

SENIOR LEADER SUPPORT
IT'S ABOUT LEADERSHIP
NOT BLAME
BEING INCLUSIVE
SOCIAL GROUPS
CRITICAL THINKING
INQUIRING ACROSS DIFFERENCES
TAKE ACTION
WHITE MEN HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY
TRANSFORMATION

LESS GOSSIP
ADDRESSING DIFFICULT ISSUES
AWAWARENESS
WHITENESS
EQUALITY
PRIVILEGE
LEARNING

CALLING ALL WHITE MEN: CAN TRAINING HELP CREATE INCLUSIVE WORKPLACES?

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CAN INCLUSION BE TAUGHT?

In recent years, many corporate diversity and inclusion practices have come under fire for failing to deliver results. In particular, the practice of teaching inclusion has been on the receiving end of the most strident criticism. The fiercest critics, who include social scientists¹ and practitioners alike, have even argued that the practice should be abandoned altogether.

This advice is not difficult to sell. Training is expensive for employers to implement, and employees aren't exactly clamoring for it. Over the course of their careers, too many corporate professionals have experienced or heard anecdotal evidence of diversity training gone wrong. Adding fuel to the fire, recent reports in respected business media tout proof that "diversity training doesn't work."² Such claims seem well on the way to being widely accepted as conventional wisdom.

Nonetheless, some companies are going against the rising tide. Rather than eliminating training, they are embracing diversity and inclusion education as a centerpiece of their culture change efforts and are putting measures in place to ensure its success. Can this approach pay off despite what some of the pundits say?

The short answer is yes. In a rarely done study, we surveyed a group of employees—mostly white men—and examined the effect of diversity and inclusion education in these employees' work lives as well as in the work lives of their closest colleagues. Over the course of just four months, we found evidence that learning labs, conducted by a leadership development group known as White Men as Full Diversity Partners, or WMFDP, *did* in fact have a transformative effect on the individuals we studied, shifting both their mindsets and behaviors. Not only did colleagues begin to notice these changes, but these belief and behavioral shifts appeared to be having a positive effect on the work climate as well.

CONSIDER THIS

In *Engaging Men: What Change Agents Need to Know*, Catalyst's first report in this series, we revealed that men often lack awareness of inequality and that gaining greater awareness of group-based disparities is a critical step in enlisting men's support for company initiatives to promote workplace equality and inclusion.

- What formal or informal opportunities does your organization provide for men to learn about workplace gender gaps? How do you gauge whether these opportunities are effective or not?
- Are there barriers standing in the way of some men's learning about workplace inequality? Are there ideals, like meritocracy, that prevent leaders from recognizing workplace inequalities?

At the beginning of 2011, senior leaders of the North American Sales division of Rockwell Automation, a global engineering company, took a calculated risk. They asked the division's people managers, mostly white men—the group most likely to be resistant to diversity and inclusion training³—to participate in one of two WMFDP learning labs, either the White Men's Caucus or the White Men and Allies Learning Lab.

The organization's leaders ultimately hoped that the labs would help to create a more inclusive work climate by:

- Equipping white men to play a central role in creating inclusive work environments without relying on women and non-whites to lead this work; and
- Helping white men recognize themselves as a collective with privileges and cultural norms that disadvantage women and non-whites.

The data profiled in this report show that the risk these leaders took appears to have been worth it.

WHAT'S IT LIKE TO ATTEND A WHITE MEN'S CAUCUS OR WHITE MEN AND ALLIES LEARNING LAB?

Drop in on a White Men's Caucus and you'll only find white men in attendance. In contrast, the participant mix is much more diverse at a White Men and Allies Learning Lab, where you'll see white men as well as women and men from a range of racial and ethnic backgrounds. Of course, these differences in the participant mix are no accident and reflect the unique goals of the respective labs. A critical focus of the White Men's Caucus is to facilitate supportive partnerships among white men in leading diversity and inclusion efforts. The White Men and Allies Lab's emphasis is on building partnerships between white men and other groups. Aside from these differences, both lab experiences share some substantive commonalities:

- **Complete immersion:** Both labs are residential programs, where participants assemble away from the work environment for three-and-a-half days.
- **Focus on developing essential leadership skills:** Participants begin to develop skills related to leading and partnering with colleagues to create more inclusive work environments. These critical leadership competencies help participants become more effective in an increasingly diverse workforce and marketplace.
- **Eye-opening experiential activities:** Participants share intense experiences that encourage self-reflection and questioning of personal assumptions and belief systems.
- **Commitment to new behaviors:** Participants leave having identified and committed to practicing new patterns of behavior.

