Chapter 19

Does the Ongoing Global Economic Crisis Put Diversity Gains at Risk?

Diversity Management during Hard Times – International Examples from the USA, South Africa, and Greece

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ABSTRACT

This chapter builds on an earlier chapter titled "International Diversity Management: Examples from the USA, South Africa, and Norway." In the first version of this chapter, we found one common subject emerging when looking closer at all three examples. In all three cases we found a call for the moral and justice case for diversity management, instead of the business-case alone. Based on this commonality and in light of the ongoing global economic crisis and its possible deteriorating effect for the international diversity agenda we decided to offer a more critical account on international diversity management with this chapter. This chapter offers examples from the USA, South Africa and Greece. We conclude the chapter arguing that while the three countries face all different challenges due to the global economic crisis, the way governments across the world respond to the crisis is often similar, which endangers past diversity gains and translates in a backlash for diversity.

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INTRODUCTION

Diversity Management has its roots in the US civil rights movement, and evolved from affirmative action (AA) and equal employment opportunity programs (EEO). Under the pressure of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, among other social and governmental pressures, different human resource practices were implemented in the 1970s and 1980s. AA and equal EEO programs were thought to increase the presence of under-represented groups, such as woman and ethnic minorities. There is apparent evidence that AA and EEO programs made a positive impact on the presence and pay of under-represented groups (Blau and Beller, 1988; Fosu, 1992). AA and EEO programs, laid the foundation for contemporary diversity management.

Contrary to AA and EEO programs targeting under-represented groups, diversity management was thought as a measure to help dealing with social differences, for example gender, ethnicity, age and sexual orientation and breaking down cultures of dominance. Diversity management was also thought to enable equal opportunities in organisations, which were subject to criticism in the early 1990s (Ashkanasy et al., 2002; Carroll and Hannan, 2000; Thomas, 1990) and to help organisations to give minority groups access in order to benefit from their diversity that this process will engender (Thomas, 1990; Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000). However, the shift from equal opportunities, to diversity management resulted also in a shift in language with no reference to disadvantaged groups, as target of diversity management, and terms such as racism or discrimination were excluded from the diversity management language (Agocs and Burr 1996). Finally, the moral and justice case for equality got predominantly replaced with the business case for diversity.

Numerous diversity scholars and practitioners have spent the last decade or so trying to create a compelling business case for diversity in organisations. However, both research and practice provide a rather confusing compilation of best practices that tend to be disorganized, idiosyncratic, unprioritised and are often bolted on to existing HR/OD initiatives. Research suggests that diverse teams can be more innovative, creative, and thus even more productive (Cox, 2001; Hubbard, 2004) and the reality of Fortune 500 companies seems to echo these findings. Companies, such as IBM (Thomas, 2004) have expended considerable energy and resources to establish a diverse and inclusive company. By the end of the 1990s, three out of four Fortune 500 Companies had launched a series of programs, aiming at addressing, enhancing and promoting a diverse workforce (Cauldron, 1998). This sounds all promising at first sight, and might even be relevant during prosperous economic times, but how does the picture look during economic insecure times? Does the business case for diversity have the same pull-effect for organisation to manage diversity during economic insecure times as it has during prosperous economic times?

The current global economic crisis has impacted countries around the world to different degrees. Some countries continue to experience higher levels of economic growth, such as in the global south, while others are on a slow path of recovery, or as in the extreme case of Greece in a seemingly hopeless situation. There is also great disparity in how governments responded to the crisis in terms of policy responses. The USA and some European governments, some forced by the European Union's TROIKA in return for bail-outs, have decided to impose various austerity measures on their populations, as a response to the crisis. This has led to significant uncertainty, due to an increasingly precarious mode of living for many in the world. Neoliberal austerity measures have been legitimised by the global economic crisis, deepening poverty, inequality and diminished social rights across the world (Atasoy, 2014).

In such uncertain times, human and social rights matter even more, but in accordance with the neoliberal agenda, human and social rights are under attack by various governments across the globe. One such example can be found when looking towards the UK, which in the past was viewed as a pioneer, in the European context, with regards to human rights and particularly equality, diversity practices and legislation. Now it seems, the UK has started to become a pioneer in dismantling all past achievements in the field of diversity and equality. In the last few years, the LibDem/Conservative coalition government has been accused widely of systematically dismantling the UK's equality infrastructure (Brett, 2012; Fawcett Society, 2013). For example, the coalition government recently 'reformed' the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC). This so-called 'reform' of the EHRC, meant that the EHRC lost its office, most of its staff and the budget was slashed from £70m to £17m. Not only has this 'reform' had serious implications for the EHRC's ability to hold the government to account, but also it shows the lack of commitment on side of the government with regard to human rights. This was followed by a proposal to revoke provisions in the Equality Act 2012, since these protections are viewed as unnecessary by the coalition government (Brett, 2012). New attacks on human rights have arrived in 2015, with the newly-elected conservative government. The conservative party has now proposed to repeal the Human Rights Act and withdraw from the European court of human rights in Strasbourg. Considering this latest development, it is unsurprising that the Equality and Human Rights Commission recently expressed concern in an open letter, to a parliamentary committee, about potentially "regressive" steps and the possible "reversal" of the UK's global role in promoting human rights (Guardian, 2015).

Research suggests that the business case for diversity is less emphasised during times of economic crisis, whereas the legal and the moral case for diversity finds greater emphasis. This, and the developments described above, illustrate that there is a danger in focusing solely on the business case for diversity, since this can result in a major backlash for or/and abandonment of equality, inclusion and diversity initiatives during times where such initiatives are not seen as profitable (Crawshaw et al. 2014).

Using the examples of the US, South Africa and Greece, we discuss this and other interesting questions, and we also illustrate diversity management in different contexts in times of an ongoing economic crisis. The country perspectives from the USA and South Africa now have a greater focus on the effects of the crisis on the diversity agenda in the respective countries, than the previous chapter from 2013. The US case is of interest because the concept of diversity management initially evolved and developed in this country, however, it is also a intersting case since it is the only country (of the three countries presented) that takes into account a slightly better economic outlook which, more or less, impacts the discussion of organizational profit and growth in the US and hence, the diversity agenda. In contrast, South Africa is of interest due to its specific Apartheid past and its post-Apartheid legacy- and new challenges related to diversity management, exacerbated due to the economic crisis. Norway has been replaced with Greece, a country which has been hit the hardest by the global economic crisis in the European context, which has resulted in immense hardship and extreme forms of reinforced inequality for its austerity-stricken population. Reinforced forms of gender inequality are at the centre of the Greek account.

THE MULTICULTURAL AND DIVERSE ORGANISATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Diversity is key to fostering a strong, inclusive and equity-oriented economy. However, due to the global economic crisis that hit US markets in 2008, firms have either downsized or have fully disappeared, which means that many new hires from traditionally under-represented minorities now find themselves competing with more senior employees. Merging or downsizing will vary depending on company, market, layoff and retention policies. Yet, minority support groups have been pushing corporations, and especially the boards of various corporations, to strengthen and enhance diversity representation at the most senior levels in such a way that companies do retain their competitive edge in a tight global economy. In economic crises, boards need to represent the diversity of the firm's customer base and labour force (Mattis, 2000). This enhances firm creativity, identity, corporate governance and credibility (Macfarlane et al., 2010). Moving past 2008, many companies have quickly realized and understood that past diversity management strategies were created to increase performance, and subsequently revenue. The results have been mixed, whereby employees of color and women were able to move quickly and swiftly into White male-dominated territories, while in other situations the last to be recruited were the first to be fired. Recruitment and retention policies that are linked to diversity processes and structures are costly and, when cutting costs is paramount, the first initiatives to suffer are largely those focusing on diversity. Yet, overall data that supports a backlash in diversity efforts to the global crisis in the US is hard to obtain. Rather, initiatives and mechanisms at the Federal level and supported by advocacy groups, business angels and consulting firms have had a positive impact on mitigating the negative impact of global recession on well-established diversity policies.

