

Full Length Research Paper

Diversity management in South Africa: Inclusion, identity, intention, power and expectations

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Today's modern organisations have no choice but to face choices regarding how to implement diversity initiatives and treat their stakeholders, given the globalized nature of capital markets. Unfortunately, their foci appear to be narrowly deployed at the 'managing diversity' level, or even the 'acknowledging diversity' level, but not getting to the necessary 'inclusion' level. This paper reports on an in-depth study which focused beyond multiculturalism to include psychological issues of diversity relating to identity, intention, expectations, power and inclusion. The study sought to investigate this premise through insights gained from the analysis of personal stories relating to individual experiences of diversity, and the outcomes provide new and deeper insights for the design, implementation and success of diversity initiatives.

Key words: Identity, intention, expectations, inclusion, psychological dimensions, power, South Africa.

INTRODUCTION

Organizational focus

Diversity and diversity management have emerged on to the global business agenda over the last 20 years, although 'too much of the focus has been on how to efficiently box people into certain categories, typically geographic cultural ones, and then seeking to manage them through those lenses as opposed to fully embracing the uncertainty of diversity' (April, 2005, 52 translated). Organisations' approaches have generally taken the form of prescribed policies, processes or rules (Kramar, 1998; Friday and Friday, 2003). Those that have considered themselves successful have created a culture of inclusion as opposed to those that lead to a superficial commitment to diversity that subsequently did not achieve their

stated objectives (Burnett, 2003), a good illustration of which can be found in Gilbert and Ivancevich's (2000) analysis of two organisations which were referred to as multi-cultural and plural, respectively as they adopted these contrasting strategies. Business interest in diversity may have been driven by a proven bottom-line improvement (Shalo, 2005), but this has resulted in a capitalistically-skewed objective for diversity, that is, providing additional leverage through which management can further extract better performance from its workforce, rather than moral or ethical issues alone. Coupled with legislative initiatives such as the Affirmative Action legislation in the USA, or the Employment Equity Act in South Africa, has led to a backlash against diversity initiatives from the diverse groups that they are setting out to appease (Kidder et al., 2004). Deavenport (2003) compares the idle capacity of a process plant to the untapped and, therefore, idle capacity inherent in America's minorities. The argument is that the plants are not left idle when they could be producing useful products, yet America is leaving its minorities on idle. The result, he believes, is that America's competitiveness is decreasing.

This may be a useful analogy for making a business

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Abbreviations: AIM, Associate in management; HIV, human immunodeficiency virus; AIDS, acquired immunodeficiency syndrome; HR, human resources.

case for diversity, however the choice of phrases themselves dehumanise America's minorities such that the statement has the potential to stress, rather than build relationships with, these minority communities. Ioma's (2003) management report supports Deavenport's argument but in a more acceptable manner, quoting an argument in a brief filed with the US Supreme Court by 65 of the countries businesses claiming 'a diverse workforce is important to continued success in the global marketplace'. The companies go on to argue that diversity within the corporate environment improves 'recruiting, employee retention, relationships among employees and outside partners, product development, marketing, global expansion, and problem solving, as well as maximising utilisation of employees' (Ioma, 2003). Shalo (2005) argues that diverse companies have better financial returns, and shareholders should therefore, be questioning the practices of non-diverse companies on the basis of their shareholder returns being diminished. Knouse and Stewart (2003) argue that managers who want the hard data on the effectiveness of diversity down play the soft measures, that is, these managers are more interested in increases in market share, quality improvement, decreases in errors, lower costs and better financial performance, as opposed to perceptions of improved personal satisfaction and organisational climate. They propose a series of hard measures which are measurable by the balanced scorecard, and have been successfully attained by a number of companies including Ford, Xerox and DuPont.

Diversity to Inclusion

Aside from the self-serving business case, diversity has been the focus of a great deal of attention in management literature because of the radical changes in the workplace and the global working arena. Globalization and immigration, along with the changing nature of society, has also resulted in organisations becoming continually more diverse (Kundu, 2003; Stone-Romero et al., 2003). Given this globalized society and marketplace, diversity management, if managed correctly, can confer a number of benefits to an organisation, including greater creativity, innovation, and improved decision-making, or a number of detriments if managed poorly, such as inefficient communication, high interpersonal conflict and increased turnover (Cox, 1991; Wanguri, 1996; Bennett-Alexander, 2000; Friday and Friday, 2003). These in turn will ultimately reflect on the bottom-line. In a corporate context, Wentling and Palma-Rivas (Kundu, 2003) defined diversity as 'the co-existence of employees from various socio-cultural backgrounds within the company.' This is an outward-focusing definition, relating to what we see as individual or recognise in others. From an inwardly-focusing perspective, Williams and Reilly (Friday and Friday, 2003) refer to diversity as 'any attribute that

happens to be salient to an individual that makes him/her perceive that he/she is different from another individual.' Friday and Friday (2003) they view diversity as a continuum framework which is delineated by three potential states of address: acknowledgement, valued and managed.