As one lab alumnus described:

[The lab generated] a lot of self-awareness that I didn't have before. Not that I felt we had an issue. It wasn't all about whether I had an issue but whether the organization that I ran had an issue; whether there were people that didn't feel comfortable coming forward. It just eliminated me taking for granted if there's not a problem then don't go look for one. It was a big awareness of there could be issues that don't surface. So it exceeded my expectations, because it was beyond just business. I could [apply it] in my personal life as well.

—White Men's Caucus Participant

EVIDENCE OF CULTURE SHIFT IS DEMONSTRATED BY MORE CIVILITY, LESS GOSSIP

Several months after participants attended the labs, there were early signs of a cultural payoff—especially in work groups that were not male-dominated. Even employees who had never attended a lab saw a decline in workplace incivility—specifically, gossip.⁴

FIGURE 1:
Perceived Gossip Frequency Before and After Labs—Workgroups with 55% or Fewer Men

- In workgroups that were not male-dominated (55% or fewer men), ratings of the perceived frequency of workplace gossip decreased 39%, from 2.7 prior to the labs to 1.6 four months after the labs.⁵



In workgroups that were primarily male (56% or more), the rate of change was significantly slower.

FIGURE 2:
Perceived Gossip Frequency Before and After Labs—Workgroups with 56% or More Men

- In male-dominated workgroups, ratings of the perceived frequency of workplace gossip decreased 18%, from 2.1 prior to the labs to 1.8 four months after the labs.⁶



Does More Civility Equate to Greater Inclusion?

Incivility contributes to the feeling of exclusion that many women and racial/ethnic minorities report in the workplace. In fact, women and racial/ethnic minorities are more often the targets of incivility, including workplace gossip, than are men and whites.⁷ Evidence of such reductions in workplace gossip and incivility relatively early on in Rockwell Automation's initiative suggest that small shifts were occurring in the direction senior leaders had hoped—setting a course toward a more inclusive work environment. As one participant revealed:

...there's a continuous improvement of awareness...in the environment that we work in, in the workplace. Not only issues of just working with someone of different color or sexual orientation, but our work culture....I feel like our company is starting to change our culture a little bit.

—White Men's Caucus Participant

PARTICIPANTS DEMONSTRATED SIGNIFICANT MINDSET CHANGE IN RECOGNIZING WHITE MALE PRIVILEGE

What exactly was behind these culture changes that emerged as a ripple effect from the labs? To find out, we looked closer to home, surveying the employees who had the most direct experience with the labs. Senior leaders at Rockwell Automation expected WMFDP's labs to help employees—especially white men—reach a critical milestone in becoming inclusive leaders: recognizing the existence of white male privilege.

How successful were the labs in realizing this objective? In a word: very. In fact, a heightened awareness of white male privilege was among the most marked changes reported by lab participants.

METHODOLOGY

All participants who were registered for a White Men's Caucus or a White Men and Allies Learning Lab were invited to participate in the study. Lab participants were surveyed at three different times.⁸ The first survey was completed within a week prior to each participant's scheduled lab. Each participant received a second survey one month after attending a lab. Participants received the final survey four months after first attending a lab. Catalyst also surveyed colleagues of lab attendees, who were nominated by the lab attendees to provide feedback on participants' behaviors both prior and subsequent to completing the labs. These third-party observers were surveyed on the same schedule as the lab attendees—within a week prior to their respective colleague's first lab, one month after their colleague attended a lab, and four months after their colleague had first attended a lab.⁹

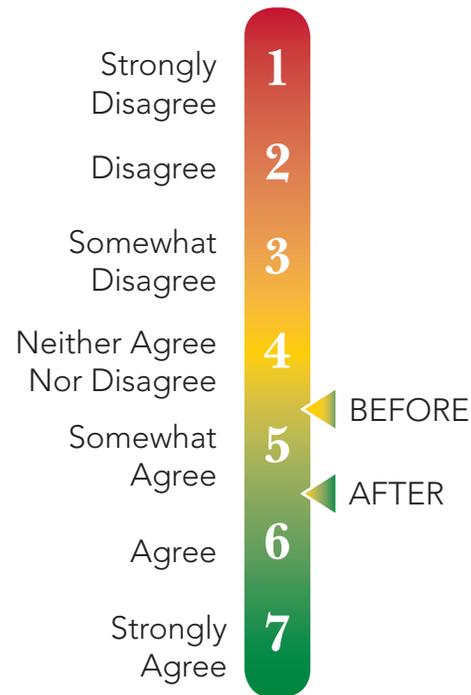
After the Labs, Participants Acknowledged the Existence of White Male Privilege

Prior to attending the labs, participants were somewhat noncommittal about whether white men enjoyed privileged status in American society. However, following the labs, participants' beliefs changed, and overall, the participants agreed with statements such as:¹⁰

- Women and racial/ethnic minorities are disadvantaged in society, and white men are at an advantage.
- White men are at an advantage because they hold most of the positions of power in society.
- In the United States, white men have privileges that racial/ethnic minorities and women do not have.