In fact, since the early 1960s, the United States (US) has put tremendous legislative and policy-oriented efforts in motion in order to strengthen and improve organisational change (Equal Pay Act of 1963 (U.S. EEOC, 1963), the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, 2012), the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (Boston University, 2008), Vietnam Era Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1974 (U.S. Department of Labor, 2012), Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 (U.S. EEOC, 1978), Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 (U.S. EEOC, 1967) and amendments 1978, Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (Americans with Disabilities, 1990), and the Civil Rights Act of 1991 (U.S. EEOC, 1991), Lilly Ledbetter Wage Bill (U.S. EEOC, 2009). In fact, 14 African-American CEOs of Fortune 500 companies were appointed between 1999 and 2010, among a number of other corporate elite-level appointments (incl. White women, Latino and Asian American CEOs). Yet, it also seems that the issue of diversity management has seen its peak in 2013. By the end of 2013, the number of African American CEOs dropped from its peak of seven in 2007 to six, the number of Latinos from 13 in 2008 to 10, and the number of Asian Americans from 15 in 2011 to 10.

The sociologist Michael Useem (1984) calls actors who sit on boards "the innermost ring within the inner circle". And, the innermost ring holds power over those decision-making processes that reflect ethnic diversity in the workforce. As of early 2014, the overall picture is not one of increasing diversity. There is a growing, but still small, percentage of White women who are CEOs of Fortune companies (4 per cent of all Fortune 500 CEOs in 2013), but there has been a decline in the number of African American, Latino, and Asian American CEOs since high points between 2007 and 2011. After decades of efforts to diversify, corporate boards are 87.7 per cent White and 84.5 per cent male (Zweigenhaft and Domhoff, 2013).

Since one key challenge seems be to the lack of ethnic diversity in senior managements and in boardrooms, let us explore the data in order to get a better understanding of the diversity issues in the U.S. In June 2012 approximately 155,163,000 people were in the labor force (those actively employed or seeking employment). With a total US working-age population of approximately 243 million individuals, the labor force participation rate currently stands at 63.8 per cent. 4 Out of those 155 million individuals in the labor force, 142,415,000 are currently employed, with unemployment hovering around 8.2 per cent (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012). 111,145,000 (83.51 per cent) work in the private sector and 21,943,000 (16.49 per cent) work in the public sector. Specifically, 10.58 per cent work for municipal governments, 3.8 per cent work for State governments, and 2.11 per cent work for the federal government.

Whilst the situation in corporate boardrooms is rather dire, there may be a silver lining on the horizon: according to the Census Bureau, people of color own 22.1 per cent of all US businesses. Moreover, women own more than a quarter of all businesses— 28.8 per cent (U.S. Census Bureau, State and County QuickFacts, 2012). And the LGBTQ community is well represented in the statistics: according to the National Gay and Lesbian Chamber of Commerce, gay or transgender individuals own approximately 1.4 million businesses. This means that approximately 5 per cent of all businesses in the United States are owned by someone that is gay or transgender (National Gay and Lesbian Chamber of Commerce, 2012).

Still, when Google shared its 2014 diversity report, both the market and researchers were rather shocked: for example, women comprise just 17 per cent of its global tech workforce, according to data Google published on its website and released exclusively to the PBS NewsHour (Jacobson, 2015). When it comes to leadership, women only account for 21 per cent of the top positions in the company, which has a workforce of just under 50,000 people. As a result, it seems that US corporations spend billions of dollars to attract and manage diversity both internally and externally, yet they still face discrimination lawsuits, and the leadership ranks of the business world remain predominantly White and male.

As observed by the authors, the most recent trend is to leave the "diversity task" to the Human Resources dimension, dealing with recruitment policies and proper workforce retention, while the majority of the Fortune 500 heavyweights is shifting the discussion from diversity management to cultural differences, which seems to include issues of diversity. The substance of the issues remain the same: how can a corporation be ethnically diverse in this day and age of technological revolutions and, at the same time, embrace cultural differences in order to sustain its growth? While the topics are the same, there seems to be a renewed understanding about diversity on the meta-level: informational and innovation diversity. The rise of highly-matrixed organisations, NextGen, Millenials, GenY, etc., and the different ways that Americans respond to work-related tasks have brought about a change in management strategies and tactics. While the 1960s brought about the philosophy of Management by Objectives, the New Corporation and the New CEO are fostering a philosophy of Management by Values. Certainly, different cultural systems bring about different cultural paradigms and therefore different value-systems. The concepts of distributed leadership and personal power reflect that shift in understanding the individual value of diversity in the workforce.

Still, it seems that both practice and research suggest that the hype and rhetoric around diversity management in the US is shifting towards a better exploration on how organisational inclusion processes and mechanisms strengthen and improve workforce diversity. Data shows that when employees perceive that their views are taken into account, and that their input is sought before making important organisational decisions, that these organisations have improved workplace performance. Diversity training that focuses only on functional and structural changes in order to recruit and retain minorities and women into organisations is not enough to drive integration and inclusion (Pless and Maak, 2004). In fact, literature fails to reveal a single diversity management training programme that is preceded by a thorough analysis of the tasks, the organisation, and the individuals. As several studies show, the effectiveness of diversity training is not linked to improved organisational inclusion and thus with a positive impact on diversity practices (Beekie, 1997). At worst, diversity management training fosters an atmosphere of exclusion, and studies have revealed that employees belonging to diverse groups (e.g., women oftentimes are coined taking the 'Mommy Track') tend to be excluded from the important networks and decision-making processes (Cox, 1994; Ibarra, 1993). The reason behind the lack of proper data and lack of progress is, in part, due to the lack of basic epistemology, linked with insufficient theoretical research and practical work (Harrison, Price and Bell, 1998). The field needs to adopt better research designs in order to study diversity management programmes over a period of time, expanding the sample size beyond African American and White groups and using rigorous evaluation tools. Pless and Maak (2004) argue that, through inclusive practices, organisations can move from only focusing on hiring and talent retention practices with a focus on certain demographic categories toward a more inclusive and complex workforce identity, based on inclusion which removes barriers to enable high performance from all employee groups (Miller, 1998; Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998; Roberson, 2006).

Hence, stronger evidence-based research is needed to gauge the impact level of diversity and diversity management on organisational performance. While many studies have been dedicated to addressing the nexus between diversity and performance (Adler and Gundersen, 2008; Pitts, 2005, 2009), there still remains a lack of consensus on the outcomes of diversity management practices on individual and organisational performance (see Chatman and Flynn, 2001; Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Given these challenges to a better understanding of diversity practices in the US, future studies should develop the following criteria with larger research design sets, subject to testing and validation:

- The development of more objective measures of performance (Meier and O'Toole, 2013);
- Perception-based measures (Allen et al, 2007; Choi and Rainey, 2010);
- Cultural sensitivity to inclusion models (Sabharwal and Berman, 2013);
- Models of leadership (Miller, 1998; Pless and Maak, 2004); and
- Concepts of empowerment and self-esteem (Sabattini and Crosby, 2008).

