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Managing a diverse workforce

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Chapter 10: Managing a diverse workforce

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10.1 Introduction

As a consequence of globalization, increased migration, and labor market participation of minority groups, the workforce of many public organizations has become increasingly diverse. This creates opportunities for public organizations to improve interactions with diverse citizens, and in doing so, improve bureaucratic outcomes for disadvantaged groups and gain legitimacy. Public organizations have a long history of developing and implementing equal opportunity and affirmative action policies in order to increase the representation of employees from disadvantaged groups and address inequalities in the labor market and society at large. As of the 1990s, in the wake of increasing managerialism in the public sector, the paradigm changed towards diversity management. From a diversity management perspective, diversity is primarily valued as an internal resource to inform work practices and policies with the aim of enhancing public organizations' overall performance (Groeneveld 2015; Groeneveld and Van de Walle 2010). This so-called business case argument for diversity leads organizations to develop and implement policies and programs that not only aim to increase the representation of employees with different backgrounds but also to realize their potential added value. Diversity, in that regard, generally refers to demographic characteristics such as race,

ethnicity, and gender (Meier 2019; Riccucci and Van Ryzin 2017) but can also include less visible characteristics such as functional or educational background, learning behaviors, norms, and values.

The changing composition of the workforce impacts the ways that public organizations are to be led and managed (Selden and Selden 2001). In fact, workforce diversity may not only contribute to responsiveness, innovation, and effectiveness, but it may also induce team conflict and decrease group cohesion, which, in turn, may result in deteriorating organizational performance as many studies have shown (Guillaume et al. 2017; Meeussen et al. 2014; Milliken and Martins 1996; Nishii and Mayer 2009; Pelled et al. 1999). These contradictory research findings indicate that the association between diversity and performance is not only complex but also needs specific managerial attention.

This chapter reviews the literature and focuses on conditions that may impact diversity outcomes and the underlying processes. In so doing, it will point at aspects of workforce diversity that may be the object of managerial intervention. The chapter proceeds as follows. In the next section, the complexity of managing diversity is discussed according to multiple and sometimes conflicting motives that underpin diversity policies and diversity management in organizations (Section 10.2). This section concludes with the observation that both in academic debates and in practice, the focus has recently moved to inclusion as a pre-condition for effective diversity management. Therefore, in Section 10.3, recent studies on the inclusiveness of public organizations and its relation to diversity management are reviewed. In Section 10.4, we then explore the role of leadership in the management of diversity and inclusiveness. While so far under-researched in the literature on diversity management, we show how leadership may have an impact on the inclusiveness of diverse work groups. This chapter concludes with reflections on previously discussed subjects, resulting in a conceptual framework (Figure 10.1) for future research (Section 10.5).

10.2 Multiple motives for diversity

10.2.1 Diversity paradigms and conflicting values

Diversity motives reflect an organization's rationale for increasing the diversity of the workforce or paying specific attention to diversity (Ely and Thomas 2001). The perspectives of diversity in public organizations are related to the overall discussion of public value and public values in public institutions (see Chapter 2). The motives underlying the different paradigms reflect criteria to assess reasons for valuing diversity and follow the understanding of public values by Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman (2007). Two major paradigms can be distinguished (Dwertmann et al. 2016). On the one hand, the discrimination and fairness perspective mainly aims to prevent negative outcomes. It focuses on equal employment opportunity practices, fair treatment, the absence of discrimination in the employment process, and the elimination of social exclusion. On the other hand, the synergy perspective focuses on realizing the potential performance benefits of diversity. This perspective combines two other categories that Ely and Thomas (2001) specify as access and legitimacy and integration and learning.

The first part of a synergy perspective is an access and legitimacy perspective, and according to the Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman framework, it includes values like responsiveness or balancing interests. In this perspective, the emphasis is on treating diversity as a resource to improve interaction with diverse clients and citizens, and increasing the organizations' legitimacy by doing so. According to representative bureaucracy theory, this motive allows bureaucrats to actively represent disadvantaged groups within society by shaping policies to compensate for inequalities that are persistent in society and not compensated for in political decision-making (Andrews and Ashworth 2015; Groeneveld and Van de Walle 2010). The

second part of the synergy perspective is an integration and learning perspective. From this perspective, organizations view diversity as a resource to learn from and rethink ways of working in order to improve their effectiveness, creativity, and innovation. While the first discrimination and fairness motive is predominantly based on moral and social justice arguments, the access and legitimacy perspective also incorporates a business case argument for diversity, while the integration and learning perspective solely refers to a business case for diversity (Selden and Selden 2001).