When asked questions about the existence of white male privilege, participants registered increasingly higher agreement over time. On average, agreement scores jumped 17%, from 4.8 prior to the labs to 5.6 four months after the labs.¹¹

FIGURE 3:
Beliefs About White Male Privilege Before and After Labs



Significant Belief Shifts Like These Are Rarely Found in Attitudinal Research

People's beliefs about inequality, in particular, are very resistant to change.¹² Yet qualitative interviews¹³ reinforced that what many participants found most striking about the lab experience was acceptance that white men are at the top of the social hierarchy in the United States. As one participant put it:

...a lot of it is just a self-awareness that there are certain privileges that particular groups enjoy, that other groups don't. It's kind of an inherent part of the social structure, and being aware of those things in things that you ask people to do or ways that you respond to certain questions or conversations with people of those groups, you can really negatively or positively impact a person just by being aware of those things.

—White Men's Caucus Participant

PARTICIPANTS DEMONSTRATED POSITIVE CHANGE IN FIVE KEY BEHAVIORS REQUIRED FOR INCLUSION

If beliefs are resistant to change, behaviors are perhaps even harder to change. Yet when we raised the bar higher—examining evidence of behavior change—we found indications that participants had indeed begun acting differently after attending the labs. We asked attendees about how much they typically engaged in five behaviors important to being inclusive:

1. Critical thinking about the experiences of different social groups.
2. Taking responsibility for being inclusive.
3. Inquiring across differences.
4. Empathic listening.
5. Addressing difficult/emotionally charged issues.

When we compared the reports participants gave Catalyst before and after attending the labs, we observed significant changes in every instance.

CRITICAL INCLUSIVE BEHAVIORS MEASURED IN THIS STUDY¹⁴

CRITICAL THINKING ABOUT SOCIAL GROUPS¹⁵

Being inclusive is a state of mind—a critical and reflective one. Success at working across differences requires questioning one’s own frame of reference, continually asking why social hierarchies exist, and staying alert to institutional barriers that create inequalities among social groups.

TAKING RESPONSIBILITY FOR BEING INCLUSIVE

Being inclusive means focusing on one’s own behavior rather than blaming or seeking change in others. Instead of being defensive or dismissive when others point out a misstep, inclusive people look inward and consider how they can change their own behaviors.

INQUIRING ACROSS DIFFERENCES

The hallmark of inquiring across differences is a demonstrated desire to learn more about people who might have different views of the world and different experiences from oneself.

EMPATHIC LISTENING

Being inclusive means engaging others with the goal of perspective-taking, not for the purpose of asserting one’s views or trying to win an argument.

ADDRESSING DIFFICULT/EMOTIONALLY CHARGED ISSUES

Being inclusive requires skill in raising and discussing in a productive way what many call “undiscussables.” Talking about our differences can be difficult, but ignoring these differences can be detrimental.

After the Labs, Participants Demonstrated Significant Change in Thinking More Critically About Different Social Groups' Experiences

When we asked participants to report on whether they habitually considered how their biases might affect their evaluations of others or whether they studied how workplace practices might create different opportunities for colleagues, depending on characteristics

like race or gender, their responses changed over time. Following the labs, participants increasingly reported that many of these critical thinking exercises were becoming more like “second nature.”¹⁶

But Changes in Critical Thinking Were Not Uniform Across All Participants—the Number of Interracial Friendships Mattered¹⁷

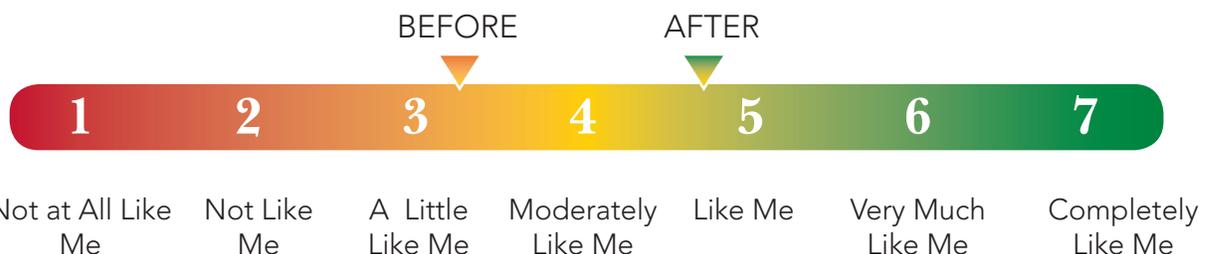
Participants who reported fewer cross-race friendships—even before ever attending a lab—reported more changes in their critical thinking than those who reported a greater number of cross-race friendships.¹⁸

- In the first month following the lab, the average increase in self-reported critical thinking was **1.4 times greater** among participants with fewer interracial friendships, compared to those with more interracial friendships.¹⁹

- By month four, self-ratings of participants with fewer interracial friendships were 4.7, up 40% from 3.3 prior to the labs.

