

DIVERSITY OFFICERS:
SYMBOLS OF DIVERSITY-ORIENTED
ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE CHANGE
PROGRAMMES

by

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ABSTRACT

As British society becomes increasingly more diverse, the concept of managing organizational diversity has become progressively more relevant. Theoretical developments within this field have increasingly argued that the adoption of, and approach to, diversity management by organizations is based on either the business case arguments or the moral justification arguments or sometimes on a combination of both. However, insights integrating diversity management approaches with micro and macro-organizational influences remain conceptual. Furthermore, while theoretical developments in the field of diversity management have increasingly associated successful diversity management with wider organizational culture change programs, there has been no empirical evaluation of the processes involved. This thesis explores the role of diversity officers in the implementation of diversity-oriented culture change programs.

This research focuses on a single case study of an NHS organization within the United Kingdom. The evidence provided is based on observation data obtained within a 6 month period of shadowing the diversity officer within this organization. Alongside these are data obtained from 48 semi-structured interviews with employees across hierarchical and functional areas in the organization. These were supplemented by archival data, as well as data obtained from informal conversations, attendance at meetings and events and training sessions.

The values-based approach adopted in this thesis recognizes diversity officers as crucial players within the field of organizational diversity management. This thesis concludes that contrary to literature which suggests that the existing values, experiences and attitudes of diversity officers determine the organization's approach to equality and diversity management, this approach is determined by the influence of existing influential micro and macro-organizational factors. This thesis also reveals the invaluable influence of the position of diversity officers on the process of organizational culture change; highlighting their influence on the processes of realization and symbolization involved in the progression of organizational culture change.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE	
Introduction.....	1
CHAPTER TWO	
Diversity, Diversity Management and Diversity Officers.....	5
CHAPTER THREE	
Organizational Culture and Culture Management- Key Features of Diversity Management.....	35
CHAPTER FOUR	
Research Methodology, Strategy and Analysis.....	67
CHAPTER FIVE	
The Organizational and Environmental Context.....	109
CHAPTER SIX	
Habitus, Situatedness and Relationality - A Study of Their Influences on Diversity Managers within an Organizational Setting.....	120
CHAPTER SEVEN	
The Influence of Situational and Relational Factors within the Field Of Equality and Diversity on the Praxis of Employees' Perception of Organizational Change Process.....	145
CHAPTER EIGHT	
Discussion- Tying it all together; the proposed link between diversity managers' conceptual framework and the cultural dynamics framework:	184
CHAPTER NINE	
Research Contributions and Implications.....	213
APPENDIX 1	
Interview Questions with Diversity Officer.....	222
APPENDIX 2	
Interview Questions with Employees.....	224
APPENDIX 3	
Interview Participants.....	225
BIBLIOGRAPHY	226

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	A snapshot of the elements of the liberal and radical approaches to change.....	18
Table 2.2	Resources and Constraints of Diversity Managers' agency.....	26
Table 4.1	Fieldwork schedule.....	87-88
Table 8.1	Resources and Constraints of Diversity Managers' agency within the context of this study.....	200

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 3.1	Culture as a metaphor: a fundamental dimension which permeates various 'subsystems'.....	39
Fig. 3.2	Schein's model of culture.....	45
Fig. 3.3	The Cultural dynamics model.....	48
Fig. 4.1	The research process onion.....	70
Fig. 4.2	Differences between the deductive and inductive approaches to research.....	71
Fig. 4.3	Typology of participant observation research method.....	89
Fig. 9.1	Symbolism to Symbolic cynicism.....	218

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

As the population becomes more diverse and the face of discrimination becomes increasingly blurred, organizations are, now more than ever, under pressure to implement working equality and diversity management programs. For many large organizations, the pressure to implement these programs has moved beyond a business or moral justification to one which is determined by the demands of the stakeholders as well as the scope of the equalities legislation (Ahmed, 2007; Cornelius *et al.*, 2010). The primacy of these demands is such that many organizations risk losing their legitimacy if they fail to make changes to implement the goals and values both stipulated and expected by their stakeholders (Dieleman, 2010; Yin *et al.*, 2014). Tasked by organizations to implement these programs are usually specialist individuals or teams of equality and diversity managers/officers (Lawrence, 2000; Kirton *et al.*, 2005). However the literature on diversity officers remains sparse (Lawrence, 2000; Kirton *et al.*, 2005; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009)

Many diversity management programs are implemented as part of a general culture change process, blurring the boundaries between diversity management and the wider organizational culture. Within this context, the concepts of organizational culture and diversity management have become increasingly relevant. While the literature on organizational culture has developed separately from the literature on diversity management, the latter appears more and more to be incorporating the concept of organizational culture within its practices. As a result, academic interests in the field of diversity management which incorporates organizational culture change as part of the diversity management process has grown (Arredondo, 1996; Owens, 1997; Wilson, 2000; Cabral-Cardoso, 2007; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002). However, theoretical explorations of the exact process of this change remain considerably underspecified, and there is a dearth of empirical studies regarding the role of diversity managers in the process of organizational culture implementation and change. The purpose of this thesis is thus to address the gap in literature and to provide theoretical and empirical contributions to enable a better understanding of the inter-relationship between these concepts.

To achieve these objectives, this thesis employed the understanding of the concepts of diversity managers' change agency (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009), organizational diversity management (Cornelius *et al.*, 2010; Liff, 1997; Kirton *et al.*, 2005), organizational imprinting

(Dieleman, 2010; Yin *et al.*, 2014) and Hatch's cultural dynamics framework (1993). To allow for the study of these concepts, this study was conducted in the United Kingdom in one of the largest NHS trusts in the region; employing over 15,000 staff and providing services directly to about 500,000 stakeholders.

To understand the concepts and themes identified above a thorough review of the literature was conducted; the details of which are presented in subsequent chapters. The next section provides a brief summary of the contents of the chapters within this thesis.

Chapter One

Introduction: This chapter highlights the interest in the concepts of organizational culture and diversity management within the field of organizational behaviour. This chapter also provides some information about the research; which includes a summary of the scope of this study, the objectives of this study and the justification for the importance of this research.

Chapter Two

Diversity, Diversity Management and Diversity Agents: This is the first of two literature review chapters. This chapter reviews the literature on diversity management and provides definitions for key terms used in this study. The chapter further highlights the relevant theoretical and empirical developments in this area and identifies their relevance to this study. The chapter then progresses to the literature on equality and diversity managers/officers and their invaluable role in the implementation of diversity management practices within organizations. Finally this chapter presents a framework which is used as a foundation for the study of these change agents during the course of implementing organizational change processes.

Chapter Three

Organizational Culture and Culture Management - Key Features of Diversity Management: This is the second literature review chapter. This chapter reviews the literature on organizational culture and organizational culture management. It further highlights the theoretical and empirical developments within this field. The chapter then progresses to present a framework for the study of the culture change process and identifies the role of diversity officers' as change agents. Finally, by identifying organizational culture as a vital factor in the diversity management process, this chapter provides a theoretical framework

which proposes the inter-relationship between the diversity managers' change agency and organizational culture change.

Chapter 4

Research Methodology, Strategy and Analysis: The methodological chapter presents the research aims and objectives and examines the methodological options available to address these research questions. Within this chapter I confirm the research orientation of this study and provide justifications for this. In this chapter I also present the processes involved in social research which are relevant to this study. I also present a stepwise account of the field stage of this study and the reflexive processes which occurred during this research.

Chapter 5

The Organizational and Environmental Context: This is the first of three empirical chapters, which explores the macro-and micro environment within which County X UHB operates; focusing on the factors which may influence the need for, and the scope of the, diversity management policies implemented by this organization. In this chapter I present the legislative and demographic aspects of the social field that influenced the implementation of a new diversity management program by the organization. In the later part of this chapter I also present the intra-organizational context within which the diversity management programs were implemented.

Chapter 6

Situatedness, Relationality and Praxis- A Study of Their Influences on Diversity Managers within an Organizational setting: This is an empirical chapter which presents details of observations and interviews with the diversity officer. The data within this chapter focuses on the inter-relationships between the diversity officer, his micro, macro and meso-relational contexts as well as his inter-relationships with his organizational and social field. I focus on the discussion and elaboration of his understanding of these contexts and how this understanding influenced his role as a diversity officer.

Chapter 7

The Influence of Situational and Relational Factors within the Field Of Equality and Diversity on the Praxis of Employees' Perception of Organizational Change Process: This empirical chapter presents the results of interviews with employees within the

organization. It investigates their perception of the equality and diversity programs within the organization. Here I also explore the influence of factors, within their organizational and social fields, on their perception of equality and diversity programs. This chapter focuses on the meanings that organizational members attribute to the factors which resource or constrain the role of the diversity officer. I focus on the relevance of these meanings in influencing their perception of diversity management processes within the organization as well as their perception of the organization's commitment to meet its equality and diversity goals.

Chapter 8

Discussion- Tying it all together; the proposed link between diversity managers' conceptual framework and the cultural dynamics framework: This chapter engages in a theoretical analysis of the empirical chapters. It examines the various implications of the data in order to tease out themes which contribute to the literature on equality and diversity, diversity managers' agency and organizational culture.

Chapter 9

Research Contributions and Implications: In this chapter the contributions and implications of this study are summarized. Alongside these are discussions of the limitations of this study and the implications of this study for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

DIVERSITY, DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT AND DIVERSITY OFFICERS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of two literature review chapters aimed at providing a background to the main themes that are studied in this research. The main themes in this study are diversity management, managing diversity related change, the role of the diversity officer, the role of the diversity officer in bringing about change and the role of organizational culture in the implementation of diversity related change.

I begin this chapter by providing a theoretical framework for the study of diversity management. Next I introduce the concept of diversity management and provide relevant definitions of the main themes that govern this field of study. The various approaches to the management of diversity are then discussed as well as the relevant theoretical advances that underpin this area of research. Finally, I explore the role of diversity managers as change agents which will allow for the study of the field of equality and diversity to be both relational and dynamic; allowing the positioning of diversity managers as strategic agents within this field (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009).

The latter part of this chapter will focus on contextual factors identified by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) which are both relevant to and unique to diversity officers and which influence the implementation of diversity management programs at an organizational level; namely, situatedness, relationality and praxis. By using the concepts as a starting point, I aim to present a case for the detailed study of the influence of these contextual factors on the roles of diversity managers in enabling diversity-oriented culture change programs.

By building on the theoretical framework introduced by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) this research aims to contribute to the organizational diversity management literature in five main areas. Firstly, this research aims to expand the literature on equality and diversity by providing a multiple actor framework which involves not only key organizational members but also employees who are the target of equality and diversity programs. I also aim to contribute to the understanding of the various contextual factors that make up the concepts of situatedness and relationality within the field of equality and diversity. Thirdly, in this research I aim to study the ways by which the concepts of situatedness, relationality and praxis apply to the practice of diversity management by diversity managers at an

organizational level. Fourth, this research aims to expand the understanding of these contextual factors beyond its present application to include their influence on organizational members. At the end of this, the overall aim is to show how these contextual factors influence diversity officers during the course of roles in implementing diversity-oriented culture change programs.

Before commencing with this chapter, it is important to note that the aim here is not to provide an exhaustive review of the existing literature on workforce diversity, diversity management or diversity officers (managers). Rather it is to provide a background to support the relevance of situatedness, relationality and praxis to the management of diversity performed by diversity managers.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

To understand the concept of diversity it is relevant to understand the theoretical concept that underpins this area of research. The theories on identity and intergroup relations (Deaux and Ethier, 1998; Deaux and Philogène, 2001) have contributed immensely to the understanding of diversity and the relationships that exist within groups. According to the Social Identity Theory (SIT) individuals tend to classify themselves into groups on the basis of shared characteristics (Tajfel, 1979). On the basis of these shared attributes individuals form the membership of in-groups and categorize others as members of out-groups (Kandola and Fullerton, 1998 also see critiques by Kulik and Roberson, 2008; Mazur and Białostocka, 2010; Rynes and Rossen, 1995). The members of the in-group are thus made up of individuals with similar characteristics or similar others while the out-group comprise of dissimilar others.

These inter and intra-group dynamics are particularly pertinent to the study of diversity management since they are purported to influence the behaviours of group members. Members of the in-group tend to work together towards a common goal and express perceptual and attitudinal bias towards fellow in-group members whilst members of the out-group are excluded (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013). Thus the effect of in-group out-group relations is strengthened through the exclusion of dissimilar members of the out-group by members of the in-group (Byrne, 1971). These exclusionary behaviours, can, in turn lead to disadvantaged access to resources, which are controlled the in-group, for out-group members. As such, a situation arises where dissimilar members of the out-group (usually the minority)

are discriminated against, disadvantaged or treated unfairly by virtue of their membership of this out-group.

The concept of diversity management is thus aimed towards counteracting the negative effects of these in and out-group behaviours by focusing on inclusion and fairness whilst harnessing the business advantages of workforce diversity.

2.3 Defining Diversity

Issues surrounding societal diversity, workforce diversity, equality and diversity and diversity management remain relevant in the media, politics, in education and in society as a whole. We only need to refer to the manifestos of the main political parties in the 2015 UK parliamentary elections, and the more recent 2016 EU referendum to confirm this. During the campaigns, issues around inequality, immigration, tolerance, fairness, inclusion and discrimination to mention a few were widely debated, and the stance of the political parties regarding these issues represented one of the major determining factor in the ways that individuals voted during the election and referendum processes. These debates remain relevant today due to the increasing diversification of the population of the UK.

The increasing demographic diversity in the UK is due in many ways to significant global and domestic changes. These changes are as a result of, but are not limited to, factors such as globalization (Berry *et al.* 2014; Luring and Selmer, 2013; Barbosa and Cabral-Cardoso, 2010; Korac-Kakabadse *et al.*, 1998), immigration both from within and outside the European Union (Johnson Bill, 2005; Stevens and Ogunji, 2011) and government legislations in favour of diversity (homeoffice.gov.uk; Equality Act, 2006, 2010). Other factors include technological advancements (Daniel, 2011; Lansky, 2000), elimination of mandatory retirement age (Przetacka, 2009), labour pull from countries with the relevant employee base and skills (Bendavid-Hadar, 2013; Harris and Foster, 2010) and changes in societal value systems (see Smith, 2009; and critiques by Mueller, 1994) among others. All these factors have influenced the demographic composition of the society and have led invariably to a more demographically diverse society and workforce (Maxwell, 2004; McCuiston *et al.* 2004).

To define diversity one would have to explore extensively the plethora of definitions presented in the academic literature by a vast number of organizational management researchers (see for example Cabral-Cardoso and Barbosa, 2007 pp. 275; Friday and Friday,

2003 pp. 863; Hick-Clarke and Iles, 2000 pp. 324; 1993 pp. 53; Konrad and Gutek, 1987). However, in spite of (or because of) all the available definitions, like most highly debated academic constructs, there remains little consensus on what diversity actually means.

Within the academic literature diversity is described as a multifaceted, contextual and multidimensional construct (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013; Mazur and Białostocka, 2010; Özbilgin and Tatli, 2011; Prasad *et al.*, 2006) which encompasses an array of socio-cultural and demographic attributes (see for example Friday and Friday, 2003; Hick-Clarke and Iles, 2000; Jackson and Alvarez, 1993; Konrad and Gutek, 1987); which although appear salient are symbolically meaningful in inter and intra group relationships. According to SIT, the symbolic significance of these characteristics suggests that these characteristics form the basis for group identification and dissociation as well as inter and intra-group relationships and dynamics (DiTomaso *et al.*, 2007; Tajfel, 1987).

In broad terms, diversity can be described as differences that exist among members of a social group (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013; Jauhari and Singh, 2013; Mazur and Politechnika, 2010). According to Jackson and Alvarez (1993, pp. 53) diversity is reflective of '*situations in which the actors of interest are not alike with respect to some attribute(s)*'. Hick-Clarke and Iles (2000, pp. 324), Cabral-Cardoso and Barbosa (2007, pp. 275), Williams and O'Reilly (1998) and Konrad and Gutek (1986) describe diversity in terms of a broad range of characteristics; also known as secondary dimensions of diversity (Loden and Rosener 1991; Mazur and Białostocka, 2010). These characteristics include social status, functional and educational background, nationality, educational achievement, experiences, functional background, personality and ability, demographic, organizational and personal attributes. Cox (2001) meanwhile describes diversity to reflect a variation in social and cultural identities within the organizational setting. Similarly, others describe diversity as arising as a result of the variations in approaches and perspectives which different group members bring to the workplace. However while these characteristics are symbolically significant, the vast array of potential individual characteristics, experiences, attributes and situations that these approaches cover is such that the use of such broad definitions will not allow for a narrow enough scope to study diversity management within the context of this research.

Within the field of human resources, however, organizational demography researchers define diversity in much narrower terms. These definitions are comprised of individual demographic characteristics, otherwise known as primary dimensions of diversity (Loden and Rosener

1991; Mazur and Białostocka, 2010), which include, but are not limited to, age, race, marital status, religion, sexual orientation, gender and disability (see for example Cabral-Cardoso and Barbosa, 2007; Friday and Friday, 2003 pp. 863; Hick-Clarke and Iles, 2000 pp. 324; Mazur and Białostocka, 2010). These primary dimensions are attributes which can be easily noticed and as such can have a significant impact on interactions between individuals.

Within the UK antidiscrimination legislation, the Equalities Act (2010) identifies nine diversity markers (discussed in chapter 5) which are protected by law. This means that individuals who possess one or more of these characteristics are protected from discrimination which may result on the basis of their possession of, or association with individuals who possess, these characteristics. Consequently, individuals and organizations that discriminate against others on the basis of these characteristics can face litigation. This legislation thus provides a basis under which employers can be held accountable. The legislation thus governs the minimum scope covered by diversity management programs (discussed below) implemented by organizations within the UK in order to, at the least, protect employers from litigation.

For the purpose of this study, it is therefore necessary to adopt a definition of diversity that is concise and yet robust enough to cover the main diversity markers which are included in many diversity management programs within the UK. With reference to the above discussion, this study adopts a definition of diversity that narrows the diversity index to include, as far as possible, only demographic attributes covered by the Equalities Act (2010). With this in mind, I adopt two definitions which refer to diversity not just in terms of diversity markers, but also on the basis of individual perception and self-identification of these markers and demographic characteristics. The first definition by Friday and Friday (2003, pp. 863) described 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, pp. 863)

The second definition by Hick-Clarke and Iles (2000) describes diversity as

‘differences of particular relevance to issues of identity, that is; gender, age, ethnicity, disability and sexual orientation.’ (Hick-Clarke and Iles, 2000, pp. 324)

The first reason for combining these definitions is that one of the main arguments of SIT is the perception of difference by an individual. It is therefore not enough that individuals possess these attributes or that others perceive an individual as different; the individual must also self-identify with these attributes and differences. The second reason is because the second definition narrows the definition of salient factors in a way that is relevant to the Equalities Act (2010) in the UK.

As such I define diversity as:

differences of particular relevance to issues of identity, that is; gender, age, ethnicity, disability and sexual orientation, that makes one perceive that they are different from another individual

A diverse society usually comprises different groups some of which will represent a minority part of the population while others will represent a majority of the proportion of the population. The composition of what makes up minorities and majorities differs across different societies. This depends to a large extent on the historical demographic composition of the society where the research is conducted (Prasad and Mills, 1997). In other words while in one society some demographic groups are socially constructed as the majority, the same demographic group can represent only a minority of the population in another society. For example within the UK, individuals classed as ‘Black minorities’ may belong to the majority groups in other societal settings; for example in Africa (Prasad and Mills, 1997). This is because of the differences in individual or group features that occur across geographical boundaries.

Thus within the context of this study, I define minorities as:

‘groups of people that in some features-like national origin, race, gender, physical condition, age, sexual orientation, religion, financial or social condition lifestyle, education or values – differ from the ‘pattern’ (Cabral-Cardoso and Barbosa, 2007, pp. 275).

The ‘pattern’ in the above definition refers to the demographic composition of the majority of the population in a given country (for example, within the UK; discussed in chapter 5). While I do not focus on any of the individual minority groups in particular, I use this definition of minorities as an umbrella to describe groups that differ from the ‘norm’ or the majority of the population in the UK as governed by the Equalities Act (2010).

The salient attributes, mentioned above, which make a society diverse thus become important markers of societal diversity and form the basis for categorization into minority and majority groups. The classification into (and composition of) minority and majority groups is particularly important for three main reasons. First, this classification guides the definition of diversity management (see below). Second, the definition of diversity and the classification and composition of majority and minority groups govern the scope of many diversity management programmes and policies (Equalities Act, 2010; Gilbert and Ivancevich, 2000; Prasad and Mills, 1997). Third, the division into minority/underrepresented and majority groups is argued to determine which groups become targets of discrimination, prejudice, disadvantage or inequality; especially in terms of access to power and opportunity within the workplace (Carr-Ruffino, 1996).

Within the organizational setting, when a workforce comprises of diverse individuals, either in terms of demographic characteristic or other characteristics, then workforce or organizational diversity ensues (Jauhari and Singh, 2013). Research both within and outside the United Kingdom suggests that within a diverse work environment individuals with different demographic attributes have different experiences at work (see for example, Brooks and Clunis, 2007; Foster and Harris, 2010; Luring and Selmer, 2013; Mavin and Girling, 2000; Nkomo and Cox, 1990; Sang *et al.*, 2013; Tomlinson *et al.*, 2013;). Thus many countries have working legislations aimed to prevent the discrimination against individuals on the basis of their age, race, sex, religion among others. Some examples of these legislations include the Sex Discrimination Act (1975), Race Relations Act (1968, 1976), Disability Discrimination Act (1995, 2005) and the Equality Act (2006, 2010) in the UK. However legislation alone seems ineffective in tackling more covert workplace inequality and discrimination (Ogbonna and Harris, 2015); this is especially true of salient individual characteristics which may be judged as part of the basis for performance evaluation (Brooks and Clunis, 2007).

Thus the rationales for the implementation of diversity management programs are to manage diversity related issues and to address the possible negative consequences that can arise as a result of having a diverse workforce whilst ensuring the retention of a certain level of minority employees within the organization (Hur and Strickland, 2015). Over the last few decades, a challenge for employers and managers has been how to reduce the negative effects of having a diverse workforce whilst at the same time increasing the benefits of having a

diverse workforce (Ely, 2004; Hur and Strickland, 2013; Zanoni *et al.*, 2010). As a result many organizations have implemented organizational actions designed to promote inclusion, eliminate employment inequalities and promote fairness and positive outcomes (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013; Zanoni *et al.*, 2010) among employees from different backgrounds. These actions comprise of practices, policies, events, training sessions, culture change programs and initiatives among others; all of which make up the practice of diversity management (Hite and McDonald, 2006; Kirton and Greene, 2009; Noon and Ogbonna, 2001, Verworn *et al.*, 2009).

2.4 Diversity Management

For the purpose of this study I define diversity management as referring

'to a strategic organizational approach to workforce diversity development, organizational culture change, and empowerment of workforce. It represents a shift away from activities and assumptions defined by affirmative action to management practices that are inclusive, reflecting the workforce diversity and its potential. Ideally it is a pragmatic approach, in which participants anticipate and plan for change, do not fear human differences or perceive them as a threat, and view the workforce as a forum for individual growth and change in skill and performance with direct cost benefits to organizations.' (Arredondo, 1996, pp. 17)

To better respond to the changing composition of their workforce, many organizations have implemented extensive diversity management programs (Agars and Kottke, 2005). For most, the rationale behind the implementation of diversity management programs stems from the proposed economic and social benefits of having a diverse workforce (Hur and Strickland, 2015; Zanoni *et al.*, 2010). Having a diverse workforce is theorized to improve organizational attractiveness to a diverse talent pool (Konrad; 2003; Smith *et al.*, 2004); improve the company image (Figiel and Sasser, 2010), improve performance (Bantel and Jackson, 1989; Bendick *et al.*, 2010; Cox and Blake, 1991; O'Reilly *et al.*, 1997) and competitive advantage (McCuiston and Wooldridge, 2004), as well as improve the organization's ability to diversify to expanding minority markets (Cox, 1993). Also numerous workforce performance benefits such as improved information range, skills range, ability and knowledge (Richard, 2000), reducing stereotypes, reducing staff turnover and fostering better relationships (Sinclair, 2000), among others, are improved by the existence of a diverse workforce.

However the vast literature on the benefits of workforce diversity is not an indication that there are no perceived disadvantages to increasing workforce diversity. For example, some

studies have shown that increased diversity can affect a group negatively by increasing stress, tension and conflict, reducing communication and reducing innovation and commitment (see for example Pelled *et al.*, 1999; Riordan and Shore, 1997; Hoffman, 1985; and Tsui *et al.*, 1992). However, the business benefits of workforce diversity are still argued to supersede the drawbacks and encourage diversity in the employee base (Zanoni *et al.*, 2010; Aghazadeh, 2004; Ogbonna and Harris, 1998).

Approaches to diversity management have traditionally been underpinned by three main theoretical premises:

The first approach is premised on the ‘business case approach’ (see for example Zanoni *et al.*, 2010; Friday and Friday, 2003; Cornelius *et al.*, 2000; Bartz *et al.*, 1990; Svehla, 1994). This approach, which adopts a functionalist approach to the management of employee diversity, is based on the argument that increased employee diversity presents many economic benefits which, with the right guidance, can be harnessed at an organizational level (see, for example Bendick *et al.*, 2010; Cook and Glass, 2009; Cornelius *et al.*, 2000; Figiel and Sasser, 2010; Kersten, 2000; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; McCuiston *et al.*, 2004; O’Reilly *et al.*, 1997; Sinclair, 2000; Smith *et al.*, 2004; also see critique by Cornelius *et al.*, 2011).

However, as discussed above, as with many academic concepts, some researchers argue that the existence and relevance of these benefits are debatable (see for example Pelled *et al.*, 1999; Riordan and Shore, 1997; Sinclair, 2000; Timmerman, 2000; Tsui *et al.*, 1992). This said, in spite of the debates surrounding the business case approach, the business benefits of workforce diversity appears to supersede the limitations of this approach (Aghazadeh, 2004; Ogbonna and Harris, 2006) and thus it remains a valid argument within the field of management. Furthermore, as argued by Kaler (2001), by pursuing the business case approach for workforce diversity, organizations can in turn eliminate prejudice and discrimination; invariably pursuing social justice.

The second approach to diversity management is directly premised on the argument for social justice as the primary driver for the management of workforce diversity. Here, managing workforce diversity effectively is approached as a moral imperative. The premises for this argument are the promotion of interaction between employees, the creation of organizational harmony (Rossett and Bickham, 1994), a change in attitudes that foster prejudice (Smith, 1991), a change in organizational culture (Owens, 1997) and the ability to empower minority

groups (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013). The aim here is to provide equality of outcomes to all employee groups in order to improve employee experiences.

However, as mentioned above, the failure of many organizational diversity programs to fully meet the targeted business or social outcomes has led to a reconsideration of both theoretical approaches (Davidson, 1999; Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000). For example Ely and Thomas (2002); Figiel and Sasser (2010) and Muller and Haase (1994) argue that the adoption of a business case approach suggests that diversity represents a concept which can be manipulated, managed and controlled (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000) for positive outcomes; suggesting that it adopts an approach which is functionalist, unitarist, individualistic and instrumental in nature (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013). Similarly, Noon (2007) identified the negative consequences of business case driven diversity approaches for diversity management. He argues that these approaches are based on contingent organizational benefits which in turn, may lead to a pick and mix approach in dealing with issues of workplace equality and diversity (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2011).

Further adding to the above critique is the argument that diversity management does not truly address the issues of discrimination that employees face (Guerrier and Wilson, 2011; Kirton and Greene, 2006; Noon, 2007; Noon and Ogbonna, 2001). Instead it is argued to represent window dressed ideas solely aimed at winning the legitimacy of stakeholders (Kellough and Naff, 2004; Marques, 2010). In this regard, Noon (2007) and Guerrier and Wilson (2011) argue that the business case approach merely gives the impression that issues of equality, discrimination and prejudice are at the core of the organization; when in reality they are not. Thus it fails in its role to position sufficiently concerns around equality and inclusion into the core of organizational practices (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013; Marques, 2010; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2011; Tatli, 2011).

While there are unarguably economic and social benefits from the adoption of the above approaches, Figiel and Sasser (2010), and Kirton and Greene (2006) argue that these apparent successes lack direct evidence connecting them to the theories that underpin their application and may instead be based on the presence of other mitigating factors within and outside the organization (Cox, 1991; Ely, 2004; Prasad, 1997). Further to this is the argument by Williams and O'Reilly (1998) that there is evidence that shows that the business case for diversity does not always lead to positive performance outcomes. Also, despite the range of diversity interventions such as training, seminars, audits, videos, and policies and so on,

many diversity programs are still argued to have either failed or backfired (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000).

To address the limitations of the above two theoretical approaches some researchers argue for the adoption of a third theoretical approach; one which combines both the business case and the moral case for diversity management. Whilst there are demonstrably significant differences between the business and social justice discourses, in practice both positions are argued to complement each other (Kaler, 2001). This complementarity of action forms the premise of a third perspective to equality and diversity management. This perspective, although not given a distinctive name in literature, argues that the beliefs, values and actions of individuals charged with the responsibility of implementing diversity initiatives is influenced by discursive argument which potentiates organizational interests (Dobbin *et al.*, 2011; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Thomas and Gabarro, 1999). Thus, from this perspective, organizational self-interest (i.e. business case) acts as the vehicle that drives the moral objectives of diversity management (see critiques by Holtermann, 1995; Kaler, 2001; Kirton and Greene, 2009 and Maxwell, 2004); playing a major role in the justification of workforce diversity and the implementation of both diversity management policies and programs (Liff and Dickens, 2000).

However, like the above-mentioned approaches, this perspective also adopts a goal-oriented approach to the management of workforce diversity which again is utilitarian in nature, albeit subtly. Özbilgin and Tatli (2011) argue that the utilitarian perspective of a business approach, an ethical approach or an approach which combines both may in the end regress equality outcomes; especially if they are implemented only on the basis of their perceived benefits (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000).

There is however a fourth, underexplored approach to equality and diversity management. This approach focuses mainly around questions of the relevance of 'stakeholders and voice' (Cornelius *et al.*, 2010, p. 2) in the implementation of diversity management policies. It draws on research on the stakeholder theory of organizations (Freeman, 1984); which addresses issues of morals and values within the organizational management literature. Here, the various stakeholder groups of organizations are identified and then recommendations are made regarding situations when the interests of certain groups are prioritized over others. Some examples of organizational stakeholders include: the government, employees, customers, communities, shareholders to mention a few.

The argument here is that managers, during the course of performing their roles, respond to the needs of stakeholders. With the broad range of stakeholders and their varying and sometimes conflicting interests, managers occupy a position in which, at various points, they have to decide which interests to consider and which stakeholders to prioritize. For this reason, Greenwood (2002) argues that, considering the broad range of intra and extra-organizational parties that are included as organizational stakeholders, the use of micro-level rationalizations, for example a utilitarian business case or micro-level moral justifications, as a basis for the analysis *‘of specific HRM practices or “bundles” of practices is of limited value and detract from questions surrounding the “big picture”’* (pp. 275). Similarly, Cornelius *et al.* (2010) argue that a consideration for organizational stakeholders *‘conform to particular visions of HRM which extol the question of voice, participation and dialogue’* (pp. 2) within the field of diversity management; arguing for the influence of stakeholders to be studied as part of the research on diversity management practices.

This fourth approach depicts the field of HRM as a complex one which comprises of various, sometimes conflicting, interests and actors. This approach suggests that through a process of participation and dialogue, organizations consider the interests of their stakeholders and adopt diversity management approaches that best suit those interests. This approach is of particular significance to this study since the research organization is one which is particularly sensitive to the demands of its stakeholders (chapter 5). As such, this organization’s implementation of diversity management programs go beyond the arguments of the first three approaches to its need to meet the stipulations set by various stakeholder groups. Thus I argue that the approaches implemented by those tasked with the responsibilities of implementing diversity management changes will, to a large extent, utilise and take into account the influences of the different stakeholder groups.

2.5 Extant literature on the approaches to Implementing Diversity Related Change

Cockburn (1989; 1991), Jewson and Mason (1986), Kirton *et al.* (2007) and Meyerson and Scully (1995) have all identified major approaches to implementing equal opportunities programs. While these approaches to change all originated from the equal opportunities literature, Kirton *et al.* (2007) purports that they have evolved in ways that facilitate their use in the diversity management literature (Kirton *et al.*, 2007). This purporting is supported by the link, in literature, between equal opportunities and diversity management (see for example ; Kirton and Greene, 2009; Noon and Ogbonna, 2001).

Examples of approaches utilized in the implementation of workforce diversity management programmes include: radical change and community organizing (Alinsky, 1972), championing (Kanter, 1983), issue selling (Dutton and Ashford, 1993) and upward influence (Kipnis *et al.*, 1980), the liberal (Jewson and Mason, 1986), radical (Jewson and Mason, 1986) and tempered radical approaches (Meyerson and Scully, 1995). I will briefly introduce these approaches in the next sub-sections and explore them in more detail during further discussions on diversity managers and their role in implementing change.

2.5.1 Liberalism and Radicalism as approaches to change

The liberal and radical approach to diversity management developed from discourses around the liberal and radical approach to implementing equal opportunities programs (Jewson and Mason, 1986; Kirton *et al.*, 2007). Jewson and Mason (1986) identified two distinct approaches to promoting workplace equality policies; the liberal and the radical change approaches. Though the words radical and liberal have been used in many other contexts in the academic literature, these researchers were the first to use these terms in the context of equal opportunities.

The theoretical argument that governs the liberal approach is one underpinned by the suggestion that employees are essentially equal. This approach argues that employee equality can be achieved upon the implementation of identical and fair policies and procedures that govern all employee groups (Jewson and Mason, 1986). An example of this would be the implementation of identical policies and procedures for men and women in order to achieve equality of sexes (Özbilgin, 2000). The aim of the liberalist is the removal of collective barriers that stand in the way of the best person getting the job (Cockburn, 1989). However critiques of this approach argue that formulating identical rules for all groups can be detrimental to the equalities agenda because it can lead to a concealment and institutionalization of inequalities (see for example Acker, 1990; Cockburn, 1989).

Radicals on the other hand possess strong political and ethical values (Jewson and Mason, 1986). Radicalism as an approach to change aims to intervene directly in practices and procedures in order to achieve fair distribution of rewards (Cockburn, 1989). This approach is founded upon the recognition of the historic disadvantage which certain minority groups, for example women, ethnic minorities, disabled employees, gays and lesbians among others, endured in employment (Jewson and Mason, 1986). By utilising certain human resource processes, for example selective recruitment, selective mentoring and selective promotion, as

well as by advocating for positive discrimination and affirmative action, radicals focus on providing a spring board for employees from minority groups (Cockburn, 1989).

Criticisms of the radical approach however have emerged as a result of the perceived sense of injustice and divisiveness that schemes, such as positive discrimination and affirmative action, have on members of majority groups as well as certain members of minority groups (Cockburn, 1989). These criticisms are based on issues of surrounding favouritism, tokenism, a desertion of the values of hard work, as well as the perceived unfairness that it brought (Daly, 1978; Özbilgin, 2000). Cockburn (1989), in her critique of the principle of radicalism argues that while in theory this approach provides opportunities for disadvantaged groups, it does not remove the processes or policies that causes and reinforces disadvantage. Similarly since disadvantaged groups experience discrimination in different ways, approaches taken to improve the positions of one group may not necessarily have the same effect on other groups (Ozbilgin, 2000); thus failing to fulfil the objectives of diversity management initiatives.

The table below shows a summary of the differences between the liberal and radical approaches to change.

Table 2.1 A snapshot of the elements of the liberal and radical approaches to change

	Liberal	Radical
Principles	Fair procedures	Fair distribution of rewards
Implementation	Bureaucratisation of decision making	Politicisation of decision making
Effectiveness	Positive Action	Positive Discrimination
Perceptions	Justice seen to be done	Consciousness Raising (for example by training and awareness raising)

Adapted from Jewson and Mason (1986)

Although the liberal and radical approaches, in theory, appear distinct, Jewson and Mason (1986) argue that under many practical situations there usually appears a need for adherents of these two concepts to borrow ideas from the rhetoric of the other (Kirton *et al.*, 2007). However as a result of the criticisms of both approaches discussed above, other approaches to implementing equality and diversity management changes have emerged.

2.5.2 Transformational Change Approach

The limitations of the liberal and radical approaches discussed above, in addition to their neglect of the influence of other organizational factors in the change process, are addressed in part by this approach to diversity management change. As Cockburn (1989) argues, equal opportunities represent a deliberate attempt to interrupt the natural process of power reproduction. Cockburn (1989) in her transformational approach thus studies the effects of power, conflict and variations in strategy. At its core, this approach focuses on two main themes; the nature and purpose of the institution as well as an evaluation of the ways in which power inequalities are built, established and renewed.

This approach recognises traditional power plays, current power dynamics, effects of resistance on power reproduction, and the control that certain individual groups can have over the organization (Cockburn, 1989). She argues that many organizational practices can help to legitimise existing power inequalities and that there is a need to address individual practices like the culture, language, policies among others. This approach consists of a progressive transformative framework which has at its core power relations; the need for disadvantaged groups to access power, changing the nature of power, the melting away of the white male monoculture, and the control that ordinary diverse individuals can have on organizations as well as a consideration of the purpose of the organization and how best to meet its aim (Cockburn, 1989; Richards, 2001).

The transformational approach requires the presence of potentially strong minority pressure groups to influence and reshape the current social relations; assuming in part inter and intra group harmony. This approach consists of a series of short (recruitment, promotion, mentoring) and long-term (overall organizational transformation, culture change) agendas. The short term agenda, involves immediate changes to procedures and policies (Cockburn, 1989) aimed at combating the day-to-day inequalities in the organization (Özbilgin, 2000). The long term agenda as the name suggests is implemented over a longer period of time and aims to tackle the structural and institutionalized practices that reinforce inequality (Cockburn, 1989). Her long term agenda identifies the need for disadvantaged groups to gain power and the need to interfere with power reproduction by introducing changes to the nature of power itself (Richards, 2001) by altering organizational structures (Özbilgin, 2000), implementing changes to cultural practices (discussed in the next chapter) which may reinforce inequality.

2.5.3 Liberal Reformation an approach to equality and diversity change

Kirton *et al.* (2007) developed a new concept of liberal reformers. These are ‘people who do not have transformative aims, thinking that systems and procedures need only minor changes to level the playing field’. Liberal reformation agrees with, and adopts, a business case approach to the management of equality and diversity (Lorbiecki, 2001). This approach suggests that diversity management is a strategic organizational objective and argues that only minimal forms are required to pursue the organizations’ goals of equality and diversity management (Kirton and Greene, 2009; Kirton *et al.*, 2007).

2.5.4 Tempered Radicalism as an approach to equality and diversity change

Tempered radicals are defined as ‘individuals who identify with and are committed to their organizations and also a cause, community, ideology that is fundamentally different from, and possibly at odds with, the dominant culture of the organization’ (Meyerson and Scully, 1995). As a result of this conflict they strive to reshape the organizational context into one that enables them to maintain their radical identities whilst at the same time applying temperedness by being cool-headed in order not to alienate those in power (Meyerson and Scully, 1995).

As agents of change tempered radicals implement change in two ways. The first is by implementing intentional acts of change and the second is just by being who they are. Meyerson and Scully (1995) argue that the sources of organizational change can emerge from the margins in organizations which are caused by individuals who do not fit well within the organization. These individuals are thus valuable agents of change and thereby instrumental to the change process. As outsiders within, tempered radicals are able to utilize both their knowledge and insight of the organization and their ideology as outsiders during the process of implementing change. Thus they are able to be more critical both of the status quo and the change process as well as act as advocates of both (Meyerson and Scully, 1995).

Tempered radicalism utilizes many strategies during the process of implementing change. These include: championing (Kanter, 1983); upward influence (Kipnis *et al.*, 1980) and ‘issue selling’ (Dutton and Ashford, 1993), small wins and local, spontaneous authentic actions (Meyerson and Scully, 1995). Small wins consist of minute, sometimes experimental steps. These break large tasks into manageable pieces and have been argued to have certain benefits. These include: uncovering resources, information, allies, sources of resistance among others,

helping to pick what battles should be fought and which ones to be discarded and is flexible enough to take advantages of opportunities as they arise. The local spontaneous authentic action is less strategic than the small wins approach. These occur when tempered radicals behave in ways that express their beliefs, feelings and identities (Meyerson and Scully, 1995). This behaviour is usually different from the norm and can influence change when it is adopted by other members of the organization who view this approach as being more satisfactory than the norm.

The above approaches have their advantages and limitations (discussed in section 2.7 of this chapter), however, Tatli and Özbilgin (2010) argue that, as a whole, these approaches do not portray a holistic view of the experiences of equal opportunities officers as change agents, but rather exists as presentations of the various approaches that can be adopted to implement diversity management policy and procedural changes. This limitation will be addressed in this thesis as I aim to conduct a study of diversity officers which encompasses factors both within and outside the organization that influence their approaches to equality and diversity management. I will also aim to show, by the end, that typifying diversity managers on the basis of a singular approach may suggest an inaccurate representation of the both the diversity officer and the approaches adopted by these managers in the process of conducting their roles.

2.6 Diversity Managers

The successes and challenges of implementing diversity programs within large organizations are borne by specialist individuals or teams often referred to as diversity officers, managers, agents, specialists or consultants. In smaller organizations the duty of managing employee diversity is usually left to individual line managers who frequently take up this role in addition to their existing tasks; usually with no special job titles designating this additional role. The job titles used in large organizations are sometimes used interchangeably with terms such as equality adviser or specialist because, as stated above, in practice there remains no clear distinction between both the practice of equal opportunities and diversity management; and consequently between the roles of diversity specialist and the equality specialist counterparts (Cornelius *et al.*, 2001; Jones, 2007; Jones *et. al.*, 2000; Kirton and Greene, 2009; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Sinclair, 2000; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009).

Thus, the lack of a clear distinction between the two titles means that much of the literature on diversity managers, as change agents, draws on the research and practice of equal

opportunities officers; further increasing the difficulty of distinguishing between these roles. As such the discussion that ensues within this section will present the literature on both diversity officers and equal opportunities officers.

In light of the above, I adopt two definitions for the term diversity officers. The first definition, like those of Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) and Jones *et al.* (2000), employs the use of both the terms equality and diversity and defines diversity officers mainly in terms of their role. Here, diversity officers are defined as:

'Individuals whose job title contains 'equality' and/or 'diversity' or whose work (usually in HR) is largely dedicated to equality and diversity policy making/advising (much the same as the 'old' equality officer)'. (Kirton and Greene, 2009 p. 160)

By approaching diversity managers in this way there is a platform to include references to equality officers which may occur during the course of this study.

While the above definition allows researchers to study the practice of equal opportunities and diversity management indiscriminately, it provides a single level approach to the study of diversity officers which ignores the influence of the research context where-in such studies are conducted. However, as mentioned earlier, Özbilgin and Tatli (2011) argue that diversity officers perform their roles under the influence of the wider organizational setting. Furthermore, from the fourth theoretical approach to equality and diversity discussed above, Cornelius *et al.* (2010) argues for the inclusion of organizational stakeholders in the study of equality and diversity management. Thus, any studies on diversity managers should be done in consideration of the relationships that occur between themselves and major internal and external organizational actors and institutions. As a result of these a second definition by Kirton *et al.* (2007) is introduced in order to expand on the previous definition and thus broaden the context within which to study diversity managers. Here diversity managers are defined as:

' . . . A curious group of organizational actors because, on the one hand, they are tasked with a diversity role, and are supposed to be committed to the business case for diversity that the organizations have adopted. On the other hand, they commonly have a broader personal vision of organizational performance, including a social justice goal and their role places them as unpopular with many organizational actors and often at the margin of mainstream policymaking . . . prepared to talk in the language of both the business and social justice cases to make progress.' (Kirton *et al.*, 2007 p. 1991)

This definition contextualizes the diversity managers' role as a complex one and focuses not only on their job description but also on their personal or emotional challenges, the complexity of their goals, their inter-organizational relationships and different discursive approaches that they adopt in the process of fulfilling their roles.

The result of the combination of both definitions also allows me to define the term diversity officers in a way that takes into account both their role as change agents and the complexity that their role involves. Hence for the purpose of this study I will define diversity officers as:

A curious group of organizational actors whose job title contains 'equality' and/or 'diversity' or whose work is largely dedicated to making, implementing or advising on equality and diversity policies. These are individuals who are prepared to talk in the language of both the business and social justice cases to make progress. On the one hand they, are tasked with a diversity role, and are supposed to be committed to the business case for diversity that the organization(s) have adopted, but on the other hand, commonly have a broader personal vision of organizational performance, including a social justice goal. As such their role places them as unpopular with many organizational actors and often at the margin of mainstream policymaking.

The majority of the literature on diversity managers involves a single-level approach to the study of these individuals. Examples of these studies include for example, research findings on the academic, professional, behavioural attributes, personality traits and personal experiences, common to diversity officers, which guide their career choices (Kirton and Greene, 2009; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Jones, 2007; Lawrence, 2000; Cockburn, 1991).

Other studies explore their work experiences in terms of the personal, social and organizational challenges and political pressures that they encounter when carrying out their jobs (see for example Kalev, Kelly and Dobbin, 2006) as well as the emotional consequences of these experiences (Culbert and McDonough, 1980; Jones, 2007; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Meyerson and Scully, 1995; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009; Tatli, 2011), while Sinclair (2000) and Meyerson and Scully (1995) provide a categorization of diversity officers based on their approaches to the implementation of diversity management. For example diversity officers are classed as liberals, radicals, tempered radicals or liberal reformers (based on the approaches discussed in the preceding section)

While Lawrence (2000) explored, from the perspective of equality and diversity officers, the supportive factors within the organization which aid in the implementation of equal opportunities programs, missing from these studies is a holistic approach which explores how diversity officers are both influenced by, and utilize, for example a combination of their

personal attributes, educational attributes, demographic attributes, behavioural attributes as well as factors within their internal and external environments during the implementation of equality and diversity programs. This holistic approach thus presents as one of the key objectives of the current study.

2.7 Diversity Officers and Diversity Related Change

Diversity managers are arguably the most visible actors (change agents) in the process of managing equality and diversity within organizations (Jones, 2007; Jones, 2000; Kirton *et al.*, 2007). This is by virtue of their role in the design and implementation of diversity management policies. Their role in implementing change is even more significant when we take into account that in reality the implementation of diversity management programs is synonymous with organizational-wide change programmes (Gilbert and Ivancevich, 2000; Lawrence, 2000; Liff, 1996).

It has been discussed in section 2.5 of this chapter that as agents of change equality and diversity, diversity managers employ a variety of approaches in the design, implementation, delivery and monitoring of diversity initiatives and policies in order to both initiate and sustain organizational change (see for example Cockburn, 1989; 1991; Jewson and Mason, 1986; Jones, 2000; Jones, 2007; Kipnis *et al.*, 1980; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Meyerson and Scully, 1995; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). As such, as mentioned earlier, diversity officers can either be liberals, radicals, tempered radicals or liberal reformers. The strengths and limitations of the liberal, radical, tempered radical and liberal approaches have been presented in section 2.5 of this chapter; however, I will present a few more in order to highlight the need for the expansion of the study of diversity managers beyond its present realm.

As discussed above, the liberal and radical approaches to change are critiqued to ignore inter-organizational processes and dynamics during the process of policy implementation and change (see critiques by Cockburn, 2001; Jewson and Mason, 1986; Kaler, 2001). Cockburn (1989) argues that both the liberal and radical approaches do not effect a change in attitudes and culture (Cockburn, 1989), but rather focuses mainly on gaining power not changing the nature of power (Cockburn, 1989). While Cockburn's (2001) transformation and Meyerson and Scully's (1995) tempered radicalism approaches recognise the roles of some of these processes, for example the political history and social dynamics within organizations, however, the dynamic nature of power within organizations suggests that putting minority employees in positions of power does not guarantee that they have the power to implement

changes (Cockburn, 1991; 2001). Also, the absence within many organizations of potentially strong minority pressure groups to influence and reshape the current social relations is argued to be a major limitation of deploying the transformational approach to equality and diversity changes (Özbilgin, 2000). In addition to this, the transformational approach is also argued to ignore interactions and conflicts which may occur both within minority group member and also between minority and majority group members during the in the transformational process. As a result Özbilgin (2000) and Ramsay and Parker (1992) argue that the progressive aspects of conflict and inter and intra group dynamics should be recognised, and, where possible, used to build alliances between the current and progressive power holders. In terms of tempered radicalism, more radical thinkers criticise this approach as being futile and retrogressive since it is possible for defenders of the status quo to exclude ‘suspected deviants’ from full entry into the organization (Meyerson and Scully, 1995); as a result crippling the change process. Also, the above approaches also do not explore extensively the impact of contextual factors on the diversity management process; for example, the roles of diversity managers as agents of change within a specific intra or inter organizational context. Perhaps the main criticisms of the above approaches remain their failure to tackle effectively the root cause of inequality at work (Özbilgin, 2000; Cockburn, 1989).

Consequently, as a result of the above-mentioned limitations, studying diversity officers solely on the basis of their classification as liberals, radicals, transformer or tempered radicals ignores the limitations of any single classification and fails to draw on the strength of the other classifications which adopt differing approaches to equality and diversity management.

This study aims to address this by studying diversity managers, not as one of the other of these groups, but as individuals who deploy various approached depending on the resources at their disposal.

Tatli and Özbilgin (2010) address one of the above limitations in their contextual framework which I will present in the ensuing part of this chapter. However, before doing so it is imperative to note that only the meso-level relational factors have been studied in relation to diversity managers. This work in this thesis thus goes further than that by Özbilgin and Tatli (2011) because this study involves not just diversity officers involved directly in the process of implementing equality and diversity programs but also explores their interaction with their environment as well as other organizational members. By employing the contextual factors introduced by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) to the study of diversity managers I explore the inter-

relationship between diversity managers and organizational members. I also explore the inter-relationships between diversity officers and their intra and inter organizational environment. Adopting this framework thus acts as a foundation which allows this study to reveal how the micro and macro-organizational factors within which diversity managers' exist influence and enable their roles of implement effectively diversity change programs.

Tatli and Özbilgin's (2009) conceptual framework identifies a range of constraints and resources that, either individually or collectively, impact on the role of the diversity managers' agency.

Table 2.2 Resources and Constraints of Diversity Managers' agency

Dimensions	Resources	Constraints
Situatedness	<i>Social field</i> Progressive laws Supportive political environment Economic growth Culture of equality and inclusion <i>Organizational field</i> Cultures of inclusion Supportive structures of management Management support Integration of diversity management Financial and non-financial resources	Conservative laws Unsupportive political environment Economic decline Culture of discrimination and backlash Regimes of inequality Absence of structures for management Management disengagement Marginalization of diversity management Lack of resources
Relationality	<i>Micro level relationality</i> Understanding of diversity issues <i>Meso level relationality</i> Membership to networks <i>Macro level relationality</i> Understanding of the diversity context	Lack of awareness of diversity issues Absence of networks Lack of awareness of diversity context
Praxis	<i>Doxic reflection</i> A wide heterodox space <i>Strategic action</i> Access to different forms of capital Ability to use strategic discourses	A narrow heterodox space Lack of necessary capitals Lack of ability to use strategic discourses

Adapted from Tatli and Özbilgin (2009)

2.7.1 Situatedness

The term 'situatedness' refers to the contextual nature of agency (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009; Tatli, 2011). It draws on the literature on change agency and provides a contextual framework for the study of diversity managers. Tatli and Özbilgin (2009 pp. 248) describe the concept of situatedness as the "*framing of diversity managers as real individuals in their historical, economic and organizational settings rather than free-floating practitioners abstracted from their context.*"

By virtue of the nature of their role, diversity managers are situated both within a wider societal and with the organizational context in which they operate. In this regard, any study of the agency of diversity managers will be incomplete without a full understanding of the context within which they operate (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009); as this provides the limits of their agency. By applying Bourdieu's (1971) and Jenkins' (1992) notion of field Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) draw on the boundaries of individual agency as the defining principles for the effectiveness of the roles of diversity managers.

The 'field' is made up of a complex array of factors as well as a complex array of relationships between these factors. Analogies used to describe Bourdieu's (1971) theory on field include a piece of open land, a battle field, a force field or a field of knowledge (Bourdieu, 1990; Thompson, 2008). Using these analogies of the field as the setting where an action such as a football game, a rugby game, farming or a battle is held I can demonstrate the relevance of the 'field' to the role of equality and diversity officers. Within a field, for example a football or rugby field, football (or indeed rugby) is played. However, rugby (or football) like many sports has strategies, set rules as well as basic skills expected of players. As such it is important for players not just to possess the necessary physical attributes but also to acquire the necessary skills involved as well as understanding the rules of the game. Alongside these, it is also imperative for players to understand what they can or cannot do in relation to other players and relative to their position with other players. So, a rugby player on a rugby field plays the game of rugby relative to, and in consideration of other factors and players involved in the game of rugby (such as their physique, strategy, others strategy, their skill, the skill of others, theirs and others positioning on the field, the weather, the rules of the game, team game plan, individual game plan among others).