While it is recognized that diversity management alone can impact performance when included with organisational inclusive behavior (Pitts, 2006, 2009; Wise and Tschirhart, 2000), it has no outcome-level impact on organisational performance. Thus, the aforementioned criteria should be explored and investigated, using a research method proferred by Ivancevich and Gilbert (2000, p. 84):

- Researcher-administrator collaborative partnerships: The research project fits the organisation;
- Researcher's Ongoing Observation: Improving researcher's insight on the fabric and activities of organisational life (observing, listening and working with employees);
- Conducting and reporting narrative case histories using narrative analysis (Elliott, 2005); and
- Strengthening Third-Party Evaluations (Ivancevich and Gilbert, 2000, p. 87).

In addition to this, Social Network Analysis (Scott, 2013) allows researchers to understand the concepts, symbols and utility of leveraging social networks and social capital within the workforce in order to understand and become aware of central aspects of networking, and power, in social structures, such as density, centrality, cliques, blocs, etc. Relational data will, therefore, allow researchers to clearly elaborate on the linkages between change agents and organisational champions. Thus, leadership issues linked to an underutilisation of a diverse workforce can be gauged and properly addressed in a project.

DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA: EMPOWERED POWERLESSNESS – A NATIONAL CRISIS

Diversity management remains a pressing, global issue for a number of reasons: increased requirements for innovation and creativity, improved teamwork and collaboration, employee satisfaction affecting performance and profit, global demographics are changing, the need to retain talent throughout their career life-cycles, the changing nature of 'talent', the scarcity of talent and skills, legislation has increased and the burden of proof has shifted to organisations in many countries, the growing literature demonstrating that inclusive organisations perform better that less-inclusive ones, to name a few. Organisations and governments have responded essentially in three manners: (1) from the *sociological perspective*: the argument being that we have spent most of our lives distinguishing ourselves from others via social-, educational-, physical-, economic- and other means. This 'learnt separation' has been spurred on, and enhanced, by our desire to obtain and maintain power and economic benefits – even entrenching our sources of power through rules and structures, which have been internalised by individuals and societies (Kivel, 2002). It is founded on a belief that if we give up our separation/distinctiveness, we also have to give up our power. In many ways, this understanding is similar to the concept of rank. Smit (2009, p. 91) defines rank as "the differentiated status afforded to an individual or a sub-group in a group as a result of the combination of power and privilege". Hence, organisations and governments operating from this paradigm believe that individuals and groups (such as 'men' or White South Africans, for instance) will not purposefully give up their power-advantages and therefore you have to take back power, and drive quality, through legislation, new rules and through setting up new structures (actions which generalises the responsibility), e.g., affirmative action or quotas; (2) from the *psychological perspective*: diversity initiatives from this paradigm, seeking to reintegrate the denied and projected psychological and emotional aspects of individuals, are akin to personal development, focusing mainly on the cognitive- and personal aspects of prejudice (April, Loubser, Özbilgin, and Al-Ariss, 2013; Garcia-Retamero and López-Zafra, 2006; Gaertner and McLaughlin, 1983). Individuals are encouraged to overcome their personal shame and accept their internal diversity, through personal courage and determination, in order to re-own their denied aspects (in order to become whole human beings again). Organisational and personal work in this area focuses on rebuilding the self-esteem and self-confidence of individuals, through mentoring and coaching, and through focusing on raised self-awareness, learning to forgive oneself and others, self-management, and honing coping strategies to recognise and minimise transference when it manifests (April, Kukard and Peters, 2013; Carver, et al., 1989); and (3) from the *spiritual perspective*: this paradigm differentiates 'religion' from 'spirituality', focusing on how individuals and groups respond to everyone (and themselves) in terms of deep respect, dignity and (agape) love. The base thinking underpinning this perspective is that each individual has to begin through cultivating a healthy relationship with themselves first (self-love) before contributing positively to the common good or society's interests. One respondent in our research claimed: "I feel so dishonoured for forgetting who I am authentically!" Organisations employing this paradigm, under the terms 'stewardship' or 'servant leadership' (April, Kukard and Peters, 2013), often seek cohesion and alignment by encouraging employees and stakeholders to dialogue about values, (greater) purposes beyond the self and self-interests, contextual meaning, providing hope for all (but mainly the disenfranchised and marginalised), supporting others and making others powerful, and contribution (Naughton, 2015; Nichols, 2014; Grant 2012).

At the tip of Africa, in South Africa, the pressure for effective diversity management is no different to most of the world, except for the fact that the economic strata is almost entirely ethnically-classified (i.e., the White minority still owns the majority of the wealth in the country, with the Black majority unable to fully engage the potential economic prosperity of the country, nor feel empowered to change their socio-economic status in the short-term … they therefore turn to the government to make good on the unrealistic promises of political campaigning). In 2013, Namhla Mniki-Mangaliso and Kurt April (Vassilopoulou, et al., 2013) coined the term 'empowered powerlessness' to describe a concept they were noticing, among Black senior executives in South Africa in which they took top positions in organisations, but did not really enjoy real power (i.e., decisions were taken around them, without their knowledge, in networks other than their own, and so on, even though they were the CEOs or Managing Directors in companies). The following quote highlights the felt-collusion and undermining experienced by Black executives:

I was an outsider - and the knowledge person did not want to share the knowledge. My efforts of trying to work with this person were not working, and she had the ear of the big boss. So, it was like almost operating in an environment of a broken triangle where I was the bottom part - the missing bottom.

It is possible to think that you are actually friends with White colleagues in the work environment, however, you discover that the same White colleagues socialise together outside work in weekend [barbeques] where Black people are not invited, but are discussed in less-than-positive terms.

The experience of collusion has been interlinked with experiences of exclusion by many of the research participants, as those parties who collude often do so in order to exclude and bypass 'the other' from important discussions and decisions (Perez, Ahmed and London, 2012). Collusions often will not work if colleagues do not collude with their superiors, thus establishing an 'us and them' scenario. Many of our research respondents expressed the fact that having a powerful superior, who is biased towards one party, creates an environment for collusion and exclusion of the 'other'. Our research also emphasized examples where Black executives have been co-opted by White businesses to sit in powerful positions, while having no real say in decisions but being generously compensated for his/her silence through company perks:

… sometimes they will say … okay, we will make you a CEO and give you all the perks that come with it, but don't challenge anything, don't challenge us on transformation, and just worry about your family … they are bought into the inner circle of White leadership, where they are singled out as special and different from other Black people.

With a history of Apartheid, many Black people find that they become adults with accompanying lack of self-esteem (continual demeaning of one's personhood), lack of self-confidence (little to no opportunities to achieve goals and milestones in one's career, or even socially) and psychological cognitive dissonance (due to the dual truths they were told – parents and family confessing love, care and informing one how much you matter, and the government, schooling system and physical environment reminding one that you are not fully human and should be considered 'less than') (Morton, 2014; Stone and Cooper, 2003, 2001). Some of our research respondents claimed that they and others agree to these arrangements because they are tired of fighting, reach a point where they no longer care, they do not want to rock the boat, and they would rather focus on their families and their own wealth creation/stability. As a result of this, they show up to meetings, they become the face of the company and earn the money while, often, they are running their own businesses/initiatives on the side in order to "one day get out and stop sacrificing myself".