FIGURE 4:

Critical Thinking Self-Ratings Before and After Labs—Participants with Fewer Interracial Friendships



- By month four, self-ratings of participants with more interracial friendships were 4.2, a relatively small 9% increase from 3.9 prior to the labs.

FIGURE 5:

Critical Thinking Self-Ratings Before and After Labs—Participants with More Interracial Friendships



What's the significance of interracial friendships? If a person has been able to build several intimate and meaningful cross-race friendships, chances are she or he is already quite skilled at behaviors such as critical thinking about social groups—behaviors that are so important for building relationships across differences. It was no surprise, then, that among employees with several close cross-race friendships, many reported that the critical

thinking behaviors were habitual even before attending the labs. Already registering toward the top of the scale on surveys taken prior to attending labs, these employees had very little room to grow in subsequent post-lab surveys. The opposite was true for those with fewer cross-race friendships. The latter group did not rate critical thinking as very self-characteristic before they attended the labs, so there was “room” for their self-assessments to change over time.

After the Labs, Participants Reported Taking More Responsibility for Being Inclusive²⁰

We asked participants about how much they focused on changing their own behaviors to promote inclusion—instead of looking for *others* to change. We found small but statistically significant shifts in their responses over time, such that **participants were becoming increasingly attentive to their own roles in fostering an inclusive work environment.**

- While senior managers started off with higher self-ratings compared to mid- and lower-level managers (5.1 vs. 4.5), both groups reported similar rates of growth in the four months following the lab. For each group, self-ratings increased by more than half a point.²¹

These changes in self-ratings were consistent with what some participants reported in open-ended interviews. One participant talked about the responsibility of managers to put into practice what they had learned in the labs:

Our senior managers are absolutely committed to this, and I as a manager... likewise have to be just as committed or more committed to making sure that we're taking care of these particular issues.

—White Men's Caucus Participant

CONSIDER THIS

Buy-in and verbal support of change efforts is not enough. To succeed at changing the workplace, companies need the full engagement of senior leaders to shape and execute diversity and inclusion strategies. Since white men still hold a majority of senior leadership positions, they have an important role to play in creating inclusive work environments. Yet in too many companies, women and racial/ethnic minorities—who disproportionately hold formal diversity and inclusion roles—are seen as the drivers of the diversity and inclusion agenda.

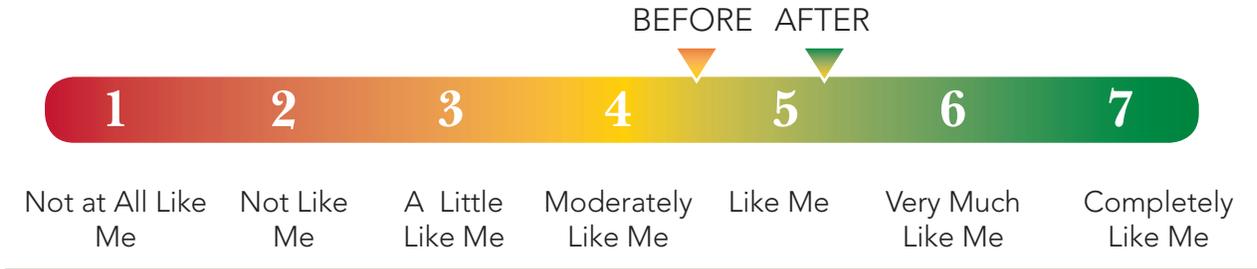
- Who is *really* seen as having an interest in driving diversity and inclusion at your organization?
- Is your company relying too much on women and members of racial/ethnic minority groups to steer diversity and inclusion efforts?
- How are white men being equipped to assume leadership roles in creating an inclusive work environment?
- To what extent do all leaders—including white men—“own” inclusion as part of their leadership responsibilities?

Participants Who Came to the Labs With Fewer Concerns About Appearing Prejudiced Changed the Most

Research shows that people vary in their concerns about exhibiting gender- and/or race-based prejudice.²² We found that professionals who came to the labs with fewer concerns about exhibiting prejudice demonstrated the most change.

