. But here's what I would say; I have always, both as an operating leader and as an HR leader, recognized the inherent and sometimes unseen capability that's embedded in teams. And one of those capabilities that in many organizations really goes untapped is the ability to innovate. A critical component of that innovation is reliant on diversity.

Randi tied the financial institutions focus on hiring vets, those with disabilities, and racial minorities to their corporate values:

> I think it goes back to our core values, really. We have core values that include teamwork, collaboration, inclusion, and I don't think if we fail to practice inclusion, it couldn't very well be as part of our core values.

Ayomide, who spoke elegantly about her passion for the work, was also very blunt about the practicality of the work: "I am trying to make sure that my organization is getting the right candidate for the role."

Three of the six that discussed this work from a business case perspective also mentioned that there were historical incidents in the organization that added additional motivation.

Issue—lawsuit or reputation [5 participants]. While some organizations rely on a business case rationale, others receive pressure as a result of internal issues coming to light. Some participants stated that their diversity initiatives grew out of lawsuits or concern for reputation. Speaking about her experience in her current organization, Ayomide understood part of the corporate motivation toward diversity was due to historical issues. She commented:

> There have been some critical incidents that have happened, and they have grasped the attention of management . . . I don't want the event that happens that helps them realize that this work is important . . . to be a tragic event. I'm trying to positively promote and support this before it comes to a hit. (Ayonmide)

A lengthy lawsuit was the impetus for Roy's organization to move forward with targeted diversity efforts:

> One of the things that I think got (us) down that road, even more, is we got involved in some litigation. And before the final decision had come out, we started doing the diversity and inclusion piece, but we still got hit with a huge fine.

Grace simply stated, "Honestly, some of our diversity and inclusion efforts have really stemmed from problems."

Linda, whose organization was in the midst of a "nasty lawsuit" and Lura, whose organization resolved a legal settlement that led to diversity training within the organization, are both examples of how outside pressures can shape this work even when leaders are not ready or willing.

Personal motivation [17 participants]. In addition to corporate motivation, I anticipated that personal motivation plays a significant role in the intention expanded outreach to NTTPs.

Though the coding process, three categories emerged in this section: Dual Consciousness, Work Passion Balance, and Personal Calling. Similar to other categories, participants did not fall cleanly into one sub-theme or the other and therefore are scored across categories.

 Dual Consciousness [17 participants]. Participants were asked to review the list of 21 attributes, reflect on categories and share if any of them triggered a meaningful memory or experience that might be relevant to the topic. The result, in combination with earlier conversations about personal experiences, provided a window into additional motivations that may have led them toward an interest in working with NTTPs. While nine of the participants identified as White, seven of them identify as female. Of the two White men, Adam spoke of the loss of his father when he was six. This tragedy altered his understanding of poverty and privilege and continues to affect the way he views perspective candidates. Steve, the other White male, talked about the influence of his grandfather, who he describes as a racist. At the end of his life, his grandfather became best friends with a Black man. That transformation and the question of "what did he miss?" as a result of a lifetime of racist beliefs motivates Steve to work to remain open to others.

 Of the seven White women, Lura spoke about her "sensitivities" being expanded as a result of her marginalized identities. Randi, Michelle, and Linda all spoke about growing up in racist communities and Linda's case, with a racist father. Those experiences drove each one away from, not towards, that way of thinking. Even as a young adult, Michelle sought out a different path from those around her.

> I intentionally chose to go to a public university that was much larger, went out to a different city. I didn't go to the Christian College in our town that I could have easily gone to with everybody else in my class. I intentionally chose to go to a diverse university to experience different cultures, different ethnicities, races, and religion because I wanted to experience the world as it is. I didn't want to be sheltered because that, to me, is what I think starts to create things like racism and all the "isms."

Grace didn't highlight any particular event or experience in her background, but she did share that she is divorced from a veteran and attends a liberal pro-gay church. Grace also shared how she would reflect and question her own biases when decisions needed to be made about difficult issues with personnel.

Melissa, who grew up "blue-collar," married an African American man, and they have two bi-racial children. She shared the challenge and opportunity that this presents as a hiring HRP:

> Personally, I think about my son, especially, as a young Black American because that's what he's going to be viewed as. He's not going to be a biracial young man; he's going to be a Black man. That's what society is going to see him as. I'm not out recruiting African American folks because I have a Black son and daughter, but I think I'm more sensitive to—obviously, there's a lot of hype in the media.

Anna, who was raised in a conservative Christian community by her adoptive parents, married a man from West Africa. She described her father as "biased" and blue-collar whereas her husband's family are highly educated and wealthier. She talked about the circumstance of her youth: "So, growing up as a woman of color in that space and listening and watching how he was treated, and also just his privilege as a White male affected me."

Terri was exposed to her father's struggle with racism as a Chinese man but did not talk about facing any racial discrimination directed toward herself. Keziah, who immigrated from the Philippines, talked about facing bias due to race and language proficiency. Walter's early exposure to discrimination and injustice can easily be traced to being a Black man but he had the added experience of having a friend, who after serving his time in the criminal justice system, found that he could not find a job upon release.

> I have a friend who came out of prison and was unable to get a job, unable to take care of his family. He struggled and struggled and struggled and finally, he was able to get a job. Someone took a chance on him, and he's been extremely successful. He's been able to work with this way up the ladder of his organization. But he's a very smart guy and [initially] he couldn't even get a job picking up the dog crap at an animal shelter, and that was the job [that was available], and they said, "No, you have a criminal record."

This was just one of the stories Walter spoke about passionately.

Early exposure to tragedy, direct or indirect exposure to discrimination or being marginalized themselves are factors that seemed to have awakened a willingness or ability to see the other, and, maybe just as importantly, a desire to advocate for them. Understandably, the stories are very personal, and it would be irresponsible to project that some of those HRPs who mostly hire from traditional pools have not had exposure to discrimination or tragedy.

Work/passion balance [11 participants]. Finding that job that allows for one to work from their sense of passion while filling a critical workplace goal can be powerfully rewarding.

When asked if she was directed to do this work or if the motivation was internal, Ayomide stated:

> Definitely a combination of the two. I can't say that growing up it was always my passion to do this work. However, in college is when I discovered that I had a knack for it, and I realized that it would become my life's work.

Walter expressed the importance for balance:

> I think that I've had the internal motivation to have [a] positive impact on these groups, but then I was able to connect with an employer where that was one of their long-term goals as well, so it was a good match.

Cynthia explained how essential and intersectional this work is, not only from a personal perspective but with her staff, the community, and her City Manager:

> A lot of things that were said during the public hearing dealt with police and the insensitivity, unfairness, disparate treatment, etc. But underneath the hurt, pain, and anger were a theme of [what] you got to do something to hire more minority officers and more female officers, and you got to do a better job to screen the ones you do hire. So, this issue brought up the question of what is our process and what are we doing system wide? So, therefore the City Manager recommended a citizen committee of people with expertise in personnel work with the HR staff to look at HR hiring processes and practices to see where we can transform it or revise it or make sure that it's doing what it's supposed to do effectively, presented another opportunity.

Anna was pragmatic in her approach, understanding and explaining the need for executive support:

But being in a corporate situation like this there has to be a little bit of both. You have to have some directives to say yes, you can go and do it well or do it more, and it helps to have someone that's authentically wanting to do it.

When asked about executive support for her work, Rebecca responded stating: "I'm thankful that I have leaders that back me up."

This work is personally fulfilling for Adam, but he also has an appreciation that the individuals he recruits, and the company all benefit: "I'm a recruiter because I would say, at the end of the day, there's some intrinsic high I get from being able to offer someone a job." He later stated: "There's something rewarding about being able to do that because you realize that you're helping the company, but a lot of times you help that person as well."

Personal calling–personal experience [10 participants]. While Adam received direction from the executive level and encouragement from some managers, he was also personally motivated. He remarked: "I had always just personally kept an eye out for veterans just because of, like I said, I had two uncles who served so when I was younger, I got to visit them." Clearly, working with veterans was both personally and professionally important to Adam.

Roy took pride in his ability to create a program that addressed a very personal need and observation. "It was something that I created because as I began to look at what was coming in the door, there were a lot of people that were coming in the door that didn't look like me."

Grace felt a tension between, what she saw as the role of a "typical HR person" and her natural openness, a new role in a creative industry allowed her to bridge that gap.

I can't be a typical HR person. Which meant somebody comes and asks for something and the HR person or team generally says, "Nope, can't do that." Or, "No . . ." and [then] there's usually a legal reason why. So, I started thinking about that process and finding that because that industry was very naturally creative and innovative, I needed to be more like that. Which is actually very much about who I am as a person, so it was pretty natural.

The experience of being the only Asian female meant that Keziah was often hiring people with a difference. "I've always been the only first Asian female, and then I start hiring

individuals that are very different. It has to be the passion, so that's why the passion always reigns through for me."

When asked about his motivation to do this work, Walter responded:

I think probably [it's] personal experience. Understanding that there were issues of inequity that were apparent to me—whether they're racial or gender-specific—and wanting to have an impact and try to reduce some of those inequities. And then making sure that there were conversations about the inequities. Because it had been my experience that when I saw inequities, often the response from employers, obviously, society in general, was that you seem to be reading too much into this.

Lura's motivation comes for a strong sense of self that evolves into a sense of responsibility:

I think my own mix of sensitivity, awareness, and "okay-ness" with my own membership in different outlying groups and some of my own experiences in the workforce as a result. I think what you do when you carry things forward.

In another section of the interview, she spoke of waking people up to a broader view as an important aspect of her sense of purpose.

Melissa, who is White, has two children with her African American husband. This daily experience has influenced her sense of equity: "There should be equal opportunity for everyone, so I think that probably my own dynamics in my home make me a bit passionate about it."

Anna felt she has taken her passion for diversity into all of her positions:

I've always had a personal passion [for diversity]. This [passion] is something that I feel genuinely authentic about. No matter where I go and what I do, this is just a part of who I am and what I think about.

Rebecca experienced a tough time: after her divorce she lost her job and her home. That part of her life drives her today. She said: "But also, the shoe has been on the other foot, and so I know how difficult it is to find work when you desperately need it."

Summary Remarks on Organizational and Personal Motivation Themes and Sub-Themes

Anna is aware that this is not cut-and-dry work. Leaders have shown to be motivated and resistant simultaneously. She stated: "You're always going to find certain champions that want to

do it because it's authentic, and you're always going to find those who are doing it because they know that their boss told them." Navigating corporate politics can be difficult as a result. Roy spoke about receiving mixed messages from leadership and Steve, who has spent 20 years in HR, talked about the importance of shared values between the employee and the organization, concluding: "I'm a big believer if you take organizational values and your personal values, the more that those overlap, the greater (the) chance of you being with that organization." Personal motivation, in combination with organizational support, seems to be the perfect solution but reality is often more complicated, which leads us to a discussion on the resistance experienced by the participants.

Resistance [17 participants].

Manifestations of resistance [17 participants]. I asked participants to talk about the types of resistance that they face as a result of hiring from NTTPs and all 17 participants were able to come up with one or more stories. The question was broad, intended to include experiences of personal as well as professional resistance. Relating the issue of resistance to their personal lives surprised many participants, and none of them stated that they had gotten any resistance to their work in their personal lives. Professional resistance was another matter. As discussed above, all of the participants were supported and encouraged to expand the level of diversity within their respective organizations but, as described below, who, how, and why this work was being done wasn't consistently embraced.

As Adam pointed out, sometimes the concern is due to a competing business pressure,

due to that person [the prospective employee] still being in the National Guard or Reserves that there was some hesitation about wanting to look at them [the prospective employee] because of the impact it would have on the rest of the team in terms of the people [current employees] having to have overtime to cover when that person [the prospective employee] would be out [fulfilling military duties] and things of that nature.

Michelle told a story about a leader whose apparent resistance was a result of productivity concerns:

> We had a situation where a manager was really resistant to developing a program to reach some individuals that had barriers, and I just couldn't figure out what was going on. Why is he not on board with this? We're providing him all the information that he needs; we're making it easy for him; we've already practically done the hiring for him; we've got a list of individuals that are interested. I don't get why we can't get him to say, go. And he's fighting us every step of the way. In having a conversation at one point, we found out that he's been facing some issues with some productivity numbers in his department that were skewed based on outdated information. And so, as a manager, that impacts his evaluation. If his productivity numbers aren't in line and he's getting questioned: "What are you doing? How come your productivity is so down?" That's why he was so resistant. It wasn't about not wanting to hire and train and take the time to invest in these colleagues; it was that he was afraid it was going to hurt his productivity even more because we had individuals that weren't immediately up and running."

Understanding exactly why the individual is resistant is probably key to providing a solution.

Ayomide, who sees resistance often, said: "I feel like the resistance is continuous and it pops up at every stage of the employee lifecycle. She chose to reframe the experience:

> Gosh, when I hear resistance, I just think of bias. Whether it's intentional or unintentional, I really just think of the bias. For me, resistance has been just leadership and sometimes even my peers, just their bias that they're either unaware of or they know about and they kind of just operate locally. (Ayomide)

As a woman of color, separating her emotional self from the situation is crucial to continuing on in that environment:

> And then a piece of it, though, for me, personally, is not taking it personally, honestly. Because it happens continuously, it can be discouraging in this work, and it can get to you and you say, "Gosh, I feel like I'm always trying to fight. I'm always trying to convince and persuade and influence." There could be a little bit of fatigue there on my part. (Ayomide)

Roy's consideration of his experience with resistance was very insightful. He was the most vocal about this and gave many clear examples of how resistance manifested during his tenure in two large organizations. Even after creating a business case for diversity, some leaders were blinded by success and could not understand the ongoing importance of the work, one

leader said to Roy, "I know you got this business case thing, but tell me again why we're doing this because we're doing so good over here." Confusing the social or moral case for diversity with the business case for diversity proved problematic too. Roy distinguished efforts to ensure fair treatment of employees from solving, as he put it, "all the social ills of the world." While that separation seems to make business sense, Roy pointed out that it's not that easy:

> As you continue to read and you kind of see what's going on, those pieces are hard to separate. You just can't pull them apart and put them over here and say I'm not going to do anything with them. They begin to be a part of what your culture is. And that culture piece, because it has been so strong, and it's been successful, to go near that and to just think that you're going to change that in some way is very scary to people. Especially executives, they don't like that.

> Resistance was communicated to Roy in a variety of ways:

> You can have that moral discussion, you can talk about it, but from what my experience has shown me, it's somehow heard, but it's very clear in certain innuendos and actions or lack of actions that do your little thing, but we're going to keep it at a distance.

> Roy recounted that distancing manifested in the lack of follow through and budgetary

support:

> I didn't get out to the field as much as I wanted to because of the budget. My budget didn't allow me to put those types of dollars in it so I couldn't get out and work with the other HR directors in the divisions to help them promote it.

Roy talked about a situation where he was trying to fill a general manager position in Atlanta but was not successful in promoting a person of color to the hiring director. Roy stated: "We had different opportunities. In the span of time that the company was in business, (they've) never had a general manager of color in that position, and that's over 120 years." Roy suggested that this situation may have resulted, in part, from nepotism:

> Because it, for the most part, was still a little bit of the "good ole boy" network. And so, when we were saying that we (managers and director) didn't actually tap people on the shoulder, but we whispered in their ear and prepared them.

> He went on to explain:

> That's why I said it was so hard to get people into some of those senior level roles, if at all because the other folks that were making those decisions had already made it. We

were just going, for the most part, through a formality outside of that. That's where I got the push. (Roy)

Keziah discussed how resistance could be built right into the structure of an organization's culture.

> That's the one issue when it comes to HR, and what they struggle in finding, I guess, a footing or a seat or strategic seat. That's always been something I hear. I'm like I just never get the seat in there.

Without a seat at the table, it can be difficult to influence the perspective of those in power.

Walter, who is the executive VP and CAO for his organization, shared that he experiences resistance from those in the rank and file and executives alike:

> Sure, there's always pushbacks. You get pushback from an employee that may not have a criminal record, they maybe think, "You know what? We spend a lot of times praising people who have these great success stories, but I've never been incarcerated. How do you guys specifically praise me for not being incarcerated?" . . . We've had executives in the past that have indicated that that's not been their focus and we're wasting time on doing these things. Typically, they don't last long in the culture because the culture sort of spits out people who don't appreciate the culture.

Grace, who works in the hospitality industry, discussed that the opposite issue sometimes can arise and that may HR find that they are the ones standing in the way of a hire due to policies, potential legal or other risk factors.

> If a manager was going to give us push back on, say, a background check, it would generally be in favor of hiring the person [rather] than not hiring them or saying, "No, I don't agree with you." Again, it's because they [managers] want people to hire, but it also means that they have an open mind, or they haven't had a skewed experience where they would say, "No, I don't want to go down this road. It's too risky for me"[to hire someone with this background].

Linda experienced resistance to hiring people of color, and when she pushed back, she felt that she faced resistance to her efforts because she is a woman:

> The resistance, I think, came early on in my life. I had some initial resistance when I started in banking, just because of the community being all White. Having a leader who didn't want me to recruit people of color. That was difficult. I showed him Executive Order 11246 and how this is how we're going to be evaluated, but most importantly, it's the right thing to do. We had to do our part in the community. He was old school. He had

a difficult time even because I was a female, me trying to tell him what to do, more or less. I wasn't telling him what to do, but I was politely suggesting, "If you want your bank to be successful, these are some of the things that we need to do."

Cynthia offered an analytical view of organization culture, revealing the systemic nature of the resistance she experienced:

Candidly, the resistance I found has come because of the perceived power shift in the organizational influence. When you really do break down on all those barriers and walls and processes that have traditionally favored a particular group of people it's hard to see things change. A process may have historically been easier for a group of people because its consistent with their cultural heritage way of doing things. For example, writing in linear terms is more consistent with the White European logic model of communicating whereas the ancient historical research indicates that African Americans who describe from older civilizations had a rich oral history tradition.

Solutions to resistance [17 participants]. Participants provided insights into the various ways that they counter the resistance they experience.

Ayomide spoke of a three-tiered strategy. First "So a lot of times, just thinking through the challenges upfront, that's the way that I get through it, and then being prepared to combat the responses." Secondly, she continued,

I think that the way that I've been able to work through that has really just been through relationships. Because it's really hard to have a conversation with someone about themselves if you don't know them or where they're coming from, at the end of the day. (Ayonmide)

And finally, and in particularly difficult situations:

In those instances, I do, honestly, just take a day. Just either take that step back to reflect and remind myself that it's not personal and then also figure out who's on my personal "board of directors" that I can get energy from. Depending on what the problem is or what the resistance is and where it's coming from, consulting those people. I've called up [mentors] several times or just other colleagues in the field that have more experience than me, just bouncing ideas off of them to say: "Hey, okay, I need some strategic or innovative ways to think through this because I have a difficult manager who is going to—let me give you all the reasons why this individual is going to reject why we need to do this, but we still need to do this." There're several ways I think that I meet the resistance and kind of fight back, for lack of a better word. (Ayonmide)

Walter seeks first to understand the resistance. "We try to use dialogue. We try to understand what their belief is, why they don't think that this work is important."

Michelle finds that a gentle approach with managers can be effective:

> It's usually things that we can just work through in a conversation. Any person that you hire comes with risk; you don't know if anybody's going to show up every day for work. Kind of just reminding them that we're all human beings. It's been pretty good.

Melissa worked to broaden the perspective of her middle managers. She takes an anti-bias approach when coming against resistance:

> The challenge is the middle management and helping them to open up their minds to different thinking and look at candidates, whatever their race or background is, looking at them with different eyes and thinking what could this person potentially bring down the road or what kind of ideas do they bring, not what the résumé says, necessarily.

Tony stated that he values diversity because it increases innovation, yet he understands that the internal resistance he experienced came from real issues that occur when trying to hire from diverse communities and when you have high levels of diversity on your team:

> You will hear complaints from time to time or resistance because for some of these groups; it takes a little bit longer to identify talent that is appropriate for the openings. So, you'll get some noise from the operating side of the business in terms of how long it's taking to fill roles . . . it takes a little bit longer to source those and so it holds up the process a little bit. You hear some noise and resistance from that standpoint that it's taking too long to fill roles because the recruiters are out really trying to source from a number of different groups.

Related to employing high levels of diversity, Tony explained:

> The more diverse the teams become, it seems that it slows the decision-making process down significantly. And so sometimes you'll get resistance with regards to that. Especially, if you have a leader whose kind of more on the directive side of the continuum and likes to have the ability to be able to just make the call and make the decision and have the team march to that decision point. To the extent that that gets slowed down because there are lots of perspectives that now are surfacing that are divergent versus one or two voices in the room, sometimes you'll get some pushback there.