On the other hand, we have heard many examples of executive White South Africans, truly committed to the country and the continent, who are made to feel 'less than' and White historical advantages being generalised as well as their credibility as legitimate citizens being challenged. For example, in the example below, Chris Whelan (CEO of Accelerate) who was vocal against the oppression during Apartheid, and grew up in a working class White family with moderate means but today, liaises and interacts with the highest level South African national- and local government officials in multiple fora, gets openly questioned:

> *In a recent engagement with Luthuli House-aligned officials [Luthuli House, is the headquarters of the ruling party, the ANC – African National Congress – and other subsidiary organisations, and is frequently used as a metonym for the national leadership of the ANC], I was asked whether '…for you [White] people, is five bedrooms [in a home] normal?' in the context of responding to a previous discussion with respect to something else entirely. I, somewhat cheekily given the context of ongoing banter amongst all of us, asked in return whether for the questioner, a resident of Kwa-Zulu Natal [province in South Africa] and closely aligned to the current 'commander-in-chief', Nkandla was normal. Clanger! [the Nkandla compound of South African President Jacob Zuma is the centre of a national debate and public controversy as to whether public funds can be excessively used to build and/or make improvements to the private households of government officials]. I asked, as noted, [because] we were being informal, bantering, and I assumed all were okay with the open dialogue. The response I received was outright aggression from the questioner. However, others who were part of the discussion quite nonchalantly said that they found my response very humorous. But, given who I responded to and my 'Whiteness', I [apparently] had no right to express that. I can say that I was dumbstruck – that no pejorative was expressed, but that I should 'really know my place' and know that I do not belong, in effect … that is, I have no right to the opinion! Was I offensive? Perhaps, although at best unintentionally. Did I lose the chance to engage? Yes. Is this empowered powerlessness? I am not sure, but I know that I felt totally undermined in the country I have called home for all of my life.*

Therefore, in this chapter we want to broaden our focus to highlight the experiences of 'regular employees' (not just in senior executive positions), acknowledge the intersectionality effects, and bring greater understanding to the fact that there are also different kinds of empowered powerlessness in Africa and, particularly, in South Africa, e.g.:

- Skilled foreigners/immigrants (empowered) working in the country in senior jobs (empowered) but finding that they are not fully accepted (powerlessness) and do notenjoy the 'closeness of friendship history' (powerlessness) to be close to the real decisions (powerlessness).
- Identity blurring (powerlessness) for, and non-acceptance (powerlessness) of, South Africans who were educated (empowered) and trained (empowered) in the West and returning to the country.
- Senior (empowered), but younger, employees and managers working in the presence of more junior, but older, staff (cultural powerlessness).
- The lack of self-esteem (powerlessness) and 'presence credibility' (powerlessness).

- associated with skilled employees with requisite experience (empowered), White and Black, who started and run very successful companies (empowered) but never reached high levels of tertiary education (powerlessness).
- Individuals with rural education and backgrounds (powerlessness) working in urban areas/cities.
- White folk (historically empowered) in good public sector roles (empowered), or running companies/organisations which deal with the public sector, and who are encumbered to the whims/wishes/visions of the dominant political elite (powerlessness), who are almost exclusively Black, and who are perceived to not always have their best interests at heart (powerlessness).
- Young White graduates (empowered) feeling that there is little chance of securing good jobs, or having opportunities to enhance careers in organisations (powerlessness).
- Educated Black women (empowered), who are still required to play subservient, traditional roles (powerlessness) in their homes, and around their families (direct and in-laws).
- Working class individuals (powerlessness) who work extremely hard and apply themselves to their jobs (empowered), but feel like they will never get out of their economic situations, or better themselves economically (powerlessness).

Silent also in the South African debate is the plight of those who find themselves sandwiched in the middle, the so-called Coloured population (genetic offspring of the native Khoisan people), who continually express feelings of powerlessness and make up the majority of the population in the Western Cape province (the only province in the country not run by the ANC-led government). According to Olckers (2011), business owners are forced, through government legislation, to employ Black Africans in most available job openings, traditional industries employing Coloureds (such as the textile industry) have been obliterated by cheap, Chinese imports (the result of the national government dropping protectionist tariffs, and opening up the economy completely to the global market), big supermarket chains and restaurants (previously large employers of Coloured staff) who are strongly encouraged to employ migrant Black labourers, and the Coloured population are caught between engendered White economic supremacists and the emerging African supremacist populism (Olckers claims: "… tyranny of the majority who find expressions through blind obedience and lifelong loyalty to the ANC"). He goes on to claim that, as a result of their feelings of hopelessness, and in the absence of any economic, political, and social prospects, devoid of dignity and self-respect, many Coloureds lose themselves in a desperate cycle of long-term unemployment, tik (crystal meth), dagga (mandrax/marijuana), gangsterism, as well as alcohol-, physical-, sexual- and emotional abuse. According to Olckers (2011), the media perpetrates stereotypical denigration of the Coloured population (such as columnist Kuli Roberts), and assisted by claims from senior government leaders, such as ANC spokesperson at the time, Jimmy Manyi.

Unfortunately, South Africa finds itself with this ongoing dilemma – over the last 21 years of democracy (after emerging from Apartheid), its political parties, private enterprise and a burgeoning civil society have made huge efforts to enshrine human rights, political equality, basic facilities (like clinics, hospitals and sanitation for the disenfranchised majority), restoring land to previously displaced communities, and providing access to the formal economy through diversity management practices such as affirmative action and Black economic empowerment (BEE), among others, however, much of the population's Black and Coloured majority find themselves unable to change their economic situations (in fact, economic inequality has grown over the last 21 years). Unlike Kivel (2002), Steyn's (2005) understanding is that power and domination is conscious and intentional. In her presentation on "White talk", she explains that, in the democratic South Africa the White minority have intentionally sought to retain economic power through morally-acceptable means of racial domination (Steyn, 2005). She goes further to explain that through mechanisms such as the use of language, discourse domination, and belittling the historical past, the White minority continues to entrench and protect their institutional power in corporate South Africa (Steyn and Foster, 2008). Rebecca Nelson, an Australian citizen and researcher in Queensland, who previously resided in South Africa, shares on the importance of language, framing and worldviews:

> *… I believe that the majority of South Africans share the same values of freedom, fairness, co-operation, inclusivity and open communication, but are often let down by the frame of the past, and the legacy of Apartheid. South Africans are fairly progressive compared to Western, conservative societies, but are constantly let down by language [the way in which they talk to each other about their context and historical narratives], and framing in policy, which ultimately influences and perpetuates South Africans [negative] worldview.*

Additionally, since the country's transition from Apartheid and being the top-performing economy on the African continent until 2014, many foreigners and immigrants have moved to South Africa, legally and illegally, from the African continent and elsewhere. South Africa suffers from not currently having a broad, rigorous migration policy and, as a result, the country is seen as easier to enter than most other prosperous countries. This was highlighted at the ANC's fourth national policy conference in 2012 already, at which it was stated that there was "empirical evidence" that the majority of asylum seekers did not comply with international legal requirements for refugee status and protection (Ndenze, 2015). Additionally the national government is concerned that some of the foreigners who have arrived in the country has not done so legally and, more importantly, has engaged in criminal activities. Notwithstanding the fact that local South Africans and foreigners have equal propensity for, and have committed equal amounts of, crime, the government is quite concerned about the criminal element among the immigrants whom they refer to, in some quarters, as a threat to national security. South African Home Affairs Minister, Malusi Gigaba, said on the 19th April 2015 that his department would introduce a Green Paper on a new policy framework by next year.