However major limitations of approaching a 'field' in this way are questions surrounding field boundaries, inter-connectedness of fields, changes to and within fields and the number and size of possible fields (Bourdieu, 1971; 1998; 1990; 1994; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 ; Ladwig, 1996; Thompson, 2008). Despite these limitations many scholars still adopt Bourdieu's notion of field in their studies; addressing these limitations by both adopting and adapting Bourdieu's notion of field as a toolkit on a case by case basis (see for example Grenfell and James, 2004; Gunter, 2003; McNay, 1999 and Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009 among others).

Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) in applying the notion of ‘field’ to the role of diversity managers demonstrated in the table above the ‘field’ surrounding their study of equality and diversity officers. They argue that, for diversity managers, the social field is divided into three broad historically formed structures. These are the cultural and demographic constitution of the labour market, the institutional structures, such as legislation and the institutional actors as well as the business environment that diversity managers’ operate within (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). The organizational field on the other hand is made up of social structures, organizational culture, organizational structures and power relations within the organizational environment of diversity officers (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009; Tatli, 2011). By expanding the study of diversity managers and including the notion of field, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) presents a framework which allows for the study on the relationships between diversity officers and their social and environmental field and in order to be able to better understand the choices and constraints that guide their actions, decisions and strategies.

The concept of situatedness allows researchers to position diversity management research within the context of employment and antidiscrimination legislation, of the business environment and of other institutional actors in the field of employment, including trade unions, regulatory bodies, professional bodies, stakeholders and legal bodies (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). For example, by applying this concept, researchers can explore how the effects of political pressures, stakeholder bodies, organizational culture, diversity discourse and antidiscrimination legislations, to mention a few, influence the implementation of diversity management policies at the organizational level (see for example Jones, 2007; Kirton *et al.*, 2005; Meyerson and Scully, 1995; Culbert and McDonough, 1980 see also research calls by Cornelius *et al.*, 2010) by diversity managers. This thus allows for the study of diversity officers as part of an environment which can either constrain or support their roles.

2.7.2 Relationality

Relationality refers to ‘*interdependence, intersubjectivity, and interactivity of individuals and organizational phenomena*’ (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009 pp. 250). The concept of *habitus*, introduced by Bourdieu (1977) helps to bridge the gap between structure and agency regarding decision-making.

The concept of *habitus* is a ‘question-begging concept’ (Crossley, 2013 pp. 137) which even over four decades is still not easy to define. It is an enigmatic concept, probably one of

Bourdieu's most cited works and one of his most misunderstood and misused ideas (Maton, 2012). The foundation for this work was the notion by Bourdieu (1971; 1977; 1994) that within the field of sociology, social practices are characterised by regularities with a distinct absence of set rules which govern these practices (Maton, 2012). There-in begs the question of what exactly guides individual or group practice.

Habitus is defined as the '*strategy generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations*' (Bourdieu, 1977 pp. 95). Habitus is described as a structure of social agents which comprises 'a structured and structuring structure' (Bourdieu, 1994 pp. 170). Bourdieu argues that habitus is structured by virtue of the influence of past experiences and circumstances – structuring because the afore-mentioned experiences and circumstances are able to shape the present and future (Maton, 2012; 2008). Bourdieu also argues that habitus is also structure because it is systematically ordered and not a selection of random patterns. Bourdieu argues that the tendencies, actions and practices borne as a result of this structure are durable and last over long periods of time. These linkages and the durability of the actions (perceptions) that they elicit form the basis of Bourdieu's theory of habitus. Thus according to Bourdieu and Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, habitus is both structured by one's existence (past) and has the ability to elicit tendencies which shape present and future actions, beliefs, practices, perceptions etc.

In a sense we would expect habitus = practice

However Bourdieu also suggest that since individuals do not exist in a bubble, the habitus cannot solely dictate behaviour, beliefs, practices, feelings etc. He argues that practices are the result of an 'unconscious relationship' (Bourdieu, 1993 pp. 76; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) between habitus and a field (discussed above). To summarise, Bourdieu highlights the relationship of three main notions: habitus, field and capital and theorises that practices are the results of the interrelationship between one's habitus and their current circumstances

Thus Bourdieu suggests that:

Practice = (Relationship between Habitus and Capital) + Field

This thus suggests that practice is influenced by an individual's disposition (habitus), their position or influence (capital- discussed below) within a certain field (as discussed above). In

this sense disposition is defined as one's 'tendency, propensity or inclination' (Bourdieu, 1990 pp. 53; 1977 pp. 214) to act (feel or practice) in a certain way.

By applying the concept of *habitus*, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009), in their conceptual framework, suggest that the diversity managers' agency is relational in nature; comprising of three layers of relationality: the micro-individual, meso-organizational and macro-structural levels (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). These layers of relationality are argued to be constructed through a complex network of relationships between the self, others, as well as the structural and multiple levels of social reality respectively.

The *micro-level* relationality refers to the relationship between diversity managers and their individual values, beliefs, actions and strategies (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Micro-level relationality allows researchers to employ an understanding of the personal values and beliefs of diversity officers in order to understand/predict their actions as change agents (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). For example, extant research argues that the political, social, cultural and demographic situations of diversity managers are factors that play a major role in both their actions and decisions (see for example Kirton and Greene, 2009; Kirton *et al.*, 2005; Jones, 2007; Meyerson and Scully, 1995; DiTomaso and Hooijberg, 1996); although the scope and the influence of these factors regarding their influence on diversity managers' choice of strategies remains under-explored.

At the *meso-level*, relationality refers to the effect of social capital on the diversity managers' agency. Social capital refers to the benefits that individuals derive through their membership of or affiliation with certain valuable individuals or groups. Social capital is of particular value to the study of the diversity manager's agency since their job involves working with individuals across various levels within the organization (DiTomaso and Hooijberg, 1996). Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) argue that there are two main sources of social capital which influence diversity managers' change agency: the internal and external organizational environments. The internal source of social capital arises as a result of the nature of the intra-organizational relationships that diversity officers build with various organizational members and groups and the level of their inclusion in informal organizational networks (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). The ability to harness this type of social capital depends largely on the personal attributes of individual diversity officers such as their interpersonal skills in terms of their ability to negotiate, facilitate, communicate and network effectively with organizational members (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Since like diversity officers, other organizational

members bring into the organization their personal habitus (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009) (which can differ between members), it is thus important for diversity officers to employ these interpersonal skills to form wide networks within the organization (Lawrence, 2000). This is in order that they can interact with individuals to disseminate effectively the messages about their intended diversity goals.

The external forms of social capital include for example, involvement in politics or civil societies outside the organization (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Other forms of external social capital include; membership of external networks, groups or institutions which are argued to provide support and act as an opportunity to share knowledge with other individuals within the same profession (Lawrence, 2000;)

The *macro-level* relationality refers to the nature of the self and the circumstances surrounding the '*self*' (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Here the '*self*' is seen as a complex being whose present actions are guided by past experiences (Bourdieu, 1977). Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) argue that the actions that diversity managers take are guided by a complex framework of macro-structural circumstances. These macro-structural circumstances include such factors as the demographic and cultural backgrounds (see for example Jones, 2007; Kirton and Greene, 2009; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009).

An empirical study of the practical implications of relationality is relevant to the agency of diversity managers because this will expand and explore the relevance of the theoretical framework introduced by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009). The literature on the strategies deployed by diversity managers suggest that these can range from radical to liberal, (Jewson and Mason, 1986; Jones, 2000 and Kirton *et al.*, 2007), to tempered radical (Kirton *et al.*, 2007), mainstreaming (Lawrence, 2000), utilizing differences (Liff, 1997), valuing differences (Liff, 1997), dissolving differences (Liff, 1997), accommodating differences (Liff, 1997), and liberal reformers (Kirton *et al.*, 2007); however these studies are single-level analysis of these strategies in isolation and there is a need to understand how relational factors influence the diversity management strategies employed by diversity officers. Of the available multi-level study, Tatli (2011), using the results of 19 semi-structured interviews with diversity practitioners, explored the effect of relational factors on the strategies and actions of diversity officers. My study builds on research by Tatli (2011) and explores the influence of these relational factors during a period of organizational change. Also, my study explores the influence of the capital available to diversity managers on their role in enabling diversity-

oriented change. I aim to explore the impact of these strategies from the perspective of not only diversity officers but also other stakeholders, for example, employees, in order to fulfil the call for multi-layered studies which broaden the understanding of the wider diversity management field (Tatli, 2011) .

2.7.3 Praxis

Within the concept of diversity management, praxis combines the elements of reflection and action (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Praxis identifies the dynamic nature of diversity managers' agency to reflect on their situated and relational environments which shape and constrain their role and make decisions based on this process of reflection (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). The concept of praxis is underpinned by the argument that diversity managers' role, as change agents, is influenced by their ability to learn and exert influence through a virtuous cycle of reflection and action (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009).

In order to apply the concept of praxis to the exploration of diversity managers' agency, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) borrow from the Bourdieusian notion of *doxa*, *capitals* and *strategies*. This is done in order to bring into context the reframing of the reflections and actions of diversity managers (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). The doxa experience is defined as the '*uncontested acceptance of the daily world*' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, pp. 73 in Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009 pp. 251). The notion of doxa refers to '*the preconstructed representation of the world*' and '*the cognitive schema that underlie the construction of this image*' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 pp. 247 in Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009, pp. 251). In practical, everyday terms doxa is said to refer to '*the pre-reflexive, shared but unquestioned opinions and perceptions mediated by relatively autonomous social microcosms (fields) which determine "natural" practice and attitudes via the internalized "sense of limits" and habitus of the social agents in the fields*' (Deer, 2010 pp. 120). Within the field of organizational diversity management, the exclusions and inequalities that are counterintuitive to the implementation of diversity management policies are reproduced through everyday acts and utterances of doxic experiences (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Doxic reflections thus refer to the ability of diversity managers to reflect upon the relevant doxic experiences and reveal the uncontested acts and illusions that may legitimise hegemony and inequality (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009).

The cycle of reflection (on the domain of heterodoxy) and action (by awareness-raising), within the context of praxis, requires diversity managers to deploy the use of certain tools to influence organizational change. These tools are referred to by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) as ‘capital’ (pp. 251). The amount of strategically utilizable capital at the disposal of diversity managers is thus argued to influence the extent of the boundaries of their agency (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Within the realm of diversity managers’ agency, capital can be classed into four broad groups. These are economic, symbolic capital, cultural and social capital; all of which exist and function only within certain fields and doxa (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 pp. 101; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009).

Diversity managers are argued to, through knowledge and experiences learn the rules that govern the organizational field and doxa (Jones, 2007; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). The knowledge that diversity managers possess about the organizational field and doxa enables them to package change messages in a way that is appropriate to their environment. This enables diversity managers to utilize the relevant, formal or informal strategies, in accordance with this understanding, to learn, disseminate, implement and enact discourses of diversity. For example, by understanding the business environment, diversity managers can strategically apply either the business case discourse (see for example Cornelius *et al*, 2000; Cox, 1991; Dobbin and Kelly, 2006; Figiel and Sasser, 2010; Kirton and Greene, 2006; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Sinclair, 2000;) or the use of buzz words to target and gain allies among different classes of organizational members in order to be more effective (see for example Dobbins and Kalev, 2011; Ely, 2004; Kirby and Richards, 1996; Williams and Bauer, 1994). By understanding the organizational field and doxa, diversity managers become empowered by their knowledge which legitimises them as relevant players in the game of diversity management. Thus, diversity management is argued to be enacted by diversity managers not only through policy implementation, but also as individual enactments of daily acts of reflection which generate strategies to meet their proposed diversity goals (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009; Tatli, 2011).

The framework provided by Tatli and Özbilgin (2001) thus presents a foundation for the study of inter-relationships between diversity officers and their micro, meso and macro relational context, alongside their relationships with their social and organizational field during a period of organizational change. However, although Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) identify organizational culture as one of the contextual factors that influence the role of

diversity managers and practice of diversity management, other researchers argue that organizational culture also represents a core strategy in the successful implementation of diversity management policies (see for example Wilson, 2000; Cabral-Cardoso, 2007; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002; Zintz, 1997). As a result it is important to study how aspects of organizational culture can be managed in such a way that allows for the implementation of a culture which is competent enough to support values, norms and beliefs which enhance equality and diversity within organizations. The detailed study of the processes of organizational culture and the influence of contextual factors in this process is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have introduced the concept of diversity management and the theoretical assumptions that underpin approaches to equality and diversity. I have also explored existing debates within the field of equality and diversity which argue for the need to expand the study of this field beyond the present realm covered by the existing literature. During the course of this review, I have also presented approaches to implementing and managing diversity related changes. As part of this review, I have also presented the literature on diversity managers in a way that explores their role within the context of both their internal and external environments. By introducing the contextual factors of situatedness, relationality and praxis (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009), this chapter has narrowed the factors that can influence the role of diversity managers. Within the context of situatedness, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) identified organizational culture as one of the contextual factors which can influence equality and diversity programs, however extant literature also suggests that organizational culture can in itself be adopted in the implementation of equality and diversity programs (Arredondo, 1996). Arredondo (1996) suggests that at the core of diversity management is a strategic approach to organizational culture change in order to provide an environment when culture enables equality and diversity changes. Thus in the next chapter I will present a review of organizational culture and organizational culture changes as both a contextual factor (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009; Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000; Owens, 1997) and an enabling factor (Wilson, 2000; Cabral-Cardoso, 2007; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002; Wilson, 2000; Zintz, 1997; Arredondo, 1996) within the field of equality and diversity. This is in order to show, at the end of the chapter, the ways in which the contextual factors that are peculiar to diversity management can influence organizational culture change processes.

CHAPTER THREE

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AND CULTURE MANAGEMENT: KEY FEATURES OF DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT.

3.0 Introduction

Diversity management approaches organizational culture in two main ways. First, culture change is seen as an end in itself; as a way to facilitate equality and diversity changes. By targeting values, beliefs and assumptions that lead to discrimination and prejudice (Wilson, 2000; Cabral-Cardoso, 2007; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002; Wilson, 2000; Zintz, 1997; Arredondo, 1996) culture change can foster inclusion and equality. Secondly, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) note that organizational culture can (as part of the contextual factors that influence the role of diversity managers) facilitate or inhibit the implementation of diversity management change programmes. This then suggests that culture management programs which are implemented as a direct consequence of equality and diversity management are also influenced by the same contextual factors that influence the latter. In this regard, it is one of the objectives of this study to explore this relationship in detail, from the perspective of the diversity officer.

In this chapter, I provide an in-depth review of the literature on organizational culture with the objective of establishing the relevance of organizational culture to the field of diversity management. Adopting the view of organizational culture as a metaphor, I will then focus on presenting a detailed literature on the culture change processes identified by Hatch (1993). Hatch's (1993) framework provides a detailed understanding of cultural elements and how they influence the process of culture change. Perhaps most relevant to this study and thus to the field of diversity management is the identification by Hatch (1993) of the dynamic nature of the meanings of the individual factors that make up the elements of organizational culture. Hatch (1993) theorizes that the influences of contextual factors on the process of culture change are dependent on the meanings they possess. The aim of my study is to apply this theory to explore the meanings, by organizational actors, of the contextual factors identified by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) in order to understand the influences they may have on equality and diversity management implemented through organizational culture change.

Although this chapter aims to be critical, it only provides a literature review of the themes as they relate to this research and does not provide an exhaustive review of all available literature on organizational culture.

3.1 Understanding Organizational Culture

Organizational culture has long been central to theories on organizational change, performance and employee loyalty among others (Penelope and Pattison, 2012). Among the advantages of organizational culture, positive correlations are theorised between organizational or ‘corporate’ culture and organizational survival, performance, management style, and employee motivation (see for example Fleming, 2012; Alvesson, 2002, pp. 1-11; Cameron and Quinn, 2006; Ogbonna and Harris, 2002a; 2002b; Martin, 2002; Peters and Waterman, 1982, Brown, 1995 pp. 58; Ogbonna and Wilkinson, 2003; Wilhelm, 1992; Peters and Waterman, 1982). Probably the most relevant benefit is the argument that organizational culture can be used to modify employee behaviours (Morgan 2006; Robbins, 2001; 2003; Schein, 1999; 1985; Lorsch 1986; Scholz, 1987 and Van Maanen, 1988 see also critique by Willmott, 1993).

Culture has also emerged as pivotal to the successful implementation of institutional change programs (see for example, Latta, 2009; Hercleuous, 2001; Bate *et al.* 2000). Both the conceptual (Gagliardi, 1986; Hatch, 2006) and process models (Burke, 2008) of organizational change reflect the influence of cultural dynamics in moderating efforts to influence attitudes, norms and beliefs of employees (Latta; 2009). However, over the last decade organizational culture has been associated increasingly with the implementation of diversity management practices (Herrera *et al.*, 2011; Cabral-Cardoso, 2007; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002; Wilson, 2000); in its capacity as both a strategy (Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002) and a contextual factor (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009; Tatli, 2011). This thus highlights the need for a detailed understanding of the elements of organizational culture and the processes involved in culture change which may be relevant to the implementation of equality and diversity policies and practices

In anthropological terms, culture has traditionally been used to describe a range of social phenomena, from knowledge, to norms, beliefs, values, behaviours and also attitudes (Borowsky, 1994; Ortner, 1984). During the late 1970s to the early 1980s, culture became increasingly popular within the field of organizational studies, and, as a result the term

organizational culture has become a key theme in the organizational behaviour literature (Allaire and Fisirotu, 1984). Common to the available definitions of organization culture are the notions that shared values, beliefs and norms guide employee behaviour (Glisson, 2000; Glisson and James, 2002).

There is a wide range of definitions for the term organizational culture. This is due in part to the variations in the description, purpose and depth of organizational culture studies as well as existing variety in the nature, depth, research and theoretical orientations that use the term 'culture' (see for example Alvesson, 2002 pp. 3; Bryson, 2008; Linstead *et al.*, 2009 pp. 154). Although these variations may appear significant, this does not mean that the concept of organizational culture is indefinable (Linstead *et al.*, 2009 pp. 154). The contributions to the literature on organizational culture, especially by Schein (1983; 1988; 1992), Alvesson (2002), Hatch (1997), Denison (1990); Lorsch (1986), Smircich (1983), Martin (2002) among others suggest that culture is a combination of elements. These elements include shared values, language, behaviours, and assumptions all of which develop over time becoming to a certain extent stable (Buchanan and Huczynski, 2007; Martin, 2002; Robbins, 2001; Brown, 1995; Hatch, 1993; 1997); although it should be noted that these elements may differ across cultures.

Robbins (2001), Hofstede (1991), Hofstede and Bond (1984), and Schein (1983; 1985) also describe the social nature of organizational culture. The process of embedding the cultural elements above is said to involve a socially interactive teaching process during which culture is taught to organizational members and learnt over time as groups strive to find solutions to problems they experience (Martin, 2002; Schein, 1985; 1988; 1993; 1996). As a social phenomenon, organizational culture is thus constantly negotiated (Bryson, 2008) and only becomes deep rooted when the belief is held over time and has been successful in helping as a problem solving tool (Schein, 1983; 1985; Smircich, 1983; Diefenbach, 2007; Lebas and Weigenstein, 1986; Schein, 1992).

The above theoretical perspectives thus suggest that the elements which make up organizational culture are dynamic and can be changed not just through a process of teaching but also through an active process of learning (Hatch, 2000; Burke, 2008; Latta, 2009). Thus for the purpose of this research, I will combine two definitions which express that organizational culture, as a combination of values, beliefs and assumptions, acts as an

expression of deep rooted assumptions which can be negotiated through a process of social interaction, learning and teaching.

The first defines organizational culture as *'a system of common symbols and meaning . . . (that) provides the shared rules governing cognitive and affective aspects of membership in an organization, and the means by which they are shaped and expressed'* (Alvesson, 2002, p. 3). The second definition is that *'culture is not a single belief or assumption; it is a set of interrelated (but not necessarily consistent) beliefs and assumptions'* (Hatch, 1993 p. 213).

By combining both definitions, for the purpose of this study, I will define organizational culture as:

'a system of interrelated (but not necessarily consistent) beliefs and assumptions (that) provides the shared rules governing cognitive and affective aspects of membership in an organization, and the means by which they are shaped and expressed'.

Research perspectives on the relationship between culture and other aspects of the organization can be broadly divided into two main themes: the culture as a variable or objective entity, or culture as a root metaphor perspective (Smircich, 1983; Bryson; 2008; Brown, 1995).

As an entity, organizational culture is viewed as an observable construct, developed to aid the understanding of organizations; and to use this understanding to support the improvement of organizational functions (Brown, 1995; Morgan, 2006). Here culture stands as an independent variable (Alvesson, 2006; 2002); separate from other aspects of the organization like structure, climate, policies or technology (Wilson, 2000).

As a metaphor however, culture provides a much deeper approach to understanding organizations (Brown, 1995; Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982; Schein, 1985). Metaphors help to provide meaning to deepen our understanding of organizations. Here, the use of the term 'metaphor' goes beyond its illustrative functions and is used instead as a 'crucial element in how people relate to reality. . . as a way of thinking about reality. . . as a primal, generative process that is fundamental to the creation of human understanding and meaning in all aspects of life' (Alvesson, 2002 p. 18, see also critique in Alvesson, 2002 pp.22-24). Here culture research is approached as a way through which a more in-depth study

of organizations can be conducted (Hatch, 1993; 2000; Schein, 1985; Schultz and Hatch, 1996; Smircich, 1983).

Adopting the culture as a metaphor approach to organizational studies highlights the role that organizational culture has on organizational life (Willmott, 1993). This view directs attention to the significance that the processes of social construction and meaning formation have in understanding the day to day functioning of organizations (Morgan, 2006 p. 142). Here, culture research is conducted in order to harness the potential of culture to provide a tapestry to the study of organizations in terms of both its procedural aspects as well as the social interactions that occur within organizations (see for example Barley *et al.*, 1988). As mentioned in the previous chapter, culture not only serves to facilitate the smooth implementation of diversity change programs when implemented simultaneously, but as a contextual factor, organizational culture can also present as a resource or an inhibitor of diversity change programs (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009; Kegan and Lahey, 2001; Wilkins and Dyer, 1988). Thus, by understanding the integrated systems that make up the organization's culture, researchers can explore in detail how these aspects of the organization inhibit or complement the implementation of equality and diversity programs by diversity officers.

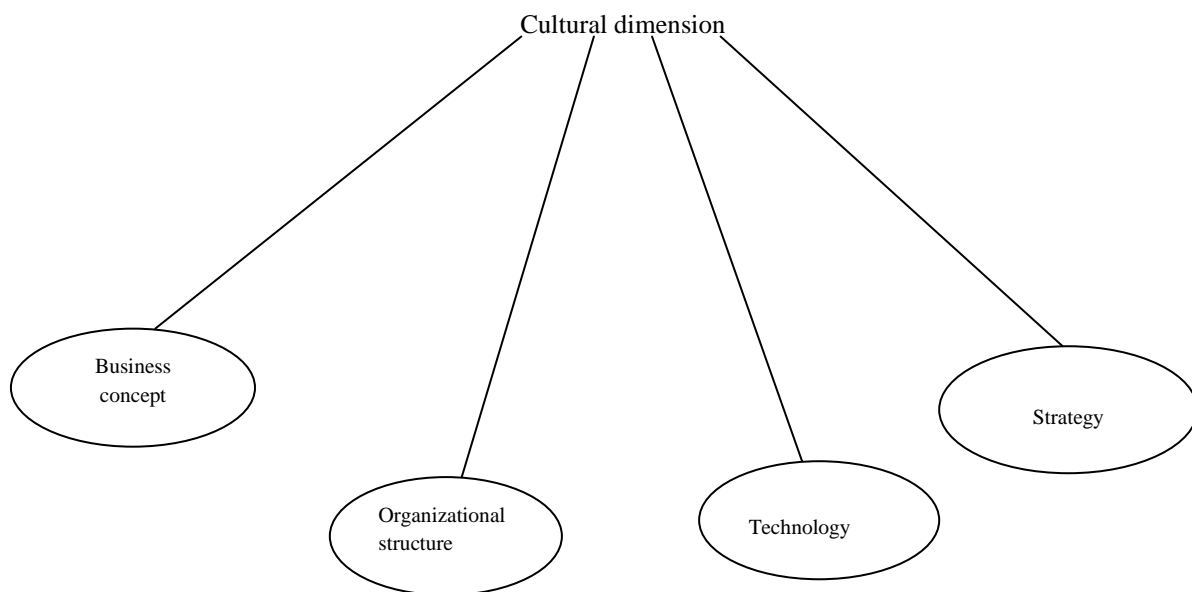


Fig. 3.1 Culture as a metaphor: a fundamental dimension which permeates various 'subsystems' Adapted from Understanding Organizational Culture (Alvesson, 2002 p. 26)

Figure 3.1 above provides a diagrammatic representation of the culture-as-a-metaphor approach to organizational culture research. This figure shows that, as a metaphor, culture is

imbibed into every aspect of the organization. Thus, culture studies become essential both to the understanding of and the functioning of other aspects of the organization and also to the understanding of these aspects (see for example Fleming, 2012; Ogbonna and Harris, 1998; Cox and Blake 1991; Organ and Hammer, 1982; Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980; Barley *et al.*, 1988). From this perspective, culture serves two main purposes.

First, culture is embedded in other aspects of the organization and can support or inhibit, for example, the desired organizational structure, technological change, strategy or business concept (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). The second function that culture serves is as a manifestation of the underlying beliefs that organizational members possess about the existing and desired organization's structure, business strategy, policies and management styles to mention a few (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Thus, it is possible to understand the effects of cultural processes and interactions on performance, growth, organizational life, employee commitment and employee and customer experiences to mention a few (Martin, 2002; Hatch, 1993; Kotter and Heskett 1992) and also to understand these processes by understanding the organizational culture. Thus while culture serves as a reflection of organizational processes, policies, structure, strategy and technology it is also embedded within these processes (Alvesson, 2006; 2002).

3.2 Culture Management and Change

For the purpose of this work, the terms 'culture management', 'culture change' and 'managing culture' are used interchangeably just like in previous works by Alvesson (2006; 2002) and Ogbonna (1993). Culture management is a strategic process defined as '*a dynamic process which could involve attempts to establish a new culture or cultures, preserve an existing culture, modify the existing culture or discard the existing culture*' (Ogbonna and Harris, 2002a p. 677). Ogbonna (1993) also further suggests that the process of managing organizational culture can involve, creating culture, maintaining the existing culture or abandoning it altogether.

The debates surrounding the field of culture management have gone on for decades and are mainly premised on work by Smircich (1983) which describes organizational culture as either something an organization 'is' or 'has'. The perspective adopted by theorist is usually a guide to their debates on whether organizational culture can be changed or not. However, the debates have gone beyond asking questions about whether or not culture can be changed to

how best the process of culture management can be implemented (see for example Alvesson, 2002; Balogun and Johnson, 2005; Barley *et al.*, 1988; Gagliardi, 1986; Hatch, 1993; Linstead *et al.*, 2009; McCabe 2010; Morgan, 2006; Ogbonna and Harris, 1998; 2002b; 2013; Parker and Bradley; 2000; Smircich, 1983; Thompson and McHugh, 2001; Wilson, 2000).

The debate now suggests that organizational culture *may* be manipulated only under certain conditions (Meek, 1988; Ogbonna and Harris, 1998, 2002a; 2013; Rosenthal *et al.*, 1997). These include but are not limited to periods of crisis, leadership changes, and organization formation (Dyer, 1985; Lundberg, 1985; Ogbonna and Harris, 2002b). While it is argued that the process of manipulation is a difficult and tricky one (Martin, 1985), the overriding view is that there are certain conditions under which organizational culture processes may be implemented. However, there are still debates which argue against this perspective and suggest that there is an (in)ability to predict and measure accurately the observable behavioural outcomes that occur as a result of culture change (see for example Alvesson, 2002; Balogun and Johnson, 2004; 2005; Diefenbach, 2007; Hatch, 1993; 1997; 2000; Morgan, 2006 pp. 142; Ogbonna, 1993).

That said, researchers argue that the success of culture change programs and the approach to organization culture change depends on how organizations perceive that their culture evolves (Cameron and Quinn, 2006). There is a variety of literature on the theory of culture evolution (see for example Barkow *et al.*, 1995; Cameron and Quinn, 2006; Hall, 1959; Martin, 2002; Meyerson and Martin, 1987; Sathe, 1983; Schein, 1989), and this field of study has experienced resurgence over the last few years (Yin *et al.* 2014 p. 973). The two main perspectives on culture evolution which I will focus on are the differentiation and integration approach.

The differentiation view argues, in one light that, organizations are a collection of values which may either be similar or contradictory (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). In another light Gregory (1983) argues that as open systems organizational culture is an amalgamation of both the culture within the organization and other cultures within the external environment; which include occupational culture, national culture among a few. Organizational sub units are thus argued to be sensitive to the external environment and less so to other sub units, as a result changes that occur in response to environmental changes are usually localized. Here the process of organizational culture change is an exogenous one which is influenced by factors from outside the organizational environment, thus allowing a link between organizational

culture and external sources of influence that act as triggers for change. These factors include but are not limited to, for example, the external national culture, political environment, the economic environment, legislation and demographic mix of the wider society (Yin *et al.* 2014). This approach views organizational culture as an open and dynamic system in which change is neither planned nor controlled by management. Although this approach argues that culture changes within organizations are not generalized and are limited to specific pockets or sub teams within the organization, viewing culture change in this way affords researchers the scope to study organizational culture changes as part of wider changes within the external contextual environment in which these organizations exist.

The integration perspective on the other hand argues that culture change occurs mainly as a result of triggers within the internal organizational environment. This view adopts Schein's (1989) argument of the processes of organizational culture change and argues that culture change occurs in two main ways. Schein (1989) argues that culture change occurs either during periods of organizational crisis or as leader-led culture change/induction/initiation programs. This view adopts an organization-wide planned three-step approach to culture change; which is often implemented intentionally and controlled by management (Schein 1965; 1985; 1989). However the main criticism against this perspective is the argument that it ignores the influence of the external environment on the process of culture change.

While both perspectives represent conflicting triggers of culture change, the reality is that organizational culture change is *'beyond the explanatory power of a single view'* (Yin *et al.* 2014, pp. 973). Thus, by focusing on either the integration or differentiation perspective, researchers may run the risk of oversimplifying the process of organizational change and thus ignore the significance of the influence of either the internal or external environment respectively. For example, Tilcsik (2012) and Marquis and Tilcsik (2013) argue that during sensitive periods organizations strive to re-align their values once again with the environment in order to achieve a state of equilibrium with the environment. Thus, during these periods organizations open up and accept external influences which teach them how to behave (Yin *et al.* 2014). This process is known as 'imprinting'. Imprinting is defined as a process which occurs usually at sensitive times when *'a focal entity develops characteristics that reflect prominent features of the environment and these characteristics continue to persist despite significant changes in subsequent periods'* (Marquis and Tilcsik, 2013 pp. 199). Thus culture represents a set of multidimensional imprints which include economic conditions, political

conditions, and demographic conditions among others which evolves through a process of imprinting (Yin *et al.* 2014). This process thus allows researchers to study organizational change that is triggered by factors both within and outside the organization.

While not all periods of transitional environmental changes lead to sustained organizational changes, Yin *et al.* (2014) argue that culture changes that adapted to environmental changes possess greater chances of being sustained within organizations. This is especially so when there is a threat to the existence of the organization and they need to conform to the environment or risk decline (Staw *et al.* 1981). This process is referred to as a ‘shock-imprinting’ process (Dieleman, 2010). Shock-imprinting refers to situations when, as a result of an external threat, there is a risk of organizational collapse and there is an absolute necessity for organizations to break away from old practices and develop new skills, attributes and values in order to survive and remain competitive. This echoes other theorists who argue that organizational culture is influenced by the extra-organizational environment around which it is surrounded (Ogbonna and Harris, 2013; Tsui *et al.*, 2007). As a result local communities, political networks, social groups, peer pressure, professional institutions, legislation among others are argued to all play a role in shaping an organization’s culture (see for example Galaskiewicz, 1997; Greve and Rao 2012; Marquis and Battilana, 2009; Marquis *et al.* 2013; Tsui *et al.*, 2007; Yin *et al.* 2014).

This point is particularly relevant to this study since, as discussed in the previous chapter, a plethora of factors play crucial roles in the implementation of organizational diversity management programs. These factors include but are not limited to: business, moral, stakeholder, ethical and legislative pushes for the implementation of these programs; as meeting many of these objectives are often considered crucial to the survival and competitiveness of organizations. It is thus tenable to argue that changes in the external legislative environment, as purported by Ahmed (2007) will trigger a process of imprinting. This is because, as discussed earlier, many diversity management change programs involve an underlying organizational culture change in order to both compliment and sustain new diversity management programs. However, the exact steps involved in the enabling of diversity-oriented culture change processes remain unknown.

In order to understand better the steps involved in the process of organizational culture change I will now present Hatch’s cultural dynamics change framework and explain, during this presentation, its relevance to this study.

3.3 Hatch's Dynamics of Organizational Culture

Though some researchers argue that the use of conceptual models oversimplify complex scientific or social phenomena (Cameron and Quinn, 2006; Hatch, 1993), their use in this research is to help to guide the approach of this empirical research (Hatch, 1993). Frameworks also act as a guide and thus allow me to focus my study in order to be able to capture a more accurate reality of the subject matter (Cameron and Quinn, 2006). Similarly Smircich (1983) argues that using a relevant cultural framework for analysis will enable researchers to see 'that an important role for those who study and manage organizations is not to celebrate organizations as a value, but to question the ends it serves' (Smircich, 1983 p. 355 cited in Willmott, 1993). Thus I present Hatch's framework in this section as a guide to aid effectively the study of the cognitive processes involved in the process of culture change within the research context.

At the fundamental level, culture is made up of unconscious and usually unspoken values and norms that guide the actions and decisions of organizations and their members (Brown, 1995; Hatch, 1997; Martin, 2002; Schein, 1983; 1985); comprising of patterns of shared basic assumptions that groups learn as they solve either problems of external adaptation or internal integration. Schein's (1983; 1985, 1992; 1996) work on culture is one of the most widely used in this field. It describes organizational culture formation as a dynamic process which occurs as the need arises for organizational members to find solutions to problems of external adaptation and internal integration (Schein, 1992). Schein (1983; 1985; 1990; 1992) describes the process of culture formation as a cognitive, behavioural and emotional one which involves the interaction between the three elements of culture (Fig 3.2).

While Schein's (1992) contributions, which include the basic elements of organizational culture remains invaluable, this approach to culture change has been critiqued extensively (see for example Alvesson and Berg, 1992; Brown, 1995; Hatch, 1993; 1997; 2000; Maanen and Barley, 1985; Martin and Siehl, 1983; Morgan, 2006) and as a result Hatch (1993) introduced the cultural dynamics framework. Hatch's (1993, 1997; 2000) framework provides a conceptual framework through which to consider the cognitive impact of organizational culture on the implementation of organizational change (Latta, 2009).

There are two significant differences between Schein's model of culture and Hatch's cultural dynamics framework. The first is the inclusion of symbols as part of the elements of

organizational culture. The second is a re-description of the processes involved in culture change. By identifying the various processes of interaction between the elements of culture, Hatch's (1993) framework identifies where culture change occurs and the elements that can contribute to this process. However, before presenting the framework I will first provide a description of the various elements that make up culture, drawing on the work of Schein (1992) and Brown (1995).

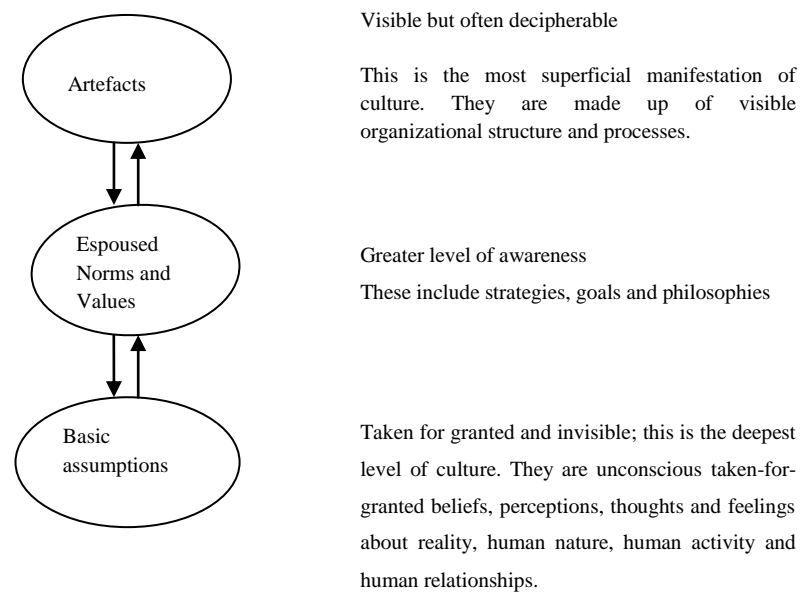


Fig. 3.2 Schein's model of culture

(Adapted from Schein, 1992 and Brown, 1995)

Artefacts are the most superficial manifestations of organizational culture and represent the most visible aspects of culture (Brown, 1995; Martin, 2002). They are composed of both material and non-material aspects of an organization (Buchanan and Huczynski, 2007) and refer to the total '*physical and socially constructed environment of an organization*' (Brown, 1995 pp. 9). Examples of artefacts include, but are not limited to, the architecture, physical layout, language, technology, symbols, behavioural patterns, metaphors, stories, rules, policies, procedures and programmes (Hatch, 1993; Martin, 2002). Within the diversity management literature Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) argue that artefacts include material and non-material manifestations of an organization's commitment to diversity management. These can include, for example, the scope and detail of the organizational diversity policies, training sessions, meetings, the level of involvement and commitment of senior management to diversity initiatives, commitment in terms of time, money, employees and space to mention a few.

Values make up part of the cognitive sub-structure of culture (Buchanan and Huczynski, 2007; Brown, 1995). Values constitute the basis for making judgements and are usually referred to as moral and ethical codes. They determine what members think has to be done (Hatch, 2000; 1997; 1993; Martin, 2002;). They are social principles, goals and standards that determine what the organization cares about and as such what the membership of the organization should care about (Hatch, 1997). They may include, for example, honesty, integrity, openness, freedom, fairness and loyalty. Moral and ethical decisions are made based on these values. Gagliardi (1986, pp. 123) refers to organizational values as the *'idealization of a collective experience of success in the use of a skill and the emotional transfiguration of previous beliefs'*. Norms and beliefs (Brown, 1995) are usually categorised alongside values. They represent what it takes to be considered as normal or abnormal within the organization (Hatch, 1997). Stone and Colella (1996 pp. 371) propose that *'an organization's norms and values identify the types of behaviours that are appropriate and provide moral justification for organizational policies and practices'* (Stone and Colella, 1996). Organizational members evoke positive or negative emotions (attitudes) towards certain situations depending on their values and belief system. While some values may favour the majority of organizational members, the same values can be disadvantageous to others (Cox, 1993; Stone and Colella, 1996). For example, systems in place which value standardization and impersonalization may be disadvantageous to disabled employees because of their inability to adapt to inflexible rules and procedures (Stone and Colella, 1996).

Basic assumptions represent the innermost, taken for granted aspects of culture (Brown, 1995; Buchanan and Huczynski, 2007). They are deep rooted assumptions or *'theories in use'* (Schein, 1985) which represents the belief system of a group (Schein, 1985) and guides individuals' perceptions, feelings and emotions about situations (Schein, 1985; 1988). While assumptions and beliefs may appear similar, assumptions are more deep rooted which implies that assumptions are less open to modification or change than beliefs (Brown, 1995). Basic assumptions represent a highly complex aspect of the human group psychology and they are made up of a complex process of interaction between beliefs, interpretations of the beliefs, values, interpretation of the values and emotions. Schein (1985) argues that as the innermost layer of organizational culture, basic assumptions form the essence of culture and moulds the values and the outward manifestations of culture (Hatch, 1993).

Hatch's (1993) inclusion of **symbols** allows the process of culture change to be approached from a symbolic interpretivist perspective and thus provides researchers with an additional window through which an insightful study of organizations can be made. The addition of symbols to the elements of organizational culture allows the cultural dynamics framework to not only contribute to Schein's model, but also to be amenable to the theories of symbolization and interpretation (Hatch, 1997; 1993). Symbolists describe symbols as anything which subconsciously or consciously have a wider, usually more abstract, meaning (e.g. logo, slogan, stories, architecture, actions, non-actions etc.). Similarly, Hatch (1993) describes symbols as consisting of tangible and intangible forms which are socially constructed aspects of organizations. The reason for approaching the study of symbols as a socially constructed phenomenon is because research shows that individuals differ in their use and interpretation of symbols and are also sensitive to other's interpretations of them (Hatch, 2000; 1997). Thus, like Peterson and Smith (2000), Hatch argues that symbols are important enough to be regarded as visible, physical manifestations of organizations and indicators of organizational life and culture.

In distinguishing symbols from artefacts Hatch (1993) suggests that symbols are described as artefacts/physical objects that have a deeper meaning which is different from their literal one. Thus, whilst all symbols can be grouped as artefacts, not all artefacts gain enough symbolic significance to be classed as symbols. Artefacts become symbols only when meaning is associated with them and when they can be used to communicate meaning to others (Hatch, 1997). Hence, artefacts (with literal meanings) become symbols when they have a deeper meaning (surplus meaning) that influences the interpretation and formation of the organization's culture (Hatch, 1997). Peterson and Smith (2000) describe symbols as objects or things which possess the ability to stand as an idea, for example when the object of a dove stands as a symbol of peace, or the white flag as a symbol of surrender or the rainbow flag as a symbol of diversity. Similarly, Hatch (1997) describes symbols as objects or actions which represent a conscious or subconscious association with a wider meaning, idea, stance or concept. Alvesson (2002) also defines symbols as:

'A symbol can be defined as an object- a word or statement, a kind of action or a material phenomenon - that stands ambiguously for something else and/or something more than the object itself' (Alvesson, 2002 pp. 4)

Thus by including symbols as part of the elements that make up culture, Hatch (1993) describes culture as a somewhat cohesive system of meanings and symbols that serve as a

base for social interaction. However, the addition of symbols to the elements of organizational culture is only one of the contributions of the cultural dynamics framework; as Hatch (1993) went further to describe the processes of interaction which occurs between these four elements during the complex process of culture change.

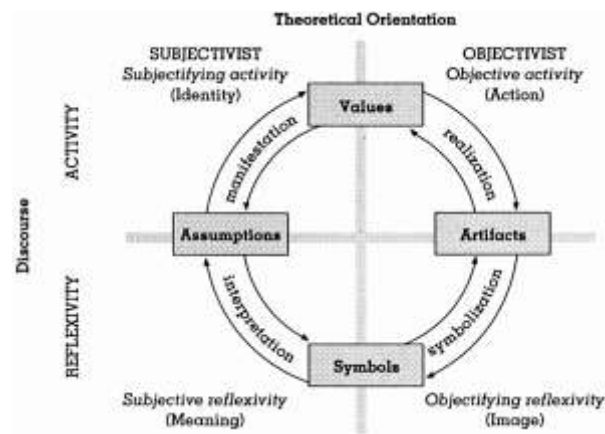


Fig. 3.3 The Cultural dynamics model Hatch (2000)

In her work Hatch (1993) explores in detail the relationship between four cultural elements i.e. values, artefacts, symbols and assumptions, as demonstrated in fig 3.3. She introduced the concepts of realization, symbolization, manifestation and interpretation to describe, in detail, the processes of interaction which occur between the different cultural elements (Aguiar and Vasconcellos, 2009; Dauber *et al.* 2012; Latta, 2009). By doing this, Hatch (1993) shifts the study of organizational culture from a static study of different constructs to a more dynamic and fluid understanding that explores the complex inter-relationships between the various cultural elements and the influences that they have on one another (Aguiar and Vasconcellos, 2009; Dauber *et al.* 2012; Latta, 2009). While the realization and interpretation processes have previously been discussed in organizational studies, the symbolization and manifestation processes are not as well known. Since this model forms an integral part of this study I will discuss the processes involved in detail below.

3.3.1 Manifestation Processes

The manifestation process identifies the relationship between assumptions and values. The process of converting values to assumptions is time dependent. Assumptions represent deep rooted beliefs and it is only when the values have existed successfully over time that they become ingrained as part of the deep-rooted, taken for granted assumptions (Schein, 1985). Hatch (1993) suggests that the manifestation process provides a dynamic view of the

relationship between assumptions and values; showing the interdependencies that exists between these two constructs.

Manifestation is defined as *'any process by which the essence reveals itself, usually via the senses, but also through cognition and emotion'* (Hatch, 1993 pp. 661-662). This process allows assumptions to be revealed in the perceptions, cognitions and emotions of organizational employees by translating the intangible assumptions to tangible values (Hatch, 1993). The manifestation process contributes to the constitution of organizational culture by translating intangible assumptions into recognizable values (Hatch, 1993). Hatch argues that the process of manifestation contributes to the constitution of culture through the advantage that this process brings to certain ways of seeing, feeling and knowing within the organization.

From the diagram of the cultural dynamics framework, in fig. 3.3, the process of manifestation can either be proactive (the arrow from assumptions to values in fig. 3) or retroactive (the arrow from values to assumptions in fig. 3).

Proactive manifestation is a system of processes which occurs when assumptions shape perceptions, thoughts and feelings; i.e. what organizational members perceive to be true shapes what they value. Here, assumptions provide expectations that influence perception, thoughts and feeling about the world and the organization (Hatch, 1993). The perceptions, thoughts and feelings serve as a reflection of the organization, or the world, and it is on the basis of what one likes or dislikes that members become aware of their own values (without necessarily being aware of the underlying assumptions on which their values are based) (Hatch, 1993).

Proactive manifestation represents the process of applying general expectations to tie together chaotic elements prior to taking action (Hatch, 1993). These expectations are grounded in cultural assumptions about the nature of reality and the nature of organizations, and revealed as values. The proactive manifestation process thus generates values that have the capability to organize actions or expectations (Hatch, 1993).

Retroactive manifestation on the other hand represents the contributions of values to assumptions. Once values have emerged from basic assumptions, they serve retroactively to reaffirm the assumption from where it emerged (Hatch, 1993). Here, values can either retroactively maintain assumptions or they can alter them (Hatch, 1993). In the process of

retroactive maintenance, the values are in harmony with the assumptions and as such no further processing is necessary. The alignment between the assumptions and the values thus reaffirms the basic assumptions.

When the values differ from the assumption, then retroactive alteration can occur (Schein, 1985; Hatch, 1993; 1997). Like Schein's (1985) model this framework represents the series of events that happens when assumptions are altered by new values which are implemented successfully (usually introduced by top management) (Hatch, 1993). Hatch (1993; 1997) argues that for culture change to occur, the newly introduced values must be at odds with the existing assumption; otherwise retroactive manifestation will only reaffirm the existing assumptions. If values are introduced from sources external to the existing culture, then, either retroactive maintenance can take place or they can be ignored if they are not retroactively taken to be part of the culture (Hatch, 1993). In some respect, this framework laid the foundation for later studies which explain in detail the deeper cognitive process that occur during the 'imprinting' and 'shock-imprinting' processes of culture change mentioned above (Marquis and Tilcsik, 2013; Yin *et al.* 2014).

3.3.2 Realization Processes

Artefacts are tangible representations of organizational culture (Schein, 1985). Hatch (1993; 1997) suggests that the access point for the new values is more likely to be through organizational artefacts rather than the values themselves. Thus, artefacts play a significant role in the formation of values (Hatch, 1993). In lay terms, 'realization' means to achieve something, to bring it to life or to make it real. However, within the cultural dynamics framework, cultural realization refers to the process of interaction between the cultural values and artefacts. Realization is described as the process by which the intangible aspect of culture (values) becomes tangible in the form of artefacts (Hatch, 2000; 1993). This process represents the transformation of values into artefacts and is defined as the '*process of making values real by transforming expectations into social and material reality*' (Hatch, 1993 pp. 666). Like the manifestation process, the realization process can also be proactive or retroactive; depending on whether or not values transform artefacts (rituals, rites, language, story, and structure) or whether the reverse happens.

Proactive realization is defined as the '*process wherein culturally influenced activity produces artefacts such that a given set of values or expectations receives some degree of*

representation in the tangible form' (Hatch, 1993 pp. 667). Proactive realization (also present in Schein's model) is the process responsible for the transformation of values into artefacts; occurring values shape the nature of organizational artefacts. The process of proactive manifestation occurs through activities that confer tangibility to the expectations revealed by the manifestation process (Hatch, 1993). The manifestation process transcends into realization only when expectations and their associated values are reflected in activities that have tangible outcomes (Hatch, 1993).

The realization process follows manifestation only if expectations and their associated beliefs find a way to be activities which possess tangible outcomes (Hatch, 1993). There are many activities that can contribute to the realization of expectations, for example, the production of organizational objects (like reports, buildings, and newsletters), engagement in organizational events (picnics, meetings, and parties), participating in discourse (jokes, formal and informal conversations) and the importation of objects, people or events from cultures external to the organization (Hatch, 1993). In relation to equality and diversity the recruitment of a diversity manager may contribute to reinforcing the belief that the organization values diversity, but this may depend on the meaning associated to this gesture by organizational members.

Retroactive realization, on the other hand, is the process that occurs when artefacts retroactively contribute to values (Hatch, 1993; 2000). In the event that the artefacts are not rejected by members of the organization they can be accepted and incorporated among the other culturally produced artefacts; eventually reflecting back on existing values (Hatch, 1993; 2000). Like the manifestation process, the retroactive realization process also has two possible outcomes (Hatch, 1993; 2000). The first outcome is the reaffirmation or maintenance of the values by the artefacts expressed by these values. The second outcome, that is retroactive realization, occurs when the newly introduced artefacts are produced from organizational culture sources which are external to the organization, thus the artefacts differ from the existing values. Hatch (1993) argues that artefacts produced from cultures external to the organizations, which are different from the existing artefacts, will retroactively challenge the existing values and their expectations. Thus, changes will only occur in the existing value system if the newly introduced artefact represents values which differ from the existing values substantially enough and is deemed to be a sufficiently favourable solution to organizational problems (Hatch, 1993; 1997). These artefacts then work retroactively to

realign the values and maybe also assumptions, via retroactive manifestation, as the culture adjusts to their presence (Hatch, 1993).

Thus like the process of ‘shock imprinting’ only external factors which are perceived to be necessary for the survival of the organization and capable of solving organizational problems will be involved in the process of cultural realization. For example, changes in the legislation, the perceived threat of litigation or financial ruin may prompt organizations to implement new diversity management policies or programmes (Ahmed, 2007). These programs may then challenge existing values on employee diversity and initiate a change in values and expectations. Thus by expanding this field of study to include specific external contextual factors, we may be able to understand which factors influence and are involved in the process of realization.

However, the realization process is argued to be more difficult to study than the other processes in the cultural dynamics framework. This is because while behaviour is sometimes confused as an artefact and although activity produces artefacts, behaviour itself is not an artefact (Hatch, 1993; 2000). There is a tendency by researchers to regard all forms of overt behaviours as being culturally motivated, however this provides an inaccurate view of artefacts since not all behaviours are culturally motivated (Alvesson, 2002; Morgan, 2006 pp. 142; Schein, 1985; 1991; Silverzweig and Allen, 1976; see also critique by Balogun and Johnson, 2004; 2005; Diefenbach, 2007; Hatch, 1993; 1997; 2000; Ogbonna, 1993; Ogbonna and Harris, 1998, 2002b). Thus, the representation of expectations into artefacts will remain imperfect as a result of non-cultural influences on behaviours within the organization (Hatch, 1993). This suggests a need to be perceptive during the study and to ensure that whilst it is important to observe behaviours during the process of data collection, it is even more important to clarify the meanings that participants associate to the behaviours that they exhibit. This is to ensure that behaviours which are culturally motivated are differentiated from other behaviours which have little relationship to the existing cultures.

3.3.3 Symbolization Processes

As mentioned above the process of symbolization is one of the main distinctions between Hatch’s (1993) culture dynamics framework and Schein’s (1985) model. Hatch (1993; 1997), adopting a symbolic interpretivist perspective, argues that there are significant grounds, within the organizational culture literature, to theoretically distinguish between artefacts and

symbols. Here the focus is not on the physical objects, but on how they are used, produced and interpreted within the organization. Symbols, as an element of organizational culture, have already been discussed and this section aims to provide the processes that link artefacts and symbols in the cultural dynamics framework.

Symbolization is defined as the *'prospective response that links an artefact's objective form and literal meaning to experiences that lie beyond the literal domain'* (Hatch, 1993 pp. 670). Hatch (1993) argues that symbolic forms initially exist in the form of artefacts and only become real as symbols only after a process of additional cultural processing. She argues that the production of any form that will possess symbolic meaning occurs in the realm of manifestation and realization (Hatch, 1993 pp. 670).