They define acknowledging diversity as recognising the existence of diversity or the individual differences people bring with them to a particular setting. Veeren (2004) defines valuing diversity as 'creating an environment where differences can be openly discussed', such that different from does not mean less than (Bennet-Alexander, 2000). This may appear as a passive phenomenon, leading to no visible actions or reactions on the part of the individuals valuing the diversity or difference (Friday and Friday, 2003). Finishing the continuum, managing diversity can be viewed as 'enabling the diverse workforce to perform its full potential in an equitable work environment where no one group has an advantage or disadvantage' (Torres and Bruxelles, cited in Kundu, 2003). It is easy for individuals to get lost within group identities in diversity management initiatives. Each employee is an individual with a unique identity, and prefers not to be stereotyped along with others in their group (Blank and Slipp, 1994). Nevertheless, individuals do still maintain a group identity whose collective behaviour may or may not influence their individual behaviour. This group identity emerges when the individual classifies themselves, as well as others, into categories such as race, gender, age, and so forth (Tsui et al., 1992), but should not be viewed as a contradiction, as the group identity is only one part of the complete individual (Blank and Slipp, 1994). Therefore, the individual is unique; he or she still has shared values and behaviours with others in their group, but abhor stereotyping on an individual basis because of the negative or mistaken interpretation of the group tendency. Burnett (2003) believes that focusing on diversity is a misdirection, and that the real issue is (should be) centred on inclusion.

While he can see diversity as a process that will contribute to the equal representation of minorities within organisations, he does not see how that will fail to prevent those individuals from being excluded. Hence the issue of inclusion is one of being involved in the process of creating societies and organisations in which all people, irrespective of their diversity, can prosper and progress. His view of inclusion is similar to that of 'valuing diversity' in Friday and Friday's (2003) continuum. Burnett (2003) defines inclusion as a process where we 'recognise difference and the value that all people can add to our business' and 'we strive to create an environment where everyone can fully utilise their gifts', which is in line with April's (2006) definition that 'inclusion is about creating empowering environments of difference, where people can be themselves, comfortably contributing their full selves and all the ways in which they differ from others, and respecting others' without

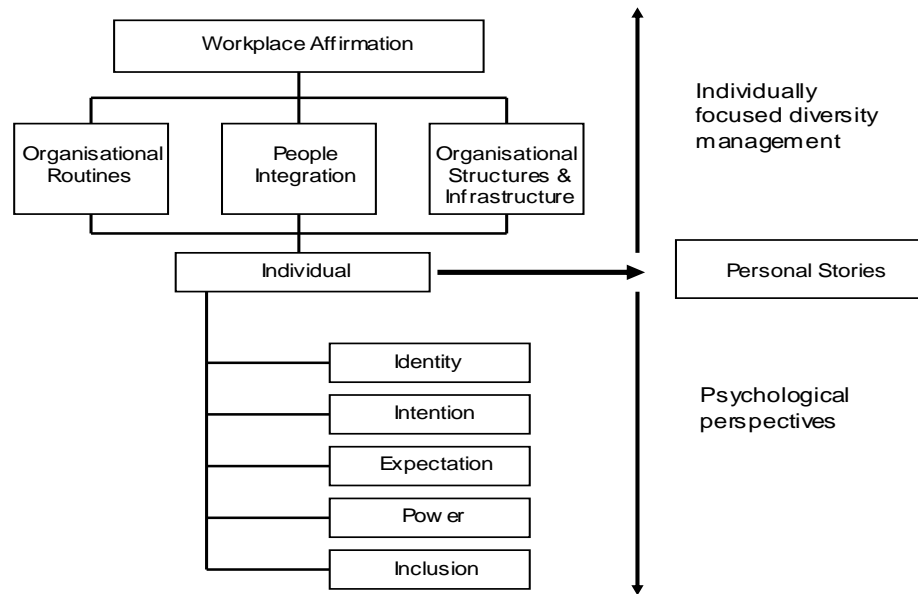


Figure 1. Category issues identified through the research.

making it difficult for others' to be their full selves'. Organisations investing in diversity management initiatives are no doubt seeking to achieve the inclusion factor, reaching at least the 'valuing', if not the 'managing', diversity elements on Friday and Friday's (2003) continuum. However, the evidence presented in this paper suggests that the case may be otherwise, and organisations are merely 'acknowledging' diversity. Moreover, in achieving this, they are bringing differences to the attention of others that they may otherwise not have realised, and hence sensitising people to how they differ, which in turn can have a negative effect of encouraging them to hide their difference as they possibly do not want it highlighted in such a manner.

