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Beyond Affirmative Action: Managing the Multicultural Workforce of the 90's

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UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA

BEYOND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION:
MANAGING THE MULTICULTURAL WORKFORCE OF THE 90's

AN INDEPENDENT STUDY SUBMITTED IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

BY

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INTRODUCTION

Most managers, both public and private, have learned
management techniques which are based on the assumption that all
workers are the same. These scientifically developed principles
were based on a historically white male population. However,
white males are a minority in the American workforce of today.
In fact, white males now constitute only 46 percent of the labor
force. Demographic data indicates that by the turn of the
century one-third of the American population will be non-white
and up to 85 percent of net new entrants to the workforce will be
women or minorities (Copeland, 1988a; Dreyfuss, 1990; Wagel and
Levine, 1990).

If one accepts the view that socialization and culture
influence one's adult identity, including one's work-related
attitudes and behaviors, then it is only rational that treating
all employees identically is not the most effective nor equitable
way to manage a workforce unless all of those employees share an
identical cultural background. As the workforce of the 1990s
becomes increasingly culturally diverse, both as a result of
Affirmative Action and changing demographics, managers must also
adapt their managerial styles to suit the individuals they are
managing. These changing workplace demographics make it
imperative that managers learn not only to be more tolerant of

cultural differences, but also to learn how to best utilize these differing cultural values, norms, and styles.

The issue of effectively managing multicultural diversity in the workplace is the most pressing issue facing personnel administration in both the public and private sector. In recent years, articles have begun to proliferate on the topic in both academic journals and popular magazines, highlighting an interesting shift in focus. Using public administration literature as an example, in a 1984 article on "Crucial Issues for Public Personnel Professionals," Chester Newland discusses future demographic changes primarily in terms of legal concerns but not in terms of what effect these changing demographics will actually have in the office. In contrast, a 1990 article by Luther Gulick identifies as a central task of public administration "developing personnel policies which capture the creativity and enthusiasm of both staff and customers, to lay the basis for increases in humanity and productivity" (Gulick, 1990: 603).

Managers have begun to realize that human resources are more important to the success of an organization than fiscal or technological resources and have therefore begun to look for ways to maximize the potential of all employees and to minimize potentially hampering aspects of the work environment. It is too expensive to hire and train employees if they are not being retained or are not productive enough. Learning to manage diversity can help contain some of these costs.

It could be argued that managing diversity is simply another technique to manipulate workers into producing more. However, two important core values in learning to manage diversity are overlooked by this view. First, cultural differences can include potential "weaknesses" for the organization and actually result in decreased productivity. For example, a cultural avoidance of competition by some workers might contradict the cultural valuing of competition by other workers which could lead to decreased productivity without that stimulation. Second, while valuing diversity programs do benefit the organization, these programs were developed out of a humanist perspective which placed the individual above the organization. The primary goal of these programs was to benefit individuals.

Managing diversity is not the same as providing equal opportunity, although the two are often considered similar enough to be synonymous. A simple dichotomy of types of equality would include equal opportunity or access in contrast to equal results or outcome. Affirmative Action and similar programs attempted to assure that individuals of all racial and religious groups, and physical abilities, as well as women, would be hired and treated fairly in the labor market. However, this is not enough. Merely encouraging the employment of under-represented groups does not guarantee that these individuals will be given the opportunity to be the most productive and satisfied employees. Special actions may be required to fully utilize all workers, for the good of the organization, society, and the individual and thus to achieve

equality of result. These special actions could be included in a "contingency approach to management," that is, an adaptive and culturally sensitive approach to managing diverse individuals.

It seems obvious that good managers already use this contingency approach to some degree. Managers do make adjustments depending on the individual work styles of their employees. However, many of these adjustments are related to specific correctional efforts and do not change the overall managerial style as applied to that individual or to the organization as a whole. What is being suggested here is that there are some principles which can be identified for some groups of individuals which may make these after-the-fact approaches less necessary.

Caveats

Any time one tries to suggest similarities within groups of people based on ethnic or gender differences, the appearance and accusation of stereotyping exists. It is certainly true that stereotypes result from any collection of racially-determined or gender-specific expectations about how people behave. Generally, stereotypes focus on less than positive representations of behaviors and are believed to apply to all members of a particular group. This is in contrast to a movement toward valuing diversity. In this viewpoint, culturally determined differences are not only recognized but celebrated as strengths. However, the language used by those promoting stereotypes and

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those who value cultural differences sounds much the same. Valuing and recognizing differences are not to be used as simply another excuse to mask or participate in discrimination.

Obviously, it is also true that all members of an identifiable group do not necessarily share all of the cultural differences which will be discussed in various sections of this paper. For example, Native Americans who were not raised in a traditional-type environment will not manifest the cultural attributes which more traditionally raised Native Americans might. Cultural differences are not genetic, but are learned over the course of a lifetime.

Culture is defined as the "integrated pattern of human behavior that includes thought, speech, action and artifacts" (Webster's, 1979). While cultural differences are traditionally thought of primarily in terms of ethnic or racial background, cultural differences also develop as a result of gender, lifestyle, class, religion, geography, and political affiliation. Simply recognizing the variety of cultural influences which both overlap groups and separate individuals is an important step in developing sensitivity to cultural diversity.

The terms "managing diversity," "valuing diversity," and similar variants have already been used extensively in this paper. The terms are sometimes cumbersome and "jargonish" and are frequently dismissed as simply the latest "buzzwords" in management literature. However, there are no terms which are comparable in describing an attitude of recognizing and

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respecting individual differences which are culturally based. The author believes that these terms will become better understood and accepted over the next decade.

The focus in this paper is to examine some cultural differences and the implications for managers. The view of the author is that understanding these differences can help maximize effectiveness, efficacy, efficiency, and equity in the workplace. These ideas will be discussed in greater detail later in this paper. Understanding these differences are valuable tools for managers to utilize.

An additional problem with the concept of managing diversity is in the definition and measurement of results. The focus of this paper includes looking at ways to maximize employee achievement and productivity. Obviously, this is a cultural bias too. Many cultures do not have the same emphasis.

The issue of legislation and enforcement is another problem. Voluntary efforts at increasing the valuing of cultural diversity in the workplace are the emphasis in this paper. However, it is possible to construct an argument that voluntary efforts will be as unsuccessful as voluntary efforts to eliminate discrimination were. It is the author's perhaps overly optimistic position that valuing diversity is the next step in eliminating workplace discrimination and is implicit in existing non-discrimination clauses and that additional legislation mandating "diversity specialists" in organizations will not be necessary.

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A final problem is that there is no agreement among the consultants and theorists who are active in this area about the most effective way to create managers who are adept at managing diversity. There are a variety of ways to accomplish this, from video-based workshops to intense small-group discussions with trained facilitators. Short-term awareness of the benefits of accepting and valuing differences rather than rejecting such differences would result from most of the programs available. However, long-term change, at both the organizational and individual level, is more challenging to create.

Scope of paper

The purpose of this paper is to examine how cultural differences develop and are manifest in the workplace and to suggest some applications and some results of such a proactive approach to managing cultural diversity. The focus will specifically be the public setting but will rely heavily on private sector theories, suggestions, examples, and applications. While there are many types of workplace diversity, the primary focus in this paper will be on gender and racial/ethnic aspects of diversity.

Chapter 1 will provide a brief overview of Affirmative Action programs and will provide additional demographic data and forecasts of the future workplace. The theoretical background of culture and identity development will be discussed in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 will provide examples of some of the approaches used in

the private sector and in the field of education designed to deal with cultural diversity. Some of the traditional approaches to management and how these approaches can conflict with employees' cultural identities will be discussed in Chapter 4. The final chapter will address in greater detail the importance of a proactive approach to managing multicultural diversity in the public sector.

CHAPTER 1
THE LEGACY OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION
AND THE CHANGING WORKFORCE

One problem which arises instantly when discussing
affirmative action programs is how to define the term affirmative
action. This definition then determines the type of policy in
place, as well as the attitudes managers, supervisors, and
employees have about the program and who the possible
beneficiaries are.

A survey of definitions which illustrate the continuum and
variety of possible definitions currently used would include:

> Government-fostered and voluntary action by public and
> private organizations going beyond the cessation of
> formal discriminatory practices...organizations must
> act positively, affirmatively, and aggressively to
> remove all barriers, however informal or subtle, that
> prevent access by minorities and women to their
> rightful places in the employment and educational
> institutions of the United States (Benokraitis and
> Feagin, 1978:1).

> Government required...statistical goals...set for each
> specific minority group, in every type of employment,
> by each employer (Glazer, 1983:160).

> A series of positive steps designed to eradicate the
> vestiges of past and current discrimination by ensuring
> that individuals not traditionally associated with
> various educational, social, and political institutions
> and not found in adequate numbers in various
> professional and non-professional positions of
> employment, are actively sought, encouraged, and given
> opportunities to become affiliated with those
> institutions at every level of employment and human
> involvement (Reed, 1983:333).

Affirmative action now refers to specific efforts to recruit, hire, and promote disadvantaged groups for the purpose of eliminating the present effects of past discrimination (Shafritz, Hyde, and Rosenbloom, 1986:197).

As a class of programs, whether in employment, education, housing or electoral policy, (affirmative action) has as its core the commitment to <u>integrating</u> traditionally disadvantaged groups into these public institutions and processes (and) may entail anything from a company advertising its non-discriminatory employment policies to its setting strict minimum quotas on the hiring or promotion of women (Binion, 1989:44, emphasis in the original).

Affirmative action is a response to a history of discriminatory attitudes and actions against nonwhite people that prevented them from realizing opportunities that were available to whites, even when the nonwhites had equal or superior qualifications (Washington and Harvey, 1989:9)

Young (1986) presents a four point model of affirmative action definitions and attitudes:

1. <u>Passive non-discrimination.</u> This definition indicates that no discrimination or preferential treatment exists based on race or gender when making hiring and promotion decisions.

2. <u>Active non-discrimination.</u> This approach means that employers will actively recruit minority or female applicants, but will not favor one group over another in making employment decisions.

3. <u>Restitutional non-discrimination.</u> Preference is given to applicants from groups which have been discriminated against in the past by the employer in question.

4. <u>Reverse discrimination.</u> This fourth approach favors applicants from groups which have been discriminated against by American society in the past.

One reason these definitions are particularly important to the issue of managing diversity in the workplace is that often these definitions focus on numbers and access but do not address the question of on-the-job treatment and barriers. The concept of "managing diversity," as it will be discussed in greater detail later, addresses the issue of passive non-discrimination by managers versus developing what could be termed a preferential approach to management based on individual characteristics, such as race or gender.

There is a double bind when it comes to affirmative action and the impact on positive workplace diversity[1] : If the organization does not support the goals of the policy, then the organization will find methods to avoid hiring women and minorities until some specific, coercive action is taken and the organization is forced to change hiring practices. Those hired are then placed in a basically hostile environment where success is unlikely. Thus, coercive actions may change the numerical representation of workers, but improved attitudes will not necessarily follow. The future of both affirmative action and positive workplace diversity depends on changing the attitudes of both managers and employees as the demographics of the office change. As Lovell pointed out nearly two decades ago:

> Affirmative action demands more from organizational
> leaders than lack of prejudice and belief in equal
> opportunity: operationalizing affirmative action

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[1] By "positive workplace diversity" I mean a situation where diversity is actually valued, not a workplace that merely has some visible non-white or non-male workers.