Like the other processes, the symbolization process is also bidirectional and can either be proactive or retroactive depending on the consistency of fit between the symbols and the artefacts that they represent. Prospective symbolizations can only occur when objects are culturally processed in such a way that they begin to possess a surplus meaning. This process involves a shift from the experience attached to an object in terms of their literal meaning to the awareness that they possess, alongside their literal meanings, a "surplus" meaning. Thus for an artefact to possess a surplus meaning they have to hold a meaning greater than that which they originally possessed. Hatch (1993) defines the process of prospective symbolization as *'a sort of exploitation of artefacts by symbols via association that projects both the objects of symbolization and the symbolizers from the literal domain to a domain that includes surplus meaning as well as literal awareness'* (Hatch, 1993, pp. 971).

The retroactive realization process enhances the awareness of the literal meanings of symbols (Hatch, 1993). Within the field of symbolism, organizational members retrospectively (re)construct artefacts as meaningful on the basis of symbolic memory (Hatch, 1993). This is however only done for the artefacts which already possess symbolic meanings. The retrospective symbolization process confers surplus meanings on artefacts retrospectively, thereby transforming them (Hatch, 1993). As all artefacts are potential sources of symbols, any artefacts not translated into symbols remain relevant as a potential source of symbolic material to be used at a later date if a surplus meaning is conferred on them. During this process, some artefacts stand out over others because of their enhanced symbolic significance. Like the culture realization process, the retroactive realization process can also have two

outcomes depending on the nature of the symbol and its strength and validity to stimulate a change in artefacts (Hatch, 1993).

In relation to the field of diversity management, the recruitment of a new diversity manager (an artefact), for example, may become a symbol, if, in recruiting this officer, the organization is actively trying to send a clear message about their commitment to diversity management. However, since the process of culture change is a cognitive one, this type of activity is relevant only if organizational members perceive it to be.

3.3.4 Interpretation Processes

Interpretation describes the process through which individuals retrospectively derive the meaning of symbols (Hatch, 1993). This process is based on Hatch's (1993) argument that symbols are not a product of culture, but influence and help shape members' sense making process, knowledge and behaviours (Hatch, 2004; 2000; 1997; 1993). This is a process of both sense making and meaning formation. This process requires individuals to move back and forth between their basic assumptions about symbols and the new understandings that can be derived from such symbols (Hatch, 1993).

Hatch (1993) suggests that this process is a direct result of two processes. The first is the direct association of literal and surplus meaning of the symbol (prospective interpretation), while the second involves relating the symbol (or symbolic experience) with what is already known (existing assumptions) (Hatch, 1993). Thus, in order to fully understand the symbol, one must relate it to what is already known in memory. This latter association is known as the second order experience and it is not merely a direct repetition of the first process, instead it can be an altogether new process. Thus, the process of interpretation is a retrospective one in which assumptions *'provides the already known of the interpretation process'* (Hatch, 1993 pp. 674).

The process of interpretation can either be proactive or retroactive. Retroactive interpretation is the process that results in the altered understanding of symbolic meaning by reflecting existing cultural assumptions (retrospective interpretation) that have a different understanding of the symbols (Hatch, 1993). Prospective or proactive interpretation represents processes that result in the revision of cultural assumptions via prospective interpretation (Hatch, 1993).

Since cultural assumptions are exposed to the influence of symbols during the interpretation process, it is at this point that prospective interpretation can occur (Hatch, 1993; 2000; Aguiar and Vasconcellos, 2009). During this process, culture absorbs newly symbolised contents into what Schein (1985) calls its core, which are assumptions. These newly symbolised objects, practices or actions in turn influence the cultural assumptions; reaffirming them or challenging them, depending on the nature of the newly introduced symbol (Hatch, 1993). This process can either then go on to mesh or collide with the retroactive manifestation process; allowing Hatch's (1993) culture dynamics framework to come full circle.

3.4 Justification for the Adoption of the Cultural Dynamics Framework in this Study

Hatch's (1993) framework emphasises the complex bi-directional relationships that occurs between various aspects of organizational culture (Hatch, 2000). Hatch extends Schein's model by arguing that assumptions can be influenced by both symbols and values and not just by values, thus making this model more dynamic. In particular, Hatch's model identifies how certain aspects of organizational culture can reinforce, challenge and influence other aspects through processes of manifestation, realization, symbolization and interpretation (Hatch, 2000). Also the circular nature of this framework confers an added advantage to it, in that, researchers and practitioners can begin with any process, for example manifestation, and move in either a clockwise or counter clockwise direction (Hatch, 1993; 1997; 2000; Dauber *et al.* 2012).

The increased dynamism of this framework also affords researchers the opportunity to move away from asking questions about what artefacts, values and assumptions reveal about culture to exploring how culture is constituted by its elements and the processes that links them (Hatch, 1993). Also, this model allows a shift away from the exploration of how culture changes or can be changed (in Schein's model), to the recognition that change and stability can be outcomes of the same processes (Hatch, 1993). For example, Hatch (1993) argues that the introduction of new values or symbols does not always translate to an organizational culture change, but can serve as a source of stability to the existing culture. Since this framework reveals the fluid nature of culture change, since organizational members constantly go back and forth between proactive/prospective and retroactive/retrospective processes, it provides unique insight into these culture change processes.

Also, since, for example, many change programs can be enhanced or inhibited by the resistance rooted in the existing culture (Kegan and Lahey, 2001; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009; Wilkins and Dyer, 1988), Hatch (2006) suggests that this perspective allows for a ‘middle ground’ (pp. 207). This middle ground suggests that from an interpretivist perspective, culture change can be as a consequence of both the leaders’ potential to influence culture change and the ability of organizational members to decide whether or not the potential is achieved. Thus, understanding how the cultural dynamics framework both influences and is influenced by efforts to implement change becomes a relevant resource for leaders and all those involved in the process of organizational change (Latta, 2009).

However this framework is not without its limitations. A major criticism of this framework is the difficulty of controlling the symbolic process. This is as a result of the unpredictability of many symbolic interactions and sense-making processes (Hatch, 1997; Peterson and Smith, 2000). Similarly, the ability of individuals to recognize that an artefact is a symbol does not necessarily result in the meanings of such symbols being known (Hatch, 1993) and might act as a problem in interpreting data collected using this framework unless care is taken to ascertain the meanings associated with the symbols. Hatch (1993) also argues that observable behaviour emerges either through a) the process of realization into artefacts or manifestation into values or b) or through the process of interpretation into symbols and symbolization into artefacts (fig. 3.3). However it is not clear under which conditions these processes take place (Dauber *et al.* 2012). Even more unclear are the factors which determine the paths through which these transformations occur; which are two questions that this study aims to answer.

Also although this framework explains the cognitive processes involved in the process of culture change (Latta, 2009) it does not outline the sequence of other events which occur simultaneously during the process of change implementation. Similarly, unlike the process models of organizational culture change, this framework views culture as the target of the change initiatives and not as one of the contextual factors involved in achieving the desired change (Dauber *et al.*, 2012). Furthermore while this framework provides a meaningful basis via which to develop and understand the internal environment it does not explore the influences of the external environment (Sagiv and Schwartz, 2007; Tsui *et al.*, 2007)) on the processes of realization, manifestation, interpretation and symbolization and vice versa (Dauber *et al.* 2012).

In light of the above, other models of organizational culture change have emerged (see for example, Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006; Homburg and Pflesser, 2000), however, these frameworks confer more complexity on an already complex and dynamic model. Also, unlike Hatch (1993) framework, these models fail to provide a detailed relationship of the processes involved in culture change (Dauber *et al.* 2012). Thus Hatch's cultural dynamics framework still remains invaluable to the detailed study of the processes involved in organizational culture change. Since culture changes involve complex processes (see for example: Balogun and Johnson, 2005; 2000; Linstead *et al.*, 2009; Morgan, 2006; Ogbonna and Harris; 1998; 2002b and Parker and Bradley, 2000) this framework helps as a guide to conducting this empirical research (Hatch, 1993).

However since my study is on the implementation of diversity-oriented organizational change through the lens of the diversity officer, the fact that Hatch's (1993) framework does not explore the role of change agents in the processes of organizational culture change is a crucial limitation which will be addressed during the course of this study. However this limitation does not in any way diminish the value of this framework as a foundation for this research.

3.5 The Role of Diversity Officers as Organizational Culture Change Agents

Extant research on organizational change has identified many models of change. These include but are not limited to Leavitt's (1965) organizational variables and change model, Re-engineering and quality approach to change (Martin, 2005), Lewin's (1951) forcefield model of change, Dunphy and Stace's (1990) two dimensional matrix model, Kanter *et al.* (1992) big three model among others. All these models have been detailed in literature and all possess their varying degrees of advantages and limitations; all of which are beyond the scope of this study.

However, a common feature of these models is the role of change agents in the implementation of the change process. A change agent is '*someone who plays a leading part in sponsoring the need for change or its implementation*' (Martin, 2005 pp. 817). Similarly Huczynski and Buchanan (2007) define change agents as '*any member of the organization seeking to promote, further, support, sponsor, initiate, implement or help to deliver change*' (pp. 616). Like organizational change programs, there have also been numerous frameworks describing the activities and approaches of change agents; however Martin (2005) argues that the roles of these agents as change generators, implementers and adopters have much broader

relevance than being classified depending on the particular model of change that they adopt (pp. 818). What is of relevance is that, as the most visible actors in the implementation of diversity-oriented changes, diversity managers are crucial change agents in this process of diversity-oriented organizational culture change.

The literature on change agents has evolved over the last three decades. They have evolved from the use of terms such as change masters in the 80's to more charismatic radical reformists in the 90's and then to self-managed consultant(s) from within or outside the organization who are tasked with the responsibilities of implementing specific specialist change programs (Kanter, 1984; Kotter, 1996; Miller 1997). Based on this evolution, Caldwell (2003; 2001) divided the various models of change into four main themes: the leadership model of change, the management model, the consultancy model and the team models of change. With each of these approaches come typified behaviours, skills, change models, organizational positions, job roles, organizational types and personal attributes of the various change agents (Dunphy and Stace, 1993; Kotter, 1997; Miller, 1997). These classifications focus on different role types based on the differences in the change environment (Alfes *et al.* 2010).

The literature on diversity officers as change agents similarly mirrors the above models of classification. Much of the literature focuses on diversity management approaches to change (discussed in the previous chapter), or are single-level studies which focus on the demographic and personality traits which are encompassed by individuals who conduct this role (see for example Cox *et al.*, 1991; Davidson, 1999; Earley and Mosakowski, 2000; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Lawrence, 2000). However in light of the complex and ever dynamic nature of organization change, a one dimensional approach to classifying change agents brings with it many limitations.

The first consequence of this type of classification is its propensity to underestimate the influence of other agents, during this process, who are not recognised as change agents (Caldwell, 2003). The second limitation is the continual search for the 'one' agent who possesses all the competencies to implement change (Lawrence, 2000). Another limitation of this approach is the project driven, linear nature of many of these change types (see for example Lewin, 1951; Schein, 1988; see critiques by Alvesson, 2002; Balogun and Johnson, 2005; McCabe, 2010). Similarly, this type of classification assumes that change agents remain rational and unbiased during the course of conducting their roles (see for example,

Dutton and Ashford, 1993). Finally all the above models ignore the processes of learning and meaning formation; which are required for change to become embedded (Caldwell, 2003). Thus adopting one particular model of change agency is particularly detrimental to the organizational culture literature as a result of the dynamic, learned and abstract nature of organizational culture.

In order for diversity officers to be classed as change agents they must possess ‘professional jurisdiction’ and credibility (Wylie *et al.*, 2014). By virtue of the specialist nature of their roles I have presented, in the previous chapter discussions to support their professional jurisdiction and credibility to conduct this role. So diversity managers are indeed change agents; however, based on the limitations presented above, this research does not aim to explore any particular change models. What will be the aim, however, is to explore the specifics of diversity officers as change agents in enabling organizational culture changes. Thus exploring their strategies as change agents, under the umbrella of Hatch’s (1993) framework, thus provides a foundation to better understand their influence in enabling diversity-oriented culture change programs.

3.6 Situated and Relational Contextual Factors of Diversity Managers and their Influence on Diversity-Oriented Organizational Culture Change - The Study’s Conceptual Framework

Here, I provide a theoretical framework which demonstrates the relevance of some of the contextual factors identified by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) to the process of organizational culture change. I employ Bourdieu’s (1971) notion of field and adopt Tatli and Özbilgin’s (2009) contextual factors of situatedness and relationality as a guide (border) to study the influence of contextual factors on the processes symbolization and realization identified by Hatch’s (1993) cultural dynamics framework.

The literature on culture has continually highlighted the significance of organizational culture to the successful implementation of institutional change programs (see for example, Bate *et al.* 2000; Hercleuous, 2001; Latta, 2009). Similarly, of all the strategies employed in the management of workforce diversity (see for example Cox and Blake, 1991; Ibarra, 1995; Kandola and Fullerton, 1998; Milken and Martins, 1996 see also critiques by Kalev *et al.*, 2006), culture implementation and change is argued to be the most holistic and most

successful approach (Cabral-Cardoso, 2007; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002; Wilson, 2000; Zintz, 1997). This is because of a few main reasons:

First, culturally competent organizations are argued to be more competitive, more productive and more attractive to prospective employees (Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002); especially members of minority groups (Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002). Second, it is argued that there is a greater chance of the diversity management policies being successful when organizational diversity change programmes are initiated alongside culture change programmes which support diversity management and which involves implementing organization-wide changes to the culture which sustain and nurture diversity management (Wilson, 2000; Cabral-Cardoso, 2007; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002). For example, Weech-Maldonado *et al.* (2002) argue that cultural competence is the key to diversity management and the implementation of organizational diversity management initiatives should reflect this.

Since culture is a contextual (situatedness) factor in the process of diversity management (Kegan and Lahey, 2001; Tatli, 2011; Wilkins and Dyer, 1988), diversity managers are in a position in which they have to work through the existing organizational culture and individual assumptions in order to implement culture change programmes that may challenge contravening values, attitudes, beliefs and assumptions and support equality and diversity (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Thus, within the field of diversity management, organizational culture serves as both a strategy (Cabral-Cardoso, 2007; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002; Wilson, 2000) and a contextual factor (Kegan and Lahey, 2001; Wilkins and Dyer, 1988) in the process of programme implementation; hence the need to explore organizational culture change processes in more detail. Hatch's (1993) cultural dynamics model is thus invaluable to this study in two ways: first, this framework identifies the processes through which culture changes as well as the interactions between the various elements of organizational culture. Secondly the inclusion of symbols in particular allows Hatch's framework to be combined successfully with elements of Tatli and Özbilgin's (2009) contextual framework – for example: capital, resources, constraints, legislation, networks and artefacts among others – in order to explore the symbolic significance of these and their influences in the process of meaning formation and culture change.

Despite the strengths of Hatch's framework, it can be argued that this framework fails to identify the triggers of organizational culture change or the influence of contextual factors to the process of organizational culture change. Within the literature on organizational culture

change, Marquis and Tilcsik (2013) and Yin *et al.* (2014) argue that organizational culture change in response to serious threats or changes arising from within or outside the organization, or both, are more likely to be successful. In this vein, during sensitive periods, organisations strive for survival by re-aligning their values and practices with those in their environment through the process of imprinting as described above (page 40). However, while organizations are open systems, not all transitional changes within the external environment will trigger a sustained process of culture change (Yin *et al.*, 2014). Thus, only sustained changes which are relevant to the survival of the organization will trigger a process of shock-imprinting (Dieleman, 2010) which leads to a more sustained culture change. Since many large organizations are influenced by peer groups, legislation, regulatory bodies, stakeholders, social groups and political networks (see for example Ahmed, 2007; Greve and Rao, 2012; Marquis and Battilana, 2009; Marquis *et al.* 2013; Yin *et al.* 2014), significant pressures can signal the need to implement equality and diversity policies not just as a moral duty, but as a survival tool in order to remain competitive.

This has led to calls by Dauber (2011) and Dauber *et al.* (2012) for the need to expand the cultural dynamics framework and adopt a model which allows for the influence of the organizational domain and the external contextual factors to be studied using a configuration model. This configuration model allows for a way to understand not just the processes involved in culture change but also the domains and contexts involved in this process (Dauber *et al.*, 2012). While Dauber in a doctoral thesis provided an empirical example of how the configuration approach might be implemented in organizational research, this type of research is still in its infancy. Dauber *et al.* however argue for the need for studies to expand Hatch's (1993) framework and explore cross-level interdependencies; which include for example, relationships between the internal and external environment and actors.

Approaching culture change in this way also allows for an exploration of the literature on diversity management. It allows for a study which explores the influences of environmental factors, legislation, ethics, change agents, politics, strategy, structure and stakeholders on the process of implementing diversity-oriented culture changes within organizations. Hence, this current study expands on the cultural dynamics framework by introducing into the realm of its analysis the influence of the external environment on the culture change processes.

In this and the previous chapters, I have argued that the literature on diversity management appears to be incomplete without reference to organizational culture change as one of the

strategies involved in the process of diversity management (see for example Wilson, 2000; Cabral-Cardoso, 2007; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002; Wilson, 2000; Zintz, 1997). The literature on diversity management also appears to be incomplete without reference to equality and diversity officers as implementers of equality and diversity change programs; of which culture management and change is a crucial part. As such, since diversity officers are tasked with the role of implementing diversity-oriented culture change programs, it is important to explore the influence of these agents and their situated and relational environments on this process.

As change agents, diversity managers are surrounded by personal, organizational, historical and environmental contexts which are argued to influence their ability to conduct their jobs effectively. As explained in the previous chapter, Bourdieu (1971; 1977; 1993; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) posits that Practice (feelings, behaviours or actions) = (Relationship between Habitus and Capital) + Field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The capital, habitus and field of diversity officers, discussed in the previous chapter, have been grouped by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) as situatedness and relationality and are theorised, through the process of praxis, to be influenced by the habitus of the diversity officer. Thus, like Bourdieu (1971; 1977; 1993), their contention is that the situational and relational factors which surround diversity officers invariably influence their ability (practice) to implement the desired goal of diversity management.

However, a snapshot of the existing literature on equality and diversity reveals that the majority of the studies explore single aspects of the contexts within which diversity officers exist (see for example Davidson, 1999; Jewson and Mason, 1986; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000; Meyerson and Scully, 1995; Zanoni and Janssens, 2007 among others). Of the studies exploring multiple aspects of the role of diversity officers, Kirton and Greene (2006) study the interaction between these agents and unionists, while and Dick and Cassell (2002) explore the interaction between diversity officers and individual employees. Even fewer studies explore the relationship between diversity officers and multiple actors from a cross section of the organization (but see Healy and Oikelome, 2007; Özbilgin and Tatli, 2011). However, the literature currently lacks studies which explore the change process from the view point of diversity officers while at the same time unearthing the interconnectedness of the diversity officers' context and the change process and the interplay between these.

While the interrelationships presented by Oikelome (2007) provide deep insight into the processes involved in the implementation of equality and diversity programs, Özbilgin and Tatli (2011) argue that these processes are influenced by much more than just the relationships that occur between employee groups. Özbilgin and Tatli further argue that the field of diversity management is influenced by the **nature** of the relationships between members within the organization and that the role of diversity managers in this process is influenced by the contextual factors that surround them. However, there are very few studies on diversity managers which adopt both a multi-layered and multi-level approach to their research (see criticisms and studies by Jones, 2000; Kirton and Greene, 2009; Lawrence, 2000; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009).

Tatli and Özbilgin's (2009) suggestion for the expansion of the study of diversity managers to include the interplay between diversity managers and various aspects of the environment (see also Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013) is echoed by Cornelius *et al.* (2010) who recommend that the study of diversity management be extended to include a consideration of the influences of organizational stakeholders. By introducing the concepts of habitus, situatedness, relationality and praxis as elements which make up the contextual environment, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) allow for a way to conduct a multi-layered study of diversity managers' change agency.

Habitus, as defined in the previous chapter is defined as the '*strategy generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations*' (Bourdieu, 1977, p.95). The concept of *habitus* suggests that agents are a collection of individual and collective experiences (Reay, 2004) which impact on the processes of action and reflection (praxis) and persists over time (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Similarly Maton (2008; 2012) supports Bourdieu's and Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992) notion by suggesting that habitus captures how individuals carry within them their history, how this history influences the present and invariably influences the choice to behave in certain ways. This suggests that individuals' behaviours are made under conditions which they are not in total control of, but which are influenced by past experiences and circumstances, present circumstances (capital) and the current context (field). Thus in order to understand 'practice' one has to understand the habituses which agents bring with them to the field (Bourdieu, 1990; 1991).

As such, a study of diversity officers as change agents is incomplete without an understanding of their experiences both past and present. This argument is bolstered by the vast amount of literature dedicated to the shared experiences, physical and demographic

attributes of individuals who conduct this role (see for example Cox *et al.*, 1991; Davidson, 1999; Earley and Mosakowski, 2000; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Meyerson and Scully, 1995); all of which assume that attitudes, behaviours, values and beliefs are a reflection of one's cultural heritage.

As discussed in the preceding chapter, praxis is the process of action and reflection during which diversity officers reflect upon the resources and constraints within their situational and relational fields (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Following this line of reasoning, it is arguable that the diversity officers' interpretation of the resources within fields is dictated by their *habitus*; since *habitus* links the social and the individual (Maton, 2012; 2010). Given that the role of the diversity officer is thus influenced by their *habitus*, situational and relational context (through the process of praxis), there is a strong argument that their role in the implementation of diversity-oriented culture change programs is also influenced by all these factors.

Bourdieu (1977) also posits that while individuals' experiences may be distinct in its content, such shared experiences structure the practices of others within the same for example: gender, sexuality, ethnicity among others. This, Maton (2008; 2012) argues, explains why members of the same social class, gender, sexuality among others; share similar positioning within society. This emphasises Bourdieu's notion that '*personal style . . . is never more than a deviation in relation to the style of a period or class so that it relates back to the common style not only by its conformity . . . but also by the difference*' (Bourdieu 1977: 86). Applying this notion would, in a sense, allow credence to the single-level studies that identify equality and diversity officers as predominantly members of minority or disadvantaged groups in terms of ethnicity and gender (see for example Davidson, 1999; Jewson and Mason, 1986; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000; Meyerson and Scully, 1995; Zanoni and Janssens, 2007 among others).

In discussing the imbedded, deep-rooted and unchangeable nature of *habitus*, Bourdieu (1977) also argues that in situations where the social field changes more rapidly than the *habitus*, the *habitus* possesses the ability to influence individuals' practices even after the source of the *habitus* is removed. This he argues is as a result on the disposition of individuals being difficult to change at the same rate as changes within the legislative, social, economic or political field. However, to consider the influence of *habitus* over the influence of legislative, societal and intra and extra organizational environment is to ignore the role of

these factors in guiding organizational behaviour (Ogbonna and Harris, 2013). Thus, while I argue that the organizational culture change implemented as a part of a diversity-oriented change programme is influenced by factors within the diversity officers' situational and relational environments (and thus is studied as such), like Reay (2004), I do not agree with the restrictions that the habitual use of the term *habitus* presents in terms of prescribing individual behaviours; since *habitus* is constantly re-structured by individuals' encounter with the social world and changes that occur thereof (Di Maggio, 1979). As a result one of the aims of this study is to explore the influence of *habitus* in guiding the role of the diversity manager during the implementation of organization change processes.

Following from this is the argument that the cultural dynamics framework presented above is influenced by the constraints and resources presented in Table 2.2 of the previous chapter. Using the resources in this table as a guide, I will explore how the process of implementing a diversity-oriented culture change program is constrained and/or enabled by these factors (Tatli, 2011). I also explore, from the perspective of diversity managers, how these factors constrain or enable their ability to introduce new values, artefacts and symbols in order to influence the assumptions of employees. This study will explore the influence of the contextual factors of situatedness, relatedness and praxis on the agency of diversity managers in the implementation of change programs (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009; Tatli, 2011; Özbilgin and Tatli, 2011). I will provide empirical data regarding the conceptualized relationships between diversity managers' agency and organizational contextual factors in the implementation of organizational culture change programs. In so doing I will have fulfilled academic calls to expand the use of Hatch's (1993) cultural dynamics framework by providing data which explores the relationships between organizational contextual factors and the processes of symbolization and realization (Hatch, 1993; 1997; 2000; Dauber, 2011 and Dauber et al. (2012).

Using a multi-layered multi-level analysis, I intend to explore and expand Tatli and Özbilgin's (2009) framework in three ways. First, I will explore empirically the influences of the situated and relational contextual factors in Table 2.1 on the roles of diversity managers'. Secondly, I will relevance of *habitus* to the study of diversity officers as change agents'. Thirdly I will expand this framework to explore the influences of these factors on the strategic actions diversity managers during the course of their role in the implementation of culture change processes. By doing this, I also expand Hatch's (1993) framework in two main

ways. Firstly, I explore the meanings associated with Tatli and Özbilgin's contextual factors as either values, artefacts, symbols and assumptions. Secondly, I expand this framework by exploring the influence of external and internal contextual factors on the processes of symbolization and realization identified by Hatch.

Through exploring the contextual factors which influence diversity managers and diversity management I aim to contribute to the fields of organizational culture and diversity management by providing evidence which supports the strategic deployment of contextual factors (as capita) to influence certain processes within the organizational culture change cycle. I further aim to reveal the symbolic significance of diversity managers to the process of diversity management and the organizational culture change that ensues thereof.

Through this endeavour, the study of equality and diversity can present a more holistic and detailed view of diversity management and explore the effects of these contextual factors on the successful implementation of culture change programs. This leads us away from a single-level approach to the study of equality and diversity to one which is multi-layered; allowing for the study of equality and diversity within the context in which it exists. By studying the contextual factors of situatedness, relationality, *habitus* and praxis, albeit from the perspective of diversity managers, I will present a foundation for the study that can expand the understanding of the field of diversity management as well as the role of diversity officers beyond its current realm.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided an introduction to the literature on organizational culture as well as the major theoretical approaches that guide the study of organizational culture. I have provided the existing literature on organizational culture change; with particular emphasis on the processes involved in culture change. Using Hatch's cultural dynamics framework I have presented a detailed analysis of these processes and explored the relevance of contextual factors not previously mentioned in this study. I have also presented a review of the literature on change agency; with particular emphasis on the role of diversity managers. I have also presented the theoretical framework which guides this research. Using this framework, I will present the detailed methodological approaches adopted in this study as well as additional discussions of the aims and objectives of this research in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, STRATEGY AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present the processes involved in social research which are relevant to this study. The chapter first introduces the nature of research and discusses in detail some of the philosophical approaches that exist within the field of organizational and social research as it applies to this study. By the end, I aim to present a case which justifies the reasons for adopting the symbolic-interpretivist framework. I will also present a stepwise account of the field stage of this study and the reflexive processes that occurred during the interview, observation and data analysis stages of research.

4.2 The Nature of Research

Research involves a conscious process aimed at the creation of knowledge by answering research questions which are set at the beginning of the study (Ghauri et al., 1995; Ghauri and Grønhaug, 2010; Wallman, 2005). Saunders et al. (2009) define research as ‘something that people undertake in order to find out things in a systematic way: thereby increasing their knowledge’ (pp. 5). Within the field of academia, the process of conducting a research should be a systematic, methodological and logical one; aimed at describing, explaining, understanding, criticising or analysing the phenomena studied by the researcher (Wallman, 2005). Academic research is divided into two broad groups; scientific and social research. Scientific research serves to support or disclaim theories and to test ideas about the nature of certain aspects of the universe (Bouma and Atkinson, 1995). This research type systematically searches for meaning by using only universally established methods of enquiry which are, more often than not, standardized and inflexible. The aim of this type of research is to develop results which are generalizeable. This generalizeability is achieved by adopting standardized research processes which limit the occurrence of disparities in the obtained results (Saunders et al., 2009 pp. 106).

Social researchers, like scientific researchers, adopt research methods which both describe their research setting as well as answer their key research questions. However, unlike scientific research, social research adopts a more complex view of reality. This is because, in many cases, social research involves the study of not just the studied phenomena but also its social setting and the interactions between social actors that make up the setting. Hence,

allowing researchers to tell a story and to explore possible relationships between variables, as well as the influence of other factors on the research process. However, the complexity of the research setting combined with the likelihood of researchers to bring to the research setting their subjective views on the reality or the studied phenomenon makes the search for and the interpretation of data problematic. The complexity of this process thus makes social research more open to philosophical interpretations than scientific research. This individual or philosophical bias in turn affects how knowledge is interpreted and gathered, and thus affects the validity of the study (Guba and Lincoln, 1994 pp. 195-220). The openness of social research to bias makes the need for reflexivity invaluable when undertaking this type of study.

Reflexivity is described as the process of critical reflection on the 'self as the researcher' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003 pp. 283). This process involves the conscious examination of the self as the teacher and the learner or as the enquirer and the respondent. Hibbert *et al.* (2010) argue the reflexive process is 'a complexification of thinking and experience, or thinking about experience' (pp. 48). Hibbert *et al.* (2010 pp. 48) also define reflexivity as 'a process of exposing or questioning our ways of doing things' (Hibbert *et al.*, 2010 pp. 48). The process of reflexivity thus forces researchers to come to terms with not only the choice of research problems or those whom they engage with, but also with themselves as researchers. By focusing on the 'self', researchers can come to terms with the multiple identities that 'represent the fluid self within the research setting' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003 pp. 283) and try to make decisions to reduce or eliminate individual bias.

Reinharz (1997) argues that researchers not only 'bring the self to the field of study . . . (but also) create the self in the field' (pp. 3). Individuals, as social actors, present different sides and any aspect or number of those sides can appear to be more dominant at any given time; depending on the role that they are playing. In explaining the relevance of the 'self' to the research setting Reinharz (1997) argues that researchers bring four categories of the self with them to the research setting. These are: the research-based selves, the brought selves (which historically, socially and personally create our standpoint) or the situationally created self or a combination of all three, Reinharz, 1997 pp. 7). She argues that each of these selves have a distinct voice which come into play during the research process, and which can in turn influence the research process.

With the different variations in the nature of the 'self', reflexivity thus demands that as researchers we 'interrogate each of our selves regarding the ways in which research efforts

are shaped and shaped around the binaries, contradictions and paradoxes that form our own lives' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003 pp. 283). Thus, through a process of reflexivity researchers can question how the contradictions and binaries influence their identities in the field, recognize the identities that arise during the discovery process of writing and also be aware of the identities embodied during the process of interacting with respondents, that is, the 'self', (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003); and make allowances for these during the research process (Hibbert et al., 2010; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). The importance of the reflexive process in social research is thus invaluable and I will describe in detail, further into this chapter, how this process influenced this study. But in order to get to the point of reflection, I will present how the entire process of this research evolved.

4.3 The Research Process

The research process is one which is made up of a series of inter-related activities. It is defined as the 'overall scheme of activities which scientists engage in, in order to produce knowledge' (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996 pp. 19-20). Saunders et al. (2009) use a research process 'onion' to represent the research process; showing the relationships between the various aspects of the research process. These aspects include the research paradigm and the research strategies, the design and ultimately the data collection process (Saunders et al., 2009).

By working my way inwards using fig. 1 below I am able to show how the choice of research philosophy led ultimately to my choice of applicable research designs, methods and strategies. This onion guides this research process and will act as a guide to the discussion of the methodological process in this research. However while this framework serves as a useful guide, it is not without its criticisms. For example, the authors have failed to take into consideration analytical challenges that may arise during the course of the research process which can throw the research off course. There are also no allowances for the reflexive process within this framework. In addition, there have been no allowances to show how overlapping paradigmatic positions can be applied in research settings. This 'onion' also promotes the idea of paradigm incommensurability; a notion which has been criticized extensively by Schultz and Hatch (1996). However, by accounting for these shortfalls in this study, the ability of the research onion metaphor to portray a concise, pictorial representation of the research process supports its use as a guide for this research.

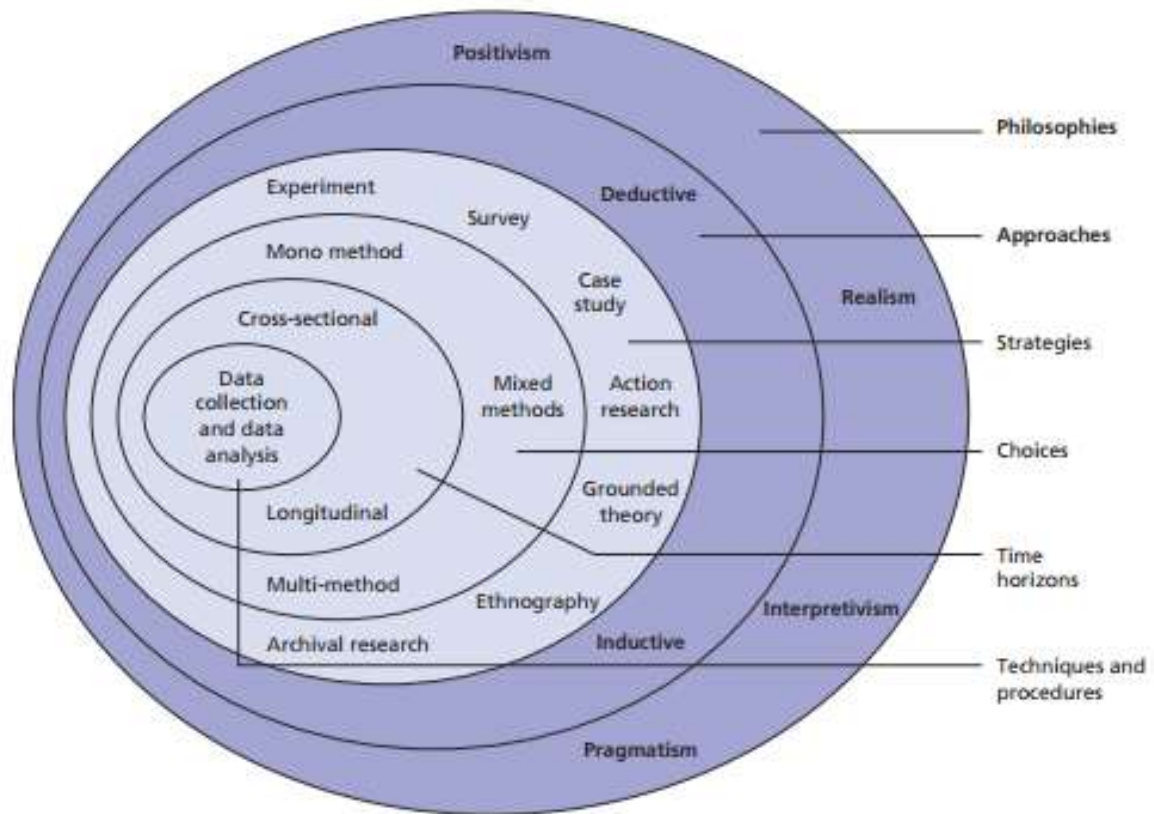


Fig. 4.1: The research process onion Saunders et al. (2009) *Research methods for business students* (pp. 138)

4.3.1 Research Design

The eventual purpose that research fulfils stems from the research questions. Depending on the research questions and the purpose of the research, the research design can serve to develop, modify, examine and support hypotheses (Kidder and Judd, 1986 pp. 26). Research designs ‘situates the investigator in the world of experience’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) describe research design as a framework for collecting, analysing and reporting research. It is the general plan of how to answer the research questions (Saunders, 2009 pp. 136). Research design is also defined by Saunders (2009 pp. 126) as the ‘overall configuration of a piece of research involving questions about what kind of evidence is gathered and from where, and how such evidence is interpreted in order to provide good answers to your original research question’.

Within the field of social research, research designs can be classified depending on the purpose of the research (see, for example Collis and Hussey, 2003; Kidder and Judd, 1986 pp. 24-26; Saunders, 2009 pp. 376). Ghauri et al. (1995) also grouped research design according to three types of research purposes. These include: the exploratory, descriptive and experimental or causal research designs (Ghauri et al., 1995; Ghauri and Grønhaug; 2010).

Depending on the purpose of the research, the research design can either adopt an inductive or deductive approach (Saunders, 2009 pp. 124). For example, if the purpose of the research is to develop a theory or hypothesis, then a deductive approach is adopted. This more often than not adopts the quantitative strategy to research. On the other hand, if the purpose is to collect data with the aim of developing a theory or hypothesis then an inductive approach is adopted. The inductive approach to descriptive research adopts mostly qualitative research strategies. These two designs differ from each other in terms of ontology, epistemology and ethics; with many debates on the validity and legitimacy of either method or the superiority of one method over the other (Maanen, 1983). The choice of one design over the other however is dependent solely on the purpose of the study; although this in no way indicates that both approaches are mutually exclusive (Maanen, 1983 pp. 10) since there are many studies that employ both designs.

Below are some differences between the deductive and inductive approaches to research:

Deductive emphasises	Inductive emphasises
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scientific principles • Moving from theory to data • The need to explain causal relationships between variables • The application of controls to ensure the validity of data • The operationalization of concepts to ensure the clarity of definitions • A highly structured approach • Researcher being independent of what is being researched • The necessity to select samples of sufficient size in order to generate conclusion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gaining an understanding of the meaning humans attach to events • A close understanding of the research context • The collection of qualitative data • A more flexible structure to permit changes of research emphasis as the research progresses • A realisation that the researcher is part of the process • Less concern with the need to generalise

Fig. 4.2 Adapted from Research methods for Business students (Saunders, 2009 pp. 127)

The inductive approach commonly applies qualitative research methods which include interviews, observation, focus groups, and case studies amongst others. There is a variety of methods that can be used in inductive research which has led to debates surrounding the legitimate components of qualitative research (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). Its use in enhancing the meaning of data (Marshall and Rossman, 1995) and its lack of reliance on standardized instruments and procedures has made this research approach invaluable within

the field of organizational studies; making it appealing to this study both in terms of both the generation and testing of theory.

4.3.1.1 Qualitative Research Design

Qualitative research ‘represents a mix of the rational, serendipitous and intuitive in which the personal experiences of the researcher are often key events to be understood and analysed in the data’ (Van Maanen, 1983 pp. 10). Qualitative research assumes that the data may guide the researcher to understand specific phenomenon and lead to the development of theory (Alvesson, 2003; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Maanen, 1995). Thus, it is particularly useful in exploratory and descriptive studies. The sample size in qualitative studies can be small, rather than large, since the focus of the research approach is the research context and individual’s experiences (Van Maanen, 1983); which was beneficial during this study as result of both time and logistical constraints.

Marshall and Rossman (1995) describe qualitative research as a process of data reduction that simultaneously enhances the meaning of data. This description makes this research approach amenable to social science research because of the influence of the social setting on both the interpretation and meaning formation processes (Van Maanen, 1983). As a social construct, organizational culture is best studied by applying the use of qualitative research (see for example Alvesson, 2003; Pettigrew, 1983 pp. 87-116; Schwandt, 2000). Van Maanen (1983 pp. 13) also argues that the use of qualitative research methods allows researchers to be able to appreciate and describe in detail the culture and cultural differences that influence language, peculiar problems and distinct patterns of thoughts and actions.

However there are criticisms of this method of data collection. One of the critiques is in terms of the gap between accepted principles regarding individual, group, and organizational behaviour, and the contextual understandings and explanations provided by social actors that provides purpose and meaning to their behaviours (Van Maanen, 1983). Another critique is the inability to gather data that backs the theoretical constructions of the study. Also there have been others highlighting the complexity and looseness of data analysis and interpretive framework, as well as, scepticisms around the role of contextual factors in data collection and analysis (Maanen, 1983 pp. 12). As a result of the subjectivity of this research design, questions have also been raised regarding the legitimacy of its use. Researchers question the degree to which procedures become ritualised and the connection between measure and concept vanishes (Maanen, 1983 pp. 11). Other questions have included the extent to which

the research methods employed are guiding theory instead of the reverse (Maanen, 1983 pp. 11).

While the list of critiques is extensive, Maanen (1983) argues that any major criticism regarding the qualitative approach must first consider the appropriateness of alternative approaches in producing knowledge from the field. Similarly, its use in the development of more subjective theorising and the ability of the researcher to take into account the effects of the research setting and contextual factors on the behaviours of actors has made this research approach even more valuable to the study of individuals and groups within organizations (Maanen, 1983) because it provides additional depth to the understanding of the research setting. This approach will be used at various points during this study and will be addressed in detail below, but first I have to position this study within the ontological and epistemological philosophy which guides the nature of this research.

4.3.2 Research Philosophies and Orientations

The philosophical positions that researchers adopt are linked to debates about scientific reasoning and logic, and have wider implication in terms of research design and methodology (Alvesson, 2003). This section presents the relevant paradigms within the field of social research and justifies the choice of the paradigm that guides this study.

A philosophical position is also referred to as a paradigm or interpretive framework (Alvesson, 2003; Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000; Guba and Lincoln, 1994 pp 105 and Saunders et al., 2009). It is defined by Guba and Lincoln (1994 pp. 105) as ‘the basic system or worldview that guides investigation’. Denzin and Lincoln (2005 pp. 183) also define research paradigms as the ‘basic set of beliefs that guide action’. Similarly, Schultz and Hatch (1996) define research paradigms as ‘a set of ontological and epistemological assumptions’ while Saunders et al. (2009) define paradigms ‘as a way of examining social phenomena from which particular understandings of these phenomena can be gained and explanations attempted’. Thus, philosophy reflects a researcher’s view of the world, the nature of knowledge and the best way to explore and develop knowledge. This view influences what constitutes knowledge and how it can be studied; ultimately defining the approach to research (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 105). Research paradigm is made up of four elements: ethics, ontology, epistemology and methodology (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p. 183).

Denzin and Lincoln define ontology as ‘the nature of the human being in the world’ (p. 183). Similarly, Saunders et al. (2009) define ontology as ‘the nature of reality’, ‘what exists’. Ontology refers to the assumptions researchers hold about the way the world operates. It concerns questions about whether reality is objective or subjective, and exists only in our minds (Hatch, 2006). The questions around subjectivism and objectivism represent the main divisions in ontological debates; representing both ends of the ontological spectrum. While objectivists assume that reality exists independently of those who live in it, subjectivists argue that reality exists only when individuals experience it and give it meaning (Hatch, 2006 pp. 12). From the objectivist perspective, individuals react in a predictable way to their environments and situations. Objectivism assumes that objects exist independent of the human mind and that individuals exist independent of their settings and vice versa. The main principle of objectivism is the emphasis on logic, control in the measurement of relationships between variables and the negation of subjectivity (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, pp. 105-106).

The main argument that guides subjectivism, on the other hand, is the view of man as a social animal; bringing with themselves unique set of beliefs, values and experiences which influences their views about reality and knowledge. Subjectivists argue that because groups have their own beliefs, assumptions and perspectives, they create and experience reality in different ways based on these beliefs (Hatch, 2006 pp. 12). The subjective philosophical position assumes that social phenomenon is created from the perceptions and actions of social actors and as such can only be studied from the perspective of these actors.

The objectivist-subjectivist ontological debates have played a pivotal role in shaping organizational culture research (Saunders et al., 2009). For example, Smircich’s (1983) description of culture as root metaphor, something an organization ‘is’ and an explanatory variable, something an organization ‘has’ (Smircich, 1983) adopt the subjectivist and objectivist approach respectively. This debate also influences the position of researchers regarding their views on organizational culture management and the best way to study this process (discussed in chapter 3).

Epistemology is the branch of philosophy which seeks to address the nature of knowledge, what can be learned, known or understood. Epistemology is described as ‘the relationship between the inquirer and the known’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p. 183); or what constitutes knowledge. Questions asked by researchers investigating epistemology involve questions relating to how individuals generate knowledge, or how they discriminate between various

forms of knowledge (Hatch, 2006 pp. 13). Epistemology reflects the relationship between the researcher and the research environment (or research subject).

As a result of the distinctions between the ontological and epistemological perspectives some researchers argue that adopting a research paradigm makes research findings incommensurable (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). However, Schultz and Hatch (1996) encourage the use of at least one paradigm in organizational culture research. They argue that paradigms are not incommensurable (Burrell and Morgan, 1979), but can be challenged and inter-played if necessary, and increasingly many researchers within the field of organizational sciences are discarding the dichotomy between different paradigms (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000). Similarly while ontology and epistemology appear different, Morgan and Smircich (1980) argue that they are closely linked. This is because answers to epistemological questions both 'depend on, and help to forge ontological assumptions about the nature of reality' (Hatch, 2006 pp. 13). Thus, these two constructs serve as the main principles which govern research because they define what constitutes reality and how the study of this reality should be undertaken.

Existing philosophical positions within this field of organizational theory include, for example functionalism (Morgan and Smircich, 1980; Schultz and Hatch, 1996), symbolism (Alvesson and Berg, 1992; Smircich, 1983), constructionism, interpretivism, feminism, Marxism, relativism, modernism (Cooper and Burrell, 1988) and postmodernism (Cooper and Burrell, 1988). However, there still exist debates about the relevance of many of these perspectives. This is because while some researchers argue that positivism and phenomenology are main types of paradigms from which others branch out (Gill and Johnson, 1997), others argue that there are three main philosophical approaches; which are positivism, realism and phenomenology (Wass and Wells, 1994); all of which adopt different ontological and epistemological perspectives to research. In light of the existing array of sometimes confusing and conflicting philosophical approaches available, the argument appears to have moved beyond whether or not a research is philosophically informed, to the ability of the researcher to be reflexive regarding their choice of approach and be able to defend this choice (Saunders *et al.*, 2009).

The open-ended nature of culture presents a source of resistance against attempts to impose a single definition or paradigmatic position on studies of culture and organizational culture. This has also contributed to the vast array of philosophical approaches that exists within this

field. However, Demers (2007) argues that there are only two main approaches to cultural analysis that have traditionally been embraced by scholars of organizational culture and change. These are functionalism and symbolism (Demers, 2007). In the same vein, Hatch (2006) present interpretivism and positivism as the main approaches in the study of organizational culture change (Hatch, 2006 pp. 13). However, while there can be an array arguments supporting the adoption of any of these perspectives, for the purpose of this study, I will focus only on interpretivism and functionalism/positivism in order to present a case which supports the adoption of the former over the latter.

Functionalism as a philosophical approach branched out of positivism. The aim of positivism is the production of generalizeable hypothesis or theoretical propositions. The positivist approach applies mainly laboratory or field experiments or surveys methods to the process of gathering data; relying on measures of behaviours which they assume are objective representations of reality (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, pp. 104-105). Positivism assumes that language reflects reality and that the study of reality can be undertaken through the study of language without any loss of meaning (Hatch, 2006 pp. 13). In this sense, positivist organizational researchers study organizations as objective entities. Positivism assumes that the study of organizations occur through a process of ‘categorization and scientific measurement of the behaviour of people and systems’ (Hatch, 2006 pp. 13).

Within the field of organizational culture, functionalism focuses on the role of cultural norms in regulating behaviour and sustaining organizational survival. From the functionalist perspective ‘the emergence and existence of organizational culture is explained in terms of the functions it performs to internal integration and external adaptation, rather than in terms of its meaning to the members of the organization’ (Schultz, 1995, p. 23). However, this approach to studying culture, cultural artefacts, norms and behaviours does not allow for the study of the cognitive or emotional process which occurs when members draw on underlying values, experiences and assumptions to ascribe meanings to events involved in the process of change (Schultz, 1995). Thus adopting this research perspective limits the ability of researchers to capture the process of meaning formation and social interaction required to study organizational culture and the subjective cognitive interactions that occur between the elements of organizational culture (Hatch, 1993). As a result of these shortfalls approaches like functionalism which adopt a positivist perspective remain unsuitable for studies of

organizational culture study which are aimed to explore depth and meaning formation from the perspective of those who embody these situations (see critique by Saunders et al., 2009).

Interpretive or antipositivist epistemological perspective argues that social actors interact with their social setting; embodying different persona as they carry out different roles (Heracleous, 2004). The interpretivist researcher approaches studies mainly from the perspective of social actors. The fundamental principle guiding interpretivism is the need to understand the subjective meanings that motivate actors, in order to understand fully their actions. This research perspective assumes that knowledge can only be understood from the perspective of those who live and work in a particular culture or organization (Hatch, 2006 pp. 13). Thus, interpretivism studies not only the actions, but also the thought process behind the actions. Interpretivism assumes that social actors are in a constant state of theatrical performance and that during these performances they act and make sense of their situation based on their understanding of the situation as well as calling upon the memories and expectations which they bring with them to those situations.

Interpretivists believe that they are able to work alongside and study actors as they create their realities, as they interact and as they interpret their situations in order to develop an ‘intersubjective awareness of the meanings produced’ (Hatch, 2006 pp. 13). By doing this researchers become interpreters; ‘bridging meaning between the researcher’s academic experiences and the experiences of organizational members’ (Hatch, 2006 pp. 13). Adopting this approach allows researchers to be more sensitive to the ways that individuals make meaning. Whilst one can never fully understand or predict the meanings that actors make, the knowledge of this limitation thus allows the researcher to appreciate the limits of their own understanding, which in turn motivates researchers to listen more, thereby enriching the quality of the data which is collected. However this approach is a very subjective one and thus exposes the research process to bias. In this regard, Hatch (2006) suggests that by applying reflexive processes researchers can reduce bias even though this is argued to be almost impossible (Hatch, 2006 pp. 13).

Within the umbrella of interpretivism there exists a broad range of theoretical approaches with different ontological and epistemological assumption (Burrell and Morgan, 1979); these include phenomenology, symbolic-interpretivism, symbolic interactionism, critical discourse analysis, hermeneutics (Heracleous, 2001) to mention a few. However, the overriding similarity between all these approaches is the epistemological focus on ‘achieving a

meaningful understanding from the actors' frame of reference' (Heracleous, 2001 pp. 175). For the purpose of this study I will adopt a symbolic-interpretivism perspective because it allows for the study of the interaction between social actors. This is because this approach allows for a detailed understanding of the implicit processes of meaning which shape decision making as well as the processes of sensemaking that shape the individual behaviour, thus helping to meet the aims and objectives of this research.

Symbolic-interpretivism refers to a style of philosophy whereby the interpretation of the interaction between social actors and others in their environment leads to the adjustment of actions of the former and meanings they attribute to their actions (Denzin, 2003). Symbolic-interpretivism adopts a subjective view which argues that it is not possible for individuals to possess an external or subjective awareness of a phenomenon which differs from ones subjective awareness of that phenomenon (Hatch, 2006 pp. 14).

Within the field of organizational theory symbolic-interpretivism focuses on symbols and symbolic behaviours within organizations and interprets these in a variety of ways (see for example Alvesson, 1987; Alvesson and Berg, 1992; Hatch, 1993). Symbolic-interpretivists argue that organizations are continually constructed and re-constructed by the members within them through symbolically mediated interactions. This approach is thus relevant to my study as it allows for a way to research the interactions between the diversity officer in this study and employees and the influence of this interaction in re-constructing the organizational culture. Since organizational culture is argued to be crucial in determining the effectiveness of diversity change programs (Arredondo 1996; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009), it becomes increasingly significant to study the elements which make up culture and the interactions between them. Using Hatch's (1993) framework allows for such a study. A symbolic-interpretivist approach will thus allow me to explore the ways through which individuals and groups interpret events, make sense of their reality, assign meanings to experiences and create understandings of situations (Alvesson, 2002; Hatch, 1993; Latta, 2009).

Similarly, Hatch (2006) argues that the symbolic-interpretive approach 'offers a way to carve out a 'middle ground' (p. 207) in the debate over whether organizational culture shapes or is shaped by those involved directly implementing the process of culture change, for example diversity managers. This is particularly significant within the context of this study because it allows me to explore, as part of this study, how the expectations of the outcomes of the strategies implemented by diversity managers inform the ways they are used; that is, how

diversity managers target their strategies to elicit culture change. By doing this, I can account for whether the perceptions of organizational members regarding the context and strategies are a result of the direct actions of diversity managers or not. If these perceptions are a result of factors outside the remit of the role of diversity managers, then they will not apply to this study.

Again adopting the symbolic-interpretivist approach, Hatch (1993; 2006) argues that while change agents have the potential to implement organizational culture changes, it is the members of the organization who determine the extent to which that potential is realized. Thus, in order to influence the culture of the organizational actors, there is the need to understand how cultural dynamics both influence and are influenced by efforts to implement change and has become essential to the role of those charged with the responsibility to implement change programs (Latta, 2009). The literature on the contextual factors that influence diversity managers' agency (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009) demonstrates the opportunity to study the influences of certain contextual factors in the processes of sensemaking necessary for culture change (Hatch, 1993). Again, this perspective is particularly significant as it allows for the exploration of how the contextual factors identified by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) influence and are influenced by cultural dynamics and the role that diversity managers play in the process.

Research Aims and Objectives

- to explore the relationships between the strategic actions (practice) of diversity managers' and their habitus
- to explore the inter-relationship(s) between diversity managers' and organizational contextual factors in the implementation of organizational diversity programs
- to explore the influence of the contextual factors - situatedness and relationality - on the role of diversity managers' in implementing diversity-oriented culture processes
- to expand the use of Hatch's (1993) cultural dynamics framework to the field of diversity management by providing data which explores the inter-relatedness between internal and external organizational contextual factors and the processes of symbolization and realization necessary for the implementation of diversity-oriented culture change

Research Questions

In order to satisfy the aims and objectives of research studies, researchers are required to have a clear set of research questions. The basic requirement of these research questions is that they support the researchers' ontological and epistemological position (Saunders et al., 2009; Bouma and Atkinson, 1995). In order to meet this criterion, the research questions below have been drafted by taking into consideration existing debates in the literature, the results of my preliminary field work and relevant advances in both practice and literature regarding the major themes of this research. Using the detailed list of conceptual factors in table 2.1 as a guide as well as the processes identified in the cultural dynamics framework in fig. 3.3, I will seek to meet the above objectives with the help of the questions listed below.