The perspectives are not mutually exclusive, but they might include conflicting values and create tensions when simultaneously present as it is the case in most diversity policies and management, in particular in a public sector context (McDougall 1996). For instance, both the discrimination and fairness perspective and the synergy perspective are relevant for diversity management within the organization. What is considered to be effective diversity management is, therefore, dependent on the different perspectives and goals an organization has when implementing measures of diversity management. As different motives play a role in the diversity policies of most public organizations, various conflicts between policies, business strategy, HR policies, and diversity management measures can occur (Dwertmann et al. 2016; Ely and Thomas 2001; Selden 1997; Selden and Selden 2001). For instance, the discrimination and fairness perspective promotes affirmative action plans including quota and targets on the representation of minority groups, thus guiding HR recruitment, selection, and promotion. However, the integration and learning perspective does not enable itself through discrimination and fairness measures, and such actions may contradict the goals of the access and legitimacy perspective.

This is a dilemma since many public organizations will have multiple motives on which HR policies and practices are based. For instance, units close to citizens and client groups (e.g. police) are not eager to diversify their workforce and loosen a strong identity because of access

and legitimacy gained through homogeneity rather than diversity. At the same time, certain stakeholders (e.g. politicians and interest groups) may be in favor of discrimination and fairness measures since specific client groups welcome more diversified frontline employees and thus call for heterogeneous workforces representing their background.

Furthermore, the integration and learning perspective values social identity as a resource for learning and innovation, whereas the discrimination and fairness one tends to devalue it because of potential unjust discrimination. Conflicts may also occur between measures of the access and legitimacy perspective and the two other approaches. The access and legitimacy perspective values diversity only as long as it serves the business case and might narrow down the recruitment and selection strategies of the discrimination and fairness approach to those positions in the organization where diversity is salient to the service delivered. Employees hired with the expectation of meeting criteria of diversity might realize that other internal job opportunities are closed to them and get demotivated. In addition, the external orientation of the access and legitimacy perspective may not focus enough on the incorporation of cultural competencies as pursued by the integration and learning perspective.

To prevent such conflicts, organizations need to incorporate diversity into strategic human resource management (SHRM) (Nishii et al. 2018). Combining SHRM and diversity management follows a resource-based view of SHRM and suggests that diversity provides an organization with valuable, rare, inimitable, and non-substitutable resources as a basis for competitive advantage (McMahan et al. 1998). Non-aligned diversity policies lessen such an advantage. Depending on the motives for diversity in play, SHRM may differ in its consequences for HR practices. For instance, under a discrimination and fairness perspective, public organizations implement diversity programs aimed at improving outcomes for employees of marginalized groups (Groeneveld and Verbeek 2012). HR will mainly focus on developing fair recruitment and selection practices without privileging any demographic

groups over others by ensuring that selection processes are as anonymous as possible to ensure equal treatment of applicants.

However, driven by an access and legitimacy perspective, public organizations emphasize that units that interact with clients and citizens should reflect their (demographic) characteristics. This could as well translate to specific HR practices that focus on recruiting and selecting minority employees for specific positions within the organization. To avoid the downside of less committed and low performing employees that feel exploited and devalued (Ely and Thomas 2001; Selden and Selden 2001), SHRM needs to answer the question of which departments and subunits the discrimination and fairness approach fits best, without interfering with business goals and the synergy perspective of diversity management. Thus, decisions in recruitment, selection, and promotion should depend on an assessment of both the most relevant diversity motives of the organization and future workforce characteristics in a specific subunit (Nishii et al. 2018).

10.2.2 Empirical evidence on diversity paradigms and policies

The implementation of the above-mentioned paradigms for managing workforce diversity leads to a variety of outcomes such as increased representation, lower discrimination, or higher individual and organizational performance. Research and practice are both interested in getting evidence for the relationship between diversity, diversity management, and performance. However, a recent literature review shows that only 22 percent of the articles examined in public administration journals are investigating this relationship (Sabharwal et al. 2018). What is more, most of these studies are US based, leaving out studies performed in other (country) contexts.