Rebecca spoke to the value of tenacity. With one particular individual, she wouldn't give up, even in the face of continual resistance.

> I showed his résumé to our COO, and I said, "we need this gentleman. I talked to him, and he's wonderful. He really struggled to find work because of where he's from." I got a little bit of pushback, but kept going, and kept going, and kept scheduling interviews, and he kept cooperating and (now) he's in our office, and I love seeing him there.

In a similar vein to Walter's story of resistance, Randi spoke about the goal to educate people around their bias, but also of the fact that sometimes you need to fire people who can't or won't get on board:

> People are people, at the end of the day and I've experienced this in talent acquisition, it's hard to break down some either conscious or unconscious bias that just exists to make the right hiring decision at the end of the day. There are times that we can work to educate someone who may just not know, but there are times as a company we've had to let people go for just doing the wrong thing.

Strategies utilized for outreach [17 participants]. All participants discussed specific organizations or activities that they do as outreach to connect with NTTPs. Participants made a total of 183 references regarding outreach, many of the organizations or outreach activities may have been identified multiple times in the same interview. For example, Linda mentioned the Urban League three times during her interview as an example of a community partner. When eliminating duplication within each interview and adding all of the single interview references together, there were a total 130 references. After removing repetitive references within the group set, 92 unique references remained.

Organizations leveraged for outreach fell into five broad categories: eight participants mentioned education for a total of 19 times; nine participants mentioned government a total of 14 times; nine participants mentioned industry affiliations a total of 21 times; six participants mentioned targeted marketing/social media a total of 10 times; 16 participants mentioned leveraging nonprofits for a total of 66 times. Linda, who mentioned 22 different organizations or outreach activities, emphasized the importance of outreach as part of an intentional business strategy. Not surprising, outreach can serve multiple purposes, including recruitment, reputation, networking, and marketing. Table 4.2 summarizes the categories of outreach that were brought up overall.

Table 4.2

Outreach Categories Mentioned by Participants

Participant	Sector Targeted for Outreach					
	Non-profit (17)	Industry (10)	Government (8)	Marketing (8)	Education (5)	Total
Adam			4			4
Anna	3					3
Ayomide	1	4		1		6
Cynthia	2		1	2	2	7
Grace	9		2	2		13
Keziah	6	2				8
Linda	12	1	1	1	7	22
Lura	2	2				4
Melisa	2				1	3
Michelle	1	2	1		1	5
Randi	6					6
Rebecca	9	6	1	3	3	22
Roy	4	1		1	2	8
Steve	2	2	1		2	7
Terri	2					2
Tony	1		1		1	3
Walter	4	1	2			7
Total	66	21	14	10	19	130

The following section provides a sampling of the very large number of references participants made on this theme.

Targeting nonprofits for outreach [17 participants]. All participants said they leveraged nonprofits to build relationships with targeted groups. Nonprofits were, in fact, by far the largest outreach category, allowing organizations to target specific groups by race, disabilities, criminal

record or veteran status by merely focusing on organizations who specialize in servicing those

target communities. Twenty-eight non-profits were identified directly by name while many

spoke about nonprofits in general terms, such as "Jewish" or "Asian" community centers,

"mental health" agencies, or serving on "community boards" were the most common. The

organization that Linda works for has "200 employees that are on boards within the community."

She went on to say:

> It's everybody's job, when you're on the board, just to make sure they understand that "please; if you know somebody that's looking for a job that's a person of color or a person with disabilities or whatever the case may be, we're very open. We'd love to talk to them"—so long as they meet the qualifications of the job. (Linda)

Grace compared advertising on the internet, mentioning Craigslist as an example, versus

recruiting through nonprofits:

> The Urban League in St. Louis has been extremely responsive, but their audience is much smaller sometimes. They may have a couple hundred [referrals] versus the thousands of people that are seeing a Craigslist ad, or [even a] million; but they [local managers] need to continuously send those messages out to those groups [non-profits] even if only a couple people trickle in.

Targeting industry affiliations for outreach [10 participants]. Industry affiliations were

used for outreach by 10 participants. Their strategies included:

Connecting with gender related occupational organizations. Roy provided this example:

> Connecting with an organization called Women in Food Service Forum, we began to make some very good inroads with that. I was able to start and work and create five different committees around just that initiative to help promote women within the organization and looking at some of the women that we were going to bring forward.

Connecting with established associations that focus on race. Rebecca listed the National

Black MBA Association as one of 22 groups that her and her team work with, five of the

organizations work specifically in racialized communities.

Connecting with national industry groups. Michelle stated:

> We are a part of the Health Career Pathways Network. That is, again, it's all healthcare-based, but we all face similar things. Oftentimes, we have similar experiences and conversations that other industries are having about talent. We do a lot of information

sharing and best practice sharing. Sometimes the resources aren't exactly the same from state to state or region to region, but usually, there are some things where we can find similar structures or similar things that we kind of tap in our region. That's been a huge resource, especially when it comes to apprenticeship and learning about on-the-job training programs and services that will provide support, that additional support. We learned a lot about how other organizations are doing that through our Health Career Pathways Network.

Targeting government for outreach [eight participants]. Government agencies were leveraged for outreach as discussed by eight of the participants. The means that were noted included the following, with an illustrative example of what participants said:

Outreach to veterans. Adam said:

I've also attended, when I can, there's the West Michigan Veterans Coalition here in town and there's a sub-group that works on veteran's employment. I've attended those committee meetings before and have participated in different events where we've   . . . . they're called job networking events. It's a way for veterans to come in and usually there'll be five to ten companies, depending upon what it is, and they'll do it in like more of a public setting."

Michigan Works! Workforce Board. Michelle said:

The other is through our workforce board with Michigan Works! They absolutely are a key resource in connecting of individuals that are in need or are a non-traditional talent pool as well as other workforce partners in our community.

Building relationships with the Department of Corrections. Grace commented:

I've been connecting with the D.O.C. and trying to set up a streamlined way of getting their returning citizens, so (putting) students that would be coming out of their food tech programs in contact with our managers. I think it's just an awareness. I didn't know as a general citizen of some of the programs that were a part of the D.O.C. system, which is pretty amazing.

Targeting marketing and social media for outreach [Eight participants]. There was reference to using marketing and social media activities for outreach by eight of the participants. The means, within this category, that they described, and sample comments follow.

Community job fairs. Ayomide stated:

So, making sure that the places where professionals in the field, diverse professionals in the field, are likely to either gather or pay attention to, making sure that our name [identifies her organization's name] . . . was out there in front. That could look like

posting in their very job-specific boards or hosting community events locally to help people understand what it is about these roles.

Targeting ethnic media outlets. Cynthia noted:

We're getting out in the community, going to where the residents are, to provide them with information and answer their questions. On at least a quarterly basis, we have interviews on the Latino radio station. We make sure that we do community outreach employment symposiums.

Five participants spoke about internet search related sites including LinkedIn, Indeed,

Handshake, Facebook, and even Craigslist. Handshake puts employers and university students in

contact with each other. Grace shared that her best responses come from Facebook and

Craigslist, whereas Rebecca has found that references still provided the best candidates, beating

out both Indeed and LinkedIn.

Targeting education for outreach [Five participants]. Creating outreach opportunities

through educational institutions came up in five participant interviews. Several that they

highlighted, with illustrative comments, were:

Creating a pipeline—grade schools through high school. Linda stated:

I figured out early on, when I started at [name of her employer] that kids in college don't think of banking as a career any longer. Especially people of color don't think of it. So how could I get in really early, maybe grade school or high school to start teaching them about banking as a career? We got very involved in Junior Achievement and I started a co-op program of kids in high school, and really focused on children of color and really wanted to start talking to them about, why have you never thought about banking? What do you want to do when you grow up? You always hear I want to be a doctor. I want to be a police officer. I want to be a fireman. You never hear I want to be a banker.

Recruiting from ROTC (Reserve Officers' Training Corps). Cynthia detailed other

strategies they developed:

We have created a highway of interconnectedness or partnerships in the community with different organizations such as [the local public-school system]. It's not just a general partnership, we try to be very specific and strategic in what programs we attached our programs to, such as the ROTC classes for public safety jobs because those students are already covering similar topics as police and fire, doing agility assessments [needed for both Police and Fire], and more importantly they are in a paramilitary type discipline structure with a focus on strict deadlines and timeliness habits.

Building relationships with specific Historically Black Colleges and Universities

(HBCUs). Roy explained:

> I tried. The things I wanted to get involved in were making sure that we tapped into our historical Black colleges and universities. The goal was really not to try and grab everybody because that's kind of like boiling the ocean. I knew we couldn't do it all, but what I wanted to do was to be able to identify one or two schools that we could attach our wagon to and begin to cultivate some sort of relationship so that then when we came to those schools, we had done our homework, we have a relationship and then we would be able to be exposed to some of the more high-powered students that they might have.

Defining success [17 participants]. All of the participants talked about how they would define success. Adam had been working with local veteran organizations, seeking to fill manufacturing positions. "I think that first wave we had 14 to 20 technicians that we hired and six or seven came out of that reserve unit. So that's something that we were proud of."

Ayomide had just started a new position when a director came to her because of a "problematic" downline. The employee, she explained, was,

> A Black male, who had a challenging reputation in the organization. He was a manager. I helped this director understand what his blinders were . . . because in the beginning of the conversation, it was, "Oh, this person is underperforming. No one knows what they're doing; they're isolated." And I said: "Who has asked him what he is doing?" And the response was, "I don't know. I don't know who's doing what." (Ayomide)

Ayomide then changed the course of the discussion, using almost a Socratic dialogue approach:

> And I [then] said, "Why do you think this person is isolated?" It was a series of questions that really helped [the director] see like, "yes, it could be that this person is underperforming, and we will need to prove that out. But it also could be that the person who has been isolated and now let's understand why. Why could this person have been isolated?" We had a moment. He understood. He said, "Wow, I never thought about it that way." And it was it was crazy because when the director started to engage with the individual, not only did his perception of the individual change, but it changed so much that instead of wanting to exit the person from the organization, they wanted to promote them. And I was like, "Okay, this is why I do what I do." Because we were going to terminate someone and as the HR professional, I'm like, "I am absolutely not. First of all, we don't have a paper trail. Second of all, I'm not sure the person is even underperforming. I think there's something else going on here."

Grace talked about two very different situations that she was proud of the way she and her team had handled. The first started in response to a call that had come into one of the satellite locations: "Hey, did you know you hired a convicted sex offender?" Grace and her team knew they would have to respond quickly,

> This is really the first time we've dealt with that situation, so we talked about—we should be proactive and let's talk about this with the management team because this is probably going to spread, because our restaurants tend to be little gossip systems. And remind people that we hire people all the time that have convictions. In fact, probably if you look around there's probably three or four standing right by you. It's a sex conviction, which people tend to get really emotional about and I understand that, but we looked at the arrest; it was involving a minor. It was not a molestation. It was not an assault. We heard the story. He served his time. It was 11 years ago. It seemed like it was a decent call to do that. But now we have to talk to the team about what? We've hired this guy and yes, he has this, but we're okay with that. And you need to be okay with that too. And you need to support our decision.

She went on to say: "This is a human being. He's trying to be a productive member of society. He needs a second chance."

The second situation that Grace recounted focused on the needs of one employee but due to their creativity, benefited others as well.

> We had an employee who has a degenerative eye issue and so is continuously losing his vision. And we've been trying to promote him into a bartending role which the front-of-house is probably the most complicated role of the manager and just the different steps along the way to help him do that. And then a couple of things that have come up with how our receipts are printed out and how sometimes the ink bleeds and it was particularly difficult for him to be able to decipher certain things. But when we looked at it, we thought about it it's probably difficult for everyone to decipher this, so this is a bigger issue. If we can fix this for him, we actually solve the issue for a lot of other people too.

And while these situations impacted Grace personally, she knew there were significant business reasons to do this work too:

> Because if we do a better job with being inclusive of our employees, they're more likely to bring their friends into the restaurant. And if we do a better job with our guests, they're more likely to recommend people to work for our restaurants. (Grace)

Michelle saw first-hand how the programs she developed impacted the participants. She commented:

You hear the stories and life experiences that they come with, and you hear how they describe something as simple as a one-year apprenticeship that's changed their outlook on life and changed individuals -- their family members are thinking about school now because they've seen the colleagues take classes and they've been inspired by their experiences.

Linda's educational outreach starts in elementary school and ends with a summer internship program:

I think probably our most successful program has been our summer internship program. Right now, we are very intentional about (recruiting) people of color in our program. We have 30 students right now, interns, and they're from 16 different universities, and it is about 65% people of color in the program.

Cynthia not only oversees the hiring for the city, but she also has specific departments that report directly to her. She uses those departments as an opportunity to model inclusive hiring. She shared that, "all my departments collectively, we're at 50% ethnic minority. So, I'm very pleased about that."

Tony, a veteran, saw significant impact as the result of a program that he was a part of. He shared:

In the last role that I was a part of, we had a push with regards to veterans and really doing outreach for groups that prepared veterans to come back into the workforce from serving on active duty. I was particularly pleased with the relationships that we built up with those organizations and the talent that was presented and ultimately brought into the organization as a result of those relationships. I would say in terms of something that I was directly involved with and represented a significant shift in how we looked at or thought about talent, sourcing talent; I think that one probably stands out for me because that took a bit of work by everybody involved.

Anna faced challenges early in her current position, leaders in the company were under the impression that they were doing well with diversity and inclusion because of a long-term program that they had regarding the hiring of employees with disabilities.

One of the things that I think was a big win that was a help, again, moving out of the disability *only* to the greater D&I [Diversity & Inclusion], I realized that they had no concept about . . . People were not even talking in the language of male-female, Black-White. That was just not a concept. I also noticed certain marginalized groups were not even talking to each other because there was no permission to do so.

Her efforts expanded the organizational leadership's understanding and acceptance of the goal of achieving diversity and inclusion.

Participant key insights [17 participants]. Participants were passionate about sharing particular insights, in some cases, they were very specific about asking me to make sure their information would be given voice, either through the dissertation, directly to other HRPs or more importantly, to CEOs themselves. Titling this section "Participant Key Insights" is not an indicator that previous statements shared by participants are not considered "key." The following comments mostly represent examples that the participants themselves expressly indicated were of key importance. I added some situations where they did not explicitly identify special importance but in which I recognized significance in light of scholarly literature combined with my knowledge as a practitioner.

When asked if he was evaluated on the success of diversity hiring, Adam said: "We're not graded on that specifically because, at the end of the day, we're not the ones making that decision. It's the hiring managers who have the final say over who gets hired."

Ayomide reflected on her work, much of it was related to her personal development, a view that expanded into a generous humanizing of those she works with.

> When I was younger, I was more like guns blazing. My tactics were more; I would say, direct. As I've matured in my profession, I realized that it's almost like peeling back an onion and then understanding that you just can't peel an onion back and not have any consequences. The analogy is that you've got to work through the layers, you've got to do some patchwork, get some tissue. A lot of times, it's discovering many times the underbelly of organizations, so the underlying bias. That takes time and work.

> I think along the continuum, I think first my own blinders were taken off, and then a part of my work has been to help others take theirs off as well. To present their qualifications in creative ways so that people are, I guess, prone to have their own stereotype. So, whether that's removing someone's location or where their address from their resume or suggesting a second look and the challenging questions about fit, and whether or not we think someone will work based off of fit . . .

> I have to remind myself: little situations come up in my work environment where I'm like, "Wow, if men just saw their fellow man as a person first, I feel like we wouldn't be

having this conversation, or I feel like this email exchange wouldn't be happening." It comes up constantly in my work like this is just my fellow human. And I signed up for this. No one made me become an HR professional, I signed up for this, so why not do it in excellence?"

Regarding a previous employer and the importance of a visionary leader, Ayomide observed: "Their work was very much led by a thought leader who kind of pronounced a value in his organization, and it literally permeated throughout."

Roy's remarks were quite similar to Ayomide's observation on this. He stated very emphatically: "Without CEO support—not just verbal but showing up and leading meetings, being present, it doesn't work!" Roy asked that if I spoke to leaders, that I stress the importance of CEO support to them.

Keziah had a similar insight and used Cascade Engineering as her example.

With the welfare-to-work program that he [Fred Keller, CEO of Cascade Engineering] did. The difference with Cascade, why it was very successful, is because it was led by the CEO. But not only that, he put the money [in] to make it work. He invested in it, and he put [in] extra dollars and resources."

She spoke of Cascade in juxtaposition with leaders who talk about diversity but refuse to make the adequate commitment and investment. Keziah also talked about the role, growth, and responsibility of HR professionals who she has had a chance to witness over the years.

I think it's when you start as a generalist or HR assistant, you're really just trying to figure out all the rules and regs because really HR, first, it's viewed as an overhead and unnecessary kind of thing and so they tend to be your lower-level individuals want to just make sure I can't make a mistake in here. They play in that box, and they're really afraid to even touch the lines. "This is the rules; this is what I'm going to follow"

She then talked about the struggle to move into a position of influence and find their voice: "Really, that's one of the key things I've seen as a struggle in HR is getting a strategic seat or the seat in management and then not being able to speak up when you should be speaking up."

Linda, a Senior VP and HR Director, expressed an insight similar to Keziah's :

I always have a seat at the table here at the bank. Strategic planning, succession planning, I get to talk to the board once in a while, and I'm on the leadership team. So being in HR

that is very critical to have a spot at the table at all times so that you can really influence those that you need to in a positive way.

Linda also echoed Keziah's thoughts about leadership support:

I don't think I could do what I do, the work that we do, without the support of leadership. The top has to support not only the HR function but the work. It's hard work. They have to support it. They have to believe it. They have to do it as well. I don't think you can survive and do this kind of work without it. I'm just fortunate that I work in an organization that does support it and does believe in it and encourages everyone.

Regarding the complex role that HR is faced with, Lura expressed a very similar view:

My experience—my limited experience with HR—is there's HR people that do the daily operations and there's HR people that do strategic work, and they're really different thinkers. I don't mean to create a chasm between the two, but there's a real distinction between some of the systems thinking mentality, that the strategist knows that if I implement a policy or make this change, they can take it out three, four, five steps and consider implications and impact. Versus some of the generalists or just kind of traditionally trained folks in that field are a little more policy and rule following and make some of that work to bring in new partnerships and relationships and non-traditional people can be a little challenging.

Lura was also the only participant to discuss the intersection of weight and gender; she was firm in this belief:

You can't be a woman in the world and not consider weight. It's always in the room. It's being considered one way or another. Making it a non-issue, it's kind of like a color blindness thing. It's there and finding the right ways to just hit those topics straight on.

As a reminder, 12 of the 17 participants are female, yet Lura was the only one to bring up weight as an issue to be considered.

Grace offered three points. The first came with a reluctant apology before she stated that, "nonprofits are difficult to work with for for-profit business people. Because the perception is there's not the responsiveness that happens in the for-profit world."

Her next observation resonated with my philosophy when working with diverse groups; Grace said: "I live a pretty secluded life myself and so just exposing myself and putting myself in situations where I'm a little outside of my comfort zone and growing myself, I think helps to add to that resilience." Grace's final statement on this came as we discussed the list of 21

attributes at the end of the interview. It was a simple statement but one that many of us don't

consider in our youth, "Disabilities too; that could be any one of us tomorrow."

Walter saw two insights as critical, one social and one personal. First, he stated:

I've always believed that we deal with issues like institutional racism. I think that that is probably the scariest form of racism because institutional racism allows everyone to say it's not my fault, therefore, I have to do nothing about it. Or just, in general, we have institutional biases that allows specific individuals to indicate that they're not the root causes and therefore, they need to do nothing about it. And so, I perpetuate a disparate impact.

Walter's second insight was about his responsibility as a man of color; it is also a call to

action to those like him who hold positions of privilege. "I think it's important that those of us,

particularly men of color, who have these kinds of opportunities have to realize that we're so few

between us and we have an obligation to go and help other people."

Michelle talked about the company's evidence-based selection process and the

unintended consequence that it had on their diversity initiative.

It comes from the top down, but it wasn't an intentional (diversity) strategy at first. The strategy was to improve the quality of the hire. Reducing turnover and improving things like patient satisfaction through having a consistent workforce because they're not churning over constantly, and they're more engaged in what they're doing. That was really the intent of where the work started. But after work got started with an evidence-based selection process, we found that our diversity numbers had increased. It was kind of a pleasant surprise to what had not ever intended to be a diversity initiative. It's still not a diversity initiative, but it's something that we found has been a contributing factor to increasing our diversity.