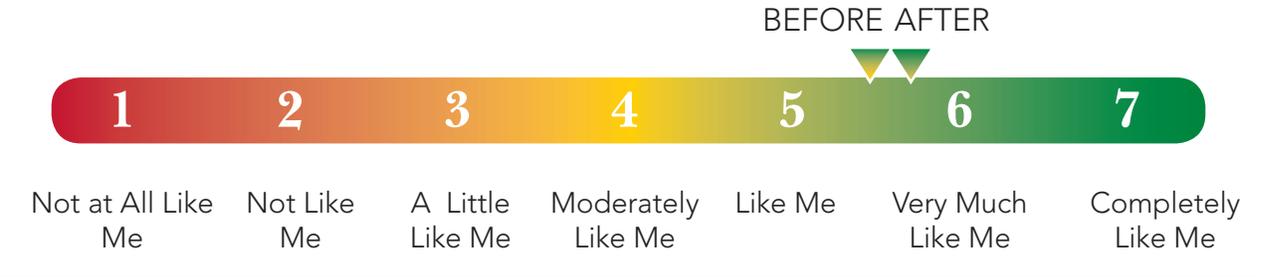
- Among participants who came to the labs less concerned about exhibiting prejudice, self-ratings on taking responsibility for inclusion increased 15%, from 4.5 prior to the labs to 5.2 four months after the labs.²³

FIGURE 6:
Taking Responsibility for Inclusion Before and After Labs—Participants with Fewer Concerns About Exhibiting Prejudice



- The growth rate observed among participants with more concerns about exhibiting prejudice was significantly lower. Self-ratings among this group were 5.6 prior to the labs and inched up to 5.7 four months after the labs.²⁴

FIGURE 7:
Taking Responsibility for Inclusion Before and After Labs: Participants with More Concerns About Exhibiting Prejudice



Participants Demonstrated Improvement in Inquiring Across Differences

Following the labs, some attendees were more empowered to approach colleagues from different gender or racial/ethnic backgrounds to discuss issues of gender and race. Increasingly over time, these participants reported that inquiring across differences was more typical of their behavior at work.²⁵

- Among participants who came to the labs with fewer concerns about exhibiting prejudice, self-ratings increased 38% from 2.6 prior to the labs to 3.7 four months after the labs.

FIGURE 8:

Inquiring Across Differences Before and After Labs—Participants with Fewer Concerns About Exhibiting Prejudice



- Participants who came to the labs with more concerns about appearing prejudiced had higher initial self-ratings, but these self-assessments still improved 29% from 3.5 prior to the labs to 4.5 four months later.²⁶

FIGURE 9:

Inquiring Across Differences Before and After the Labs—Participants with More Concerns About Exhibiting Prejudice



Participants Who Attended the White Men’s Caucus Reported Practicing More Empathic Listening Over Time

Over the course of the study, we asked lab attendees how characteristic it was for them to:²⁷

1. Listen to their colleagues’ different points of view without interrupting to assert their own views, and;
2. Listen to colleagues’ views just to understand points of difference, not to reach agreement.

Only employees who attended the White Men’s Caucus responded differently over time.

- White Men’s Caucus participants’ self-ratings increased slightly—by about 14%—from 4.3 prior to the labs to 4.9 four months after the labs.²⁸

Only Participants Who Had More Interracial Friendships Showed Improvement in Addressing Difficult Issues

Conversations about race and gender can often become emotionally charged. Being inclusive means being willing to have and learn from these difficult conversations. Only participants who came to the labs with four or more interracial friendships reported that raising difficult or emotionally charged issues was becoming more self-characteristic.

- Specifically, when asked about how much they *avoided* difficult issues, participants’ self-ratings decreased by 26% from 4.3 prior to the labs to 3.1 four months after the labs.²⁹

Why did having more interracial friendships matter? It might just come down to opportunities for practice. Compared to employees with fewer cross-race friendships, those with more cross-race friendships likely had more opportunities to practice the skill of confronting emotional issues with people with whom they had already established rapport and trust. These “safe” opportunities for practice may have made all the difference in mastering the very difficult skill of raising emotionally charged topics.

PARTICIPANTS' COWORKERS NOTICED CHANGES, TOO—INQUIRING ACROSS DIFFERENCES AND CRITICAL THINKING

We found clear evidence that participants were seeing themselves differently after attending the labs. This is not especially surprising, given that it's easier for individuals to notice changes they are making within themselves. But were these differences in behavior dramatic enough that they would be visible to others—that is, participants' colleagues? We asked coworkers of lab participants nearly identical questions to the ones asked of participants, assessing the inclusive behaviors of lab participants. These survey results indicated a change in coworkers' evaluations of some of the participants' inclusive behaviors.