METHODOLOGY

The reason for carrying out this research was to ascertain the extent to which current diversity management initiatives seek to make diversity manageable, and hence does not respect people as individuals, but seeks to categorise them to infer stereotypical backgrounds and behaviours. These implementations therefore undervalue individuals resulting in them feeling unaffirmed and resentful. Hence, the methodology in this study was more rigorous and in-depth in areas extending beyond multiculturalism (which is the traditional focus of diversity management) to include psychological issues relating to identity, intention, expectations and inclusion. The research sample was drawn from the Leadership Course of the Associate in Management (AIM) program at the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business (junior management programme). The junior managers were part-time students in employment. Three methods of data collection were employed: storytelling, interviews and written accounts. The experiences related are set within the South African context, which is rich with data as post-Apartheid organisations endeavoured to implement many affirmative action, equal opportunity and diversity initiatives. Storytelling took the form of students recording

incidences relating to diversity and the derived story morals, given the perspectives from which they told their stories. These stories detailed their own, lived experiences. A total of 53 stories were recorded and analysed. The students also each interviewed someone who was 'different' from themselves (that is, gender, nationality, age, values, religion, race, sexual orientation, socio-economic, tenure, age, workplace function, and education) about their workplace experience, and what it meant to be perceived differently.

This inevitably included some life experience as well. A total of 57 interviews were recorded. Sixty students then submitted accounts briefly describing an encounter that they had experienced that involved behaviour, or conversations, in which diversity was not valued (written narrative). Students were required to present the background, the incident itself, and their reaction (or non-reaction) to the incident. The data was analysed using content analysis to classify the textual information by reducing it to more pertinent and convenient bits of data with the help of Atlas ti, qualitative data analysis software. The technique aimed to make sense of, and draw valid inferences from the written word (Weber, 1990). The content was reduced into content categories according to Weber's eight steps for coding, which were agreed by members of the research team, and implemented to eliminate inconsistencies by a single coder. Word frequency lists were excluded from the methodology as the same word could be used in a variety of contexts, having more than one meaning, and it also failed to reveal insight into associations among words. Sentences were chosen as the recording unit, as it aided in contextual placing and eliminated the problem of multiple meanings. Category counts were then used to assess the intensity of concern for the various categories and in developing the relationship maps between the categories. The categories that were established are outlined in the Figure 1. This paper focuses primarily on 'inclusion', as this featured most prominently in the results, but also addresses identity, intention, power and expectations, before concluding by drawing out the relevance of the findings for the design and delivery of diversity initiatives in organisations. Content analysis categorisation started with 41 codes and expanded to 64 in total, including the constructs reported here. Many of the codes characterised the various ways in which we differ from each other, and experiences of efforts to