Cynthia insisted that research is critical to understanding the dynamics that are at play.

She used research to inform and direct her staff and create programs that were effective in

informing and including the community in the process.

Now (that) we're looking at things through a race and equity, we are looking under every rock or step of a process. "How are the interns being hired for a department? Why of the eight interns none are minority?" Historically, they were hired because they were being referred as a department employees' kids. So, we see resistance from older workers who do not want to see change.

Cynthia saw the research as also used to stave off opposition:

So, understand[ing] the power of systems and the processes behind systems, it really began to motivate me to do more, not to manipulate the system, but to really take advantage of the opportunities there are to do pre-work before people must connect or interact with the system, so that they're more familiar and better prepared. We have embarked on a city-wide initiative to go to each ward for all residents who are interested in city jobs to better understand our civil service system and what things they can do to be successful as an applicant.

Cynthia came with an in-depth understanding of bias that she uses to everyone's benefit:

Understanding the humanity of bias, that all people have bias, but also understanding what's behind the bias and how do we effectively challenge, confront, discuss bias, is the key element that has to be in place. And it's not one way all the time, because there's real opportunity when you know, that part of it is fear or that they're disappointed that their niece or whomever didn't get hired. Part of what we must do is to show care for all our people. We acknowledge that everyone's child needs to have a summer job opportunity too, so even if we "shake up" a department referral system, we in HR will still try to help find employment opportunity for their child. We encourage them to send us their son or daughter's résumé. Maybe there are other jobs available in a different department. This lets the White employee know it's not personal, of not wanting their child to have a job; it's about diffusing other practices and hiring systems, at the department level, that prevent other youth from having job opportunities. So that's the balance.

As has been previously suggested, this work requires that leaders self-reflect. Melissa

asserted:

The challenge is the middle management and helping them to open up their minds to different thinking and look at candidates, whatever their race or background is, looking at them with different eyes and thinking, "what could this person potentially bring down the road or what kind of ideas do they bring?"—not what the résumé says, necessarily.

Tony conveyed a learning path, where as the result of being an educated, veteran, and

Black man, companies, seeking to achieve diversity, mishandled the relationship, leaving Tony

with a "bad taste" that resulted in him seeking other employment. Commenting on this

experience, Tony said:

I also remember early in the days when the sensitivity training first started being asked to attend multiple workshops as a token representative of a person of color for those workshops. I remember being exposed to that. As well as being told on many occasions that my career was really being looked at very closely because obviously the organization had a gap in terms of people of color and they wanted to make sure that I was fast-tracked in some of the promotion decisions. Which on its surface sounds great, but it really is diminishing in really helping the individual feel that decisions based on their development in

an organization are being based on performance and not on the fact that they represent a marginalized group. I remember very clearly the tastes that that left in my mouth early in my career with this company, which I eventually left in part because I just didn't feel that I ever was really a part of the team there. That I was this token, African American naval officer who got recruited in the specialized program and that's how I was viewed. I wasn't viewed as part of the organization. I was just viewed as this kind of special project, and so I ended up leaving.

Tony went on to explain that he worked very hard to assimilate into organizations and

downplayed his race, seeking to be seen as a great leader and not as great African American

leader, a position he is now rethinking.

I always thought of myself or wanted to believe that I was a business leader along with my peers. And that's the way I was viewed, and that's kind of the story I have in my head. How much I actually adjusted my own style to fit into that role, I don't know, but I'm sure I did. I think towards the end of my career, I may have paid a huge price for that in terms of just really not feeling like I was genuine and authentic about who I was as a leader, even in the later stages of my career. Because I spent so much time really trying to not stand out as the only African American on the leadership team.

This statement led to further reflective questions he raised about his experience and

strategies to fit into the culture:

So, I get it. I totally get that feeling of wanting to be invisible. Not to be viewed as a standout, but to be viewed kind of in the mix of the team. And so, it's an interesting concept to how much do individuals who are diverse in an organization have to really work at making themselves invisible in order to feel—I'm not sure what the word is—but in order to feel safe. That's the word that came to mind. (Tony)

We talked about the notions of thriving and surviving; this is what Tony had to say about

these:

The notion that you have to teach somebody to survive in a culture—it's interesting, the choice of words there . . . for a diverse talent depending on the culture, you may have a very, very high investment that you have to make to blend in unless you have a very strong personality.

To facilitate a "transformation internal 'aha'" with her leadership team, Anna coordinated

two field trips. She recounted:

We did take a whole slew of our leadership to [name of company]. We had them go through the building, trying to understand what Universal Design is, trying to get them to understand experiences, meet people right in that space and that was very eye-opening for them, again, like you said. We also took our leaders to the Jim Crow Museum because,

not just about awareness, . . . we wanted to understand how the products that we put on the shelves, how the history of those products . . . And especially in certain locations like Detroit or in more diverse populations, what those products can actually mean to certain groups or not. Then we question who's at the table when they're deciding those things, and do we understand the messaging. Those things are really important. I guess that's kind of a teaching awareness thing too.

Randi found that sticking closely to a prospect's resume can be too restrictive and that looking for transferable competencies is required:

Really focusing on the types of experiences that they (prospective employees) can bring to the table and how it can translate to the line of business that we may consider them for. I look at somebody in, I guess, retail for a perfect example. They may not have retail financial center manager experience, but they've either had army experience that can translate to how they lead a team or retail sales experience and how they were responsible for metrics that are actually quite comparable. It's really understanding the position that we're hiring for and drawing parallels to the position that the candidate's background comes with.

Steve agreed with this tactic and added: "I'm just big on the more limits you put on what the talent has to look like, the smaller your pool is and the less opportunity we have to get the right talent in the door." Steve also emphasized the importance of shared values between the employee and the company:

The more that those overlap, the greater chance of you being with that organization. The less you share, the less chance of you staying with that organization for any period of time or the less chance that you'll be successful with that organization. Because, if your values are out of alignment from that organization, and I tell people all the time make sure you understand your organization's values because the last thing you want to do, it could be a great company for your best friend, but if they have different values than you, your chances of longer-term successes within that organization, sustainability, etc., they're going to last.

Summary of Analysis

As a result of the ways the interviews were structured, broad categories emerged. Employer support, resistance, strategies for outreach, personal connection and commitment to the work, and success stories were primary groupings. Many of the statements could be and were coded across more than one category as questions, and their subsequent answers overlapped. While I had a good understanding of the legal minefield associated with discussing hiring

discrimination, I didn't fully anticipate the level of trust and rapport building needed for participants to share their personal connections to their work.

The data indicate that a wider middle ground, at least within this sample of HRPs, is the best path in the pursuit of equitable hiring. Leadership support, preferably from the CEO, is essential, but not a guarantee of creating the environment necessary for this transformative process to gain and maintain organizational traction. Even in situations where the CEO or President were fully committed, participants still faced resistance, which is why, in my opinion, personal motivation is also key to this work. When leaders are looking to engage in equitable hiring practices that expand their demographic landscape, they should first consider the attributes of those on their talent acquisition team to understand if and why these hiring HRPs are committed to this journey. The data provide insights into the desired skills and developmental maturity of talent acquisition staff, when addressing resistance and also when reaching out to partner organizations. These topics will be discussed in detail in Chapter V. I believe, and the data also indicates, that the skills to navigate organizational resistance along with the desire, ability, and tenacity to develop deep relationships with, often, dissimilar groups as a way of creating talent pipelines requires personal motivation coupled with corporate support.

Equitable hiring doesn't result solely from a skilled, dedicated, and well-supported talent acquisition staff, as pointed out by the participants. Policies, procedures, systems, and company practices need to be reviewed for biased outcomes. Departmental managers who have a say in the final hire need to be included in the overarching systems evaluation.

Chapter V: Interpretation and Implications of This Study for Theory and Practice

This dissertation has largely been about counteracting the historic and dehumanizing impacts of hiring discrimination. Dehumanization ranges from large-scale atrocities to discrimination directed toward individuals, and affects societies, communities, organizations, and individuals. What is dehumanization's relationship to hiring? Who is devalued and how do cultural stories and their history influence hiring policies and practices? This was my jumping off point for framing and carrying out this dissertation research.

Additional questions unfolded as I journeyed through the research and literature, which was clear about who and how hiring discrimination occurs—but unexplored from the perspectives and activities of HR professionals. As a workforce development professional, I have worked with HRPs who intentionally seek out and hire those who have been historically and structurally marginalized and as low employment numbers continue, more and more HRPs are joining this effort. Through interviews with 17 HRPs who are working to change the status quo, I learned about their intentions, strategies, motivations, struggles, and key insights they have developed as they work toward creating equitable workplaces. As anticipated, each has a different background and personal story as to why they choose to do the work that they do. Additionally, their various leadership approaches and supports the work for different reasons too, yet overarching themes emerged.

This concluding chapter entails two ways of interpreting and reflecting on the findings in discussions with HRPs who diverge from conventional and status quo approaches to hiring. First, I thematically interpret critical parts of the data on the main topics that arose from the interviews—how NTTP was defined; the HRPs' intentions, influences, and motivation, and the insights the HRPs saw as key.

The second part of the chapter turns to the normative frameworks discussed in Chapter II and which I have used in my work with the Urban League of West Michigan, asking of each: what light do they shed on the nature of leadership and the practices of progressive HRPs, that is, ones who strive to counter discrimination in their practice?

Thematic Interpretation of Participants' Accounts of Their Practice

Patterns, insights, and themes emerged as the voices of the participants were experienced first-hand, listened to multiple times, and then coded and recorded. I have learned that spoken word—momentary, contextual, charged with immeasurable energy and effervescent—risks losing the heart, soul, meaning, and coherence, when transcribed. Speech transferred to paper is messy. The length of a pause cannot be represented in APA style. The rise and fall of a voice or a pace that shapely increases or abruptly stops, joined with a look that seeks confirmation of understanding, does not translate through transcription. Nor does sarcasm. Speakers pivot as they speak; thinking, reassessing, measuring and calculating the words, their ramifications and how they are landing on the listener. Yet, pen to paper, or more accurately, fingers to keyboard, is the medium that one is required when sharing with the reader all the themes, insights and patterns that emerged in culmination.

Because I cannot recreate the visceral experience of the interview, the anticipation, rhythm, struggle for understanding, and gratitude for the gift of sharing, you will need to trust that I have represented the participants and our experience accurately. Trust between researcher and reader is not typically spoken about in a dissertation but as I pull back the curtain on the participants and share the findings, I feel compelled to also pull back the curtain on the conversation between the two of us, and ask for your trust, which is probably implicit in the fact that you have gotten this far in the work.

I started this project with the following research questions:

- What motivates HRPs to hire from historically and structurally marginalized populations?

- What challenges and resistance do they face preceding, during or as a result of these efforts?

While open-ended, the first question about underlying motivation to hire from targeted or marginalized populations, presumes that HRP participants' explanations will go down one of three broad paths, which can be inferred from more general anti-discrimination and diversity literature such as Kandola (2009), Klein (2008), powell (2012), Rothman (2005), and Tilly (1998):

1. The motivation to hire from targeted or marginalized populations results from personal experiences and/or a critical awareness.

2. The HRPs were directed to hire from targeted and marginalized populations and are not personally motivated to hire from any particular or specific population.

3. Some combination of 1 and 2 that results in a wider, middle path.

With respect to the first of the paths, the interviews furnished many instances of participants being motivated to hire from targeted or marginalized populations as a result of their personal experiences and/or a critical awareness. Each participant, during the interview process and after reviewing the list of attributes that I subsequently shared with them, were able to reflect on life situations which they now attribute to their current motivation and willingness to hire from NTTPs.

The wording of the second path requires an unfortunate if/then response: if leaders required participants to hire from targeted and marginalized populations, then, the implication is that they were not personally motivated. Whereas this has been shown to apply to many line

managers (Essed, 1993) the explicit human-oriented position of the HR might be different. The data shows that this stand-alone explanation is insufficient, and not the correct way to understand the phenomenon, at least, for my sample. While all the participants were directed by their leadership to hire from NTTPs, they also, as indicated by the answer to Question 1, brought their own motivation related to NTTPs to the effort, often going notably further than required. This might have been the result, though, of the particular references or self-selection of the HR in this project. Further research would be warranted.

This leaves the final path, which suggests that if both are true—which essentially, they are—then a wider middle path must be explored. I will discuss each of the questions and paths in more detail below.

Personal experience and/or critical awareness as hiring motivator. Participants were able to connect personal stories from their youth and adulthood, that they now use to explain the origins of their current attitudes and perspectives regarding NTTPs. They recalled that many of the events were difficult or embarrassing, some leading to anger, shame, or disappointment. As difficult as these situations may have been, participants were able to connect these treads to the present and see how these experiences influence their work today.

As I will discuss the link between positive intergroup contact, prosocial behavior, empathy, and altruism below, it is sufficient to say that, while I anticipated connections between past and present, it was important in this research to allow participants the opportunity to reflect, connect, and state in their own words, how these formative events affect their motivation and perspective today.

In each case, participants were able to easily recall events that motivate them to do the work that they do today. Several, for example Ayomide, Anna, Keziah, and Lura, all draw a strong connection between their own personal motivation and self-identity to the work they do

with NTTPs, making statements such as, "this is just who I am," and "it's what I've always done," indicating that they are operating beyond a job description and inspired from their own intrinsic motivation. Others, such as Linda, Steve, and Randi were exposed to racist statements from loved ones in their youth. Participants in this study did not accept this; instead bigoted statements they grew up hearing became a cause of pain and embarrassment, leading each away from, not toward, hateful behavior. Vollhardt (2009) termed this "altruism born of suffering" (p. 53). Vollhardt proposed that "suffering may actually enhance the motivation to help other disadvantaged members of society, including outgroups" (p. 53). All 17 participants spoke of difficult issues and circumstances which they experienced that shapes their current world view and provides motivation to expand the level of diversity in their workplaces.

Being directed as a motivational factor for HTTP hiring. All of the HRP stated that their uplines, to varying degrees, directed and provided resources for them to hire from NTTPs, including specific direction on which attributes, such as race or gender, that they were expected to target. For some, this direction was narrow and specific; Ayomide, for instance, was directed to focus on race and ethnicity and returning citizens, whereas Lura was directed to concentrate on immigrants and those with disabilities.

It is important to note that local demographics and unemployment rates direct where the efforts should be focused. For instance, African Americans are less than 2% of the population where Lura resides, and there has been a recent increase in new immigrants to the area. I realize that race, ethnicity, and immigrants may be semantically similar and easily confused, but for purposes of this study, I asked participants to define these terms based on their own experiences, understanding, and expertise. Other participants, such as Anna, were given broader targets. She was directed to focus on eight attributes including race, ethnicity, gender, veterans, disabilities, immigrants, criminal background, and national origin. Anna works for an organization with

nearly 500 outlets across multiple states, and the jobs range from unskilled to highly technical and managerial. This wide range of talents across very different communities require a broad and varied hiring strategy.

Support for engagement with and hiring from NTTPs varied from organization to organization. I categorize support in terms of two topics that often emerged in the stories told to me by HRPs:

- Business resources committed to the efforts,

- Level of resistance experienced by the HRP.

When Roy was given the direction to hire from NTTPs, specifically those identified within the categories of race, ethnicity, gender, and veteran status, he knew this had been initiated as a direct result of his organization being fined by the EEOC, but he had high hopes that he could make a difference in the company. Apparently, there was no real organizational commitment. After having developed a plan of action, his budget was cut, he received little administrative support, and he faced continued resistance from the leadership he was working to support. Thomas and Plaut (2012) define diversity resistance as "a range of practices and behaviors within and by organizations that interfere, intentionally or unintentionally, with the use of diversity as an opportunity for learning and effectiveness" (p. 5). Diversity resistance may come from what Gaertner and Dovidio (2005) describe as "aversive racism" (p. 615). They define an aversive racist as someone who "sympathizes with victims of past injustice, support the principle of racial equality, and regard themselves as nonprejudiced, but, at the same time, possess negative feelings and beliefs about Blacks, which may be unconscious" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005, p. 618). They go on to say that their fundamental premise is that "many Whites who consciously, explicitly, and sincerely support egalitarian principles and believe themselves

to be nonprejudiced also harbor negative feelings and beliefs about Blacks and other historically disadvantaged groups" (p. 618).

In the context of this study, the concept of aversive racism is consistent with what we know about implicit bias and may help explain the lack of ongoing commitment to diversity. Bierema (2010) shares a disheartening story that shows that Roy's experience may not be all that unique. White executives at Texaco who, after investing and participating in diversity training, were recorded "mocking the diversity training and making racial slurs" (p. 565). It seems counterintuitive that leaders would simultaneously invest the time and money into a training when they appear to be committed to dismissing its message.

Walter has had the opposite experience in his organization. The owner of the company had taken, and continues to maintain, a strong position regarding diversity. This commitment to diversity has limited Walter's exposure to resistance to only a few conversations. His organization clearly has an unwritten but strong cultural understanding: "If you aren't committed to diversity, then this is not the right place for you." Leadership commitment to diversity initiatives is crucial to cultural change (Gilbert & Ivancevich, 2000; Slater, Weigand, & Zwirlein, 2008; Wentling & Palma-Rivas, 1998).

I was curious how participants understood their company's motivation to hire from NTTPs. The low unemployment rate was clearly an overwhelming driving factor, causing a critical shortage of and need for employees. As a result, many employers are being forced to consider new sources for qualified applicants by creating new pipelines—or strengthening existing ones—in response to the lack of available talent in current talent pools. Dyer, Giloth, Kazis, and Seltzer (2014) discuss the intersection of low unemployment rates, philanthropic and community interventions, historically and structurally marginalized populations, and the employer's need for employees. Their focus was on displaced workers and disconnected youth,

groups that fit within the category of NTTPs, "job seekers with significant barriers to employment, including very low basic skills, criminal records, mental health problems, and unstable family environments" (Dyer et al., 2014, p. 98). These efforts, in part, were intended to provide critically needed employees to local employers. Similarly, Walter and Grace both talked about hiring individuals with criminal records and all 17 participants discussed the creative ways in which they are engaging with new communities, in part, due to the low unemployment rate.

Legal and regulatory compliance was also cited by 11 of the participants as a reason for corporate motivation. Being required, due to compliance or a lawsuit, as was the case for Lura and Roy, may help explain some of the resistance that they have both experienced in their roles as change agents.

The wider middle ground in motivations for hiring from HTTPs. The data provide a window into the array of complex and competing commitments that HRPs face when navigating corporate change. Even with full corporate support, they still confront social and market factors that can frustrate the best-laid plans for progressive hiring. Corporate decisions regarding diversity are often based on business concerns, and market conditions such as legal structures, corporate regulation, business cases, and low unemployment rates, that result in goals and directives being passed down to HRPs and in some cases, being turned into policies that may eventually influence corporate culture.

Also, HRPs who are doing the work of developing, attracting, engaging, and hiring individuals from NTTPs, have their own experiences and biases which draw them to their field and in some cases, to the companies they represent. While it is clear that all of the HRPs that I interviewed work for companies that have stated their intentionality about hiring from NTTPs, the HRPs have also experienced resistance from within these same companies—sometimes from leadership and, at other times, from other members of management and staff. HRP scholars such

as Cascio and Aguinis (2005), Finnegan (2015), and Smith and Mazin (2011), do not discuss these types of challenges in their textbooks. Their primary focus, when discussing HRPs' motivations for diversity hiring, was on legal requirements and on providing an overview of standard practices and procedures to instruct aspiring HRPs. This focus fails to highlight the human experience within the human resource role, this observation is supported by Bierema (2010). The assumption seems to be that; professional HR representatives must conform to company and industry norms, regardless of their past and present experiences, biases, or passions. This intentional exclusion of one's humanity, in terms of assimilation into majoritarian norms and behavior (Klein, 2008) and "covering," by which Yoshino (2006) means hiding critical aspects of one's identity, are not unique to HRP but often deeply enmeshed in overarching business ideology of organizations.