Most research on diversity and diversity management is descriptive in nature, and public administration research has produced conflicting results at best when it comes to the relationship between diversity and performance, whereas the relationship between diversity management and work-related outcomes is heavily under-researched (Ashikali and Groeneveld 2015b; Groeneveld 2015; Sabharwal et al. 2018). Pitts (2009) shows with US federal data that perceived diversity management activities are positively related to self-reported job satisfaction and work group performance of racial minorities. Similarly, Ashikali and Groeneveld (2015a; 2015b) found a positive relation between diversity management and employees' affective commitment and organizational citizenship behavior. More importantly, the impact of diversity management on employees' outcomes did not vary between different sociodemographic groups (Ashikali and Groeneveld 2015a). Although these studies show a positive relation between diversity management and employee outcomes, it remains unclear what specific activities are being implemented. We therefore review research on the relation between the three perspectives and the performance outcomes achieved.

In regard to activities of the discrimination and fairness paradigm, research on affirmative action has been largely concerned with the desirability of policies and the extent to which it provides a just solution for the problem of minorities without an explicit examination of its impact (Kellough 2006). The empirical evidence shows positive findings in the context of private sector contractors and rather mixed results in the US federal service, not proving consistent improvement in the promotion, dismissal, or quit ratios across time due to diversity programs (Kellough 2006; Naff and Kellough 2003). However, affirmative action initiatives lead to higher minority admission in public education (Kellough 2006). In an evaluation of antidiscrimination measures of 708 private sector organizations from 1971 to 2002, Kalev et al. (2006) come to the conclusion that although inequality in attainment at work may be rooted in managerial bias and isolation of minorities, HR practices that assign organizational

responsibility for change and structures that embed accountability, authority, and expertise (e.g. affirmative action plans and diversity task forces) are best for increasing the share of minorities. In a European context, Verbeek and Groeneveld (2012) found different results. Based on cross-sectional analysis, assigning responsibility for the implementation of diversity policies to a single person, committee, or task force was positively related to the representation of ethnic minorities. Preferential treatment and the use of targets were negatively related to their representation. However, in their analysis using a lagged dependent variable method, all three types of diversity policies were insignificant in relation to ethnic minorities' representation in the course of a year. These results suggest that the effectiveness of diversity policies might be contingent on contextual factors, due to which long-term effects remain uncertain.

In regard to the access and legitimacy perspective, empirical studies on representative bureaucracy give ample support for the claim that representation matters. For instance, positive findings are shown in regard to ethnic minority representation and its relationship to performance outcomes in an educational setting (Pitts 2005), ethnic minority representation and citizen perceptions of local authorities' performance depending on the strategic stance of an organization (Andrews et al. 2005), and gender and ethnic minority representation and effectiveness of firefighting organizations (Andrews et al. 2014).

Concerning the relationship between the integration and learning perspective of diversity management and the performance of public organizations, empirical research is scarce. However, in a longitudinal analysis, Groeneveld and Verbeek (2012) found that diversity management policies positively affect the representation of ethnic minority employees in the course of a year, in both public and private sector organizations, whereas equal opportunity and affirmative action policies do not. These results suggest that policies focused on managing diversity succeed in creating a work environment that prevents minority employees from leaving.

Furthermore, recent studies show the relevance of the integration and learning paradigm when comparing the effects of standard diversity management activities (e.g. mentoring programs and family-friendly policies) and inclusion practices on perceived work group performance. The studies indicate that the latter is important to create an environment where employees can influence work group decisions. In addition, the studies give evidence that the relationship between inclusion practices and organizational performance is strengthened by leaders who are committed to creating an environment wherein everyone's opinion matters (Ashikali and Groeneveld 2015b; Sabharwal 2014). The next section elaborates further on the concepts of diversity and inclusiveness.

10.3 Diversity, inclusiveness, and outcomes

10.3.1 Concepts and theories on diversity and inclusiveness

The previous section discussed several values that underpin diversity management in public organizations. Regardless of those values, but clearly linked to an integration and learning perspective, diversity management has recently been directed more and more towards enabling inclusiveness in both public and private sector organizations (Ashikali and Groeneveld 2015b; Mor Barak 1999; Mor Barak et al. 2016; Sabharwal 2014). Inclusiveness involves a work environment in which there is a shared openness to differences, valuing these and utilizing differences to inform work practices and decision-making processes (Nishii 2013). Since inclusiveness would contribute to their (active) representativeness and responsiveness, it is of particular relevance in public organizations. This development called for increased attention on understanding the antecedents and outcomes of inclusiveness, specifically so in a public sector context (Andrews and Ashworth 2015; Ashikali and Groeneveld 2015b; Ritz and Alfes 2018).