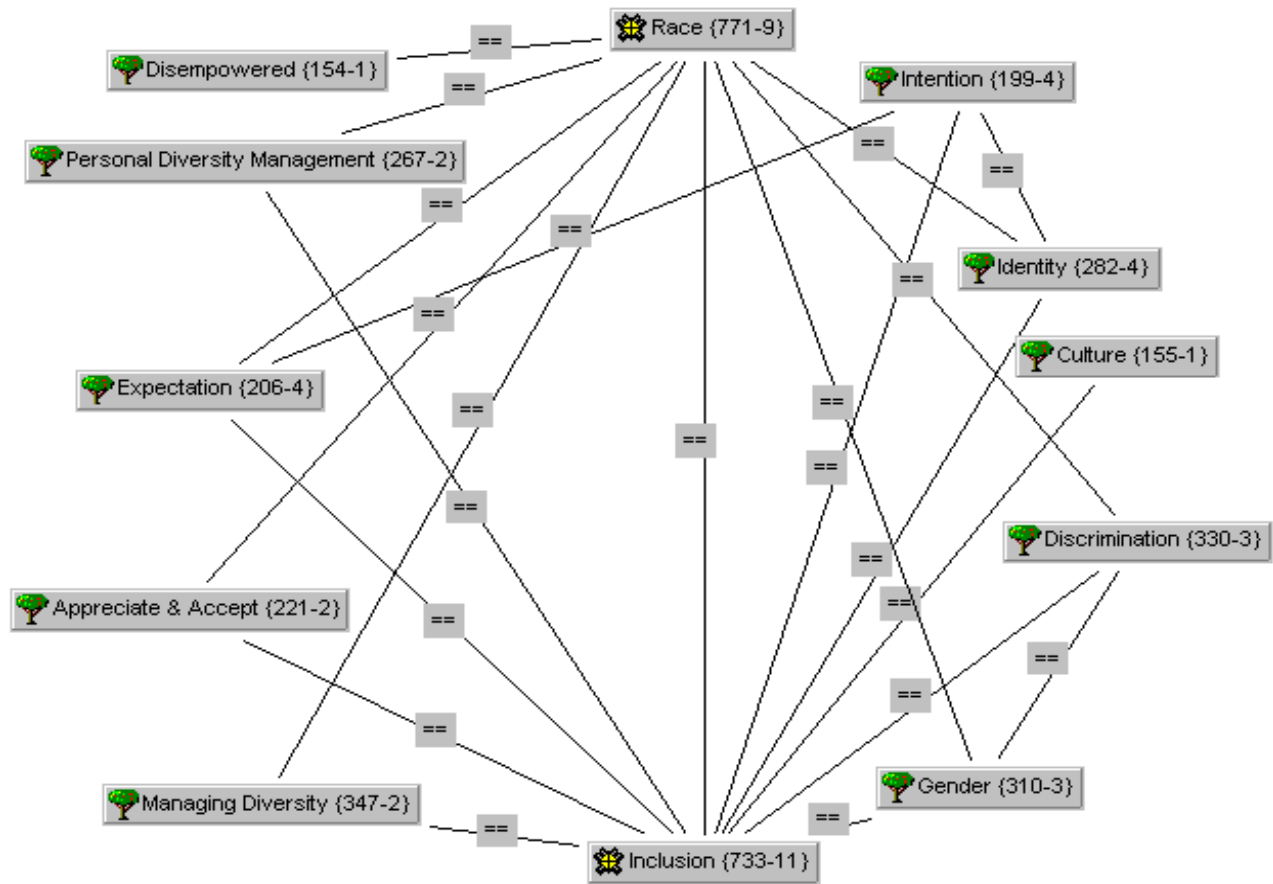


Figure 2. Category/core relationship map.

address diversity, such as affirmative action.

RESULTS

The full list of category/code counts and rankings for all codes, as well as the code families, showed racial issues as the greatest area of diversity concern with 771 counts overall, with gender causing concern to 331 of the sample, and culture for 155 people. These are perhaps the most visible differences within the categories of how we differ. Religion was an issue for 65 people, age for 59, and discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation affected 52 of the sample. Being a single mother was a cause of discrimination for 35 of the sample, and Human immunodeficiency virus, acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS) and disability were the basis of discrimination for 10 and 9 of the sample, respectively. The areas of least concern with regard to how we differ were value systems, heritage, personality characteristics and talents. With regard to the constructs being investigated, 733 of the sample referred to issues of inclusion, 282 to issues of identity, 206 referred to expectations and 199 talked about intentions. Interestingly, 347 cited

diversity management initiatives themselves as being the cause of their being treated differently, suggesting some impact of these initiatives, although the data counts do not indicate whether the experiences were considered positive, negative or neutral.

In-depth content analysis was used to establish the nature of relationships between the code categories, following statistical analysis which paired codings to express the co-occurrences for pairs as a percentage of the total occurrences. The nature of these relationships is complex as over 4096 relationships were categorised, and a map of the dimensions is presented in Figure 2. The relationships of greatest intensity are listed in Table 1, outlining the top 20 relationships. Note the prominence of both race and inclusion, as one or other of them occur in all but two of the top 20, and their pairing together is the top ranking. Given the fact that the sample was drawn from South Africa, it is not surprising that race is so prominent. Three hundred years of Apartheid, followed by a changeover to democracy in 1994, has made the population exceptionally racially aware, and sensitive to issues relating to it because it still colours most of their daily interactions. However, this heightened awareness does not detract from how this experience of difference

Table 1. Top 20 relationships.

Top 20 relationships		Percent
1	Inclusion – race	1.807
2	Discrimination – race	1.214
3	Gender – race	1.178
4	Managing diversity – inclusion	1.166
5	Inclusion – intention	0.939
6	Managing diversity – race	0.903
7	Inclusion - personal diversity management	0.897
8	Identity – race	0.808
9	Identity – inclusion	0.784
10	Personal diversity management - race	0.766
11	Appreciate and accept – inclusion	0.760
12	Expectation – inclusion	0.754
13	Discrimination – inclusion	0.634
14	Expectation – race	0.562
15	Intention – expectation	0.491
16	Gender – inclusion	0.485
17	Disempowered – race	0.473
18	Culture – inclusion	0.473
19	Appreciate and accept – race	0.467
20	Gender – discrimination	0.467

manifests itself, nor does it indicate that racial awareness would be less significant elsewhere in the world. The nature of the relationships was established through in-depth content analysis, and its interpretations are discussed in the remainder of this paper.