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requires leaders to take action stances in which
priorities are reordered and time and energy is
allocated to affirmative action above other goals
(1974:235, emphasis in original).

Another reason these definitions are important is that those
who see affirmative action as "affirmative racism" (Murray, 1984)
which discriminates against white males and involves the
recruitment of less capable employees, are likely to have
negative opinions of and negative work relationships with those
who are perceived to have benefitted from these programs. These
negative attitudes would obviously be detrimental in the work
setting and would reinforce negative stereotypes.

This negative opinion can also be self-directed. That is,
the minority person who believes that employment was gained not
by virtue of ability, but of race or gender, may never believe in
her/his own ability and this could become a self-fulfilling
prophecy. The person who feels hired as a "token" or to meet a
quota may never develop enough job-related self-confidence to be
an effective employee and may even quit the job as a result,
leading to additional costs to the employer who must refill the
position. This cycle becomes especially vicious when co-workers
use this as an example of how minority workers are "incompetent"
and cannot handle the job.

For the purposes of this paper, affirmative action will not
be defined. The various policies which have been termed
affirmative action and have changed the nature of the workforce
are more important in terms of their intentions, perceptions, and
results than as a discrete and separate policy. A brief

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historical overview will be provided as background information for a discussion of the rationale and values which underlie the various policies. Included in this will be a discussion of the controversies which still surround affirmative action and some of the implications for valuing diversity programs.

Historical Overview

Affirmative action was apparently first referred to in 1935 in the Wagner Act (Sowell, 1976). This Act specifically referred to the hiring of both union and non-union workers in an affirmative and non-discriminatory manner.

Other authors identify the beginning of affirmative action policies as President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 in 1941 (Shafritz, et al., 1986; Washington and Harvey, 1989). This Order required non-discrimination on the basis of race in employment in companies that received defense industry contracts.

The actual use of the term "affirmative action" which propelled it into common usage was in 1961 by President John F. Kennedy when he established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity in Executive Order 10925 (Washington and Harvey, 1989). However, affirmative action is usually associated with Lyndon B. Johnson who established the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs and required written affirmative action plans from contractors. Executive Order 11246, written in 1965, authorized the use of statistical goals and timetables to

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prove discrimination and to develop the affirmative action plans each company was ordered to develop (Woods, 1989). In addition, it was during Johnson's administration that "sex" was added as a protected category in 1967.

Of course, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is central to both the philosophy and implementation of affirmative action programs. Title VII of the Act covered employment and stated that employers could not fire, refuse to hire, refuse to promote, or deny other employment opportunities by both public and private employers because of an individual's race, color, sex, or national origin. Quotas were explicitly prohibited to prevent misunderstanding. Challenges to affirmative action by both public and private employees have often been under Title VII (Greene, 1989).

The courts had the authority to provide remedies to discrimination which included back pay, various fines, job reinstatement, or even court-ordered promotions. Some judges also specified quotas in particular cases, even in cases where the employer had not intended to discriminate (Landers, 1989). With the recession of the 1970s, fewer jobs were available to divide among the various groups making demands, and many white workers saw themselves as victims of reverse discrimination (Woods, 1989).

Reagan saw the goals and timetables required in the early legislation as quotas and sought to eliminate what he viewed as reverse discrimination against white men. Affirmative action programs were weakened during his administration, primarily

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through passive means. The Justice Department and the Equal

Employment Opportunity Commission began concentrating primarily

on individual cases and not the class action suits which had

previously been common. Enforcement was severely decreased.

During Reagan's administration, two federal contractors were

barred from doing business with the government because of

violations of Executive Order 11246, whereas during previous

administrations the total was twenty-six (Woods, 1989). "The

number of persons receiving back pay as a remedy for past

discrimination decreased from 4,336 in fiscal year 1980 to 499 in

fiscal 1986" (Landers, 1989:204). The conflict and controversy

over numerical quotas continues to the present time, as

documented by current debate over the Civil Rights Act of 1991.

Justification Overview: For and Against

The philosophical underpinning of the Civil Rights Act was

redistributive and focused on equality of opportunity. The

procedural aspects of employment were targeted as a way to bring

minorities and eventually women onto an equal status with the

white men who had automatically been given preference in many

fields. White men were the "haves" and non-whites and women were

the "have-nots." This did not mean that there were no jobs

available for non-whites or women, simply that the jobs were

limited to particular low-paying fields or positions without

regard to ability or motivation. Policy-makers and enough of the

public saw this as a form of segregation which needed to be actively eliminated.

In addition to redistributing jobs on the basis of the existing situation, many recognized the historic effects of this job segregation. Even with fair policies, minorities and women could be prevented from taking various jobs on the basis of lack of previous experience or formal education. The courts began to focus on what the real requirements for a job were in terms of background and ability so that all qualified applicants had a real chance for the job.

Many argued that the end result of such hiring programs was decreased quality. However, the laws did not require employers to accept unqualified individuals. Affirmative action programs allowed employers to use race or sex as an additional factor in making decisions and actually required this in situations where particular groups were proportionally under-represented.

It was allowing race or gender to count as an "extra point" which led many white men to believe that their race and gender were being counted as "negative points." There may have been historic discrimination, but to perpetuate reverse discrimination in the present to correct the wrongs of ancestors was not acceptable. This viewpoint led to the political waffling on the enforcement issue and to the still existing controversies and negative image of affirmative action.

Of course, as Rhode points out, "to equate a limited and temporary form of discrimination against a privileged group with

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(the) pervasive and lasting discrimination against unprivileged groups" (1990:190) negates the historic experience of those groups. Possible short-term reverse discrimination to achieve proportional representation of all groups in the workforce is not the equivalent of the generations of discrimination and prejudice which many groups were subject to.

Rectifying historic discrimination includes the additional problem of deciding which groups had received how much discrimination and how to demonstrate the results of this discrimination (Roberts, 1981). Proportionate group representation was viewed as the ultimate goal of affirmative action programs, but even defining which groups should be compensated presents problems.

Another way to look at affirmative action policies and the underlying principles was suggested by Kathanne Greene (1989). She states that "two principles of justice...compete with each other for status as the one principle that underlies affirmative action" (Greene, 1989:2). These principles are distributive and compensatory justice.

Distributive justice looks at the distribution of benefits and obstacles among the members of a society. There is no consensus on whether this means that benefits are distributed equally to all, or on the basis of need, effort, utility or opportunity. Affirmative action is viewed as a way to eliminate distributive inequities in the job market which have resulted from discrimination. Redistribution is not the end, but the

means to achieve economic and social equality and reduce racial tension by integrating minorities and women into the workforce (Greene, 1989).

Compensatory justice seeks to correct or compensate for previous wrongs against individuals or groups. Those who benefitted by committing the wrongs are to compensate the victims at their own expense this time. Those who support affirmative action programs on the basis of compensatory justice seek to compensate particular and identifiable individuals who have been victims of discrimination rather than blanket groups of people who were subjected to historical discrimination. This is the view that has become the guideline in recent administrations.

These differing philosophical justifications between repayment and relative access among all members of society are important when looking at whether a new viewpoint such as "valuing diversity" is necessary. Those who favor compensating individual victims of discrimination see affirmative action as a reactive, corrective measure. It is useful in changing employers' behaviors because of the punitive result of violations, but may have no effect on employers' attitudes. However, those who see affirmative action programs as a way to achieve equality of access view diversity programs as the logical next step in achieving equality of result.

Another way of viewing affirmative action programs is to examine the underlying message of responsibility, "a fundamental question of who 'owns' the problem: The institution or the

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structure that creates and perpetuates inequality, or the affected individual or group" (Washington and Harvey, 1989:11). Many members of minority groups have believed that it was their own inferiority or lack of motivation which prevented their access into the system. This myth was often perpetuated by the token few who "made it" in the system. The other view is that the system is what has kept minorities out and this leads to the victim or "you owe it to me" mentality which can be detrimental, whether historically justified or not. This leads to further division between groups of people.

One argument sometimes presented against affirmative action programs is that demographic changes would eventually have solved the apparent problem of inequitable job distribution among groups. Market forces would somehow have intervened to eliminate discrimination, if there really was discrimination in the first place. These theorists are also unlikely to view diversity programs as desireable or even necessary. The view is that "those who adopt the work ethic do quite well in America" (Roth, 1990:29).

Some theorists have argued that discrimination is not responsible for the clustering of minorities or women in low-paying jobs but that some racial or ethnic groups and women actually prefer these types of jobs (Banfield, 1974; Levin, 1990). Levin argues that

> the best explanation of black and female vocational
> performance is not compensable misbehavior on the part
> of white males, but of differences in intelligence and
> motivation which are nobody's fault (1990:211).

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This is an example of how cultural differences can be used to overlook and even justify what many might view as institutional or individual racism.

On the other hand, Gill determined that "much of the under-representation of blacks in managerial, sales and clerical, and craft occupations can be attributed to employment discrimination" (Gill, 1989:621) and not to individual preferences by the workers. Rhode found that "employer decisionmaking has reflected the same stereotypes about male and female capabilities that have constrained employees' vocational choices" (1990:183) and contributed to gender segregation in many occupations.

There is an apparent conflict between support for equality and a belief that the existing system is discriminatory which impacts white support of affirmative action policies.

> The premise that affirmative action programs are necessary to equalize opportunity requires that whites believe that the stratification system currently does not provide equal opportunity for all persons and groups (Kluegal and Smith, 1983:801).

This has implications for cultural diversity programming also. To implement these programs, white males must believe that current management theories do not provide equal opportunity for all persons and groups.

Affirmative Action: Results?

Have affirmative action programs accomplished an equal distribution of ethnic groups and women within the workforce? The results are inconsistent and inconclusive. This is partially

the result of the difficulty in "proving" that any policy has had an effect independent of other variables.

Looking at the federal workforce, one first discovers that "only a very few studies have been conducted to assess the impact of affirmative action in federal employment" (Kellough and Kay, 1986:1). One study found that minorities and women were clustered in lower-level positions, but that equal employment programs were creating a slow upward trend in employment which could not be explained in terms of supply and demand (DiPrete and Soule, 1986). Unfortunately, "although Black employment gains were substantial in an expanding public sector, the current shrinkage of government is causing rapid reversals of those gains" (McGahey and Jeffries, 1987:9) so some of the results of affirmative action programs may be tenuous at best.

Another study found that women benefitted somewhat from affirmative action programs, but that there was no significant change for blacks and that, overall, "affirmative action in federal employment cannot be demonstrated to have had substantial effects at an aggregate level" (Kellough and Kay, 1986:11). "Considerable variation exists in the level of racial/ethnic and gender-based integration" between various federal agencies which suggests that affirmative action policies alone do not determine employment patterns (Kellough, 1990:564).

The effect of affirmative action in municipal government has been more frequently examined, but often on a single city or limited regional basis and not a comparative level. "The

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increasing number of black and Hispanic officeholders demonstrates that political incorporation is possible, although difficult and subject to local conditions" (Kweit and Kweit, 1990:79). This is even more true of non-elected city personnel. The total percentage of women and minorities at both the professional and executive level in municipal governments is extremely low (Mouldner, 1986). "Support for affirmative action varies a great deal from one city manager to another" (Slack and Sigelman, 1987:682) which becomes an important factor in how it is implemented. The size of the local minority population is another important factor in determining minority employment (Mladenka, 1989), but it is unclear what role affirmative action plays in this.