The vast majority of foreigners who have arrived in South Africa have contributed to the economy, pay their full taxes, are law-abiding citizens and seek to be constructive contributors to society in general. They do, however, experience powerlessness on multiple levels, as illustrated through the following:

> *Being a Zimbabwean, where the documented literacy rate is 90per cent, education is highly embraced. Despite immense levels of poverty, inflation and economic decline, a Zimbabwean parent will always make a way for their child to be in class as education is viewed as a tool of empowerment and a gateway to a better life. My parents being no different from a typical Zimbabwean family, worked tirelessly to ensure they provide me with a good education. I was able to attend University, where I graduated with an honours degree in business management and information technology. The norm was once you graduate, you proceed to the job market – but when I graduated, the Zimbabwean economy could not support new graduates as entrants into the job market, and the reality of the situation was totally different from the perception I had when I was at University. Although I was empowered with the skill and knowledge to give me an added*

advantage in the working environment, the opportunities available were scarce and I chose to try my luck in the South African job market. South Africa, being one of the best emerging markets in Africa, seemed very promising, but my pursuit of a better life was met with massive resistance and rejection from fellow Black South Africans through the first xenophobic attacks. Although I did not experience this first hand, I still felt the discomfort. As neighbours who aided South Africa during the Apartheid struggle, one would reasonably assume a welcoming response. In almost all the job interviews I attended, potential employers had concerns about my nationality rather than the skills outlined on my CV, and I stayed jobless for almost a year. When I eventually landed a job, my biggest observation was that the work dynamic in South Africa was totally different from the work dynamic in Zimbabwe, taking into account my experiences during industrial placement. Despite South Africa being independent, there is still massive inequality in the work environment. In the company I first worked for, all senior managers were White, with astonishing levels of nepotism and although racism was swept under the rug, job appointments and promotions were done by race and not by merit. In contrast to Zimbabwe, education was used to lessen the inequalities resulting from the colonial system which resulted in a more equal and fair treatment in the work environment, and the effects of colonialism were negated by genuine economic empowerment that allowed the Black majority to also control the means of wealth. Since then I have changed jobs several times and the experiences are still the same. There is still a sense of entitlement which sometimes makes others feel more equal and deserving of better treatment, despite not having the qualifications to support their rewards. The approach that I have adopted in dealing with this problem is to strategically position myself within my company, making myself indispensable – which will allow me to challenge some of the decisions that are made within my company. At the same time, I also think my approach is too passive because I also do not want to jeopardize my potential to earn an income and suffer possible dismissal, but this problem will continuously be an issue for as long as the black majority is not empowered to see the root causes of the problems in South Africa. In all the situations outlined above, my education has empowered me to compete as an equal human being, but racial inequality and issues like xenophobia leaves me powerless and disadvantaged because of my race and nationality. (Tatenda Chagonda, Digital Marketing Industry)

Some of the foreigners/immigrants have experienced economic success, as a result of their hard work, dedication to crafting a new life in their adopted land, and being savvy about using the educational and other resources available in the country. This has made locals acutely aware of their own lots in life, and their unwillingness/inability to take advantage of the educational opportunities available, in order to upskill themselves to ensure social- and economic mobility – preferring rather to wait for the national government to either bail them out of their economic situations and/or creating opportunities for them, also calling for nationalisation of in-country resources (such as mines), and channelling their frustration through emotional- and physical intimidation of groups who are deemed to not "suffer" their economic disadvantages and immobility, e.g., foreigners (mainly targeting Black, African foreigners – hence journalists referring to Afrophobia, as opposed to xenophobia), the White minority (who is deemed to still benefit from Apartheid advantages, mainly economic advantages), as well as Asian-, Russian and East European business folk (local South African Indians, and new immigrant Asians from Pakistan, China, and Bangladesh, as well as Russians, Latvians, Polish, Bulgarians, Czechs, and Ukrainians). There can be no doubt that the majority of South African claims of economic stumbling blocks are justified, real and have implications on theirs, and their future generations, lives. Similarly, on a smaller scale, the reactions of people who bully – is mirrored in the behaviour depicted in the experiences cited in this chapter: people 'pick on' and displace their anger and frustrations on those perceived to be weaker than themselves and tend not to focus on the true perpetrator(s) of their 'psychological pain' and 'economic pains'.

As a result of the global economic crises impacting the economic growth of South Africa, the focus, from the national government as well as private enterprise, has being mainly on narrow, diversity management approaches – without consideration for also dealing with aspects of inclusion, and its psychological costs. Inclusion requires: (a) *a democracy of emotions in which people truly see others as equals* (but require mature vulnerability and worthiness of self in order to do so successfully and with dignity), (b) *the willingness to be truly transformed by the perspectives and experiences of 'the other'* (being open to another's story and experiences; an ability to let go; a willingness to unlearn; an ability to dialogue), and (c) *the degree to which one enables and encourages new and emerging groups to have the power to change organisations, traditions and the country* (working constructively with one's mental models and overcoming one's unconscious biases; one's acumen with, and around power; the ability and willingness of one to rise above your history). What is required, among other things, is coaching and mentoring for both the previously disadvantaged people and the enfranchised group of people (as they were known) under Apartheid. It is unhelpful to deal exclusively with those groups who are perceived to have suffered under Apartheid without addressing the urgent call of the previously enfranchised group calling for people "to get over it" or to "stop blaming Whites who were not even born during Apartheid". An example of such thinking (and frustration) is illuminated through the following quotes:

I am well qualified and have 10 years' experience working in the financial services industry, both in South Africa and in the UK. I would really love to make some further progress in my career and constantly keep an eye out for career advancement job opportunities within the finance industry. However, the majority of the positions advertised (maybe 4 out of 5) where I meet the requirements and which sounds like the challenge I am looking for, the position in only available to affirmative action candidates. This is incredibly disheartening. I have put effort into my postgraduate education and developing other skills, but it's starting to feel like I will never get a chance to use it. I feel empowered in that I have gained knowledge and skills that can add value to an organisation. Furthermore, it is a great time for women in business. I may be ignorant, but I truly believe I have equal access to the same opportunities as my male colleagues. At the same time I also feel powerless. I want to get involved, add value to society, but feel like in some ways the future of my career is out of my control. It is a difficult situation, because I support and understand the need for affirmative action, but at the same time I can't help but feel that it's not fair that I have to pay for the bad decisions of past generations. (Elze-Mari Roux, Financial Services Industry)

I work for a small start-up company. Using some clever software (and specifically statistics), we are working to improve service delivery in SA, regarding fixed assets and the supply of consumables (such as water, electricity, etc.). SA has major issues in this respect and I believe it to be one of many crucial stumbling blocks that must be overcome for SA to see major economic upliftment. Our company has an excellent setup (website/app and process). We have had interest from the USA and Australia, and yet, our traction in SA is quite poor. We are a wholly-owned White company and have failed on almost every government tender that we attempt. We have been told that we cannot succeed in this sphere without black ownership, *but being a start-up, we cannot give away 50per cent of the company. In this instance I feel powerless, despite having the tools to succeed. (Connor Mace, Software Industry)*

Black research respondents expressed how they often found any aspect of potential difference to be cause for the questioning of their credibility and performance, e.g., dress code (Western preferred), social norms (White cultural norms regarded as standard), gendered nature of work (males preferred, as traditional household roles were assumed of women, including their 'disruptive career breaks through pregnancy' or, if women worked, they were expected to perform superwomen, dual roles, by still performing traditionally-assumed tasks at home even after a full day of work), communicative histories (common sayings, thought patterns, jokes, shared views, ideologies considered 'normal), religious affiliations (dominant White religions more acceptable) and sexual orientation (heterosexuality considered the norm). They expressed the hopelessness they felt in that they did not believe that there was not much that they could do to effect change in situations where they were experiencing powerlessness.