The following questions have been used as a guide governing the direction of both the research approach and design.

- What is the relevance of habitus to the practice of diversity officers during their role as change agents'?
- How do the situated and relational contextual factors influence the role of diversity managers within organizations?
- How do diversity officers utilize (capital) factors within their relational environment to implement diversity-oriented culture change programs?
- How do diversity officers deploy the use of factors within their situational and relational environmental to trigger the processes of symbolization and realization necessary for organizational culture change?
- What is the symbolic significance of role of diversity managers in enabling diversity-oriented culture change?

In order to be able to answer the above questions accurately, the available literature on workforce diversity, diversity management and organizational culture and culture management were examined to determine the key themes. From here, seven key themes were identified which include diversity management (Kirton et al., 2007; McCuiston et al., 2004; Richard, 2000; Sinclair, 2000), diversity management contextual environment (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009), diversity managers' change agency (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009; Tatli, 2011), organizational culture (Schein, 1983), organizational culture management (Hatch, 1993), organizational symbols (Hatch, 1993), cultural dynamics framework (Hatch, 1993). In choosing between research strategies, the underlying drivers are the research questions,

research objectives, resources, time available, existing knowledge and the researcher's philosophical stance. A combination of these factors has led to the adoption of both the exploratory and descriptive approaches in this study; during which I will adopt the qualitative research strategies.

4.3.3 Exploratory and Descriptive aspects of this study

Exploratory research is conducted to probe into 'what happened, in order to seek new insight' (Saunders, 2009 pp. 139). This type of research asks questions and assesses the studied phenomena in new light (Robson, 2002 pp. 42-60); the aim of which is to provide clarity regarding certain issues or problems. Exploratory research can be used to assess complex research problems in order to break down and decipher whether the research is/is not worth conducting. Exploratory research adopts a funnel-like approach which allows the researcher to narrow the focus of their study accordingly as the research advances (Saunders, 2009 pp. 140; Adams and Schvaneveldt, 1991). This research design is flexible and amenable to change affording the researcher the flexibility to change direction as the research progresses. There are many ways of conducting exploratory research which include literature searches, focus groups and referencing experts in the field of study.

4.3.3.1 The Exploratory process

At the beginning of the research, I reached out to academics and practitioners in the field of organizational culture and diversity management in order to gain insight on how to improve the research themes and questions. However, before incorporating their feedback, I had to draw on my knowledge of the proposed organizational environment as well as allow the literature to guide my decisions. This enabled me to address any limitations in terms of access to the organization and the logistical and time constraints that I might have during the course of this research. After doing this, I eventually incorporated much of their feedback and narrowed both the themes and the field of study.

I had to conduct an exploratory study in order to obtain knowledge about the workings of organizations within the UK and the contextual environment that they exist in. The initial exploratory work was beneficial in narrowing the research themes and discarding any themes that were unrealistic to pursue. One of those themes eventually discarded was a question asking whether or not discrimination occurred within the studied organization. During this process, I made initial contact with a few organizations in different countries in order to

receive feedback on the research themes from industry practitioners. Luckily, apart from the feedback, I received an invitation to shadow one diversity manager for a day so that I could understand what their roles involved. I accepted the invitation and spent the day in that organization; going with the diversity officer to meetings, seminars and conferences both within and outside the organization. This allowed me to understand the full extent of their role and consider the time and logistic implications of this type of study. One problem that I uncovered as a result of this pilot work was the logistical and financial difficulty that I would experience if I chose to conduct my study outside the UK.

One piece of feedback that was ignored was the proposal to conduct the research with members of the Human Resources (HR) department rather than with the diversity office directly. This feedback was rejected because the results of such work would not have provided significant insight into the process of diversity management within this organization. The exploratory research revealed that diversity management roles were predominantly conducted by a one man diversity management team and not done centrally by the HR department. Also, by focusing on the HR department, the purpose of the research would be left unfulfilled as HR officers were not involved directly in the process of implementing equality and diversity programs.

Further, another piece of feedback indicated that more than one diversity officer should be shadowed during the course of the research. For logistical purposes, this would have been impractical. However, I did incorporate into the research the opportunity to attend regional meetings and gathered data on a range of important themes. I also conducted interviews with a number of diversity officers in order to obtain a richer source of data that could supplement the data obtained using observation techniques. Taking all the feedback into consideration, various adjustments were made and the descriptive part of the study commenced.

4.3.3.2 Descriptive Process

A descriptive research process aims to ‘portray an accurate profile of persons, events or situations’ (Robson, 1993 pp. 4). Unlike exploratory research, the researcher possesses a clear idea of the phenomenon prior to data collection. In the presentation of descriptive research two main approaches are adopted. The first is the use of a formalised approach to the presentation of data; usually for the purpose of enabling theory generalization. The second adopts descriptive or narrative writing style from where conclusions can then be drawn. However, while the latter approach allows for the presentation of data which is deep and rich,

care should be taken to ensure that such research is not too descriptive and that the narration is seen as a means to an end and not the end in itself. This type of research utilizes description as a precursor to explanation and can be used as an extension or fore-runner to exploratory research or as a piece of exploratory research.

Although these purposes differ in focus, they are not mutually exclusive (Ghauri et al., 1995 and Kidder and Judd, 1986 pp. 24-26). Indeed, during the course of this study I adopted both approaches; with the exploratory aspect of this study informing many of the decisions that I made in the descriptive phase.

4.3.3.2.1 Qualitative Research Design and the Cultural Dynamics Framework- A Reflexive Approach

In the realm of qualitative design methods, strategies include interviews, case studies, ethnographic analysis, observation, action research, grounded theory etc. While these strategies differ in terms of approach, no strategy is superior to the other and the use of one strategy does not exclude the use of another. However the approach adopted should be guided by the existing literature within the field of study. The choice in this study is guided by suggestions by Hatch (1993; 2006) on the best approaches to study the processes involved in the cultural dynamics framework.

This section describes how the research strategies which guided the data collection were informed by Hatch's study on the cultural dynamics framework. Using this information, I will focus on three research approaches and explain their use in process of data collection. I also will present in detail how the concept of reflexivity was used in the search for veracity and verisimilitude and how this was channelled throughout the process of data collection.

In order to study the realization processes Hatch (1993) calls for the understanding of how values and expectations are used and maintained or transformed in the course of constructing behaviour or a set of behaviours with tangible outcomes. This suggests an approach which involves immersion in the research environment in order to understand the production, reproduction and transformation of artefacts through daily activities in order to examine how values and expectations unfold. The cultural dynamics framework thus focuses on the use of observational studies (Barley, 1986) in order to examine how everyday activities or actions produce and reproduce the institution in which it exists.

To study the process of symbolization Hatch (1993) calls for a direct involvement of the researcher with the research setting. She argues that by submerging one's self in the setting, researchers can, via the use of aesthetic techniques (Van Maanen, 1988) create or stimulate first order reactions. In order to ascertain whether the process of symbolization has occurred, it is also necessary to confirm the perception of actors about the relevant symbols. In this way it is possible to deduce whether these objects or actions possess additional meanings other than their literal meaning. However, while the use of aesthetic techniques increases the ability of the researcher to understand the process of symbolization and differentiate this process from the process of interpretation, the tendency for researchers to be lost within the research setting has called for the need for interviews and reflexivity alongside the use of this technique in order to remain objective. From these arguments by Hatch (1993) three main research strategies were employed.

Within the field of qualitative research, reflexivity is an active cognitive process (Hibbert et al., 2010) which involves a 'self-aware analysis of the dynamics between researcher and participant' (Gobo, 2011 pp. 22). It refers to the process by which researchers reflect on the effect that they have on the research process. Reflexivity, in research, is an instrumental process which challenges both the organizational researcher and the research (Hibbert et al., 2010).

Hibbert et al. (2010) divides the reflexive process into two processes which involves reflexion and recursion. Archer (2007) also groups the reflexive process into meta-reflexivity and autonomous reflexivity, while Macbeth (2001) divides reflexivity into positional and textual reflexivity. However, it will appear difficult to choose one model of reflexivity over the other or indeed to develop models of reflexivity since these reflexive positions do not occur in isolation. Rather individuals move between these positions (Hibbert et al., 2010) and there are also cases when these positions occur simultaneously within a study (Hibbert et al., 2010).

However, the approach adopted by Hibbert et al. (2010) appears most relevant to this study. Hibbert et al. (2010) applied the use of terms like reflection and recursion to describe the entire reflexive process. They described the process of reflection as a process whereby 'we become observers of our own practice' (pp. 48). The process of recursion is described as a 'process of defining something in terms of itself and thus returning to our ways of doing' (pp.

48). This implies that by questioning the basis of the researcher's interpretation of the setting, reflexivity brings about recursive changes in the process of reflexion.

For social researchers, in practice, the process of reflection involves acknowledging their presence within the research setting, while the recursive process allows for the identification of situations that can lead to bias; either as a result of previous knowledge from academic texts or from other sources and implementing actions that change the process of reflection. For the purpose of this research, the reflexive process adopted by Hibbert et al. (2010) has been useful both in terms of the design of the fieldwork and the practical aspect of data collection. This process involved the ability to embrace the insight that my presence within the research setting offered. It also allowed the recognition of articles within the literature that may have influenced the analysis as a result of my knowledge of such literature. The recognition of this potential shortfall necessitated that, where necessary, any unclear findings needed to be clarified by the respondents.

My Role as the Researcher

The nature of social research is such that the roles adopted by researchers differ from those adopted by independent or impartial observers. A tradition within the scientific research community is the insistence on the researcher as a '3rd person' and the use of a passive voice when writing up scientific research findings (Smircich and Stubbart, 1985 pp. 728). This is necessary in order to de-personalize the argument and allow of objectivity and consistency of findings. However, the nature of interpretivist studies warrant the need for the personal involvement of the researcher with the interpretation of the data; arguing that 'knowledge is standpoint dependent' (Smircich and Stubbart, 1985 pp. 728).

During this research, I employed the use of many tactics in order to establish a consistent standpoint which aided the accurate interpretation of the data collected. The nature of my role comprised of independent observations, notes taking used in conjunction with or in place of audio recordings, making audio recordings of meetings and interviews as well as drawing conclusions based on the results of the data collected.

While these practices introduced a personal element to the research, the reflexive role that I adopted ensured that the element of bias was never introduced to the study. The possible effects of my physical attributes, as a woman from an ethnic minority origin, were acknowledged and considered at every stage during this research. Also since I differ from the

respondents in terms of institutional and social background, special considerations were taken into account regarding the interpretation of the contextual considerations when analysing the remarks of the respondents.

As a result of the above as well as my ethnic background, there was a major need to apply reflexivity at various stages during this research. To do this, I consulted the literature on reflexivity and highlight in preceding sections how the practice of reflexivity was relevant to this study.

Case studies are defined as ‘a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence’ (Robson, 2002 pp. 178). This definition suggests that case studies are temporal and contextual-specific in nature. This method allows researchers the ability to explore the organizational context as well as to identify its effects on the research findings. The emphasis of case studies on the contextual environment makes this strategy suited to this study (Yin, 2003). Case studies are most often used for explanatory and exploratory research and are capable of answering such questions as ‘why’, ‘what’ and to a greater extent ‘how’.

Case study approach is of particular importance in exploring the complexity of organizational processes. This approach is particularly beneficial to research which explores social events as they occur (Hartley, 1994 pp. 212). This is beneficial to this research which studies the management of change as it occurs. The high dependence of the execution of this study on the contextual environment suggests that it is best suited to the use of the case study approach. However, these benefits can sometimes serve as a weakness. For example, the boundaries between the studied phenomenon and the context are not always evident and researchers will again need to be reflexive during the course of their study in order to ensure the accuracy and fairness of the data.

Yin (2003) distinguished between four main types of case studies; these include the single and multiple case studies and the holistic and embedded case. An embedded case involves the study of more than one aspect of the organization; for example different departments or units, while the holistic approach researches the organization as a unit. The single case study refers to the study of a single organization or phenomenon, while the multiple case study approach refers to the study of more than one organization or phenomenon. Although the diverse source of data in the multiple approaches allows for the comparison of results and thus

generalizeability of findings, the focus on one source of data allows for the intimate study of unique subjects or phenomena and enables a richness of data. For the purpose of the current study I adopted a single case study approach, focused on an NHS organization in the United Kingdom; drawing heavily on my skills as an observer and an interviewer. The organizational and legislative context of County X UHB will be presented as a part of the first empirical chapter in Chapter 5, but first I will discuss the research process and the strategies deployed.

This study was conducted over a period of six months within one organization. In this study, I refer to the NHS Trust as County X UHB. I spent most days with the diversity officer shuttling between the main site, the office I was allocated, off-site meetings, seminars and conferences where I observed his actions during the course of this study.

The table below shows the details of the data collection process; including the different phases and the time scale involved in the process.

Phase One	
Preparatory work	
Date / Location	Research activity
Oct. 2007- Sept. 2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Diploma in Research methods course
Oct. 2008- Sept. 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Define the key themes of the research Preliminary literature search Write research proposal Conduct archival research Review relevant material on the Single Equality Scheme to ascertain its relevance to organizational research and understand the types of organizations that should ideally be targets of this study Identify target organizations Approach target organizations and gate-keepers
Phase Two	
Exploratory and Descriptive research	
Oct. 2010-Dec-2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prepare preliminary research objectives Conduct a pre-test of the major themes with the selected informant Modify research objectives as a result of the outcome of the pre-test Conduct a context specific research to understand the relevance of the themes and understand the context Confirm access Sign initial 3 month contract with organization Wait to be provided with an office space and allow time to be properly set up by IT department Start observations (shadowing) and begin to create a provisional sampling frame for interview and meetings
Observations	
Dec. 2010-Mar. 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Start attending both formal and informal meetings with key informant (shadowing)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Approach individuals targeted earlier for interviews requests; trying to confirm their interest and availability • Sit quietly through and record (both audio and written) the minutes of meetings, seminars, focus groups and conferences
Case Studies	
Dec. 2010-Mar. 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review organizational website, leaflets, newsletters and general e-mails in order to ascertain their stance on the issues if diversity management and organizational culture
In-Depth Interviews	
Dec. 2010-Mar. 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Approach prospective participants via e-mail or by telephone to ascertain their availability • Conduct in-depth face to face interviews according to the availability of the informants • Review themes • Present summaries to core-respondents for validation

Table 4.1 Fieldwork schedule

The use of **observational data** in social research has been in effect for decades. However Kidder and Judd (1986 pp.15-17) highlighted four main pitfalls of this research strategy. This involves a researcher perceiving the social environment of actors and gathering as much information as they can about the processes of social interaction that occur. This process relies heavily on the researcher's senses of sight and hearing. The ability of the researcher to be able to interpret social queues, language patterns and body language is also very important. The heavy reliance of this process on the researcher has been the reason behind the critiques that it has sustained over the years.

The first critique is the definition of exactly what is observed and how to ensure that it corresponds with the studied phenomenon. The second critique is the ability of the researcher to accurately conclude that one of the measured constructs causes the other or the direction the relationship. Also, due to logistical constraints, observations can only be conducted on a selected few at a time and the observable number might not be a true representation of the population (Kidder and Judd, 1986). Also, the lack of reflexivity in a study can cause individual bias in deciding what is relevant enough to be recorded and what is not relevant (Snyder and Swann, 1978); a situation that can affect the legitimacy of the use of this research method.

However, many of the criticisms above can be overcome by the researchers' discipline and reflexivity regarding their study. Hence, I will show how the reflexive process aided in minimizing the shortfalls of adopting this approach.

The process of observation which I adopted involved the art of systematically observing, recording, describing, analysing and interpreting the behaviours of participants (Saunders et

al., 2000). In line with the philosophical orientation of this research, I believe in the use of the ‘observer as participant’ and observational techniques were invaluable in providing richness and depth to the data. This process afforded the opportunity to observe events within their natural environments. In doing this, I was able to gain an understanding of the events within their context as well as understanding the meanings that participants attribute to these events.

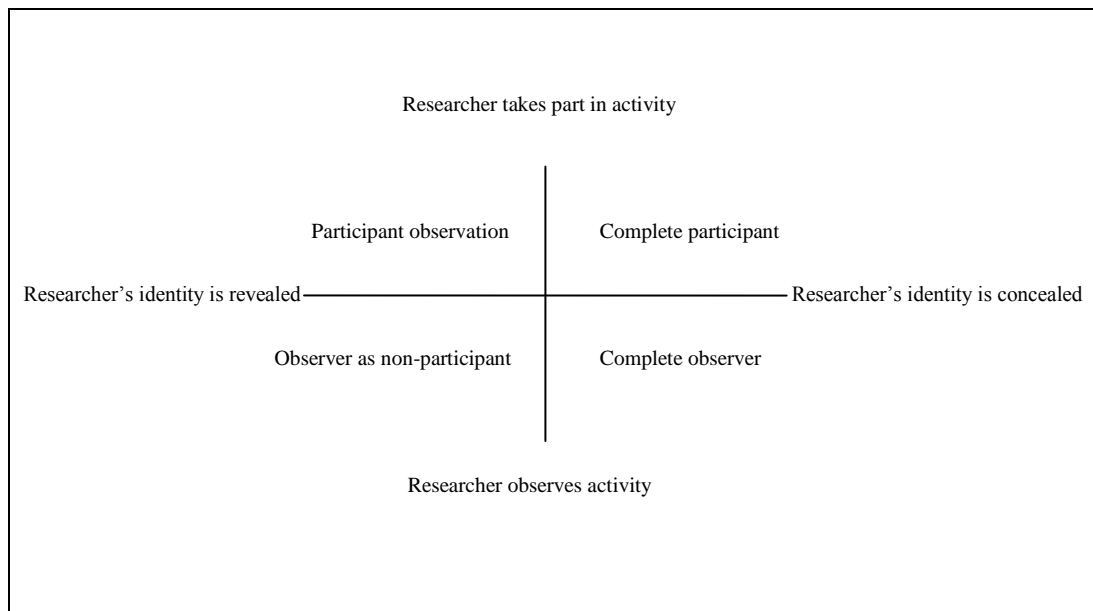


Fig. 4.2 Typology of participant observation research method: Adapted from Saunders et al. (2002 pp. 223)

For ethical reasons, one of the conditions of access was that the researcher’s identity should be revealed to everyone that I came into contact with. As a result, most of the observation activities conducted during this research are represented on the left hand side of the typology in figure 4.3 above. While the aim was to position myself within the lower left quadrant of the typology, there were instances when it was almost impossible not to participate in the activities. These situations witnessed a movement in the observational style from the lower left hand quadrant to the upper left hand quadrant.

In my role as an observer I was therefore sometimes asked to participate in organizational activities and this presented certain ethical challenges. Being involved in organizational activities meant that I was sometimes treated as an organizational member and had to separate personal information which was revealed by members as a result of their perception that I was ‘one of them’. Also, in these circumstances, the extent to which the researcher provided full details of the research purpose had to be carefully considered.

Regarding the limitations of observer bias and observer effect, Robson (1993) suggests two approaches to minimising observer effect. These are ensuring minimal interaction and

habituation. To minimise interaction, the researcher is advised to, as much as possible, separate themselves from the research. Observers are advised to melt into the background and not to engage with the setting. I was sometimes possible to apply this approach during this research, but the feedback that I received was that this approach made me appear unfriendly and standoffish. As a result I focused more on the use of the habituation approach whereby the participants became used to my presence and after a while were able to drop their guards.

The observational process started from the meeting my supervisor and I had with the diversity officer and continued on first day that a work station was available for my use. The work environment and space, language and communication patterns and patterns of interaction all served as sources of valuable data. These data were recorded using a field notebook which I carried with me every day. The field notes were updated at the end of each day and reflected upon in order to provide insight to the organizational patterns as well as to highlight points that needed to be clarified the following day.

I engaged in the observation of meetings, workshops, and training sessions mainly as a non-participant observer to observe the routines and interaction patterns present within the organization. Since my research was supported by members of the executive team, I was in a privileged position to attend high level meetings and strategy sessions and workshops which were aimed at developing strategies to implement an inclusive work culture within the organization. During these sessions, I functioned mainly as an observer however, there were instances when I was asked to give my opinion or join in group team building exercises. While I joined in these activities (so as not to appear unfriendly), there is no evidence that this practice influenced the outcomes of the data since these events were not the focus of the study. It was also difficult to maintain the researcher-organizational boundary line. There were times during seminars and conferences where my help would be called upon in distributing fliers or in serving tea and biscuits to other participants. It was difficult to say no to such requests for help, as I had to make a choice between helping and the risk of offending people which could impact on the integrity of the data. However upon reflection I would say that it is unlikely that such actions influenced the data obtained during the study.

I was also allowed to observe the meetings of the equality strategy steering groups (ESSG) that were made up of equality champions and members of the executive team. This allowed me to gain insight into the experiences of other individuals that were actively involved in managing diversity within the organization. I was also allowed to observe meetings with

Equality Champions. I was also allowed to attend, alongside the diversity officer 5 meetings and seminars with third sector organizations involved in equality and diversity. However to overcome the difficulty with observing everything in an environment I always carried a notebook, which I used as a diary, to record important happenings. The reflexive process also played a role in ensuring that I was not overcome and thus did not record everything that happened in the research setting. I was able to separate and record in detail only those themes that were relevant to this study and I either made non-detailed notes or carefully ignored those themes that were found to be irrelevant to this study. The reflexive process also helped to ensure that I did not compromise confidentiality. I had to navigate conversations tactically and ensure that themes mentioned outside the research context, even when I was present, remained confidential.

It was difficult to remain a non-participant observer since I was present in County X UHB from 8.30am every morning until 4pm when the diversity officer left for the day. I was allocated a desk in the office I shared with the participant and on many occasions we carpooled to the meeting or seminar venues. Such close proximity with the participant meant that I was called upon to take on tasks that included answering the office phone, taking messages and sometimes delivering messages on their behalf. Also the close proximity meant that we sometimes engaged to conversations and debates that were closely related to the research area; which I had opinions about. I tried to correct this by not engaging in politically charged discussions once I noticed this was happening.

Analysing the observational data involved pouring through notes and texts in order to tease out relevant themes and concepts. The observation process was also useful regarding access to other members of the organization who agreed to being interviewed. My observations were combined with the data obtained during the interviews and then both data were comprehensively analysed using the Nvivo analytical method.

Interviewing is an active process engaged in by two or more individuals, which creates a contextually bound and mutually created story (Fontana and Frey, 2005 pp. 696). The need for social scientists to interact with research participants has led to the increased use of this method in social science research. For example, Lawrence (2000), Özbilgin and Tatli (2010) and Kirton *et al.* (2005) adopted the use of interviews in their study of equality and diversity officers. Interviews remove barriers between the interviewee and interviewer (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003) allowing researchers the opportunity to understand the context of the research.

This is because of its ability to elicit personal emotions from interviewees (Douglas, 1985), thus helping to enrich the quality of the data collected.

Interviews are used in organizational culture research because this research method focuses on the use of language to ‘typify and stabilize experiences and integrate those experiences into a meaningful whole’ (Pettigrew, 1983 pp. 94). Within the field of organizational culture, language is a very important tool. Not only does language possess the capability to create culture, it can also achieve certain effects, be used as a form of action, and can have different meanings depending on the organizational vocabulary. However, vocabulary is not just a string of words (Fontana and Frey, 2005 pp. 707); being usually embedded with deeper meaning. For this reason, I have combined this mode of data collection with others, for example observation (detailed in the next chapter), in order to have a reference point (Pettigrew, 1983 pp. 94).

Most interviews involve individuals or groups either sat face-to-face or over the phone. Interviews can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured (Fontana and Frey, 2005 pp. 698). The use of interviews has gradually moved from being structured ‘yes’ or ‘no’ questions to asking questions that provide a way to gain a deeper understanding into people’s lives. In structured interviews, the interviewer asks the same set of questions, in the same order at the interviewer’s pace, with a limited set of response categories (Fontana and Frey, 2005 pp. 701-702). There is usually very little flexibility in the manner the questions are asked and even less room in variation in the responses. The unstructured interviews (sometimes likened to participant observation; see for example Lofland, 1971), on the other hand, is an interactive process involving both the interviewer and the interviewee. Unlike the structured interview, it does not attempt to gather only specific data, but to understand the behaviours of members of a society without imposing any prior categorization which may limit the field of study (Fontana and Frey, 2005, pp. 706).

While the use of interviews in research has many advantages, there are arguments that suggest that interviews can lead to contextually biased results (Fontana and Frey, 2005 pp. 698). The interview process has also been criticised as a result of the asymmetric nature of interview (Fontana and Frey, 2005 pp. 695). Some researchers argue that the use of interviews encourage self-reflexivity (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995; also see critique by Atkinson and Silverman, 1997), however, because the interview is an active interaction process between the interviewee and the interviewer, others like Scheurich (1995) argue that

the contextual environment can also influence the researcher and, ultimately, the research findings. Scheurich (1995) argues that since interviews and the interviewer are both historically and contextually located, the interview process is not neutral given that the interviewer brings with them unavoidable conscious and unconscious biases, baggage, desires feelings and motives. These criticisms of the interview method can be also overcome if the researcher is adequately self-reflexive. However, even with all the criticisms the contributions of this research method to organizational culture research remain invaluable (Alvesson, 2002). I adopted the use of semi-structured interviews for two main reasons. The first reason is to gain understanding and clarification of the themes that are studied from diversity managers. While the other reason is the use of this method to validate the data gathered from observing/shadowing the diversity officer.

The interviews were conducted around predetermined themes. The use of predetermined themes allowed me to meet the aim and objectives of the study by asking only questions that add value to the research. This also helped to focus the minds of the participants and narrow the range of issues that were discussed during the interviews. The main themes that were discussed include organizational culture, workforce diversity, equality and diversity, diversity management, Single Equality Scheme, protected categories and human resource practices. These themes were linked to both the context and the theory on diversity management thereby assuring content and ecological validity.

Interviews are socially and linguistically complex situations (Alvesson, 2003 pp. 14) that require the adoption of a reflexive approach targeted at minimising interviewee/interviewer bias during the interview as well as during the process of data analysis. A reflexive approach was taken at all points of contact with participants and potential participants in order to eliminate the possibility of bias.

The initial phase included an understanding of the organizational setting, the norms, practices and dress code. This is in order to blend in with other members of the organization and to portray a respectable and professional front that would ultimately benefit the study in line with good practice in research organizations (Robson, 1993). I discussed these relevant areas with the gatekeeper who brought me up to date with the ongoing institutional issues, practices, the change process and the concern of employees and management regarding the change process and the possible outcomes of this process. These issues were included in the research themes, resulting in a more detailed and focused research interaction process.

Drawing on the literature on the relevance of non-verbal communication in interview processes, attempts were made to note non-verbal behaviours as well as verbal cues that may be relevant to the interview process and thereby shed more light on this process. The non-verbal cues included subtle awkward movements aimed at disguising the importance of the comments being made. They also included changes in tone, long pauses between replies, funny facial expressions and emphasis on certain words; all of which were clarified with the interviewees and provided a source of supplementary data.

The reflexive awareness was also necessary during this stage since there were many instances where the respondents assumed that I had more information than they did on certain issues of equality and legislation. The respondents will in certain instances answer questions with phrases such as ‘as you rightly know’ or ‘you should know since you are a researcher’. In order to counter these presumptions, I consistently asked the respondents what they meant by their statements and that it was important to understand the themes from their perspective. After this, I would usually employ the use of searching questions to gain insight into their understanding of the issue(s) being discussed.

During the interview process, some respondents employed the use of acronyms like LGBT to refer collectively to members of the bisexual, gay, lesbian or transgendered community. Others used terms like BME to refer to members of the members of the black and minority ethnic community. However a few found the use of such acronyms offensive and generalizing and chose not to use them. It was not unusual for respondent to claim that diversity management was uppermost on their agenda and claim that they did everything to physically identify with minority group members. The emotional response to issues of organizational and societal diversity is such that employees are constantly striving to be seen to be breaking the majority-minority barrier. This observation implied that direct questions about the duties of the diversity officers will have been met with similar positive responses (as we found out during the exploratory investigations). Applying a reflexive approach ensured that this potentially important theoretical issue was not ignored and explored further during the process of data analysis.

I decided to discontinue the interviews after it was clear that subsequent interviews presented the same themes as previous interviews (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The lack of the emergence of new themes showed that all the relevant themes were adequately covered within the context of the studied organization. As a result a total 48 interviews were

conducted. These interviews varied in length and ranged from between 30 to 60 minutes, with a mean time of about 35 minutes. Majority of the interviews were conducted within the organization's premises; usually in the offices of the respondents. As much as possible attempts were made to ensure that the interviews were conducted in a private space when the interviewees did not share their offices with others. Although Easterby-Smith *et al.* (1991; 2002) argue that the conducting of interviews in a neutral location allows participants to talk freely about such issues; we did not consider this to be necessary since there was no risk of the participants being overheard in the majority of the interview settings. When there were others around, I moved the interviews to private meeting rooms in order that the responses of participants were not influenced by the fear of being overheard. I encouraged participants to select locations which they thought would be suitable for them and wherein they would be comfortable.

The majority of the interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis; however there were two instances where a focus group style was adopted. One of the instances involved the interview of two employees from the HR department who had agreed to be interviewed. These employees thought that it would be more time-efficient if I conducted both interviews together. The other instance involved the interview of the chairman of the Organization which took place in the presence of the diversity manager. During this interview, I had to rely heavily on the observation and recording of non-verbal cues in order to attempt to eliminate those responses that may differ from what might otherwise have been given if the interview was conducted on a one-to-one basis.

The results of the data that I gathered during the interviewing and observation phases of this study were transcribed, coded and analysed in order to be able to understand accurately the information embedded in the data. The next section details the methods utilized in this study to code and analyse the data obtained.

Archival Data

I was also allowed access to archival documents and during the course of this study the archival data used were obtained from a range of sources. These sources included the government websites, the official website of County X UHB, organizational publications, newspapers, television news reports and third party publications. This type of data collection method is less obtrusive than other forms and requires fewer resources to develop than other data sources (Saunders et al., 2000).

I chose to obtain archival data on County X UHB from various data sources since previous research has shown that the reliance on only one source of archival data can provide data which is systematically biased. For example, to counteract the static nature of archival data obtained on websites, I combined this data source with other sources in order to enrich the meaning of the information obtained on the net. However, the use of multiple sources of archival data is not without its criticisms. For example some researchers argue that the main data source can be undermined by combining its use with other data sources which do not add value to the former (Coupland and Brown, 2010). Many researchers however agree that archival data have the advantage of providing insight to issues of ownership, power, access and rights of stakeholders in particular settings.

The limitations of archival data include the difficulty in gaining access to this data type; especially regarding sensitive personal information. This difficulty can also occur during periods when organizations may be dealing with sensitive issues and may be facing reputational challenges, thus they may prevent access to certain archival data sources that consider it may not be in their best interest to release. The use of archival data in this research was relevant to aiding the understanding of changes that have developed in the area of diversity management within the organization and how these changes were communicated to stakeholders. This source of data was utilized in two ways. It served both to supplement other sources of data and as a source of unique information and claims which can be re-confirmed during interviews with participants (Foster, 1994).

Reflexivity in Data Analysis

The combination of reflection and recursion processes improved the quality of the data collected considerably. It helped to ensure that the level of interaction that I had with the respondents was professional. It also ensured that all interactions were necessary and although it was difficult, I had to create a distance between myself and the participants in order that the data and its analysis can represent an unbiased reality of the research setting.

During the process of analysis, the reflexive process was also very useful. At points where the data included phrases or abbreviated forms of the name of organizations, I carefully integrated the reflexive process by comparing what was said with the notes I took during the interviews or meetings. Where these results were unavailable, I would then call on my own understanding of the situation and examine whether this was representative of the respondent's views through a follow-up interview. Where this follow-up visit was impossible,

individuals at similar positions within the organization were approached to help to provide clarity.

Also during the process of data analysis it was observed that in some of the interviews, I had become more active and assertive. In many cases, this was in order to manage time more effectively and to steer the interviews away from becoming more about the respondent than the theme. However, the unintended consequence of doing this was that I sometimes deviated from the questioning format that I had and instead used more direct, leading questions to guide the respondents back to their original responses. As such I was in danger of leading the respondent towards giving certain answers. However to prevent this, I tried to ensure the consistency of their responses during follow-up interviews. In cases where this was noticed during the interview, I asked the question again (in a slightly different way) to ascertain the consistency of the previous responses. As the research progressed, I became conscious of this and tried to suppress it during subsequent interviews.

Data Management and Analysis

All the interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder with additional notes made, where necessary, to provide a more detailed and descriptive account of the interview setting. Alongside the interview recordings, the minutes of two equality steering group meetings, two stakeholder seminars, two training session, one meeting with stakeholders, and one strategy planning session were all recorded on a digital voice recorder and also backed up with additional notes.

The digital voice recorder was small and unobtrusive, with most participants forgetting that it was there within the first few minutes of the interview. The recordings were reviewed immediately after to ensure the integrity of the interviews and to note emerging themes which either needed to be clarified or pursued. A database of the interviews was created on the workstation that I used within the organization with back-ups made on my home and university computers.

For interviews which were 45 minutes or less, the transcription was done by myself. For interviews and seminars that were longer than 45 minutes, the assistance of a professional was employed. This professional was in no way involved in the study and had no vested interests in the results. The professional was someone who worked in a reputable organization and who conducted, as part of their daily tasks, the duties of note taking and

transcription. All the transcriptions were compared alongside the original recording and corrections and adjustments made where necessary.

The recordings ranged from about 30 minutes long to approximately 6 hours long. The longest of the recordings was from the first stakeholder session that I attended; which ran from about 9.30am to 3pm. This meeting was attended by Chief executive officers from the organization, employees who were interested or involved in the diversity management process and many representatives of patient groups who had an interest in the way that the organization was being run. The event was organized by the diversity officer on behalf of the organization.

The transcription of the interviews took about 4 times as long as the length of the interviews, however this time was almost doubled when it came to transcribing the seminars and training sessions. This increased time was mainly as a result of background noise, but sometimes could also be as a result of the emergence of discussions which had no relevance to the study. In total there were over 2,000 minutes of interviews, meetings and seminars to transcribe which took about 300 hours to complete. There was also observation data from 6 months or 1,032 hours to include to the data.

Data Coding

Data coding is a process that involves the use of techniques, by a researcher, to order their data into meaningful easily analysable categories. There are many examples of coding techniques which include but are not limited to content analysis, axial coding and thematic coding. For the purpose of this study, only content analysis will be discussed in detail.

Content analysis involves the automated or manual coding of documents with the aim of obtaining the frequency or use of certain words, phrases or word-phrase cluster for the purpose of statistical analysis. This method of analysis can be applied to documents, audio recordings, newspaper articles, as well as audio and video recordings. Various software programmes are available which provide text analysis, search for links between texts thus providing the evidence of relationships between bodies of texts according to the pre-determined code(s) created by the data analyst. One such software programme which was applied in this study is Nvivo. One of the constraints of using an automated system as opposed to a more hands-on approach is that some of the relevant themes may be ignored because they do not occur frequently enough to be identified by the software. As such, it is

necessary to combine the use of Nvivo with the use of a more hands-on approach such as just reading through the data and manually circling important themes.

Data Analysis

The results of the observation and interviews were transcribed and analysed following an inductive approach as found within the grounded theory strategy (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The data was collected, transcribed, coded and analysed to search for initial concepts and relationships within the data. This information was then reviewed in order to achieve some form of meaning condensation (Lee, 1999). This phase was conducted in order to extract important themes from the transcribed data. The concepts that emerged were then coded into initial categories from which informed the directions that led to additional data collection efforts.

Using Colaizzi's (1978) seven step process (in Saunders, 2003) I was able to provide some coherence and structure to the process of data analysis. After uploading the data using NVIVO, I read the narratives of the participants in order to fully understand their ideas. I then extracted significant statement to be able to extract important words, sentences and phrases that may be relevant to the study. Furthermore, I analysed the extracted data in order to understand the meanings for each of the significant statements. Once these steps were complete, they were repeated for every interview. I created folders in NVIVO for each theme and made sure to return to participants to clarify a few themes which I was unclear about. The results obtained at the end of the above processes were combined with relevant archival information on the organizational and political environments in order to provide a fuller picture of the sequence of events.

The process of analysis thus involved a recursive and reflexive exercise that involved adapting to the research environment. The process of analysis was influenced by relevant literature on organizational culture (Hatch, 1993), Diversity management (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009; Tatli, 2011) and the Single Equality Scheme (2010); all of which are discussed in detail in the data and discussions section of this work. Some initial themes that did emerge included the nature of organizational culture change, the relevance of organizational culture to diversity management, the relevance of diversity management to organizational culture, the relevance of contextual factors to both organizational culture and diversity management, contextual factors relevant in the pursuance of diversity management and the effects of these

contextual factors on the processes of culture change identified in Hatch's cultural dynamics framework.

Research Issues

The issues encountered in this research, like many other qualitative studies, were mainly based around the access, sampling, ethics, reliability and validity of the study. Here we will discuss these issues alongside the steps that were taken to mitigate their influence.

Gaining Access

A formal letter requesting access was sent to various public sector organizations within the United Kingdom and a few to South Africa. After about 2 months of knocking on doors, a response came through from the diversity officer at the County X University Health Board. The diversity manager assumed the position of the organizational gatekeeper and enable me to navigate through the various channels and obstacles that I was required to overcome to become a researcher within the NHS in the region of the UK the study was conducted. This form of access through an organizational gatekeeper is particularly advantageous because, as the main research participant, they had a vested interest in the success of the research; enhancing the opportunity for data collections.

After this initial communication, further communication arose in the form of meetings between the gatekeeper, my primary supervisor and me; where I was advised to send another formal application to the organization. During this meeting, I also detailed the research aims and objectives; taking on board initial feedback that this diversity officer and others had offered. At this point, I was also informed that the executive management team was very interested in my study and was willing to offer any support that was required to ensure the smooth completion of this research.

The initial meeting with the diversity officer was very insightful. County X University Health Board was at the initial stages of implementing an organization wide diversity management program. This was in response to the new equalities legislation which had been implemented in the UK. As a result of the organization's focus on equality and diversity, the 'diversity office' was enjoying what the equality officer referred to as a 'privileged status'. The management team within the organization were doing all they could in order to both promote and be seen to promote the implementation of this program.

As one of the largest organizations in this part of the country, the diversity officer said, during our meeting, that the aim was to become ‘frontrunner and exemplars’ in issues surrounding equality and diversity. The objective was to implement a culture change program in order to create an environment which sustains the management scheme. This culture change was organization-wide; involving their over 14,000 employees and, where possible, various other stakeholder groups. To do this, the diversity officer was going to use various approaches, artefacts and symbols within the culture change literature. He informed us that he had a series of training sessions planned; in order to promote cultural awareness. He also informed us that he had been allocated a budget which he could spend on fliers and pamphlets which could be used to promote awareness. The diversity officer was a talker, he told good stories, gave instances of discrimination and how he had stepped in to right the wrongs. He said most of these stories were deployed as learning points during meetings and training sessions.

During this meeting, the diversity officer informed us of the level of support that this organization-wide change program enjoyed. He told us the program was supported by the Chief Executive Officer, the Chairperson of the organization as well as all the members of the executive team. He not only met regularly with these senior executives, and had a direct channel to the Chief Executive officer but also these executive publicly endorsed the change program. He informed us that this support was crucial in showing employees that issues of equality and diversity were being prioritized. As a result of this increasing awareness, he said he went out for meetings more, held training sessions more frequently, and was known by employees as the person to go to whenever there were issues that required attention.

However, although an organization-wide change was in the initial stages of being implemented, he added that he was still the only member of the equality and diversity team. As a result he had to decide whether to work late hours or prioritise some activities, trainings or meetings over others. As an equality officer with two young children, work/life balance was very important to him, as such the constraints on his time and resources was such that there was always something he had to prioritise over others; as he could only be in one place at a time.

Being accountable to groups of stakeholders (discussed in detail in the next chapter), County X University Health Board had a duty meet the expectations of its stakeholders. In many organizations of this size, the needs of stakeholders could be conflicting, however being a

public sector organization, the diversity officer said that the need to implement diversity management changes complied with the requests of most of their internal and external stakeholders. Thus, issues of equality and diversity were beginning to be taken seriously and diversity management issues were prioritised.

Supported by my primary supervisor, I requested an initial placement of 3 months within the organization. Following this application, partial entry into the organization was allowed and the research begun. I was provided with an office space from where I worked and started some exploratory work waiting for an ID card, computer, internet connection and an official letter of appointment. My application for research access was successful and I received an interim contract and ID card from the HR department at the County X University Health Board together with a computer and network access from the IT department; all facilitated by the gatekeeper.

The weeks before I obtained full access, afforded the opportunity to observe the work environment and identify themes that were relevant to the study. It also allowed me to work out the dynamics of the environment; giving me the opportunity to manage my time more effectively. For example, after observing the lunch practices of the participants, I chose to go for lunch around the time that they did in order that I did not miss out on important meetings.

Sampling and Framework

Due to the nature of the studied themes, there was a need to involve as many of the organizational members as I could meet opportunistically. I also had to decide the best places to conduct my meetings with these individuals and what times of the day were most appropriate for certain employee groups. The size of the organization was such that it took a few days to be able to navigate my way around and as such I was grateful to have had the chance to explore the research setting before commencing the study. Once I was able to find my way around, it was easy to meet people for interviews as well as being able to explore other parts of the organization to observe the use of for example, fliers, pamphlets and leaflets as artefacts for implementing this new program. I was also able to observe the distance of the diversity office from all other main-stream parts of the organization.

The diversity office was tucked away in a building which was the other side of a remote car park. To get to this building from the main hospital, one would have to walk through several hospital units, then go through the main concourse, through a car park located at the bottom

of a set of offices, walk 50metres up a steep road, walk past another set of offices, walk past residential accommodation for junior doctors then arrive at the building; and this was the shortest route. This walk would take an average fit individual at least 10minutes; if brisk walking. This meant that I had to hurry back from interviews if there were scheduled appointments that I had to attend with the diversity officer.

Also, the diversity office was located in a completely different site from that where members of the senior executive team were located. It was a 5mile drive either way; which with traffic within such a busy city could take anything from 20 to 30minutes. The alternative was a bus journey taking anything from 33 to 41 minutes or a journey by train which would take considerably longer after accounting for the 10minute walk to the station. As such, very little else could be done within the main hospital site on the days when the diversity officer met with members of the executive team. The effect of this distance was also felt during my time collecting data since valuable time was spent commuting between sites to interview members of the senior executive and their team.

While the location of the building was a bit of a constraint, it did not however have any significant impact. The status of the diversity office, during this change program, was such that many of the participants that I approached were willing to make this trip to be interviewed in a meeting room within the building.

Research Sampling

Decisions concerning research sampling formed part of the exploratory process of this study. The data sampling stages involved two fundamental processes. The first process involved setting out the characteristics of the primary participant and the type of industry within which the study will be conducted. The second stage involved selecting the respondents to be interviewed; who were viewed as a potential source of invaluable interview data.

Phase One

In order to narrow the sample population, I started with a consideration of only UK based organizations; since issues of diversity management and the Single Equality Scheme (SES, discussed later) were hot in the press at that time. Also, the nature of the content of the SES and the high level of accountability of public sector organizations; particularly around issues relating to discrimination and workforce diversity, led me to conclude that the best setting where this study would be relevant was within the public sector.

The presence of a designated diversity team formed the basis by which I narrowed the choice, thus suggesting that this process was not a random one; and all my correspondence were aimed to get the attention of this group of employees. An important factor that I considered in determining the eligibility of organizations to be approached for this study was the employee size and diversity. I took to the organizations' websites to find out their employee base and the level of employee diversity that presents within the organization. This practice was guided by the literature on workforce diversity and the argument that in order to manage diversity, there has to be significant diversity in the employee base. Using the criteria in the literature on workforce diversity, I approached organizations with a large enough employee base to include (or deal with) members of minority or underrepresented groups. For example, ethnic minorities, gays, lesbians, disabled employees and transgendered individuals among others.

This literature on diversity management, however, suggests that the composition of workforces vary between geographic areas and that what might be considered as minority in one setting may constitute the majority in another setting. I used this alongside census data from the ONS and protected strands mentioned in the Single Equality Scheme (SES) to specify the composition of minority groups within England and Wales. The intention was to ensure that the organizations possess enough diversity within their work base to justify the implementation of diversity management programs and thus the presence of a specialist diversity management unit. The data on the composition of the workforce is presented in the first empirical chapter which provides the contextual factors that governed the equality and diversity initiatives in County X UHB.

Phase Two

The sampling for the interview stage of the study was a bit more complex than the sampling pattern used in the phase one stage. This method combined both the use of strategic and random sampling methods. The use of these approaches was instrumental in obtaining access to as many participants as possible as a result of the snowball effect and referrals by previous participants.

The snowball approach which was initiated with the organizational gatekeeper targeted the individuals and groups that he was in contact with during the course of his work. This brought me into contact with both individuals and groups who were involved in the process of diversity management and those whom benefited, directly and indirectly, from the

implementation of diversity management programmes. These individuals were asked to assist by further referring to other colleagues who may be willing to provide additional information on the issues researched. Further, based on an initial analysis of the data, I strategically targeted members of the chief executive management team of the organization. I approached these individuals for interviews and gave them the opportunity to provide additional information on the research questions. E-mails were sent to all the participants and they were informed to respond directly to myself in order to protect their anonymity. This ensured that, with their knowledge of anonymity, hard to reach members of the target population were able to signify their interest in the study (Zikmund, 2003). Ensuring their anonymity also meant that respondents were able to feel secure enough to provide their real opinions about the studied themes.

The focus of the organization on equality and diversity appeared to improve the status of my study. Once individuals were approached to participate in interviews, they were all willing to be involved. Of all of the employees and chief executive members that were approached, no one said that they would be unable to participate in this study. The additional focus thus bolstered my status as a researcher as well as the status of those associated with the equality and diversity scheme. It was therefore, under the circumstances, relatively easy to recruit participants for the interview stage of this research.

The drawback of using the snowball technique is that only participants that were intrinsically motivated to participate in the study came forward to do so. Another drawback is that employees with a grievance against the organization or its policies may employ this as an opportunity to air their grievances against the organization. These drawbacks were considered and it was decided that there was sufficient benefit in the use of this approach to employ research participants. Combining this approach with a more strategic approach to targeting participants, for example approaching them at the end of meetings or training sessions, provided the opportunity to obtain data from a wider organizational pool. Also, since the questions had no direct bearing on the capabilities or personality of the main research subject, there was no fear of bias or vendetta when the interview questions were asked. I concluded that any willing and self-selected participants will already be interested and knowledgeable in this research area and will be very likely to provide in-depth and honest opinions about their perceptions.

Research Ethics

The nature of qualitative research is such that one of the major challenges surrounding this style of research is the intrusive nature of the research method and its potential to be disruptive as a result of the depth and detail that it aims to produce. As a result of this, some researchers argue that the end that this research method serves is sufficient to justify the means adopted (see for example Soble, 1978 pp. 40), while there are others that argue the opposite. However, I adopt the stance adopted by Soble (1978 PP. 40) and argue that the richness of data that this method is able to provide justifies the ‘minor defects’.

At every stage during this research, I attempted to obtain the informed consent of all participants that were relevant to this study. However, as noted by Punch (1994 pp. 90) I found that in some cases the divulgence of one’s identity as a researcher to everyone present might serve as a hindrance to data collection. In these situations, I attempted to follow the gold standard of research ethics and obtained the informed consent of all present; following both the ESRC and Cardiff University’s guidance for conducting social science research.

Each participant was asked for their consent before the data was collected and used and, to the best of my ability, the identity of the researcher was known to all research participants. There however might be instances, for example in the case of individuals who arrived late to seminars after the presence of the researcher had been announced, where such participants may have been unaware of the presence of a researcher. In these instances, I met with them during the breaks to announce my presence and where this was not possible, I did not use their contributions. After noticing this, with the help of the gatekeeper, I ensured that e-mails were sent in advance to inform potential participants of the presence of a researcher as well as an option to opt out of participating in the research.

I also informed interview participants that they had the choice of requesting that their interview be rejected as well as the choice to opt out of the research at any time. All participants were guaranteed complete anonymity and confidentiality whether they participated in interviews or participated in meetings or seminars that were observed by the researcher. All e-mail correspondences were confidential and e-mail addresses were only used to contact the respondents and not used as a means of identification. Participants were informed that the research findings will only be communicated to the organization in general terms without recourse to specific individuals or scenarios. It was imperative to ascertain

some level of trust between myself and participant(s) in order that they were able to express their true opinions regarding the research themes.

Veracity and Verisimilitude

Yin (1994 pp. 32-38) argues that internal and external validity, construct validity and reliability are the four tests that a good quality social science research should pass. Internal validity addresses concerns about causal relationships and the internal logic of explanation, while external validity establishes the domain within which results of a social science research can be said to be generalizeable. Research passes the test of reliability when it can provide similar results when replicated. Construct validity is a test that seeks to establish the correctness of the operational measures that are applied to measure the concepts being studied.

In the context of this study, reliability concerns were addressed by the establishment of a research case protocol. This ensured that there was a verifiable trace of all the main research activities. To maintain construct validity, the main themes were developed by exhaustively consulting the relevant theories in the areas studied as well as through a process of reflexive interactions with both the organizational and legislative contexts. For internal validity, I sought to address all relevant views and perspectives in order to ensure that the process of analysis covered all the possible logical explanations. The concept of external validity or generalizeability is more difficult to achieve in a single case study research. As such this study is aimed not at achieving statistical generalizeability, but instead analytical generalizeability (Yin, 1994; Lee, 1999) which requires the use of ‘a reasoned judgement’ to assess the plausibility of the use of the results of one qualitative study to guide the inferences of another, after taking into account variations in the research context.

Other research validity concerns, identified by Kvale (1996; 2008), include validity of craftsmanship, validity of communication and pragmatic validity and these can be satisfied by employing trustworthiness, persuasiveness and research coherence respectively. Marshal and Rossman (1995) also identified concerns about research accuracy, generalization, dependability and objectivity which can be met by keeping detailed records, theoretical rigor, research protocol and reflexivity respectively.

For the purpose of this research, I integrated the guidelines for validity by Yin (1994), Kvale (1996) and Marshal and Rossman (1995) to ensure that all possible threats that could

challenge the validity of this study were eliminated. The emphasis on both theoretical and contextual soundness shows that the issues surrounding the validity and reliability of organization research extends from the literature search and governs the methodology, research setting and data analysis and interpretation techniques used.

As a result I maintained internal validity by using different forms of data collection methods, briefing participants before and after the interviews and spent a credible amount of time doing the field research to be able to understand the causal relationships that may exist within the studied themes. To maintain external validity I analysed the organizational and legislative contexts as they influence this study and ensured that the research organization was relevant to the study. To maintain reliability, anonymity and confidentiality, guarantees were made to all research participants, I interviewed only those participants that were relevant to the study and verbatim transcriptions of interviews were made. I also kept adequate records of all interviewees, meetings, training sessions and seminars attended during the course of the field study, notes of observations were carefully taken and promptly transcribed, and I undertook an audit of the data collection, management and analysis processes, with close attention given to theory-negating incidents. Finally, to ensure construct validity, I ensured that this research was guided by the relevant literature and made clear notes of all theoretical and methodological decisions taken during the course of the study.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the research purposes and the key research questions necessary to be answered to meet these aims and objectives. This was followed by a brief review of the major methodological approaches in order to explore the existing approaches to conducting social research. During the process of presenting the methodological approaches, I identified and discussed the relevant ontological and epistemological positions that are relevant to addressing the research questions and meeting the aims and objectives of this study. I have presented the flow of events that occurred in the field study stage of this research starting with the relevance of reflexivity to various aspects of this study. The latter part of this chapter dealt with issues of reliability and validity and how the reliability and validity of this study was ensured. In the next chapter I will provide a detailed description of the organizational and environmental contexts of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT

5.1 Introduction

This is the first of three empirical chapters which provides the background on the organizational and environmental contextual factors which guide the practice of equality and diversity management in County X UHB. Here I will present the organizational, legislative and demographic aspects of the social field as part of the research context. An understanding of the research context is important in diversity management research (Ahmed, 2007; Cornelius *et al.*, 2010; Jones *et al.*, 2000). This is because the research context forms part of the research environment and influences both the nature of the data and the interpretation of such data. Also, Cornelius *et al.* (2010) argues for the need to include the influence of organizational stakeholders on the diversity management approaches embarked on by organizations. Furthermore, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) argue for the consideration of the social field of diversity managers when exploring the extent of their agentic power within organizations.