Inclusion

The high count for inclusion suggests that this is of greatest concern amongst individuals, and should therefore be the most important part of a diversity management program. This confirms Burnett's (2003) and April's (2006) assertions that inclusion is the real issue in a diverse workforce, and that any program to manage such a workforce should involve the process of creating societies and organisations in which all people, irrespective of their differences can prosper and progress. The key emergent factors from our research samples' stories, with respect to building inclusive communities, were consideration and mutual respect, regardless of individual diversity differentiators, that is, race, gender and religion. The desire was to be treated as equals at all times with the expression that discrimination was akin to a criminal offence, capable of destroying both individuals as well as communities. The identified challenge is to develop an awareness of social status and to break existing alliances with that status, so that respect can be seen as legitimate rather than patronising. The use of abusive and

derogatory language, as well as dominant body language, both in work environments and public places, were felt to emanate from unconscious, but often conscious, insensitive and perceived dominant stances this was particularly prevalent among our female sample who work in male dominated environments, who did not want to have to conform to the dominant culture but rather be respected as different within it, that is, they do not want to have to become 'one of the lads' in order to fit in, and do not want to be treated mainly through gendered lenses when choosing not to fit in.

Trust also emerged as a building block for inclusive communities. Trust and sharing of information between individuals in working environments were reported to reduce transaction costs, create bonds between individuals, increase confidence and security in the relationship, raise commitment to the group or work team, decrease psychological distance between individuals, reduce dysfunctional conflict, increase acceptance of different individual lifestyles and perspectives, improve possibilities for future open information exchange, foster learning and improve productivity, although professional trust was recognised as separate from trust with regard to private lives and personal issues. One white gay male, for example, would not attend business or social functions organised within the working environment because he did not feel comfortable enough to take his partner with him, although he was accepted in the workplace on a daily basis in his job role, and openly addressed

diversity in his workplace:

"I would have asked him or her questions about diversity in the society and in everyday life. I would have asked some suggestions for better dealing with diversity and explore even more deeply the relationship between private and professional level and until which point it is possible to distinguish them. I believe that only through communication and openness a person may gain a major awareness about diversity, which at the end seem to be really a question of perspective".

Despite expressing these views at work, this person still chose not to include his gay partner in work social events. While there may be a need or desire to separate professional and private lives, the two do become intertwined and impact on each other. A white supervisor commented:

"Being the supervisor of two people of colour, I realised how important it is to get to know one's employees personally. It is no use just working with someone and taking them at face value. If you know something about their background you are more likely to understand why they react in a certain way. If you bother to get to know someone who works under you, and that person realises that you have an interest in how they are feeling, and why they are feeling a certain way, you immediately command respect from them and will have a better relationship, and therefore their performance at work will be better".

Communication and openness seem to be the key features to developing mutual respect and trust, including the ability to communicate about feelings of marginalisation. According to April (1999): 'Producing intentional change is a matter of deliberately creating, through communication and conversation, a new reality or set of social structures. If this is the case, then the change process actually occurs within, and is driven by, conversation and communication, rather than the reverse', and it is this that leads to a feeling of inclusiveness. However, in many Western-influenced African workplaces political correctness and fear of either being seen to be 'playing the race card' or, on the other hand, being branded 'a racist' means that many people are not raising or discussing issues of marginalisation with each other, and are not communicating about how they are actually feeling, the necessary reciprocal self-disclosure (Weber and Carter, 1998). Raising issues related to difference has become such a sensitised issue in the new South African democracy that people are almost scared to talk about diversity issues for fear of offending others. Hence, people often refrain altogether from racially- or sexually-motivated discussions or arguments so that opinion cannot be infringed, and people cannot be offended. Ultimately, this then leads to people feeling less included and more marginalised, which is detrimental both to the

individual, the organisation and the wider community and society, and real, substantial change does not appear to be made.

This situation is not exclusive to new African democracies, and more recently have taken on heightened importance in western democracies. According to a Muslim female in the sample, South Africa itself has reverted to a political correctness where there is no longer overt racist-, sexist- or sexual innuendos, but secondary-, more subtle processes, so that discrimination is not tangible but can still be felt. The possibility for success in such a situation can only come through embracing a culture of willingness to learn from each other across diversity barriers, working together in unity, with the sharing and exchanging of ideas and beliefs being an integral part of the process. Actively intervening and stopping derogatory jokes, for example, rather than merely staying silent, is the type of behaviour that she believes will build inclusive communities. Others, though, fear that speaking out in such situations brands them as too sensitive and unable to handle a joke. Diversity can act as means of inclusion in itself, in the workplace. A male reflected that the thing that made him uncomfortable at work was the fact that so many of his colleagues were similar to each other but different to him, creating a polarisation away from him. In contrast, a truly diverse team would not be able to polarise around a subgroup of the team. A female commented that she was more comfortable working around different types of people, asserting that it made her feel more in control and less inferior or fearful about facing problems when there was more, rather than less, difference within the group. This said, affirmative actions programs designed to promote such outcomes have the opposite effect with the individuals feeling alienated and excluded, feeling undeserving of their position, rather than recognised for their hard work and good performance.

A fourth view, expressed by a black male, is a call for societal interactions not to be so restrictive, but he called for the rest of us to always remember that everybody deserves to be teased with respect. Another black male, the first to reach a senior position in his organisation, echoed the need to engage each other across the diversity barrier:

"I basically talk anything or everything with my black or white colleagues. To me, we are all equal and I need to understand the white culture, and I can only understand if I share interests and ideas".