It is important to document the experience of empowered powerlessness from the perspective of the individual – by giving voice to experiences brings legitimacy, visibility and validity to the groups' experience(s). Failure to give voice to an experience is to perpetrate the myth that such an experience does not exist. Given the tension that exists at all levels of society, the country (South Africa), and continent (Africa), are at a social- and economic crossroads – a crisis! The greater African continent is included because empowered powerlessness is experienced throughout the continent, sometimes with differing emphasis to what is happening in South Africa, as highlighted in the following two examples:

I worked for a multinational organisation in Zambia which, at the time, was rated number one in the world for insurance brokerage and tapped resources from various offices around the world. The company was doing well in Zambia and was also highly rated in the market based on market share. The CEO of the company was White Zimbabwean, and the second-in-command was Kenyan, while all other employees (including senior and middle management) were Zambian. I was a head of business development and the new business department, which should have meant that I held a certain degree of power and autonomy in the role to make decisions relating to the role – however, all such decisions were made unilaterally by the CEO. I had worked my way up through the ranks and was a high performer but still had no power to make decisions in the company. This was evident amongst all other business heads and senior managers who equally had no real power. I was also educated outside of Africa and when I returned home to work it was difficult to find a role that matched my level of competency, because most of the people who had the ability to employ felt that if they did employ me over a graduate from a Zambian University it would look as if they were not supporting their own local universities. So, I ended up taking a job with a multinational firm that was operating in Zambia, and whose interviewing and selection panel were foreigners. In this case, the CEO derived his power from the fact that he was an old school White manager who had built a reputation of being competent in the industry in Zimbabwe and because of his connections to other high-powered individuals in the industry. The board and country managers/heads within the company all had the impression that the local company's success was because of the CEO and there was never any recognition of all the other staff (especially the Zambians) that contributed to the success. There was therefore also a fear of opposing any decisions he made because it could impact on one's job security and ability to find a job elsewhere within the same industry. Generally in the company, employees, including myself, became disengaged from work, stopped *putting in extra hours and generally just did as much as was required for us to do in our roles. The general feeling was "why work hard when you had no influence over the decisions made in the company and where the boss will get all the recognition for the company's successes?". Zambia is losing a lot of talent to foreign markets, particularly those educated abroad. Basically more and more talented Zambians will opt out of taking employment or will not perform to the best of their capabilities with companies that have foreign/White heads (which is typical for multination subsidiaries in Zambia). This could lead to failures of those companies, which in turn could lead to the reputation of foreign investment in Zambia declining – potentially reducing the attractiveness of international investment into Zambia. (Maiwase Chilongo, Insurance and Reinsurance Industry)*

In my culture, like in many African cultures, the first born male in the family assumes the responsibilities of the head of family, in the event of death of the head or his prolonged absence from the family. The first born would normally make such decisions concerning the family that the head of the family would have made if he was around. However, this cultural responsibility (empowered) is being overlooked when there are younger male siblings who are more economically empowered than the first born. If there are problems in the family requiring financial intervention, the younger male siblings are consulted as they are likely to help financially and therefore, they end up making decisions that would have been made by the first born. In the long run, family members start looking to these younger male siblings for decision-making. The economic status has therefore disempowered (powerlessness) the first born of his cultural responsibilities. What I have done in instances where I have found myself being asked to make decisions which would, ordinarily, have been made by the first born male of the family, I have referred such requests to him asking him to make the call. I would also provide advice when asked. I am of the view that we are at a crossroads. We are placing more value on the economic status of younger male siblings than the cultural heritage. The economic status of an individual should not have a bearing on the cultural values and norms of any given society. We will lose our cultural order and heritage if this empowered powerlessness is not addressed. This will contribute to a cultural identity crisis. (John Chundu, Financial Services Industry)

Although diversity management is often presented through the lens of a democratising agenda, many theorists and practitioners sidestep the fundamental issues/questions relating to power, conflict/anger (internal and external) and identity/biculturalism and instead focuses mainly on issues related to policy and structure. Without attending to these foundational values of sustainable democracies, diversity management risks being yet another tool of neoliberal rationality which seeks to extend its economic, market-oriented agenda. We see from the discussion above that it is important to understand the multi-layered complexity of diversity and inclusion (intersectionality). The final vignette highlights this very nicely:

I am a South African [female], born in rural KwaNongoma and I speak Zulu fluently. My maiden surname is Soko, my grandfather is originally from Malawi but my grandmother is South African. My surname posed a dilemma because I spoke Zulu but I had a surname that locals did not recognise to be Zulu, yet all I knew was Zulu. Locals would ask me what my totem or clan names were, and I had no clue. And since they did not recognise the surname and I did not know any clan names, they would then declare me non-Zulu and a foreigner. So I did not really belong among them, and I had an identity crisis. I grew up not even being called by my first name but my surname, as if to distinguish me from the rest, to show I did not belong with them. This was pretty much *what it was for me, my whole schooling period. One day at school assembly, the school principal was just talking about different origins and asked people to say where their origins were. And people enthusiastically told their origins and I was just there standing innocently. And then some kids prompted me to say where my origins were. The moment I said Malawi, the entire school laughed, including the teachers. Probably only myself and the principal did not find anything amusing there. I literally felt naked. There I was, 11 years old, being made fun of and I didn't understand why exactly. For a while I hated my grandfather for having found his way to this country, for if he had remained in Malawi, I wouldn't be here.*

Luckily, I was a good looking child, and brainy too. So what I did not have, I made up for it in school performance. Somehow they also could not resist my looks. I started to ask about what the purpose of life is and what it is that really matters in life. I read a lot of the Bible and I became very wise. I had insights that blew others away, including my teachers. As I gained understanding, I realised that it actually does not matter which clan one belongs to regarding one's prospects in life. At a young age I did not care about material things and fashion. I knew what mattered to me was that I could see my parents more frequently than they could send me money. So even though I was broke most of the time, I had the joy of seeing my parents on weekends. Even though they carried nothing sometimes, I knew they cared. Even now I do not care about the latest thing on the market. I am a very content individual, content but still ambitious….

Besides the fact that I am a Christian, I actually have no traditional rituals to observe. And people would say I will not succeed because I have no ancestors, but that never bothered me, I knew I had power within me, I had not given it to some ancestors. So even now, I despise tradition, specifically ancestral worship, to appease the dead because it keeps people blind and yet they think they see. I also have an immediate prejudice against people I see wearing animal skins on their wrists. Because I know it is the holding to these traditions of ancestral worship that makes them despise people without surnames that ancestors use as identification. I knew I would never marry a person who holds on to that type of belief and I did not. We are at a crisis: it is the same beliefs that lead to xenophobic attacks actually. Where you view your fellow African as not belonging with you. Many things hold people back, and that includes traditional beliefs where you think a dead ancestor will give you good fortune. People who believe in ancestors sometimes wait for the ancestor to do something about the situation they are in, and they chain themselves to tradition and then later blame foreigners for their self-inflicted "disempowered" position, as if someone took something from them, when in fact they gave their power to dead people! For me the issue was addressed. But if it was not, I think I would have grown up with a victim mentality. I would not use my power because I'd think the circumstances are beyond me, in this case, there is nothing I can do about being born to a Malawian grandfather who lived in South Africa. I probably would have found a false tradition somewhere and have my mind bound by it. If I had a misfortune I would go to a sangoma [traditional healer] who'd tell me to spend my last cent buying goats to appease dead people. I would be hopeless if I remained in there. I would also be angry at the world too. By the way I am grateful my grandfather came here. See what opportunities his coming here opened for me! (Bathabile Mpofu, Technology Industry)

If we do not address 'empowered powerlessness' in South Africa and on the African continent, we may see greater social disharmony, higher levels of workplace and domestic rage, more people taking to the street to voice their collective concerns and, potentially, and ultimately a collapse of economic and social systems in the country and/or the continent.

DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT IN GREECE: ECONOMIC CRISIS AND GENDER INEQUALITY IN GREECE

In Europe, we are currently experiencing the greatest structural crisis of developed capitalism since 1929. The people of the European region's countries are living this in a particularly dramatic way. This crisis is still ongoing, as its structural causes have yet to be resolved. A major pole of the world economy, the European Union (EU), comprises the main bastion of monetarist and neoliberal orthodoxy. After two years of severe recession 2008-2009 and a brief recovery period, policies of austerity and the dismantling of the social state, currently implemented in most Member States, have plunged the European Union into a new recession as of the end of 2011. The return of the recession has resulted in rising unemployment, a worsening of the debt crisis and havoc in the Eurozone, which is now in danger of dissolution.

In this context, the validity of this prescription for fiscal consolidation is being challenged, not only by the affected individuals and social movements, but also by a growing number of intellectuals and political forces in Europe and around the world. Nowhere is the failure of this prescription and the need for a political alternative more evident than in Greece. This need for a progressive alternative is also expressed in a negative way by the menacing electoral rise of the Nazi extreme right. However, an alternative political plan of exit from the crisis is not necessarily inspired by the vision of a gender-equal society and liberation of women from all forms of male oppression in the private and public sphere, nor does it by its own nature propose recommendations for immediate or long-term political, ideological, economic and social transformation to that end (European Women's Lobby, 2012). Accordingly, we are going to focus on three issues: a) How is the gender perspective useful to us in analyzing the crisis? b) How does the case of Greece help us to understand policy dilemmas regarding the problems facing women in other EU countries? c) What are the challenges of our time for diversity advocates, in general, and the progressive diversity advocates of Europe, in particular? We will attempt to address these questions below.

Since May 2010, Greece has enforced the most stringent economic and fiscal adjustment program in the EU and one of the most severe ever imposed by the International Monetary Fund in its history. This "shock therapy" has led to a cumulative decline in GDP of 17 per cent within two and a half years (Dobbs and Woetzel, 2015). Unemployment has reached 24.5 per cent (official figures); nominal wages in the private sector have already fallen by around 20 per cent, while in the public sector by about 35 per cent (Bank of Greece, 2014); an increasing number of people are covered neither by collective labor agreements and health care services, nor by pension and health insurance policies. The precarious situation regarding immigrants has worsened dramatically – and not only in economic terms – while poverty increases rapidly. Unemployment among women was 12 per cent before the crisis. Today, it has reached 25.4 per cent (Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2015). The unemployment rate for men increased from 5 per cent to 22 per cent. Unemployment among young women 15-24 years of age stands at 61 per cent, as opposed to 46.5 per cent for young men: a true social disaster, with Greek young people coming to the realization that there is no future for this country. Unemployment among women is not motivated solely by layoffs (OAED, 2015). A large number of 30, 40 and 50 year-old women not previously seeking employment entered the job market to supplement dwindling family incomes, most of them joining the ranks of the unemployed.

Regarding the disastrous effects on employment, as the crisis began in construction and industrial sectors, with the first victim being male employment, the huge decline in income caused by rising unemployment, brutal austerity policies, cuts and taxation, led to a shrinking of the service sector, which included 79 per cent of the female workforce prior to the onset of the crisis (Aliprantou-Maratou, 2008). This shrinkage put female employment into the eye of the storm. In the public sector, contractor layoffs affected women far more than they affected men, drastically limiting recruitment and eliminating job opportunities for thousands of young educated women, whereas changes in the pension system compelled many middle-aged women to retire prematurely. Female employment has fallen by 14per cent since the beginning of the crisis, while the percentage of employed working-age women has dropped from 49 per cent to 42 per cent. Although the corresponding decrease for men was even larger, it is particularly significant to note that the current crisis in Greece and the disastrous policies enforced since 2010 in the name of an exit from the crisis, have not only reversed the trend of continuous quantitative and qualitative improvement of women's participation in the workforce, which began in the early 1980s, but have led to rapid retrogression (European Women's Lobby, 2012).

Regarding wage and pension reductions, men are more affected in high hierarchical levels, whereas women are harder hit by reductions in the lowest hierarchical levels and by regulatory changes affecting the minimum wage: reduction of the minimum wage and base salary in collective agreements, suspension of collective agreement extensions to non-unionized employees, etc. (OAED, 2015). Different consequences per gender are also seen in institutional changes and cuts in insurance, health care and social welfare sectors. The main objective of the latest pension system reform was to address its own economic collapse by drastically cutting pensioners' rights. These cuts affect both sexes, but the increase in effective retirement age is much greater for women, whereas the new system for calculating pension amounts relative to wages based on total number of working years is more punishing because women have a much shorter average of years employed and insured than men (higher risk, longer unemployment, leaves from work due to child rearing, greater participation in uninsured work, etc.). Amendments to the list of medications and diagnostic examinations, as well as the insured person's contributions, have had significant implications for women. A pregnant woman's contribution for prenatal examination for example, increased from 0per cent to 25 per cent, whereas breast ultrasound and microbiological vaginal fluid examinations increased from 0per cent to 100per cent universally.

On the other hand, the successive series of austerity measures undermines the availability, accessibility and quality of social services for a number of reasons: reduced funding, drastic and global cutbacks in the number of contract staff, assistants and hourly-paid professors in schools, non-replacement of regular employees upon retirement, public school and hospital mergers, payment delays for medical and sanitary equipment suppliers in hospitals, cutback of doctors on call, etc. (Eurofound, 2014). Public childcare services are threatened by drastic financial resource cuts for municipalities, during a time when middle-income families can no longer afford to buy private care services and seek placement in a municipal nursery or kindergarten.

A shift in popular demand from private to public services can also be seen in education and health care sectors. The reduction in middle-class income has negative repercussions as well as on the employment of migrant women as cleaners and caretakers of children and the elderly, whereas it is certain that these services are replaced by unpaid housework and that women bear the major brunt of this. Women are typically expected to make do with the reduced family income, absorbing the friction, tensions and domestic violence arising from long-term male unemployment and the crisis it brings to male identity. The crisis therefore reinforces the importance of universal access to public healthcare, education and social welfare as a crucial safety net for the poorest and most impoverished social strata against the adverse effects of a drastic reduction in income. It is worth remembering that equality in education and paid work, employment in the public sector and social welfare, historically were and continue to be common prerequisites of economic independence in all countries, as well as women's freedom from male dominance, oppressive social roles and standards. These victories were not the simple product of general social progress and efforts, but the result of lengthy, unrelenting struggles on the part of the women's movement(s) and women themselves to change attitudes and challenge authoritarian practices and oppressive institutions. Today's destructive course regarding the subject of employment and the ongoing dismantling of labor rights in the public sector and welfare state in Greece not only causes general social regression, it undermines the foundations on which the advancement of women regarding economic independence and self-determination was built in recent years.