Similar mixed results are also evident in the private sector. Organizations which must compete for government contracts or depend on government funding show higher levels of minority employment, particularly in locations with minority business set-aside programs (Landers, 1989; Rice, 1991). Some businesses are simply "more friendly" to minorities and women and therefore attract more women and minority employees in a self-fulfilling cycle. These businesses are also the most likely to have instituted "valuing diversity" programs or even departments (Thomas, 1990.)

"Future studies on equal employment opportunity in the public sector should incorporate local officials' attitudes in models of workforce representativeness" (Slack and Sigelman,

1987:683). This would also be useful in examining private sector

employment trends. In addition,

> impact analysis (should seek to)...isolate the effects
> of AA [affirmative action] from those of much broader
> environmental factors, including a wide array of
> demographic, general workforce, and governmental
> growth/decline variables (Rosenbloom, 1984:47).

It is important to determine what impact affirmative action has

had and what factors have influenced successful/unsuccessful

implementation so that the next step, valuing and managing

diversity, can be more effectively implemented.

Demographic Variables: The New Workforce

Minorities, immigrants, and women now constitute more than

half of the U.S. workforce. White, non-immigrant males are

already a statistical minority and will only make up 15 percent

of the net new additions to the workforce during this decade.

Adding to this ethnic and gender diversity, there are also more

disabled people in the work force, an increasingly aging

population who are choosing to continue working, and a variety of

lifestyles, including single parents of both genders and lesbians

and gays. All of these factors contribute to the mosaic of the

American workplace. This group of non-traditional workers is

often called the "new workforce" and each group brings special

challenges to the organization and the manager.

These changes in the workforce have already begun. For

example, in 1972 women made up 39 percent of the total U.S.

workforce and by 1986 this had increased to 44 percent.

Forecasts for the year 2000 indicate that women will make up 47 percent of the total workforce (Cooper, 1988). "Black women will comprise the largest share of the increase in the non-white labor force (and)...will outnumber black men" (Hudson Institute, 1988:9). Hispanic women in the work force will increase by 85 percent and 10 percent of new women entrants to the labor force will be Asian or Native American (Laudicina, 1990.) These trends will mean an increase in dual-career families, from roughly 55 percent now to 75 percent by the end of the century (Kupfer, 1988).

In many organizations, over 50 percent of the employees are already over 40 years old (Beilinson, 1990) but the number of young workers (ages 16 to 24) will drop by 8 percent by the year 2000 (Hudson Institute, 1988). White men will make up only 15 percent of the net additions to the labor market (Kupfer, 1988; Swoboda, 1990), but will still account for 32 percent of those entering the workforce (Dreyfuss, 1990).

Minorities and immigrants now hold 22 percent of all jobs and this will increase to 26 percent over this decade (Dreyfuss, 1990). The biggest ethnic change in the new workforce will be Hispanic workers who will account for one-tenth of all workers by the turn of the century (Cooper, 1988). English will be the second language for many of these Hispanic workers (Copeland, 1988b), creating an additional challenge for many organizations.

While demographic forecasting is not a perfect science, these figures give some indication of what a complex work

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environment will exist by the beginning of the 21st century.

> Many members of the potential "new workforce"--women,
> minorities, the economically disadvantaged, disabled--
> face significant hurdles to their full and effective
> participation in the workplace. Businesses (and
> government) will be able to satisfy their labor needs
> only if they successfully confront those barriers and
> empower individuals presently outside the economic
> mainstream to take advantage of meaningful employment
> opportunities (Hudson Institute, 1988:1).

Managing across cultures and genders will be more commonplace but

still complex and challenging.

CHAPTER 2
CULTURE AND IDENTITY

It cannot be denied that people differ from each other on a
vast array of attributes. Even in a work environment where
general agreement on organizational and professional goals exist,
there are many viewpoints on how to accomplish those goals and on
the meaning attached to those achievements. Many of the most
fundamental differences result from the cultural identity of
those individuals involved. There are many components of
cultural identity which are central to understanding how these
differences impact the work environment.

Values, Attitudes, and Behaviors

People make judgments about others based on the behaviors
they observe. They judge others competent or not, educated or
naive, well-intentioned or ill-intentioned, etc. Unfortunately,
human thinking is fallible and people often judge others
differently from the way they would judge themselves.
What shapes these judgments are the core values and attitudes
that individuals have developed over their lifetime. These, in
turn, govern behavior.

Value definitions, which at times differ in only minor
aspects, are often consistent in their global meanings. For

example, human life is valued in all cultures, but what defines a
"good life" varies. Athos and Coffey have stated that "by
'values' we mean ideas about what is desirable" (1968:100).
Rokeach defines values as "abstract ideals, positive or negative,
not tied to any specific object or situation, representing a
person's beliefs about modes of conduct" (1968:124). Thus,
values are global beliefs that "transcendentally guide actions
and judgments across specific objects and situations" (Rokeach,
1968:124). Conner and Becker added "values may be thought of as
global beliefs about desirable end-states underlying attitudinal
and behavioral processes" (1975:550). Values define the shoulds,
should-nots, and ought to be's of people's behaviors and provide
information about what is important to an individual.

Attitudes, on the other hand, relate to specific objects and
specific situations. An attitude results from the application of
general values to specific situations. Attitudes are more
transitory than values because the specifics of an event help
determine attitude. Also, attitudes often do not involve a
cognitive or rational relationship between the underlying value
and the eventual behavior, so attitudes can be changed by
providing additional information. Emotions also impact attitudes
which further adds to the variability of attitudes.

Behavior can be viewed as the overt manifestation of
attitudes and values. Behavior can communicate information about
the values and attitudes of the actor. Behavior, which would
include speech, usually involves others, whether as participants

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or observers. The interpretation of behavior as a clue to values and attitudes is an inexact process because the interpreter's own values and attitudes become involved. Sometimes the relationship between the underlying value and the behavior is unclear because of the layers involved in the process of translating values to behavior. This adds to the possible confusion and misinterpretation when observing behavior.

Values, attitudes, and behavior expectations may have a great impact when working in an environment that includes people from different backgrounds. As a result of the fact that these are all learned at an early age and are often somewhat abstract principles, it is difficult to change people's underlying values which in turn makes it difficult to change behaviors. Many of these underlying values explain the different work-related attitudes and behaviors which will be discussed in greater detail later.

Behavior can be controlled in a work setting more easily than attitudes and values. For example, calendars with photos of nude women can be ordered removed to eliminate the sexually harassing behavior of such a display. However, this will not change the attitude of the men who hung the calendars. Another example is the relationship of affirmative action policies to a culturally sensitive workplace: Hiring practices can be changed, but the new workers will not necessarily be treated with respect or fairness in the office. This relationship between behavior

and attitudes is an important reason to train managers to understand and value diversity.

Objective and Subjective Culture

There is another distinction or characteristic of culture that is essential when thinking about interaction and adjustment while working in a diverse environment. This is the distinction between the objective and subjective components of culture. Objective components of a culture refer to the visible, tangible aspects of a particular group of people. These include such aspects as people's artifacts, clothing, and foods. The more potent and powerful aspects of a culture, however, are its **subjective components, indicating the less visible, less tangible** aspects that people carry around in their minds (Cushner and Trifonovitch, 1989).

Subjective culture refers to a group's characteristic way of perceiving its social environment and provides a more rigorous basis for the definition and interpretation of similarities and differences among people. Thus, whereas two national groups may be similar in language, climate, or ecology, differences in their subjective culture would result in differences in their belief systems, attitude structures, stereotype formations, norm roles, ideologies, values and task definitions (Bhagat and McQuaid, 1982). It is at this level of people's subjective culture that most intercultural misunderstandings and communication problems

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exist. It is here that the learning of intercultural
interactions should start.

By distinguishing objective and subjective components of
culture, it becomes possible to expand our perspective on what
constitutes a culturally different group relative to one's own.
Cross-cultural interactions occur not only between individuals of
distinct national or ethnic heritages, but between individuals
who interact frequently but have been socialized in different
ways.

There is debate on whether or not women should be considered
a culture separate from men. In the introduction, culture was
defined as including thought, speech, behavior, and artifacts.
Men and women certainly share many similar objective aspects of
culture, but the subjective meanings are different. It is
generally accepted that men and women are socialized with
different expectations regarding behavior and even with different
value systems.

> The standard of moral judgment that informs (women's)
> assessment of self is a standard of relationship, an
> ethic of nurturance, responsibility and care....
> Morality is seen...as arising from the experience of
> connection and conceived as a problem of inclusion
> rather than one of balancing claims....Instead of
> attachment, individual achievement rivets the male
> imagination, and great ideas or distinctive activity
> defines the standard of self-assessment and success
> (Gilligan, 1982:159, 160, 163).

Obviously, when looking at gender differences as cultural
differences, it is assumed that an identifiable male culture also
exists. The argument over whether or not there are enough gender

differences to justify defining men and women as separate cultures is possibly a camouflage used by those who want to minimize the necessity of valuing diversity programs.

One problem in learning or teaching about culture and the difficulties encountered in cross-cultural interaction is that some people have very little knowledge about themselves and their own culture. This is especially true of white, male Americans who often do not see themselves as a distinct culture. Only when people meet someone from a different cultural background does their own way of doing things become evident. When one extends a hand to shake upon greeting another, it is assumed that the person greeted will return the gesture, but extending a hand to greet someone from Japan may elicit a bow. Those who are unfamiliar with this difference are often hesitant about how to respond. Assumptions about how others will behave are always present and surface quickly when they do not fulfill our expectations. Assumptions are often a source of frustration in cross-cultural interactions.

Most people require a significant amount of time for learning about the subtle, subjective components of another group of people in sufficient depth to work and live with them effectively. Many efforts in multicultural education are designed to begin this learning at the earliest possible time in a child's schooling so that fewer long-term intercultural conflicts result.

Dimensions of Cultural Differences

Some research indicates that there are four dimensions along which national cultures and values differ (Hayes and Allinson, 1988; Hofstede, 1980). These include: Masculinity-Femininity, Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, and Individualism – Collectivism. Masculinity-Femininity is a dimension which is concerned with the extent to which the dominant values in society are "masculine", that is being assertive, the acquisition of money and things, and not caring for others, the quality of life, or people. Power Distance is a dimension concerned with the distribution of power and resources between members of a society. Uncertainty Avoidance is a dimension which addresses the willingness of people to take risks or to be in ambiguous situations. Individualism-Collectivism is a dimension which is concerned with the relationship of the individual to the group.

The following figure (Figure 1) illustrates the two end points of each of these dimensions. Obviously, these are to be viewed as a continuum and not as two discrete categories and are provided to illustrate the wide array of cultural differences, all of which can create challenges in a diverse work-setting.

Figure 1

DIMENSIONS OF CULTURE

The Masculinity Dimension

Feminine	Masculine
Men needn't be assertive, but can also assume nurturing roles.	Men should be assertive. Women should be nurturing.
Sex roles in society are fluid.	Sex roles in society are clearly differentiated.
There should be equality between the sexes.	Men should dominate in society.
Quality of life is important.	Performance is what counts.
You work in order to live.	You live in order to work.
People and environment are important.	Money and things are important.
Interdependence is the ideal.	Independence is the ideal.
Small and slow are beautiful.	Big and fast are beautiful.