To do this, I found that it was necessary to consider in detail both the evolving organizational and legislative contexts of the study. This is because an understanding of these contextual factors contributed immensely to the processes of data collection and analysis and allowed a better understanding of the data; thus providing a more holistic approach to the research. In the later part of this chapter I will present the data on the intra-organizational factors and the various stakeholders groups, for example, employee population, patient population among others, which also influenced the organization's decision to implement internal changes to their diversity management programs.

First, I will present a brief summary of organizational context of County X UHB, presenting them as an organisation that is accountable to various stakeholder groups and thus reveal the significant pressures by the institutional stockholder that triggered the need for a change in their approach to equality and diversity management. Second, I will present the historical evolution of the appropriate social and political advancements regarding population diversity in England and Wales. This will provide an appropriate context, locating County X UHB in a region of the UK that is comprised of diverse individuals and as an organization that also provides services to a diverse society. Third, I will explore the more recent contextual

changes, such as legislative changes, increasing demographic diversity, the zero tolerance on discrimination and increasing media attention that have acted to focus attention towards the ‘good practice’ of diversity management. This section will then provide data regarding the organizational context and the ongoing changes within this context aimed at addressing issues of inequality and promoting an inclusive environment for all employees regardless of race, ethnicity, age, gender, sexual orientation, marital status, disability or lack of and religious orientation. Finally, I will explore the change process. The aim here is to present data which identifies factors that influence the processes and approaches to diversity management and as such the agency of diversity managers.

5.2 County X UHB and their stakeholders

Stakeholders are described as individuals, groups or organizations that are affected by the activities of an organization. As identified in chapter 2, these groups include but are not limited to employees, customers, suppliers, government bodies, and trade unions, political groups among others; which constitute part of the internal and external organizational context.

The NHS as one of the largest organizations in the world is also accountable to an array of stakeholders. While the NHS is an independent body overseen by the Secretary of State, it operates within arm’s length of the government and governmental institutions. This organization is governed by a constitution which establishes its principles and its values; setting out the rights of patients, staff and the general public. The extent of the role of this organization is such that this constitution also governs the decisions and actions of the Secretary of State, all NHS bodies, its suppliers, local authorities among a few (NHS Const). As an organization which is accountable to the community it serves (UK population), the NHS is influenced by government policies and legislations; especially when these legislations protects the rights of the community. While, according to Freeman (1984), the needs of all stakeholders are not prioritized at the same time, adhering to the newly implemented Equality Act by the government was among the NHS’s priorities. According to the NHS website, *‘the NHS has clear values and principles about equality and fairness’* and the newly implemented Equalities Act (2010) *‘gives the NHS opportunities to work towards eliminating discrimination and reducing inequalities in care’* (NHS Const). Thus, as a result of the nature of its role maintaining public confidence is uppermost among the priorities of the NHS.

As an NHS Trust, County X UHB is also governed by the same constitutions which governs the wider NHS and is accountable to the same stakeholders. As such, County X UHB also responds to the same environmental pressures and changes as the wider NHS. This included responding to changes in the legislation regarding the Equality Act (2010). The stakeholders of County X UHB are represented by a group called the Stakeholder Reference Group (SRG) and representatives of this group are drawn from within the area served by the UHB. This is done in a bid to ensure involvement from a range of bodies and groups operating within the communities serviced by the County X UHB. Alongside these stakeholders, County X UHB is also accountable to an additional regional government authority that, alongside the Equality Act, has also instructed the implementation of two other equality and diversity regulations. Thus, as an organization which prides itself on meeting the needs of its stakeholders, County X UHB initiated an organization-wide diversity management change program to respond to the legislative requirements of, not just the national government but also, its regional governing authority.

5.3 Macro-Environmental Context

Important changes in both the local and global environment (see for example Daniel, 2011; Equality Act, 2006; 2010; Harris and Foster, 2010; homeoffice.gov.uk; Johnson and Bill, 2005; Lansky, 2000; Przetacka, 2009; Stevens and Ogunji, 2011) have triggered changes in the demographic composition of many countries around the world. Like the wider society, these factors have also contributed to the ongoing increasing diversification of the demographic composition of the UK population, consumer base and workforce (see for example, Maxwell, 2004; McCuiston *et al.*; Verworn *et al.*, 2009; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002).

Results of the November 2011 census in the UK showed the population of England and Wales rising by 7% when compared with the population in 2001; with migration accounting for 55% (2.1million) of this increase. The census results also showed that about 1/6th of the 56.1million population of England and Wales are members of ethnic minority groups. Their report also highlighted a rise in the number of over 65s; making up 16% of the entire population, an increase of 0.9million on 2001 (ONS, 2011). Regarding marital status and sexual orientation and preference, while 46% of the population is married, 0.2% is in registered same sex civil partnerships with others divorced, widowed, single or separated. There is also diversity in terms of religion with 59.3% of the population being Christians,

14.8% registered as being of no religion and 8.4% of the population belonging to other religious groups like Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Sikhism, are Jewish or of other religious orientations (ONS, 2011).

The above trend showing an increasing diversity within the UK population has also triggered the influx of traditionally underrepresented minority groups into the UK labour markets (Grignon, 2010; McCuiston *et al.*, 2004; Przetacka, 2009). In January 2013 the number of non-UK nationals in employment within the UK was 4.27million, representing almost 9% of the UK workforce. There was also a rise in the number of non-UK born individuals in employment; up 208,000 from the previous year to 4.7million (14.9% of the workforce) (ONS, 2013). Within the health sector the number of white doctors within the NHS had dropped to around 37% (Gillespie, 2011) and the number of health workers classed as non-white has increased to about 10% of the NHS workforce (Bowler, 2004).

The above figures show the diversity that exists within both the population and workforce in the UK. However while there is a relatively high diversity in the number of traditionally underrepresented minority groups in the labour force, there remains a disadvantage regarding their career progression and position within organizations (Foster and Harris; 2010; Mavin and Girling, 2000). For example, studies show that employees from ethnic minority groups are disadvantaged regarding access to work, quality of education and training and career progressions to upper-tier positions (see for example Brooks, and Clunis, 2007; Mueller, Parcel and Tanaka, 1989; Tomlinson *et al.*, 2013; Wilson, Sakura-Lemessy, and West, 1999). Similarly the number of men of working age who were unemployed was highest for Black African (12%), White and Black Caribbean (11%) and Other Black (11%) groups (ONS, 2014). Also the highest rate of economic inactivity for men occurred among men from Chinese (40%), Arab (64%) and Gypsy or Irish Traveller (39%) populations, while the highest rates for women occur among members of the Arab (64%), Bangladeshi (61%), Pakistani (60%) and Gypsy or Irish Traveller (60%) ethnic groups (ONS, 2014). Of those population that were employed ethnic minority women most likely to work in low skilled jobs were Gypsy and Irish Travellers (71%), Bangladeshi women (67%) and White or Black Caribbean (66%), while Pakistani, Black African and Bangladeshi men were most likely to work in low skilled jobs with a population of 57%, 54% and 53% respectively (ONS, 2014). Among the younger population, aged between 16 and 24, young people from Gypsy and Irish Travelling groups (14%), White and Black Caribbean ethnic groups (13%) and Black Caribbean ethnic groups (12%) had the highest proportion of young people in unemployment.

Maybe the most overwhelming finding was revealed in a recent speech against inequality by the Prime Minister, David Cameron, at the 2015 conservative party conference. He indicated that many black people with ‘ethnic’ sounding names felt that, in order to get a fair chance at employment, they had to change their names to more English sounding names similar to those held by their ‘traditional’ English counterparts.

To tackle the problem of employment inequalities among disadvantaged groups, there have been about 116 separate pieces of legislations. Some examples of antidiscrimination legislation include the Equal Pay Act (1970), Sex Discrimination Act (1975), Race Relations Act (1968, 1976), Disability Discrimination Act (1995, 2005), Employment Equality (Age) Regulations (2006), Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations (2003), Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Regulations (2003), Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) (2007) and Equality Act (2006, 2010) among others. However there remain reports that the existing legislations alone are ineffective in tackling discrimination and workplace inequality (Brooks, and Clunis, 2007). One reason for this is that workplace discrimination is more covert; being based on vaguer employee characteristic (Brooks, and Clunis, 2007). Another is that the vast numbers of legislations are argued to make the job of implementing diversity management policies complicated; as individuals may fall into more than one category. Furthermore, the specific focal point of individual legislation may indeed limit the effectiveness of equalities legislations. This is because groups not identified by particular legislations may not be protected by such legislations.

To overcome these shortcomings, the Equality Act (2010) was implemented in the UK on October 1 2010. The Equality Act (2010) brings together all the separate pieces of legislation. Combined into one Act, it simplifies, harmonizes and strengthens existing legislation; providing a new law which protects all individuals in Britain from unfair treatment (Equality Act, 2010). The main focus of the Equality Act (2010) is the identification and protection of nine main ‘protected characteristics’ or groups. Protected characteristics refer to characteristics which individuals cannot be discriminated against on the basis of their possession of these characteristics, or their association with others who possess these characteristics. It is thus unlawful to discriminate against anyone because of their age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex and sexual orientation (Equality Act, 2010).

Individuals are protected from discrimination at work, in education, as customers, when using public services, when buying or renting properties, or as a member or guest of a private club or association (Equality Act, 2010). The Equality Act (2010) particularly focuses on public sector duties regarding socio-economic inequalities. Public sector organizations must, thus, ‘when making decisions of a strategic nature about how to exercise its functions, have due regard to the desirability of exercising them in such a way that is designed to reduce the inequalities of outcome which results from socio-economic disadvantage’ (Equality Act, 2010 pp. 1). Such public sector organizations include police authorities, local authorities, government departments and the National Health Service in the United Kingdom among others (Equality Act, 2010 pp. 2). In the next section I will present a more detailed discussion of the NHS as it related to this thesis.

5.4 Micro-Environmental Context

The National Health Service (NHS) is one of the largest public sector organizations within the UK. Since its establishment in 1948, the NHS has grown to become one of the world’s largest publicly funded health service (NHS Choices). The NHS, which is free to all UK residents ‘at the point of use’ was born out of the idea that good quality healthcare services should be available to all irrespective of, for example, their wealth, ethnicity and social class (NHS Choices). There are currently over 63.2million people, of diverse backgrounds, who are eligible to use the services of the NHS; covering a range of services from antenatal care to end-of-life care.

The NHS is world’s fourth largest employer of labour (NHS Choices); employing over 1.7million employees. The employee population within the NHS is diverse with data obtained in 2001 revealing that 36% of NHS doctors were born abroad. Another survey conducted in 2011 showed that the number of white doctors within the NHS had dropped to around 37% (Gillespie, 2011) with the number of health workers classed as non-white rising to 10% of the NHS workforce (Bowler, 2004; Yar *et al.*, 2006).

Of the 1.7million UK employees, the NHS in the region where the study was conducted employs 84,817 diverse individuals; catering to a population of 2.97 million (NHS X). At the local level there is a significant variation in the composition of the population regarding age structure, ethnic composition and mobility, discussed below, (NHS X); which has significant implications for the planning and provision of healthcare services to the diverse population within this region of the UK.

The NHS in this region is constantly working to improve services and reduce health inequalities by providing everyone with equal access to health facilities and services. This need to provide equality of service, especially among vulnerable groups who may find it difficult to access services (for example: asylum seekers, black and ethnic minorities, carers, older people, children and young people, health and work, women, people with disabilities, people with mental health problems and health issues within rural communities), has led County X UHB and others within this region to implement Equality and diversity management policies.

The County X UHB is one of the largest NHS organizations in the region employing over 14,500 employees and providing healthcare services to 472,400 people living in County X i.e. 15% of the regional population (County X UHB). Although the area covered by the health board is one of the smallest in this region, the population density in County X is the highest of all UK local health board areas due to County X being the a major city in the region.

Of the population of 472,400, 1.5% are aged 65 years and older (Consultation in Public Health Medicine, 2011) and the Black and Minority Ethnic population is 6.7%. There are also almost 6,500 individuals registered on the register of the physical/sensory disability within the County X UHB, with 75% of the people registered living in County X. The 2011 census also showed the vast diversity in terms of religion within County X. There was a doubling in the percentage of Muslims living in the region compared with the 2001 census from 0.7% to 1.5% with more than half of this number living in County X. There was also an increase in the percentage of Buddhist and Hindus from 0.2% to 0.3% from 2001 to 2011 respectively. The population of people identifying as Jewish and Sikhs both remained constant at 1%. There is an observed rise in the number of civil partnerships and the number of people who identified themselves as Lesbian Gay or Bisexual (LGB) within County X was about 2% of the population. In 2008, the Gender Identity Research and Education Society (GIRES) estimated the number of people that experienced some degree of gender variation in the UK to be about 300,000. The observed diversity in the population of County X reflects the diverse nature of the users of the healthcare services provided by the County X University Health Board.

In terms of employment, in 2013 the total number of staff directly employed by the NHS in this region was over 72,000. Of this figure, County X UHB employs about a quarter (County X UHB). According to the County X UHB's 'Caring for People Keeping People Well'

Annual Equality Report (2012/2013), the percentage of ethnic minority employees is in the range of about 8.9%. This figure could be higher because 12.12% of employees surveyed did not state their ethnicity. Asians and Asian British make up the majority of this number, representing 5.7% of the entire staff population. The report also revealed a vast diversity regarding religious orientations; with only about 23% self identifying as Christians (although about 63% chose not to identify their religious beliefs. Similarly, about 2.73% of employees surveyed self-identified as lesbian, gay or bisexual and of the remaining percentage 63.28% chose not to identify their sexual orientation. Only about 23% of employees identified that they did not possess any disability with 0.71% self-declaring as disabled and the others being classed as ‘undefined’ or ‘not declared’.

5.5 The Change Process

In compliance with the directives of the Equality Act (2010), County X UHB, as a public sector organization is legally required to implement a ‘Strategic Equality Plan (SEP) and a set of Equality Objectives to demonstrate and ensure that it does not discriminate against any ‘protected characteristic’ group or person when taking decisions that affect them’ (Annual Equality Report 2012/13 pp. 1). In particular the size and diversity of this workforce, its service users, and the need to respond to changes in the legislation made it imperative that this organization implements new of equalities policies.

The organization’s statement regarding their commitment to Equality, Diversity and Human Rights states that ‘the UHB is committed to ensuring that all patients, their families and carers, staff and volunteers are treated with dignity and respect and have equal opportunity to access care or carry out their work regardless of their age, religion, belief or non belief, sex, disability, race, sexual orientation, gender re-assignment, pregnancy and maternity, marriage and civil partnership status’. According to the organization’s mission statement, ‘diversity and human rights are about more than meeting (our) statutory legal requirements and adopting a ‘tick the box’ approach . . . Equality, diversity and human rights are a cornerstone of commissioning and providing services and achieving fair employment practices, in that ‘Equality means Quality’.

In order meet their equality objectives, the UHB implemented certain schemes introduced by the regional government. The schemes include the Single Equality Scheme (SES) and the Strategic Equality Plan (SEP). The plans are aimed to support the UHB to meet certain objectives. These objectives include meeting their Public Sector Equality Duty, improving its

organization-wide equality and diversity performance, focusing the UHB's priorities in tackling health inequalities in their communities and helping the UHB to engage better with the communities that they serve. The importance of meeting these objectives was such that the regional government mandated County X UHB and other local authorities and health boards to report annually on progress in meeting the obligations set out in the Strategic Equality Plan and the Single Equalities Scheme.

The SES is a dynamic and organic document which provides information and guidance to all employees, patients, partners and contractors and the public on the duties of the UHB; especially in terms of fulfilling its duties under Equality and Human rights legislation. The scheme addresses how the process of meeting legislative requirements will influence policy and practice within the County X UHB. The intra-organizational implementation of the SES is championed by specialist employees (diversity officers), though the overall responsibility falls to all the UHB's board members, and service providers whom undertake work on behalf of the UHB. Thus it was important to focus this study on the major players during the commission of their role. This was in order to study their approach to implementing such a dynamic equality and diversity-related organization change process.

County X UHB was following instructions from the national and regional governments regarding the implementation to programs to support the Equalities Act (2010). This change was thus introduced from top management and as such had their support and status. When I started my study with County X UHB they were only a couple of months into implementing the change programs; as a result, this process was still in its infancy and it was such a busy and exciting time for the diversity team. Prior to the commencement of my study with this health board, the chief executive officer and the chairperson of the health board had met individually with the diversity officer within County X UHB and tasked them with the responsibility of implementing the new scheme. Such was the importance of this scheme that the diversity officer was informed to report directly to the Chief Executive Officer and the Chairperson on any progress or constraints encountered during this change process. The diversity officer was thus responsible for planning the sequence of events which would be involved in implementing this program.

After taking a few days read the entire legislation document, the diversity officer mapped out possible strategies. The diversity officer again met with the organization's chairperson to report that the strategy to implement this change program would involve an organization-

wide culture change program. The diversity officer, in later interviews with me reports that they, described a change in culture from one which was not inclusive to one which sustained and fostered equality and diversity. The change process was intended to include and involve, as much as possible, members of all employee groups. The starting point was to create awareness about the recent changes in legislation and the duty of the organization to meet their new obligations.

To create awareness new posters and fliers were printed highlighting the protected status of certain groups. Messages were sent to all members of staff informing them of the proposed changes. Among these messages were invitations to join other stakeholders at a biannual consultation to discuss the implementation of this program. There were also prompts and pop-ups sent out by the information technology department to the computers of employees in order to raise awareness about the changes to the existing equalities and diversity program. While the organization had an existing equalities and diversity program, this program did not offer certain minority groups the protection of the new scheme did.

Part of the change process also involved the diversity officer re-training members of the senior management team on the topic of equality and diversity; with particular emphasis on the changes in the legislation. The diversity officer also emphasised the role of senior management in supporting the successful implementation of the change program. the next phase the involved updating the contents of the equalities and diversity training course undertaken by new employees as well as the contents of planned existing-employee training courses; thus the stage was set for the rollout of this program.

It is important to note that although there was only one diversity officer within this organization, this officer was supported by members of the equalities strategy steering group (ESSG), members of stakeholder groups, equality champions, line managers, employees and members of the management teams during the process of implementing this program; details of which are discussed in the ensuing data chapters. Since I started this study about two months into the implementation of this change I had the privilege of studying the constraints and the opportunities that were available to the diversity officer during this time. I also had the unique opportunity of assessing the progress of this program during my interviews with employees and other members within the organization.

5.6 Conclusion

Much of the information used in this chapter is obtained from mainly published secondary sources of data for example the Organization for National Statistics (ONS), County X University Health Board (County X UHB) including archived documents and publicly available documents as well as sections of the County X Council website that are relevant to the Single Equality Scheme. However, this information positions County X UHB as an organization with a large and diverse stakeholder base, who at the time of this study responded to external pressures to implement organization-wide changes; the scope of which was determined by the scope of the equality and diversity legislation. The latter part of this chapter is dedicated to the change process from the perspective of the diversity officer; depicting the processes involved in the rollout of this program. I will present, in the next two chapters, the data obtained from my field work during which I shadowed the diversity officer and interviewed employees through this period of organizational change.

CHAPTER SIX

HABITUS, SITUATEDNESS AND RELATIONALITY- A STUDY OF THEIR INFLUENCES ON DIVERSITY MANAGERS WITHIN AN ORGANIZATIONAL SETTING

6.1 Introduction

The literature review in chapters 2 and 3 identified the role of diversity managers in the process of diversity management as well as the contextual factors which influence diversity managers and diversity management programs within organizations. Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) drawing on Bourdieu's (1971; 1977) work purport that the actions of the diversity officers' are guided by their *habitus* and their situational and relational contextual environments (capital and field). Taking the concept of *habitus* first: *habitus* is purported to play a major part in influencing the decision making process (as discussed in chapters 2 and 3 of this study). As such, the argument by some is that, strategic plans and actions of the diversity officer are a reflection of their *habitus* (their historic environment), their capital (resources) and their field (context). Thus the finding in this section will aim to uncover the components of the *habitus* of this diversity officer; by understanding the micro, meso and macro relational environment. This is to be able to explore the significance of these factors in guiding their role as change agents.

Secondly, the relevance of organizational culture change to the process of diversity management (Arredondo, 1996; Cabral-Cardoso, 2007; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002; Wilson, 2000; Zintz, 1997) suggests the need for the resources within these environments (to be deployed in such a way that) to possess a symbolic significance in order that the cycle of organizational culture change (Hatch, 1993) can be initiated. As a result, there is a need to understand how the resources present in the contextual environment of the diversity officer are strategically deployed (in line or not with their *habitus*) to influence change amongst organizational members.

Thus this findings section is in two parts. In this chapter, I will present data on the process of reflection and action undergone by diversity managers change agency within the context of their situational and relational factors; in order to understand the relevance of *habitus* to this process. I will discuss in detail the understanding that the diversity manager has of his contextual environment and how he then, in turn, uses these resources strategically. Then in

the next chapter I will present evidence of the perceived surplus meanings attributed to these factors by employees as a result of the strategic actions of the diversity manager in this study. I will do this using data obtained from interviews and six months of observation.

6.2 Praxis

Praxis combines both elements of reflection and action (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009) founded upon one's *habitus*. This concept combines the ability of an individual to learn and exert influence through a cycle of reflection and action. This cycle includes the notions of:

Doxic reflection: This is the ability of the diversity officer to encourage both members of the minority and the majority groups to welcome difference i.e. to widen the domain of heterodoxy

Strategic action: this includes the ability of the diversity officer to draw on the different forms of capital that is available to them when formulating equality and diversity strategies. These forms of capital include symbolic capital, cultural capital and social capital. The ***economic capital*** includes for example the budget for the diversity office. ***Social capital*** includes: membership of internal and external networks; while ***cultural capital*** includes: relevant demography, education, training and experience and ***symbolic capital*** which is the status and situated ability to make use of the other three forms of capital (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). The possession of and the ability to deploy all these forms of capital constitute the diversity manager's agency.

In the following sections I will provide data on the relevance of these forms of capital to the role of this diversity manager. I will also explore how various forms of capital were deployed strategically in the process of organizational culture change.

6.3 Relationality and the Diversity Officer

In order to explore the identity of diversity officers and what makes them legitimate players in the field of diversity management, I explored various factors, cultural and social, which serve as sources of the knowledge and experience, and which are argued by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) to contribute to their expertise.

Micro level relationality within the context of this study: Micro level relationality refers to the way in which diversity officers relate to their goals, values, beliefs and strategies (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). An understanding of these factors is argued to be important as they provide

a background to the person (feelings, practice, personality) of the diversity officer and gives readers an inkling of why this individual has chosen this career path; for example whether their decisions are for political reasons, social justice or for economic or financial reasons.

Meso level relationality within the context of this study: meso level relationality refers to the intra and extra organizational relationships which inform and legitimize the position of diversity managers (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). These include the social capital of the diversity officer both within and outside the organization. Internal sources of social capital include membership of informal networks and relationships with various representative groups within the organization while external sources of social capital are comprised of memberships or links with political organizations, voluntary organizations, networks or groups outside the organization.

Macro level relationality within the context of this study refers to the background and the experiences (i.e. the habitus) of this diversity officer; his cultural and demographic background. This is in order to understand the experiences which inform his strategic actions within the organization. A study of these factors is important if as Bourdieu purports:

Practice = relationship between habitus and capital + field.

6.4.1 Micro Level Relationality

This diversity officer described himself as an advocate of the '*one person can make a difference*' philosophy. He is a firm believer in 'fairness' and advocates that people should challenge discriminatory behaviours both when they experience it and when they experience it happening to others. His philosophy is that it is more important to treat people fairly than equally. From my observation of his interaction with others, it was also apparent that he was motivated by his philosophy. His role, as an advocate for social justice, was thus driven by his values, beliefs, experiences and strategies. While his career path towards equality and diversity management were not planned, he said he always '*wanted to help people*' and was driven by a sense of justice not fairness.

His ideologies towards and objectives for the practice of equality and diversity management were that all employees:

'Have the right to equal and ethical lawful treatment.'

'Have the right to be treated with dignity and respect at all time.'

'Be treated in a way that is most appropriate to his/her needs.'

The diversity officer in this study was not a religious person and didn't believe in the concept of a 'God'. As such he neither attended a church nor a mosque nor any type of organized religious activity on a regular basis. He said he believed in morality over religion and had taught his kids the same values; believing that they could make up their minds about religion when they were older. He had no strong associations with any political parties; however his role model is current Executive Chairman of the Premier League, Richard Schudamore.

He was very meticulous about most things. This included keeping to time and adhering to set standards at all times. While his desk was not very tidy (maybe as a result of the volume of work), his appearance was always pristine and he took pride in keeping his car clean. On a few occasions when I had to ride with him to meetings he told me off for applying hand creams (un-fragranced) in his car. He was fanatical about certain things and said the ideal practice would be to ask any individuals present if they had any allergies before applying such products in an enclosed space. Although I found this a bit disturbing I quickly realized it was his way or the highway. Upon spending more time shadowing him I realized that he applied the same principle of fairness to all aspects of his life. As such he attempted always to make decisions by considering the perspective of anyone who might be potentially disadvantaged by these actions (for example, anyone who had allergies to fragrances); regardless of whether they were minority group members or not. This need for social justice, driven by his value and belief systems, determined how he approached most every-day issues.

6.4.2 Meso Level Relationality

Although the diversity officer in this organization is of Black British descent, he is not a member of any Black Minority Ethnic (BME) social group either within or outside the organization. He also does not belong to any non-professional organization in which membership is formed on the basis of race, age, disability, sex, or sexual orientation among others.

Within the organization, his social capital appears to come from the relationships with representatives of the trade union, employees and having direct access to senior members of the management team. I observed that his working relationship with the management team was unlike any of the managers at his level. I observed a close relationship with the

management team and they appeared to be really supportive of his role within the organization. Part of his support network also included a team of volunteers called the equalities champions. The equality champions' group is voluntary group consisting of employees and a few members of the management team who meet to discuss pressing issues regarding equality and diversity. Another support group was the Equalities Strategy Steering Group (ESSG) who is also a volunteer group. In difference to the Equalities Champion the ESSG are an officially recognized group and as such they (the ESSG) are able to deliberate on equalities programs and provide inputs on the implementation processes. It also helped that the chairman of the board was also the chairman of the Equality Strategies Steering Group (ESSG) as well as an equality champion. As such it meant that the equalities and diversity scheme had the full backing of members of the board and top management (whom he met informally at café informally on a few occasions).

While, from the previous chapter, it is evident that the organization has a diverse employee base, there were no minority representative groups within this workplace and as such he is not a member of these groups either in a formal capacity or in an informal capacity. When asked about this he said:

'We haven't got any real support networks in place now. But from our previous life we (the organization) had some really good support networks for gay, lesbian members of staff and for black and ethnic groups which allowed us to draw the issues through and allowed us to help identify where some of the problems were and we know what work there is to do. But all those networks have been dissolved now.'

Outside the organizational environment however he attends conferences with and supports third sector organizations such as the local Third Sector Council, AWETU, STONEWALL, RACE, LINKS and the local TRANSGENDER organization. He attends meetings with other diversity officers employed by the Council as well as attending meetings with other diversity officers in health boards across the region to discuss strategies, policies, and legislations and sometimes just as a support network when any of the members are experiencing difficulties at work.

6.4.3 Macro Level Relationality

The diversity officer is in his early 50's and currently lives with his partner of almost 20 years with whom he has two children. He was born in the locality of this study and has lived here all his life. He has over thirty years of work experience. He is described as a confident,

charismatic, empathetic, knowledgeable individual. He attended a mainstream British university of Essex where he studied law. After his university education he was unemployed for a while after which he started a job as a broker at the American corporate bank where he worked for about 5 years. He left this job because as he said, he was not a big fan of the value base of corporate banking. Whilst working at the bank he volunteered as a youth and community worker, so following his resignation from the bank he earned a qualification working with families on council estates. During this time he worked with victims of domestic violence; which he says was the defining role which changed his career path. Since then he has worked and/or volunteered as a youth community and social work practitioner, Practice Teacher, Children's Services Manager, Lecturer and Senior Manager in social care with a number of organizations including a local council, Barnardos, a local government authority and many other charities before his appointment the case organization.

While he does not have any HR work experience nor a Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development qualification (CIPD), he says that has vast work experience in dealing with company directors and a diverse group of employees. From my observations, the diversity officer within this organization was knowledgeable about the issues that were relevant to his role and employees were confident in his ability to carry out his role. He said that his *'experiences are underpinned by a strong blend of knowledge of legislation, policy and practice issues, people skills and values'*. To reiterate his knowledge about relevant issues, Sharon, a line manager in the organizational department she said: *'(The diversity officer) is brilliant he is very knowledgeable in terms of equality issues and I ask him about everything I need to know'*. Although this employee was not asked any direct questions about the diversity officer, her comment about his influence on her perception of equality and diversity management within the organization appeared to re-enforce the confidence I had observed during his interaction with other employees.

This expertise and the level of confidence that employees have in his capabilities was evident from the vast number of employees and managers that sought clarification from him regarding issues of diversity management and the implementation of diversity management policies. Many employees saw the specialist diversity officer and not the HR department as the 'go to guy' regarding all issues relating to diversity management. These issues ranged from the implementation of policies, for example the Equality Impact Assessment (EQIA), the training regarding the EQIA, how to handle staff and patient complaints, advice about

paternity leave and the changes that the new legislation was going to make regarding the make-up of the nine protected categories and how members of these categories should be treated within the organization.

For example, on my first day of field work, a young employee walked into the diversity office to seek clarification about whether or not he was entitled to paternity leave. He said that his partner was due to deliver their baby in a few weeks and that he had found nothing (obvious) in the organizational policy manual regarding his entitlement to take paternity leave. He expressed his surprise that the obvious policies related only to maternity leave and that the issue of paternity leave was ‘disregarded’. He said he had asked his line manager and some members of the HR department but no one seemed to be able to help. He said that he felt fathers were a category that was being neglected by the law. The diversity officer was able to answer his questions and talk him through what he was entitled to and what he had to do to obtain the leave. He told him that everyone was protected by the law and that just because his category was not an organizational priority did not mean that his rights were being disregarded. This meeting took about 10 minutes and the gentleman said on his way out that it was a good thing that he came to the *‘expert for advice’*

At a younger age, this diversity officer had been on the receiving end of harassment and discrimination; which he said motivated him towards a career path where he could be of help to vulnerable individuals. While he admits that incidences of overt discrimination have reduced, he said that it is because *‘people are cleverer. Language changes, the language now has changed to us/them, you/we. Not many people use the ‘l’ word or the ‘n’ word, but it’s still all the same. That is why I do what I do.’* He ended by saying that *‘organizations have to put a stop to these practices.’*

6.5 The situated environment of the diversity officer

Several factors, such as cultural, social and economic, serve to frame the role of diversity managers as individuals that exist within a historic, economic social and organizational setting (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Thus, in order to understand the limits and the potentials of diversity managers it is important to understand the influence of the social field within which they exist. Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) argue that the social field which influences diversity managers is made up of three historically formed structures at the social level. These are the cultural and demographic composition of the labour market, the legislative structures and the

business environment. Alongside the factors that influence this role in the social field, diversity officers are also influenced by other factors within the organizational field. These factors include: the structures and power relations within the organizational environment, the organizational policies regarding diversity management, the organizational culture and the level of integration of diversity management into other processes and procedures within the organization. The objective of this field study was to attain data in relation to how these factors not only serve as a resource or constraint but also how they are deployed strategically during the implementation of diversity management through culture change programs. The findings are presented in this section.

6.5.1 The Social field

As identified above, the social field of diversity officers includes such factors such as the cultural and demographic constitution of the labour market, the institutional structures which include the supportive legislation and the institutional actors as well as the wider business environment which diversity managers' operate within (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009; Tatli, 2011).

6.5.1.1 The Social field as a resource

I asked him about the factors that he perceived were the driving forces behind his role as a diversity officer within the organization. I also asked him if these factors informed the strategies that he adapted to implementing diversity management programs within the organization. I asked this latter question in order to understand whether these strategies were directly responsible for the perception of employees on issues of equality and diversity. Some of his responses referred to the influence of progressive laws and supportive political environment. For example:

'I joined the organization two years ago because the executive management decided it was time to focus on equality and diversity . . . I think my appointment was triggered by the equalities agenda in the health service from (the government) . . . and there are papers on that and action plan that the minister expects . . . our main theme . . . is that we have to demonstrate that we are committed to equality, dignity and respect for everyone and we have got to demonstrate to them what we do. . . I don't know if you have come across the body called the community health council? We have a legal responsibility they are our watchdog, if you like, to make sure we do it properly . . . With the Equalities Act that came into place in 2010, the need for my position became even more relevant . . . Part of my responsibility is to develop a Single Equalities Scheme for the health board so that we can meet our legal responsibilities as set out by the Act.'

The business environment also served as a resource to legitimize his role within the organization and whenever possible he deployed this as a strategic resource. At a meeting with senior managers he said:

‘What we need to do is to benchmark against other organizations . . . we want to be the frontrunners on issues of equality don’t we . . .?’

When asked about the strategy he employs when dealing with senior managers and members of the executive team he emphasizes the importance of getting ‘their interest’:

‘When I say those things I see I’ve got their interest . . . and then they want to hear about equality issues and are very keen that we do the equality agenda and I start to think I am on the right track on a board perspective for what they want to hear . . . and then we would engage with some of the more influential stake holders in the organization to test it with them just to make sure we are on the right track . . . Sometimes during the planning stages, I am thinking at the end of the day, is this about actually writing a business case.’

During this study, I did not identify any situations where the wider contextual environment within which this particular diversity officer existed served to **constrain** his ability to conduct his duties. However, the absence of legislation which stipulates a minimum number of diversity officers per certain number of employees may have served as a push factor for the organization to improve this role by recruiting more officers. For example, another health board within the same region had four diversity officers to half the number of employees. Since many employees and managers perceived the recruitment of a diversity officer as a symbolic gesture of the organization’s commitment to issues of equality and diversity (evident from some of the responses by employees and senior managers in the next chapter) the fact that there was only one diversity officer in this organization, appeared, to employees, to be a sign that the organization was sending mixed messages. A sign that the espoused values differed from the actions that were put in place to meet these values. Hence, while the symbolic strategic use of the social capital aided as a resource in the implementation of equality and diversity programs, the symbolic nature of these factors was such that when they were perceived to inhibit the role of the diversity officer, they in turn acted as constraints (next chapter)

The role of this diversity officer, within the organization, is therefore **‘resourced’** by his personal and previous work experiences, his networks as well as the wider contextual environment which supported his recruitment. The diversity officer’s strategy in turn employed the use of these resources in the process of influencing changes amongst employees and managers. He drew on the connections and familiarities that employees and

managers had (for example of the legislation, the local health board, Government departments, or the Black Voluntary Sector Networks) in delivering training sessions or during meetings. He drew on the role of these organizations to as governing bodies which many of the employees were familiar with. Thus while in a literal sense the human rights legislation or the local health board are responsible for a diverse range of issues within the wider environment, he positioned these issues within the content of his training material to represent support for his role. As a result, when individuals think about the legislation or the local health board or the regional government, they think about equality (next chapter). His use of this as a strategy was evident in one of the training sessions which I observed:

'The equality Act that came into place on 1st October last year basically says that people should not be discriminated against . . . so under the new act that came out in October last year . . . if you have any of those characteristics (mentioned in the Act) and you will agree that we all have some of those; some more than others, some less than others. . . So potentially we could be treated badly, discriminated against treated unfairly disrespected, not accepting people's differences, not accepting people's rights, its fundamental to keep those issues in play. I think what I am trying to say is that the legislation protects us all . . . keeps us on the straight and narrow.' (Diversity officer)

Similarly in a meeting with senior management, which I was allowed to observe, he said:

'I've got to mention at this point the single equality scheme. Most of you hopefully know what that is. Single equality scheme obviously is taking into account equality legislation and basically saying what we are going to do in regards to all the equality issues and that is what it is about.'

The diversity officer used the data on the comparison of the demographic mix within the organization and the wider society as a strategic resource to aid in the implementation of equality and diversity strategies. He used this data to show that the organization was not representative of the society and as such did not mirror the wider society. He also used this data to draw attention to the demographic mix across different levels within the organization and to show the divisions that exist. Thus, he suggested that equality and diversity within the organization should be influenced by the need to mirror the demographic composition of the wider society. To mirror the demographic mix of the external environment, he says that there is a need to recruit more minority groups because the unrepresentative demographic mix within the organization symbolizes inequality. The presentation of this information as a strategic resource was thus aimed at eliciting a response from managers and employees in order to influence a change in perceptions, actions, recruitment policies, and behaviours. We see how he does this in one stakeholders' meeting by drawing attention to the demographic composition within the organization:

'It's only fair that we have more BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) and other minority groups employed within the NHS. . . We are just beginning to look now at our employee groups and it is quite interesting because we are really a non representative at the administrative secretarial level, it quite surprises me that we are quite heavy and healthy in terms of black and white minority doctors . . . but for obvious reasons that I can't say, so what I am getting at is that we will start to analyze the employee mix. We will keep a close eye on who is saying they want to go. For example, if all our Asian secretaries said we want voluntary redundancy, then they may be telling us something and then our challenge would be what to do about it . . . with this information.'

When I asked him about the format for his training sessions and the strategy he employed in delivering the content of his sessions he responded by saying:

'I've done a couple of pages which are the key things that I think I need to incorporate into the training. . . I have changed some things recently, not because of the legislation, but because I see how people respond to those things from the questions they ask after the trainings . . . I think the NHS reforms the establishment of the university health board, the local health board are really influential . . . Over time I have discovered that when I mention the legislation, like human rights . . . organizations like (the regional government and regional organizations which represent minority groups) . . . these are powerful, they have meaning . . . everyone knows them. . . it gets people thinking this (equality and diversity) must be important . . . they think, hang on a minute, so (the regional government) stands for equality . . . if I don't do this then I'll be in trouble. . . They know these places, they see them on the telly . . . It's difficult to see equality and diversity, but when I use terms that they know . . . then they feel something and they understand . . . there's a connection. I can stand there and talk about treating people fairly or not discriminating against people, but no one discriminates deliberately . . . and many of those that come to trainings have ever been discriminated against . . . so they cannot identify with it. . . If I ask, so how many of you are racist or sexist? . . . I will only succeed alienating people . . . So you have to start with something familiar . . . and make a connection . . . like (the regional government), like the equalities act, like human rights laws.'

From this response it is clear that his use of these organizations as a part of his training material was not for the literal meanings of the words that comprised their names. He identified that these terms were a symbolic strategy aimed at making the concept of equality more tangible by embedding existing ideas with an additional meaning; a meaning which stood for equality and fairness. The significance of the use of an environment relevant discourse when at meetings, trainings or seminars did not go unnoticed as these organizations and terms became part of the symbols in support of equality which in turn influenced the perceptions, assumptions and behaviours of employees and managers (in the next chapter). In this case, the legislation, data on the demographic composition of the labour market, and his network served as strategic resources which aided in the program implementation.

6.5.2 The Organizational field

The factors within the organizational environment which influenced the role of the diversity officer include the organizational culture, the organizational structure, support from senior management, effective communication network, the organizational structure and the level of integration of diversity management within other aspects of the organization.

6.5.2.1 The Organizational culture as a resource, constraint and strategy

The existing organizational culture was one that was not conducive to the promotion of equality and diversity (see responses by employees in next chapter). As such one of the overriding objectives of the diversity officer was to implement a culture change program. As such, there is no data from this case to indicate that the existing culture served as a **resource** to the implementation of diversity management programs. However the identification for the need to change the existing culture showed the perceived importance of organizational culture to the successful implementation of diversity management policies. He argued:

'I don't think people make that conscious effort because they become blasé; whether it is about crossing the road or about appreciating the fact that the person walking in front of you is actually pushing a person in a wheelchair you kind of not notice it on a day to day basis. That is why I say if you sit down and think about it, it is because if you becoming conscious of it (equality and diversity issues) . . . you see something on the news then it (injustice) is in the front of your mind again and you take more care as a result for a few weeks maybe then it drifts back into your consciousness. And so it would be for any other services. It's (culture) part of the jigsaw . . . in one sense or another is reliant on culture helping everything else fitting together and that is part of what we supposedly do is improve things . . . The whole thing (diversity management) is greater than the sum of its parts . . . and culture helps it all to fit together . . . although I have to say I don't think things are changing to reflect the proposed culture changes . . . but it does take time to get these things woven into the organization because it is very recent.'

The diversity officer indicated the importance of cultural factors in embedding a commitment to diversity management. At one training session the diversity officer focused directly on the need for culture change as part of his training material:

'Diversity management is not just a legislative change it is a corporate culture change. It is a corporate change . . . It need to be woven into the organization because it is very important.'

The relevance, which he has attributed to, behaviour and organizational culture change, is apparent in the way that he incorporates the idea of a culture change strategically into his training sessions, meetings and seminars. One of the equalities strategies steering group sessions that I attended was themed around the best approach to implement an organization

wide culture change program. This seminar was planned by the diversity officer and he was also responsible for running the meeting. On the day there were over 50 people in attendance and they were all engaged to form task groups in order to come up with suggestion on the best way to change the organization's culture to one which was more 'diversity friendly'. The seminar lasted for about 6 hours (with breaks between). At the end, representatives of each team presented a short summary of their discussions and their suggestions. After the meeting all the notes and sketches were given to the diversity officer in order to help him to formulate a culture change program based on the suggestions of the participants. This type of daylong meeting around one issue shows the significant role of organizational culture to the diversity manager. For days after the meeting I observed the diversity manager diligently going through all the notes and scraps of paper that he was handed after the seminar in order that he could formulate a culture change strategy which would be successful. One of the outcomes of the seminar was to promote awareness around the organization about the proposed culture change. This was done by sending emails to employees and messages on the organization's intranet to communicate the organization's commitment to diversity management through the implementation of a *change in culture* to one which was more 'diversity friendly'. Thus the message was to project the proposed culture change as a symbol of commitment to equality and diversity. The employees that I interviewed (next chapter) after this training session all seemed to identify the culture change program as a symbol of growing attention to equality and diversity and that the organization was prioritizing the process of implementing a holistic diversity management project.

I had the opportunity to return to the organization a couple of years after the period of my data collection and discussed the progress of the culture change program with the diversity officer. He emphasized the long-term nature of such a program saying:

'It (culture change) is a positive way of thinking about a virtuous outcome (equality and diversity) . . . (culture change) was an easier way to re-write our history . . . to get people thinking . . . to bring back the trust we lost between . . . and to understand what we did wrong and its things like culture change that helped to know what contributed to things going wrong and by mapping out maybe two three years (to implement) what kind of indicators you would like to see in terms of the culture change. What a difference it has made to the way staff work together, relate to patients, what staff think of the management and what the management think of the staff.'

His response emphasizes the critical role that the organizational culture change program played in the implementation of diversity management program within this organization. His response also long-term nature of culture change programs and the commitment involved in

implementing such change programs. More importantly his response also identifies the reward gained from the successful implementation of a culture that supports the new equality and diversity goals.

6.5.2.2 Management support as a resource, constraint and strategy

The support of the members of the senior management team to the implementation of an organization-wide diversity management program, from the perspective of employees, will be presented in the next chapter. In order to gain this support I observed how the diversity officer adopted different discursive approaches when dealing with employees and managers and in conversations with me he indicated ‘how different groups respond to different messages’.

In one conversation he stated:

‘There is no us and them when it comes to equality and diversity. What I find is that the focus is what’s different. When it comes to diversity management, what I find is that, as of yet, nobody wants to discriminate or be discriminated against. Not deliberately anyway. I haven’t yet heard of anyone who says “I am racist, sexist or a homophobe.” I think it’s all in the approach. . . I’ll give you an example; we had a situation here recently where a disabled patient went into one of the toilets with their wheelchair. Unfortunately the toilet door did not meet the minimum specification in terms of size and the patient got stuck and we eventually had to call for help. You can only imagine how un-dignifying that would be for anyone. Anyway, the trust had to pay out £50,000 as compensation . . . It’s a respect issue, it’s a safety issue, it’s also one around dignity. And for the execs it’s also about the trust’s reputation and finances. So when we run workshops and training sessions with management, I bring up this case and we discuss issues of equality and diversity and how, as a trust, we could be held responsible when things go wrong. When I talk to staff, we talk about dignity, respect, human rights and safety. . . So you see, it’s not about us and them, it’s just that different groups respond to different messages.’

While in another conversation he said:

‘Actually with people when you talk about it sometimes you just use the language which they think ‘this is management speak’ so we need to change some of the words it is really important that we take opinion from different people.’

The success of his discursive approach in gaining the support of senior managers was acknowledged by the Diversity officer.

‘(The executive director for organizational development) has made equality and diversity her priority. When she started here one of the first things she did was prioritize equality and diversity . . . I report to Ms. G, who reports directly to the exec. But I have a direct line to the chief and meet with her at least fortnightly . . . the chairman of the board is also very supportive and he as an immigration judge he is very passionate about issues of inequality and discrimination . . . he is a committed member of the ESSG and I can reach him whenever

I need to . . . Equality and diversity is at the top of his priorities . . . The chief executive officer is also very supportive. . . He is working on what support networks do we need and how do we best identify what we can do and he personally does this by going for walkabout Fridays when he meets with employees and discusses any issues they may have.'

He was also successful in establishing supporting relationships with officials of the Trade Unions and solicited their support when major incidences of discrimination occurred. Regarding this he said:

'any (equalities) change process we involve the unions we work . . . not with the mediation as much but the unions always get involved and they are very helpful in helping us resolve and occasionally they will attend the mediation as well if a member of staff wants them to. . . for things like sickness and disciplinary issues it's a bit different because they are on the member of staff's side and that is their job to be but sides are getting more blurred the unions are kept very well informed by senior management and know the financial situation in the organization, what decisions are made and why so they are quite helpful in explaining that to staff really and they can see the necessity for all this. We work very well with them on the whole.'

From my observations, the diversity officer, within this organizational setting, was afforded a great deal of support from both members of the senior management team and the trade unions. During the period that this study was conducted the Equality Act had only just been passed, and as a result they were in the process of implementing a Single Equality Scheme to raise the awareness of equality and diversity issues throughout the organization. While the novelty of the Equalities Act could probably explain the high level of support that the diversity officer received from members of the senior executive team, it was support that he welcomed and acknowledged. However his strategic use of discourse also helped to gain support of union officials which legitimized his role within the organization, legitimized the programs he was trying to implement and ultimately made the process of implementation easier. As he indicated:

'Leaders are very important to the success of our course because if leaders know what is expected of them, and actually understand that . . . then I think they will know how to motivate and support the staff. . . If people see the chief exec or the exec directors around, then they are interested . . . When they know they will be at the stakeholder group or at a meeting, then everyone wants to know us . . . So no, I am not complaining.'

Here we see the how the Diversity officer utilizes senior management support as a symbol of the organization's commitment to diversity management. He presumed this from the reactions of employees to the knowledge that the program enjoys the support of senior management; the support symbolized to employees that the program was important and as a result elicited a positive response from them. The support of the senior management also

extended to my study. My research proposal was accepted and signed off by the members of the executive team and I was given unrestricted access to meetings and seminars. They commented that they accepted my proposal as a show of their commitment to equality and diversity because the management of the organization prided themselves as front-runners in terms of their effective management of their diverse workforce.

To utilize this support as a **strategy**, the diversity manager emphasized the symbolic significance to employees of the roles of managers in the implementation of policy change. At one of the training sessions for managers he said:

'The fundamental message is as leaders you have responsibility, with power comes great responsibility that's what it is about and that is what you have. So you are kind of like role models . . . you have to walk the talk . . . doing something about it when we have realized what we have done if that is about sorry and being sorry or whether it is about realizing it's a joke . . . this is about our colleagues . . . particularly how we all treat each other because others are watching and they are learning from us.'

This strategy was one that many managers and employees identified with and this is evident from the interviews with employees and managers discussed in the next chapter. The diversity officer, both in training sessions and in our conversations, emphasized the symbolic significance of the roles and behaviours of senior managers regarding equality and diversity. They represented the standard of behaviours and actions expected by the organization and as a result employees strived to emulate these. This strategic deployment of the symbolic significance of managers to the program of diversity management therefore contributed to the increased levels of support from many employees, who made conscious efforts to support these programs mainly because of their perceived importance to senior managers.

6.5.2.2 Management structure as a resource, constraint and strategy

The diversity manager has a wide social network with more or less direct access to members of the senior management team. To many employees, who perceived the office of the diversity officer as a symbol of equality and diversity, this was of great significance and again increased the legitimacy of the program, acting as a strategic resource.

Within the organizational structure, the position of the diversity officer was undertaken by a middle manager and his position was not permanent, being employed on a two year fixed contract. While this contract had been renewed once before, the fact that the position was not permanent coupled with the fact that it was performed by only one middle manager, to many,

demonstrated a symbolic lack of commitment by the organization. Although the diversity officer did not directly comment on this another employee did:

'One of our weaknesses up until recently is our idea of equating equality with one person at (the equality officer's) level.' (Mr. Bill, Senior manager in the planning department)

While symbolic strategic resources aided the implementation of equality and diversity programs, the symbolic nature of these factors was such that when they were perceived to inhibit the role of the diversity officer, they in turn acted as constraints (next chapter)

6.5.2.3 Organizational policy as a resource, constraint and strategy

At the time of this study, the renewed shift in focus to equality and diversity meant that the organization was in the process of implementing policies which supported the equality and diversity management programs. The message was that they wanted the policies to be coherent with the values that they espoused and to support the behaviours that they wanted to promote. The diversity officer thus implemented these as part of his strategy in order to further legitimize both the program and his role within the organization. The policies included the implementation of an equalities impact assessment for major change programs, inclusion of diversity training as part of the mandatory induction training for new employees, the walkabout Fridays mentioned above, a biannual meeting with all the stakeholders and ensuring that the organization is accessible and safe for people with disabilities. A conversation with the diversity manager demonstrated his work on existing policies and on the way they acted as a resource in complementing wider organizational changes.

'We have been working on the new policies because they haven't been updated for quite a long time before I came into post so I am looking at all of them so we will probably publish them in January then I have to be a bit more proactive in getting some messages out there to give me a call if there is anything they wanted to discuss. . . I don't yet think that when we do service changes that it is at the beginning of our consideration in terms of equality and its wide sense it comes back at the end and I don't think it is embedded . . . We need to think about this in terms of the process . . . the new equality legislation supports our new policies . . . we need to think about some of the new protected characteristics . . . so it is just trying to keep an eye on it.'

These policies were therefore used strategically by the diversity officer as a symbol of diversity management. He said that his strategy was to incorporate the use of terms such as EQIA, as a strategic resource, into the training materials so that when individuals think of equality they think EQIA and vice versa. At one of his training sessions he said:

'So what is equality impact assessment? It's basically a form and a process of assessing decisions that we make ... In regards to a policy, it is obviously only a written piece of paper. .. But what it does is that it makes you think, it makes you think about your decision, about the impact on others . . . to do that you have to put yourself in the position of others and think, what if it were me? . . So it is deeper than a paper . . . It is a sign that you care.'

To improve the legitimacy of the EQIA process, the diversity officer also stated:

'So . . . the starting point if the manager comes to me and says I want to do x y and z the board decides first of all we need a briefing paper (EQIA) . . . I come along and go through the paper . . . we make sure everyone has equal opportunity . . . those are pretty standard for any change.'

This representations of policies and policy changes as symbols of equality and diversity management were adopted by many other employees within the organization and this data will be discussed in the next chapter.

6.5.2.4 Communication as a resource, constraint and strategy

Communicating with 15,000 employees can be quite challenging, as a result the diversity officer employed the use of various tools of communication. These included emails, meetings, the intranet, posters, fliers, newsletters and a range of discursive and communication skills which he brought as part of his previous personal and work experiences. However while the organization was quite advanced technologically, the diversity office still experienced some challenges in reaching employees and also in being reached. In instances where communication was viewed as a **resource and a strategy**, the diversity officer drew on this extensively:

'We run tens and tens of meetings with our staff in different locations at different times, so our staff can feedback to us their experiences. We have had lots of meetings asking the opinions of specific groups . . . we have run a lot of what we call stakeholder events to engage people.'

The staff and stakeholder meetings which I attended all had a high turnout. The diversity officer was very charismatic, had very effective communication skills and sessions were very interactive and informative; where employees had the opportunity to give their opinions about their experiences within the organization. Many employees described the diversity officer as being very approachable and as such waited after the sessions to discuss their feedback and offer their opinion on the organization and some even suggested strategies.

These events were run by the diversity officer and attended by many members of the senior executive team whom the diversity officer had invited by virtue of his internal social capital.

The attendance by senior managers made an impression on employees and when asked, many employees perceived these events as a show of commitment by management that they were investing in equality and diversity. Therefore to employees, these became much more than meetings, representing symbols of commitment to equality (next chapter).

One of the most important aspects of equality and diversity work is the ability to reach employee groups across different levels within the organization. With there being only one diversity officer in this organization the task of communicating with about 15,000 employees can be a bit difficult. This is especially so in an organization that runs shift patterns around the clock. While the diversity officer has deployed various means to communicate with employees, he expressed the difficulty in reaching all groups when he said:

'I think the technology makes it much easier. I think it makes the financial consideration not as great because I can send things to people and not worry about the cost . . . and more people out there are still going to be hard to reach individuals, groups and what have you. Although that number should diminish and get less, I think it is the time as well as it's always in addition to the day job. . but if I am dealing with colleagues that are working on the front line they don't have time in the day and whilst it is really important to me . . . they are dealing with patients and clients dealing with the day to day operational issues that come with life and doing their job so that is a real issue I think.'