In Greece, as well as in other EU countries, the economic crisis has so far affected mostly male employment, but women are still in a far worse position in the labor market than men (Atkinson and Morelli, 2014). Also, as everywhere, the crisis reversed the trend of continuous improvement of women's status in the labor market observed in previous decades. Women typically suffer more than men from social state cuts and the shrinking of employment in the public sector, while domestic violence against them is growing – a phenomenon known from previous crises (Walby, 2009). The Greek program of economic and fiscal consolidation may be seen as an exemplary punishment of a nation accused of being responsible for the extravagance, greed and corruption of its political and economic elite. At the same time, the hegemonic powers of Europe, European institutions and EU officials, assert that the Greek case is unique, obscuring the systemic nature of the crisis and the general offensive of capital against labor rights and the welfare state in all EU countries, although the scale of the attack varies depending on the particular situation in each country. Regardless of the origin of the crisis, the prescription in the EU is the same for all countries: shrinking the public sector and welfare state in order to achieve primary fiscal surpluses and reduce public debt. The extension of programs and memoranda from Greece to Ireland and Portugal and the same policy without memoranda in Spain and Italy, carry enormous social consequences, as well as the apparent failure of this "shock therapy" in Greece which brings common policy dilemmas to EU institutions, governments and peoples of the Eurozone and the EU: (1) Should fiscal consolidation be achieved through recession or growth? (2) By increasing taxation of high incomes and property, or by reducing government spending and/or increasing low and middle-class income tax? (3) Should the EU further promote social and fiscal competition between Member States in the name of restoring competitiveness and fixing external imbalances? Or should it promote the harmonization of taxation on capital and impose minimum limits on social welfare and restart the effort towards economic and social cohesion by channeling EU funds for large-scale investments in economically weaker countries?

CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be summarised that two important points surface when looking at the different country examples provided in this chapter. Firstly, 'international' is a fallacy in international diversity management, as can be seen from our examples (Tatli et al. 2012). Diversity management happens locally and needs to address different challenges in different circumstances and contexts. It is a false assumption that diversity can be managed internationally without acknowledging the importance of each specific country context, and without tailoring diversity management measures and policies in a way that they address local challenges and requirements (Ozbilgin et al., 2013). However, coming to the second point we can also find similarities between the three cases, particularly when looking at the challenges resulting from the global economic crisis, and particularly the way governments across the world respond to the crisis. A response which endangers past diversity gains and which translates often in a backlash for diversity, which takes different forms in different contexts.

Looking at the three examples of the US, South Africa and Greece, this chapter provides an overview of how diversity is managed in different countries and what some of the key challenges of diversity and inclusive management are in these countries. However, this updated version offers a greater focus on diversity management and inclusion in the times of the global economic crisis. Both the cases of South Africa and the US have been updated accordingly. Firstly, in the case of the US, the new update takes into account a slightly better economic outlook which more or less impacts the discussion of organizational profit and growth in the future US. Rather than focusing on the economic situation, the new update takes into account the renewed racial discourse and the dealing of women and minorities in relation to 'White Maleism' – if such a phenomenon exists. Thus, diversity management and inclusion is in a situation of constant flux in the US. Therefore, the new version takes into account new aggregated data from the Census Bureau from 2012, as well as other Federal agencies and private organizations, following a new trend to openly share diversity data with the public. Beyond the inclusion of data, the discussion also reflects a peak in the hype around diversity management, which is for example reflected in a backlash in leadership diversity during recent years, and a more nuanced approach to the linkages between diversity management and performance. It also brings about new research designs and suggestions for better understanding of workforce performance and organizational inclusion, as a logical outflow of diversity management. Finally, the new version argues that diversity management is clearly a leadership and social power function and that new research methods, including narrative analysis and social network analysis may proffer new venues for understanding the phenomenon.

In the second country case, South Africa, the focus of the 2013 chapter was mainly on Black executives' experiences (in very senior positions in South Africa), however, this version includes the perspectives of regular employees, White, Black and so-called Coloured (mixed race); in other words, other forms of 'empowered powerlessness'. Hence, the new version provides narrative extracts from the above groups, which adds richness to the discussion. In order to demonstrate that empowered powerlessness is also experienced by others on the continent, a couple of African narratives from outside of South Africa, were added. As a result, this new version provides a much broader perspective on diversity management and inclusion, and the chapter section attempts to make the case for intersectionality and cautions readers/practitioners to focus on issues relating to power, conflict and identity/biculturalism. We argue that without attending to these foundational values of sustainable democracies, diversity management risks being yet another tool of neoliberal rationality which seeks to extend its economic, market-oriented agenda.

Lastly, the Greek case is an extreme example of how the global economic crisis and the therewith connected austerity measures have created a backlash in diversity gains in Greece, particularly for women. Women are, for example, worse off by public sector contractor layoffs than men, and female employment has fallen by 14per cent since the beginning of the crisis, while the per centage of employed working-age women has dropped from 49per cent to 42per cent. Recruitment for women has been drastically limited and job opportunities have been eliminated for thousands of young, educated women, whereas changes in the pension system compelled many middle-aged women to retire prematurely. Although the corresponding decrease for men was even larger, it is particularly significant to note that the current crisis in Greece, and the disastrous policies enforced since 2010 in the name of an exit from the crisis, have not only reversed the trend of continuous quantitative and qualitative improvement of women's participation in the workforce, which began in the early 1980s, but have led to rapid retrogression (European Women's Lobby, 2012).

Developments such as the ones described above, impose new challenges to diversity advocates internationally. Diversity advocates have to develop new approaches and strategies in order to resist the current threat to the diversity agenda internationally. Referring to her country's debt crisis, Argentina's feminist economist Valeria Eskivel wrote that under conditions of structural crisis, we must first create the necessary "political space" and "policy space" for any alternatives to become feasible. She meant that only the social and political intervention of the populace could broaden set policy limits and produce radical solutions. The question remains whether international diversity advocates today are willing to contribute, together with other progressive social movements and political forces, to the creation of these spaces and search for alternative solutions.

Progressive diversity advocates however are able to show that during a period of structural crisis of capitalism, there cannot be a future for equality in the absence of an alternative exit plan from it. They are also able to show that this alternative should include a complete reorganization, not only of production, but also of social reproduction, as well as the reform of relations between the sexes, gender roles and family values, the nature of work itself, different minority/majority groups, the economy, society and politics, making an alternative solution mutually beneficial. Already being too late to condemn the disasters caused by neoliberal prescriptions for an exit from the crisis, in countries such as Greece, many diversity advocates internationally agree on the need to incorporate alternative crisis exit programs based on the proposal to create a "care economy" through public investment in social infrastructures. A concept based on the principle of an "economy of need" to address the growing need for care of the elderly in societies with rapid population ageing and declining economic prosperity. Other diversity advocates are working on ways to promote a "green economy" and social enterprises that, for example, favors men and women equally. Like other movements, the diversity movement faces great challenges in our times of crisis. The greatest challenge is to show that equality, equal opportunities, dignity and hope are not luxuries for only times of economic growth, but an inalienable goal in today's struggle for the sake of the principles that we wish to govern the society we aspire to build. Lastly, the business case for diversity alone will not be sufficient to achieve such change.

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