The Power Distance Dimension

Small Power Distance	Large Power Distance
Inequality in society should be minimized.	There should be an order of inequality because high and low are protected by this order.
All people should be interdependent.	A few people should be independent; most should be dependent.
Hierarchy means an inequality of roles, established for convenience.	Hierarchy means existential inequality.
People at various power levels feel less threatened and more prepared to trust people.	Other people are a potential threat to one's power and can rarely be trusted.

Figure 1 (continued)

The Uncertainty Avoidance Dimension

ak Uncertainty Avoidance | Strong Uncertainty Avoidance

viation is not considered threatening;
eater tolerance is shown.

Deviant persons and ideas are
dangerous; intolerance is
maintained.

ere should be as few rules as possible.

There is a need for written
rules and regulations.

lief is placed in generalists and
mmon sense.

Belief is placed in experts
and their knowledge.

e accent is on relativism and
piricism.

The search is for ultimate,
absolute truths and values.

The Individualism Dimension

llectivist | Individualist

e" consciousness prevails.

"I" consciousness prevails.

e emphasis is on belonging to
ganizations; membership is the ideal.

Everybody has a right to a
private life and opinion.

lief is placed in group decisions.

Belief is placed in individual
decisions.

lue standards differ for in-groups
d out-groups (particularism).

Value standards should apply
to all (universalism).

entity is based in the social system.
dividual.

Identity is based in the

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In research cited by Thiederman (1988), a study of 3641 managers from 14 countries found that about one-third of the variability in managerial attitudes was due to individual differences (intelligence, education) whereas two-thirds could be attributed to national differences. This further illustrates why knowledge about the way people from different countries go about learning and mastering the work tasks they are confronted with could be of crucial value to those responsible for designing, presenting, and evaluating management development and training activities.

Another interesting component of cultural identity is awareness of or importance attached to the historical past. For example, African-Americans are acutely aware of the legacy of slavery and segregation even in the present and much of their contemporary culture seeks to reclaim the traditions which were lost and to remember the losses and injustices perpetrated on them as a people. Thus, a program of affirmative action which seeks to redress those previous wrongs with preferential treatment seems like justice. Yet, to members of the traditional "white Anglo-Saxon Protestant" race who value individual achievement and often the elimination or denial of historic culture, affirmative action is injustice. I call this the who-cares-if-we-were-immigrants-we-made-it-without-any-special-assistance-why-can't-they? mentality which is often articulated in arguments against affirmative action and cultural diversity programs as discussed previously in greater detail.

Understanding Identity Development

>   At each stage of development a person seems to take off
>   one pair of glasses and put on another pair with a
>   completely different prescription (Jackson and
>   Hardiman, 1983:107).

The research of Bailey Jackson and Rita Hardiman (1983) has
shown that the field of racial identity development offers
managers a perspective on some of the dynamics operating among
members of a multiracial workforce. "Racial identity development
theory suggests that, to understand people's perspectives on race
and people's reactions to racial issues, one must understand the
process that people move through in formulating a perspective on
racial identity" (Jackson and Hardiman, 1983:108).

Minority development stages refer to the "portion of a
person's world view that is shaped by society's manner of
attributing value to a person's socially ascribed racial/ethnic/
(gender) group" (Helms, 1986:62). Jackson and Hardiman (1983)
identified four stages of minority identity development:
acceptance, resistance, redefinition, and internalization.

Acceptance involves accepting the majority culture's
description of social, cultural, and institutional standards and
values. In the work place, for example, a Black person may
consciously attempt to dress, speak, and act in a very White
manner or a woman may choose very masculine styles of suits.
Resistance occurs when the minority person "questions,
challenges, and ultimately rejects the acceptance consciousness"

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(Jackson and Hardiman, 1983:110). Employees at this stage may be confrontative and appear hostile to non-minority members.

Redefinition begins when the minority person begins to define his/her identity independent of comparisons with the majority culture. Individuals at this stage often appear to "self-segregate" while developing a sense of pride and identity. Organizations frequently discourage this behavior even though it is voluntary and important in moving to the final stage.

Internalization involves integrating the new identity into all social roles. At this stage, individuals look at broader issues such as how career choice and identity interface, and whether the organization supports and respects their cultural identity.

Foster, G. Jackson, Cross, B. Jackson, and Hardiman (1988), identify a similar five stage model of racial identity development which can be easily adapted to include gender identity development also:

1. *Naive/no social consciousness*. This first stage, which occurs during early childhood, comprises the period before the individual understands he or she is a member of a racial, ethnic, or gender group.

2. *Acceptance*. This stage refers to the individual's acceptance of the social roles assigned to his or her group. The individual buys into the prevailing social definitions of the group, which may be influenced by racist and sexist beliefs and stereotypes. For example, Whites at this stage would believe

they are superior to people of color. Blacks, Hispanics, and Asian-Americans at this stage are likely to believe to some degree in the negative stereotypes about their own groups and to adopt an exaggerated assimilationist posture. Males at this stage would support male dominance, and females at this stage would accept their fate as second-class persons in a male-dominated world. White males in this stage have great difficulty working with people of color and females in anything other than subordinate or stereotypic roles, and they fail to see the benefits and strengths that can develop from increasing racial and gender diversity.

3. *Resistance.* The third stage of development occurs when the individual recognizes he or she has accepted a definition of self that is based on prevailing racist and sexist notions about social groups. The individual develops an awareness of and sensitivity to racism and sexism, both within his or her personal attitudes and behaviors and within the larger environment. Because they frequently challenge racist and sexist attitudes and practices in the workplace, people of color and women at this stage are often termed "hostile," "militant," or "oversensitive" to issues of oppression.

4. *Redefinition.* In this stage each category of person redefines himself or herself in ways that transcend the negative stereotypes of the past.

5. *Building bridges.* In stage five, individuals find ways to build bridges between themselves and the persons and

organizations around them.   Rather than acting as barriers

against communication, the new identities are open to diverse and

multicultural social discourse, especially in the workplace

(Foster, et al., 1988).

Those managers who are aware of their own place in the

process of racial identity development, understand and appreciate

the process as manifested in subordinates' behavior, and can

support their subordinates' racial identity development. They are

more able to achieve the type of organizational climate in the

multicultural work force that will improve the quantity and

quality of the organization's product or service (Foster, et al.

1988).   It is important for managers to understand or at least be

familiar with a theory of identity development because a minority

member in the resistance stage will act differently than a member

of the same group who is in a different stage.   This adds a whole

new dimension to cultural differences by multiplying the ways

people can differ.

There are also models which specifically describe White or

majority identity development and some differences for other

various groups (Cass, 1984; Cross, 1978; Downing and Roush, 1985;

Jefferson, 1989; Ruiz, 1990; Sue and Sue, 1990).   "Identity

development has been a problem for individual racial groups

because of their own internal diversity" (Sleeter, 1989:65).   For

example, Chicano identity development is impacted by racial,

regional, generational, gender, religious and class differences

which cannot be summed up in a single, conclusive model.

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These models can help managers identify their own stages of development, as well as co-workers and employees. These models can also be used to develop assessment and training programs in multicultural awareness.

One argument sometimes presented by those who oppose as unnecessary any program that seeks to increase the valuing of cultural diversity is that there is or should be only one "American culture." This is the view of those who stress assimilation and other "melting pot" ideologies. The problem is whether the dominant or majority culture is simply the culture of one group (in this case, the traditional white Anglo-Saxon Protestant male) or a true composite of several cultural traditions. In general, I think it is clear that most of the values and beliefs of what can be called the dominant American culture originates in the white male tradition, as evidenced by the holidays and heroes celebrated and by the traditional values which are stressed. Thus, the dissatisfaction of many minority groups with the existing culture is that elements of their own culture are not included. There is an obvious value judgment implied in this: the traditions and values of minority cultures were not "good enough" to be included by the majority culture.

Minority cultures now are attempting to retrieve many traditional values and to explain why they do not accept all of the teachings of the majority, white culture. Beginning a dialogue between cultures is an important step in learning to value other cultures and expressing this dissatisfaction with the

majority culture is a good departure point. Unfortunately, it is
also a threatening step to those who have accepted the majority
culture as the "one best way." For example, many Native
Americans see Thanksgiving as a day of mourning rather than
celebration because it represents the lost dream of peaceful
coexistence with the white European whereas the majority culture
sees this as a day to celebrate conquering the environment and
surviving with abundance. These two viewpoints are in extreme
opposition and the gap will be difficult to bridge.

One phrase often repeated by well-meaning "open-minded"
individuals is "it doesn't make any difference to me whether
someone is black or white or purple or green--it's the person
that counts." I think this statement helps sum up the difference
between whites and non-whites when thinking of their cultural
identities. It does matter to minority groups. Part of their
experience in this society is being reminded that they are
different from the mainstream and that this difference helps
define how they experience the world and form their own identity
in relationship to the rest of the world. "Seeing everyone the
same way, irrespective of color, in a society where whiteness is
valued, does not make everyone equal, it makes everyone white"
(Singleton, 1989:12-13).

CHAPTER 3
SETTING AN EXAMPLE:
EDUCATION AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR

In the field of education and in some private sector
businesses, the issue of multicultural diversity has already been
recognized as important. This chapter will discuss some examples
of programs which are currently being used.

Multicultural Education

> Multicultural education's attempts to incorporate
> groups of color into curricula were part of larger
> attempts to make social institutions more accessible to
> and inclusive of Americans of color (Sleeter, 1989:61).

The field of multicultural education is not new. Olneck
identifies attempts by educators in the mid-1930s to develop
"programs that would reduce interracial, interethnic, and
religious tensions and...raise minority self-esteem and
incorporate minorities on terms of equality into the mainstream
of American life" (1990:147). Many teachers found that it was
both more effective and more invigorating to use other cultures
as a teaching tool. Combined with the Civil Rights Movement,
this led to an educational philosophy which was sometimes called
"global education" in the 1970s but is now generally referred to
as multicultural education.

An important, but sometimes controversial, component of these programs has been the use of more culturally inclusive textbooks. Many subject areas concentrated primarily on the role of white men in history, literature, and philosophy. The omission of women's history and literature, positive depictions of Native Americans, and African-American contributions to American life were notably absent. The problem of these missing pieces was two-fold. First, it presented an inaccurate picture of American history. Second, many students felt alienated by the curriculum, lost interest, and stopped learning or dropped out.

While adopting new text books and changing the curriculum were controversial, many educators recognized the importance of providing a culturally relevant and accurate presentation of information. Students could feel a new sense of pride in their cultural contributions to American life and cross-cultural understanding was increased.

In addition, "cultural, racial, and gender diversity, while sometimes viewed as political or social impositions in higher education, is an essential element in the pursuit of truth and excellence" (Lindsay, 1989:95). One of the goals of higher education is the quest for "universal truth" which means that the contributions, values, and perspectives of all groups must be included rather than just a select segment of viewpoints.

Sleeter and Grant (1988) describe five different approaches to multicultural education:

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1. <u>Teaching the Culturally Different.</u> This type of program
tries to increase the self-esteem and achievement of minority
students through culturally compatible educational programming.
However, these programs do not address issues such as structural
barriers or racism.

2. <u>Human Relations.</u> The aim of this approach is
sensitivity training to individual differences. Again, racism is
not addressed.