At the conclusion of the interviews, participants were asked to review the list of attributes (see Table 2.1 in Chapter II) and share any meaningful events related to their motivation and perspective as it relates to hiring from NTTPs. In general, the scope of the HRPs' personal motivations and experiences included a broader range of attributes that were motivational to them, than those specific attributes that the employer directed them to focus on. There were several instances where personal and professional interests overlapped, such as with Melisa, who is in an interracial marriage with two children who present as African American. She stated her family circumstances has made her more sensitive to the need for equal opportunity. Similarly, Grace mentioned that her ex-husband served in the military and this experience, she believes, makes her more sensitive to issues that returning veterans may face when seeking employment. Research related to anti-bias training suggests that positive intergroup contact is a critical factor for bridging (powell, 2017), a topic that I address further in this chapter.

Despite a thorough literature search, I was unable to find any scholarly works that included interviews with HRPs about experiences hiring NTTPs. Thus, I have turned to other literature and theories on the following key constructs to illuminate HRP motivations:

- Empathy (Hoffman, 2000);

- positive intergroup contact (Christ et al., 2014; Lemmer & Wagner, 2015; Schmid, Ramiah, & Hewstone, 2014);

- prosocial development (Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989; Staub, 2015);

- altruism (S. P. Oliner, 1992; Staub, 2015; Thalhammer et al., 2007).

These are helpful in understanding why a person in any field of work, might choose to advocate for those who have been historically and structurally marginalized.

Empathy. There was direct overlap between individual experiences and professional intention with 15 of the participants across 12 attributes, totaling 42 points of intersection, race being the primary overlapping factor. I interpret this phenomenon, and this view is supported by Hoffman (2000), based on empathy theory. Hoffman stated that empathy is the spark of human concern for others, the glue that makes social life possible. He went on to define empathy as "an affective response more appropriate to another's situation than one's own" (Hoffman, 2000, p. 3). Since the completion of the interviews, I've been curious if participants' previous experiences with "others" increased their critical awareness, as discussed in Chapter II, and have created transferable empathy, what Hoffman refers to as "direct association" (p. 5).

Participants Michelle, Linda, and Randi talked about growing up in conservative Christian and racist environments. All three stated that these circumstances were painful and that they now live their lives in intentional ways that are counter to their early experiences. Ayomide spoke about her immigrant father who passed when she was a baby; and Rebecca spoke about facing tremendous hardship in finding work after her husband left her and their children and she

was fired from her job at their church. These difficult and often traumatic experiences shaped the

participants' perspective and worldview and were instrumental in their empathy development.

Positive intergroup contact. Scholars of positive intergroup contact include Christ et al.

(2014) and Schmid et al. (2014). Lemmer and Wagner (2015), who wrote a meta-analysis of

contact interventions, stated:

> The positive impact of contact programs is observable for different types of contact interventions, ethnic majorities and minorities, and in contexts with and without a protracted conflict. Moreover, contact programs not only improve attitudes toward individual's outgroup members involved in the intervention but also toward the entire target outgroup and unspecified ethnic outgroups. (p. 34)

This research is critical on multiple fronts: HRP outreach into the community exposes

them to a variety of groups, including those that have been historically and structurally

marginalized. They then advocate hiring from the same groups. If hired, exposure to those

representing NTTPs extends to the organization, if Lemmer and Wagner (2015) are correct in

saying that "improv(ing) attitudes toward individual's outgroup members involved in the

intervention" (p. 34). Exposure to outgroups, according to the participants, may have started

much earlier in their lives. Rebecca's family traveled extensively in her childhood, and her

parents opened their home to foster children. She also taught cognitively impaired children and

migrant workers. Randi and Terri both spoke about witnessing the mistreatment of special needs

youth by other students in their schools; both reported that they responded with empathy and

advocacy as a result.

Prosocial behavior. Prosocial behavior is typically learned by the time a person is eight

or nine years old according to Eisenberg and Mussen (1989); they stated: "The norm of social

responsibility prescribes that we should assist others who depend on us and need help" (p. 5).

HRPs are in positions of power, at least in comparison to their counterparts who are looking for

work and are therefore able to assist those in need of employment. The authors define prosocial

behavior as "voluntary actions that are intended to help or benefit another individual or group of individuals. Prosocial behaviors are defined in terms of their intended consequences for others; they are performed voluntarily rather than under duress" (Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989, p. 3). Thalhammer et al. (2007), stated: "Pro-social values, especially having an extensive view of common humanity, are integral" (p. 155) to courageous resistance. I will delve more deeply into the relevance of courageous resistance in the discussion of key conceptual frameworks section below. This connection between voluntary action and "an extensive view of common humanity" (Thalhammer et al., 2007, p. 155) ring true with the behaviors and tone conveyed in the interviews. Participants embraced the outreach and opportunity to connect with and support the groups they were working with. Thalhammer et al. (2007) went on to discuss the "sense of obligation and care extending beyond themselves to include wider groups of others, whom they feel obligated to respect and protect" (p. 155). Only Adam and Steve identify as cis, straight, White males; the other 15 participants have one or more minority/marginalized attributes, and while they may advocate for people like themselves, they also advocate for those that who are not.

Participants talked freely about when and how they learned about the "other"; sometimes it was from school experiences, or religious teachings, other times it was through positive or even negative experiences with family members. While there was not a singular common experience, it was clear that this group of HRPs attributed their growth, understanding, and passions to specific or multiple critical incidences in their lives. I suspect that, if they are anything like me, there were those around them who shared these critical experiences, yet they may have been impacted very differently. This may beg the question: why did these experiences open the hearts and minds of these particular individuals while having an opposite effect on others? That question is beyond the scope of this dissertation but may cry out for other forms of

qualitative research (and creative non-fiction), which I will speak of in a later section of this

chapter on future research.

   Altruism. Pearl and Samuel Oliner have written extensively about altruism and

dehumanization through the lens of the Holocaust (P. M. Oliner, 2008; S. P. Oliner, 1992; S. P.

Oliner & Oliner, 1988). Understanding what drives some individuals to altruistic behaviors

within systems of oppression and discrimination is relevant to my topic as well. Again, studies of

HRPs who are motivated to advocate for and hire from NTTPs is, until now, unresearched

ground. According to Eisenberg and Mussen (1989), altruism is a subcategory of prosocial

behaviors:

> Altruism refers to one specific type of pro-social behavior—voluntary actions intended to
> benefit another that are intrinsically motivated—that is, acts motivated by internal
> motives such as concern and sympathy for others, or by values and self-rewards rather
> than personal gain. (p. 3)

> P.M. Oliner and Oliner (1992) have identified eight social processes that promote

extensive altruistic bonds. They define *extensivity* as:

> The tendency to assume commitments and responsibilities toward diverse groups of
> people. Extensivity includes two elements: the propensity to attach oneself to others in
> committed interpersonal relationships; and the propensity toward inclusiveness
> concerning the diversity of individuals and groups to whom one will assume obligations.
> (p. 370)

> The eight social processes that P. M. Oliner and Oliner (1992) described are as follows:

> *Bonding* means forming enduring emotional attachments to people and places: those
> objects, human and nonhuman, with which individuals feel so intensely interconnected,
> related, affiliated, and identified that should they become transformed or even disappear,
> they remain ever real and present in their internal world. (p. 379)

> *Empathizing* means understanding others' thoughts and feelings and feeling with them
> . . . empathy is a product of development and experience. (p. 380)

> *Caring norms* "including rules, values, and principles—express expectations regarding
> appropriate helping behaviors." (p. 381)

> *Participating in altruistic behaviors* range from reasonably low-cost behaviors . . . to
> more costly behaviors, such as advocacy, protest, whistleblowing, and resistance. (p. 382)

Diversifying means enlarging the groups of people and objects with whom people normally interact for the primary purpose of promoting positive social relationships. people are more likely to engage in altruistic behaviors on behalf of known rather than unknown others, particularly if such known others are perceived as more similar to than different from the self. (p. 382)

Networking is another way for making linkages to the broader society . . . The purpose of networking is to cooperate with diverse others in pursuit of some shared goal—widening points of cooperation and building coalition among diverse groups. (p. 383)

Developing shared problem-solving strategies requires concentrating on common positive goals and outcomes, and using skills relating to negotiation and conflict resolution. (p. 384)

Making global connections . . . is the most encompassing process of the inclusive dimension, for it implies extending altruistic considerations to all elements of the cosmos —human and nonhuman, living and nonliving. (p. 385)

Interpreting both the data and my understanding of these social processes, I believe that four of these in particular—empathizing, diversifying, networking, and developing shared problem-solving—accurately reflect the personal and professional experiences that my participants describe engaging in within their roles. The following are examples from the accounts of this study's participants of these four social processes.

- Empathizing: Rebecca cited her struggle to find employment after losing her job, home, and marriage as a reason why she feels empathy for those who struggle to find work due to no fault of their own.

- Diversifying; As an immigrant, Keziah was quick to develop a very diverse group of contacts and support people in her early HR work. This expanded diversification was peer and client facing, both of which were critical to her initial success.

- Networking: Roy's work with HBCUs, as discussed throughout this dissertation, is exemplary of prosocial networking described above.

- Developing Shared Problem-Solving: Michelle's experiences working with competitors, local community colleges, and non-profits as a way to build industry centered pipelines reflects the spirit of shared problem-solving.

Members of leadership who are seeking a more equitable organization and who are responsible for recruitment and talent acquisition should take note of these five social processes when evaluating the skills and personality of the HR team responsible for hiring.

Conceptual Frameworks at Play: Relationship to My Findings

> People who have what Ervin Staub calls a pro-social value orientation, "a positive evaluation of human beings, concern about their welfare and a feeling of personal responsibility for their welfare" are more likely to respond if and when they become aware of social injustice. (Thalhammer et al., 2007, p. 23)

In the preceding section and Chapter IV, I advanced themes that emerged from the interviews that seek to explain how and why some HRPs shift away from conventional and usually, discriminatory hiring. How best can these shifts be described and related to conceptual frameworks of leadership and change, frameworks rich in a prosocial value orientation? In Chapter II, I introduced an array of such frameworks, ones that my organization had found helpful in training HRPs. I did so on the premise that the findings of my research into transformational HRPs might be understood in terms of these practical and applicable frameworks. There, I identified seven important and influential normative change models (Figure 5.1). This section examines my findings in terms of each of these frameworks. In so doing, I aim to link the progressive practices of HRPs in countering discrimination to other, broader thoughts about how professionals can lead and spur changes in the social world.

I do not attempt to look at these frameworks and their implications for progressive HR practice as a competition by asking which are more relevant than others. All may have explanatory value, but each yield different insights. One way to think of the usefulness of these frameworks is by analogy to the tools of a photographer. She will pick a different lens depending

on what aspect of the subject is to be foregrounded. Lighting, distance, and artistic intent plays a role in each choice. Each lens has value and a limited range of usefulness, and, there may be overlapping focal points between these conceptual lenses. As opposed to comparing and contrasting which lens is the best, I will instead point out the value of each in understanding the practice of progressive HRPs.

Figure 5.1. Frameworks used for understanding progressive hiring of the Other.

Targeted universalism, implicit bias, othering, and bridging. These interrelated ideas from the works of powell captures the nature of the outreach activities the HR participants engage in. After sitting in a number of conference sessions led by Dr. powell, I read *Racing to Justice* (powell, 2012) and was captivated by the concept of targeted universalism as a practical

and compelling change process. In summary, targeted universalism promotes the establishment of a common, that is, universal goal. Having come to a consensus on a universal goal, practitioners then analyze who or which groups are achieving the goal, those that are not, and why. This analysis splits into two complementary directions. First, understanding the conditions, situations, and resources that those who are achieving the goals have available to them helps set a baseline of understanding for what might be needed to accomplish the goal. Second, analyzing the conditions, situations, and resources of the group that is failing to meet the standard and the subsequent comparative analysis sheds light on any additional resources needed for them to achieve the standardized universal goal. Those who share similar deficits are clustered, and targeted interventions are provided to those who fall into the group. Establishing the universal goal prior to resource allocation tends to reduce tensions about equality and fairness while holding stakeholders to measurable outcomes.

Applicable to this research, hiring qualified individuals can be seen as a universal goal of both the HRPs and their organizations. This goal was spoken about directly or indirectly by all of the HRPs as exemplified by Michelle who stated it most clearly, saying, "you hire because they are qualified for the position," in this scenario, the NTTPs broadly represent the targeted group due to the lack of traditional talent in the market. Management allocates resources and provides specific goals for which the HRPs to focus on intentionally. Many of these targeted efforts fall outside the status quo hiring practices used when hiring from traditional talent pools. Efforts to engage with NTTPs ranged widely from developing pipelines within schools, reassessing frameworks related to how job qualifications are defined, to joining boards that represent the target population, or reallocation of advertising dollars so that they reach specific NTTPs. Another way to interpret the data in relation to targeted universalism is to frame "increased diversity" as the universal goal and outreach to specific communities as the targeted approach.

Some of the communities may require greater resources such as time, education, trust building, and so forth, before they are interested in or capable of being hired into the organization.

If all it took to diversify an organization and hire from NTTPs, were the reallocation of financial or personnel resources, then this change would be relatively easy, but clearly, there are other obstacles, ones that emerged strongly in the interviews. The more difficult work requires, first, a shift in the leadership's perspective about who will be allowed and welcomed in the organization and second, the greater acceptance of these groups by the existing employee base. If leadership doesn't fully embrace the initiative, and even if they do, this work can be undermined at multiple levels. In a less then welcoming or committed environment, shifting limited resources from entrenched status quo processes to new initiatives focused on NTTPs that might be perceived as a waste; or trying to dig up support for unwanted pilot programs may be, at the least frustrating, or simply pointless if their efforts continue to be sabotaged, as was the situation that Roy found himself in.

An interesting revelation within my research is that universal goals may be stacked. In general, and at a macro level, the universal goal is typically to hire those deemed to be "qualified," with the targeted goal to identify and hire individuals from NTTPs, as these are the groups who are not obtaining employment within these particular organizations at equitable rates. As a result, the secondary universal goal may be to hire from a specific NTTPs (e.g., race, gender, socioeconomic status); the targeted interventions could include any number of the outreach initiatives described earlier in this section and throughout Chapter IV. As discussed, this approach may be problematic in that the characteristics lead some to be seen as "qualified" may be biased from the outset. For example, if historically, all leaders have been White or male, it is easy to see how HRPs, in looking for what they consider to be qualified leaders, may only seek candidates who are seen as diverse within those initial attributes.

In theory, targeted universalism promotes an equitable redistribution of resources within the scope of the universal goal with the intention that the target group should reach the expected and established standard. Within the scope of this study, HRPs indicated that resources and activities are diverted from status quo practices and focused on efforts to increase the hiring from NTTPs. While getting hired is the first, albeit critical, step to successful employment, additional post-hiring redistribution of resources dedicated to retention of the NTTPs was not discussed in the interviews.

In addition to targeted universalism, powell (2015) incorporates concepts of implicit bias, othering, and most recently, bridging, to his work and philosophy. While understanding these processes in the context of discriminatory hiring practices is foundational to this work, it is bridging, a practice that powell has been advocating as of late, that resonates most with the work described by these participants. Bridging is described by powell (2017) in this way:

> Bridging is the other major register. And bridging is, yes, the world is changing. We are changing as a culture, as a people, but it's good . . . it doesn't mean that you like the person necessarily. It doesn't mean you're gonna agree on policy. It doesn't mean you're not gonna oppose the person. But it does mean you recognize the person's humanity. (para. 7, 14)

Bridging can be seen in all of the participants' outreach activities as described in Chapter IV. Bridging goes deeper than merely engaging with dissimilar others for the sake of checking off a box; this is about the type of relationship building exemplified by participant Keziah who is embedded deeply in communities of color because it is "just who she is"; or Roy, who understands that "you can't boil the ocean," meaning that one must be targeted in efforts and, therefore, strategically engaged with targeted HBCUs over an extended period. Bridging also is evidenced in creating policies requiring leadership to be on community boards so that they learn about and connect to critical issues, as discussed by Linda who reported having over 200 team members on local boards. Relatedly, Cynthia and her team "embarked on a city-wide initiative to

go to each ward for all residents who are interested in city jobs to better understand our civil service system and what things they can do to be successful as an applicant." This is bridging.

Along with targeted universalism and bridging, powell writes about the importance of othering that reflects implicit bias—also referred to as unconscious bias or unconscious associations. Current understanding of implicit bias relies heavily on neuroscience and brain research as ways to explain how the brain processes information and makes meaning of the world. Othering incorporates implicit bias research in the exploration and understanding of the biological and psychological manifestations of prejudice, discrimination, and stereotypes.

Othering is the behavioral and emotional manifestation of implicit bias within our interactions and is key to understanding the implicit and explicit resistance that the HRPs experienced when attempting to bring NTTPs into their organizations. There is widening agreement among scholars with powell's belief that while explicit bias is problematic, implicit bias is a more significant issue due to the impact of cultural conditioning on all of us and the insidious ways that it can play out in normalized activities (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013; Choudhury, 2015). The other way around, a positive cultural and social environment can form a fertile ground for individuals to take the risk of resistance.

Courageous resistance. Thalhammer et al. (2007) describe courageous resisters in terms of three dimensions:

> First, they are those who voluntarily engage in other-oriented, largely selfless behavior with a significantly high risk or cost to themselves or their associates. Second, their actions are the result of a conscious decision. Third, their efforts are sustained over time. (p. 5)

Participants in my study alluded to two potential "significantly high risk(s)" related to their efforts to hire from NTTP. A first risk arises if their attempts to find, attract, and hire diverse applicants failed to meet the expectations of their leadership; a second risk is, that if they are successful in hiring from NTTP but the individuals fail to acclimate or be accepted in the

organization, resulting in harmful disruption or additional turn-over costs, then the HRP runs the risk of opprobrium, future disregard, or even losing their jobs. While the descriptions of "significantly high risk" by Thalhammer et al. (2007), relate more to incarceration, torture, and death, in this context, the potential to lose one's job, or even to be disrespected, can also be considered a costly risk. It is important to acknowledge that these efforts, to hire from NTTPs, take place within a corporate environment that has been active—even if unintentionally—in resisting inclusion of members of particular groups in their organization, a fact that increases the risk to the HRPs. My discussion about the resistance participants face in Chapter IV provide insight into some of the challenges which must be overcome.

Participants in this study, through their outreach work, interactions with internal managers, and dealings with resistance to diversification do so, as many described, because of their passion for this work. Their potentially risky courses of action are, in Thalhammer et al.'s (2007) terms, more than consciously pursued: they are embraced. Many said that this work is personal to them or that it's just what they do. The Urban League of West Michigan's President and CEO, Joe Jones, exemplifies this belief when he tells staff that "this work must be personal and that if it's not, then this isn't the right job for you." This sentiment is echoed by Steve when he talks about the need for "value alignment" between the employee and the employer. Yet, even when there is value alignment, the risks to HRPs are still real. Risks are demonstrated in the various ways resistance, or in some cases, conflict arose as a result of the participants' efforts. Roy eventually left his job with an employer that limited the necessary resources and pushed back with mixed messages about their willingness to support diversification but only to a point. Rebecca had a similar experience with a previous employer as well. Thalhammer et al. (2007) stated: "Courageous resisters can exit the model when the variables at a particular stage do not allow for a positive decision. Even courageous actors choose their causes and have days when

they cannot respond" (p. 37). That point, for Roy, seems to have come when there was another "missed opportunity" to fill a leadership position in Atlanta with a person of color. In a similar vein, Anna spoke about knowing how far to push managers, and Michelle talked about the need to leverage higher-ups when facing pushback from peers and managers. It is essential to understand that while keeping one's head down and going with the flow is often the safest path for achieving career longevity and yet, these participants are intentionally and consistently working to introduce an unwanted population into systems that have been actively or passively resistant to having them in the organization.

Thalhammer at al. (2007) discussed prosocial behaviors, empathy, altruism (also discussed above), and values, concluding that these factors are necessary if one is going to expand beyond the constraints of psychological immaturity.

> When a person is psychologically immature, their concern for others, though genuine, may be limited to family, community, ethnic group, or nation. Many adults never develop beyond this immaturity. But if one becomes fully mature, psychologically speaking, their concern embraces the whole human community, regardless of race, nationality, or any other distinction; one has the sense of oneness with humanity (Adler 1927/1954). (Thalhammer et al., p. 24)

Simply put "courageous resisters envision their in-groups more broadly than others." (Thalhammer et al., 2007, p. 24) or what S. P. Oliner and Oliner (1988) called *extensivity,* which they described as "a strong sense of universal connection with other people" (p. 249). This expansion of in-groups was represented to some degree by all of the participants of my study. Each showed a passion and willingness to reach into dissimilar groups and advocate for individuals from NTTPs.