We follow the Shore et al. (2011) framework that uses the optimal distinctiveness theory to conceptualize inclusion as “the degree to which an employee perceives that he or she is an esteemed member of the work group through experiencing treatment that satisfies his or her needs for belongingness and uniqueness” (Shore et al. 2011, 1265). According to the framework, individuals have two main needs they seek to satisfy. The first is an individual’s need for similarities and identification with others in order to feel that they belong to the work group. This is based on a process of social identification in which people seek attachment to and acceptance into certain social groups. The second is an individual’s need to be distinctive to others and have a certain uniqueness. The balance of these two needs at a high level would result in inclusion of all work group members. On the opposite of inclusion, there is a situation of exclusion when there is low belongingness and low value in uniqueness. An imbalance of both needs could further result in either assimilation when belongingness is high but with low value in uniqueness, or differentiation when there is high value in uniqueness but low belongingness.

Following-up on the discussion in the previous section, diversity management could send contradictory signals regarding the valuing of uniqueness on the one hand and belongingness on the other when diversity policies and practices are misaligned. For instance, implementing anonymous recruitment processes might indicate that unique identities are not valued since managers in the recruitment need to ignore applicants’ (demographical) differences. At the same time, managers need to acknowledge and value team members’ differences in order to enhance work group inclusiveness.

Reaching a balance between belongingness and uniqueness at a high level of both is a complex issue. The extent to which such a balance is being realized in organizations is associated with two work group processes, social categorization and information elaboration, which are at the center of two distinct social-psychological perspectives on work group diversity. On the one

hand, a social identity and categorization perspective posits that groups form subgroups that may exclude (perceived) distinct others, based on similarities and differences within and between groups (Van Knippenberg et al. 2004; Van Knippenberg and Van Ginkel 2010). Categorization could result in intergroup bias, causing in-group favoritism or prejudice if subgroups feel their identity is under threat. As a result, more diverse work groups would experience more conflict and less cohesion and commitment, negatively impacting their functioning and effectiveness. Any perceived or objective differences between individuals and work group members might induce categorization processes which are dependent on the salience of particular categories within the work group and the extent to which diversity dimensions intersect (Homan et al. 2007; Van Knippenberg and Van Ginkel 2010).

An information elaboration and decision-making perspective, on the other hand, suggests that a diverse team has a broader range of perspectives, skills, and experiences. The use of these differences within the work group—for instance, by stimulating frequent meetings among staff and deliberation—results in more effective problem solving. Hence, based on this diversity advantage, diverse teams would outperform homogeneous teams. The two diversity processes interact, meaning that social categorization processes could prevent diverse work groups from achieving a productive level of elaboration that could be useful for a work group's performance. The next section discusses relevant research findings.

10.3.2 Empirical evidence on team diversity, inclusiveness, and outcomes

Research has, so far, shown inconclusive and mixed-findings as to the link between team diversity and team outcomes, indicating that the above-mentioned work group processes are context dependent (Bell et al. 2011; Horwitz and Horwitz 2007; Joshi and Roh 2009). Most of these studies were performed in a private sector context. For example, in a study on research

development teams, Kearney and Gebert (2009) found non-significant effects of team age and educational diversity on the teams' collective identification and information elaboration. These findings suggest that team diversity results not self-evidently in productive diversity processes. However, they also found that when transformational leadership was high rather than low, team diversity was positively related to the team's performance through the mediating role of team collective identification and information elaboration. Studying manufacturing teams, Mayo et al. (2016) found that racial and gender diversity both result in categorization saliency. Although positively related to categorization saliency, these diversity dimensions did not directly affect team performance. Only when team members rated their leaders as charismatic was the positive relation between diversity and categorization weaker. Moreover, when transformational leadership was high rather than low, high gender salience was positively related to team performance (Mayo et al. 2016). Both studies show that diversity processes are contingent on leadership behavior.