3. <u>Single Group Studies.</u> This approach teaches about the
history and contributions of a specific group. It does address
issues of oppression, but is not comparative. Women's Studies,
African-American Studies, and Native American Studies are
examples.

4. <u>Multicultural Education.</u> Sleeter and Grant identify
this as the most commonly subscribed to by American educators.
The goal is to create schools that model the ideal pluralistic
and equal society.

5. <u>Education that is Multicultural and Social</u>
<u>Reconstructionist.</u> This approach teaches directly about economic
and political oppression and discrimination, and teaches social
action skills such as forming coalitions to combat oppression in
its various forms. "Multicultural education provides educational
terrain on which the interests of racial and ethnic minorities
are asserted and serves as an issue around which demands for
group recognition may be advanced" (Olneck, 1990:168).

This very political-sounding agenda is one reason that opposition to multicultural education remains so strong. Multicultural education "represents resistance on the part of educators to White dominance of racial minority groups through education, and also (to many) male dominance" (Sleeter, 1989:59). Obviously, dominant groups do not usually give up power and will engage in counter-attacks. This resistance is demonstrated by the recent attention of some in the academic community to the so-called "PC Thought Police" who supposedly are trying to abridge free speech by stressing diversity and the use of non-oppressive language (Adler, 1990).

Change is threatening and often leads to conflict. Those who learned in the "old school" believe that their own education was worthwhile and sufficient and see no reason to change, especially since change brings their own cultural and even academic background into question. Another reason has been the forceful energy of those who see an inclusive curriculum as a situation which must be accomplished immediately. To many who suffered through the old curriculum and feel as though they are still recovering, inclusive education has almost a life or death significance.

Spender (1989) has produced a body of work detailing her efforts to bring women's accomplishments and literature into the curriculum. Her interest grew out of frustration with the academic establishment which limited and even ridiculed her interest in women's writing without even reading it first!

> To challenge literary men on the grounds that they do
> not give women a fair hearing is quite one thing, to
> charge them with giving women no hearing at all is
> quite another. Yet when the words of women do not even
> qualify for a reading and evaluation then the evidence
> that it is the sex and not the writing which is being
> judged is incontrovertible. It is because women have
> been dismissed as *women*, and then as writers, that it
> has become necessary to call to account the judgement
> of literary men (Spender, 1989:23, emphasis in
> original).

She details why it is crucial to include women's voices in
literary studies, from a personal standpoint, as an issue of
simple justice, and for intellectual quality.

Similar arguments and case studies exist for other cultural
groups and other subject areas. Of course, as in employment,
token representatives have been present all along: Brontë or
Woolf are included in literary surveys, Sacajawea is an example
of a "good Indian," Martin Luther King, Jr.'s philosophy of civil
disobedience is presented, and so on. The problem has been the
superficiality and minimal presentation of the cultural
traditions of these groups. In fact, one criticism of
multicultural education has been of the emphasis on individual
rather than group differences and contributions (Olneck, 1990).

Another argument against inclusive education is that it
should be the family's responsibility to teach this information.
Unfortunately, the family can only teach their own cultural
background, which does not lead to cross-cultural understanding.
If the schools and the family do not participate in creating

culturally sensitive adults, then employers must do some remedial teaching in the workplace.

An additional problem with multicultural education is that many of those who are active in the movement are from white middle-class backgrounds. "The practice of privileged persons speaking for or on behalf of less privileged persons has actually resulted (in many cases) in increasing or reenforcing the oppression of the group spoken for" (Alcoff, 1990:3). This will obviously be a risk whenever one person (or group) tries to articulate the viewpoint of another, whether in education or on the job. This potential problem can be compensated for by training the educators to be aware of this possible drawback.

Universities are adopting a number of strategies to promote diversity in education. Many have developed programs to bridge the cultural gap between faculty and students by teaching faculty about different learning styles and educational values present in the student body (Mangan, 1991). These programs can include discussions, videos, and various sensitivity exercises. The University of North Dakota has recently developed a faculty program to support diversity and increase sensitivity called "Creating a Positive Campus Climate Together" (1991). The assumption for all of these programs is not that faculty are necessarily racist or sexist, but that there are new issues which are important for faculty to be sensitive to. Many universities have awareness weeks or months for appreciating various cultural groups which include presentations on historical aspects of the

group, objective cultural social events, and lectures or speakers. Educators are futurists and must be able to anticipate tomorrow's needs and equip today's students with the necessary skills to meet those needs. Given the demographics already discussed, appreciating diversity is an important skill.

One problem sometimes cited with higher education's new emphasis in diversity classes and programs is not that universities "have finally acknowledged differences, but rather that (universities) have taken the concept as a panacea for contemporary racial tensions" (Wu, 1991:B2). The rise of hate crimes on campuses in particular is evidence that racism has not been eradicated. However, these programs can change some attitudes eventually and provide at least some exposure to other viewpoints which will be invaluable in the work world.

Private Sector Efforts

Some organizations are taking aggressive steps to meet the demands of a multicultural workforce and to prepare for the additional demographic challenges ahead. These efforts range from seminars and training programs to structural alterations to even more extensive organizational culture changes. Many organizations have created special personnel positions or task forces designed to meet the challenges of this new workforce. For example, Digital Equipment Corporation has a Director of Valuing Differences. Honeywell has a Director of Work-force Diversity, Avon has a Director of Multicultural Planning and

Design, at Dow Chemical the Equal Employment Opportunity manager is now the Manager of Diversity. Apple Computer has a Manager of Multicultural and Affirmative-Action Programs, and the list could easily continue (Copeland, 1988a; Kazi-Ferrouillet, 1990; Laporte, 1991). Other organizations offer management courses designed to teach managers how to "value diversity."

There are many motivations and justifications for employers to examine the issue of multicultural diversity in the workforce. In preparation for the production of the "Valuing Diversity" film series, a group of films which demonstrate how cultural differences can be manifest in the work-setting and various strategies for recognizing and supporting those differences, Copeland (1988c) interviewed 100 line managers, Affirmative-Action professionals and personnel administrators, as well as over 25 cross-cultural educators and trainers. The following were some of the explanations about why these organizations and individuals were concerned about learning how to manage and value workplace diversity:

1. Demographics. The fact that the working population has changed from primarily white males to both men and women from other cultures, lifestyles, physical abilities, racial and ethnic origins is an important reason to examine this question.

2. Competition for talent. Talented individuals are not limited to any single group but are found in all groups. Not recognizing this important fact would seriously limit the talent pool for short-sighted employers.

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3. _Productivity._ Organizations which value and nurture diversity are more able to have creative, innovative, productive, and loyal employees.

4. _Marketplace demands._ A culturally sensitive and diverse workforce is better able to serve a diverse group of clients and customers. Obviously, as the demographics of the workforce change, so do the demographics of the rest of the population who consume the products and services of the organization.

5. _A changing environment._ Conformity and imposed standards were important in the formation and early development of the United States simply as a method of survival. However, adaptation and innovation are becoming increasingly important and a diverse workforce, with its variety of perspectives, encourages creativity and problem-solving, especially of the problems that "don't fit into the orthodox business models of yesterday" (Foster, et al., 1988:39).

6. _A long-term economic issue._ This issue is related to marketplace demand and productivity. Obviously, an organization with more productive employees and a loyal market will be more sustainable in the long-run.

7. _A mainstream agenda._ Since diversity is good for results, it is supported by management, not just equal employment opportunity specialists.

8. _Good management._ A manager's ability to succeed depends on working effectively with others. Understanding and valuing

difference can enhance the productivity and cooperation of others and thus help the manager to succeed.

9. Employee comfort. When managers understand and value diversity, this helps individual employees feel understood and valued and can help eliminate negative and counter-productive stereotypes. Quality of work life is an important consideration for many workers, so this could be a key to retention.

10. Benefits to the individual. Individuals who have been trained to value and manage diversity find that learning to appreciate others also helps them to appreciate themselves.

Copeland's film series can be a valuable tool to employers who are training managers and workers to function better in a multicultural environment. Four specific areas are identified which need to be addressed when learning to manage a multicultural workforce: stereotypes and assumptions, cultural differences, the "white male club" or "old boy's network", and the unwritten rules of the organization (Copeland, 1988a).

Stereotypes are rigid expectations or beliefs about a person's behavior based on some particular characteristic, such as race, gender, physical ability, or sexual orientation. These expectations are not necessarily negative assumptions. For example, a stereotype about women is that they are nurturing and caring, both of which are generally seen as positive attributes. However, in the workplace this stereotype becomes a problem if workers use this expectation to avoid meeting their female supervisor's deadlines with personal excuses about "trouble at

home" or if a male boss sends a female associate to find out "what's wrong" with a fellow employee.

Cultural differences have long been recognized. The problem has been that people are expected to assimilate and to adapt to the white male culture, especially in the workplace. Management theories have traditionally proposed "one best way" to manage. Theories that suggest contingency management techniques have stressed specifics of the situation and not the differences of the persons involved. Thus, the unique talents and ideas which arise out of cultural differences are not brought into the management equations. Copeland correctly points out that it is not possible to learn all about every culture that one works with. However, merely being sensitive to differences is one important part of valuing cultural diversity. Another component is to learn about one's own culture.

"Being a member of the 'club' is as important as hard work and competence" (Copeland, 1988a:62) for corporate success. It is much more difficult for members of minority groups and for women to become members in this informal but powerful "club." White men are more often perceived as being competent and having leadership potential while others must try to prove themselves. This becomes a particular problem when the informal structure within an organization is especially powerful. If women and minorities have difficulty accessing that informal structure, they will not be able to get ahead in the organization or influence the system. "Women...remain outside informal networks

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of support, guidance, and information exchange that are critical to advancement (Rhode, 1990:172).

A related problem is that this informal club also has access to information about the informal rules of the organization. As Copeland puts it, "a team is a winning team only when all the players know the rules" (1988a:61). Valuing diversity may mean allowing these rules to change so that differences in style and perspective can be better utilized.

Some individuals have tried to join the existing "club" even when it has meant ignoring their own cultural background.

> Many black executive women claim that to be accepted in predominantly white corporations they have had to compromise their cultural identity....(and) to become more like the majority in order to reap the benefits that white America had to offer....But now the civil rights and black power movements have given black people permission to be proud of their unique history and culture. So while learning the "native language and customs" of corporate America may seem like a necessary part of playing the game for white men and women, for blacks, it can smack of selling out to get ahead (Ray, 1988:35-36).

Obviously, this type of personal conflict is not productive for the organization. Eliminating the informal club as part of the corporate culture would seem to make good business sense.

Monsanto Agricultural Company (MAC) is a corporation that is actively trying to change their corporate culture. They provide diversity appreciation workshops and have a task force which specifically looks at issues such as recruitment and retention of multicultural employees.

> In an era in which many organizations are paying lip service to the idea that women and other minorities are welcome in the workplace, MAC is actively reshaping its

culture to ensure that all employees are contributing to their fullest potential. More than playing an equal employment opportunity number game, this company is creating a climate in which differences are nurtured and all employees's needs are considered (Caudron, 1990:72).

As Caudron points out, "rather than ignore differences between employees, wise employers are learning to embrace them and use diversity to create a competitive advantage" (1990:72).