How does one develop the characteristics of a courageous resistor? According to Thalhammer et al. (2007), these develop "from formative experiences and also from socialization throughout lifetimes" (p. 25). Dispersed throughout their book, Thalhammer et al. outlined a

broad profile of characteristics that are attributed to courageous resistors. These characteristics that can be related to the views of this study's participants as well.

Thalhammer et al. (2007) stated: "Some are thoughtful, deliberate and even hesitant about their decision to engage" (p. 152). This was seen, for example, when Linda explained that she requires members of her leadership team to join diverse boards as a way to broaden their reach and expose leaders to groups they may normally resist.

According to Thalhammer et al. (2007), resistors have "become so habituated to helping others that they seem to have reduced their calculus to a point where pro-social action becomes almost automatic" (p. 152). This was exemplified in interviews with Ayomide and Anna, among others, who stated that they do this work because it's just what they do. Thalhammer et al. further noted the importance of "early socialization, nurturing relationships, experiences that encourage individuals to act bravely, and prosocial models that help one recognize injustice and consider possible responses" (p. 154). This resonated in the interviews as when Rebecca spoke about growing up in a religiously oriented home; seeing and proactively working against injustice in her community and as did Michelle.

Thalhammer et al. (2007) suggested that courageous resistors often see their sense of obligation and care "extending beyond themselves to include wider groups of others, whom they feel obligated to respect and protect" (p. 155). In the interview, in parallel, Randi spoke about the influence of seeing special needs children disrespected in her high school and her subsequent advocacy as a result; Thalhammer et al. underlined the importance of "victims of violence . . . remembering the humanity of the perpetrators" (p. 156). Relatedly, Ayomide spoke about learning to see the fear and vulnerability in those who resisted her efforts. Thalhammer et al. also suggested that resistors feel a "strong need to defend professional standards and to reform the institution" they work for (p. 156). Although they were in very different work environments, Roy

and Walter both described how they sought to elevate the standards of their respective organizations.

One could argue that the participants in this study were generally not at significantly high risk particularly when compared to the extreme examples given by Thalhammer et al. (2007), but I believe that these HRPs take big risks of in-group exclusion, professional advancement, and, potentially, to their livelihood. The risk of in-group exclusion within the organization, as Anna, Rebecca, and Roy all discussed, can occur when those with power oppose and resist efforts to hire from outside the status quo. Resistance can be directed toward the potential candidates and/or toward the HRPs responsible for promoting them.

Leadership in place. Wergin (2007a, 2007b) conceptual framework of "Leadership in Place" within settings that are quite distinct from an office of Human Resources: leadership within universities and colleges. Yet the six main characteristics he proposed as comprising Leadership in Place seem to be generalizable to other contexts. Leaders in place, he suggested:

- Recognize the potential for leadership throughout the institution.
- Build relationships of trust that transcend organizational boundaries.
- Frame problems in ways that challenge conventional thinking.
- Are not afraid to take reasonable risks.
- Give voice to a sense of shared purpose and future.
- Exhibit patience and persistence, knowing real change is neither predictable nor linear. (Wergin, 2007a, pp. 225–226)

Findings from the interviews resonate with Wergin's (2007a, 2007b) framework as seen in comments and examples given by the participants. Throughout the interviews, participants explained situation after situation reflective of Wergin's criteria.

Three of the criteria, in particular, were exemplified in the work, experience and overarching intention of the participants: the ability to "build relationships of trust that transcend organizational boundaries" (Wergin, 2007a, p. 225) was exemplified by the community outreach HRPs performed, and also their recognition of the need to build alliances internally and address

resistance directly; Wergin's (2007a) ascribed feature of leaders in place as to "give voice to a sense of shared purpose and future" (p. 226) was exemplified by the frequent assertion by these study's participants of the need for leadership support and alignment with corporate values. And Wergin's characteristic, "exhibit(ing) patience and persistence, knowing real change in neither predictable nor linear" (p. 226), was also commonly seen by the participants' ongoing fight to do the right thing and push the culture to reconsider what has been seen as normal and easy.

Wergin (2007a) expanded on this: "Effective leaders must understand the culture, knowing almost instinctively what the culture will tolerate; they also must know how to challenge and stretch that culture" (p. 232). It is precisely the ability to challenge and stretch the culture that marks the effort of HRPs who hire from non-dominant cultures. Robin spoke of challenging leaders who were reluctant to have differently abled persons in their departments. Her solution included three of Wergin's criteria: "Build(ing) relationships of trust that transcend organizational boundaries" (p. 225) when she sought to understand the concerns of the manager better. After listening to the manager's concerns, she said that she was able to "frame problems in ways that challenge conventional thinking" (Wergin, 2007a, p. 226) and, also, to offer supportive solutions to the manager's concerns all the while, "giv(ing) voice to a sense of shared purpose and future" (Wergin, 2007a, p. 226).

Michelle, consonant with this aspect of Wergin's (2007a, 2007b) model, talked about the need to understand the competing commitment of supervisors when she too faced resistance, this time due to the socioeconomic circumstances of a cohort of candidates. The manager was concerned because of the number of potential barriers they faced and the implication those barriers may have on his productivity numbers. Michelle exhibited patience and persistence and finding shared purpose through listening and relationship building. In this case, she also went to

her upper management for clarification regarding the actual risks that the manager might experience.

Roy spoke about a corporate culture that, after losing a lawsuit, was willing to change but only to a point, a situation that was inevitably untenable for Roy. In this challenging situation, Roy worked to develop relationships, take risks, and lead with a shared purpose. While Roy made headway in many areas, he found himself frustrated with the continual resistance. As Roy lost patience and persistence, he shared that he knew he was no longer the right person for the job. Before leaving, Roy was able to identify a successor whom he felt may be more successful navigating the organization.

Walter confirmed that his leadership is very supportive of their corporate diversity initiative, but minimal resistance still exists within the organization. Some individuals are upset that employees with criminal backgrounds received more accolades than those who have never had a criminal record. Walter reported that there have also been executive-level managers who were frustrated or unprepared for "all the talk about race and poverty" within the organization, topics that continue to be the main point of focus. Walter stated that these individuals tend not to last long in the organization. Intentional diversity, after years of unlearning bias and retraining the staff, is now embedded and normalized into the fabric of their culture.

Wergin's (2007a) dominant Leadership in Place trait that participants' accounts revealed in this study, was that in difficult situations they manifested the "courage to sense the need for leadership in the moment, then seizing that opportunity" (p. 224). Participants found themselves in situations that provided them with the choice to exhibit Leadership in Place characteristics—or abdicate their responsibility and beliefs by submitting to the resistance and challenge. For example, Rebecca, when advocating for a Middle Eastern man, experienced resistance multiple times from various people in her organization. She continued to promote the

applicant until he was "reluctantly" hired. She was delighted to tell me that he remains employed and is doing a great job.

This is not to say that there weren't times in which they felt that they failed to step up—participants did not seem to withhold such examples; shortfalls were owned up to and described, but these tended to help both the participants and me to understand the resistance they faced, as would any professional who embraced Wergin's (2007a, 2007b) normative model. Wergin's point, broadly summarized, is that one does not have to be at the apex of a hierarchical organization to lead, but the results and discussion often showed that they exhibited exemplary qualities and keep challenging "conventional thinking while also acknowledging the need to work within the existing structure and culture" (Wergin, 2007a, p. 226), consistent with Wergin's concept.

Tempered radicalism. Meyerson (2001) describes *tempered radicals* as insiders at odds with the dominant culture due to conflicting agendas or ideas. From what participants told me, all generally were not only acting on their passions (of which there was ample) but also within the direction of their organization's leadership, while, yet, they were also at odds with the cultural norms and unwritten rules of the organization. Meyerson (2001) states: "Tempered radicals set themselves apart by successfully navigating a middle ground. They recognize modest and doable choices in between, such as choosing their battles, creating pockets of learning, and making way for small wins" (p. 6). This is distinct from the high-risk-taking of Thalhammer et al.'s (2007) courageous resistors in that Meyerson sees tempered radicals as "not heroic leaders of revolutionary change; rather, they are cautious and committed catalysts who keep going and who slowly make a difference" (p. 5). He says that they are pulled "toward conformity AND toward rebellion" (p. 6), and that "they work *within* systems, not against them" (p. 7). In this way, they may be more like Wergin's (2007a, 2007b) leaders in place. This theme of choosing

one's battles appeared a number of times in the discussions, exemplified well by Ayomide who stated: "Because it happens continuously it can be discouraging in this work. It can get to you, and I'm like, 'Gosh, I feel like I'm always trying to fight. I'm always trying to convince and persuade and influence.'"

All 17 HRPs spoke about experiencing resistance in one form or another. The ability to not take the resistance as personal seemed to be key. Michelle, for example, spoke about the need to dig deeper and understand where and why the resistance was occurring within her organization. Tony talked about how diverse groups can take longer to come to consensus and Ayomide, who continued to listen and persistently work with a White executive who was frustrated with a Black manager. Due to her intervention and the subsequent resolution, the manager was promoted, not fired, as was initially directed. Bridging relationships, described also in powell's (2017) framework (above), can be just as critical in-house as it is in the wider community. It was reported that many times there were competing commitments at play. From what the participants recounted, resistance didn't always manifest explicitly; often, from the stories they told, it was related to the personal needs and concerns of people opposed to change; Anna heard employees wonder aloud: "how will this affect my productivity numbers?" and Cynthia was confronted with the question: "will my kid have an opportunity for an internship?" Lura stated that she understood that some accommodations came at an additional cost to the employer and that if these costs hadn't been identified in the budget, she worked with the managers to address their budgetary concerns. I think it is critical for progressive HRPs to understand this myopic personalization as it relates to the shift in privilege and power. What and who is valued in our society and workplaces is being reframed, and many of those who are at risk of being on the losing end are fearful and, sometimes, pushing back in subtle and not so subtle ways. It is not uncommon to see individuals who espouse values of equity and justice

tighten up when they realize that an equitable and just system may mean a loss of power or privilege for them or a more difficult, albeit just road for their loved ones (Wasserman, Gallegos, & Ferdman, 2008). Tempered radicals in HRP positions work to balance the pace of change with well-fathomed empathy for those who may object.

Meyerson (2001) identifies race and ethnicity (p. 23), sexual orientation (p. 25), gender (p. 26), as well as values and beliefs (p. 30) as social identities that may be a source of their difference from the dominant group. These identities are consistent with the factors identified as influential by the participants. Both Steve and Adam identified as straight White males, and neither claimed a non-traditional belief or value structure in the interviews. Due to Adam's loss of his father, his early experiences with poverty, and his close relationships with his uncles in the military, it makes sense that he embraces his role in finding jobs for veterans. Steve didn't report being marginalized or overcoming adversity in a way that might have triggered an empathic response to others who are struggling, but he did talk about have his diverse group of friends growing up, yet juxtaposed with loving his grandfather who, he said, was "clearly a racist." That early experience, coupled with seeing his grandfather's profound change at the end of his life was a moving experience according to Steve.

One of the most relevant and essential descriptors of tempered radicals concerning the participants is that they are "outsiders within" (Meyerson & Scully, 1995, p. 589). Most, if not all, of the participants, described situations in which they were pushing against the status quo and advocating for individuals that fit the category of "nontraditional." In those moments, while working in what they saw as the corporation's best interests, they simultaneously were working on behalf of their own agenda and beliefs. Meyerson (2001) stated:

> Tempered radicals share the defining experience of being "different" from the majority, but what their identities mean to them and how they experience their "difference"—not just how they appear to differ from the majority—varies from person to person. (p. 20)

Several of the women and the three men of color in this research spoke about similar experiences and perspectives related to being the outsider within. For example, Linda was often the only woman in the boardroom and reported experiencing sexism on a regular basis early in her career. Walter's first job out of college hosted so-called "bonding events" that excluded their female peers. It took a few of these events for him to recognize the exclusion for what it was, motivating him to share his concern to his leadership. He attributed his sensitivity to their exclusion to his own experiences as a professional Black man.

Staying true to one's self, turning threats into opportunities, negotiating, leveraging small wins, and organizing collective action (Meyerson, 2001, p. 8) provide an essential template for success for HRPs; these strategies align with the experiences of the participants of this study.

Small wins. Weick's (1984) concept of small wins is particularly applicable to this research. It is also a common thread throughout the conceptualization of tempered radicalism and radical collaboration. Weick stated: "Small wins are like miniature experiments that test implicit theories about resistance and opportunity and uncover both resources and barriers that were invisible before the situation was stirred up" (p. 44). This framework is exhibited in the practices and experiences of the participants. For example, Adam and Steve both talked about how they assess candidate qualifications. Conventionally their organization would have looked for candidates who had very similar or identical experiences to those who are currently doing the job. Both have helped to gradually shift the focus to transferable skills and a strong interest in the position, understanding that many of the specific skills can be taught. With these small-seeming changes, doors become more open to NTTP candidates. This reframing is critical according to Weick who states that "how a problem gets defined in the first place is key" (p. 40).

Cynthia followed a very similar model, and like Adam and Steve, found that looking for small wins was effective as she sought out diverse candidates. She now looks backward,

developing a pipeline, that allows her staff to be more creative when recruiting. When seeking

diverse candidates for the police and fire departments, Cynthia's team approached ROTC

members because of their fitness and discipline, and when that effort showed positive results,

they expanded their outreach to include candidates who stood out by being athletes. Creatively

seeking those with transferable qualities and developing a new pipeline, are examples of how

small wins can be achieved and have profound effects on communities overlooked because they

don't fit the current norm.

Asking managers and staff in corporations to make significant changes quickly could

result in what Weick (1984) called "dysfunctionally high levels of arousal" (p. 40). Focusing on

incremental successes through the intentional focus on specific historical and structurally

marginalized communities allows for manageable and incremental change, thus reducing high

levels of arousal. This prototype mentality allows for expanded curiosity and an environment

where failures are welcomed as an opportunity to learn and not taken as incompetence or as a

mistake.

Adam and Steve shared a similar methodology for slowly but steadily expanding their

reach while creating new frameworks and ways to value the experiences of applicants. Both

participants incrementally changed the way they thought about specific job criteria. Instead of

expecting applicants to have manufacturing experience, Adam's team started to think about the

need for mechanical aptitude. Steve stopped expecting applicants to have comparable financial

management experience and expanded criteria to include applicants with strong retail

experience which combines customer services and the ability to handle financial transactions.

These changes resonated with the skills of their target groups, allowing both

organizations to reinterpret and realign personal and corporate expectations. The common idea

was to introduce relatively small changes in criteria that would make sense to organizations that

do not accept startling major changes in NTTP hiring. For Adam, this translated into significant and critical hires: "Roughly 40 to 50% of technical hires for a new plant came from . . . contacts with veteran organizations." Allowing job descriptions to include transferable skills created additional interest and broader access to groups that have been historically excluded from employment.

Influencing a leader, negotiating with a manager, implementing a pilot apprenticeship program or hiring one or two individuals from a NTTP may appear to be a small win from a corporate or social perspective, it may even appear small to those who are employed and have their own degree of agency. But these wins are not small to the individual seeking work and who, as a result of incremental change, is given a chance to prove themselves; nor is it small to their families or the communities they represent. Michelle talks passionately about the changes to the families of the individuals she works with. Increased income, a career opportunity, a degree that can never be taken from them, and benefits for the employee and their families. Kelly has witnessed an extended family member who went back to school after witnessing a sibling's success. Thus, small wins can cascade into not so small gains for individuals from HTTP groups. This impact may be difficult to quantify for corporate stakeholders, but this is life changing for those involved.

Based on my professional experiences, and in conjunction with the HRP interviews, I find Small Wins to be a critical strategy for changing the status quo practices and the challenging supremacist belief systems that actively exclude those that have been historically and structurally marginalized.

Radical collaboration. The concept of radical collaboration is the framework with the least clear-cut scholarly definition of the six applied here. Yet it is a powerful concept for reframing issues and alliances for practitioners. Radical collaboration seeks to redefine

relationships by identifying and leveraging shared values and common goals between parties, including competitors or even groups that are philosophically opposed to each other. Tamm and Luyet (2005) approached radical collaboration through a business lens rather than a social justice lens. As such, it may seem more strategic than radical for those in the social justice field; yet, as discussed in Chapter II, I have found this framework valuable in training HRPs and, so, worth using as a lens for understanding the strategies and perspectives of those I interviewed.

Participants in this study discussed collaborating with a wide variety of unrelated organizations in the hopes of building a level of goodwill that might lead to reputational credibility and recruitment opportunities. Their efforts took them out of their normal organizational and sector-related communities. All the participants reported approaching and working with non-profits, often seeking out overlapping objectives and goals. Synergistic opportunities may have been the desired goal, but it wasn't always the reality. Linda has 200 employees sitting on a wide range of local boards. While serving a valuable role in the community, recruitment of targeted populations is a key objective for the board members. Linda provides these staff members with following instructions:

> Please—if you know somebody that's looking for a job that's a person of color or a person with disabilities or whatever the case may be, we're very open. We'd love to talk to them, if they meet the qualifications of the job.

This bleed-over from traditional sector alliances and associations to board participation in unrelated community non-profits is where the relationship moves from traditional collaboration to what Tamm and Luyet (2005) would call a radical collaboration. Other examples included a manufacturing organization that has contracted with the Michigan Department of Health and Human Services to provide on-site welfare caseworkers to support entry-level employees who are still receiving welfare entitlement benefits or a food distribution organization offering scholarships to an HBCU so that they can have access to upcoming graduates. Two of the

participants, one in hospitality and the other in manufacturing, work directly with prison administrators as they seek out and employ returning citizens and another three spoke about collaborating with direct competitors on issues around education, talent, and pipeline development as each struggle to fill critical positions. Clearly, these are not solely altruistic endeavors. Businesses are working to gain every advantage that they can, and talent acquisition is critical to their future, but they are also not wholly selfish either as recipients of these efforts benefit too. Participants enjoyed and sought out opportunities to collaborate with organizations that align with their passions and interests, in many cases, giving up an evening or two a month to support these efforts was considered a small cost.

Strategically, radical collaboration allows individuals and organizations to rethink their roles and relationships and theoretically, it allows for a drastic reframing of what partnerships can look like. Often, individuals and organizations seek out like-minded people, institutions, and foundations whereas radical collaboration provides an opportunity or a challenge to break out of that norm. While this sample group didn't necessarily yield stellar examples of "radical" or extreme collaborations, they did furnish an extensive list of examples that highlighted individual and corporate willingness to push boundaries and created unusual relationships. Finding common ground or at least a common goal can be a powerful way to transform a community.

Conclusions on the Study's Relationship to Progressive Conceptual Frameworks

The seven progressive conceptual frameworks applied above and depicted above in Figure 5.1, provide a variety of lenses through which to view both the past and present situations that the participants have experienced. Whenever encountering a new leadership concept or theory, I reflect on its applicability on the work, asking myself how the concepts fit into the lives of our clients and the work of my staff. Does the concept provide enough depth or relief to make a difference to either? If not, I tend to dismiss them, but when they do, I am inspired to dig deeper,

drawing connections to other applicable frameworks. The conceptual frameworks used in this dissertation met this criterion. Each concept provides a unique twist of the lens, allowing a new or sometimes an overlapping aspect to come into focus. As expected, none of the frameworks explain the totality of the HRP experience, nor does it make sense to try to dilute the participants' experience so that they can fit neatly into some broad but meaninglessly all-encompassing box. Each participant brings a unique personal perspective which is then incorporated into their unique work circumstances. There is no single framework to explain the richness of these combined experiences.

Targeted universalism, bridging, small wins, and radical collaboration may be best viewed primarily as strategy tools for decision makers. Agreement on universal goals that allow for targeted tactics requires the perspective and influence of those in power. Relevant to the context of this study, it is the leader who sets the diversity goals, identifies the intended population, and allocates resources which the HRP leverages through various outreach/bridging programs that are specifically designed for each target group. Small wins are often an integral change strategy: pilot programs, increasing the diversity in the applicant pool, diversion of advertising funds to community media or adding people of color to interview teams are all examples of using a Small Wins strategy.

Radical Collaboration is an inspirational strategy that requires one to seek out allies and search for common ground in unusual places. I gave the example of Ben Jealous, president of the NAACP and the Tea Party in Texas. In this study, I heard stories about local organizations sitting with their direct competitors to address the lack of qualified workers in their area (Michelle, Grace, Lura) and businesses investing money and providing staff/volunteers to elementary schools (Linda) as a way to build interest in their sector and develop a relational pipeline for the future. Michelle's organization provides one of the best examples from the cohort of participants.