For him, constructive engagement is the means for building bridges of understanding, and thereby creating an inclusive community. Building on similarities, rather than focusing on differences, has also been seen to create inclusive communities. A Muslim female talked about how she referred to Muslim and African culture having a lot in common to overcome the ostracization she

was experiencing within her group. Another black male refers to how the fear of how different people think about each other prevents them from expressing their feelings towards each other. He identifies a fear that we may learn from each other, or that we may make each other change our views a fear that the other person may actually be genuine. Individuals need to be ready to accept and learn from each other. As one black male said: 'We tend to assume that we are different, but our actions prove to us otherwise.' It seems that how groups deal with diversity can be viewed as a series of tradeoffs in which potential process losses must be balanced with potential process gains (Hackman and Morris, 1975) and that groups have a tendency to focus on minimizing losses rather than to maximize the gains. Though many people have found positive ways of engaging at work that reduces conflict, some even superficial, they often are not aware of, and do not fully understand the irrational and subconscious forces that may prevent effective inclusion.

It has been suggested by Diamond (1991) that members of groups suffer anxieties of being rejected by the group, which they may seek to protect against by withdrawing into an illusive inner world. Within this inner world member differences are repressed completely in a homogenized group in which no differences are acknowledged, or differences are substantially minimized through various mechanisms such as institutional or autocratic controls (Diamond, 1991; Driver, 2003). It is only if the group learns to work through their anxieties and repressive tendencies that they can strive toward inclusion, in what has been called the intentional group (Gabriel, 1999). From the psychodynamic perspective it seems little surprising that, when given a choice, people prefer to work in less diverse groups (Baugher et al., 2000) and that groups, in general, seem to have the tendency to minimize their members' differences rather than make use of them (Iles, 1995). In particular, it appears as if groups are unaware of the psychological tradeoffs, and have trouble balancing the cognitive benefits with the affective costs of diversity (Milliken and Martins, 1996).

Identity

Examining the stories for links between inclusion and identity, it becomes immediately clear that identity is a key determinant of inclusion. Seventy six percent of our sample made the point that you can only be part of the in-crowd if you have the right identity. Individuals have no option but to create their own climate for acceptance and inclusion. As one female claimed: 'Standing up for your rights, if done in the correct manner, for the specific person or occasion, can reap the rewards of mutual respect from anyone'. As well as standing up for themselves when necessary, a willingness to engage others either individually, or in groups at other times, can

also be effective. A Muslim woman was particularly disheartened to find herself being tormented by two men-of-colour. Eventually she got angry and, whenever they referred to her as a 'Muslim terrorist', she reminded them of criminal acts committed by blacks and coloureds (mixed race). The torment came to an end, and now they are good friends. By not losing her sense of identity but rather experiencing her identity with individuals that made up a hostile group, an Indian woman achieved inclusion. This breaking down of a group into individuals is repeated in many of the stories, as sometimes group members use culture as an excuse for their behaviour and exclusionary practices. Alternatively, adjusting individual identity to fit with the group is another means of achieving inclusion, although arguably less satisfactory.

A black male, the first person-of-colour to work in his department, consciously socialised with his white colleagues. It was his belief that he had to learn to understand their culture and their language in order to understand them, because he had to work with them. One would hope that this belief was reciprocated. He now plays golf, and discusses rugby (traditional white sport in South Africa), fishing and hunting, subjects previously of no interest to him, or members of his family. However, he is now accepted in the group, so the inclusion objective has been achieved, perhaps at the chosen-expense of some his self-identity. For forty-three percent of our sample, they sought to identify with their colleagues and organisations and were committed to their organisation, while claiming to moderately change the system from within, once accepted. This tempered radicalism (Meyerson and Scully, 1995) emanated from the fundamental claim that they felt that their formative personal-, community- and political identities were at odds with the dominant culture of their work colleagues and organisations, and their authenticities were compromised. Threats to personal identity and beliefs can engender feelings of fraudulence, misalignment (Culbert and McDonough, 1980), and even passion and rage (Hooks, 1984). Bell (1990) found that black women professionals face significant pressure to conform to professional standards and the dominant cultures of the organisation, as well as live up to the expectations, values and identities based in the black community.

As a result, according to Meyerson and Scully (1995), they reshape the context into one where it is a bit easier to sustain their radical identities. Such situational identity (Demo, 1992) therefore is quite a strong but lonely stance, often predicated from a silent position in which the tempered radical cool-headedly play the game to get ahead, but does not want to get so caught up in the game that she violates her personal identity and beliefs (Meyerson and Scully, 1995). While a great deal of attention in Human resources (HR) practice has been devoted to organisational fit, change, vibrancy, innovation and entrepreneurship often comes from the margins of an organisation, by those who do not fit in well. The question

then left begging is: What is the organisational cost of individual employees seeking to 'merge' with the dominant culture, and of sophisticated organisational practices, such as performance and feedback reviews, that seek to regulate employees that threaten the status quo? Diversity management should therefore seek the difficult task of both achieving inclusiveness while maintaining an individual's sense of identity. If not pursued, the result can be ineffectiveness, dysfunctional relationships within the organisation, and ultimately in a country like South Africa with 80% of the population being black, loss of legitimacy in the new democracy.