In a public sector context, a study showed that teams were engaged in higher degrees of information elaboration when the team had new hires. However, when the new hires were perceived to be socially distinct because of their different educational and functional backgrounds, the new team members were more likely to be viewed as less competent. The authors interpreted this finding as social categorization to be more prevalent in diverse teams (Andersen and Moynihan 2018).

Simply putting diverse individuals together will not automatically lead to the elaboration of relevant perspectives, but clear motivations, norms, and accountability structures are needed to encourage group members to challenge each other's perspectives and debate multiple solutions to problem solving (Dwertmann et al. 2016). The complexity of managing diversity stresses carefully considering how work practices are designed and managed, as well as how the HR system could support an organizational climate in which information elaboration can take place

while categorization processes are minimized. Important in this respect is the perceived organizational support for both individuality and identification with organizational values and norms in order to foster inclusiveness and related positive outcomes.

Socialization of employees is one way how organizations through the implementation of formal or informal training programs and feedback from supervisors and peers could transform individual values and norms to fit those of the organization (Moyson et al. 2018). Organizational socialization is both important from an organizational and employee point of view (see Cooper-Thomas and Anderson 2006 for a review of the literature). Organizational socialization involves a process through which (new) employees change from outsider to the organization or work group into a well-integrated and effective insider. This process occurs whenever an individual crosses an organizational boundary, both external (between organizations) and internal (functional) (Cooper-Thomas and Anderson 2006; Van Maanen and Schein 1979). In this process, individuals develop skills, knowledge, abilities, attitudes, values, and relationships, as well as sense-making frameworks (Cooper-Thomas and Anderson 2006). As a result, (new) employees will perceive a better person–organization fit, thus feeling that they belong.

Previous studies indicate that diversity management contributes to a person–organization or person–group fit, resulting in greater employee commitment and less turnover (Ng and Burke 2005). Socialization could decrease the saliency of perceived differences between employees, thus minimizing social categorization processes within the work group or organization. Rather than individual identities, the organizational or work group identity becomes more salient when interacting with colleagues, which contributes to experiences of belongingness. Conversely, these same socialization processes might cause individuals to perceive their unique identities as undervalued since emphasis is placed on adapting to collective (organizational or group) norms and values. This causes minority groups in an organization to adhere to the same values

and practices of dominant groups in the organization. The adherence to dominant norms, values, and practices prevents minority employees from adopting representative roles and making decisions that reflect their own values, thus affecting active representation (Moyson et al. 2018). Consequently, by only emphasizing and fostering belongingness, HRM may counteract the development of inclusiveness. There needs to be balanced attention for both belongingness and individual needs and values in public sector HRM strategies.

In sum, inclusiveness is reached when belongingness and uniqueness are balanced within the group. To do so requires well-aligned policies and practices. Furthermore, managing both categorization and information elaboration processes is important for reaching desired team diversity outcomes. Previous studies have shown the indispensable role of leadership in attenuating both negative and supportive diversity outcomes (Kearney and Gebert 2009; Mayo et al. 2016). The next section elaborates further on the role of leadership and its connection with managing diversity and fostering inclusion.

10.4 The role of leadership

Previous research has suggested that well-intended HR practices do not always result in intended outcomes and might even result in adverse effects. As discussed in Chapter 3, this is related to people management that involves both (line) managers implementing HR practices and their leadership in supporting employees. Leadership in particular is a possible conditional factor in fostering inclusion (Ashikali and Groeneveld 2015b; Guillaume et al. 2017). Accordingly, diversity management research has called more and more attention on shifting the focus from formal policies to actual practices of the supervisor in order to reach diversity management's intended outcomes as described previously (Ashikali 2018; Pitts and Wise 2010).

Furthermore, leaders are important actors in shaping the organizational culture through their exemplary role behavior and communicating the value of diversity. Moreover, since inclusiveness develops in work groups as explained in the previous section, direct supervisors' leadership is crucial for attenuating negative and boosting positive diversity processes in order to realize inclusion (Ashikali et al. 2020; Randel et al. 2018; Shore et al. 2018). This section elaborates more specifically on how leadership is related to the management of diversity and the development of inclusiveness.