Shipper and Shipper (1987) suggest three key issues for developing a culture that can "nurture diversity to ensure that a variety of the best ideas and talents are used at all levels to provide for the growth of the business and to promote its success" (Shipper and Shipper, 1987:55). These are:

1. *Creation of an awareness of diversity and the benefits involved in promoting diversity*. One thing this includes is eliminating the assumption that affirmative action can or has removed the structural barriers which keep people of color and women out of influential positions in the organization.

2. *Establishing channels for communication and action*. Without non-threatening internal channels for resolution of discrimination and harassment complaints, third-party involvement becomes necessary which can make it more difficult to solve the initial problem. In addition, resources should be available to assist managers in learning to manage and resolve cultural differences.

3. *Employee utilization and development*. This does not simply mean promoting individuals with high potential. Preparing employees for marketplace and technological changes, as well as

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providing access to training and development opportunities is an important component.

It is not enough to create an environment where diversity is tolerated. "What is needed is an environment that <u>values</u> and <u>promotes</u> diversity throughout all personnel decision-making processes and career development phases" (Shipper and Shipper, 1987:56, emphasis in original). The strategy they recommend is to "Communicate Diversity" through heightened awareness and sensitivity to diversity, to "Cultivate Diversity" with problem-solving alternatives such as self-help groups, counselors, internal channels for complaints, and committees, and to "Capitalize on Diversity" through long-term staff development and planning. Obviously, such a program must involve managers at all levels as well as employees to be successful.

Foster, et al., (1988) provide a developmental model of organizational change. In the first phase, the organization is monocultural. The dominant culture is the "white male" system that has already been discussed. The next phase is nondiscriminatory. Numerical representation of minorities and women is encouraged, but the dominant culture is not changed. The final phase is multicultural. The authors provide a vision of the multicultural organization as one that:

    ▪ Reflects the contributions and interests of the
    diverse cultural and social groups in the
    organization's mission, operations, products, or
    services;
    ▪ Commits to eradicate all forms of social
    discrimination in the organization;
    ▪ Shares power and influence so that no one group
    is put at an exploitative advantage; and

█ Follows through on its broader social
responsibility to fight social discrimination and
advocate social diversity (Foster, et al., 1988:40).

Obviously, their vision is an ideal model which would present

quite a challenge to accomplish.

CHAPTER 4
MANAGEMENT THEORY AND
MANAGING DIVERSITY

There are many activities a public manager does while
"managing." Individual differences, both the manager's and the
worker's, influence the process and outcome of these activities.
Since many of these individual differences are connected to
cultural differences and identity development, it is useful to
examine specific components of management in the context of
cultural differences. This chapter will analyze the following
components of management in this context: Organizational
culture, communication, language, leadership, motivation, and
problem-solving and policy analysis. Obviously, public
management involves more than this short list, but these are
useful for providing an illustration of how diversity can impact
specific aspects of management.

Organizational Culture

Organizational theory has assumed that the culture of an
organization can be identified and that all members of that
organizational culture, regardless of race or gender, can and
should try to match that culture.

> Organizational culture can be defined functionally or
> pragmatically as a social force that controls patterns
> of organizational behavior by shaping members'
> cognitions and perceptions of meanings and realities,
> providing affective energy for mobilization, and

identifying who belongs and who does not (Ott, 1989:69).

The most productive behaviors were scientifically identified and the elimination of individual differences was attempted. Some organizational theorists implied that "there is one best culture, which if established in (organizations) would lead to success" (Arogyaswamy and Byles, 1987:648). Those who were already in the organization were used as the standard by which to compare new entrants into the organization. Thus, the white male majority became the ideal and newcomers who could not adapt were seen as deficient:

> Success was based on the assumption that people who were different should assimilate into existing corporate culture, learning the behaviors, skills, and strategies of the white men who created and maintained the culture and who were believed to have superior abilities (Fine, Johnson, and Ryan, 1990:305).

This "difference as deficit" model eventually gave way to a new model, which has been termed the "difference as better" model (Fine, et al., 1990:306). Management theorists who subscribed to this viewpoint would, for example, encourage the hiring of women because women traditionally are seen as more empathetic, cooperative, and non-authoritarian and thus more effective in organizations which use participatory management techniques.

It has finally been recognized that the unique cultures of different racial and gender groups organize and define experiences and behaviors from their own cultural perspective. This model has been labeled the "difference as difference" model (Fine, et al., 1990:306). Researchers and management theorists

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are now addressing the question of what these cultural viewpoints mean and what the impact is.

As Fine, Johnson, and Ryan point out, "men, women, and minorities share the same work environment, and they are often assumed to experience the same work environment" (1990:309, emphasis in original). However, when these researchers conducted a survey in a large, federal agency, they discovered that each worker experienced the work environment differently depending on the worker's race or gender identity. Included among these differences were place in the hierarchy, communication linkages, criteria for promotion, and sexual harassment. As an example of how the groups in this study differed, women and minorities were more likely to identify interpersonal factors as barriers to success while white men identified formal structures and policies as barriers (Fine, et al., 1990:317). The significance of this finding is obvious: Women and minorities will personalize being turned down for promotion while white men will be able to blame management. This will then affect motivation and productivity.

The results in the area of sexual harassment dramatized another difference in how men and women experience the work setting. Nearly a quarter of the women in this study had experienced at least one incident of sexual harassment at the agency, while only three percent of the men had had a similar experience (Fine, et al., 1990). Interestingly, the men and women agreed on the types of situations that could be defined as

sexual harassment, but men tended to indicate that sexism and sexual harassment in the workplace are things of the past.

Communication

Communication has been defined as "an interactive process by which information is exchanged between sources and receivers for the purpose of conveying meaning" (Gortner, Mahler, and Nicholson, 1987:149). Unsuccessful communication takes place when the meaning is not accurately understood. Many cultural factors influence the success of communication.

Studies of communication networks find that people generally "prefer peers very similar to themselves because it simplifies interaction" (Lewis, 1986:25). When speakers and listeners have different styles of communication, it can take more effort from both parties to determine the meaning. Historically, this has been used to segregate workgroups by gender and race. Understanding these different styles of communication can help simplify interaction again.

It is not unusual to encounter workers who are reluctant to admit that an instruction has not been understood. This is especially frequent with foreign-born workers (Thiederman, 1988). Unfortunately, it is common for white managers to assume that the reason for this apparent dishonesty revolves around lack of motivation for doing the job correctly.

However, an alternate explanation is that the worker is more concerned that the parties in the interaction, manager and

worker, will suffer embarrassment or loss of face at such an admission. To the Asian, for example, not to understand is to appear ignorant, foolish, or stupid. The most obvious problem which arises from this desire to save face is that instructions will be misunderstood and tasks carried out either incorrectly or not at all.

The solution lies with the observation skills of the manager. Non-verbal cues, such as repetitive nodding and smiling, may signal that the instruction was not understood. A manager who understands the underlying motivation of this miscommunication could use similar reasoning to avoid the problem by explaining to workers that management loses face when instructions are not completed correctly and thus provide the worker with an incentive to ask questions.

The desire to avoid making directly negative statements is especially prevalent in many non-Western cultures and "reflects the culturally-rooted perspective that harmony should be maintained in all social interactions" (Thiederman, 1988:28). For this reason, the Hispanic or Asian employee will avoid being in the position of stating directly that a job may not be completed on time or that a subordinate is performing poorly. These employees attempt to keep relationships smooth and to protect everyone's feelings. The aim is not to lie, but to avoid the hurt feelings, anxiety, and humiliation which can result from bluntness and hard facts.

To compensate, it is most effective to use knowledge of this cultural motivation to change the communication pattern. If the manager explains that more anxiety and humiliation can result from not knowing the truth, even when it is negative, the employee has an incentive to be more accurate.

On the other hand, some research indicates that white managers tend to value the appearance of calm in the workplace more than black managers who instead value the ability to identify issues directly or even with confrontation. "The straightforward black manager always runs the risk of being viewed as overreactive, while white 'underreaction' is often viewed by blacks as a sign of passivity" (Foeman and Pressley, 1987:297). Understanding this continuum would be a useful tool for all managers so that cultural differences do not result in personal conflict.

Communication signals can change meaning depending on the culture of both the transmitter and the receiver. For example, when two whites are talking, the listener looks at the speaker while the speaker only occasionally looks at the listener (Sue and Sue, 1990; Watts, 1987). The white listener uses verbal fillers such as "uh-huh" or "okay" to show interest and understanding. The black style is almost the opposite. The black speaker looks at the listener continuously while the listener only looks at the speaker occasionally and provides slight nods of the head to indicate understanding.

Obviously, these two communication styles conflict, even without additional variables such as hierarchy or gender. Again, understanding these differences is the key to avoiding misunderstanding. The white speaker who assumes that lack of verbal fillers means that the black listener does not understand or the black speaker who is disturbed by the constant visual contact with a white listener can avoid communication breakdowns through knowledge about these different communication styles.

A second black/white difference in communication style is inventiveness (Foeman and Pressley, 1987). Whites tend to use language primarily as a method for exchanging information while blacks use it also for persuasion and manipulation (Rich, 1974). This is a dual use of language which could be a valuable tool for any manager to learn and understand and also to use effectively to influence others' behaviors.

> A black person, using his or her ability to manipulate language in a dual manner, may find a variety of ways for approaching superiors and subordinates in attempting to create a positive communication climate and yet maintaining a measure of control over the communicative situation (Foeman and Pressley, 1987:302).

Another aspect of inventiveness is called signifying and is defined as language which implies or hints at a question concerning personal information (Kochman, 1981). "The root of signifying is entrenched in the cultural rule that the disclosure of personal information is strictly voluntary" (Foeman and Pressley, 1987:302). Personal information has often been used against minorities so resisting direct questioning has become a survival tactic. This less obtrusive, more sensitive method of

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gaining information can be useful because disclosure may result without the pressure that direct questioning can produce. On the other hand, a white employee may be unaware of a black manager's concern so neither will get to the root of a problem.

Another difference in communication style is that white American men tend to speak in a linear manner, with an easily defined beginning, middle, and end while in other cultures, especially Hispanic and Arab, speeches are circular, with elaborations and tangents (Petrini, 1989). Some researchers have also noticed this tendency in women's natural speech patterns (Gilligan, 1982). These patterns are true of written communications also (Kaplan, 1988). The linear listener wants the circular speaker to "get to the point" while the circular listener believes the linear speaker is unemotional and rigid. Obviously, when these cultural differences lead to assumptions and frustrations with the style of the communication, the meaning of the words are easily overshadowed. Understanding and acceptance of the other's style is important again.

Some topics are seldom discussed directly, and cultural differences fall into that category. "Social convention as much as racism prevents people from talking about racial differences in comfortable and meaningful ways" (Foeman and Pressley, 1987: 295). It is equally difficult to discuss gender differences, and lifestyle differences become even more problematic. Cross-cultural understanding is impossible to develop if differences cannot be openly discussed. Many sensitivity training programs

attempt to break down these barriers to communication. Some people are uncomfortable talking about differences because they are worried that they will sound prejudiced or because of a perception that those who are different are inferior (Copeland, 1988b). A manager who is able to convey that differences are positive and valued will be able to counteract these anxieties.