Intentions and expectations

Intention is a process of thoughts becoming words, and words becoming actions. The relationship between identity and intention emerges as one where intention moves from the generality of sociality to expressed identity specificity. This was evidenced in the stories of teams who formed an identity, and then expressed intent for the team supported by actions. Others expressed occasions where they were identified as the 'different one in the team' and this stifled their expression of intent. For example, a black man who was constantly harassed by white colleagues intended to report them, but felt that if he did the work environment would be even worse. Hence, his work identity, in this instance, stifled his individual intent, rather than drove it. The intent with stereotyping in the workplace is to 'box' people into objectified roles (Mead, 1934) so as to manage, or associate with, them in a predictable manner. One Muslim female fought against this. When referred to as a terrorist, by virtue of her religion, her intention was clear:

"When I experience any type of stereotyping, I would educate my friends. If it is someone I don't know who is engaging in stereotyping, I would not encourage their behaviour".

Each person has an orientation of intention from past interpersonal experiences, that is, each person in our sample noted a history that influenced initial and subsequent expectations about encounters with others. Sixty one percent of our sample reported the necessity of intention disclosure on the part of others', before they were willing to fully reveal their own intentions. Just revealing intentions were not enough for our sample, but important also was the nature of the response to the disclosures. Part of this normative process of intention reciprocity, which informs relationship construction, is that it is neither freely given nor an automatic consequence of an interaction with another, rather it has to be earned. Each experiences the other's intention and attitude toward his or her self this mirroring of 'self' is a central element in the 'we-relation', so necessary for inclusion.

Intention in this sense, therefore, is time-based, dependent on contextual perspectives and shapes inclusion through mutual participation, as well as frames the predictability, referred to as faithfulness by Simmel (1950), of the expectations within continued interactions. Additionally, managers and employees may have differing expectations from diversity management programs, emanating from their varied social perspectives, and these will be driven by their intentions. For example, one female employee claimed:

"We should be introducing programmes and solutions into the work environment that address these fears and differences, and allow the true emotions and feelings to surface".

Such programmes would go a long way to create inclusive environments. Inclusion, as discussed above, seems vital and key on the employees' personal agendas, and this is where their expectations lie. However, their experiences and stories suggest that this is not necessarily the current agenda of management. One male questioned:

"Are managers really looking after their loyal workers? Or are they using these workers to achieve their personal objectives in life, and destroy others' families. How many people are tolerating these types of issues, and can make such decisions as to leave their jobs and hope to get another in the time when jobs are not easy to get?"

Another coloured (mixed race) female reflected:

"How many people acknowledge diversity, but are unwilling to accept it? Do people realise the implications and negative impact their resistance to change has on others?"

Management carries with it responsibilities, but also expectations from employees that they will set the organisational boundaries for equitable work environments. Management in turn convey role expectations, sometimes through explicit and published value-sets, that guarantee how employees are to be treated and supposedly protect each individual employee from miscarriages of workplace justice. One might argue, they are the gatekeepers of the 'we-intention', that is an aggregation of the affective collective intention. However, managers are not passive 'role establishers' they themselves reject, embrace or renegotiate new workplace dispensations, and in South Africa where the majority of managers are still white males, their dominant workplace-, social- and economic status lends itself to initial suspicion by those who do not occupy similar status roles. It is therefore of heightened importance that they are seen to act where employees are not fully valued because of some dimension of dimension(s) of

difference. Two questions that we regularly occurred, in various forms, in the stories of our respondents were: 'While those from the diverse groups are seeking an inclusive environment, is that also the intention of others in that environment?' 'How often do management do nothing to intervene when they are aware of colleagues experiencing negative encounters on the basis of difference?' Employees lose faith in managers who behave in this way, and they then withdraw their disclosures, lose motivation and make the achievement of an inclusive workplace even harder. This may not, in some cases, be intentional though on the part of the manager. As one coloured (mixed race) female reflected:

"Most white people think that everybody is all the same and we are one big happy family. Being white means that one does not have to deal with internationalised oppression, so it's seen as an issue of weaklings, underperformers or activists".

As white males are still the majority in management positions, this statement identifies the fundamental difficulty in designing diversity management initiatives. If employees feel powerless in the face of institutional forces, in the form of management, the possibility of reforming or revising the real, or perceived, inequitable distribution of power is negated. Perhaps everyone has to experience being in a minority in an excluding environment, a type of rite of passage, in order to appreciate the feelings, emotions and tiring effect that discrimination, on the grounds of difference, cause.