Coworkers Saw Improvement in Participants' Ability to Inquire Across Differences

While some lab participants did not seem to have felt that they improved very much at inquiring across differences, their coworkers took note. Coworkers' responses indicated that participants were showing a greater interest in learning about people with different perspectives and worldviews.³⁰

- Among coworkers in work groups with 55% or fewer men, ratings of participants increased 31% from 3.3 prior to the labs to 4.3 four months after the labs.³¹
- In male-dominated work groups (56% or more), coworkers rated participants more favorably to begin with but reported similar growth to their counterparts in less male-dominated workgroups.³²

After the Labs, Coworkers Noticed a Small Increase in Critical Thinking Behaviors³³

Coworkers gave participants higher ratings on critical thinking over time. For example, among co-workers who were younger and had few years of service, ratings increased slightly by 12%, rising from 4.3 prior to the labs to 4.8³⁴ four months later. Older, more tenured coworkers also observed similar rates of change among participants.³⁵

WHAT DOES IT TAKE TO SUCCEED LIKE ROCKWELL AUTOMATION?

Implementing a training initiative such as Rockwell Automation did takes considerable commitment and thoughtful planning. If you're considering attempting a program like this one, critical success factors include:

- **Senior leader participation:** If senior leaders don't attend and encourage others to follow their lead, few—especially men—will want to participate.³⁶
- **A compelling rationale:** A multi-dimensional, clearly, and regularly communicated case for why the initiative benefits everyone—not just women and members of racial/ethnic minority groups—is critical to ensuring the effort's success.
- **Ample opportunities for practice:** An ongoing commitment to learning is imperative; one-offs don't work. Rockwell Automation is continuing to support program participants' application of what they learned in the labs, including opportunities to practice, practice, practice.
- **Responsibility and leadership—not blame:** Blaming and shaming white men for inequality is counterproductive. Participants responded positively to this lab experience because they learned to see themselves as part of the solution, not part of the problem.

WHAT'S NEXT? LEVERAGING EARLY WINS TO AMPLIFY CHANGE

Observers of individual and organizational change know that change does not come easily. Yet with the full commitment and support of senior leadership in Rockwell Automation's North American Sales division, change is occurring. In a very short time frame, lab participants perceived changes in their own attitudes and behaviors, and their coworkers saw these changes, too.

But these shifts have not appeared out of the blue; they are the result of tremendous commitment, hard work, follow-through, and a willingness among colleagues to hold one another accountable. The early results profiled here indicate that Rockwell Automation's North American Sales division is well on its way to transforming itself into a more inclusive workplace.

But these promising signs of culture change are no guarantee. As with any culture change effort, there is a risk that, over time, old habits and thinking patterns will resurface. Rockwell Automation understands this all too well. To leverage and amplify gains among people managers, the company is offering the labs to more employees across the organization, and providing support and opportunities for program alumni to connect and practice skills they began learning in the labs. All of these factors increase the likelihood that these positive changes will “stick.” In a future report, Catalyst will look at how successful these support activities have been in maintaining the momentum of culture change.