Also, while diversity management was actively advertised by the members of the senior executive team as a priority, there were a few challenges in getting some individuals and departments on board. Identifying the challenge in reaching out to employees caused by a lack of support by certain departments, the diversity officer said:

'At last year's strategy group someone was advocating the idea of having something about equality as a screen saver, to remind people . . . to change . . . and the point that was made by IT was we don't do that kind of thing, precisely why I don't know. But there is a sense also from IT that they end up saying well we have a list as long as your arm that you expect us to do. Which ones don't you want us to do in order to do this one? That is their version. . . And it is always difficult to align themselves with everyone else's priorities and pressures.'

The above comment suggests that there are still mixed messages regarding the prioritization of the equality and diversity project across the organization. It appears that the message is either inconsistent or simply not getting across. However, as a result of the **constraints** in terms of effectiveness and reach of the systems of communication the diversity officer employed the **strategic** use of other more effective systems of communication to disseminate specific messages. On this he said:

'We advertise put leaflets up and posters . . . say come along and give us your opinion. So people can also write in to us they can email but over and above that want them to see those fliers, those posters and think equality . . . So that is like the minimum really . . . but we also have to make sure that we have taken due regard of the comments received. . . . I just wanted to get the message on leaflets because just to say there are some new policies on the website. (I know) you can't put a very large message on paper but it does go to all 14,000 staff with my phone number if there was anything they wanted to discuss so I was going to get that on there.'

The use of these fliers and posters as symbolic reminders of the organization's commitment to equality and diversity management was also identified by many employees who described how these visual cues influenced their perception of diversity management within the organization. Although there is an employee directory which contains the phone number of the equality office, the wording of the leaflets with the addition of the phone number also served as a strategic reminder to symbolize to employees that the equality office is accessible, willing to help and open to all; an approach (social factor) which he had adopted and perfected from previous experiences.

These past experiences also influenced his approach to communicating with individuals both within and outside the organization, and the discursive approach he adopted. For example: before a meeting with some members of the Deaf Association, the diversity officer briefed me on a recent incident involving a hearing impaired patient in the organization, indicating the position he was intending to take in the meeting.

'We had a hearing impaired patient who visited our dental department a few months ago. While waiting to be seen, the fire alarm went off. Since the patient was hearing impaired you can understand how she did not hear the alarm go off . . . all she noticed was that after a while, she was the only one in the waiting area. There was no one there to help her or to offer assistance . . . and that should not be the case. Just because she has a disability does not mean that she should not be independent. As a trust, we failed her. We failed her in terms of dignity and we could have failed her in terms of safety. . . I received a complaint from members of the deaf society and this meeting is about addressing their complaint. . . I could reply with an email, but I'm sure that that is not the right approach in this case. Sometimes you have to decide, depending on the nature of the complaint, what the correct approach is and whether you need a more senior member of staff to be involved. . . So basically, this meeting is about saying we are sorry. . . No ifs, no buts, no excuses, just apologies . . . Because it could have been worse.'

I was allowed to observe this meeting and noticed that although there was a sign language expert, the members of the group needed very limited reliance on her. The diversity officer spoke very clearly, not loudly, and paced himself when he spoke. He also, as much as possible tried to understand what the members of the meeting were trying to say to him

directly without relying too much on the sign language expert. In our conversation after the meeting he indicated how he felt it was important to understand the various communities that he would deal with during the course of doing his job. He argued:

‘There have been situations where what others feel are small or of no consequence has been the cause of much bigger issues. . . You have to ask what others are comfortable with. So with the deaf society, I had asked what the best method to communicate was and I was told that those attending the meeting can lip-read. So in that case, I know there is no need to shout because there is that misconception. I know that as long as I make an effort to respect them by speaking clearly and by being slow enough to allow them to read my lips, then we should be fine. It’s all about asking the right questions and actually making an effort.’

After the meeting, we had another discussion regarding his approach and the diversity officer said:

‘Okay, so you might be wondering why I went there with my head in my hand. It’s because we were wrong. We failed the deaf community and we were wrong. An apology goes a long way. And sometimes, people just want to see that their concerns are taken seriously. . . In that meeting, I went there to learn. It was a consultation. They are the experts and that is what I do every day. Sometimes I inform others, and at other times I consult with others to learn how, as a trust, we can do better. . . It’s all about the approach. I had to let them know that the first thing was to apologize, but more important than that was that we were there to learn from them and to seek advice . . . So now I’ll take their recommendation of flashing lights to the department and we’ll take it from there.’

The diversity officer explained that his approach to communications, meetings, meeting layouts and trainings were largely dependent on the target audience. He said, from his experiences, he had come to realize that he needed to adopt different approaches (discursive approaches) depending on the intended message and the intended outcome. He referred to the use of fliers as a strategic decision, and to how the language in different training sessions varied from a focus on legislation and on the organization’s duty of care to employees and patients to a more empathetic approach on individual moral responsibilities.

Many of the non-financial resources available to the diversity officer have already been identified above. These are mainly in the form of social and cultural capital such as human capital and access to senior managers. However, regardless of the vast non-financial, social and cultural capital available to this diversity officer, the available financial resources (financial capital) remained low. The main concern in this case was the budget allocated to the diversity office in terms of staffing. The diversity officer identified some of the challenges that he encountered from being the only member of the diversity team saying:

'I think the funding is always the driver and that is what dictates our deadlines. In terms of diversity, theoretically we shouldn't have to compromise . . . because if I am compromising and I am doing a piece of work and sending it out to people rather than inviting people in I can still send it out to people as many as I can. I think where the real compromise . . . is that I will send it to somebody I identified as a contact and I would rely on them to take that to go out but that is a huge assumption on my part , a that they have those lines of communication and b that they are going to do that and they are going to feed back and they won't just sit on it . . . I suppose that is the compromise really and that is driven by time constraint.'

In another conversation he said:

'The diversity office in the UHB does not reflect the amount of work that we have to do. I am the only one who turns up to meetings alone when we have the all (regional) meetings of diversity officers. In (another region) they have a team and many other UHB's have at least two officers in the team I have the (regional) Language officer, but his job is different from mine, he reports directly to me. . . . But he has his job to get on with. . . I have to reply to so many e-mails and phone calls when I get back about staff queries. . . I assume that our office being where it is makes it quieter . . . sharing an office means that sometimes when the nature of staff visits is sensitive, we have to move the meeting to a free meeting room so that we are not overheard.'

During this study I identified that there were no additional financial resources available to pay for an additional diversity officer. While there were allocations for catering during meetings, seminars and workshops, the budget allocated by the health board did not cater for the expansion of the team in terms of staffing. The understaffed department compromised the diversity officer as he a symbol of equality and projected mixed messages to employees. So while the availability of resources for meetings and seminars projected the notion of commitment to diversity management, the lack of diversity manpower countered this. Hence financial capital could not be deployed as a resource by this diversity officer.

6.5.2.5 Integration of diversity management as a resource, constraint and strategy

During this study there was a strategy to integrate diversity management as part of all organizational policies and processes. This was done through the introduction of policies such as the EQIA, the inclusion of diversity management as part of the essential training for new employees, the establishment of an equality strategy steering group and the equality champions group. There was also a system where intervention trainings were held with members of staff in departments where there had been recent incidences of abuse or discrimination. Regarding integrating equality into the training program and making this more accessible the diversity officer said:

'We always evaluated the induction and mandatory tutor led training program and (found that) . . . I think with e-learning it's doing a better job than the tutor led because it's providing information. Within e-learning there are questions to consolidate . . . you have got modules and they can do it modular . . . they are going to take on board more information . . . we feel that because it is a large organization that is how they are going to get that information which then is the stepping stone to refresh programs that they need to do in the following year or two years . . . equality and diversity are included in the corporate employment section in the mandatory training content.'

However due to the non-interactive design of this training process, the effectiveness of it was unclear as, admittedly, the organization has said that there was no way to measure the success of the e-learning training session. It is unclear whether the decision to move to e-learning was in any way related to the fact that he was the only diversity officer in this organization and the task of training 15,000 employees may have been too much for one individual. However, one comment the diversity officer made indicated that he might have preferred the tutor-led session to the e-learning sessions. He said:

'Previously, the approach we took was to force people to come on training courses in terms of diversity focus on black and minority ethnic issues. Maybe that was right at the time but . . . (and then he trailed off)'

That said the e-learning was still relevant as a strategy to raise awareness about equality and diversity issues.

However, while some of these strategies were successful, there still appeared a lack of full integration. In addition groups such as the equality strategy steering group and equality champions, which the diversity officer identified as important in promoting equality and diversity across various sections of the organization, were not officially recognized. The reality was that employees, who volunteered to champion equality and diversity initiatives, were not allocated any time officially to perform these duties.

However, while the diversity officer emphasized the importance support groups and networks, the only consultation the organization had with groups which represent minority individuals were from sources external to the organization. On this he said:

'A really important move is the creating of the equality sub group. . . We are linking (external organizations) who represent the disabled, different faiths and again inviting them to challenge what we are doing . . . inviting them to see the way we are approaching equality and tell us whether they think we are on the right road.'

The background on the micro-organizational environment provided in chapter 5 shows that of the almost 15,000 employees in this organization there are over 1,000 employees who are from ethnic minority backgrounds. From the same chapter the information provided reveals that the percentage of employees who are self-identified as gay, lesbian or transsexual are 2.7%, while 0.71% of the employees are registered as disabled. However, in spite of the diversity in the employee population there is no officially recognized group which represents minority groups. This is particularly interesting since the new diversity management program is driven by the Equality Act (2010) which stipulates 9 protected categories. On the absence of networks the diversity officer said:

'I know we had the LGBT and other groups but not anymore. We don't know why it just hasn't taken off. But the group for Black workers and disability could not get off the ground. . . We are supposed to be using these groups as the benchmarks to let us know how are getting things but . . . (trails off).'

Thus while the aim was to reach out to minority employees, there were no officially recognized groups which represented these employees; as such they did not represent a source of social capital. Hence, the existence, membership and identification with these networks could not be strategically deployed by the diversity officer as a symbol of equality. Thus, the perceived symbolic significance that employees associated with such groups suggested that the lack of such groups represented a lack of commitment. Information from such groups, representing, for example, disabled individuals, ethnic minority employees or gay or lesbian employees was perceived as a source of feedback concerning their experiences of work or as a source of integration. However as already discussed above, the diversity officer enjoyed, as a social resource, the support of trade union representatives whom he met with on several occasions to discuss concerns, strategies and policy effects and implementation.

Finally while it is a legal requirement for an organization of this size to be accessible to individuals with disability, this was not the case. From my observation many of the buildings and offices were old buildings, without lifts, and therefore would have been inaccessible to wheelchair users. Also, many of the toilets were not large enough for individuals who needed to use wheelchairs to get around. And the issue of blinkers as fire alarm signals for deaf employees was also not met (next chapter). The lack of these facilities and groups, to some employees symbolized an establishment which failed in its duty fully integrate to members of protected groups.

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented data concerning the diversity officer's understanding of his contextual environment. I have also presented data which supports his strategic deployment of economic, social and cultural forms of capital. Drawing on his understanding of the symbolic significance of his contextual environment, we have seen how he has symbolically applied the use of the various resources available to him. However, in order to understand the successful application of his strategy within the remit of culture change employees were also interviewed regarding their perceived significance of these factors. The analysis of this data will be presented in the following chapter. This is to understand whether the strategies deployed by the diversity officer influenced the perception of employees regarding equality and diversity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE INFLUENCE OF SITUATIONAL AND RELATIONAL FACTORS WITHIN THE FIELD OF EQUALITY AND DIVERSITY ON EMPLOYEES' PERCEPTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE PROCESS

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has provided data which supports the conscious process of the strategic deployment of the symbolic social, cultural and economic resources at the disposal of diversity officers during the course of performing their roles. However for these strategies to successfully elicit a process of organizational culture change, they also have to be perceived by employees to possess some form of symbolic significance (Hatch, 1993).

Thus, in order to understand how the deployment of strategic resources by diversity managers triggers the intended behavioural and attitudinal changes, it is important to understand the perception of employees and managers about these strategic influences. This chapter presents the data obtained during the field study stage of this research. The data presented within this chapter is based primarily on the interviews and observational results obtained during six months of research within this organization. During this period employees were interviewed about their perception of the various economic, cultural and social factors (which constituted situatedness factors) and the influence of these contextual factors in eliciting a conscious process of behavioural and cultural change.

7.2 Situatedness and the Implementation of Diversity Management Policies

In order to explore the influence, in practice, of the symbolic deployment of the different forms of capital has on the perception of employees, they were asked to identify factors that influenced changes in their behaviours and attitudes towards equality and diversity within the organization. To alleviate any concerns that interviewees may have regarding their perceived lack of knowledge, I attempted to reassure them and clarified that this was not a test and that they were free to identify as many or as few factors that they could think of. A large number of respondents were able to explain at least two or three factors; which I have grouped broadly according to the main themes identified by Tatli and Ozbilgin (2009). The employee names in this section are fictitious and bear no relationship to their real names.

The main themes, as described in the previous chapter, were the *Social field*: for example the Progressive laws, Supportive political environment, Economic growth, Culture of equality and inclusion and the *Organizational field*: which includes such factors like Cultures of inclusion, Supportive structures of management, Management support, Integration of diversity management, Financial and non-financial resources. Employee responses in relation to these themes are provided below. I had aimed to group these factors broadly using Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) framework into the above themes, however evident from my interviews was the fact that there is no clear demarcation between what constitutes each factor; and as such employees perceive that they are all intertwined. In order not to be repetitive in this chapter, I have presented these factors under the broad heading of organizational culture, structure, communication, policies and strategies.

7.2.1 The Social field

In this study the social field refers to the factors within the wider societal environment in which organizations are a part. Within this context the social field includes social factors and cultural such as the cultural and demographic constitution of the labour market, the institutional structures which include the supportive legislation and the institutional actors as well as the wider business environment within which diversity managers operate (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009; Tatli, 2011).

The Social field as a resource

In considering the social field as a resource I look at the perceived symbolic significance, to organizational members, of the strategically deployed resources within the social field of diversity managers which may influence attitudes towards equality and diversity. Here, I look for an understanding of how organizational members are influenced by, for example information about the legislation or the wider societal demographic composition provided by the diversity officer, and whether or not these influences are as a direct result of the strategic actions of the diversity officer identified in the previous chapter.

The trigger for the overhaul of the diversity management program, within this organization, was the change within the Equalities legislation. The Equalities Act (2010) was replacing all other antidiscrimination legislations; establishing, as discussed in previous chapters, nine protected categories. If I had not been studying this field I would neither have known of these changes nor been able to give a detailed summary of the new legislation. Similarly, outside

the research setting, not one of my friends or family members was aware of any significant changes to rights of individuals within the UK. Perhaps more interesting was the fact that whenever I discussed equality with friends and family, they thought it related to gender, sexual orientation, race and disability. As such when during the course of conducting this study I interviewed Scott, a radiographer, who when asked about the equalities legislation said *'I suppose our starting point would be the 7/8 groups that (the diversity officer) identified or are identified within the new equality scheme and the legislation'* I was baffled. Although the new legislation identifies nine protected categories, the fact that this employee knew about these new groups suggests was impressive; when compared to my experiences outside the research setting. But then maybe Scott was just a more informed individual than my friends and family. So, hiding my enthusiasm about meeting an enlightened soul, I asked Scott how he knew about the legislation. Looking a bit baffled, he said he had read 'something' that was sent out by the diversity team. He couldn't remember whether it was a poster or a flier, but he did say *'... it was all around.'* While my initial reason for asking was to understand whether Scott, and other interviewees, was aware of the root cause of the organization change program I was baffled at their depth of knowledge about the legislation. Even more astonishing was that, like him, many of the other interviewees attributed their knowledge of the legislation, being the trigger for 'the change' to, information they had received from the 'diversity team' either at meetings, and training, through e-mails, on fliers and on posters or in person; suggesting a perceived symbolic significance of the legislation to the process of change which was ongoing within this organization.

Participants were not only aware of the change in legislation, but they were also quite knowledgeable about its contents. During another interview with Mr. Stan, a senior member of the union said to me that he thought:

'... (the diversity officer) recognizes the issues that we have always recognized those of age, race gender disability and we have policies and people aware of discrimination ... I think the new equality legislation it raises its profile again. ... we need to make sure that we have thought about some of the new protective characteristics, about making sure women can breastfeed and things like this because they are redesigning some things we shouldn't be thinking about these things later we should be thinking about all these things.'

Knowing that Mr. Stan was a member of the trade union, who had regular meetings with the diversity officer, I expected him to be well informed of any significant changes to the legislation as it affects the rights of workers. However when another respondent Mrs. Saunders, a senior nurse with the mental health unit, also appeared well informed of the

changes in the legislation it got me thinking that I might be on to something. Adding that the new classifications introduced in the legislation aided support for protected categories that were previously unidentified Mrs. Saunders said:

'We (the organization) have always recognized issues of age, ethnicity, gender and disability . . . but with this new law we can identify newer groups that need support.'

Were these respondents suggesting that the legislation somehow had a direct effect on the change within their organization? If so, how did they make this link? While it was not implausible that the employees within this organization were probably more interested in the wider environmental changes than my close friends and family, it seemed a bit of a coincidence to be able to link these changes to an ongoing culture change program.

Perhaps most revealing was their in-depth knowledge of the new equality legislation. They all knew about the legislation, they all knew about the changes, they all knew about the protected categories and they were all aware of the implementation. This lot put my friends and family to shame. However, when I realized that the creation of awareness about changes to the legislation constituted a crucial aspect of the strategic plan of the diversity manager within this organization, it all began to make sense. It wasn't that my lot were somehow clueless and uninformed; it was that these interviewees worked with a diversity officer who made it his mission to disseminate change to the legislation during meetings, on posters, on newsletters, at seminars, at training sessions and on so many other occasions.

The new equalities legislation was not one which many people would have known about unless they were directly involved in implementing it. As such their knowledge of and perception about the legislation was a result of their interaction with the diversity officer. So as a strategic resource, the diversity officer had thus adopted the use of this symbol to influence employees and managers. To these employees the legislation then in turn became a symbol; which triggered an emotional response and influenced their perceptions and behaviours about equality and diversity, minority groups, protected categories, breastfeeding mothers and so on.

Similarly the influence of stakeholder groups on the decision of this organization to implement changes to its diversity policies were emphasised by a few of the interviewees. I had at this point attended several meetings, training sessions and seminars with the diversity officer and witnessed first-hand the way he always brought everything back to the need to comply with the demands and expectations of the regional and national government

institutions, the regulatory bodies and be seen to be representative of the wider societal demographic data. One employee, Ms. Judith, a member of the HR department, acknowledged the need to address these issues:

'In terms of policies procedures we (the trust) may well be better (than other organizations) because we have to be. We are open to public scrutiny we have staff representatives and various others who will scrutinize over what we do and how we do it. . . . Doesn't mean we are good at it just means we are good at addressing the issues.'

As a member of the HR team I would have expected such well informed response from Ms. Judith, however to receive a similarly detailed response from Thomas, a paediatric attendant, was mind boggling. Thomas said to me that:

'There are (equality) agendas in the health service from (named government institution) and there are papers on that and action plan that the minister expects. . . I think we have got to demonstrate that in what we do . . . we have to comply with (the regional government)'

I knew that by virtue of the nature of his job Thomas had no direct dealings with the local government institution so I began to wonder where this information had come from. Where had this response come from? Did Thomas have friends or family that worked within the local government? I needed to understand what was happening here. Then Thomas responded to me that his informed knowledge was as a consequence of his exposure to material provided by the equality office. Thomas was thus associating the need to comply with, for example, the equalities agenda set by this institution as a symbol which influenced the organization's approach to equality and diversity.

Thomas however was not the only interviewee to draw on factors from outside the organization as the push factor for the current organizational change. Another respondent also emphasized the symbolic significance of the strategic deployment of demographic data by the diversity officer. From her comment Mrs. Step, a senior manager in the organizational development department, suggested that, attempts by the organization to mirror the demographic composition of the wider society, were a projection of commitment to equality and diversity. The deployment of this data as a symbolic strategy has thus triggered a response from employees and managers. Thus by deploying this data as a symbolic resource the diversity officer succeeded in making this data a symbolic representation of what the organization should strive towards. This symbolization thus led to change in the perceptions of the organization towards their goal in terms of equality and diversity and the implementation of actions to support this. From her response, she said:

'We are only just appreciating the data. We need to look at our workforce mix and again see whether it represents the wider society not just in terms of numbers, but also how they are distributed in terms of their job roles.'

I met Mrs. Step at one of the training session, which I observed, and interviewed her about a month later. As such I was aware of the content of the training session which she attended and part of it focused on demographic data. Thus her perception of the relevance of the demographic data as a symbol of compliance was very interesting. Especially as she explained how this data was now being used to develop an action plan by the organization to promote equality and diversity and how the use of this data may influence and attract a broad group of talent into the organization.

I must admit that it was fascinating listening to all these respondents who had obtained their information from one main source. It got me thinking about the influence of 'this source' on employees as well as the impact of the source material on their behaviours. In many of the above examples the responses have been positive, however, this was not the case for all the respondents.

The Social field as a constraint

While many of the employees identified symbolic aspects of the social field as enabling factors, there were others who expressed that the absence of certain factors within the social field were constraints. To these employees the perceived symbolic significance of these factors to the role of the diversity officer meant that their absence symbolized a constraint to his agency; and thus his ability to perform his role effectively. This in turn elicited negative responses among some employees about the level of support that the equality and diversity management process received and they questioned the validity of these programs. Although many individuals had their own opinions about the legislation, which is beyond the scope of this study, many of these did not have any direct bearing on the role of the diversity manager. However, a concern raised by many was the lack of an external push factor, either legislative or regulatory, to encourage organizations to recruit diversity officers or, in the case of this organization, to increase the number of diversity officers per employee base.

Jade, who is also a senior nurse at the physiotherapy department, whom I met through Mary, said:

'I think, in my opinion, there is really no end to diversity management because new groups, new hard to reach groups, new vulnerable groups will evolve over time . . . new laws . . . so how can just he (diversity manager) cover everyone. . . '

During the course of this study I had shadowed the diversity officer and as such I was aware of the limitations that he faced in terms of the expectations of his role. I also had never witnessed this officer complain to other employees about the need for staffing within his unit. On my own, I had to chip in to help sometimes. I had to pick up telephone messages and join to take turns to ensure that there was always someone in the office during work hours. However I was unaware that other employees felt so strongly about this issue of staffing and resources. Worse still, I was unaware that some employees identified this as a failing on the part of the government to get adequate staffing level to implement such a crucial program. So while aspects of the social field, for example the lack of a legislation which stipulated a minimum number of diversity officers per a certain number of employees, were not strategically deployed as resources by the diversity officer, the symbolic significance which members attributed to these social factors was such that the lack of such a legislation influenced their opinion on the level of support that the diversity management programs received from government bodies. The legislation thus went beyond their literal meanings and became a symbolic representation of (lack of) commitment and support for diversity management.

7.2.2 Organizational field

The organizational field refers to factors within the internal organizational environment which influence the actions and strategies of diversity managers. The previous chapter explored how the diversity manager strategically deployed symbolic economic and cultural factors within the organizational contextual as a resource during the process of performing his role. I have also identified again that the perceived absence of these resources had a negative influence on individuals' perceptions and attitudes towards equality and diversity management and thus served as a constraint. These constraints were present in relation to the absence of structures for management, perceptions of management disengagement, perceptions of marginalization of the diversity management program and team, and lack of resources for the diversity management team.

Organizational culture, structure, communication, policies and strategies

For the purpose of this study, organizational culture includes values, attitudes, practices and belief systems within the organization that act either to foster inclusion and equality or present as a barrier to inclusion. In this case a culture which supports an increase in the domain of heterodoxy serves as a resource to the implementation of diversity management programs, while one which supports the domain of orthodoxy serves as a constraint to the attainment of the organization's diversity goals. As a resource, the presence of an organizational culture of inclusion, which increases the domain of heterodoxy, serves to reinforce organizational support for equality and diversity management programs. However, the presence of an organizational culture which promotes or is perceived to promote marginalization or regimes of inequality constrains to the implementation and adoption of diversity management policies. The strategic deployment of culture as a resource by the diversity officer was done through the implementation of a culture change program. This was publicized at meetings, by poster, by newsletters, via emails and so on. The objective was to disseminate information that the 'new culture' was inclusive and diversity friendly. Hence actions which support a contrary view or constrain the implementation of this new culture were perceived as constraints by employees.

The implementation of a new diversity management scheme was rolled out both with, and under, the umbrella of a culture management and change program. In all the meetings, seminars and training session that I attended culture change was always the main topic. The problem within this organization was not working. As such this impacted on the perception of many employees about the organization's commitment to equality and diversity. There was a negative emotional response to the old culture; the culture change program was welcome. To Gareth, one of the senior managers at the Estates department the existing culture was not inclusive. In his response he said:

'I sensed that there were people who felt a bit low and weren't as proud as the organization as they should be, so a lot of what we are doing now (implementing culture changes) is not to create a new commitment but to actually bring that commitment it back out and give the confidence and give the energy . . . there is a huge amount of exciting cutting edge stuff being done by (the diversity officer) . . . so part of our job is to refresh the culture. There is something about the culture that needs to be sorted around the focus on the equality . . . and we have got a little complacent.'

To Gareth the support by the organization for the publicized culture change program symbolized commitment to equality and diversity and portrayed a renewed commitment to

equality and diversity. Gareth was not the only employee to share this perspective, others like Martin, a member of the executive team said:

'We just have to embed it (equality and diversity) in the organizational culture . . . (at the moment) it is always an audit, but (the diversity officer) said we have to embed it in everything we do . . . I do think it comes back to the culture.'

Re-iterating the importance of the organizational culture change program in shaping his perception about the organization's commitment to equality and diversity Francis, an assistant in the finance department said:

' . . . (the diversity officer) has recently (introduced a culture change program) changed the culture because it needed to be updated. . . . '

During the course of this study, interviewees refer not only to the symbolic significance of organizational culture change in shaping their attitudes towards diversity management, but also attribute this to the strategic deployment of information about the culture change by the diversity officer. Thus the strategic deployment of culture change and the publicization of this process were successful in raising the awareness of employees to equality and diversity issues. Through this awareness they were able to identify this process as one of the factors shaping their view of equality and diversity management within this organization. To these employees, the culture and culture change programs symbolized a prioritization of diversity management programs by the organization.

However, this was not always the case. In many instance culture was also perceived as a constraint. While at first I did not understand the reasons for the following responses, I had to remind myself of the length of time that it takes to implement a complete overhaul of a phenomenon as deep as organizational culture. The culture change program was intended to promote openness, increase engagement, promote integration and reduce fear; however there appeared to be a difference between the espoused values and the actual values of the organization. As such, where culture was deployed as a symbol of change all that some employees could see were the failing of the existing culture. These employees then went on to perceive these failings as subsequent failings of the current diversity change program. Thus a consequence of the strategic deployment of culture and policy changes as symbolic resources, by the diversity officer, was that when there were perceived actions which hindered the implementation of diversity policies, these actions signified to some a lack of support for equality and diversity management. The absence of, for example, a supportive and inclusive organizational culture was viewed as a constraint to the role of the diversity

manager and thus led to negative perceptions about the organization's commitment to equality and diversity management.

During the course of this study, some interviewees identified the existing organizational culture as a barrier to the implementation of certain processes by the diversity manager and thus constrained his ability to execute change programs. They were unable to at this point, distinguish between the existing organizational culture and the new changes which were being implemented. To these employees, two to three months was enough time to implement a culture change program successfully. So while these elements of the existing organizational culture were not deployed strategically as resources, the symbolic significance attributed to the culture was such that employees viewed negative aspects of the culture as a symbolic representation of a lack of commitment by the organization; even though there still existed an overlap between the old and the new cultures. One of the employees expressed what she perceived to be a failing of the organizational culture which to her represented a lack of commitment to the culture change programs. She explained that there was a need to encourage integration and that there were plans in place to foster greater integration; however there were also existing elements of the culture which did not support this change. As a result these elements constrained the process of change and symbolized a lack of consistency and commitment by the organization to the process of integration. As Mrs. Connor, a psychiatric nurse said:

'I think there is a certain amount of defensiveness in the culture. Some people are a bit more open than others when it comes to working with minorities, but I guess what tends to happen, and it's not just here, is that the minute more than one equality issue comes in people become scared, they are afraid of doing or saying something wrong . . . I don't think they are bad people, but that is what defensiveness does to you. . . Why not deal with that person as a person with all of those characteristics . . .'

Another respondent, Mr. Stack who was a member of the senior executive team, also commented on the existing domain of orthodoxy within the organization and how this impacted negatively on diversity management.

'There are some phrases around institutional racism that we resisted, but actually we resisted it for the wrong reasons. When you actually sit back it makes sense that we don't know, as a middle class white organization, we just don't know what we don't know. So there is something about this organization.'

Another respondent, Jane, another of the nurses I met at the training in the physiotherapy department, indicated that there were still aspects of the (old) organizational culture which

encouraged backlash when employees reported acts of discrimination. She said this as a constraint to the implementation of diversity management policies. She explained that a negative reaction that complainants receive contravened the program which the diversity manager was trying to implement. As such, this not only constrained his actions, but the symbolic significance of culture also meant that members of the organization questioned the organization's commitment to diversity management. This employee spoke of the influence of an unsupportive cultural environment on the reluctance of employees to adopt fully all the processes involved in the management of diversity.

'You know the whistle blowing stuff but that is the legal term that gets used but basically this stuff (equality and diversity) is related to it and what the legislation says for example if Miss Y witnesses Miss A getting harassed by Mr. U and she reports to the line manager about what she has seen there, it get around that Miss Y has grassed, whistle blowed, informed, told, that she has witnessed something bad what Mr. U had done . . . it gets out wide in the organization.'

She further explained this point by saying:

'We don't have that (culture) at all . . . focus on diversity different groups has not happened yet. . . and then you go ok a different person what am I supposed to do you could be in trouble for staring, for not looking, for looking up for looking down. . . . I do think it is about treating individuals as groups it is about being prepared to take that risk and acknowledging those individuals, it's all about fear when we don't behave in the way that we should and collectively of course then that reflects on the organization. Yes you do it that way or if you are afraid you might get into trouble, you might lose your job you might be made as an example of. . . it is about fear not culture. What that is about is fear you know.'

Standing up to inequality and reporting discriminatory behaviours are part of the values promoted by the equality and diversity programs, however her use of the derogatory term 'grassed' suggests the existence of a culture within the organization which portrayed whistle-blowing in a negative light. The lack of support for the so-called whistleblowers was such that it led to their alienation within the organization. This in turn deterred individuals from reporting or standing up against unjust or discriminatory behaviours; which they witness or are subjected to. Her remark regarding the appropriate ways to act around minority groups suggests an inability to communicate with others for fear of offending them and the consequences that this might bring. To her, this suggests the failure of the existing culture to widen the domain of heterodoxy. The symbolic significance of culture to diversity management thus led to confusion regarding the degree of congruence between the espoused organizational values, practices and culture and existing ones. While the above response is only one scenario, her comment reflects the symbolization of culture as a resource by

organizational members and any deviation from this resource elicited negative emotional, behavioural and attitudinal responses towards equality and diversity management.

Another respondent, Katie, who is a senior manager at the Estates and Development department, who had experienced discrimination in the past, was also of the opinion that the existing organizational culture was characterized by discrimination and marginalization and that this constrained diversity management initiatives. On her experience within the organization she said:

'I have still worked within pockets of this organization that is hugely sexist. I have had comments made to me that are entirely inappropriate because of my gender which is just incredible. I have been in the NHS for a number of years, I have been a senior manager for all that time, and I still just can't believe it what you come up against? I made a complaint but it didn't go anywhere. It was not acknowledged. . . I think it was accepted that the group I was working in were all men of a certain age, certain background and it was a generation thing and whilst it was not supported, it was understood. I still get it now, I was in a meeting 6 months ago when I was the only female there, I didn't know the other people they were from different places and I went in and sat down I was early, there was a consultant, from Gambia I think, and when I looked up and introduced myself and said my name, and then he said are you here to take the notes and I just said no I'm not, and no one said anything. . . It also depends on the way you approach it, another person could say how dare you but you said no I'm not and carried on with the business of the day. I was told when I started in this organization . . . I was told that by senior employee in this organization 'never offer to make the coffee' . . . he was well aware of this organization. He was well aware of the senior management. When I go to site I wear a hard hat. That's the novelty and all that. That's just the nature of it really when you start talking buildings and steel work they look at you as if to say . . . so I think there is a lot about the culture of the organization in response to diversity which isn't anything to do with ethnic background necessarily, a huge amount. I don't think we take this seriously enough. I don't think you are ever going to get around that I don't think realistically you are ever going to get to those people. . . I know what it is like. What I think you need to do is embed a culture in the organization and are we as an organization paying lip service to this and doing this because we have to and we have to be seen to or are we really walking the walk.'

The symbolic significance that this respondent attributes to the role of organizational culture change in equality and diversity management is clear. As such the existence of an organizational culture which increased the level of heterodoxy and was unsupportive to the proposed changes, in her opinion, showed a lack of commitment by the organization. This is not to say that the actual and espoused values are conflicting, instead from her comment she suggests that aspects of the organizational culture support heterodoxy and as such do not reinforce the values which are promoted by the organization. This led to confusion regarding the level of organizational commitment to the diversity management programs and to the perception amongst minority groups that the existing marginalization was the norm. This then

leads to minority groups adopting behavioural changes which tolerate discrimination while those who discriminate may not see a need to change their attitudes.

Other respondents were also sceptical about the organization's commitment to the culture change programs implemented by the diversity officer. For example, as Kelly, a midwife at the maternity unit said:

'What I find with the culture change is that everyone says it's a good idea and we should do it, what happens is that everyone says yeah, yeah, that's a good idea, we have been talking about it for ages' and I think, why haven't they just done it then? . . .'

I must admit that I did not expect the above responses. As a researcher you are thought to go into the field without bias, but with a somewhat clear set of expectations. So to be confronted by data which differed from those expectations were a bit disturbing. However, the essence of a good research is the ability to interpret the data within the context from which it was obtained. As such a closer look at this data suggested that it was not at odds with the expectation of the change programs, but rather it explained the reason for the change. The existing culture had been embedded in the minds and attitudes of many of the employees and as such it had become normal behaviour to, for example, be sexist. Unfortunately many of the employees were unaware of the slow and gradual pace of implementing organizational culture change programs as such, all they saw were failings of a system which was still in its infancy regarding implementation.

To both work in line with and support the culture change program new **policies and practices** were implemented within the organization. The diversity officer (from the previous data chapter) strategically deployed information about new policies such as the Equalities Impact Assessment (EQIA) during meetings, seminars, and at any time he had the opportunity to do this. EQIA refers to assessments on the impact of proposed organizational changes to vulnerable groups. During this assessment, any proposed changes would be assessed against their effect on members of the nine protected categories. Examples of such changes were the relocation of a service centre and the relocation of facilities such as a car park or canteen. The EQIA document will then be used to assess, for example the impact of the relocation of a car park for disabled employees, and the relevance of these impacts.

I attended a meeting where two members of a department wanted to discuss how to fill out the EQIA assessment and the impact that its results would have on changing the location of an existing car park. Like the other parties in the meeting, I was not alone in thinking that the

only groups that would be affected were disabled employees. A point which was reflected by the astonished look on the faces of the other parties when the diversity officer began to give scenarios in which other employee groups could also be affected by this move. The diversity officer explored the potential risk, of parking further from the office, on victims of domestic violence; who could be vulnerable to attack by stalking partners. Not surprising he also discussed accessibility in terms of disabled workers. However more surprising was the impact of such a move on carers who might require quick access to their vehicles in case of family emergencies among a few. One rhetoric he kept using was that managers needed to think outside the box, and that the fact that they may be relatively unaffected by the changes did not reduce the significance of such changes on other employees. Thus, as he drove in the significance of this assessment, he emphasised the importance of consulting with, as much as possible, anyone who could be affected by any such changes.

One respondent, Mr. Ted a member of the Health and Safety Department, encompassed the attitudes of others towards the EQIA policy when he said:

'In terms of equality and diversity, in terms of all our policies they go through an equality impact assessment . . . and we have to be clear about that. It's not that we think there is an impact but we have to be very clear that we did it . . . and if there are issues and how we address those issues. So, all policies have to have an equality impact assessment. There isn't always an impact, but they have to do it for every change; no matter how small . . . So that it shows that we are committed to equality.'

Although the EQIA is just a paper exercise, the comment by Ted that this represented a sign of commitment to equality and diversity suggest that he attributes an importance to this act beyond the action of completing a form, rather to him, this is his way of showing his commitment to equality and diversity initiatives within the organization.

In theory, if the impact causes problems to certain groups in terms of access or use then the change would not be undertaken. However the practice was a little different. During my time there, a project to refurbish one of the organization's old sites to include GP centres and use it as a new hub for various services was still being protested against; although the project was still being carried out by the management team/assembly. At a meeting with members of the Jewish community and Minority ethnic groups regarding the movement of their local centre for Sickle cell anaemia and Thalassemia to the new hub, I witnessed resistance from these groups. Many of the reasons given were issues of accessibility, transportation cost, convenience, child care cover during clinic days and some even complained that the centre

would be too modern and thus uncomfortable for them to visit. However as I have already pointed out, the consultations were still taking place even though the project was already nearing completion (and has since been completed).

The overall premise of undertaking an EQIA is to alert employees to possible unintended issues of discrimination and disadvantage which may arise from seemingly small changes within the organization. The policy and process of completing these assessments were strategically positioned by the diversity officer to symbolize an action which showed commitment to fairness. The diversity officer also positioned the EQIA as a criterion to be met by employees before their proposals could be considered by board members. Positioning the EQIA in this way had two main effects. First, the EQIA symbolized a behavioural show of commitment by the employees completing the assessment. Second it demonstrated that this assessment was important to senior management and as a result the popularity of this program surged. This was evident from the high number of phone calls concerning EQIA, which I observed the diversity officer receive, and from the large number of requests for EQIA training sessions.

Again during the course of shadowing this diversity officer, I had observed the way in which he deployed information about the staff survey and its outcomes as a strategic resource; invariably linking this process with commitments to equality and diversity management. As a result employees began to perceive the implementation and execution of these surveys as a symbolic show of commitment to equality and diversity by the organization. During my interview with Ms. Trump he commented on the significance of the data obtained from the staff survey on shaping and showing the organization's commitment to equality. Ms. Trump, a line manager at the organizational development department said:

'I think data collection is important to telling a story . . . staff experience. . . we need someone to gather the data and bring the intelligence in so that we can get the different experiences that minority groups seem to be having.'

Another employee, this time one of the HR managers, Dee, also reiterated this point by saying:

'We are currently talking now about a staff survey which again will be a good indicator that we are committed to equality and diversity . . .'

The above responses identify the significance of organizational policies and practices, not only as symbolic strategic resources deployed by diversity managers, but also as symbolic

expressions of commitment to equality and diversity management. This in turn influenced the actions and attitudes of the organization and its employees towards the implementation of equality and diversity initiatives.

However, again culture, or in particular the existing culture, appeared to impact negatively on the processes of implementing new policies and procedures. One employee who commented on this was Stella, a middle manager at the HR department. She said that while there was a new complaints process in place, the perpetuation of the old culture hindered their ability to implement fully practices which support the organization's equality goals. On this she said:

'Every week I get 5 complaint files and I read through them and monitor. . . . (But) What I do see is some good examples of some lack of respect lack of sensitivity (by the organization) to the person who is complaining from our response to that (the complaint), and there is a lot of work being done there.'

While this did not affect her perception of equality and diversity in itself, she suggests that, from her dealings with other employees, the existence of a culture that is not sensitive in the way it tackles complaints is a sign of unfairness. Since complaint procedures were symbolic of a commitment to diversity management, attitudes that contravened these policies presented as lacking support for these policies. So while these absent resources were not publicized as part of the strategic actions of the diversity officer, the symbolic significance attributed to these procedures by employees meant that their absence was associated with a lack of commitment by the organization. As, Margaret, a line manager with the workforce and organizational development team said:

'The report (staff survey) is done but I'm not sure how widely circulated it is and how generally available it is in our case 15,000 staff I don't know how many members of staff see the outcome of it. It is a voluntary thing whether you complete the survey or not but I don't know how widely the information is spread thereafter . . . as with all surveys it is great to gather the information more importantly it is to do the analysis and make a result out of all of it and I'm not sure what gets done on that front.'

Again, while information about the staff survey was deployed as a strategic resource by the diversity officer, the failure by the organization to support the dissemination and use of this information represented a constraint in the process of diversity management. This respondent had come to symbolize the survey and what it stood for as a strategic resource for the diversity manager.

Dee in HR as part of her interview also explained that equality and diversity had not been fully integrated into all parts of the organization's policies.

'We don't have an investigating department but senior nurses and a certain level of admin staff are expected to take their turns in doing an investigation (when a discriminatory action occurs) and they are coached by us through that process we have provided some training in the past but it is not on at the minute . . . it was possible that they wouldn't do an investigation for several months and they would forget the training anyway so we are not quite sure whether it is worthwhile doing it as a routine training session or its best to coach people individually as and when . . . everyone has to take a turn really it is on top of their normal job of course so that's why they take quite a little while to do it not ideal.'

Thus, while organizational culture, policies and procedures are important strategic resources for diversity managers, the absence of these resources or constraints within these systems were viewed by employees as symbolic manifestations of a lack of commitment by the organization.

In this study **management support** was identified as both perceived verbal and physical support from senior management to the diversity officers as result of the networks formed within the organization. In the previous chapter I showed how these symbolic social resources were deployed strategically by the diversity officer during the course of implementing diversity management programs within the organization. However, as with the cultural resources, perceived absence of these resources by employees signified a lack of commitment and support for equality and diversity management.

To many of the interviewees the symbolic significance of these resources was manifested in the ways in which they associated supportive actions by management with commitment towards equality and diversity management. These forms of management supports ranged from direct communications of their support to employees to more subtle forms, for example by their presence at meetings and seminars. A number of employees raised issues relating to management support during their interviews. For example Stan, the Union official, as part of his interview revealed how management support influenced his attitudes towards the organization's commitment for equality and diversity. His response suggests that perceived leadership endorsement and support, formed as a result of the social network of the diversity officer, sends a wider message. This is one that suggests the organization takes equality and diversity seriously and thus confers a sense of importance and legitimacy to the process. This in turn influenced his attitudes towards the diversity management program.

'The leadership commitment to equality and diversity management is extremely strong . . . Our Executive Management team has the patient walkabouts every Friday. It is meant to be again that indication of one engaging with the staff . . . it is a clear commitment to equality and diversity . . . They want to ask other people if they are hearing the same messages . . . but

I think they are doing everything they can in getting those clear messages through about dignity and respect.'

As the diversity officer strategically deploys his social capital formed as a result of his interaction with the executive management team, this interviewee also perceived the support by senior management as a symbolic representation of their commitment and support for equality and diversity. Hence he attributed their actions, for example, the walkabout on Fridays, to symbolize the way the organization prioritized this program. This gesture, which to him lent a degree of legitimacy to the program, indicated their leadership support and influenced his attitude and behaviours towards equality and diversity. Thus the executive team walk about on Fridays was more than a stroll, but became a symbol of commitment to equality and diversity management.

Kelly, a midwife at the maternity unit as part of her interview, also identified symbolically with the actions of senior managers. She explained how their actions instil a sense of confidence in employees and how they supported the work of the diversity officer.

'I think at a senior level where inappropriate behaviour, bullying or languages is being identified there is the confidence just to confront it and I have seen many examples where the Chief executive confronts someone and says that is not appropriate to say that.'

Similarly, Christian, a consultant located at the Gynaecology department also re-iterated Kelly's point saying:

'There have been several incidences where we have actually taken very senior staff as well we have confronted them in terms of their behaviour which has resulted in not more than one being away from work until matters have been resolved.'

Again, while these actions may usually go unnoticed, their perceived symbolic significance suggested to employees that any actions which senior executives took showed commitment to equality. Christian's response showed how perceived symbolic forms of support extended beyond the positive endorsements of the programs, incorporating the ability to reprimand, where necessary, other senior managers and executives who break the rules. For these employees the notion that 'no one is above the law' was an important demonstration of management support for diversity management and this in turn influenced the way he thought about the program.

The presence of the executive management team at important equality and diversity events was also perceived by employees to be symbolic gestures. As part of the observation process during the course of this study I was allowed access to two stakeholder meetings; which were

widely attended. The stakeholder meetings occur biannually and were attended by representatives from the trade unions, employees, patients, contractors, a guest speaker as well as representatives from organizations that represent minority groups within the wider society. These meetings were organized to a large extent by the diversity manager and were used to engage employees and stakeholders. The meetings were long, lasting between 6 and 8 hours. Much of the discussion focused on equality and diversity, both within the organization and the wider society, with keynote speeches provided by the diversity officer, the organizational chairperson, representatives of minority groups (non organizational members) as well as the chief executive officer of the organization. The meetings started with introductions by the chairperson, the chief executive officer and other senior managers that were in attendance. However what I observed was once these senior employees had finished their speeches they quietly made their exits. They were followed by a number of middle managers and other employees who made excuses and made their exit. To me it appeared that these employees only attended the meetings because their managers were present and decided to leave once they felt there was no need to stay. My perceptions were echoed by some of the individuals who I was sat next to. They intimated that many employees only attended so that they could be seen by their bosses to be present. Also another individual suggested that some managers only attended programs where the senior executive team would be present in order that they could have 'a quick word' with them and use that opportunity to build relationships. That said, their presence to many signified a symbol of commitment which influenced their behaviours to attend these meetings. Kunle, a line manager, with the mental health team, who I met at the meeting and I interviewed at a later date said:

'The support from the exec board with the UHB equality is up there as you know from the stakeholders meeting you attended they are keen to work in partnership with other partners out in the community and show their commitment (to equality and diversity . . . I think this is important. . . It lets us know they care and they want to be better.'

Most of the interviewees identified the support of senior managers as a direct influence on their behaviours, actions and support for diversity management programs. Thus the symbolic significance of this strategic resource in legitimizing this process meant that employees also legitimized it. Similarly, management support influenced the behaviour of employees who aimed to emulate the behaviour of these managers. Also, the idea that a member of the senior management team can be disciplined for unfair behaviours conferred a deeper message to employees that no one was above the law and as a consequence they monitored such their behaviours and attitudes towards others. Finally, while sometimes employees attended

meetings where senior managers were present just to be seen, their outward support for diversity management influenced employees' needs to be seen to be doing something; even if it is just lip-service. All this suggests that employees perceive the senior executive team, their line-managers, and their attitudes, presence at meetings and outward show of commitment as symbols of the organization's commitment to equality and diversity management. We also see how this then initiates an attitudinal and behavioural change in relation to equality and diversity management.

The absence of management support for diversity officers were identified by some of the interviewees. While to the diversity officer he had unwavering support from the management team which he deployed strategically, some employees viewed the perceived disconnection between employees and management as a symbol of a lack of commitment for the process. This disconnection, in their opinion, contributed to feelings of isolation and to the perception that the management team was not committed to understanding the concerns of junior employees. From my observations this feeling of disconnection was linked to the physical separation of certain key departments. For example, the offices of the chairperson, the executive management, the organizational development department and of other members of the senior management team were located about 3 miles from the main site of the organization and appeared to be isolated and detached from the rest of the organization. This suggests that employees did not have regular contact with these departments. Although workplace communication consists of mainly e-mails and phone calls, the secluded locations of these departments appeared to form both a physical and psychological barrier between these departments and the others within the organization. While in an organization of this size, the use of multiple locations is not uncommon and may sometimes be inevitable, the location of these significant organizational departments represents a deeper meaning to employees (discussed in detail under the sub heading structure). Margaret, as part of her interview, touched on this issue by saying:

'I think they (staff) feel quite disconnected from senior management and I don't know if they feel that management understand their issues or know what their issues are so I think it is a bigger organization cultural issue than just diversity . . . part of that is the scale of this organization because people talk about working in different areas of this organization and the feel of the place and the ethos of the place . . . at the moment I don't think it is there.'

Again, while this did not impact directly the role of the diversity officer, the symbolization of interactions with senior executives as a strategic resource led some employees to perceive

their spatial disconnection as a symbol that they were not committed to supporting equality and diversity initiatives.

A range of other support factors were identified that were perceived to limit the ability of the diversity officer to perform his role. For many employees, the inability of some managers to act autonomously when taking decisions relevant to employee equality was counterintuitive to the process of equality and diversity management. This issue was raised by Kay, a nurse at the accident and emergency unit said:

'I have to consider diversity and how we are addressing that, for the people who are working on the front line I don't think their managers have a clue about anything really . . . about what they (managers) are really taking that on board because we do have a one size fits all culture I think really'

Thus, as strategic resources, the failures of line managers to make decisions and their lack of knowledge symbolized a wider lack of commitment. While the themes identified in this section do not directly constrain the role of the diversity manager, due to their perceived symbolic significance, their absence conferred negative opinions of employees about the organization's commitment to diversity management.

From the interviews conducted I identified that employees' referred to **management structure** in terms of three main themes. The first is the chain of command and the reporting line; in relation to accountability and audit purposes. Secondly referenced was made to the organizational structure in terms of the physical layout of the organization and the positioning of, what they perceive to be, important departments within the organization. Thirdly, organizational structure was viewed in terms of the composition and the positioning of the diversity management team within the organization.

Only about a third of the interviewees identified management structure as relevant to influencing their perception of diversity management programs (mostly as a source of constraint). Since the diversity officer had a direct access to many members of senior management and the executive team these relationships were deployed as a strategic resource in the process of policy implementation. At least every two to three days, the diversity officer went to the other site, where, the senior executive team were located for meetings. He received regular mails and phone call from the Chief Executive enjoyed a particularly close work relationship with the chairperson of the Trust. When he was not meeting with senior management, he was telling other employees of the support that the ongoing culture and

diversity change programs enjoyed from the senior management team. Some employees acknowledged this support. For example, Judith from HR said:

‘The expert is (the executive director for OD) and the team who she has put together and it's no coincidence that (the diversity officer) meets with her regularly’

Another respondent, Ms. Trump from workforce and organizational development also said:

‘(The executive director for OD) is working on what support networks we need and how do we best identify what we can do and how can she personally do it.’

Others like Mrs. Molino an employee at the IT department said:

‘So you have a chairman at the top whose view is as an organization we have to demonstrate absolute respect for everyone.’

Most responses comprised of ‘the executive director said. . .’ or ‘the new managing director is very supportive . . .’ or ‘our new execs are implementing a new program . . .’ So to many employees, having a management structure which was supportive to diversity management from the top demonstrated the prioritization of these programs. From the perspective of a member of the senior management team, a senior official reiterated the level of support that equality and diversity was enjoying. Mr. Stack, a chief executive officer said:

‘I don’t know how the previous organization really dealt with equality what I know is that we have a better handle on it in terms of our structuring ourselves to be able to identify what do we need to do through (the chairman) and then through the board ensuring that we are picking off the most important bits so I am a lot more confident that we are building up not just the structure but we are building up the process where employees can see what we are doing and they can challenge whether we are doing enough.’

Similarly, Theresa, the executive director for organizational workforce and development said:

‘With the equalities group what Mr. X (The Chairman) will be doing with the single scheme is when they have worked out what their action plan is and the timings for deliver, we will link with Mr. Y who is the director of performance to also work out what would be reasonable performance indicators and at some stage we are going to have the obvious things like again the proportions of employees to reflect the community makeup and many other things I’m sure.’

In support this point, Trudy, a manager with the Workforce and organizational development team also said:

‘The previous organization, its management structure was a general management structure and again lots of what we heard was nobody ever listens to us. So what the Chief executive has done with other roles of support is (to) turn the management model on its head so that we can instil a sense of value within a large part of the workforce. Our chief executive is one of

the most experienced in the country she has tremendous experience and the team that was brought together equally are among the best and so you can imagine they are getting together and deciding the ambition that they want to set in terms of equality and diversity.'

Trudy suggests that by 'turning the management model on its head' a management system was being developed where employees could have direct access to members of the senior management team. This, she believed, will enable the management team to instil organizational values directly to employees. Her confidence in the quality of the new management structure was, to her, an indication of renewed commitment to issues of equality and diversity management. By both positioning themselves and being positioned as supportive of the ongoing changes, the management support was perceived as a crucial symbol that the organization was committed to equality and diversity management.

However, for this organization, most of the issues raised by employees relating to the organizational structure were perceived as constraints to the actions of this diversity officer. To many the management team was not doing enough to support equality and diversity management programs. In this regard some similar themes once again were mentioned. There was a range of themes identified as constraints, namely the complex nature of the existing management structure; the location of major departments within the organization; the lack of clarity in the aims and objectives of the organization; the rank of the diversity manager and the location of the diversity team's office.