While she works for a national health care organization, her local HR group started and refined an evidence-based hiring process that has received much acclaim for its efficacy and ability to attract and hire diverse individuals. Private philanthropy, business consultants, and a local government agency approached Michelle's leadership with a radical proposal—What if they funded and trained 20 businesses, across multiple sectors, in evidence-based hiring practices, including Michelle's direct competitor, who is significantly larger and who is fighting to hire from the same population? When asked why they agreed to do so, their local president said: "Because it is good for the community." This sensible, generous, and visionary approach has made him a bit of a local hero and has escalated the reputation of his business.

On a smaller scale, Walter, Linda, and Terri provided examples of employers who approved, supported, and, at times, directed employees to work with local non-profits on projects that might strategically benefit their organizations and, at times, on projects that would not. These are often long-term relationship building strategies requiring visionary leaders who are willing to make a commitment and take calculated risks.

The concepts of courageous resistance, leadership in place, and tempered radicals, speak more to the beneficial characteristics of the HRP. Leadership in place addresses the courage, necessity, and cultural framework that allow individuals to fill the leadership gap when needed. This is a combination of environmental factors that support individual empowerment at a point in time. Of particular relevance is the ability to "build relationships of trust that transcend organizational boundaries, frame problems in ways that challenge conventional thinking . . .[and that] exhibit patience and persistence, knowing real change is neither predictable nor linear" (Wergin, 2007a, pp. 225–226). The participants had the autonomy and responsibility to develop meaningful relationships with outside groups and navigate, sometimes tenuous, internal relationships with hiring teams that have been historically resistant to hiring from NTTPs.

The characteristics identified for courageous resistors and tempered radicals overlap considerably. Courageous resistance speaks to broader social situations while tempered radicalism focuses on workplace change. The stories and examples shared that relate to courageous resistance are extreme in comparison with tempered radicals; thus, Thalhammer et al. (2007) includes the criterion of high risk to characterize incidents in Rwanda and Nazi Germany. Several of their examples are of people breaking the law and putting their physical lives at risk for others. While instructive, this level of risk was not identified in the context of my interviews, which is not to say that there aren't potential risks for those seeking to make demographic changes in organizations. A recent story from Toledo, Ohio, reported by CNN (Simon & Sidner, 2019), involved a group of African Americans suing GM for abuses they face in the workplace. Bullying, name-calling, and even several nooses and "Whites only" signs have been used to intimidate these workers. While no one I interviewed in the summer of 2018 reported this level of hostility or threat, it is important to note that such antagonism is not out of the realm of possibility; courageous HRPs live with the possibility of extremism, especially in these times when divisiveness and hatred are spreading from the highest political levels. The idea of courageous resistance provides leaders with a comprehensive understanding of attitudes, characteristics, and behaviors that may be needed to achieve the level of change they envision, especially in these times.

Similarly, Meyerson (2001) focused on how tempered radicals "use difference to inspire change at work" (subtitle to book). Meyerson provides a comprehensive guide for tempered radicals, using Patricia Hill Collins's (1986) term, "outsider within," to describe those that "set themselves apart by successfully navigating a middle ground" (Meyerson, 2001, p. 6). This tempered approach is relevant and successful in the context of my study, in part, as a result of the leadership support and cultural expectations applied within the participant's organizations.

Probably because Meyerson's focus is on creating change in the workplace, I found her work to be the most relevant of all the frameworks for the findings of this study. Upon a second reading of her ideas, I heard the voices and stories of the participants echoing back to me. Meyerson captures the need for measured, persistent change as well as identifying the challenges of being the "outsider within" (p. 17). She sees tempered radicals as "everyday leaders" (p. 16), as do I. Sections on "psychological resistance" (p. 39), "turning personal threats into opportunities" (p. 57), the "use of negotiation" (p. 77), "small wins" (p. 101), and suggestions about "leveraging collective action" (p. 121) also closely reflect the voices and actions of the participants of this study as previously discussed. I believe that this concept of tempered radicals could provide additional guidance, insights, direction, and a sense of community to the participants and those following similar paths. CEOs and those responsible for building a talent acquisition team will find the characteristics, passions, strategies, and techniques addressed in this framework to be a valuable template when comparing potential HRP candidates to do this critical and challenging work.

Contribution of This Study to Scholarship

As discussed throughout this dissertation and extensively in Chapter II, there is substantial literature on the phenomena of employment discrimination. This research encompasses the conscious and unconscious exclusion of historically and structurally marginalized individuals in the workplace due to specific attributes they exhibit or are thought to exhibit. Most analyses are quite "macro" describing the big picture phenomenon of discrimination and its contravention, but not the "micro." This study is premised on how critical it is in changing this, to understand who, how, why, and when individuals are discriminated against in the workplace, and understandably, the voice of the HRP is absent in most of these analyses. I say understandably, because, in most cases, it is illegal to discriminate against

individuals or groups due to arbitrary attributes and subjective characteristics. It is understandable also because HRPs are subjected to cultural norms which influence our unconscious biases. This is why I chose to seek out positive deviants, those HRPs who actively and consciously attempting to hire from NTTPs. Had I reached out to HRPs requesting interviews on the ways they intentionally and unintentionally discriminate against historically and systematically marginalized individuals and groups, I suspect that the request would not have been answered with a friendly invitation to talk! Therefore, finding and interviewing those who are working to change the future of these individuals and groups was a much more realistic goal.

The voices of these 17 participants provide a starting point in achieving a close-up understanding of how social change work is related to, consistent with or different from corporate change work. I continue to believe—at the end of this journey, as I did at the beginning—that the social and economic mobility of historically and structurally marginalized people depend on their ability to penetrate and be successful in the workplace—and not just any employment but employment that allows them to be their authentic selves and reach their full working potential. This is not something that they can always achieve on their own, as the discrimination research points out over and over. They need support from the inside the organizations, which is where progressive hiring by HRPs comes into play, and, therefore, why understanding how the latter think and act is important to explore as has been done here.

The analysis was also unique in that I viewed the data through multiple lenses including empathy, positive intergroup contact, prosocial behavior, and altruism, as well as providing a high-level interpretive analysis of the conceptual frameworks: targeted universalism and bridging, courageous resistance, leadership in place, tempered radicals, small wins, and radical

collaboration. Given that the voices of hiring HRPs have not been heard in this context, these frameworks offer multiple vantage points for understanding the potential for change.

Implications and Recommendations for Practice

In today's institutions, professional HRPs are the primary gatekeepers to employment. My research has shown the reach and influence that HRPs have in the community, the impact they have on corporate reputation as it relates to diversity and inclusion, and it has touched on the importance of this work for those who have been historically and structurally marginalized. It has delved, to a degree, into the life experiences that helped shape the worldviews of the participants, drawing a link between early experiences and current motivation. HRPs do not work in isolation; they require leadership, hiring managers, and corporate support to push these share values forward. Let me address some of those who, I believe, can learn from my research.

To the CEOs: Several of the participants conveyed hope that their words might reach you. Consistent with the literature (Gilbert & Ivancevich, 2000; Slater et al., 2008; Wentling & Palma-Rivas, 1998), these participants need you to understand that your voice and commitment to diversity and inclusion work, carries the most weight in the organization and, many times, in the community; therefore, it is essential that you lead these efforts. On the surface, this recommendation may seem to countermand the idea of HRPs acting as what Wergin (2007a, 2007b) called leaders in place, and Meyerson (2001), tempered radicals: both models call on employees to act decisively, creatively, and independently, no matter their rank in the organization. But to do so, especially in matters so charged as diversity and discrimination, they need the safe space and maneuvering room to act. This is where your leadership can and must be enabling.

This speaks to the "wider middle path" discussed above, in that internal changemakers clearly require support from leadership, in addition to their own intrinsic motivation, if they are

to be successful pushing against the status quo. Having spent time with these 17 HRPs, asking them difficult and personal questions about their work, experiences, and passions, the following suggestions are for you:

- Only you can provide the "holding environment" (Heifetz, 1994, p. 103) to enable your HRPs to take bold initiatives. Integrate your commitment to diversity and inclusion within the corporate vision and mission.

- Decentralize the goals and responsibilities of diversity and inclusion and redistribute them to all of your division or department heads.

- Provide incentives, hold people accountable, and ensure that there are adequate resources available.

- Demand and create diversity at all levels of the organization. Know that this work takes time but is simultaneously urgent.

- Specifically, in regard to talent acquisition: ensure that your talent acquisition team has the heart, skills, intention, and compulsion to do this work.

Speaking from the perspective of a researcher and a practitioner and following from the suggestions above, I would specifically recommend several additional strategies: First, organizational leaders need to align vision, mission, and resources with diversity and inclusion practices, incentives, evaluations, goals, and transparent reporting. This will have a powerful impact on driving the culture of the organization. In my experience as a Diversity and Inclusion trainer, employees know when diversity and inclusion efforts are simply for show, which undermines the integrity of the organization, damages their reputation, and limits potential employment candidates. Diversity and inclusion efforts that are embedded within the fabric of organizational processes and practices build integrity and attract employees committed to these values. The role of a chief diversity officer should be seen as the primary resource and support

for leaders in the company who are implementing organizational diversity initiatives but not as the sole person responsible for the efforts and outcomes.

Second, leaders need to normalize conversations about diversity and inclusion in all meetings as a way of modeling and embedding courageous and insightful conversations into the culture. In turn, they need to foster training and other supports for those who are struggling to understand the importance of diversity and the impact of their own biases. Resistance to diversity and inclusion changes should not be demonized but seen as an opportunity to reframe the employees' understanding of bias and educate them on a critical business and cultural imperative. Diversity and inclusion initiatives should be treated as simultaneously urgent and strategic, based on understanding that there is no finish line or end goal; this will help to remove the feeling that such initiatives are just the "flavor of the month" and can be waited out or dismissed.

Finally, organizational leaders need to view their talent acquisition staff as ambassadors to the communities who need to be collaborated with. It is essential to understand that, for many communities that have been dismissed or harmed by past practices, relationships may take time to heal. Talent acquisition staff should be hired based on their relationships with structurally and historically marginalized communities as well as skills related to empathy, prosocial behaviors, and altruism.

Overall, I urge CEOs to create a strong inclusive vision, model the expectation within your leadership team, hold all employees and suppliers accountable, and build a reputation in the community that your organization is a welcoming and equitable place. Provide opportunities for existing staff time to recalibrate to the new reality but not at the cost of historically marginalized staff. Listen to those closest to your targeted populations and allow them to create and shape meaningful outreach strategies.

Future Research

Many opportunities emerge from this study for future research directions. As mentioned in the limitation sections, expanding the number of participants could provide a deeper understanding of the issues and experiences related to industry and geography as well as insights into corporate dynamics that support or hinder this work. Bierema (2010) stated: "The omission of diversity in HRD [human resources development] and OD [organizational development] literature is glaring" (p. 567). The key is to continue to listen to and give a platform for the voice to those that are working to create equitable workplaces.

Future research could track and interview those hired from NTTPs through their first two years in the organization to learn about their lived experiences within organizations. Gaining access to jobs is a critical first step, but if those opportunities come at too high of a cost, as experienced in the Toledo GM plant, then the efforts of the hiring HRP are undermined. Understanding the lived workplace experiences of those from NTTP would provide additional insights into the efficacy and value of these hiring efforts.

Tracking the number of NTTP placements, their entry position, and pay rates, would help to determine if the hire perpetuated or changed status quo expectations. While shifting overall corporate demographic numbers is critical, changes toward equity must include leadership and C-suite positions. Within large organizations, interview results could be combined with actual hiring data to determine if or how personal motivation affects diversity outcomes.

Further exploration into the types and degree of resistance that hiring HRPs face along with a deeper understanding of their coping strategies could prove useful knowledge to those seeking to track and change cultural bias within organizations. Research on how shifting unemployment rates affect corporate motivation to hiring from NTTPs could prove useful to those concerned with equitable hiring.

Limitations of the Study

General concerns about limitations have been discussed in Chapters I and III. A major limitation always particularly significant in graduate research was the limited time—this had repercussions in several ways. Due to the potential legal and social ramifications intrinsic in the overarching questions regarding hiring practices and discrimination, and the need for honest reflection about their lived experiences, I feel as if a single interview with each participant was somewhat inadequate in building a deep and trusting container in which to discuss these sensitive and critical issues. The interviews provided a good starting point, but on reflection, I sensed that many of the participants were straddling the fence between supporting the employer and speaking their full truth. This is not to suggest that the participants were not honest in their stories and revelations, but I suspect that there are levels of depth and honesty that may require additional trust before one is able or willing to share. The interviews asked them to wear two hats, one as a professional speaking about practices and situations in the workplace, and the other to reflect critically on past personal experiences and draw a correlation to current beliefs and motivations. Looking back now, I think that balancing act may have been difficult. Additionally, for many in the group, the questions presented a new perspective to them; "I hadn't thought about that before," or "I haven't looked at it that way," were fairly common responses throughout the interviews. Approaching a familiar topic from a new perspective can be enlightening or disorienting.

Sample size and geographic constraints were also limiting factors as well. Sample size limited the number of industries and the diversity within the group. While it was a diverse group, it would be difficult to draw generalizable conclusions based on race, gender, geography, or industry given the limited sample size. All but three of the participants were from the Michigan region; therefore, I would be curious to know if the stories and experience would have differed if

this study would have been done in other regions or even internationally. I suspect that broad conclusions, such as the need for CEO support or that participants perspectives were shaped by early encounters with dissimilar folk, would be a common thread but I'm curious how resistance in the organizations, perceived levels of risk, and techniques for targeted outreach into the community may vary geographically.

Another limitation arises from the fact that this may have been an unusually good time for progressive HRPs to innovate and diversify. Falling unemployment throughout the past few years has forced employers to become more creative in their hiring practices. This fact may have implications for this study. This has benefitted those from NTTPs greatly, but the practices, at least for most of the companies, may have been born more of need than desire. I am deeply concerned that if or when there is a shift in the unemployment rate that many of these participants will lose the support of their management teams, thus stopping the momentum to hire from HTTPs.

Closing Thoughts

The goal of the dissertation research centered on generating insights and understanding about the ways that hiring HRPs are intrinsically and extrinsically motivated, how they interact with diverse communities to achieve their personal and professional goals, and how they experience resistance to their work. My initial curiosity grew, twisted, and narrowed through the course of Antioch's Leadership and Change program. What started with moral outrage, ended with hope. The critical realization that I grapple with on a daily basis is that the people I love experience life differently than I do. That difference, most often due to the accident of birth and not the benefit of worth, does not typically result in an easier, simpler, healthier, or more successful journey for them. Having spent a large portion of my career in workforce development, I was interested in and sensitive to issues of employment discrimination. That

board passion and understanding narrowed as I sought out gaps in the research literature. The foundational knowledge about the practices of inequity and discriminatory hiring is well researched. This literature describes, defines, analyzes and theorizes about the shocking and often, disheartening outcomes of employment discrimination. Knowing how, when, where and why individuals and groups are excluded from employment—and as a result, from economic mobility, is critical knowledge. Yet, having worked with HRPs who went above and beyond in their efforts to hire those who have been historically and structurally marginalized, I recognized that their experiences and voices were absent from the research literature. As discussed in Chapter I, textbooks (e.g., Armstrong, 2006; Boxall et al., 2007), trade publications books (e.g., Mitchell & Gamlem, 2012; Smith & Mazin, 2011) and scholarly periodicals such as the *Human Resource Management Journal, HR Today,* and *Workforce* have been written to guide budding and experienced practitioners alike. To the extent of my search, none of these resources give voice to the HRPs who go far beyond what is required in hiring progressively from HTTPs.

In conclusion, biographical narrative inquiry provided a snapshot in time. We—the participants and I as researcher/conversant—were strangers, navigating sensitive topics, using inadequate language while exploring personal experiences that shaped participant worldviews and workplace behavior. Creating a safe container that would allow truth to be shared, heard, and understood, was the goal. To gain a window into the hearts and minds of individuals who are intentionally working against status quo employment pressures while operating within systems, and simultaneously motivated by personal experiences in the hopes that they can assist in creating a different workplace reality. I did not specifically ask the participants, but I did not get any hint that these individuals see themselves as heroes or social gatekeepers. They are dedicated employees, seeking to do the right thing as a result of unique experiences that helped them to understand the value in those around them that have been culturally undervalued.

References

Aberson, C. L. (2007). Diversity, merit, fairness, and discrimination beliefs as predictors of support for affirmative-action policy actions. *Journal of Applied Social*, *37*(10), 2451–2474. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2007.00266.x

Adler, A. (1954). *Understanding human nature.* (Wolfe, W. B., trans.) Greenwich, CT: Fawcett. (Original work published 1927)

Allport, G. W. (1979). *The nature of prejudice.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley. (Original work published 1954)

Andrews, M. (2007). *Shaping history: Narratives of political change*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Antioch University Faculty of Leadership and Change. (2018). *PhD in Leadership and Change dissertation handbook 2018/19*. Yellow Springs, OH.

Armstrong, M. (2006). *A handbook of human resource management practice* (10th ed.). London, UK: Kogan Page.

Armstrong, M., & Taylor, S. (2014). *Armstrong's handbook of human resource management practice*. London, UK: Kogan Page.

Baker, S. E., & Edwards, R. (2012). *How many qualitative interviews is enough? Expert voices and early career reflections on sampling and cases in qualitative research.* National Centre for Research Methods Review Paper. Retrieved from http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/2273/4/how_many_interviews.pdf

Banaji, M. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (2013). *Blindspot: Hidden biases of good people.* New York, NY: Delacorte.

Bandura, A. (2002). Selective moral disengagement in the exercise of moral agency. *Journal of Moral Education, 31*(2), 101–119. https://doi.org/10.1080/0305724022014322

Banks, R. R., Eberhardt, J. L., & Ross, L. (2006). Discrimination and implicit bias in a racially unequal society. *California Law Review, 94*(4), 1169–1190.

Bar-On, D. (2006). *Tell your life story: Creating dialogue among Jews and Germans, Israelis and Palestinians*. Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press.

Barron, L. G., Hebl, M., & King, E. B. (2011). Effects of manifest ethnic identification on employment discrimination. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *17*(1), 23–30. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021439

Bar-Tal, D. (1988). Delegitimizing relations between Israeli Jews and Palestinians: A social psychological analysis. In J. Hofman (Ed.), *Arab-Jewish relations in Israel: A quest in human understanding* (pp. 217–248). Bristol, IN: Wyndham Hall Press.

Bauermeister, J. A., Meanley, S., Hickok, A., Pingel, E., VanHemert, W., & Loveluck, J. (2014). Sexuality-related work discrimination and its association with the health of sexual minority emerging and young adult men in the Detroit metro area. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy: A Journal of the NSRC, 11*(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-013-0139-0

Bell, M. P., Kwesiga, E. N., & Berry, D. P. (2010). Immigrants: The new "invisible men and women" in diversity research. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 25*(2), 177–188. https://doi.org/10.1108/02683941011019375

Bendick, M., Jr., Rodriguez, R. E., & Jayaraman, S. (2010). Employment discrimination in upscale restaurants: Evidence from matched pair testing. *The Social Science Journal, 47*(4), 802–818. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2010.04.001

Benschop, Y., & Van den Brink, M. (2014). Power and resistance in gender equality strategies: Comparing quotas and small wins. In S. Kumra, R. Simpson, & R. J. Burke (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of gender in organizations* (pp. 332–352). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Bentz, V. M., & Shapiro, J. J. (1998). *Mindful inquiry in social research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Bergman, M. E., Palmieri, P. A., Drasgow, F., & Ormerod, A. J. (2012). Racial/ethnic harassment and discrimination, its antecedents, and its effect on job-related outcomes. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 17*(1), 65–78. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0026430

Bierema, L. L. (2010). Resisting HRD's resistance to diversity. *Journal of European Industrial Training, 34*(6), 565–576. https://doi.org/10.1108/03090591011061239

Biernacki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball sampling: Problems and techniques of chain referral sampling. *Sociological Methods & Research, 10*(2), 141–163. https://doi.org/10.1177/004912418101000205

Bold, C. (2012). *Using narrative in research.* London, UK: SAGE.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2010). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and racial inequality in contemporary America* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bowling, D., & Hoffman, D. A. (2003). *Bringing peace into the room: How the personal qualities of the mediator impact the process of conflict resolution*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Boxall, P. F., Purcell, J., & Wright, P. M. (Eds.). (2007). *The Oxford handbook of human resource management*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Brown, V. R., & Vaughn, E. D. (2011). The writing on the (FaceBook) wall: The use of social networking sites in hiring decisions. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *26*(2), 219–225. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-011-9221-x

Burns, C. (2012, March). *The costly business of discrimination.* Crosby Burns Report for the Centre for American Progress. New York, NY: Centre for American Progress.