ENDNOTES

1. Alexandra Kalev, Frank Dobbin, and Erin Kelly, "Best Practices or Best Guesses? Assessing the Efficacy of Corporate Affirmative Action and Diversity Policies," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 71, no. 4 (2006): 589-617.
2. Peter Bregman, "Diversity training doesn't work." *Forbes.com*, March 12, 2012.
3. Gillian Flynn, "White Males See Diversity's Other Side," *Workforce*, vol. 78, no. 2 (February 1999): p. 52-55; Deborah L. Kidder, Melanie J. Lankau, Donna Chrobot-Mason, Kelly A. Mollica, and Raymond A. Friedman, "Backlash Toward Diversity Initiatives: Examining the Impact of Diversity Program Justification, Personal, and Group Outcomes," *The International Journal of Conflict of Management*, vol. 15, no. 1 (2004): p. 77-102.
4. The five-point scale for these items ranged from 1, representing "never," to 5, representing "very often." A higher score indicates a higher incidence of workplace gossip as reported by lab participants' coworkers.
5. Individual growth for less male-dominated workgroups was significant at $p < .05$. Differences in initial status of participants in workgroups that were less male-dominated (55% or less) and participants in a male-dominated workgroup (56% or more) were marginally significant at $p < .1$. Analyses controlled for the percentage of the workgroup that is white and rank within the company.
6. The rate of change for male-dominated workgroups and non-male dominated groups was significantly different at $p = .05$.
7. Lilia M. Cortina, Vicki J. Magley, Jill Hunter Williams, and Regina Day Langhout, "Incivility in the Workplace: Incidence and Impact," *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2001): p. 64-80.
8. Lab participant samples (ranging from 40 to 42 participants) included in the analyses consisted of more than 67% white men.
9. Coworker samples (ranging from 45 to 48 coworkers) included in the analyses consisted of more than 60% white men. Analysis procedures for lab participant and coworker data were conducted using individual growth curve modeling. All reported analyses excluded those participants and coworkers with fewer than three completed surveys.
10. The seven-point scale for these items ranged from 1, indicating strong disagreement with the statements, to 7, indicating strong agreement with the statements. A higher score reflects greater recognition of white male privilege.
11. Participant growth was curvilinear and significant at $p < .05$. Analyses controlled for the type of lab attended (i.e., White Men's Caucus or White Men and Allies Learning Lab), rank within the company, the number of cross-race work contacts, and counterbalanced survey design.
12. Researchers have found that people are often reluctant to accept social injustices. For example, see Carolyn L. Hafer and Laurent Bègue, "Experimental Research on Just World Theory: Problems, Developments and Future Challenges," *Psychological Bulletin*, vol. 131, no. 1 (2005): p. 128-167.
13. Prior to survey development and administration, Catalytic conducted interviews with 11 senior business leaders from Rockwell Automation who had completed a White Men's Caucus or a White Men and Allies Learning Lab.
14. The intergroup behaviors selected for study in this research were identified from prior literature, including: V. Jean Ramsey and Jean Kantambu Latting, "A Typology of Intergroup Competencies," *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, vol. 41, no. 3 (September 2005): p. 265-284; and based on discussions with WMFDP co-founders about the content of the White Men's Caucus and White Men and Allies Learning Lab.
15. Participant survey responses were submitted to an exploratory factor analysis using a principal axis factoring extraction method and varimax rotation. Examination of the resulting scree plot indicated that a five-factor solution fit the data. Confirmatory factor analyses revealed the five-factor solution was adequate ($\chi^2(492, N=79) = 676.59, p < .001, RMSEA = .04, CFI = .89, TLI = .86$). Interpretation of the factors was based on items with factor loadings of .4 or higher. Identical analyses were conducted for coworker survey responses. A target exploratory factor analysis indicated that the empathic listening factor did not produce a viable solution and was therefore dropped from the analysis. A confirmatory factor analysis using the remaining four factors indicated adequate model fit ($\chi^2(390, N=124) = 814.16, p < .001, RMSEA = .06, CFI = .83, TLI = .78$).
16. Participant growth for critical thinking about experiences of different social groups was significant at $p < .01$. Analyses controlled for the type of lab attended, rank within the company, pre-lab concerns with appearing prejudiced, and counterbalanced survey design.
17. Cross-race friendships were measured by asking participants to identify how many close personal friends they had who were of a different racial/ethnic group than their own.
18. Differences between the initial critical thinking score for participants with three or fewer cross-race friendships and participants with four or more cross-race friendships was marginally significant at $p < .1$. Differences in growth rates of participants with fewer cross-race friendships and participants with more cross-race friendships was significant at $p < .05$.
19. There was a significant interaction between participant growth in the first month and the number of cross-race friendships, $p < .05$. Among participants with three or fewer interracial friendships, the growth rate was 6.5 in the first month following the lab, $p < .05$. Among participants with four or more interracial friendships, the average growth rate was 4.5 in the first month following the lab, $p < .05$. In planned comparisons using survey round as the time variable, the difference between self-ratings at first and third survey round was significant at $p < .05$ among participants with fewer interracial friendships; the difference between self-ratings at first and third survey rounds was non-significant, $p > .1$, among participants with more interracial friendships.
20. There was positive participant growth over time, $p < .05$. Participant growth differed based on participants' initial concerns about appearing prejudiced, $p < .05$. Analyses control for the type of lab attended, political orientation, rank within the company, and counterbalanced survey design. Additionally, initial start points for those with more concerns about appearing prejudiced were on average 5.6, $p < .05$. Those with more initial concerns about appearing prejudiced had a slower rate of change and after four months rated themselves at 5.7.
21. Participant growth for taking responsibility for being inclusive was significant at $p < .05$. Participants in senior-level management initially rated themselves at 5.1, higher