The **location** of major departments as well as the diversity office has been described in the previous section, so I will not describe them here again. However while the diversity officer only commented once or twice about the remoteness of his office, many of those who came in to see the diversity officer made remarks such as, '*so this is where you are hiding yourself*' or '*so this is where your office is*' while many others commented on how they had 'got lost' on their way to his office. In general only individuals who had visited this office previously found it easy to locate.

While like many other organizations most workplace communications were done via email, the fact that such a central department was hidden away in an inconspicuous corner of the organization was not overlooked by employees. The diversity office was shared by three people (including myself) at the time of this study and therefore was unsuitable for sensitive, private or confidential meetings. This lack of privacy within the office did not go unnoticed by employees; many of whom I observed were uncomfortable to share the details of their

concerns in this shared space. I observed on numerous occasions that the diversity officer would either borrow the offices of other employees who were not at work or use, usually cold, conference rooms for their meetings in order to obtain an environment private enough to have such delicate discussions. On my own, I also experienced similar issues with the lack of privacy; as such many of our interviews were often conducted in his car, or in empty offices or in unused conference.

As a perceived symbol of diversity management, many commented that location of the diversity office did not represent the expected location of such a central unit. So while the diversity officer was unaware that this constituted a constraint, many respondents who came to the office commented on difficulty on finding the location, on how many times they got lost or that they were unaware that the diversity office was located where it was. Many said that the position of the diversity office, located away from other central departments, made it look like an ad hoc department not one that took central position within the organization.

In terms of the physical location of diversity management within the main organizational and management structure Mary, a nurse at the physiotherapy department, said:

'The location of the office of the diversity officer and the Welsh language officer is a little awkward to get to. It will be nice if they were in a central location or near where the other senior managers are. . . I guess if we need them we can always use the phone (chuckles).'

I met Mary at one of the intervention trainings which I attended with the diversity officer after there had been an incident on the ward where a member of staff had been discriminated against. The members of this department contacted the diversity officer after this incident so that he could visit their ward and discuss, with them, how best to deal with these types of issues. I asked if I could interview her at a later date and she agreed; she also signposted me to a few other nurses in her department. What became apparent during these interviews was that the absences of contextual factors, which did not directly influence the role of this diversity officer, were perceived to constrain his influence. As such these factors presented as a source of hindrance to employees and who symbolized as a lack of support, which in turn evoked negative responses from these employees.

There was only one diversity officer in this organization. I knew that before I started conducting this study and I somewhat selfishly viewed this as a positive thing. To me it meant that I would not be missing out on any important activities since I was shadowing the 'main man'. However I was surprised to discover that this fact was but viewed in the same

positive light by employees. To many employees this contravened the values that the organization was trying to promote. Asking the member of staff, Mr. Williams, who shares the office with the diversity officer, he said:

'We (himself and the diversity officer) have to rotate work in such a way that there is always someone in the office. Because there is only one diversity officer . . . he is always at meetings or training sessions . . . It is not nice to have to lock the office up, although sometimes it is unavoidable . . . so we have to try to be in the office . . . this then stops him and me doing our job effectively. In my opinion there should be at least five of him here.'

Again this was a feeling that was shared by so many of the other employees. On my own then, I had to join to take my place on the invisible rota in order to support the team. As discussed in other chapter 5, I took down messages and played a small part, but more importantly I gained the trust of the team which, to me, enable me to break down barriers.

A comment, which captures the concerns of many employees, was made by Mrs. Ken, a nurse at the radiology department:

'I think our main problem is leaving all the problems of equality and diversity to someone at (the diversity officer's) level.'

Stan, the union representative also emphasized this point saying:

'One of our weaknesses up until recently is our idea of being equated to equality with one person at (the diversity manager's) level to take forward equality issues for an organization of this size is nonsense.'

Regarding the physical layout of the organizational structure, the diversity officer also commented that he realized that his office was difficult to find and that many employees had complained about this. Indeed, although there was a plan to move this department to a more central location, when I contacted him for a follow up, two years after this study was conducted, this plan had not yet been implemented.

A part of the organizational change process was the implementation of a 'new' organizational/management structure aimed to ease the employees' understanding of the chain of command and responsibility. However the complexity of this structure only served to confuse employees. My observations revealed that even members of the senior management team struggled to understand the new structure. One such complexity was identified by the chairman who attempted to offer a 'simple' explanation of the composition of the executive team. According to Martin, the chairman:

‘Well I told you nothing was simple didn’t I? The minister appointed vice chairs specifically to have a different responsibility for primary care and mental health services and that is because history suggested that the organization didn’t have the right focus. So it is a strange appointment where the minister appoints the vice chair for that added specific role but the vice chair is accountable to the chair but also reports to the minister. She (the Vice Chair) recognizes the role of the chair and we work very well and she is my deputy . . . So it is an interesting relationship. It works well here but that doesn’t necessarily mean it works everywhere.’

While the above comment is not related directly to the main themes of this study, I decided to include it as it shows the complexity of this small section within the organization. It also offers some explanation of why employees described the organization’s management structure as complex.

For many organizations complexity might not arise as a problem. However when it is necessary to disseminate information accurately and quickly, then complexity becomes a hindrance. From previous discussions it is clear that this diversity officer relied heavily on **communication** networks in disseminating new about the major organizational changes so when this is hindered the ability to raise awareness could be jeopardised. Mrs. Frost, a nurse with the community health care team referred both to the issues of complex organizational structure and to its impact on the communication of a clear message regarding equality and diversity:

‘I think there is just so many different departments it’s just so complex . . . so many different parts to it, different staff groups and different sites, so all those things make communication very difficult, . . . I think everyone is aware that it (communication) is important although it is worse at the minute because people haven’t got the time. It’s always been a problem in the health service as long as I can remember . . . but we can work on structures . . . , it’s around engagement and it’s about communication, I think it comes back to that really.’

From her response she made clear that she perceived that the complexity of the organizational structure restrained the effective communication of the organization’s plans regarding equality and diversity changes. Again, just like culture, while a new structure can be implemented relatively quickly, it takes a few months for the pieces to fit well together and work as a unit. However since the structural changes were implemented around the same time the culture and diversity change programs were implemented, employees perceived the structure change as a symbol of the culture change. The symbolized meaning attached to the ‘new’ structure in relation to fostering integration and communication meant that the failures of these processes constrained the ability of the diversity manager to deploy this as a strategic resource.

The complexity of this structure was such that employees began to perceive a sense of disengagement. Mrs. Kay, at the accident and emergency team was one of such respondents. For her, the structural disengagement of the management team exhibited both a lack of care and/or was expressive as a symbol of lack of support for the diversity program. This is because, as with other employees, she had come to perceive the management team as a symbol of support for the organization's diversity management program. In her interview Mrs. Kay responded that:

'I know there are also other big organizations with branches in so many other countries and they are still cohesive. But the impression I get is . . . it's so disjointed the senior management isn't here the heart of the organization so it is really hard . . . I know with hospitals there are different departments. . . it quite disjointed each department thinks they are doing their own thing and they are not part of the organization.'

I started this study with the thought that a change towards a more inclusive culture was nothing if not a good thing. However when applied within an organizational context that has experiences many other changes within a short space of time, then the responses of the next interviewee begins to make sense. Ms. May discussed her concerns about the ongoing change in relation to the constant changes occur within the organization structure. She suggested that the constant change in the composition of the management team does not allow for continuity in terms of implementing new policies. She expresses that the lack of continuity could in the long-term affect the successful implementation of diversity management policies; since different executives will have different ideas and 'pet projects'; leading to a sense of confusion among employees. During our interview Ms. May said:

'The senior management team seems to change every two years, so now we have new chief executives who have new ideas that are different from the previous executives. It is a bit confusing because there is no continuity . . . just as you get used to one system there always seems to be another one around the corner.'

Her comments were not an isolated occurrence as another senior manager, Kevin, with the IT department, commented on similar lines. Kevin perceived that these constant changes had a negative effect on their (IT teams) ability to assist in the implementation of equality and diversity policies. A key problem of continually changing roles was the short time given to getting to grips with these new roles before moving to other departments or other organizations. Kevin said to me that:

'The senior team (executive team) is going through change. So whilst they know what the priorities are trying to put in place and where they have to go, with their changing roles it's difficult to deliver and cascade that down.'

The trigger for this organization-wide change was no doubt the legislation and while changes had been put in place regarding the recent restructuring of the management team, employees still expressed mixed feelings about their commitment especially since they had an average job span of 2 years. Since the management team had come to symbolize a strategic resource, the constant (sometimes bi-yearly) changes suggested two things. First that it was difficult for employees to take change programs seriously as new executives implement new programs. Secondly, it was difficult for executives to support the successful implementation of a program since more often than not they left before the processes were completed. Many employees identified problems with these regular changes and reshuffling. For example:

'I think when we were [the local NHS] trust we were clearer about where we were heading and because we had objectives those objectives have cascaded through our HR and I think that hasn't been so clear but I think that we are going through such a time of change at the moment . . . ' (Ms Dunbar, middle manager)

Trish, an assistant with the organizational development department also suggested the same. Like the other respondents she identified that the lack of continuity that arose from the constant changes of in management staff, arguing that it contributed, in her opinion, to the difficulty in implementing diversity management programs. She said:

'I think it has been a turmoil over a year and that has been a challenge because we have to communicate with so many people different people across the organization and it is hard to keep up with who you need to communicate with and I think that has been one of our challenges so it is big challenges in terms of the training department because at one point you are dealing with one line manager and then one minute they have gone someone else is in their place and nobody tells you and that has been our difficulty.'

Mrs. Molino during our interview said of the constant implementation of change programs:

'The health board as with all health boards (it) is constantly changing . . . things are constantly moving around . . . We are going through a health board restructuring now . . . potentially a public sector restructuring somewhere down the line. . . . just when you are catching your breath, another change is implemented.' (Referring to the Single Equality Scheme)

Christian, a consultant, also commented that the changing priorities within the organization and its effect on the successful implementation of equality and diversity programs also said:

'If you come to us in 6 months time you will probably get different answers to that because at the moment the senior team is going through change, so whilst they know what the priorities are and where they have to go, with their changing roles its different to deliver and cascade that down . . . We do not know what changes to embrace because the focus is always changing . . . it would be nice to be able to focus on workforce equality and diversity and

stick with it . . . but even the managers do not know whether they will be here next week or not.'

On their own, these changes did not constrain the role of the diversity manager directly; instead the new structure did provide increased support for equality and diversity. But when applied within the context of this study, to employees, the indiscriminate and constant nature of the structural changes within this organization challenged their commitment to 'this new idea'; with many wondering when the next change program would occur. The changes within the management structure meant that some employees remained confused regarding the aims and objectives of the 'new organization'. While these changes are relatively new, the constant reshuffling of the management structure was viewed by many as potentially damaging to the progress of the organization.

As discussed in the previous chapter, this organization is divided across different sites with many high-rise buildings in these sites. However, not all these buildings have lifts and ramps; as a result they are not accessible to disabled employees and service users. Also (as shown in the previous chapter) there have been incidences where the organization has had to pay compensation for its failure to accommodate the needs of disabled employees and patients. This, to some employees, undermined the essence of the diversity management program which the diversity officer was trying to promote. These types of concerns were raised by Helen, an administrator who works at the out patients physiotherapy unit said:

'Apart from the DDA and Wheel chair probably none . . . We are supposed to have a minicom system which our deaf community uses to contact us but we don't know where it is. We are looking for it . . . I have contacted several colleagues about this . . . some say minicom may be based in medical records, rang the telecoms management centre they said minicom is based in appointments booking centre but rarely . . . also trying to track down the where the minicom numbers are diverted to but they also have no luck . . . The deaf community doesn't like to use typetalk operators as long as their business is personal so they try other ways of contacting us instead.'

In addition, the separation of the diversity management team from the HR team symbolized to one the lack of integration of diversity management into all aspects of the organization. Before addressing her comments I should say first that the diversity management team was not only a separate department from HR, but that the location of the diversity office was at least 200m from the HR department. These departments were separated by at least 5 buildings. Judith, a member of the HR department perceived this separation as a lack of integration and a symbol that the organization did not prioritize diversity management. When I asked her to clarify what she meant by 'not as clear as they were' she expressed that she

was referring to a time before the organization has a designated equalities and diversity officer; a time when all HR responsibilities were performed by the HR department. She said:

'I think the message consistent from the senior team . . . but I think in terms of the priorities for HR and diversity management are quite not as clear as they were but I think that will settle down once our department has gone through the merger.'

However, when I contacted the organization for some follow-up interviews two years later, this departmental merger like the relocation had not been initiated or implemented and diversity management still remained separated from the main organizational and management structure.

This disjointed structure and the divisions between HR and diversity management were also referred to by Stephen, a senior member of the HR department.

'We joke about an invisible barrier between our departments. There might as well be a visible barrier. . . Sometimes it feels like we (HR team and diversity officer) are in completely different organizations. . . We (HR team and diversity officer) are supposed to work together with the team just over the car park, we try meeting, setting up meetings, several times, to say look we have some protected employees in common, but we just don't work together. . . We (HR team and diversity officer) have different reporting lines and targets. . . I do know that it is really not as well structured . . . Some of it is down to money, it's not like people don't know the relevance of these services, it's just that we don't have the resources.'

This confusing and complex management and physical structure constrains the actions of not just the diversity officer, but also other departments that need to deal with him. Again many of these issues were raised in relation to a lack of financial resources for the diversity team, and consequently symbolize a lack of prioritization for the role of the diversity officer and the implementation of equality and diversity policies.

Many of these themes go hand in hand. The location of the diversity office and the fact that there was only one diversity officer within this organization was such that it was sometimes difficult to **integrate** diversity management within other organizational processes and structures. The integration of diversity management with other departments and systems within the organization plays an important role in determining the reach of the diversity manager. The processes of integration include not just the immersion of diversity management across different functions, but also the integration of diversity management across various ranks (structure) and level. These processes require the inclusion of diversity goals as part of the corporate objectives and have an influence on the status of the diversity office and the diversity manager within the organizational hierarchy. The ability to integrate

diversity management as part of the core processes within the organization constitutes one of the major objectives of the diversity manager within this organization (for example policies like the EQIA discussed above).

Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) suggest that the integration of diversity management across different roles and ranks within the organization plays a crucial role in determining the extent to which they are able to apply their discursive resources when disseminating information. The extent to which diversity management was integrated into various processes was identified by a number of respondents:

Martin, the chairman of the board, during his interview explained that by integrating diversity management training as part of the mandatory training package for new recruits, the organization was making a bold statement and an outward show of commitment in support of equality and diversity. He believed that this was an important initiative to teach employees about the importance of equality and diversity:

'Equality and diversity was introduced to the mandatory training package we think it was around 2007/8 . . . equality was woven into the induction program and on the back of that we added it as a core mandatory training topic for all staff and the training figures for that first period were massive there were loads of people who did equality training because they had to as part of their mandatory training.'

A member of the organizational development team, Sharon, also said that the presence of equality and diversity as part of a mandatory training package was a strategic decision by the organization to raise the awareness of diversity. She explained that the structure and content of these programs were developed by the equality officer as there were specific ways in which he wanted to deliver key messages. She said:

'The equality diversity training is included in the corporate employment section of the e-learning program and (the diversity officer) was involved in developing the content for that session as well. In the same way he was involved in the mandatory training content.'

A similar comment was made by another Stella, a middle manager from the same department:

'The core training is with equality and diversity and everybody has to do it and that has been set at a level . . . (it) is delivered every two years so all staff have to do the training every two years and our training needs analysis which we send out every quarter to line managers indicates whether staff have met their mandatory training or not in terms of equality and that is related to line managers who can then ensure that the staff complete the appropriate programs.'

Another employee, Mrs. Sullivan, a senior nurse, said that the existence of equality and diversity as part of the core functions within the organization influenced the way they felt about diversity management in general. The integration of diversity management as a core part of the knowledge skills framework (KSF) affected in the opinion of this employee and how she approached issues around equality and diversity management. These initiatives also suggested that management was serious about these programs. (After looking through the archival documents I realized that the content of equality and diversity part of the KSF was quite general. However the perception of this employee was that its presence in this document was a significant gesture by the organization suggests that she associates this practice with a deeper meaning). She said:

'All staff when you start in the organization have a job description . . . once you start you also have a KSF outline and there are core dimensions in the KSF outline which are communication, people and personal development, equality and diversity. So, all employees know that we are serious about equality.'

A senior manager, Mr Smith, also mentioned the Training Needs Analysis (TNA). While on its own the training needs analysis does not act directly to influence the role of the diversity officer, the symbolic significance of equality based policies meant that employees' association of the inclusion of equality and diversity as part of the TNA represented a wider symbol of support for diversity management. He said that the TNA demonstrated how the organization is serious about equality and diversity and this in turn affects employee behaviour.

'Over the last couple of years we have had the electronic staff record and a component of that is a training element, the online learning management system and that has allowed us to do an electronic TNA so we now know when staff have attended equality and diversity training and it actually gives them a refresher period and the TNA tells them (line managers) when staff need to attend and whether they are in or out of compliance.'

Anthony, a manager in the IT department, also indicated that the presence of learning zones and e-learning centres at different sites around the organization was an outward show that the organization aimed to improve the access of employees to training materials:

'We have also introduced some learning zones we have learning zones on X, Y and Z site and staff can book in, attend a learning zone and they can do their e-learning in the e-learning zone with a facilitator who will help them as well or they can do it in their workplace whichever is more convenient for them.'

In terms of integrating diversity management as part of the recruitment and selection processes Trudy, from workforce and organizational development said:

'We have run recruitment selection training for managers and we have made it a requirement that one member of the panel at least has to have done that training which incorporated equality issues questions you shouldn't ask and so on that has been on hold for several months now but it should be restarting again fairly soon and (diversity officer) always helps to develop that and update it.'

The identification of the above practices, as factors which influenced the way they approached equality and diversity, suggests that these practices mean something to them. These factors comprised the symbolic actions and strategies which the diversity officer employed. By encouraging the integration of equality and diversity programs within practices, such as in the training, EQIA, TNA, and KSF, the organization provided access to economic and social capital which the diversity officer could deploy strategically. While many of these employees had not recently been on either the mandatory or induction training, and as such were not directly influenced by the contents of these sessions, they made a clear association between the integration of these practices and commitment to diversity management by the organization, which in turn influenced their attitudes towards equality and diversity. As these practices had come to be perceived as symbolic representations of diversity management, the integration of these practices within the organization influenced their perception about and attitudes towards diversity management. However because practices which supported diversity management were perceived as symbols of commitment, the absence of such integration came to represent a lack of support.

However, while the integration of equality and diversity management processes and practices were deployed as strategic resources by the diversity manager, many employees indicated that the failures of these processes symbolized a lack of commitment by the organization; thus constraining the ability of the diversity manager to perform his role. Mr. Tank, a procurement officer, who was a member of the equalities champion group, was unhappy with the level of integration across all parts of the organization:

'We don't record subcontractors as part of our statistics because they are not staff but they can attend the equality and diversity training if they want. So they can receive that training and if the organization wanted a copy of the signature list to keep for their records then that is available for them to do that. But it is not mandatory for them to attend . . . so is that not mixed messages or what?'

As a member of the equalities champion group Mr. Tank was part of a team who expressed their commitment to helping to support the implementation of equality and diversity throughout the organization. This role is not a paid one and members volunteer their time and resources to support this program. However while he perceived these training sessions as a

symbol of commitment to equality and diversity, the idea that the sessions were not mandatory led him to question the organization's support for diversity management. Although there was no evidence that sub-contractors who did not attend the sessions were any less committed to equality and diversity management, his perception about the meaning of these training sessions allowed him to think that other employees might have mixed interpretations about it.

This lack of integration of diversity management was also raised as a problem by a member of the equalities strategy steering group (ESSG). The ESSG is a voluntary group consisting of employees and management who meet to discuss pressing issues regarding equality and diversity. The group is made up of about 30 members, but from the meetings that I attended the turnout was usually around 50%. The reason for this low turnout can be explained in part by Scott's response. Scott, a radiographer, perceived that the ESSG meetings served as a symbol of commitment to diversity management and that while he was happy to attend these meetings, he did not feel that they were considered as important by management and that this was a sign of their lack of commitment. He felt that these factors also constrained the implementation of diversity management programs. While these groups did assist the diversity officer, with members acting as representatives across the organization, the perceived lack of support from management, symbolized a constraint in the diversity officer's strategic deployment of these resources (i.e. the network of group members). As Scott said:

'I attend these meetings out of my vacation time. There is no allowance for employees to attend equality strategy steering group meetings or to perform their roles as equality champions. Any time I take off to do this is part of my time off.'

Similarly, Charles, a clinical manager, discussed the difficulty in supporting employees that belonged to the equalities champion group. He had earlier indicated that the existence of this group demonstrated a commitment by the organization to diversity management and that those members of staff who belonged to this group provided advice to other employees within their departments. However, he also acknowledged that it was difficult to support those who chose to volunteer as members of this group since this was not recognized within the organization. As a result there was no official allocation of time and resources to support these group members. As he said:

'In terms of releasing staff from the workplace then that is a line manager responsibility we can't control when staff leaves their wards or department that is a line manager responsibility. I know it is difficult for line-managers to release employees for such meetings,

but I think it is worth noting there that especially clinical staff managers have to release them for half a day or a full day that is quite a chunk out of the work place if you like.'

Other equality champions also expressed how they were constrained in terms of the amount of time that they could devote to these duties. One of such respondents Kunle, said:

'I enjoy being a member of the equality champions group. . . but I am not officially given time off to attend the meetings, so at times I miss meetings . . .it's not that I want to. I have to take time from my time off work to attend the meetings or pay back the time with my holiday. It's mixed messages really, on one hand the organization is saying that 'we need you', but on the other they are making it difficult for us.'

Another member of the equality champions group Margaret, who is also a member of the organizational development team said:

'My line manager is very understanding and usually gives me an hour or so to attend the equality champions group meetings . . .but this is not official and I can't take advantage of this all the time. So sometimes I may miss a meeting or so.'

Within this organization there are no officially recognized minority groups. For many this symbolized a constraint in effective communications with minority employees in order to gauge their experiences. To others this was also a missed opportunity in terms of fully integrating minority groups into the organization. As one respondent, Mrs. Molino, an assistant with the IT department said:

'I do recognize we have a lot of catching up to do and there will be some more vulnerable groups and again. The BME community is one of those groups, also the disabled . . . that we have to ask ourselves what we do to catch up.'

Regarding the absence of these groups, Theresa, a member of the executive team said:

'We are not going to say as of next Monday we have set up a network for gay and lesbian members of staff. What we need to do is talk to Stonewall or other organizations who will know our staff, would have been to them . . . as we see a gap and talk to them about how do, they can help us to demonstrate our commitments so that gay and lesbian members of staff would have the confidence to come forward and talk to us'

Support groups representing minority employees, such as black workers, or gay, lesbian and transgendered employees, had been disbanded about a year before my study. Due to the symbolic significance of these groups and their benefits in terms of representation, many employees perceived problems with their absence in the organization. According to Dee, a human resource manager:

'We haven't got any real support networks in place . . . (previously) we have some really good support networks for gay. Lesbian members of staff and for black and ethnic which

allowed us to draw the issues through and allowed us to help identify where some of the problems were and we know what work there is to do.'

The above responses addressed various aspects regarding the (lack of) integration of diversity management into all aspects of the organization and showed how these demonstrated how the organization either supports, or does not support, diversity management. Issues such as the existence of ESSG, the equalities champions, training and meetings were perceived as symbols of equality and diversity, influencing their thoughts on diversity management, even though many had no direct links with these groups, meetings or training sessions. The separation of the diversity office from other departments and also the absence of minority staff support network also suggested to many employees that equality and diversity was not a priority and that there had been a failure to fully integrate diversity management into the organization.

Resources play a major role in the implementation of any new project and many of the factors discussed above also represent, in a sense, various forms of resources. However one factor that was repeated during numerous interviews was the perception that the diversity officer or the 'office' the diversity officer was perceived as a resource which represented change. The organization had only recently recruited a full-time diversity officer for the dedicated role of implementing equality and diversity programs. As a result of the 'coincidental' timing of his recruitment and the publicization of the diversity management change program, many of the interviewees perceived that the employment of the diversity officer demonstrated the organization's commitment to issues of equality and diversity; and many of their comments to me enforced this point. As such employees began to view this 'office' as a symbol of commitment by the management team. He had a broad social network and had direct access to the senior executives. As a charismatic and well known figure within the organization this diversity officer was in turn able to deploy their symbolic social capital (discussed in the previous data chapter) as resources when implementing this role. Whenever I asked any questions about equality and diversity, most of the responses from the senior management team constituted of phrases like: *'have you seen (the diversity officer)'*? *'You should ask (the diversity officer)'*. *'(The diversity officer) should know that'*. *'(The diversity officer) said . . .'* *'at a training session (the diversity officer said) . . .'* *'I saw (the diversity officer) last week'* *'I'm have a meeting scheduled with (the diversity officer)'*

However, the interviewees were a lot more critical when it came to discussing the financial resources available to the diversity management 'team'. While the diversity officer at no point complained about a lack of adequate financial resources, many employees did not share the same opinion. Since, as identified previously, employees had begun to perceive the presence of a diversity officer as a symbol of the organization's commitment to equality and diversity, thus they also perceived any lack of resources to the department as indicative of the organization's lack of support. While there were no direct comments about the amount of money allocated to the diversity team, comments were made regarding the size of this department. Most of the comments were centred on the fact that there was only one diversity manager who was responsible for about 15,000 employees. While many of these respondents had no direct dealings with the diversity manager, and as such it did not matter how many diversity managers there were, it was clear that the lack of perceived resources allocated to the team reinforced the perceived lack of significance of equality and diversity within the organization. Venting her frustration one employee said:

'I don't understand how we can only have one diversity officer in such a big organization . . . in [another part of the country] they have four and they are not even as big as us.' (Gemma, secretary)

Similarly Kelly, a midwife whose comments I have used earlier in this discussions chapter, also said:

'There's only one of him to all of us . . . I know it's comical, but he can't be at more than one place at once.'

And again another member of staff, Ms. Levy, a mental health nurse whom I met at one of the training sessions and who had only recently joined the organization said:

'It's been a big shock coming to this organization from a different one. In a lot of other organizations diversity management departments are well funded, but coming to this service it's poor as you can see from the staff and the building they are in . . . its poor relations really. . . I ask 'why is it done this way' . . . and I have been told Wales is seven to ten years behind England in developments on equality and diversity.'

While none of the above quotes refer directly to the financial resources at the disposal of the diversity 'team' during this process when an organization change was being rolled out, they go to show the lack of resources allocated to the entire equality and diversity program; especially in comparison to organizations of similar sizes. Thus the now increasing perception of this diversity officer as a symbol of the organization's commitment in diversity

management meant that the lack of financial resources was viewed symbolically as lack of support and commitment by the organization for diversity management.

With the **financial** resources at their disposal the diversity officer was able to deploy some tools of communication, for example fliers, newsletter and posters, in a way that their use represented a commitment by the organization to equality and diversity. In the previous chapter he had confirmed that the use of technological and non-technological means of communication represented an integral part in his ability to disseminate diversity goals and raise awareness across different levels of the organization. These modes of communication involved the use of: the intranet, e-mails, newsletter, the organization's website, posters and flyers. While in many ways, means of communication can be viewed as an organizational artefact, these communication tools were not only used as a medium of information but were also used strategically as a symbol for supporting diversity and inclusion. The use of these different modes demonstrated the organization's commitment to equality and diversity in order to evoke positive responses among employees. For example, one of the chief executive officers commented on the relevance of communication as a symbol of commitment to diversity management.

'We have a lot of work to do but I would like to think that the message is clearly getting out and we will continue to build communication structures and that will keep underpinning and re-enforcing it.'

Similarly, a member of the organizational development team commented on the investment in communication as a symbol of the commitment to diversity management.

'We communicate with staff . . . about issues of equality and diversity. We have got a head of communications. We have got a lot of work being done with (chief exec) and her people on communication within the organizational development field. But we are having conversations now that we need to invest much more heavily because we need to be a lot more sophisticated in getting the messages out there that we support diversity and getting the feedback as to whether they (our employees) support us and . . . '

However while the effects of communicating changes to employees' remains generally positive; it is important that the right source of information reach the right employee groups. Some employees even went as far to who perceive that the organization constrained the actions of the diversity officer to deploy strategic communication resources. One employee referred to a lack of resources:

'Yes I don't know really there is always the usual stuff (talking about equality and diversity changes) that is out on the internet / intranet administrator emails but if you haven't got a

computer you are not going to see them. Then it is really up to line managers to ensure that is cascading down through ward meetings audit days or message books putting notices up on notice boards it is always a problem with a 24/7 service you are never going to get everyone together .. . And there is obviously the (equalities) newsletter I haven't seen one for a while actually I think we are due one about soon.'

For this respondent the newsletter, for example, had come to symbolize equality and diversity that could be deployed as a strategic tool by the diversity manager. Its absence therefore suggested that the organization constrained the abilities of the diversity officer by not providing the resources for the effective dissemination of information.

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter has presented data on how employees experience the effects of strategically deployed symbolic social, economic and cultural resources within the contextual environment of the diversity office. This chapter has also presented data to show that employees symbolize the role of the diversity officer and this is reflected in their perceptions about the resources available to him. These perceptions in turn influenced their opinions and attitudes regarding the organization's commitment to diversity management. Their perceptions regarding the level of commitment in turn influence their approach to equality and diversity. When employees perceived organizational support for the resources deployed by the diversity officer they symbolized these as management commitment. Alternatively, when these factors were absent, employees symbolized this as a lack of commitment. Finally, while there has been a clear distinction by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009), these data chapters have shown that the reality is that the lines which divide resources into sections are blurred.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION- Tying it all together; the proposed link between diversity managers' conceptual framework and the cultural dynamics framework

8.1 Introduction and Research Background

In this chapter, I will discuss the wider significance of the findings presented in this thesis; their theoretical implications, and how they fit with the extant literature. Using evidence from the data presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7, I will explain how my findings from the study of this organization and their diversity officer conflict with the findings presented in the framework by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009); specifically, with regard to the interplay between diversity managers, their *habitus* and their relational environments. I will argue that my findings reveal a disconnect between the strategic actions of diversity managers' change agency and aspects of their micro and macro-relational contexts. While the framework presented by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) allows for the detailed understanding of the role of the diversity officer, it does not expand on the intricacies of the essential diversity-oriented culture change process required to sustain and support the diversity goals. I will highlight how this has been addressed by my study by discussing the interplay between situatedness, meso-level relationality, and the process of organizational culture change. I will explain how my findings reveal that aspects of the situated and meso-relational environments of diversity managers' agency can be deployed to influence the process of organizational culture change. In so doing, I highlight the importance of understanding the processes of culture change for the implementation of diversity management programs. I will also explain how my findings reveal the symbolic role of diversity officers in the process of diversity-oriented organizational culture change. By the end of this chapter, I aim to have clearly defined the novel contribution of this study to both the fields of organizational culture and diversity management.

To address the key objectives described above during my study, I drew on themes from the existing literature on diversity managers' change agency, diversity management and the literature on organizational culture. Using the contextual framework identified by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) as a guide, I conducted a detailed study of the influences on diversity officers of their relational environments. I did this to explore the implications of the *habitus* as well as the micro, macro and meso relational contexts of diversity managers' change agency to the processes of reflection and action, identified as praxis (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Using this

understanding as a base, I then explored the strategic deployment of elements within the situational environment of diversity officers' change agency, in the implementation of diversity management programs centred on organizational culture change programs.

The framework of Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) provides detailed understanding of the role of the diversity officer to both initiate and sustain change by expanding earlier work which attributes the change process to either the person of the diversity officer or the organization structure. However, it does not expand on the intricacies of the required culture change process required to sustain and support the diversity goals. Thus, conducting my study during a period of legislative changes within the external environment, which had triggered a process of shock-imprinting (Dauber *et al.*, 2012; Dieleman, 2010), allowed me to study firsthand the diversity-oriented organizational culture change process. To re-align their values with the external environment this organization was forced to implement changes within or risk social, economic and political consequences. Thus changes to the equality legislation within the external institutional environment pushed for the need, by this diversity officer, to implement new equality and diversity programs using the capital available to him. Observing this process allowed me to study the processes involved in the strategic deployment, by diversity officers, of resources within the contextual environment as symbolic forms of capital during the process of implementing the diversity-oriented culture changes.

Culture and diversity management literature positions organizational culture as the key driving force which supports and guides the successful implementation of change programs within organizations. There are two main reasons for this: First, as a metaphor, culture is embedded in other aspects of the organization (Pacanowsky and O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1982; Schein, 1985) and as such can constrain or support the implementation of change programs, policies and practices (Alvesson, 2006; 2002; Bate *et al.* 2000; Hatch, 1993; Hercleuous, 2001; Latta, 2009; Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000; Martin, 2002; Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Second, implemented as a part of a strategy, culture changes can encourage behavioural and attitudinal changes which support the intended diversity goals (Arredondo 1996; Cabral-Cardoso, 2007; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002; Wilson, 2000; Zintz, 1997). For both reasons, at the beginning of this study, I defined the process of diversity management as:

' . . . A strategic organizational approach to workforce diversity development, organizational culture change, and empowerment of workforce. It represents a shift away from activities and assumptions defined by affirmative action to management practices that are inclusive, reflecting the workforce diversity and its potential.'

Ideally it is a pragmatic approach, in which participants anticipate and plan for change, do not fear human differences or perceive them as a threat, and view the workforce as a forum for individuals growth and change in skill and performance with direct cost benefits to organizations.’ (Arredondo 1996 pp. 17)

It was therefore unsurprising that at the core of the implementation of an organization-wide diversity management program for County X UHB was a culture change program. So a major focus of my study was on the deployment of strategic resources by the diversity officer which were targeted to initiate a process of organizational culture management and change. Applying the processes of culture change identified in Hatch’s (1993) cultural dynamics framework, I studied how the deployed resources were aimed to initiate the realization and symbolization processes involved in culture change. By exploring the influence of the external changes which triggered the process of organizational shock-imprinting (Dauber *et al.*, 2012), I expanded the applicability of Hatch’s cultural dynamics framework (1993) beyond its present remit. By doing this I was able to study the relevance, to the culture change process, of aspects within the internal and external contextual environments of diversity managers. I was thus able to characterise the role of the manager in enabling diversity-oriented culture change as well as the role of the external environment in triggering the processes of realization and symbolization.

The remainder of this discussion chapter is set as follows: In the next section I will provide a discussion of the interplay between the diversity officer, their *habitus* and their relational context. In the section that follows I will present a discussion of the strategic deployment of factors within the situational environment of diversity managers’ change agency during the process of organizational culture change. The final section concludes with a presentation of the contributions of this study and suggestions for further studies.

8.2 Drawing from the existing literature

It is worth providing a timely reminder before proceeding that in much of the literature, equal opportunities officers and diversity officers are referred to interchangeably (Cornelius *et al.*, 2001); with some arguing that they are competing solutions to the same problem (Noon and Ogbonna, 2001). As a result, this discussion draws on literature from both equal opportunities officers and diversity managers.

Much of the literature on diversity officers/equal opportunity officers focuses separately on their situated context, their relational context or the strategies they deploy, without much

recognition of the interplay between these factors (see, for example, Jewson and Mason, 1986; Kirton and Greene, 2009; Meyerson and Scully, 1995). This mirrors the literature on change. Much of the literature on change studies change agents in isolation from the contextual environments within which they are embodied. These aspects of the literature present change processes as linear and completely controlled by the individuals who implement them (see for example Lewin, 1951; Schein, 1988; see critiques by McCabe, 2010; Alvesson, 2002; Balogun and Johnson, 2005). Others suggest that change agents are rational and remain unbiased during their course of action (see for example, Dutton and Ashford, 1993). As such there have been prescribed attributes for successful change agents (see, for example, Kanter, 1983) including charisma, patience, educational competencies, skills competencies, coaching abilities, drive, and counselling abilities (Lawrence, 2000).

Like the change literature, the equal opportunities and diversity management literatures have also focused on the above aspects of change agents in isolation from their context. For example, previous single-level literature on the strategies adopted by diversity officers to transform experiences of groups within organizations includes radicalism (Jewson and Mason, 1986), liberalism (Jewson and Mason, 1986), and liberal reformers (Kirton and Greene, 2009), tempered radicalism (Meyerson and Scully, 1995), mainstreaming (Lawrence, 2000), and transformational approach (Cockburn, 1989).

Other single-level analyses on the relational context of change agents suggests that there is misalignment between their values and their orientations at work due to the presence of at least two conflicting strong identities. For example, Jewson and Mason (1986) describe approaches to equal opportunities as liberal or radical; suggesting that change agents exist as 'outsiders' within the organization (Kirton *et al.*, 2007). Meyerson and Scully (1995), describe the relationship between minority individuals tasked with equality work and their organization as tactical; involving balance between playing the game and violating their personal values and identities. However, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) suggest that such-single level analysis of the study of diversity managers does not present a true representation of their roles within their situated and relational, instead arguing for a more appropriate multi-layered framework involving the interplay between situatedness, relationality and praxis.

Situatedness and relationality, as discussed in chapters 2 and 3, are underpinned by the argument that diversity officers, as change agents, are shaped and constrained solely by their positioning within institutional and relational contexts (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). However,

while they provide the supporting structures of diversity managers' agency, considered alone they do not provide an understanding of how they are in turn interpreted and used by agents (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). By including such themes as *praxis* and *habitus* it becomes possible to provide a detailed discussion of the dynamic role of agency. Praxis defined in the literature review chapter is referred to '*as a cycle of reflection and action, requires diversity officers to strategically deploy the forms of capital that they possess on order to exert influence in their organization.*' (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009, p. 252)

These concepts are particularly relevant to my study because they allow for a holistic study of the processes involved in diversity management. If the notion of praxis is applied, then the ability of diversity officers, using their doxic experiences, to reflect on and act upon everyday activities which reinforce inequality and legitimize 'inequality regimes' (Acker, 2006), is argued to be the first step in the process of diversity management. The argument by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) is that in order to reflect on everyday patterns of inequality, diversity officers' need to engage in networks of interaction (relational context), using understanding of their internal and external organizational field (situatedness), to gather information on the doxic experiences of others within the organization. They argue that driven by their doxic experiences, diversity officers then interpret and reflect on these patterns to reveal the uncontested illusions which legitimize the hegemonic majority culture. So, combining situatedness, relationality and praxis, Tatli and Özbilgin argue that the strategic actions deployed by diversity managers is a direct result of the outcome of a reflective process, influenced by their doxic experiences, of their situational environments and their relational context.

8.3 *The interplay between relationality, habitus and diversity managers' actions*

According to the contextual framework presented by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009), diversity managers' agency is relational: constructed through the interplay of relationships at the micro-individual level (micro-level), meso-organizational level (meso-level) and macro-structural-levels (macro-level). They argue that the strategic actions of diversity officers are influenced by their capability to reflect upon, understand and extract for use, the different forms of capital, knowledge and experiences which exist within their relational context.

8.3.1 *The interplay between macro-level relationality, habitus and diversity managers' actions*

At the macro-level, relationality exists between self and circumstance (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Diversity managers' change agency is framed by a combination of demographic and cultural attributes. By introducing the notion of habitus to the study of diversity managers, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) argue that the past experiences of diversity officers influence their present day actions and strategies. *Habitus* is 'the strategy generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations' (Bourdieu, 1977). Thus, according to Tatli and Özbilgin, *habitus* expands the scope of the study of diversity officers based on, for example the personal experiences or demographic attributes which diversity officers have in common and the influence of these factors on their strategy formulation process. Within this context of understanding the macro-relational context that guides the action of change agents, I will now discuss the proposed correlations by Tatli and Özbilgin of the antecedents (*habitus*) and consequences (actions) of these attributes to their role of diversity officers, before highlighting how the findings of this thesis are at odds with these propositions.

Single-level studies on individuals involved in equality and diversity work suggests that these positions are traditionally occupied by minority groups, women of colour, or gay or lesbian employees who work within heterosexual white male dominated institutions (Davidson, 1999; Meyerson and Scully, 1995). This is because, it is argued, the personal and professional experiences of minority group members position them uniquely for this role (since they can identify with and understand the challenges encountered by minority groups) (Kirton *et al.*, 2007). This formed the premise for Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) and Tatli's (2011) multi-level study which explores the influence of these personal and professional experiences (*habitus*) on the decision making process of diversity officers. During the course of my study however, my data revealed a few themes which conflict with the afore-mentioned, identity/experience-based, single-level studies describing the characteristics, experiences and background of individuals who perform equality and diversity work (see, for example, Davidson, 1999; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Meyerson and Scully, 1995). My data thus questions the influence of *habitus* in the role of equality and diversity officers.

Including the notion of *habitus* in my exploration of the macro-relational context of this diversity officer represented the most difficult part of my study. As was identified during this study, there is a profound difficulty by many individuals to identify exactly what aspects of

past experiences influence the 'now'. However, to explore the proposed relationships by Kirton *et al.* (2007), Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) and Tatli (2011), I obtained, during the field work, information from the diversity officer about his awareness of these macro-relational attributes and his perception of the influence of these attributes on his strategic actions.

The (non-) influence of demographic attributes: On the surface, results from my study may appear to confirm the already-known about individuals who perform equality and diversity roles. As an ethnic minority, his ethnicity is covered within the band described by Meyerson and Scully (1995). If his attitudes, values and beliefs are assumed to be a reflection of his cultural heritage (Cox *et al.*, 1991; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Earley and Mosakowski, 2000), then the process of praxis as it relates to the macro-relational context would be straightforward. However, a more in-depth consideration of my findings suggests otherwise; as I discuss below.

While the diversity officer in this study was of Afro-Caribbean ethnicity, the extent to which he actively engaged with this ethnic identity was somewhat limited. He was born in the UK, has lived in the UK all his life and had never been to his parents' home country. He also does not have any strong political affiliations neither is he a member of any social activist groups which represent minority employees. Also, while from past experiences, he had been a victim of racial discrimination, to him, this had no relationship with his choice of careers. As such, in an interview, he suggested that his approach to the implementation of diversity goals was not one which was racially motivated, but rather it was one which was stemmed from the need to treat people fairly. This was evident from one of his responses during an interview where he said *'When it comes to diversity management, what I find is that, as of yet, nobody wants to discriminate or be discriminated against'* His view, while inclusionary, is somewhat consistent with the liberal reformers approach to diversity management (Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000; Davidson, 1999). However based on his past experiences the expected actions could be argued to be liberalism (Jewson and Mason, 1986), radicalism (Jewson and Mason, 1986) or tempered radicalism (Meyerson and Scully, 1995); presenting as an insider-outsider within the organization (Meyerson and Scully, 1995) or as a double agent (Jones, 2007). Instead, my findings reveal that his strategic approach bears similarities with *'people who do not have transformative aims, thinking that systems and procedures need only minor changes to level the playing field'* (i.e. liberal reformers, Kirton *et al.*, 2007). However, unlike the liberal reformers who believe diversity should be a strategic organizational objective; pursuing mainly the business goal and with few, if any, reforms to

organizational policies and processes (Kirton *et al.*, 2007), he did not reflect these views; instead he pursued (emphasised) the social justice reforms just as much as, he did, the business case for implementing these reforms.

My findings are of particular interest because, if the process of reflection and action based on the expected macro-relational attributes (which are consequences of his habitus) are considered in isolation, then the expected strategic outcome would be a 'radical black diversity officer with strong ties to activist groups who is committed to seeking justice for minority groups'. However, according to my findings, the difficulty in typifying the expected strategy of this diversity officer based on his macro-level relational attributes reveals a disconnect between the process of reflection and action (praxis) identified by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009), the officer's habitus and his macro-level relational attributes.

As such, my findings reveal that to assume, like Tatli and Özbilgin, (2009), that the expected actions of this individual is predicted to a large extent by his ethnicity and the experiences associated with this ethnicity (habitus), will be to agree inaccurately with the idea of expected patterns of behaviour on the basis of generic demographic banding. This is because as the diversity officer identified, he does not share group based values which are synonymous with minority groups. He identified principles synonymous with the inclusionary/dissolving differences approach (Liff, 1997) to diversity management. This approach inadvertently ignores minority groups and thereby ignores the root-causes of inequality (Liff, 1997). This finding is particularly pertinent if, as suggested by Tatli (2011), members of minority groups are targeted, albeit cynically, by organizations to champion equality and diversity work on the basis of their sex or race; especially if this is done under the assumption that they share group-based values (Cox *et al.*, 1991, Earley and Mosakowski, 2000 and Kirton *et al.*, 2007). However, the difficulty in typifying the expected strategy of this diversity officer based on his individual macro-level relational context suggests the need to adopt a more individualized and detailed approach to the study of these change agents. My finding thus reveal that a study of diversity officers, premised on the expected actions of individuals on the basis of factors which constitute their habitus, such as their race, sex, sexual orientation, personal or past experiences, represents an incomplete analysis of these individuals, since as presented above, not all minority group members share the same group-based values.

An important contribution of this study is the suggestion that it is necessary to move from the use of prescribed demographic-based actions in the study of diversity officers as this is not

fully representative of their ‘allegiances’ and does not represent all individuals who participate this role.

8.3.2 *The interplay between micro-level relationality and diversity managers’ actions*

Micro-level relationality refers to the way diversity officers relate with their beliefs, values, actions and strategies (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Applying the notion of praxis I will now summarize how the diversity officer in my study reflected on and incorporated his values as part of a wider strategy.

The literature suggests a number of sources of motivation for people to enter the field of equality opportunities and diversity management. For example, Jewson and Mason (1986, pp. 307-324) suggest one such motivation is to remove ‘*unfair distortions to the operation of the labour market by means of institutionalizing fair procedures in every aspect of work and employment*’ (liberal approach). An alternative argument is that diversity managers do this job in order ‘*to intervene directly in workplace practices in order to achieve a fair distribution of rewards*’ (radical approach; Jewson and Mason, 1986, pp. 307-324). Similarly Meyerson and Scully (1995, pp. 307-324) suggest that individuals adopt this role because they are ‘*committed to a cause, community or ideology that is fundamentally different from and possibly at odds with the dominant culture of the organization*’.

Within this context of understanding the values and beliefs that guide the action of change agents, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009), in purporting that diversity officers change agency is dynamic, concur with Meyerson and Scully (1995) and Jewson and Mason (1986) that there is a direct link between the possession of ‘activism-like’ values and individuals who promote equality and diversity. During the course of my study however, my data revealed a few themes which conflict with the ‘activist-like’ idealism of diversity officers (Meyerson and Scully, 1995; Jewson and Mason, 1986). Evident from this study was a values system which unlike the values of liberalism or radicalism suggests a more inclusionary approach to diversity management. The comment by the diversity officer about his values regarding equality and diversity revealed his belief that every employee has ‘*the right to be treated with dignity and respect at all time.*’ Yet, this diversity officer did not aim to remove unfair distortion in the operation of the labour market or to intervene in practices to achieve fair distribution of rewards (Jewson and Mason, 1986), neither was he committed to a cause or ideology which was fundamentally different from the dominant culture within the

organization (Meyerson and Scully, 1995). So, if the liberal and/or radical approaches were accurate, then this individual should be unlikely to be involved in the role of diversity management. In contrast, at the time of this study, he identified the values which underlined his approach to diversity management as one which involved treating employees '*in a way that is most appropriate to his/her needs.*' This was irrespective of whether they belonged to minority or majority groups. This differs somewhat from the rather prescribed view that individuals positioned to perform this role do so only because of their commitment to significant ideological change.

Furthermore, by adopting the values-based approaches identified by Jewson and Mason (1986) and Meyerson and Scully (1995), which still guides much of the diversity management literature, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) and Tatli (2011) ignore influences such as hidden agenda, or other values which differ from those prescribed above. The findings in this study suggest that while the diversity officer was not driven by the specific values identified by Jewson and Mason (1986) and Meyerson and Scully (1995), his values, as described above, did indeed drive a part of his strategies (inclusionary) towards the implementation of equality and diversity goals within the organization. His approach suggests that managing diversity offers something for every employee (EEO Trust, 1992 in Jones *et al.*, 2000).

Thus if other approaches to the management of diversity, for example the inclusionary approach (Guerrier and Wilson, 2011; Liff, 1999; Sinclair, 2000; Spataro, 2005), are considered then, for now, the cycle of reflection and action (praxis), appears rational and thus lead to strategies consistent with the principles which guide the inclusionary approach. However one major unintended consequence of this approach is the ability to reproduce inequality by de-emphasizing and minimizing institutional issues like race, gender and disability discrimination (Sinclair, 2000). My results reveal the presence of such unintended consequences within this organization; as this approach left many members of, for example, the deaf community, women and the disabled community disadvantaged (see pp. 139, 140, 143 then p. 149, and pp. 133, 142-143, 157-158, 173 and 179 of this thesis for the respective pieces of data). This does not conform to the guidelines laid by the Equality Act which seeks to protect nine main categories.

Furthermore, the very definition of praxis as a '*cycle of reflection and action in which diversity managers reflect on doxa in order to develop their strategies*' (Tatli and Özbilgin, p. 252) strongly implies that strategic actions are informed by reflection on doxa. Since an

individual's doxa are based on the values they hold, then the process of doxic reflection is influenced by their values. However, while as stated above, values consistent with the inclusionary approach were identified in the interviews I conducted, the data also reveals that the strategic actions deployed by the diversity manager seemingly utilized differences at some points whilst also de-emphasizing/dissolving differences at other points (Liff, 1997; Kersten, 2000; Wilson, 2000). This is evident from one of his training sessions where he said: *'The equality Act that came into place on 1st October last year basically says that people (the nine protected categories) should not be discriminated against . . . so under the new act that came out in October last year . . . if you have any of those characteristics (mentioned in the Act)'* and at the same training session he said again *'if you have any of those characteristics (mentioned in the Act) and you will agree that we all have some of those; some more than others, some less than others. . . So potentially we could be treated badly, discriminated against, treated unfairly, disrespected.'*

These two approaches represent different views on diversity management; one inclusionary and the other on managing difference. The two approaches are underlined by different value systems which are contradictory (Liff, 1997); further lending an air of confusion to the process of praxis. Furthermore, the data reveals that, in line with the Equality Act (2010), the dominant approach to diversity management adopted by this organization while certainly reflective of the values held by the diversity officer, was more dominantly influenced by its legislative obligations and the need to meet the requirement of its stakeholders (Lawrence, 2000; Cornelius *et al.*, 2010). While the diversity management literature fosters a more inclusionary approach to managing workforce diversity (Guerrier and Wilson, 2011; Sinclair, 2000; Liff, 1999), the focus by the Equality Act (2010) on 9 protected categories mirrors the utilizing differences approach (Liff, 1997).

Although the values of the diversity officer differed from those stipulated by the legislation, since habitus is created as a result of the interplay between freewill and social structures (Bourdieu, 1984), then it is plausible that habitus is shaped by changes within the social structure. Therefore, since the values within the organization had become significantly different from those prescribed by the legislation, the process of shock-printing (Dieleman, 2010; Yin *et al.* 2014) that was triggered influenced not only the organization but also dictated the behaviours of members within it. To reveal the interdependency between this organization and its stakeholders and external environment, I have presented evidence, in chapters 5, 6 and 7, of this thesis to show the external contextual changes that triggered

changes in the diversity management practices within this organization. If ‘outside enforcements’ provide pressure on organizations to implement equality producing programs, as purported by Cornelius *et al.* (2010), Acker (2006), Ahmed (2007) and Lawrence (2000), then to focus on an individual’s deep-seated values as a basis for the performance of a role which is guided more strongly by organizational stakeholder requirements and other extra-organisational factors ignores the influence of such factors in determining acceptable organizational behaviour (Ogbonna and Harris, 2013), as well as approaches to equality and diversity management (Cornelius *et al.*, 2010). Furthermore this disconnect between the values identified by the diversity manager during our interviews and the actual strategies deployed are consistent with the description of values in the literature on culture. That is, the idea that behavioural manifestation is not always indicative of the underlying value system.

Thus, by assuming that a major part of managing effectively workforce diversity is the ability of diversity officers to reflect on their values to interpret doxic experiences of others, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009), it could be argued, subscribe to a rational approach to the reflective process. If as they purport diversity managers’ ability to reflect on the doxic experiences of others is based on their values, then, firstly, as a result of the conflicting strategies deployed by this diversity officer, he will simply not be analysable using their contextual framework. This is as a result of the difficulty in identifying a person’s values or deciding among a wide array of values, which is the predominant values; especially as values are capable of changing.

Secondly, according to them, the process of doxic reflection relies on the almost uncontested ability of diversity officers to reflect on doxic experiences and to implement strategies which contest the domain of orthodoxy. Thus, existing literature which prescribes that equality and diversity managers possess activist-like values (for example, Jewson and Mason, 1986) suggests the unintended consequence of possible failures if they do not possess these values (see critiques of inclusionary approach Sinclair, 2000). If that is the case, then the values of this diversity officer will represent a partially flawed inclusionary approach to diversity management. However, this is inconsistent with literature adopted by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009); which argues that the unwillingness of managers to ‘*act on their knowledge and understanding is constrained by*’ (Tatli and Özbilgin, p. 252) their fear of annihilation (Lorde, 2003) or the fear of negative attitudes of organizational members towards their strategies and approaches (Gunn and Gullickson, 2003); thus ignoring the relevance of the influence of conflicting values. Although they contend that the praxis of diversity managers range from inaction to radical action, the literature on diversity management which attributes the failure

of diversity management programs as mainly caused by the fear of negative consequences limits the scope to understand fully the role and experiences diversity managers change agency.