There is limited research available that studies leadership in relation to diversity and inclusiveness, specifically so in a public context. The few studies available indicate that transformational leadership supports diversity management and that it facilitates the inclusiveness of the organizational culture by doing so (Ashikali and Groeneveld 2015b). Transformational leadership is also shown to mitigate negative team diversity outcomes and boost positive team diversity outcomes (Chrobot-Mason et al. 2014; 2016; Kearney and Gebert 2009). Transformational leadership, for instance, is effective in developing a collective (team) identity, improving the team's cohesion, and communicating a vision on diversity. As a result, transformational leadership might minimize the potential negative effects of social categorization through the development of a collective identity. Transformational leadership also stimulates team members to use different and new perspectives on problem solving, which, in turn, boosts a team's information elaboration and performance (Kearney and Gebert 2009).

However, an aspect that has not yet been fully uncovered is how leaders themselves view diversity and diversity management, and how this in turn affects inclusiveness (Buengler et al. 2018). Previous research among teams of a retail organization has shown that leaders themselves could have a categorization tendency impacting on team diversity processes and outcomes. Greer et al. (2012) found that for ethnically diverse teams, high visionary leadership in combination with a high categorization tendency were negatively related to team

communication and team financial performance. Ashikali et al. (2020), in a study on forty-five teams in the Dutch public sector, revealed that a leader's perception affected the positive impact of transformational leadership on their team's work processes and engagement. The findings indicated that transformational leadership only affected information elaboration (a cognitive process) through supporting team cohesion (an affective process) when the leader perceived their team to be demographically diverse. This indicates that leaders who perceive their team as demographically diverse use transformational leadership to emphasize the team's cohesion in order to stimulate cognitive processes (Ashikali et al. 2020). This shows some evidence of transformational leadership emphasizing the groups' cohesion in order to facilitate group functioning.

Transformational leadership can potentially place a greater emphasis on belongingness at the expense of uniqueness. Randel et al. (2018) argue that through transforming individual identities into a shared group identity, transformational leadership socializes team members to integrate the group's identity to their own, resulting in less opportunity for individuation. It is therefore necessary to explore leadership that facilitates both belongingness and uniqueness in a balanced way. Inclusive leadership is argued to contribute to inclusiveness through stimulating the exchange, discussion, and utilization of different perspectives, ideas, and skills, as well as facilitating the full participation of all team members (Ashikali et al. 2020; Randel et al. 2018). Ashikali et al. (2020), for instance, have found that inclusive leadership positively moderates the effect of ethnic-cultural team diversity on an inclusive climate. While greater team diversity is related to a lower inclusive climate, high inclusive leadership mitigates this negative effect.

What the studies above have in common is that they emphasize the crucial role of leadership as discussed in chapters 3 and 5. These studies provide promising insights for public managers in order to manage diversity and support inclusiveness. Yet it remains a difficult task in which

a balance has to be found between enhancing cohesiveness within a work group on the one hand and supporting individual distinctiveness on the other.

10.5 Conclusion

This section reflects on previously discussed subjects and integrates perspectives from research on diversity, diversity management, and representative bureaucracy. A conceptual framework is shown in Figure 10.1 that explicates the association between concepts at different levels of analysis.