- than the self-ratings of mid- and lower-level managers, at 4.5, $p < .05$. Analyses controlled for the type of lab attended, political orientation, rank within the company, and counterbalanced survey design. The seven-point scale for these items ranged from 1, representing "not at all like me," to 7, representing "completely like me." A higher score indicates that participants saw themselves as taking more responsibility for being inclusive.
22. E. Ashby Plant and Patricia G. Devine, "Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 75, no. 3 (1998): p. 811-832.
 23. Initial status estimate was significant at $p < .05$; growth rate estimate was significant at $p < .05$. In planned comparisons using survey round as the time variable, the difference between self-ratings at first and third survey round was significant at $p < .05$ among participants with fewer concerns about prejudice. The seven-point scale for these items ranged from 1, representing "not at all like me," to 7, representing "completely like me." A higher score indicates that inquiring across difference was more self-typical of the participant.
 24. Participant growth varied with concerns about exhibiting prejudice, $p < .05$. Initial status estimate was significant at $p < .05$. The difference between self-ratings at first and third survey rounds was non-significant, $p > .1$, among participants with more concerns about exhibiting prejudice.
 25. Participant growth for inquiring across differences was marginally significant at $p = .1$.
 26. Prior to attending a lab or caucus, participants with more concerns about appearing prejudiced rated themselves higher than those with relatively fewer concerns about appearing prejudiced, $p < .1$. Initial status estimate (3.5) for participants with more initial concerns with appearing prejudiced was marginally significant $p < .1$. Initial status estimate (2.6) for participants with fewer concerns about exhibiting prejudice was significant at $p < .05$. Analyses controlled for the type of lab attended, rank within the company, the number of cross-race work contacts, political orientation, and counterbalanced survey design. The seven-point scale for these items ranged from 1, representing "not at all like me," to 7, representing "completely like me." A higher score indicates that inquiring across difference was more self-typical of the participant.
 27. The seven-point scale for these items ranged from 1, representing "not at all like me," to 7, representing "completely like me." A higher score indicates that participants saw their empathic listening skills as being more self-typical.
 28. Participant growth in empathic listening for those who attended a White Men and Allies Lab was nonsignificant, $p > .1$. Participant growth in empathic listening for those who attended a White Men's Caucus was marginally significant at $p < .1$. Initial self-ratings differed among participants with more vs. fewer concerns with appearing prejudiced, at $p < .05$. Analyses controlled for participants' rank within the company, the number of cross-race work contacts, pre-lab concerns with appearing prejudiced, and counterbalanced survey design.
 29. Initial status estimate for participants with four or more cross-race friendships was significant at $p < .05$. Participant decline in avoiding difficult issues among those with four or more cross-race friendships was significant at $p < .05$. Initial status differed between mid-level and senior-level participants significantly at $p < .05$. Initial status differed between participants with high and low pre-lab anxiety about mixing with different races at $p < .05$. Analyses controlled for participants' rank within the company, type of lab attended, pre-lab concerns with appearing prejudiced, pre-lab anxiety of mixing with different races, and counterbalanced survey design. The seven-point scale for these items ranged from 1, representing "not at all like me," to 7, representing "completely like me." A lower score indicates that participants saw themselves as no longer avoiding difficult conversations.
 30. Coworkers' reported participant growth for inquiring across differences was significant at $p < .05$.
 31. The seven-point scale for these items ranged from 1, representing "not at all like him," to 7, representing "completely like him." A higher score indicates that inquiring across difference was more typical of the participant, as viewed by coworkers.
 32. Coworkers whose workgroups were male-dominated (56% or more) initially rated their coworkers at 4.3, $p < .05$. There was no interaction between workgroup composition and observed growth over time, $p > .1$.
 33. Coworkers' reported participant growth was marginally significant at $p = .1$.
 34. The seven-point scale for these items ranged from 1, representing "not at all like him," to 7, representing "completely like him." A higher score indicates that the critical thinking behaviors were more typical of the participant, as viewed by coworkers.
 35. Coworkers aged 46 and older initially rated participants lower at 3.7 ($p = .05$), compared to younger coworkers, whose initial participant ratings were 4.3 ($p < .05$). On average, coworkers who had been with the company 11 or more years rated attendees initially higher, at 4.8, than coworkers with less tenure, at 4.3, $p < .1$. Analyses controlled for type of lab attended by participants, coworkers' age, and the number of years the coworker had worked for the company. There was no interaction between coworkers' reported participant growth and coworker age or years of service, $p > .1$.
 36. Research has shown that the top predictor of whether or not managers express interest in attending a diversity training course is their perception of whether other managers will be interested in attending. See Jeanine Prime, Corinne A. Moss-Racusin, and Heather Foust-Cummings, *Engaging Men in Gender Initiatives: Stacking the Deck for Success* (Catalyst, 2009).

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