Non-verbal aspects of communication also vary by culture. There are cultural expectations of physical proximity, especially in the work environment, which differ among cultures (Sue and Sue, 1990). Latin Americans, Arabs, and black Americans tend to stand much closer when conversing than is comfortable for white Americans. This closeness can be taken as an attempt to be inappropriately intimate or as a sign of aggression and the white person may back away to a culturally more comfortable distance. This can obviously have additional negative repercussions if interpreted as a sign of coldness or a desire not to communicate.

Volume and intensity of speech are also influenced by culture (Sue and Sue, 1990). Americans have a reputation for being extremely loud, specially in comparison to Asians. However, Arabs tend to be even louder than American speakers. These differences become a problem when loudness is assumed to indicate anger and hostility and a softer voice is misinterpreted as shyness or lack of confidence. In settings such as interviews or presentations, these cultural differences can leave listeners with inaccurate impressions of the speaker.

Human Resource professionals and line managers who will recruit and interview applicants need to be aware of the ways in which an interviewer's own beliefs, attitudes, and stereotypes can influence interview behavior. Interviewers who have traditional American cultural values expect interviewees to maintain eye contact, provide verbal cues, be facially expressive, volunteer information, and try to sell themselves. These expectations are most often noticed in their absence (Wagel and Levine, 1990). Too many omissions from standard expectations may negatively influence the outcome of the interview. Understanding these expectations can help the interviewer remain more objective.

Cultures have been classified on a continuum ranging from "high context" to "low context" (Sue and Sue, 1990; Wagel and Levine, 1990). In high-context cultures, many situational and interpersonal factors are considered when interpreting the meaning of words that are used. Attention is paid to the circumstances or contexts of an event and non-verbal cues are important. In low-context cultures, the verbal message alone is interpreted. Low-context cultures also tend to emphasize rules and procedures and to be more individual-oriented. White American and many European cultures tend to be low-context cultures, while Asians, Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans tend to be high-context cultures.

High-context communication is actually more efficient than low-context communication because it takes fewer words to convey

meanings (Sue and Sue, 1990). However, more time is initially required to establish rapport. High-context communicators also address many social and personal issues in addition to the simple, objective facts. For example, a low-context manager would concentrate on specific performance on a task, while a high-context manager would take the time to consider personal difficulties and other factors (Wagel and Levine, 1990).

One final communication issue is related to ethnic humor. This is a type of humor in which "fun is made of the perceived behavior, customs, personality, or any other traits of a group or its members by virtue of their specific sociocultural identity" (Apte, 1987:27). This has become a controversial topic because many of these cultural groups have begun to protest always being at the butt of other's jokes. The problem is that many of those who tell these jokes think that those who are objecting are over-sensitive and lack a sense of humor. Obviously, workplace conflict can erupt. A culturally sensitive manager should prohibit any jokes, comments, or behaviors which perpetuate negative stereotypes of ethnic groups even when intended to be "just for fun" because of the divisiveness which can result.

Language

Language difficulties can exist if English is the second-language of an employee. The full impact of this difficulty would depend on the work environment. Accents can also create difficulties. Neither of these differences indicate that the

employee is less capable, but patience and tolerance may be important in workplace success.

In recent years, discriminatory language has been the focus in many fields. Generally, this focus has been on the use of gender inclusive language. Many contracts, handbooks, and job descriptions have been rewritten to be gender-neutral. Instead of focusing on what "he" will be expected to do, it becomes "he/she" or the "applicant." Many individuals have tried to remember to talk this way also, even eliminating words such as "postman" or "congressman." In fact, the newest edition of Webster's Dictionary has been heralded as the first "gender-neutral dictionary" ("No Sexism Please, We're Webster's", 1991). A guide to avoid sexist language was also added.

Sometimes all of these changes sound awkward and it is easy to trivialize some of the changes because some of these words do sound unfamiliar and even "funny." However, these changes in language are important for several reasons. First, these new words reflect the reality of the work force. All mail handlers are not male and all Supreme Court justices can no longer be addressed as "Mr. Justice" so the non-sexist form of the word is important for accuracy.

Another reason is to support the goal of affirmative action. If all applicants for a position are being considered equally, then it is important that the language used to describe the final selection also be gender-neutral. Not "this will be his office"

when no one has been hired yet, but "this will be the new
employee's office" whatever his or her sex.

A third reason is to help avoid alienation of female
employees. For example, if a manager is giving a pep talk to
motivate a group of sales representatives and uses a traditional
coaching-style phrase, "get out there, men, and break some
records," the female employees will feel left out and not part of
the group. This would obviously have serious consequences in
productivity and retention.

The most important reason is the value judgment which has
traditionally accompanied gender-specific words. Words viewed as
masculine are seen as more positive attributes than female-
associated words (Epstein, 1988). The generic or universal form
of many words is the male word ("mankind," "he," "chairman") and
the female is excluded or presented as a special case of the
word, contributing to the status difference.

> The use of gender in contexts themselves infused with
> preconceived ideas about women's worth reinforces such
> ideas. The persistence of gender stereotypes has led
> to research specifically on perceptions and evaluations
> of speech. When men and women use the same words, the
> same pronunciation, and the same intonations, their
> speech nevertheless may be interpreted differently.
> Listeners' understandings of what women say and what
> men say depend in part on the listeners' assumptions
> about what women and men actually do and should say
> (Epstein, 1988:227).

This sensitivity to language should not be limited to
gender-related words. Words can convey value judgments even
unintentionally. Some individuals will notice these usages while
others will not. One example is the word "minority." To some,

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this word implies "lesser than" in more than a numerical sense. "Minority" has historically been used to mean less important, such as the "minority opinion" which does not have to be catered to. In addition, the word "minority" at one time only referred to blacks while now it is used to refer to many diverse groups.

The phrase "people of color" will probably replace the word "minority" as the preferred description because the historical value judgments are absent. Another alternative is not to group these cultures together and instead to use more specific descriptors such as Asian Americans, Native Americans, and African Americans or Blacks. A culturally sensitive manager will recognize the individual importance of these words and take the time to determine which words are preferable.

There are many other phrases which have a more negative connotation to various groups such as "slaving over my desk," or "too many chiefs and not enough Indians," or even calling an office of adult female workers "my girls." Because of the loaded nature of these phrases, a culturally sensitive manager will learn to eliminate such phrases and to be aware of the impact when these phrases are inadvertently used.

Leadership

The direction, coordination, and motivation of individuals within an organization are some of the tasks that concern leaders. Various trait and situational theories have been suggested to explain and describe good leaders. It is generally

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accepted that effective managers must be good leaders and a
variety of recent and popular theories have been presented on how
managers can find "excellence".

Barbour and Sipel (1986) present a model for public sector
"excellent leadership" behavior. First, the manager must have a
clear vision of where the organization should be in the future.
This vision is "based on the beliefs and values that constitute
the leader's motivating force for action" (Barbour and Sipel,
1986:4). Second, excellent managers must be able to sell their
vision by acting on it and setting an example and by
communicating that vision to others. Third, the manager must be
willing to take risks and to respond to problems with action.
Finally, the excellent manager cares about both people and the
organization. Cultural differences impact this model by
providing the values which influence the vision, how it is
communicated and received, the actions taken, and an
understanding and appreciation of people.

Another model of effective public-sector management style
has been proposed by Goldberg (1985). The "practical,
motivating, sensitive (PMS) management style enhances the
potential for substantive, lasting productivity improvement"
(Goldberg, 1985:259). This style of manager understands the
organizational objectives, environment, and work force. The
focus is on personnel needs and input in a common-sense approach,
on "taking risks but being sensible, stressing both incentives
and accountability, and acting on instincts and feelings at

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appropriate times" (Goldberg, 1985:264). The PMS manager would effectively use cultural diversity awareness as a motivator for increasing productivity because it is "practical, motivating, and sensitive" to do so.

One important role for a leader is to manage and facilitate innovation. "Institutional leadership is critical in creating a cultural context that fosters innovation" (Van de Ven, 1986:601). Throughout this paper, it has been suggested that a manager who demonstrates the valuing of diversity will be able to lead other employees to do likewise. Leadership is crucial in creating organizations that value diversity, which would certainly be an innovation in many organizations.

McCallister and Gaymon conducted a study of females and males most likely to be in upper management positions in the year 2000 to "identify prevailing goals and values of young male and female workers/managers (and)....explore the possibility of unisex work attitudes among 21st century managers" (1989:210). Their findings suggest that managers are looking for a model that takes into account individual interests and differences.

> Men will be placed in a position of having to develop
> the human relation skills that women have already
> developed and displayed. Since a true concern for
> people and bigotry are incompatible emotions,
> discrimination in the workplace should decrease as the
> male population begins to develop nurturing,
> supportive, and interactive human relation skills
> (McCallister and Gaymon, 1989:228).

They point out that the skills that were historically associated with (male) leadership during the industrial age, such as

physical strength and the use of intimidation, are no longer important in the contemporary service age.

Another study which examined differences between the way men and women lead was done by Rosener (1990). The traditionally male "command and control" style of leadership contrasts with a style she terms "interactive leadership" and finds more frequently among female respondents. Interactive leaders "encourage participation, share power and information, enhance other people's self-worth, and get others excited about their work" (Rosener, 1990:120). Again, multiculturalism is not a specific area addressed but is implied in the emphasis on inclusive participation and sharing of power. A command and control style manager will not have the time or inclination to solicit personal information about employees which could be used to increase productivity, for example, while an interactive style requires this information simply through the process involved.

It is not my intention to imply that only women exhibit these characteristics or that any biological component is involved. Women, and people of color, are simply socialized in a manner which is more likely to result in these behaviors. For example, women live in a culture in which white men are the dominant group. Subordinate groups learn to cooperate with dominant groups as a survival technique. Therefore, asking for participation and networking with others would be a skill learned by the subordinate group and could explain this gender difference (Vaden and Lynn, 1979). In addition, all of the research

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findings related to gender and management are subject to the same

expectations of how men and women should manage as the managers

are (Fitzgerald and Shullman, 1984). Women may not lead

differently, but they might describe their behavior and

motivations differently than men.

It is clear that no single management style will be most

effective in every situation. Understanding cultural differences

would be an important skill for any leader. "Cultural

sensitivity and knowledge may augment the manager's diagnosis of

situational demands so essential to deciding appropriate

leadership style" (Rizzo, 1986).

Motivation

A good manager must:

take care not to project (his/her) own culturally-
specific needs and wants onto others. Such projection
is probably the most common error made by managers
today and is one which can seriously compromise all
efforts at motivation and persuasion (Thiederman,
1988:29).

American culture highly values many forms of reward which single

out the individual for special attention such as praise, a

picture in the company newsletter, a name on the marquee, or a

prestigious promotion and new job title. In contrast to white

American culture, many other groups are far more concerned with

maintaining integrity of the group than with calling attention to

the individual. This Individualism—Collectivism dimension was

discussed in Chapter 2.

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The Native American worker, for example, would be more comfortable passing credit for individual achievement onto the group rather than claiming it for himself or herself and a Vietnamese employee may be uncomfortable accepting a promotion if it means leaving the work group (Copeland, 1988a; Thiederman, 1988). The Hispanic worker might prefer time off with the family rather than the prospect of a promotion. Similarly, the opportunity for more overtime might appeal to the Filipino who is struggling to send money home to younger siblings and parents. In contrast, when some American firms began operations in India, they were surprised that workers would only work part of the week even with a full-time job promised. Workers explained that they only worked until their living expenses were met. The incentive of having extra or saving money for the future did not exist in their culture. The difficulty which arises from these differences in motivation is that it is not always easy to predict which incentive will provide the best motivation for the foreign-born or culturally different employee. This is especially a problem if flexibility of rewards and management discretion is not built into the system.