Intention and inclusion

An interesting observation from the coding was that practically every instance of intention was paired with inclusion, confirming the strong relationship between the two (that is, 96% of the occurrences). Often the desire for inclusion can prevent people from acting on their intentions as the story of a black male illustrates:

"While my manager was reading a report, he made a remark about certain ethnic groups having a low mentality. I did not comment about it as I was afraid of being branded as taking sides, as the supervisor and I have a good, past working relationship. ... (When asked what he would do differently next time ...) I will handle the situation differently by stopping the manager or pointing out the racist remark so that he is aware, and it does not happen in the future".

Unfortunately, psychology teaches us that such repression progressively modifies the memory, or even the trauma of keeping quiet, in order to make it less painful. The result is that, over time, the most painful details of the memory fade, painful implications are obscured and

become faint, vague and is even completely forgotten. However admirable the respondent's claim as to his actions given a next occasion, his inaction unfortunately makes it ever more unlikely that he will act in the future. In this sense, achieving inclusion requires courage, a moral courage (Kidder, 2005), premised on self-confidence, intuition and strength of character. Courage defined in this way entails risk, personal risk and personal exposure, in such ambiguous situations and even more ambiguous outcomes. It appears obvious, after our research, that in building inclusive workplaces, and indeed inclusive societies, we need to find ways to express moral courage, encourage it, support it and even teach it. There does seem, however, to be a willingness and intent to create inclusion, even if it does not always occur in practice. One interviewee reflected that in spite of the desire for inclusion, and the intent to create it, they sometimes failed themselves. There certainly seems to be a belief, or expectation, amongst individuals that they can make a difference through confidence-building acts. A black female, who was the first in her area to work underground as a miner, claimed:

"If a lone woman could manage to change those men it means that as employees we can play a role to assist managers in diversity management".

Through perseverance and determination this woman proved to white men that black women are capable of doing jobs that they believed only they were capable of, thereby creating inclusion for herself and a platform for inclusion of other differences, both in herself and in others.

Conclusions

Inclusion has been shown conclusively to be the key issue with regard to diversity management, supporting Burnett's (2003) and April's (2007) claims that the whole purpose of managing diversity is to create inclusion. The results also show that expectations can drive the creation of inclusive communities, as can individual courage and determination. In the absence of formal diversity management programs, individuals undertake personal diversity management to ensure their own inclusion, be it through conforming to the majority of the group as was the case with the black man assimilating to the white men's sports and social habits, or by confronting them, such as the Muslim woman who used similarly abusive terms back to her colleagues as they were using with her. However, such personal diversity management strategies take a level of energy, drive and resilience that should not be necessary in the workplace, and indeed not every member of a diverse group has the confidence or courage to see such personal challenges through, for example the man who did not stop his boss making racist

remarks for fear of worsening his relationship with him. This, in turn, impacts on an individual's identity, both in terms of the extent of their difference, and the extent of their inclusion in the community.

Diversity management programs in organisations tend to focus on multiculturalism and raising awareness. This research shows that the psychological issues relating to identity, intention, expectations, power and inclusion should be included. Inclusion, both in a working environment and within the social context, was found to make individuals feel valued, confirming Burnett's (2003) and April's (2007) work.

Ironically, affirmative action or employment equity programs which are deployed to redress diversity issues, can actually exacerbate feelings of exclusion by leaving employees feeling undervalued and un-affirmed in their own identity, as they see themselves as not worthy of the promotion when previously they would have viewed themselves as more than competent. This further excludes the individual from the team, group or community. Hard work and excellent performance against exacting standards, rewarded by promotion and peer acknowledgement, makes people feel valued.

Diversity management programs, particularly those that focus on raising awareness rather than understanding, unfortunately may be treating people in boxes or categories, rather than as individuals in their own right. By labelling people, they feel stereotyped and exploited as a group, and resentful individually, which leads to ineffective workplace production as well as dysfunctional, even devious, workplace relations.

The key theme emerging is that diversity management should be about creating inclusion for anyone, and with any form of difference from the dominant group. Initiatives to tackle the issue should be based on psychological principles rather than multiculturalism only, and, to some extent, they are simply an extension of the team-working and group dynamics theories and courses already widely accepted and practiced in organisations. The only difference is that (traditional) diversity issues tend to be visible differences rather than personality or deep psychological differences, and as such are more obvious to everyone involved. A refocus is needed towards ways of working together regardless of differences, even though cognisant of important differences, whether the differences are visibly based on race, religion or gender, status based on marital status, education or sexual orientation, or personality based such as beliefs, values and work ethics. Whatever the root of the difference, diversity management needs to focus on everyone feeling included, rather than excluded, on the grounds of their difference.

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