Third, according to the values-based framework by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) the strategic actions of diversity officers are consistent with their values. However, my findings reveal that the strategic actions of County X UHB and ultimately this diversity officer, while conflicting with his values, were influenced heavily by the legislative context within which they exist. Thus, the consequence of this is a disconnect between this diversity officer's micro-level relationality and the approach to diversity management enforced by the legislation; which was ultimately promoted by the organization. My findings thus reveal the lack of congruence between the strategic actions ultimately implemented by the organization and that which would have been expected based on the results of a study that focused on the micro-relational values of this diversity officer.

Thus an important contribution of this study is the suggestion that academic literature should diverge from the use of prescribed values-based systems in the study of diversity officers as this is not a full representation of all individuals who participate in this role. This is because of the influence of aspects of the external environment, in this case as presented above, the legislation, in prescribing the behaviours of organizational members. From my discussions about the micro and macro-relational aspects of diversity managers' change agency I have presented evidence which supports my arguments that these relational aspects are disconnected from the actions of diversity officers in practice. Through my findings I have revealed that aspects of the extra-organizational environment, for example, stakeholder organizations and groups as well as the legislation, possess the capability to influence the behaviour of diversity officers regardless of their deep rooted values or their demographic attributes. As such, by focusing on the meso-level aspects of the diversity officer's relational context I discuss the process of change within the organization and aspects of his meso-level relationality which influenced this process.

8.3 Situated and Relational contexts of a specific diversity manager- a discussion of their practical relevance during the implementation of diversity management and organizational culture change programs

Diversity managers' agency is framed within the social and organization context within which they exist and situatedness refers to framing these individuals within their historical,

economic social and political environments (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). Including the notion of praxis, doxic reflection and strategic action, allows me to discuss the role of diversity managers' agency within the context of the available resources in their field. In the literature review chapter of this thesis I defined the field as '*a structured system of social positions. . . . It is also a system of forces, which exist between these positions; a field is structured internally in terms of power relations. Positions stand in relationship of domination, subordination and equivalence to each other by virtue of the access they afford to the goods and resources (capital)*' (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009 pp. 248). However, arguments by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) suggest that to effectively utilize the resources within their field, diversity officers have to draw on the use of certain relational factors which confer on them their agentic powers. However, as I have presented in the discussion above, while Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) identify the micro, macro and meso-level relational contexts as significant influences in the reflective processes of diversity officers, my findings reveal otherwise. During the course of my study, my data revealed that the main influences in the reflective process of this diversity manager were factors within his meso-level relational contexts.

At the *Meso-level*, relationality is manifested in terms of both external and internal organizational relationships (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). This is mainly in the form of the social capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1998) which diversity officers acquire from a combination of their relationships within and outside the organizational environment. According to Tatli and Özbilgin (2009), the ability to reflect on these relationships and deploy the resources inherent in these relationships constitutes a part of the multi-level understanding of the diversity managers' agency. Adopting this argument as the foundation for this study, my research allows me to study the strategic processes involved in the deployment of these forms of capital during a process of organizational change. However, while Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) separated the field and the meso-level relationality in their tabulation of the resources and constraint of diversity managers' agency, my findings reveal that these two aspects should be combined. Failure to combine these aspects would have led to the repetition of findings and discussions in the sections under the meso-level relational context and the field. Instead, the discussion which ensues will focus on the elements within the social field using aspects of the diversity officer's meso-relational context.

Before that I will present a reminder of the background of the change process and using Hatch's (1993) framework I will describe the processes involved in culture change and its relevance to the literature on diversity management. This is so that I can situate the diversity

officer and thus the organization within the context of the extra-organizational factors (social field) which guide the scope of equality and diversity management programs (Prasad and Mills, 1997; Gilbert and Ivancevich, 2000) within the organizational field; and thus influences the change process.

The social field of diversity managers refers to three historically and culturally formed structures: the social level which includes cultural and demographic composition of the labour market; the institutional factors which includes the dynamics of the labour market; and existing legislation and institutional actors involved in the process of equality and diversity and the business environment (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009). However as I discussed above my findings reveal that these factors also constitute aspects of the meso-relational environment within which the diversity officer exists. My data reveals that much of the consideration for the implementation of diversity programs within this organization was due mainly to influences from the social field within which the organization was situated. My study also identifies that the social field of this organization as comprising of various stakeholders who exerted in various forms. Many of these influences were as a result of the demographic composition of the external environment, the supporting legislation, and external institutions to which the organization was accountable. In chapter 5 of this thesis I have presented data on the demographic within the UK. This data indicates that while the population in the UK is diverse there remain inequalities regarding the number of and the distribution of minority groups in employment. In the same chapter, there is data which reveals that although this organization (County X UHB) employs almost 15,000 employees, there is an under-representation of minority employees within the workforce. Of the total workforce, the percentage of ethnic minorities is about 8.9%, with about 2.73% identified as lesbian, gay or bisexual and 0.71% of employees self-identifying as disabled.

As a large employer of a diverse labour force and as an organization which is accountable to the government, stakeholder groups and external regulatory bodies, County X UHB was thus pushed to implement a diversity program to better comply with the newly implemented Equalities Act (2010). The premise of this Act is that it is unlawful to discriminate against individuals on the basis of their age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex and sexual orientation (Equality Act, 2010). As identified in the literature chapters and chapter 5 of this thesis, while not all changes within the external environment necessitate organizations to change, the level of accountability of this organization to the government and its stakeholders was such that a

lack of change presented as a threat to their status within the community, their legitimacy, the confidence of their service users, and their reputation as ‘frontrunners’ in terms of equality and diversity.

This threat to their existence was significant enough to trigger a process of imprinting (Marquis and Tilcsik, 2013), during which County X UHB implemented diversity management change programs. This process was for County X UHB to re-align their diversity goals with those of the wider contextual environment. To do this they had to implement programs to incorporate, within the organization, prescribed values from the external environment (Azoulay *et al.*, 2011; Marquis and Tilcsik, 2013; Yin *et al.* 2014). In this regard, a range of equality initiatives was implemented. These include, as described in chapter 5, the Single Equality Scheme and the Strategic (SES) Equality Plan (SEP).

However my data reveal that the overriding theme by the organization to support and aid the implementation of both programs was an organization-wide culture change program. From my literature review chapter, I have described this approach to culture change as representative of the process of shock-imprinting (Dieleman, 2010; Tsui *et al.*, 2007). I described shock-imprinting as a process of culture change which is triggered as a response to influences within the external environment (see for example Galaskiewicz, 1997; Greve and Rao 2012; Marquis and Battilana, 2009; Marquis *et al.* 2013; Tsui *et al.*, 2007; Yin *et al.* 2014). Since these triggers were a resultant effect of changes around the issues of the equality and diversity, the responsibility of championing the implementation of the new diversity programs alongside the supportive culture change programs was devolved to the diversity officer within this organization. By adopting Hatch’s (1993) culture dynamics framework in the study of this process my research reveals the interconnectedness between the strategic deployment of resources identified by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) and the process of organizational culture change championed by the diversity officer.

The organizational field, on the other hand, is composed broadly of management support, supportive structure of management, financial and non-financial resources, the diversity policy and strategy and the level of integration of diversity management within the organization and the organizational culture (Tatli and Özbilgin (2009). However, as discussed above, my findings reveal that these factors are intertwined with the meso-relational environment of this diversity officer. My findings also suggest, contrary to the aforementioned classifications, that in practice, components of the organizational field are

fluid and overlap. For example, during the current study, financial and non-financial resources (and constraints) could be classified under the umbrella of ‘integration of diversity management programs’. Similarly, the data reveals that certain (non-)financial resources could be classified under management structure. Table 8.1 provides a summary of the relational, institutional and organizational environments of the diversity officer in this study.

Table 8.1. Resources and Constraints of Diversity Managers’ agency within the context of this study

Dimensions	Resources	Constraints
Interplay between Situatedness and Meso level relationality	<i>Social field</i>	
	Diverse demographic society	
	Equality Legislation (Equality Act, 2010)	Lack of supportive legislation supporting the employment of diversity officers
	Diverse demographic composition of the labour market	Underrepresentation of minority groups in employment
	Institutional support/Membership of external supportive networks	
	Membership to networks	
	Single Equalities Scheme	
	<i>Organizational field</i>	
	New organizational culture change program to widen the domain of heterodoxy	Narrow domain of heterodoxy Culture of discrimination and backlash Culture of fear A narrow heterodox space
	Supportive structures of management	Complex structures for management Position of diversity officer Poor communication network Constant organizational change processes Lack of disabled facilities for access
	Management support	Management disengagement High rate of management turnover
	Financial and non-financial resources	Lack of resources Position of diversity officer
	Organizational policies Equalities Impact Assessment Single Equalities Scheme Data on Staff survey and experience	Lack of system of audit Lack of supportive complaint handling procedure
	Integration of diversity management	Marginalization of diversity management Lack of networks representing minority groups Organizational structures not disability friendly Poor communication network Lack of disabled facilities for the hearing impaired Lack of mandatory involvement of sub-contractors in the equality and diversity management program as stipulated by NHS body
Praxis	<i>Doxic reflection</i> A wide heterodox space	
	<i>Strategic action</i>	
	Access to different forms of capital	Lack of necessary economic and social capitals
	Ability to use strategic discourses	

My data reveals that by deploying symbolic forms of capital (Table 8.1), the diversity officer implemented a series of culture change programs which triggers processes identified in

Hatch's (1993) culture dynamics framework. My findings reveal that, based on the awareness of supportive factors within his internal and external meso-relational environment, the diversity officer was able to deploy these factors as symbolic capitals to aid in the implementation of this culture change process. My findings also reveal the deployment of these capital(s) not just as an aid to, but also as strategic tools in, the culture change process. By adopting the cultural dynamics framework identified by Hatch (1993) as an aid to understanding the process of culture change within this organization, my data reveals that the strategic deployment of these capital(s) and their influences on aspects of the processes of symbolization and realization identified by Hatch (1993), thus revealing the role of diversity officers' in enabling diversity-oriented culture change.

I have presented in the chapter 2 a detailed literature review on the cultural dynamics framework (Hatch, 1993), so I will aim not to repeat this again in this chapter. However I will discuss these processes as they occur in the ensuing section.

8.3.1 Diversity managers' deployment of external meso/situated factors - a discussion of the process of prospective symbolization during the implementation of diversity management and organizational culture change programs

An important aspect in the exertion of their agentic powers of is the ability, of diversity officers, to engage with organizational members across different levels; applying an array of discursive approaches in the processes (Lawrence, 2000; Jones, 2007; Foucault, 1972). However, discursive process goes beyond the use of language (Jones, 2007; Pritchard *et al.*, 2004; Foucault, 1972); involving also the strategic deployment of context-appropriate language. In line with this my data reveals the conscious reflective process, by the diversity officer, regarding his use of diversity discourse. By applying his understanding of the organizational, relational, political and social dynamics within his environment, as well as his awareness of the relationship between the organizational field and the social field, the diversity officer deployed strategically different forms of discursive arguments to improve his interaction with individuals across different levels of the organization (Hardy *et al.*, 2000). For example, in line with existing diversity discourse, my data reveals the deployment of business case arguments with management (Jones, 1997; Bartz *et al.*, 1990; Svehla, 1994; Cornelius, 2000; Friday and Friday, 2003) and the social justice argument with employees (Culbert and McDonough, 1980; Jones *et al.*, 2000; Kandola *et al.*, 1991; Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Lawrence, 2000). This was also reflective of his approach regarding the strategic use of his

symbolic sources of capital to influence the process of culture change. By applying various forms of interpersonal skills this diversity officer was able to utilize his internal network to raise awareness, by attracting the participation of various groups across the organization (Gilbert and Ivancevich, 2000), about the diversity goals prescribed by the legislation.

From the current discussions above I have identified some of this diversity officer's external sources of social capital. Alongside these, present in chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis, are other sources of social capital which include networks. These networks arose from his membership of regional groups with other diversity officers within the local Council and within the regional NHS trusts, networks with members of regulatory authorities, networks with stakeholder groups and networks with external organizations which represent various minority groups within the county, for example, Stonewall (which represents the LGBT community) and LINKS (representing individuals with a mental disability), AWETU (now Diverse Cymru which represents ethnic minorities).

The results of my observations of the nature of the meetings with other NHS and regional diversity officers are consistent with literature which argues that membership of such groups present a source of legitimization, support, solidarity, experience sharing, grievance sharing and an avenue to learn from other professional within this field (see for example, Meyerson and Scully, 1995). However my data reveals a bit more about the purpose of the membership of these groups to this diversity officer. Evidence from my data while consistent with the afore-mentioned argument reveals, in addition, the use of aspects within the extra-organizational/social field as symbolic forms of capital in a way consistent with the process of prospective symbolization identified by Hatch (1993; 2000).

In my literature review chapter (3) I defined the process of symbolization as a *'prospective response that links an artefact's objective form and literal meaning to experiences that lie beyond the literal domain'* (Hatch, 1993, pp. 670). My data reveals the strategic deployment, by the diversity officer, of aspects of his meso-relational environment during the course of his interactions with members of the organization. This was done in an attempt to influence organizational members' sense making process to such an extent that it shapes the new culture. For example, by revealing the names of certain external groups strategically during meetings, trainings and conversations the diversity officer said that he aimed to gain the attention of both management and employees. On this approach he said to me that *'Over time I have discovered that when I mention . . . organizations like (the regional government and*

regional organizations which represent minority groups) . . . *these are powerful, they have meaning . . . everyone knows them . . . it gets people thinking this (equality and diversity) must be important*'. Consistent with these are the responses, in chapter 7, from employees about the aspects of their social environments which shaped their attitudes towards equality and diversity.

My findings also reveal that apart from the significances of membership of these external groups identified above, the social field also provided legitimacy for this diversity officer. This was because one of his main roles was to assist the organization in complying with the directives from the government and their local council in relation to the Equality Act. By applying the relevant symbolic capital at his disposal and adopting the appropriate discursive approach, the diversity officer enacted and disseminated the message of equality and diversity by using the legislation and relevant government institutions as a focal point. So depending on the target audience, many of the conversations were linked to: *'What we need to do is to benchmark against other organizations.'* *' . . . Meeting (government) standards . . . '* *'Does anyone know what the human rights legislation is?'* among others. The strategic deployment of these social capitals is particularly relevant to the culture change process since as Hatch's (1993; 2000) argues the ability to convert artefacts to symbols through a process of symbolization represents a crucial step in the culture formation and change process. However, a limitation of Hatch's framework is its failure to identify the conditions under which this process occurs (Dauber *et al.*, 2012); a limitation which is addressed by the current study. My data reveals that by applying his knowledge of the legislation and his understanding of the influence of his external meso-relational contexts in the organization, the diversity manager was able to deploy these as symbolic forms of social capital.

My data also reveals the strategic deployment of aspects of the supportive extra-organizational environment (Lawrence, 2000) as symbolic forms of capital. This was done in order to meet the intended diversity goals of initiating and sustaining behavioural and attitudinal changes towards equality and diversity (Cabral- Cardoso, 2007; Cox, 1991; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002; Wilson, 2000; Zintz, 1997). The diversity officer was able to actively interpret the symbolic significance of the institutional environment (meso-relational environment) and deploy this during the process implementing of organizational culture change. My findings thus reveal the role of the diversity manager in enabling culture oriented change by revealing the role of this officer in initiating the process of prospective

symbolization. From the above discussion, my findings also reveal the need by the academic literature to incorporate diversity management literature within the literature on organizational culture management and change; since as shown in this study both work hand in hand.

Thus one of the contributions of this study is to the field of organizational culture change. Here I have been able to reveal that the process of prospective symbolization, in the right environment, can be triggered by the deployment of extra-organizational influences. In doing this I have revealed a link between the process of imprinting and the process of prospective symbolization.

More importantly is the revelation that during the process of shock-imprinting, the same extra-organizational influences which trigger the need for culture change can be deployed strategically as symbolic forms of social capital to aid in the implementation of culture change programs. Though this study I have been able to reveal the link between the process of shock imprinting, the diversity officer and the process of prospective symbolization, thus contributing to the literature on the role of diversity managers in enabling diversity-oriented culture change.

The discussions above thus suggest that, by better understanding the processes of culture change and formation, diversity officers can target more effectively certain aspects of the culture change process during the course of implementing or sustaining diversity change programs.

8.3.2 Diversity managers' deployment of internal meso/situated factors - a discussion of the consequences of prospective symbolization during the implementation of diversity management and organizational culture change programs

According to Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) and Lawrence (2000) aspects of the organizational field of diversity officers can either enhance or constrain their ability to implement diversity management programs. Within the internal environment of County X UHB, for the diversity officer, the sources of social capital were formal and informal relationships with senior managers (Collinson *et al.*, 1990; Dobbs, 1996; Lawrence, 2000; Morrison, 1992), his relatively senior position within the organization (Lawrence, 2000), relationships with union officials and with employees; all of which contributed to the legitimacy of the diversity officer's role (Collinson *et al.*, 1990; Joplin and Daus, 1999; Morrison, 1992). These

resources also aided the diversity officer in raising awareness to the issues on equality and diversity as he was able to gain the attention of other employees and managers.

Evidence from my data, while consistent with the afore-mentioned argument, reveals in addition the use of aspects within the organizational field as symbolic forms of capital in a way consistent with the process of prospective symbolization identified by Hatch (1993; 2000). However, while Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) identify aspects within the organizational field as constraints to the role of the diversity managers' change agency, my findings reveal a much wider implications of these constraints. My findings reveal that as symbols of organizational change, perceived constraints to the diversity officer's role possessed a deeper meaning to organizational members.

The recruitment, by County X UHB, of new diversity manager was intended to send a clear message about the organization's commitment to adhere to the stipulations by the Equality Act (2010) and, by doing so, show employees that they were committed to meeting diversity goals. The relevance of his role was evident from the various communications that I had with employees across the organization. While County X UHB had over 14,000 employees and only one diversity officer, the importance associated with his role as a symbol of change and of the commitment by the organization to adhere to the equality and diversity legislation was clear. Almost everyone interviewed referred to the important 'symbol' of the diversity officer. During all my conversations with employees whilst I did not initiate discussion about the diversity officer, all employees identified him as a positive influence on their perception of the organization's commitment to diversity management.

As discussed above, his knowledge about the dynamics within the organization was such that he was aware when to deploy appropriately discursive skills he had acquired during the course of his personal and professional life to foster these interactions. Evidence from Chapter 6 and 7 also reveals influence of this knowledge in encouraging interactions with individuals and groups across different sections of the organization. From many of the meetings and training sessions which I observed, these skills included the ability to apply different discursive skills of negotiation, charisma, friendliness, professionalism, diplomacy and the ability to motivate others. His charismatic personality also helped improve his interactions across groups across the organization and strengthened his ability to raise awareness about diversity issues. The ability to relay confidently equality and diversity goals during his interactions was reflected in the confidence that both employees and management

had in the 'person' who performed this role. By applying his knowledge about the legislation, information from external meso-level/situated environment and different forms of discursive approaches his role thus became legitimized and highly supported throughout the organization. The data support this and reveals the significance that organizational members associated to this role as a symbol of equality and diversity within the organization.

A reflection of this was evident from the support for his role by employees and members of the management team. The support by the management team conferred more legitimacy to his role and to the change program he was tasked to implement (Spicer, 2011; Staw and Epstein, 2000; Lawrence, 2000). The evidence of this support is presented in the data chapter; which ranged from the verbal communication of their support, to their presence at meetings and to various gestures of commitment which included, for example 'a walkabout Friday'. The support by employees was evident in the high turnout at meeting and training sessions. Other form of support included relationships with members of two groups (the ESSG and the equality champions). These groups comprised of volunteers within the organization dedicated to assist to implement equality and diversity goals within their departments, thereby legitimizing equality and diversity initiatives within their departments and expanding the reach of the diversity officer.

My findings reveal the symbolization of the role of the diversity officer via the process of prospective symbolization. The results reveal surplus meaning being conferred on the role of the diversity officer as a result of the implications of this position as a symbol of the organization's commitment to comply with the equality goals set by the legislation. The process of prospective symbolization in my study importantly reveals the influence of extra-organizational factors, for example the legislation, during a process of imprinting on conferring symbolic status to the role of the diversity officer; thus revealing an additional significance of the role of diversity managers during ongoing organizational diversity-oriented culture change processes.

In addition, consistent with Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) and Lawrence (2000), my findings identify that the lack of certain resources within the organizational field constrains the ability of the diversity officer to conduct his job. Within my data, these include the relatively low rank of the diversity officer, the lack of adequate human capital in the diversity unit and the lack of adequate financial and non-financial resources to this unit. My findings also reveal, as a result of the surplus meanings (Hatch, 1993; 2000) which artefacts (the role of the diversity

manager) acquire during the process of prospective symbolization, the existence of constraints to the status of these artefacts possessed the ability to elicit negative consequences. These constraints included the elicitation of negative emotions among employees about the commitment of the organization to issues of equality and diversity management. My findings reveal that the enhanced awareness by organizational members of the meaning of the role of the diversity officer in the implementation of equality and diversity programs was such that the absence of certain resources did not necessarily constrain his role directly, but rather constrained the perception of employees about the organization's commitment to diversity management.

Thus, while the process of symbolization is important in the process of meaning formation and culture change, the perceived shift in the status of the diversity officer from an organizational artefact to a symbol was such that observed constraints to his role triggered a sense of cynicism among employees regarding the organization's commitment to equality and diversity management. My data shows many respondents identifying aspects within the organization which they perceived as unsupportive (directly or indirectly) to the role of the diversity officer. For example, the data reveals that although the diversity officer was a middle manager, many employees commented that the role should ideally be associated with a higher rank within the organizational structure while others criticized the location of the diversity office as too remote. This was particularly interesting as the rank, the location or, in fact, number of diversity officers had no direct bearing on many of the interviewees. However, while from my interviews with him the diversity officer did not identify these factors as a direct problem in his ability to perform his role and did not indicate that his performance suffered as a result of the absence of these factors, because of the now perceived symbolic significance which employees associated with this role, any perceived negative action directed towards the occupant of this role elicited negative emotions among employees.

While diversity managers are arguably the most visible actors in the process of managing diversity and the implementation of organizational change (Kirton *et al.*, 2007; Jones, 2007; Jones, 2000), my study reveals that they represent more than organizational artefacts. Evidence from the data and the discussion above reveals the role/position of the diversity officer as one which possesses a surplus meaning as a symbol of the representation of equality and diversity within the organization.

The results also reveal that an unintended consequence of this surplus meaning is the negative perception of employees towards the organization regarding perceived constraints to the role of the diversity officer. The symbolic significance of the role of the diversity officer presents an important contribution to the diversity management literature as it depicts the invaluable role of the diversity manager within organizations. These results also reveal a call for the inclusion within the diversity management literature of an understanding of the process of meaning formation (culture); in order to prevent negative unintended consequences which may arise as a result of the perceived constraints to the agentic powers of diversity officers.

8.3.3 Diversity managers' deployment of internal meso/situated factors - a discussion of the process of retroactive realization during the implementation of diversity management and organizational culture change programs

The scope of the diversity program that had been newly implemented within this organization covered the nine protected categories identified in the legislation (Equality Act, 2010). As discussed in chapter 5, the introduction and focus on the 'new' legislation propelled a change program that involved the implementation of policies such as the Equality Impact Assessment (although there were no changes to the core HR policies). By implementing these programs the organization aimed to improve the doxic experiences of the 9 categories protected by the Equality Act (2010).

During the course of this study I had observed various strategies which had been deployed to disseminate the organization's diversity goals to employees. Since many of these strategies were deployed by the diversity officer, I had the opportunity to confirm the intended aim of these strategies both by interviewing him and a range of other employees. As previously explained in chapter 7, I did not provide employees with any lists of organizational artefacts (so as not to influence them) but instead asked them which aspects of the newly implemented strategies, policies and programs changed their perceptions.

By implementing practices, policies and programs directed at changing the attitudes of employees towards everyday acts and utterances, especially those which possessed the capacity to re-enforce inequality and exclusion, the diversity officer aimed to challenge the domain of orthodoxy by increasing the domain of heterodoxy. However, my data reveals a disconnect between the employees' perceptions of these policies, practices, culture and programs as a result of which it was a challenge to make sense of the multitude and conflicting information presented across different sections of the organization.

My analysis of the existing culture in County X UHB identified that it promoted a backlash and thus reduced the ability to widen the domain of heterodoxy, maintaining the domain of orthodoxy, enabling discrimination and inequality, promoting fear and discouraging openness. Although at the time the diversity officer at County X UHB identified that the existing culture was one which promoted inclusion, major failings in diversity management were apparent within this organization and, evidence in the data reveals that, the challenges of specific minority groups remained unaddressed. Since organizational culture is embedded within all aspects of the organization (Tsui *et al.*, 2007; Alvesson, 2002), the failure of the existing culture was translated into these many different aspects: organizational policies; HR functions; across the organizational structure; policy implementation; strategies and resources committed to diversity management as well as in the way that diversity management practices were integrated within County X UHB (table 8.1). Although County X UHB recruited the new diversity officer in anticipation of the proposed changes in the legislation, the process of organizational change did not commence until the legislation had been passed.

While aspects of the failures within the existing culture can, as discussed above, be attributed to the micro-level relationality of the diversity officer, or general organizational failings, the reality was that this research began about couple of months into the implementation of the change program; as a result this process was still in its infancy. Thus, my data reveals that the unsupportive policies, culture, procedures, practices, behaviours and structures were in reality, remnants of the old organization. However, regardless of individual or organizational failings the strength of the legislative environment to influence the behaviour of the organization and its members was apparent. As such, there were legal responsibilities, and push, to implement the Equality Act through schemes like the Single Equalities Scheme and the Strategic Equalities Plan.

Thus within this organization, in line with the literature by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009), while through a process of cultural perpetuation (Ogbonna and Harris, 2013), the existing organization presented as a constraint, changes within the external environment forced a process of imprinting by triggering the need for a culture change (Dieleman, 2010; Sagiv and Schwartz, 2007). This involved, once again, the deployment by the diversity officer of various organizational artefacts in a way which follows the process of realization identified by Hatch (1993).

The process of realization describes the interaction between values and artefacts. In the literature review chapter I defined realization as the '*process of making values real by transforming expectations into social and material reality*' (Hatch, 1993 pp. 666). As a result of the deep rooted nature of values, the realization process argued to represent the easiest way to introduce new values to organizational members during the process of culture change (Hatch, 1993). Values constitute the basis for making judgments and are usually referred to as moral and ethical codes. They determine what members think has to be done (Martin, 2002; Hatch, 2000; 1997). In theory, artefacts include for example the architecture, physical layout, language, technology, symbols, behavioural patterns, metaphors, stories, rules, policies, procedures and the diversity program (Martin, 2002; Hatch, 1993). However, while, during this study, not all these artefacts were observed, I will discuss the perceived effects of those identified on the process of retroactive realization involved in culture formation and change processes.

Some examples of the artefacts deployed by the diversity manager included: language, fliers, newsletters, posters (see pages 118, 137, 139-140, 147 and 182 of this thesis), stories (see pages 101, 133, 139, 143, 159), rules, policies and procedures (see pages 125, 137, 148, 153, 158-159 and 165 of this thesis); which are consistent with literature on organizational culture. Examples demonstrating the deployment of these artefacts were seen at training sessions when, for example, the discursive approach was to use language which emphasized the importance of the legislation which governed the organization's diversity goals. I also saw from speaking to employees that the information they received from a range of sources, for example from stories, policies, e-mails, that these pieces of information were instrumental in shaping their values, attitudes and perception of changes that had to be made. Many employees identified a range of artefacts, for example the EQIA policy, the Equality Act (2010), the data from the staff attitudinal survey and the data on the employee mix (see pages 136 and 141 of this thesis) as influences on their attitudes, approaches and perceptions towards equality and diversity within their organizational setting.

Since, as Hatch (1993) argues, values are social principles, goals and standards that determine what the organization cares about and as such what the membership of the organization should care about (Hatch, 1997), the responses of employees regarding the significance of these artefacts revealed that a process of retroactive realization had occurred which had transformed these artefacts into espoused organizational values. For example, the newly implemented policies showed commitment to equality and the data obtained from the staff

survey was being used to ensure that the organization met its diversity goals by monitoring how representative the workforce was of the wider society in terms of its demographic composition.

The above findings meets both criteria for the process of retroactive realization identified by Hatch (1993); the first being the introduction of new artefacts from sources external to the organization and the second being the ability of these artefacts to challenge the existing values within the organization. However, more importantly, my findings also go further to address a core limitation of Hatch's (1993) cultural dynamics framework. This limitation is its failure to identify the conditions under which this processes of organizational culture change occurs (Dauber *et al.*, 2012). As a result, this study has contributed to the organizational culture change literature. I have been able to reveal that during the process of shock-imprinting (Dieleman; 2010, Yin *et al.* 2014), it is possible, for diversity officers, to strategically deploy the use of artefacts from within the external organizational and social field to influence, through a process of retroactive realization, the values of organizational members.

8.4 CONCLUSION

Despite the growing interest in the diversity managers' change agency, diversity management and organizational culture change within organizations, there still remains much discussion about how to integrate diversity managers within the literature on organizational culture change. This thesis has sought to provide some understanding of how to integrate these constructs within the organizational settings as well as highlighted the conditions which support these integrations by asking the following research questions:

- What is the relevance of habitus to the practice of diversity officers during their role as change agents'?
- How do the situated and relational contextual factors influence the role of diversity managers within organizations?
- How do diversity officers utilize (capital) factors within their relational environment to implement diversity-oriented culture change programs?
- How do diversity officers deploy the use of factors within their situational and relational environmental to trigger the processes of symbolization and realization necessary for organizational culture change?

- What is the symbolic significance of role of diversity managers in enabling diversity-oriented culture change?

The contextual frameworks adopted in this study demonstrate empirically the role of the diversity managers in enabling diversity-oriented organizational culture change. Furthermore, there has been much discussion about the role that values and demographic attributes play defining the diversity manager. This thesis shifts the conversation beyond these attributes to wider extra-organizational conditions which determine organizational behaviour.

The main finding in this research is that during the process of imprinting where organizations are sensitive to changes within their external environment; there is scope for diversity managers to enable diversity-oriented culture changes through the processes of realization and symbolization.

The purpose of this study was not only to provide empirical and exploratory data, but also to contribute to the literature on diversity managers, diversity management and organizational culture. In seeking to explore the relationship between these I have drawn on the conceptual frameworks by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) as well as the cultural dynamics framework by Hatch (1993). In the concluding section I will highlight my finding and demonstrate the practical implications and the theoretical contributions of this study after which I will highlight areas for future research which remained unexplored in the current study.

CHAPTER NINE

9.1 RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Like all public sector organizations, County X UHB is obligated to meet standards set by the government and various regulatory institutions. The size of this organization and the nature of its role within the community are such that they are accountable to not just to the government and their employees, but also to the members of the wider community in which they serve. Even with the best of intentions the equality and diversity management practice within County X UHB still fell below the standards expected by their employees and other stakeholders at the time of this study. As a result, changes to the legislation in terms of the focus on equality and diversity mandated this organization to implement internal changes in order to meet the expectations of their stakeholders and conform to the legislative requirements set by the government. During the period of this study County X UHB prioritised diversity as its main focus; making every attempt to support and promote the diversity program. The task of implementing these changes was devolved to the one-man diversity team whom I had the opportunity to shadow during this process.

In this chapter I will provide a summary of the key theoretical findings of my study which have been identified in the previous discussions chapter. I will revisit some of the earlier arguments provided in this study in order to show the progression of my study from the existing literature. I will also present the implications of the current study, not only to the academic literature on diversity management and organizational culture, but also present the practical significance of my findings.

Diversity officers represent the most visible sign of an organization's commitment to equality and diversity. As institutional actors (Allaire and Firsirotu, 1984) diversity officers act as a source of influence and change within the organization on issues relating to equality and diversity (Cockburn, 1989; 1991; Jones, 2007; Richards, 2001; Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2009). Their ability to successfully implement their roles is attributed to a combination of three factors; praxis, situatedness and relationality; all influenced by their *habitus*.

Praxis refers to a process of reflection and action during which diversity officers reflect on their situated and relational context and deploy strategic actions based on the results of these reflections. Since the practice of diversity management is one in which practitioners do not require special qualifications to do (Tatli, 2011), their ability to draw on capital acquired from

past experiences, *habitus*, is argued to be one of the most important determinants of the success of their role. Extant literature also argues that the process of praxis is influenced by micro, meso, and macro-relational environments of diversity officers (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2009).

Much of the literature on the macro-relational contextual factors of equality and diversity officers has focused on these factors in isolation from their strategic actions. For example, Meyerson and Scully (1995) suggest that the position of diversity officers has been one traditionally occupied by minority employees, women of colour, gay men, lesbians who work within traditionally male dominated heterosexual institutions. Kirton *et al.* (2007) argues that the personal experiences of these groups position them uniquely and strategically because they can both understand the challenges faced by minority groups. Similarly, others, for example Cox *et al.* (1991) argue that external observable traits are a reflection of individual values and beliefs which are in turn assumed to be a reflection of his cultural heritage. However, while Lawrence (1997) argues that demographic attributes should play no role in organization studies unless their role is understood, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) argue that the diversity managers' change agency is framed by a combination of their cultural and demographic backgrounds. My findings reveal a disconnect between his demographic attributes and the strategic actions he deployed during his role as a diversity officer. My finding is particularly relevant if like Ahmed (2007) and Lorbiecki (2001) suggest that members of minority groups are targeted by organizations to champion equality and diversity work on the basis of their sex or race and the perceived influence of these on their past experiences (*habitus*).

A key finding of this study is that contrary to the literature on diversity management literature that uses demographic-based attributes – which assumes the significance of *habitus*- as a basis for defining individuals in equality and diversity work, the absence of a correlation between his strategic actions and his demographic attributes suggest the need for the literature in diversity officers and diversity managers to individualized approach to describing individuals who perform this role. This is particularly relevant if, as suggested by Tatli (2001) minority group members are targeted by organizations to fill this role.

Many of the existing literature on the micro-relational context of the equality and diversity managers' change agency have explored these factors in isolation from their strategic actions. For example, Jewson and Mason (1986) describe equality officers as individuals motivated to

remove unfair distortions in the workplace by institutionalizing fair practices. Others, like Meyerson and Scully (1995), describe these individuals in an ‘activist-like’ way; suggesting that they are committed to a cause or a community different from the dominant culture within the organization. Similarly Kirton *et al.* (2007) describe them as a curious group of organizational actors who are at one hand ‘tasked’ with the diversity role, but who have as one of their broader personal visions a social justice goal. From these, Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) introduced a framework which by using the notion of praxis argued that these micro-relational values were determinant of the action of diversity officers. However, this was not the case in my research findings.

The diversity officer in this study identified three sets of values which were not always consistent. There was also a difficulty to identify specifically a particular set of values which he based his strategic actions on. As such to base the strategic actions of diversity solely on the underlying values of the individual who fills the role would be to ignore the influence of extra-organizational factors in shaping the behaviours of individuals within it (Ogbonna and Harris, 2000). It also ignores the influence of organizational stakeholders in influencing diversity management practices within organizations (Cornelius *et al.*, 2010). Also since the legal framework (Lawrence, 2000) is crucial to giving legitimacy to equality and diversity work, to ignore this will be to ignore fundamental principles that guide equality and diversity work across different countries (Jones *et al.*, 2000).

Upon further exploration, my findings reveal that dominant the strategic actions which were deployed by the organization, regarding equality and diversity management, were dictated more by the requirements of the legislation (Equality Act, 2010) than on the basis of the values, beliefs and motivation of one individual within it. While the values described by the diversity officer mirrored the inclusionary approach that diversity management employs (Guerrier and Wilson, 2011; Sinclair, 2000; Liff, 1999) the strategies governed by the Equality Act (2010) were similar to the utilizing differences approach which mimics provides a basis for certain groups to be treated differently (Liff, 1997).

A key contribution of this study is that contrary to existing diversity literature which focus on the values of diversity officers as a major aspect of individuals who fill this role, the absence of a correlation between his inclusive values and the strategic actions deployed by the organization suggests a need to move away from the value-based analysis of individuals who perform this role. This is particularly relevant considering the influence of legislations and

other extra-environmental factors to govern organizational behaviour particularly for those that are accountable to external stakeholders. The lack of correlation between values and strategies deployed suggests that attributing the failure of diversity programs solely on the fear of annihilation by others or due to lack of support within the social or organizational field ignores the ability to understand issue like hidden agenda which are presently absent from the diversity management literature.

Diversity management is a legislation driven program (Ahmed, 2007), as such changes to the legislation triggers a change in the diversity management policies within organizations. However, organizational culture change is a crucial aspect of implementing diversity management policies within organizations programs (see for example, Arredondo, 1996; Cabral-Cardoso, 2007; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002; Wilson, 2000; Zintz, 1997). This is because, first as a metaphor culture is embedded within the various organizational aspects (see for example Alvesson, 2002; Fleming, 2012; Hatch, 1993; Hatch and Cunliffe, 2006; Ogbonna and Harris, 1998; Schein, 1985) as such the presence of a supportive culture supports and sustains newly implemented equality and diversity policies, strategies and processes. Second, by targeting values, beliefs and assumptions that lead to discrimination and prejudice (Cabral-Cardoso, 2007; Weech-Maldonado *et al.*, 2002; Wilson, 2000) culture change can foster inclusion and equality.

Evidence from this study however reveals that the existing culture within the studied organization was at odds with the diversity goals stipulated by the Equality Act (2010). For organizations like the one in the current study, changes in the institutional environment (see for example Greve and Rao 2012; Marquis and Battilana, 2009; Marquis *et al.* 2013; Yin *et al.* 2014) thus triggered a process of shock-imprinting (Yin *et al.* 2014) as a result of the need to change their culture to implement a diversity management program in line with diversity goals stipulated by the legislation (Dauber *et al.*, 2012). The focus on such culture change within this organization was evident from the number of meetings, training session and strategy formulating workshops, coordinated by the diversity officer, which recurred around the theme of organizational culture change.

Adopting Hatch's (1993) cultural dynamics framework both allowed for the opportunity to study the culture change process and to address existing limitations of the framework (Dauber *et al.*, 2012). The first limitation of this framework addresses in the current study is that it fails to identify extra-organizational conditions which influence the various processes

identified within it. My study thus reveals the strategic deployment, by the diversity officer, of artefacts within the organization; implemented as a result of external influences (EQIA policies, data results, staff survey results, e-learning zones) as well as the deployment of artefacts from the social field (Equality Act, 2010) to influence the perception of employees towards equality and diversity by initiating a process of retroactive realization.

A key contribution of my study is the revelation that, during the process of shock-imprinting (Dauber *et al.*, 2012), artefacts which are implemented as a result of this process can serve as influences to introduce values into organizations and thus trigger a process of retroactive realization. From this comes another contribution that during the same process, artefacts which trigger the process of shock-imprinting can be strategically introduced back into the organization to influence the values of members within the organization. This is particularly relevant because it allows for the expansion of the understanding of the cultural dynamics framework beyond its current remit.

Similarly, during this process of imprinting the diversity officer deployed the use of artefacts within both his meso-relational-social field and his meso-relational-organizational field as symbols of both equality and diversity. While this process is consistent with the process of prospective symbolization identified by Hatch (1993), the deployment, in this way, of symbolic capital within the organizational and social field during a process of shock-imprinting further contributes to existing literature in two main ways. The first contribution is that it expands the understanding of the cultural dynamics framework (1993) by revealing that pressure from the external legislative environment can influence the process of proactive symbolization within organizations.

The second contribution is that it combines the frameworks by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) and Hatch (1993) by showing how, during the same process, diversity officers can deploy capital within their meso-relational organizational and social fields to influence the process of prospective symbolization within organizations. This is of particular relevance to the literature on diversity management because by understanding the processes involved in organizational culture change, diversity managers can better aim their resources towards introducing symbolically significant artefacts which possess surplus meanings which can be conveyed to organizational members.

Finally, the literature on diversity officers/managers has identified this group as the most visible representation of an organization's commitment to equality and diversity. Many like

Lawrence (2000) and Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) have identified various factors which constrain or aid the ability of these individuals to perform their roles. While I have also identified the relevance of these factors, my findings reveal more. My findings reveal that through the aforementioned process of proactive symbolization members within this organization attributed a surplus meaning to the role of this diversity officer. They viewed him as a symbol of the organization's commitment to equality and diversity management. Evidence from my data revealed that, unlike stipulated in the existing literature, constraints which were perceived by employees to impede the role of this 'symbol of equality and diversity' elicited negative emotions and a sense of cynicism ('symbolic cynicism') regarding the organization's commitment to equality and diversity.

This contributes in a key way to the literature on equality and diversity management because, by revealing the symbolic significance of the role of diversity managers, perceived failures to diversity management practices can be attributed, not to the absence of resources but, to the influence of these absent resources on the perception of organization members. So by understanding the process of meaning formation (culture) organizations can provide support for the various aspects of diversity management which can influence employee perception about their commitment to these programs. Below is a pictorial representation of the perception of constraints, to the role of diversity managers, by employees. (While Hatch (1993) argues that symbols possess surplus meanings, it is difficult to measure the extent of emotions individuals attach to these meanings. As a result, the depth of the structures in Fig. 9.1 is not meant to convey a depth of emotion).

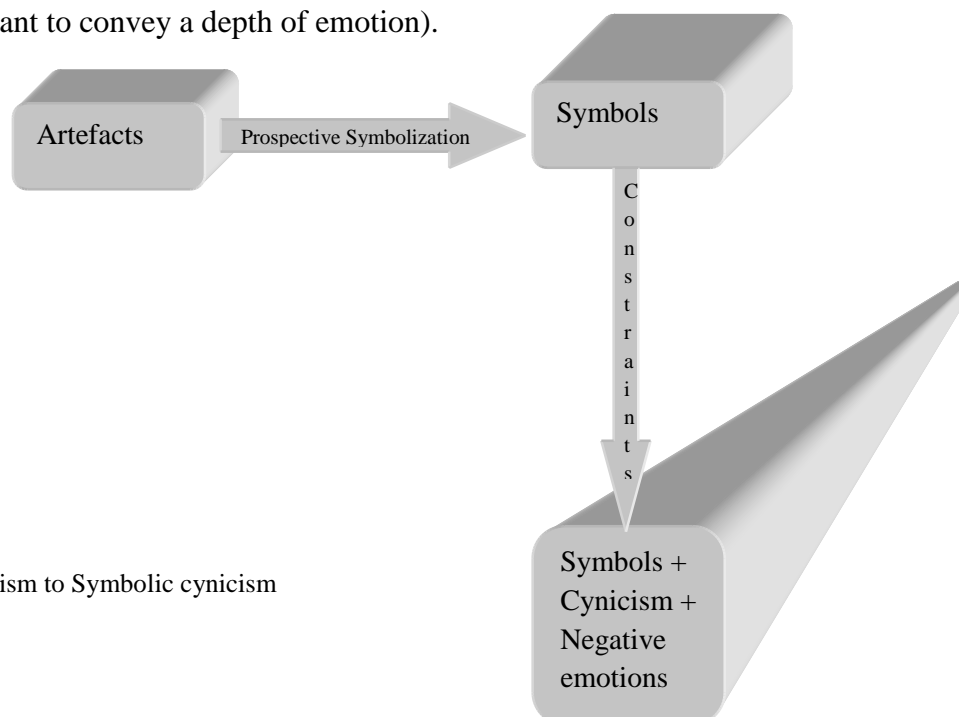


Fig 9.1 Symbolism to Symbolic cynicism

9.2 Limitations of this Research

Like many other forms of research, this study has a number of limitations in terms of the scope, time, method and resources; which I identify below:

First, County X UHB is an NHS organization that employs about 15,000 individuals and is spread over 10 different locations. However, while the majority of their employees were based in the site in which this study was conducted, it was difficult logistically to interview a cross-section of employees from all the different locations. As a result, it could not be determined whether they possessed differing perceptions about the organization's equality and diversity programs than the employees who were interviewed.

Second, County X UHB had an existing diversity management program which was undergoing an overhaul as a result of changes within the scope of the legislation. These changes were in the process of being implemented during the course of this study. This research was conducted within a 6 month period and as a result of this time constraint, the length of this research was not sufficient enough to uncover the processes involved in the deeper level of culture formation, for example interpretation and manifestation.

Finally, the deep rooted nature of the system of values is such that it is difficult to express articulately one consistent set of values which guide an individual's actions. While the diversity officers identified three sets of values during our interviews, it was not possible to determine whether he was driven by one or all of these values or whether indeed there were other sets of values which remained uncovered during the course of this study.

9.3 Implications for Future Research

In terms of the scope of future studies, it would be interesting to explore whether other extra-organizational factors influenced the behaviour (Ogbonna and Harris, 2013) and strategies of the diversity officer within this study.

Further studies can also be conducted regarding the environmental factors which possess that capacity to trigger a process of shock-imprinting within organizations in this sector (Dauber *et al.*, 2012). Although my data reveals that the process of shock-imprinting is triggered by changes in the legislative environment, it might be useful to conduct a study which considers the influence of other extra-organizational factors on the process of diversity management.

The study of the macro and micro relational factors which influence the role of diversity managers should be extended to include various individual who share the same demographic attributes or values respectively. While my study reveals that the macro and micro environments of this diversity officer had no influence of his strategic actions as a result of the compelling changes in legislation, it might be useful to conduct the same studies among other diversity officers during a period when there are no changes in the extra-organizational environment.

Furthermore, while the proposed by classifications by Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) aided my understanding of organizational field, my research findings suggest that not all factors within the organizational field were deployed as crucial forms of capital. It might be useful for a longer, more comprehensive study of all the available forms of capital within the organizational field in order understand the inter-relationships between these factors and the diversity managers' change agent.

Finally, while Tatli and Özbilgin (2009) and Gilbert and Ivancevich (2000) suggest that the presence of networks within the organization enhances the ability of diversity officers to implement diversity goals, the literature does not specify all available types of relationships which can occur within organization. Although the data in this study does not purport to identify all the available internal sources of social capital, the findings suggest that the absence of certain networks which represented the 9 protected categories in the Equality Act, impacted negatively on the perception of employees about the organization's commitment to equality and diversity management. While Dobbs (1996) identified the relevance of having a minority group network within Xerox, the presence of this group was to aid the career progression of minority employees. It might thus be useful to explore the nature of formal and informal inter-organizational relationships in order to understand the emotional meanings of the existence of certain groups to employees. The particular symbolic relevance which employees attribute to these groups suggests the need for equality and diversity research to be aligned with organizational culture studies in order to understand the processes of meaning formation which occur during the implementation of diversity management programs.

This thesis has explored in detail the organizational context, the social context, the diversity officer and the employees of County X UHB. The purpose was to explore the significance of the relational and situated contextual environment to the understanding of the role of diversity managers' change agency and provide empirical suggestions based on the gaps in

literature identified by other researcher. By conducting this research during a period of organizational change, I was also able to study the process of diversity management change from the perspective of both the employees and the diversity officer charged with implementing this change. My findings have revealed a disconnect between the micro and macro relational context of this officer and the strategic actions he deployed; showing instead that the strategic actions of diversity officers are influenced more heavily by the legislative context which guides acceptable organizational behaviour. I have also revealed that, as a symbol of equality and diversity management, factors within the meso-relational internal and external environments which aid the role of diversity officers can be deployed strategically to influence the process of prospective symbolization within the organizational culture dynamics framework. The current study has also contributed to the field of organizational culture by revealing the influence of extra-organizational factors in triggering the processes of prospective symbolization and retroactive realization during a process of shock-imprinting. Finally, in this study, I have revealed that factors, within organizations, that constrain the role of diversity officers trigger negative perceptions among employees and lead ultimately to ‘symbolic cynicism’ about the commitment of organizations to equality and diversity initiatives.

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS WITH DIVERSITY OFFICER

Micro-level relationality

What motivates you?

What values guide your ideological beliefs?

How would you describe your relationship with your values?

How do your values guide your role as a diversity officer?

Would you consider your relationships with minority groups different from your relationship with non-minority group members?

Would you take into consideration the needs of minority group members when making decisions outside work?

Macro-level relationality

How long have you been in this role?

Can you tell me a bit about your upbringing?

Where did you work previously?

How did you get into the field of diversity management?

What do you think influenced County X UHB to recruit you?

Are you a member of any political groups?

Are you a member of any groups that represent British Minority Ethnic groups?

Meso-level relationality and situated organizational and social resources

Do you think your role within this organization is very important?

What aspects of the organization support your role?

How would you describe your relationship with management?

In what ways would you say you get the support of senior management?

How would you describe your relationship with the union?

How would you describe your relationship with employees?

Are there any groups that represent minority employees? Why is this?

How would you describe the way you communicate with employees?

How would you describe the way you communicate with management?

Would you say you communicate with employees and management the same way?

What aspects of the organization do you think can be improved to ease your role?

What is the relationship between the diversity management policy you are trying to implement and the Equalities Act (2010)?

Does the legislation guide your role?

What impact on your role do you think the legislation has had?

How do the regulatory authorities impact on your role?

Are you a member of any professional bodies outside County X UHB? Which ones?

What is your relationship with these groups?

What is your perception of the existing organizational culture?

Do you think the existing culture needs changing?

How would you say the culture change program you are championing influences the implementation of diversity policies?

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS WITH EMPLOYEES

What is your role within the organization?

Have you been in the organization for long? How long?

Do you understand the concept of equality and diversity management?

How would you describe the concept of equality and diversity?

What factors would you say influence your approach towards equality and diversity?

How would you describe the organization's equality and diversity management programs?

Do you think there is a clear strategy in terms of equality and diversity management?

Is the organization any closer to meeting its new equality goals?

What changes have been implemented to help to meet the equality goals?

What do you think the organization is doing right, in terms of meeting its equality goals?

What aspects of the organization do you think can be improved to help to meet these objectives?

What factors would you say influence your perception of the organization's equality and diversity management programs?

How do you perceive the organization's commitment to equality and diversity management?

Have the recent changes changed your perception about the organization's equality and diversity goals?

APPENDIX 3:

EMPLOYEES

Name Allocated	Sex	Position/Level Within The Organization	Department
Anthony	Male	Manager	IT Department
Bill	Male	Senior Manager	Planning
Charles	Male	Clinical Manager	Endocrinology
Christian	Male	Consultant	Obstetrics and Gynaecology
Dee	Female	Manager	Human Resources
Francis	Male	Assistant	Finance Department
Gareth	Male	Senior Manager	Capital Planning Estates and Operational Services Department
Gemma	Female	Secretary	Office of the Executive Director for OD
Helen	Female	Administrator	Physiotherapy Department
Jade	Female	Senior Nurse	Physiotherapy Department
Jane	Female	Nurse	Physiotherapy Department
Judith	Female	Line Manager	Hr Department
Katie	Female	Senior Manager	Capital Planning Estates and Operational Services Department
Kay	Female	Nurse	Accident and Emergency Unit
Kelly	Female	Nurse/Midwife	Maternity Unit
Kevin	Male	Senior Manager	IT Department
Kunle	Male	Line Manager	Mental Health Department
Margaret	Female	Line Manager	Workforce and Organizational Development
Martin	Male	Chairman of The Board	Executive Management
Mary	Female	Nurse	Physiotherapy Department
Mr. Smith	Male	Senior Manager	Local Authority Liaison
Mr. Stack	Male	Chief Executive Officer	Executive Management
Mr Stan	Male	Line Manager	Procurement
Mr Tank	Male	Line Manager	Procurement Department
Mr. Williams	Male	Assistant	Welsh Language Officer
Mrs. Connor	Female	Nurse	Psychiatric Nurse
Mrs. Frost	Female	Nurse	Community Health Care Team
Mrs. Ken	Female	Nurse	Radiology Department
Mrs. Molino	Female	Assistant	IT Department
Mrs. Saunders	Female	Senior Nurse	Mental Health
Mrs. Step	Female	Senior Manager	Organizational Development
Mrs. Sullivan	Female	Senior Nurse	Accident And Emergency
Ms Dunbar	Female	Middle Manager	Human Resource Department
Ms Levy	Female	Nurse	Mental Health/Psychiatry
Ms. Trump	Female	Line Manager	Organizational Development
Scott	Male	Radiographer	Radiology
Sharon	Female	Line Manager	Workforce and Organizational Development
Stan	Male	Manager	Union Representative
Stella	Female	Middle Manager	Human Resource Department
Stephen	Male	Senior Manager	Human Resource Department
Ted	Male	Line Manager	Health and Safety Department
Theresa	Female	Executive Director	Workforce and Organizational Development
Thomas	Male	Junior Doctor	Paediatrics
Trish	Female	Assistant	Workforce and Organizational Development
Trudy	Female	Manager	Workforce and Organizational Development

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