Butterfield, L. D., Borgen, W. A., Amundson, N. E., & Maglio, A. S. T. (2005). Fifty years of the critical incident technique: 1954–2004 and beyond. *Qualitative Research*, *5*(4), 475–497. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794105056924

Buttner, E. H, Lowe, K. B., & Billings-Harris, L. (2009). The challenge of increasing minority-group professional representation in the united states: Intriguing findings. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *20*(4), 771–789.

Byron, R. A. (2010). Discrimination, complexity, and the public/private sector question. *Work & Occupations*, *37*(4),435–475. https://doi.org/10.1177/0730888410380152

Caldwell, R. (2003). The changing roles of personnel managers: old ambiguities, new uncertainties. *Journal of Management Studies*, *40*(4), 983–1004. https://doi.org/10.1177/0730888410380152

Campbell, A. K., & Dollenmayer, J. (1975). Governance in a metropolitan society. In A. H. Hawley & V. P. Rock (Eds.), *Metropolitan America in contemporary perspective* (pp. 335–396). New York, NY: Halsted.

Cappelli, P. (2012). *Why good people can't get jobs: The skills gap and what companies can do about it.* The Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, PA: Wharton Digital Press.

Cascio, W. F., & Aguinis, H. (2005). *Applied psychology in human resource management* (6th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Center for Educational Performance and Information (n.d.). *MI school data: Grad/dropout rate.* [Data file] Retrieved from https://www.mischooldata.org/DistrictSchoolProfiles/StudentInformation/GraduationDropoutRate2.aspx

Chamberlayne, P., Bornat, J., & Apitzsch, U. (2004). Introduction. In P. Chamberlayne, J. Bornat, J., & U. Apitzsch (Eds.), *Biographical methods and professional practice: An international perspective* (pp. 1–30). Bristol, UK: Policy Press.

Chatmon, C., & Gray, R. (2015). Lifting up our kings: Developing Black males in a positive and safe space. *Voices in Urban Education*, *42*, 50–56. Retrieved from https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1082780.pdf

Choudhury, S. (2015). *Deep diversity: Overcoming us vs. them*. Toronto, Canada: Between the Lines.

Christ, O., Schmid, K., Lolliot, S., Swart, H., Stolle, D., Tausch, N., . . . Hewstone, M. (2014). Contextual effect of positive intergroup contact on outgroup prejudice. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science, 111*(11), 3996–4000. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1320901111

Civil Rights Act of 1964 § 7, 42 U.S.C. §2000e et seq (1964). Retrieved from http://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/titlevii.cfm.

Clifton, J. (2011). *The coming jobs war: What every leader must know about the future of job creation*. New York, NY: Gallup Press.

Cobb, M. (2009). *The resistance: The French fight against the Nazis*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Cohen, A., Green, L., & Partnow, S. (2011). *Practicing the art of compassionate listening.* Indianola*,* WA: Compassionate Listening Project.

Cohen, P. N., Huffman, M. L., & Knauer, S. (2009). Stalled progress? Gender segregation and wage inequality among managers, 1980–2000. *Work and Occupations, 36*(4), 318–342. https://doi.org/10.1177/0730888409347582

Collins, J. J., & Manning, J. G. (Eds.). (2016). *Revolt and resistance in the ancient classical world and the Near East: In the crucible of empire*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

Collins, P. H. (1986). Learning from the outsider within: The sociological significance of Black feminist thought. *Social Problems, 33*(6), s14–s32.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, *1989*, 139–169. Retrieved from http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8

Dalesio, E. P. (2017, April 17). Bank of America settles racial discrimination case from 1993. *The Washington Times*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/apr/17/bank-of-america-settles-racial-discrimination-case/

De Beauvoir, S. (2011). *The second sex* (C. Borde & S. Malovany-Chevallier, Trans.). New York, NY: Vintage. (Original work published 1949)

Dencker, J. C. (2008). Corporate restructuring and sex differences in managerial promotion. *American Sociological Review 73*(3), 455–475. https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240807300305

Derous, E., Ryan, A. M., & Nguyen, H. D. (2012). Multiple categorization in resume screening: Examining effects on hiring discrimination against Arab applicants in field and lab settings. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 33*(4), 544–570. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.769

Diamond, J. (2016). *Power: A user's guide.* Santa Fe, NM: Belly Song.

Diekman, A. B., & Hirnisey, L. (2007). The effect of context on the silver ceiling: A role congruity perspective on prejudiced responses. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, *33*(10), 1353–1366. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167207303019

Dispenza, F., Watson L. B., Chung, Y. B., & Brack, G. (2012). Experience of career-related discrimination for female-to-male transgender persons: A qualitative study. *Career Development Quarterly*, *60*(1), 65–81. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.2012.00006.x

Draper, W., Hawley, C., McMahon, B. T., & Reid, C. A. (2012). Workplace discrimination and the record of disability. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation, 36*(3), 199–206. https://doi.org/10.3233/JVR-2012-0594

Draper, W. R., Hawley, C. E., McMahon, B. T., Reid, C. A., & Barbir, L. A. (2014). ADA perceived disability claims: A decision-tree analysis. *Journal of Occupational Rehabilitation, 24*(2), 213–219. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10926-013-9464-7

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1994). *The souls of Black folk.* New York: Dover. (Original work published 1903)

Dyer, B., Giloth, R. P., Kazis, R., & Seltzer, M. (2014). Philanthropic innovations for workforce impact: The National Fund for Workforce Solutions, 2003–2013. In M. Conway & R. P. Giloth (Eds.), *Connecting people to work: Workforce intermediaries and sector* strategies (pp. 87–112). Washington, DC: Aspen Institute.

Edhlund, B., & McDougall, A. (2016). *NVivo for Mac essentials*. Stallarholmen, Sweden: Form & Kunskap.

Eisenberg, N., & Mussen, P. H. (1989). *The roots of prosocial behavior in children.* Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ellinger, A. D., & Bostrom, R. P. (2002). An examination of managers' beliefs about their roles as facilitators of learning. *Management Learning*, *33*(2), 147–179. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350507602332001

Elliot, J. R., & Smith, R. A. (2001). Ethnic matching of supervisors to subordinate work groups: Findings on "bottom-up" ascription and social closure. *Social Problems*, *48*(2), 258–276. https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2001.48.2.258

Ellison, R. (1952). *Invisible man.* New York, NY: Random House.

Emerald, D. (2016). *The power of TED* (3rd ed.). Bainbridge Island, WA: Polaris.

Essed, P. (1991). *Understanding everyday racism: An interdisciplinary theory*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.

Essed, P. (1993). The politics of marginal inclusion: Racism in an organizational context. In J. Wrench & J. Solomos (Eds.), *Racism and Migration in Western Europe* (pp. 143–156). Oxford, UK: Berg

Finnegan, R. P. (2015). *HR's greatest challenge: Driving the C-suite to improve employee engagement and retention*. Alexandria, VA: Society for Human Resource Management.

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, *82*(6), 878–902. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878

Fiske, S. T., & Markus, H. R. (Eds.). (2012). *Facing social class: How societal rank influences interaction*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Flynn, A., & Warren, D. T. (2017). *The hidden rules of race: Barriers to an inclusive economy*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Freire, P. (1998). *Pedagogy of freedom: Ethics, democracy, and civic courage*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York. NY: Continuum. (Original work published 1968)

Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2005). Understanding and addressing contemporary racism: From aversive racism to the common ingroup identity model. *Journal of Social Issues*, *61*(3), 615–639. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00424.x

Gilbert, J. A., & Ivancevich, J. M. (2000). Valuing diversity: A tale of two organizations. *Academy of Management Perspectives, 14*(1), 93–105. https://doi.org/10.5465/ame.2000.2909842

Gillespie, J. Z., & Ryan A. M. (2012). Gender-based preferential selection: Influences of perceptions of procedurally unfair advantage on performance and self-evaluations. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *42*(S1), E150–E179. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2012.01016.x

Glazer, M. P. (1999). On the trail of courageous behavior. *Sociological Inquiry*, *69*(2), 276–295. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.1999.tb00503.x

Goodman, D. J. (2011). *Promoting diversity and social justice: Educating people from privileged groups*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Gose, B. (2006). The rise of the chief diversity officer. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, *53*(6), 55.

Greater Grand Rapids Racial Equity Network. (n.d.). In *Facebook* [Group page]. Retrieved October 18, 2018 from https://www.facebook.com/GGRREN/

Greenwald, A. G., & Krieger, L. H. (2006). Implicit bias: Scientific foundations. *California Law Review*, *94*(4), 945–967.

Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society. (2015, April 30). *john powell keynote: The mechanisms of othering* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cs3mtCqC8S4

Haidt, J. (2012). *The righteous mind: Why good people are divided by politics and religion*. New York, NY: Vintage.

Hammonds, K. H. (2005). Why we hate HR. *Fast Company*, *97*(8), 40–47.

Hanagan, M. (2008). Marginalization. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.* Retrieved from https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/sociology-and-social-reform/sociology-general-terms-and-concepts-109

Harris, L. T., & Fiske, S. T. (2006). Dehumanizing the lowest of the low: Neuroimaging responses to extreme out-groups. *Psychological Science*, *17*(10), 847–853. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01793.x

Haslam, N. (2006). Dehumanization: An integrative review. *Personality & Social Psychology Review*, *10*(3), 252–264. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1003_4

Haslam, N., Bain, P., Douge, L., Lee, M., & Bastian, B. (2005). More human than you: Attributing humanness to self and others. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, *89*(6), 937–950. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.89.6.937

Hays, P. A. (2008). *Addressing cultural complexities in practice: Assessment, diagnosis, and therapy*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Heifetz, R. A. (1994). *Leadership without easy answers.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Henry, P. (Ed.). (2014). *Jewish resistance against the Nazis*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press.

Hersch, J. (2011). The persistence of skin color discrimination for immigrants. *Social Science Research*, *40*(5), 1337–1349. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2010.12.006

Hess, K. P. (2013). Investigation of nonverbal discrimination against women in simulated initial job interviews. *Journal of Applied Social Psychol*ogy, *43*(3), 544–555. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2013.01034.x

Hoffman, M. L. (2000). *Empathy and moral development: Implications for caring and justice.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2012). *Varieties of narrative analysis*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

Hosoda, M., & Stone-Romero, E. (2010). The effects of foreign accents on employment-related decisions. *Journal of Management Psychol*ogy, *25*(2), 113–132. https://doi.org/10.1108/02683941011019339

Hotchkiss, J. L. (2004). Growing part-time employment among workers with disabilities: Marginalization or opportunity? *Economic Review-Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta*, *89*(3), 25–40.

Jason, L. A. (2012). Small wins matter in advocacy movements: Giving voice to patients. *American Journal Of Community Psychology*, *49*(3/4), 307–316. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-011-9457-7

Jelks, R. M. (2006). *African Americans in the Furniture City: The struggle for civil rights in Grand Rapids*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Jost, J. T., & Hunyady, O. (2005). Antecedents and consequences of system-justifying ideologies. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *14*(5), 260–265. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0963-7214.2005.00377.x

Kahneman, D. (2011). *Thinking fast and slow*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Kandola, B. (2009). *The value of difference: Eliminating bias in organizations*. Oxford, UK: Pearn Kandola.

Kaufman, B. E. (2007). The development of HRM in historical and international perspective. In P. F. Boxall, J. Purcell, & P. M. Wright (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of human resource management* (pp. 19–47). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Kegan, R., & Lahey, L. L. (2001). The real reason people won't change. *Harvard Business Review*, *79*(10), 85–92.

Kelman, H. C. (1973). Violence without moral restraint: Reflections on the dehumanization of victims and victimizers. *Journal of Social Issues*, *29*(4), 25–61. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1973.tb00102.x

Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity. (2015). *Understanding implicit bias*. Retrieved from http://kirwaninstitute.osu.edu/research/understanding-implicit-bias/

Klawitter, M. (2011). Multilevel analysis of the effects of antidiscrimination policies on earnings by sexual orientation. *Journal of Policy Analysis & Management*, *30*(2), 334–358. https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.20563

Klein, F. K. (2008). *Giving notice: Why the best and brightest are leaving the workplace and how you can help them stay*. New York, NY: Wiley.

Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *InterViews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing.* Los Angeles, CA: SAGE

Legge, K. (1995). *Human resource management: Rhetorics and realities.* Houndsmills, UK: MacMillan.

Lemmer, G., & Wagner, U. (2015). Can we really reduce ethnic prejudice outside the lab? A meta-analysis of direct and indirect contact interventions. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 45*(2), 152–168.

Leubolt, B., Fischer, K., & Saha, D. (2014). Are targeting and universalism complementary or competing paradigms in social policy? Insights from Brazil India and South Africa. *International Journal of Labour Research*, *6*(1), 75–93.

Lewin, K. (1946). Action research and minority problems. *Journal of Social Issues*, *2*(4), 34–46. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1946.tb02295.x

Leyens, J., Paladino, P. M., Rodriguez, R. T., Vaes, J., Demoulin, S., Rodriguez, A. P., & Gaunt, R. (2000). The emotional side of prejudice: The role of secondary emotions. *Personality & Social Psychology Review*, *4*(2), 186–197.

Lipsky, L. V. D., & Burk, C. (2009). *Trauma stewardship: An everyday guide to caring for self while caring for others.* San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

Lott, B., & Webster, K. (2006). Carry the banner where it can be seen: Small wins for social justice. *Social Justice Research*, *19*(1), 123–134. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-006-0003-y

Lund-Dean, K., Safranski, S. R., & Lee, E. S. (2015). Bad apples, behaving badly? Workplace religious discrimination disputes and resolution behaviors. *Journal of Management, Spirituality & Religion, 12*(3), 227–256. https://doi.org/10.1080/14766086.2014.992356

Lyons-Padilla, S., Gelfand, M. J., Mirahmadi, H., Farooq, M., & van Egmond, M. (2015). Belonging nowhere: Marginalization and radicalization risk among Muslim immigrants. *Behavioral Science & Policy, 1*(2), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1353/bsp.2015.0019

Malos, S. (2009). Post-9/11 backlash in the workplace: Employer liability for discrimination against Arab-and Muslim-Americans based on religion or national origin. *Employee Responsibilities & Rights Journal*, *22*(4), 297–310. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10672-009-9132-4

Marsden, P. V. (1994). The hiring process. *American Behavioral Scientist, 37*(7), 979–991. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764294037007009

Marshall, B., Cardon, P., Poddar, A., & Fontenot, R. (2013). Does sample size matter in qualitative research? A review of qualitative interviews in IS research. *Journal of Computer Information Systems*, *54*(1), 11–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/08874417.2013.11645667

Mason, M. (2010, August). Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *11*(3). Retrieved from http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1428/3027. http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/fqs-11.3.1428

Massey, D. S. (2007). *Categorically unequal: The American stratification system*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Massey, D. S., & Denton, N. A. (1993). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Mays, V. M., Cochran, S. D., & Barnes, N. W. (2007). Race, race-based discrimination, and health outcomes among African Americans. *Annual Review of Psychology, 58*, 201–225.

Merrill, B., & West, L. (2009). *Using biographical methods in social research*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

Meyerson, D. E. (2001). *Tempered radicals: How people use difference to inspire change at work.* Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Meyerson, D. E., & Scully, M. A. (1995). Crossroads tempered radicalism and the politics of ambivalence and change. *Organization Science*, *6*(5), 585–600. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.6.5.585

Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative dimensions of adult learning.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Miller, W. R., & Rollnick, S. (2012). *Motivational interviewing: Helping people change.* New York, NY: Guilford.

Mitchell, B., & Gamlem, C. (2012). *The big book of HR.* Pompton Plains, NJ: Career Press.

Nadler, J. T., & Kufahl, K. M. (2014). Marital status, gender, and sexual orientation: Implications for employment hiring decisions. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *1*(3), 270–278. https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000050

Nieto, L. (with Boyer, M., Goodwin, L., Johnson, G., & Smith, L. C.). (2010). *Beyond inclusion, beyond empowerment. A developmental strategy to liberate everyone*. Olympia, WA: Cuetzpalin Publishing.

Nkomo, S., & Hoobler, J. M. (2014). A historical perspective on diversity ideologies in the United States: Reflections on human resource management research and practice. *Human Resource Management Review*, *24*(3), 245–257. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hrmr.2014.03.006

Nunez-Smith, M., Curry, L. A., Bigby, J., Berg, D., Krumholz, H. M., & Bradley, E. H. (2009). Impact of race on the professional lives of physicians of African descent. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, *146*(1), 45–51. https://doi.org/10.7326/0003-4819-146-1-200701020-00008

Oliner, P. M. (2008). *Saving the forsaken: Religious culture and the rescue of Jews in Nazi Europe.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Oliner, P. M., & Oliner, S. P. (1992). Promoting extensive altruistic bonds: A conceptual elaboration and some pragmatic implications. In P. M. Oliner, S. P. Oliner, L. Baron, L. A. Blum, D. L. Krebs, & M. Z. Smolenska (Eds.), *Embracing the other: Philosophical, psychological, and historical perspectives on altruism* (p. 369–389). New York: NYU Press.

Oliner, S. P. (1992). *Altruistic personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe.* New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Oliner, S. P., & Oliner, P. M. (1988). *The altruistic personality: Rescuers of Jews in Nazi Europe*. New York, NY: Free Press.

O'Neil, C. (2016). *Weapons of math destruction: How big data increases inequality and threatens democracy*. New York, NY: Crown.

Open Communities Alliance. (n.d.). *Help for under-resourced areas*. Retrieved from http://www.ctoca.org/help_for_under_resourced_areas

O'Reilly, M., & Parker, N. (2013). "Unsatisfactory Saturation": A critical exploration of the notion of saturated sample sizes in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, *13*(2), 190–197. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794112446106

Ortiz, S. Y., & Roscigno, V. J. (2009). Discrimination, women, and work: Processes and variations by race and class. *Sociological Quarterly*, *50*(2),336–359. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.2009.01143.x

Osmun, W. R. (2015, February). *Discrimination within the employment continuum*. Unpublished manuscript, Antioch University, Yellow Springs, OH.

Padgett, M. Y., Padgett, R. J., & Morris, K. A. (2015). Perceptions of nepotism beneficiaries: The hidden price of using a family connection to obtain a job. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 30*(2), 283–298. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-014-9354-9

Pager, D., & Shepherd, H. (2008). The sociology of discrimination: Racial discrimination in employment, housing, credit, and consumer markets. *Annual Review of Sociol*ogy *34*, 181–209. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.33.040406.131740

Pager, D., Western, B., & Sugie, N. (2009). Sequencing disadvantage: Barriers to employment facing young Black and White men with criminal records. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *623*(1), 195–213. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716208330793

Pascale, R., Pascale, R. T., Sternin, J., & Sternin, M. (2010). *The power of positive deviance: How unlikely innovators solve the world's toughest problems.* Boston, MA: Harvard Business Press.

Pérez Huber, L., & Solorzano, D. G. (2015). Racial microaggressions as a tool for critical race research. *Race Ethnicity & Education, 18*(3), 297–320. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2014.994173

Pettit, B., & Lyons, C. (2007). Status and the stigma of incarceration: The labor market effects of incarceration by race, class, and criminal involvement. In S. Bushway, M. A. Stoll, & D. F. Weiman (Eds.), *The labor market for released prisoners in post-industrial America* (pp. 203–226). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

PolicyLink. (2017). *An equity profile of Grand Rapids.* Retrieved from http://www.policylink.org/resources-tools/equity-profile-of-grand-rapids

Polkinghorne, D. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

powell, j. a. (2012). *Racing to justice: Transforming our conceptions of self and other to build an inclusive society.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

powell, j. a. (2015, April 25). *The mechanisms of othering.* Presented to the 2015 Conference on Othering & Belonging, Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, Oakland, CA.

powell, j. a. (2017, November 2). *john a. powell on how bridging creates conditions to solve problems* [transcript]. Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society. Retrieved from https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/john-powell-how-bridging-creates-conditions-solve-problems

powell, j. a., Menendian, S., & Ake, W. (2019, May). *Targeted universalism: Policy and practice.* Berkeley, CA: Haas Institute. Retrieved from https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/targeted_universalism_primer.pdf

powell, j. a., & Menendian, S. (2016, Summer). The problem of othering: Towards inclusiveness and belonging. *Othering & Belonging. Expanding the Circle of Human Concern, 1*, 14–39. Retrieved from http://www.otheringandbelonging.org/the-problem-of-othering/

powell, j. a., Menendian, S., & Reece, J. (2009). The importance of targeted universalism. *Poverty & Race, 18*(2), 16–17. Retrieved from http://www.prrac.org/newsletters/marapr2009.pdf

Prasad, P., D'Abate, C., & Prasad, A. (2007). Organizational challenges at the periphery: Career issues for the socially marginalized. In H. P. Gunz & M. Peiperi (Eds.), *Handbook of career studies* (pp. 169–187). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Price, R. (Ed.). (1996). *Maroon societies: Rebel slave communities in the Americas.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Reed, O. M., Franks, A. S., & Scherr, K. C. (2015). Are perceptions of transgender individuals affected by mental illness stigma? A moderated mediation analysis of anti-transgender prejudice in hiring recommendations. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity, 2*(4), 463–469. https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000138

Rittel, H. W., & Webber, M. M. (1973). Dilemmas in a general theory of planning. *Policy Sciences*, *4*(2), 155–169.