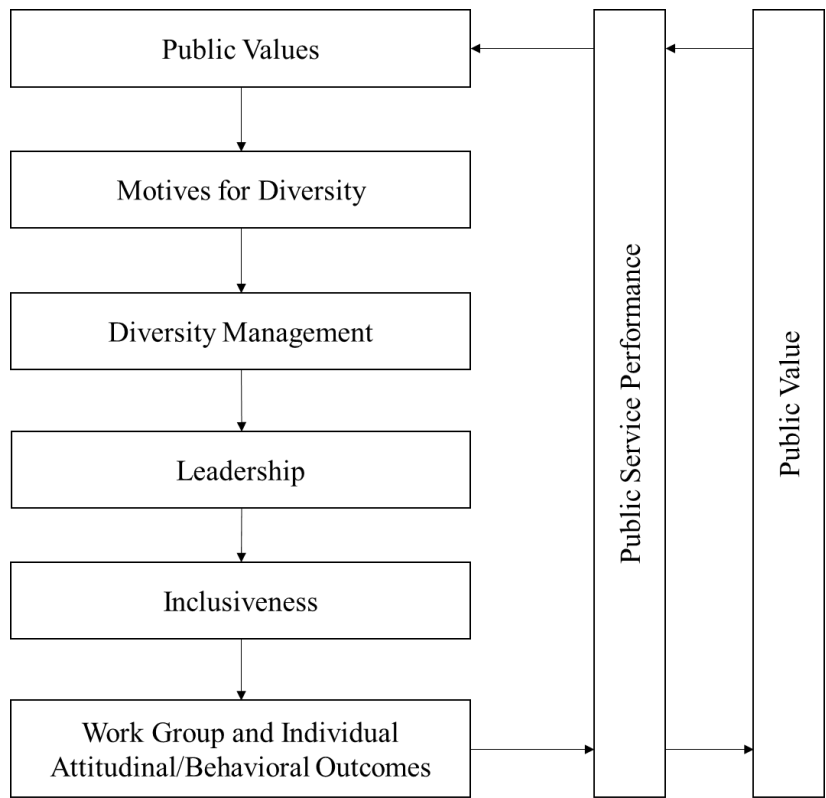


Figure 10.1: Conceptual framework linking managing diversity to public service performance

The two major diversity paradigms—a discrimination and fairness perspective and a synergy perspective—can be connected to different public values, more specifically to equity and social

justice on the one hand and organizational effectiveness and responsiveness on the other. While it is highly relevant to take the underlying values into account for the assessment of the effectiveness of diversity management policies and practices, research on how diversity motives are related to outcomes of diversity policies and practices is lacking to date. Since the paradigms result in different practices and related outcomes, research that combines both perspectives is thus needed for a better comprehension of how diversity management relates to inclusiveness, employee outcomes, and subsequently, public service performance.

Furthermore, distinctive motives draw our attention to different levels of analysis (Dwertmann et al. 2016). Research studying the discrimination and fairness paradigm often looks at HR outcomes at the individual level. For instance, it is of interest to know how quotas and targets for minorities in the workforce change the job application behavior of individuals or how women get promoted to the management level of an organization. In contrast, the core of the synergistic perspective of access and legitimacy as well as integration and learning rests on interpersonal and team interaction. Leveraging distributed information associated with diversity is the underlying process of outcomes such as higher client satisfaction, organizational legitimacy, team creativity, or organizational innovation. Consequently, practices derived from a synergy paradigm would result in outcomes that are most apparent on the work group level.

The above-mentioned different levels of analysis have various implications for managerial intervention and leadership. Multiple motives result in conflicting practices with different goals that need to be studied while considering the conceptual distinctiveness of different perspectives and respective outcomes. Accordingly, diversity management may imply practices on an organizational level (fairness of recruitment and selection or equal opportunities), as well as group-level practices (such as training and development, team building, etc.). Different actors can be involved in the implementation of these practices, such as HR professionals, line managers/supervisors, and employees. As their behavior will impact

whether and how those practices are implemented, as well as enhance the emergence of an inclusive work environment, they should be included as objects of analysis in research.

Although studied to a limited extent, some studies provide promising insights in leader behavior that fosters inclusiveness. These studies show that leadership is needed for balancing work group cohesion and individual distinctiveness at the same time. Enhanced inclusiveness is positively related to work group outcomes such as team engagement and performance but also to employees' commitment and satisfaction. However, in the absence of leadership, team diversity could also result in less team cohesion as well as team conflict. Negative team outcomes could, in turn, deteriorate performance. Further research is needed to understand how leadership may contribute to inclusiveness and support the performance of diverse work groups by doing so.

On another note, in public administration research (and practice), diversity is most often approached from a representative bureaucracy framework. In so doing, demographic diversity characteristics are emphasized. However, diversity involves any attribute in which individuals may differ from each other, both visible (e.g. gender, age, and race/ethnicity) and less visible (functional, educational, and norms and values). Depending on the context, a particular dimension or combination of dimensions might be salient, impacting team processes and outcomes. This issue is yet underdeveloped within public management studies. Future studies need to unravel how different diversity dimensions are related to inclusiveness and how this would impact performance.

The aspects above are represented in the conceptual framework in Figure 10.1 that integrates multiple concepts at different levels of analysis for studying the management of a diverse workforce as discussed in this chapter. A feedback loop is included to show a linkage between public service performance and public value as an outcome of diversity and inclusiveness on

the one hand, and on the other hand, public service performance and public value as an important driver for workforce diversity.

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