Roberts, B. (2002). *Biographical research*. Buckingham UK: Open University Press.

Roehling, M. V. (1999). Weight-based discrimination in employment: Psychological and legal aspects. *Personnel Psychology*, *52*(4), 969–1016. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.1999.tb00186.x

Roehling, M. V., Roehling, P. V., & Odland, L. M. (2008). Investigating the validity of stereotypes about overweight employees: The relationship between body weight and normal personality traits. *Group & Organization Management*, *33*(4), 392–424. https://doi.org/10.1177/1059601108321518

Roehling, M. V., Roehling, P. V., & Pichler, S. (2007). The relationship between body weight and perceived weight-related employment discrimination: The role of sex and race. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *71*(2), 300–318. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2007.04.008

Rosenthal, G. (1993). Reconstruction of life stories: Principles of selection in generating stories for narrative biographical interviews. *The Narrative Study of Lives*, *1*(1), 59–91. Retrieved from https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/5929/ssoar-tnsl-1993-1-rosenthal-reconstruction_of_life_stories.pdf?sequence=1

Roth, L. M. (2009). Leveling the playing field: Negotiating opportunities and recognition in gendered jobs. *Negotiation & Conflict Management Research*, *2*(1), 17–30.

Roth, P. L., Bever, C. A., Bobko, O., Switzer, F. S., & Tyler, P. (2001). Ethnic group differences in cognitive ability in employment and educational settings: A meta-analysis. *Personnel Psychology, 54*(2), 297–330. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.2001.tb00094.x

Rothman, R. A. (2005). *Inequality and stratification: Race, class, and gender* (5th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Royster, D. A. (2003). *Race and the invisible hand: How White networks exclude Black men from blue-collar jobs*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. (2005). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Ruggs, E. N., Hebl, M. R., & Williams, A. (2015). Weight isn't selling: The insidious effects of weight stigmatization in retail settings. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 100*(5), 1483–1496. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000017

Rynes, S. L., Colbert, A. E., & Brown, K. G. (2002). HR professionals' beliefs about effective human resource practices: Correspondence between research and practice. *Human Resource Management*, *41*(2), 149–174. https://doi.org/10.1002/hrm.10029

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism: Western representations of the Orient*. New York, NY: Pantheon.

Salvaggio, A. N., Streich, M., & Hopper, J. E. (2009). Ambivalent sexism and applicant evaluations: Effects on ambiguous applicants. *Sex Roles*, *61*(9/10), 621. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9640-6

Sanchez, T. W. (2008). Poverty, policy, and public transportation. *Transportation Research Part A, 42*(5), 833–841. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.TRA.2008.01.011

Sanchez, T. W., Shen, Q., & Peng, Z. (2004). Transit mobility, jobs access and low-income labour participation in US metropolitan area. *Urban Studies, 41*(7), 1313–1331. https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098042000214815

Sapolsky, R. M. (2017). *Behave: The biology of humans at our best and worst*. New York, NY: Penguin.

Schmid, K., Ramiah, A. A., & Hewstone, M. (2014). Neighborhood ethnic diversity and trust: The role of intergroup contact and perceived threat. *Psychological Science*, *25*(3), 665–674. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797613508956

Schön, D. A. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Schuler, R. S., & Jackson, S. E. (2005). A quarter-century review of human resource management in the US: The growth in importance of the international perspective. *Management Revue*, *16* (1), 11–35.

Schwab, G. (2010). *Haunting legacies: Violent histories and transgenerational trauma*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Schwandt, T. A. (2007). *The SAGE dictionary of qualitative inquiry* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

Scott, M. (2017, March 22). Graduation rate for Grand Rapids schools climbs for fifth straight yea**r**. *Mlive Michigan.* Retrieved from https://www.mlive.com/news/grand-rapids/2017/03/grand_rapids_schools_graduate.html

Seiner, J. A. (2010). After Iqbal. *Wake Forest Law Review*, *45*(2), 179–229.

Seiner, J. A. (2015). *Employment discrimination: Procedure, principles, and practice.* New York, NY: Wolters Kluwer.

Self, W. T., Mitchell, G., Mellers, B. A., Tetlock, P. E., & Hildreth, J. A. (2015). Balancing fairness and efficiency: The impact of identity-blind and identity- conscious accountability on applicant screening. *Plos One, 10*(12). Retrieved from http://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0145208

Selmi, M. (2000). Why are employment discrimination cases so hard to win? *Louisiana Law Review*, *61*(3/4), 555–575.

Senge, P. M. (1994). *The fifth discipline fieldbook: Strategies and tools for building a learning organization*. New York, NY: Doubleday.

Sharkey, P. (2013). *Stuck in place: Urban neighborhoods and the end of progress toward racial equality.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Shepela, S. T., Cook, J., Horlitz, E., Leal, R., Luciano, S., Lutfy, E., . . . & Worden, E. (1999). Courageous resistance: A special case of altruism. *Theory & Psychology*, *9*(6), 787–805. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354399096004

Shih, W., Pisano, G., & King, A. (2008). Radical collaboration: IBM microelectronics joint development alliances. *Harvard Business School Case,* 608-121.

Simon, M., & Sidner, S. (2019, January 17). Inside the GM plant where nooses and "Whites-only" signs hung. *CNN.* Retrieved from https://www.cnn.com/2019/01/16/us/gm-toledo-racism-lawsuit/index.html

Slater, S. F., Weigand, R. A., & Zwirlein, T. J. (2008). The business case for commitment to diversity. *Business Horizons, 51*(3), 201–209.

Slim, H., Thompson, P., Bennett, O., & Cross, N. (1993). *Listening for a change: Oral testimony and development*. London, UK: Panos.

Smith, S., & Mazin, R. (2011). *The HR answer book: An indispensable guide for managers and human resource professionals*. New York, NY: AMACOM.

Spivak, G. C. (1985). The Rani of Sirmur: An essay in reading the archives. *History and Theory, 24*(3), 247–272. https://doi.org/10.2307/2505169

Staats, C. (2014). *State of the science: Implicit bias review 2014*. Columbus, OH: Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity, Ohio State University. Retrieved from http://kirwaninstitute.osu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/2014-implicit-bias.pdf

Staats, C., Capatosto, K., Wright, R., & Jackson, V. (2016). *State of the science: Implicit bias review 2016*. Columbus, OH: Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity, Ohio State University. Retrieved from http://kirwaninstitute.osu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/implicit-bias-2016.pdf

Staub, E. (2015). *The roots of goodness and resistance to evil: Inclusive caring, moral courage, altruism born of suffering, active bystandership, and heroism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Steele, C. (2010). *Whistling Vivaldi: And other clues to how stereotypes affect us*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company.

Stone, C., & Stone, D. L. (2015). Factors affecting hiring decisions about veterans. *Human Resource Management Review*, *25*(1), 68–79. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hrmr.2014.06.003

Sue, D. W. (2010). *Microaggressions in everyday life: Race, gender, and sexual orientation.* New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life. *American Psychologist*, *62*(4), 271–286. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271

Tamm, J. W., & Luyet, R. J. (2005). *Radical collaboration: Five essential skills to overcome defensiveness and build successful relationships*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.

Tassier, T., & Menczer, F. (2008). Social network structure, segregation, and equality in a labor market with referral hiring. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, *66*(3/4), 514–528. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2006.07.003

Thalhammer, K. E., O'Loughlin, P. L., Glazer, M. P., Glazer, P. M., McFarland, S., & Stoltzfus, N. (2007). *Courageous resistance: The power of ordinary people*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Thomas, K. M., & Plaut, V. C. (2012). The many faces of diversity resistance in the workplace. In K. M. Thomas (Ed.), *Diversity resistance in organizations* (pp. 1–22). New York, NY: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Thomson, R. G. (2017). *Extraordinary bodies: Figuring physical disability in American culture and literature*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Tilcsik, A., Anteby, M., & Knight, C. R. (2015). Concealable stigma and occupational segregation: Toward a theory of gay and lesbian occupations. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 60*(3), 446–481. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001839215576401

Tilly, C. (1998). *Durable inequality*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Tomlinson, F., & Egan, S. (2002). From marginalization to (dis)empowerment: Organizing training and employment services for refugees. *Human Relations*, *55*(8), 1019–1043. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726702055008182

Uggen, C., Vuolo, M., Lageson, S., Ruhland, E., & Whitham, H. K. (2014). The edge of stigma: An experimental audit of the effects of low-level criminal records on employment. *Criminology: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, *52*(4), 627–654. https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9125.12051

Uhlmann, E. L., & Cohen, G. L. (2007). "I think it, therefore it's true": Effects of self-perceived objectivity on hiring discrimination. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *104*(2), 207–223. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2007.07.001

Ulrich, D., Younger, J., Brockbank, W., & Ulrich, M. D. (2013). The state of the HR profession. *Human Resource Management, 52*(3), 457–471. https://doi.org/10.1002/hrm.21536

University of Michigan Law School. (2007, January 10). *Updated note on admissions policy for the 2006–2007 year* [Press release]. Retrieved from https://www.law.umich.edu/newsandinfo/prop2/Pages/default.aspx

Urpelainen, J. (2013). A model of dynamic climate governance: Dream big, win small. *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, *13*(2), 107–125. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10784-012-9174-1

U.S. Department of Labor. (2016, May). *May 2016 national occupational employment and wage estimates United States.* Retrieved from https://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes_nat.htm#11-0000

U.S. Department of Labor. (2017, April 17). *Settlement resolves 24-year-old hiring discrimination case* [News release]. Retrieved from https://www.dol.gov/newsroom/releases/ofccp/ofccp20170417

U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (2013). *EEOC African American workgroup report.* Retrieved from https://www.eeoc.gov/federal/reports/upload/African American-Report.pdf

U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (n.d.). *Prohibited employment policies/practices.* Retrieved from https://www.eeoc.gov/laws/practices/

Vaill, P. B. (1996). *Learning as a way of being: Strategies for survival in a world of permanent white water*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Vollhardt, J. R. (2009). Altruism born of suffering and prosocial behavior following adverse life events: A review and conceptualization. *Social Justice Research*, *22*(1), 53–97. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-009-0088-1

Volpone, S. D., Tonidandel, S., Avery, D. R., & Castel, S. (2015). Exploring the use of credit scores in selection processes: Beware of adverse impact. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 30*(2), 357–372. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-014-9366-5

Voltaire. (1990). *Candide and other stories*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. (Original work published 1759)

Wasserman, I. C., Gallegos, P. V., & Ferdman, B. M. (2008). Dancing with resistance. In K. M. Thomas (Ed.), *Diversity resistance in organizations* (pp. 175–200). New York, NY: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Weick, K. E. (1984). *Small wins: Redefining the scale of social problems. American Psychologist*, *39*(1), 40–49. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.39.1.40

Weigel, D. (2012, January 26). *Two questions for Ben Jealous, President of NAACP* [Blog post]. Retrieved from http://www.slate.com/blogs/weigel/2012/01/26/ two_questions_for_ben_jealous_president_of_the_naacp.html

Wentling, R. M., & Palma-Rivas, N. (1998). Current status and future trends of diversity initiatives in the workplace: Diversity experts' perspective. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, *9*(3), 235–253. https://doi.org/10.1002/hrdq.3920090304

Wergin, J. F. (2007a). Conclusion. In J. F. Wergin & D. W. Leslie (Eds.), *Leadership in place: How academic professionals can find their leadership voice* (pp. 224–246). Bolton, MA: Anker.

Wergin, J. F. (2007b). Why we need leadership in place. In J. F. Wergin & D. W. Leslie (Eds.), *Leadership in place: How academic professionals can find their leadership voice* (pp. 1–20). Bolton, MA: Anker.

Whitfield, S. J. (1991). *A death in the Delta: The story of Emmett Till*. Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Whittemore, R., Chase, S. K., & Mandle, C. L. (2001). Validity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research*, *11*(4), 522–537. https://doi.org/10.1177/104973230101100408

Widner, D., & Chicoine, S. (2011). It's all in the name: Employment discrimination against Arab Americans. *Sociological Forum*, *26*(4), 806–823. https://doi.org10.1111/j.1573-7861.2011.01285.x

Williams, D., & Wade-Golden, K. (2013). *The chief diversity officer: Strategy, structure, and change management.* Sterling, VA: Stylus.

Wilson, J. L. (2013). Emerging trend: The chief diversity officer phenomenon within higher education. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *82*(4), 433–445 https://doi.org/10.7709/jnegroeducation.82.4.0433

YCharts. (2017, December). *Bank of America total assets (quarterly)(BAC).* Retrieved from https://ycharts.com/companies/BAC/assets

Yoshino, K. (2006). *Covering: The hidden assault on our civil rights*. New York, NY: Random House.

Young, A. A. (2006) *The minds of marginalized Black men: Making sense of mobility, opportunity, and future life chances.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Young, I. M. (2011). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Original work published 1990)

Appendix A

Approval of IRB Ethics Application

From: lkreeger█████████

Subject: Online IRB Application Approved:Hiring The "Other"—A Biographical Narrative Inquiry of Progressive Human Resource Professionals May 11, 2018, 4:48 pm

Date: May 11, 2018 at 4:48:57 PM EDT

To:█████████████████████████

Dear William Osmun ,

As Chair of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for 'Antioch University Ph.D., I am letting you know that the committee has reviewed your Ethics Application. Based on the information presented in your Ethics Application, your study has been approved.

Your data collection is approved from 05/11/2018 to 05/10/2019. If your data collection should extend beyond this time period, you are required to submit a Request for Extension Application to the IRB. Any changes in the protocol(s) for this study must be formally requested by submitting a request for amendment from the IRB committee. Any adverse event, should one occur during this study, must be reported immediately to the IRB committee. Please review the IRB forms available for these exceptional circumstances.

Sincerely,

Lisa Kreeger

Appendix B

Informed Consent Form for Participants

Participant Consent for a Study about Intentional Hiring Practices

You have been asked to participate in a research study conducted by Will R. Osmun, a doctoral candidate in the Leadership and Organizational Change program at Antioch University, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

This research involves the study of lived experiences, in particular, the experience of Human Resource Professionals who intentional hire from non-traditional talent pools. He will conduct this study with 12 to 18 participants who are directly responsible for the hiring of individuals into mid-size to large organizations.

The study involves one conversational interview per participant which will be arranged at your convenience and which is expected to last no more than 1.5 hours. The interview will be audio recorded. Once the interview has been transcribed, I will share a copy of the transcription for your review. If there are any follow-up questions, a second interview, with your approval, will be scheduled following the same process. Interview are voluntary and may be stopped at any point without repercussions.

Your name and organization will be kept confidential, unless and only if you give express permission for me to use your name in my report. You will also have the opportunity to remove any quotations from the transcribed interview. In addition, the tapes and all related research materials including the signed Informed Consent Forms will be kept in a secure file cabinet and destroyed after the completion of my study. The results from these interviews will be incorporated into my doctoral dissertation.

I hope that through this interview you may develop a greater personal awareness of your own experience as a hiring professional. The risks to you are considered minimal; although unlikely, there is a chance that you may experience some discomfort in the telling of your experiences. If you do, please contact a Mental Health Services provider to discuss your reactions. In addition, you may withdraw from this study at any time (either during or after the interview) without negative consequences. Should you withdraw, your data will be eliminated from the study.

There is no financial remuneration for participating in this study.

If you have any questions about any aspect of this study or your involvement, please contact:

Lisa Kreeger, PhD
Chair, Institutional Review Board
Ph.D. in Leadership & Change
150 E. South College Road
Yellow Springs, OH 45387
███████████████

Two copies of this informed consent form have been provided. Please sign both, indicating that you have read, understood and agreed to participate in this research. Return one to me and keep the other for yourself.

Researcher: Will R. Osmun

_____
Signature of researcher

_____
Date

_____
Name of participant (please print)

_____

Signature of participant

_____
Date

Will Osmun
PhD Candidate
Antioch University Leader & Change Program
Email: █████████████
Phone: █████████

Appendix C

Participant Overview and Invitation Letter

[Date]

Dear [name of participant],

I am seeking positive role models in the field of HR. [Contact person's name] suggested you as someone who might be interested in participating in this doctoral research project and as someone doing excellent work in the field. Please know that all information shared in this process is confidential and participation in this research is voluntary.

As way of introduction, I am a student in the Leadership and Change PhD Program at Antioch University. I am focusing my research on Human Resource Professionals (HRP's) from mid-sized to large companies who are responsible for hiring talent into their organization. The purpose of my research is to identify common themes related to the intentional hiring practices of those who hire from non-traditional talent pools. The research will consist of an interview lasting approximately 90 minutes.

The results of my research will fill a gap in the leadership and change scholarship relative to the experience of HRP's who intentionally hire from non-traditional talent pools.

If you are interested and willing to participate in this research project, please email me at ███████████████. At that time, I will send you a consent form for your review and signature. Upon receipt of the signed consent form, I will reach out to you to schedule an interview at a time convenient for you.

Thank you in advance. I hope this research interests you and I look forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

Will Osmun
PhD Candidate Antioch University
PhD in Leadership and Change
Phone: ███████████ (cell)
Email: ███████████████

Appendix D

Permission for Use of Figure 2.3

From: Wm Randy Osmun <█████████████>
Sent: Saturday, April 13, 2019 12:56 PM
To: SM Permissions <█████████████>
Subject: Re: Permission Request

Good day,
I am resending my original email from 2/5/2019 and including the pdf permissions form. I've been unable to connect with your on-line process. Many thanks!

I am completing my doctorate dissertation and would like to use a figure that appeared at p. 885 of the following publication:

> Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*(6), 878–902. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878

My purpose for using the figure is to illustrate the useful way that the authors depicted patterns of stereotyping.

My dissertation, once approved, will be published online on two online open access sites that permit free downloads:

• Ohiolink Electronic Thesis and Dissertation [ETD] Center, Ohio's
open access Dissertation repository http://etd.ohiolink.edu/
• AURA: Antioch University Repository and Archive, AU's open access
institutional repository http://aura.antioch.edu/

The dissertation will also be deposited at UMI [University Microfilms International]/Proquest (Ann Arbor, Michigan).

Would you kindly grant the permission to use the figure and advise me of any wording or other conditions for my use of this material? It would be appreciated if you could acknowledge the above information in a written permission statement via email to this address. My program needs me to include your written response and that acknowledgment in a letter or, preferably, an email to me.

In the event that the copyright for this diagram is held jointly with any other person or organization, please advise who and how I may contact them. Please feel free to forward this email as required.

Yours truly,
Will Osmun
Doctoral candidate, Antioch University Faculty of Leadership and Change

From: "Thomas, Karen" <kthomas@apa.org>
Subject: FW: Permission Request
Date: April 15, 2019 at 9:18:18 AM EDT
To: "wosmun@antioch.edu" <wosmun@antioch.edu>

Figure 1, p. 885, from Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*(6), 878-902. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878

Will,

I am not sure what happened.

It is fine with APA to reproduce the above requested figure in your dissertation (with the understanding that it will be deposited with UMI/Proquest) provided that the APA content is appropriately attributed/credited.

The attribution and credit line requirements can be found at http://www.apa.org/about/contact/copyright/index.aspx#attribution.

I hope this helps. We appreciate your mindful concern for copyright and permissions matters.

Regards,

Karen Thomas
Permissions Manager, Publications & Databases
American Psychological Association

750 First Street NE, Washington DC 20002-4242
202-336-5541