Isolation can result when there are very few members of a particular group and this isolation or feeling of being a "token" can result in reduced productivity and motivation and increased stress (Kanter, 1977).

> A visible minority invariably becomes the focus of
> attention and as such might benefit from being noticed.
> At the same time, being the focus of attention means
> one comes under greater scrutiny and stress....

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Theoretically, as the numbers of minorities increase, more opportunities should exist for contact and the breaking down of stereotypes. But some evidence indicates that as numbers increase, the majority group becomes more threatened (Smith, 1989:42).

A wise manager will be aware of these issues of isolation and fear and will try to counteract the problems which can arise.

Expectations of how someone should behave based on gender or cultural identity can seriously influence work attitudes and motivation. There is a

mismatch between characteristics associated with femininity and characteristics associated with vocational achievement. The aggressiveness, competitiveness, dedication, and emotional detachment thought necessary for advancement in the most prestigious and well-paid occupations are seen as incompatible with the traits commonly viewed as attractive in women: cooperation, deference, sensitivity, and self-sacrifice. Despite substantial progress toward gender equality over the last several decades, these sexual stereotypes have been remarkably resilient (Rhode, 1990:180-81).

If the stereotypes on which these expectations are based can be discussed, this negative influence can be alleviated.

Cultural identity can provide the motivation to work to change organizational policy. "Minority administrators do have an important role to play in the public management field if the plight of their people is to be improved" (Herbert, 1982). Many feminists and minority activists prefer attempting to change the system from within. Of course, frustration with the system can also lead to emotional burn-out and decreased productivity and motivation.

Different cultures emphasize the importance of achievement in different areas. For example, Hispanics value the achievement

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of cooperation while white American males value supremacy in a competitive situation (Ramirez, 1988). Other groups have a high need for affiliation and belonging which would take precedence over achieving for personal gain (Bhagat and McQuaid, 1982). Understanding these differences can help managers create work situations which best utilize the motivational styles of their employees.

Griffin-Pierson (1988) has provided a different conception of competitiveness which incorporates two dimensions of achievement. One includes a vertical focus on goal attainment (Goal Competitiveness) while the second has a horizontal focus on others (Interpersonal Competitiveness). Some research indicates that these two dimensions are gender-related, with men scoring higher on Interpersonal Competitiveness while women score higher on Goal Competitiveness (Griffin-Pierson, 1988). The implication for managers is that women may work better in cooperative teams while men may be motivated by interpersonal competition and "winning."

Problem-Solving and Policy Analysis

Models of decision-making, problem-solving, policy analysis, and research design are generally based on the assumption that there is some rational or at least linear process which can produce the "best solution" or "one best way." The first step in most of these models is to identify or define the problem. Yet, if white men, women, and minorities have different perspectives

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on defining and organizing the world, then even defining what the problem is becomes quite a challenge. Perhaps even suggesting that finding an answer is possible or desirable is a cultural variable in and of itself. For example, research on children's play indicates that boys generally play games with clear objectives while girls play more process-oriented games (Maccoby, 1988; Shapiro, 1990). These two focuses produce very different results.

It is generally recognized in policy analysis that political considerations determine the areas that are appropriate for public policy, as well as who the recipients will be or what the method of accomplishing particular goals will be. It is intriguing to speculate on what the current public policy agenda would look like if policy-makers had valued cultural diversity when formulating goals. For example, if women had been examining a list of priorities, would conquering space be listed before solving homelessness or hunger? No, not if Gilligan's theories of moral development are correct (1982). According to Gilligan, men define priorities in terms of hierarchy, separation, and abstraction while women define priorities in terms of connectedness and interpersonal relationships. Since public policy results from the prioritizing of different goals, the implication is clear that different cultural groups would create different policy agendas.

There are other policy analysts who believe that "public organizations (have a) technocratic monopoly over how public

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problems should be defined and solved" (Ventriss, 1987:27-28).
These theorists would probably divorce cultural viewpoints from
analysis by depoliticizing and even privatizing social problems.
When neutral, administrative strategies are applied to solve
public problems, the factor of human diversity is eliminated.
There has been a movement away from purely administrative
decision-making which has resulted from the increased activism of
minority groups who have not seen their views represented by
existing policy.

"Research from a feminist perspective assumes that subjects
are active participants in the research and that their self-
reports are valid data for study" (Fine, et al., 1990:307).
Historically, researchers often spoke for powerless, underserved
groups by representing the needs of these groups to decision-
makers. This paternalistic approach has recently been rejected
and replaced by advocacy or action research which involves
members of the community in an active role (Borrero, Schensul,
and Garcia, 1982). This change in research perspective has been
especially useful in developing innovative programs for enhancing
service delivery to particular groups.

"Participation also increases support for decisions
ultimately reached and reduces the risk that ideas will be
undermined by unexpected opposition" (Rosener, 1990:122).
While this can also be termed cooptation or manipulation, it is
likely that the final decisions reached differ as a result of the
process of participation and do reflect more than a single

decision-maker's viewpoint. This increases the effectiveness and responsiveness of public programs.

Including diversity in decision-making provides a variety of important viewpoints.

> Whether team members differ in occupational specialties, past experience, gender, conceptual skills, or personality may be less crucial than the fact that they do differ and look for different things when they size up a problem. If people look for different things, when their observations are pooled they collectively see more than any one of them alone would see....which suggests that collective diversity increases requisite variety which in turn improves reliability (Weick, 1987:116).

Decisions can be improved when there are different perspectives presented. The problem of group-think is less likely to occur when the cultural diversity of a group is greater, assuming the status of group members are equal within the group. Increased creativity and innovations are more likely to result when people from diverse backgrounds contribute to defining, solving, and evaluating problems.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION: THE IMPORTANCE OF A
PROACTIVE APPROACH

Managers must learn to manage cultural diversity in the work environment. Bringing a diverse group of people together in an organization has the potential for conflict and decreased efficiency if the manager is not prepared to actively prevent the potential problems. One method to avoid the possible negative results of diversity would be to limit employees to one particular cultural group. Obviously, in an age of affirmative action and changing demographics, this would not be an acceptable solution. Managers have no choice except to learn how to manage the existing diverse workforce in the most optimal manner.

There are many ways for managers to learn the skills necessary to manage a diverse workforce. As mentioned earlier, there are consultants, video programs, workshops, and both popular and academic literature available in this growing field. Many managers have already developed the sensitivity and awareness required, whether through personal experience or exposure to a variety of viewpoints in a university setting.

Obviously, organizational support is crucial for the manager to maintain valuing diversity behaviors and attitudes. This includes eliminating structural barriers, but also includes modifying the organizational culture to be more accepting and

encouraging of differences. Empowerment strategies for people of color and women at both the individual and organizational level can produce gains in public sector efficiency and responsiveness which are crucial in an era of decreasing resources and personnel.

While much of this paper has focused on the management of workplace diversity, the larger impact is on the public being served. Increased productivity and retention of employees obviously save already limited public resources. In addition, service delivery is enhanced. Finally and probably most importantly, the ideals of democracy and equality are maintained and supported in more than the symbolic sense.

From a humanist perspective, valuing and respecting cultural differences is an ethical issue.

> What was considered appropriate policy changed as
> concepts of female difference (biological and social)
> and ideas of racial inferiority gave way to commitments
> to social and political equality (Boris and Honey,
> 1988:34).

A belief in the equality of all people must include equality of all cultures. The historical expectation that all groups must assimilate and accept the dominant culture as their own was clearly based on the assumption that the dominant white Anglo-Saxon male standards were superior to the cultures of the various minority groups. Valuing diversity means giving all groups respect and acceptance based on recognizing and not overlooking differences. Learning and acknowledging differences is an important method to demonstrate that minority cultures and

individuals are as equally valuable and worthwhile as the majority culture.

During the discussion of multicultural education, one potential problem identified was that of one group speaking for another. This is an important reason to have culturally aware employees who can guide policy which will impact members of their own cultural groups. "Public employee groups representative of the differing values and various perspectives in our total society is essential to public accountability" (Lovell, 1974:237). It is important that these be individuals in the integrated or building bridges stage of identity development, but those who are resisting the majority culture provide an invaluable and alternative viewpoint also.

Of course, it is not mere numerical representation which matters.

> Having minority members in city government positions, especially sensitive, street-level ones, has been viewed as one method for easing hostilities between street-level bureaucrats and those they serve (Sharp, 1990:35).

It is also important that there be visible respect given the minority employee by co-workers and that segregation of clients to the token minority member not take place.

Service delivery can be improved through the provision of staff training which incorporates an understanding of client differences. When alternate views are included and understood in the development and implementation of public policies, the final outcomes will be more effective. There is an enormous history of unsuccessful public programs which failed specifically because

cultural differences were not taken into account during the development stage. For example, the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school programs, the welfare programs which encouraged female single-parent homes, and various health education programs all failed to accomplish their primary missions without creating larger secondary social problems.

> Institutions can be assisted to change through an educational process in which service staffs are stimulated to think about their assumptions, values, behavior, and their knowledge of client populations, and to examine the organizational structures and processes which support current and unsatisfactory models of service provision. The most effective training strategies are based on accurate research data about the client population and about that population in interaction with service providers (Borrero, Schensul, and Garcia, 1982:149).

The accomplishment of policy objectives cannot be completed without recognizing and accommodating cultural differences. Public employees have a responsibility to the people they serve to provide services both efficiently and effectively. Otherwise, the programs are essentially undemocratic and certainly inefficient. Using education as an example:

> Educational programs which are not based on the unique learning styles of the people they serve do not provide culturally relevant learning environments and are culturally undemocratic. They reject the cultural background of their students and create conflicts by forcing these students to question the values and learning experiences which they have acquired in their homes and neighborhoods....If we are to eliminate these undemocratic practices and ensure that educational institutions respect cultural differences evident in our society, we must encourage the adoption of a new philosophy, that of cultural democracy (Ramirez, 1988:200).

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Another issue related to the public as beneficiary of diversity management training is making the best use of the human resources available to the public sector.

> A complex of social factors has combined to exclude minorities and women from the higher levels of formal educational attainment, and great numbers have pursued avenues of development other than that of formal education. Yet, their experience paths prepare them to bring new perspectives, different values, and perhaps even equal or higher capabilities to many public jobs (Lovell, 1974:237).

Non-traditional employees, including those with non-traditional training, may bring non-traditional solutions to public problems.

I believe that early supporters of affirmative action policies anticipated the benefits of a diverse workforce in terms of democratic accountability, efficiency, and effectiveness. However, the difficulties in achieving these goals were overlooked.

> Simple contact among diverse groups will not in itself create an environment that values diversity. Factors such as unequal status, perceived lack of institutional support, a competitive climate, and lack of significant common tasks can lead to conflict and frustration (Smith, 1989:44).

It is the manager's responsibility as a public servant to learn how to actively prevent that conflict and frustration and to maximize employees' productivity.

> The way public-sector managers get things done, the way they communicate with subordinates, deal with change and crisis, and establish and work toward agency and individual goals is the key to making public resources as productive as possible (Goldberg, 1985:257).

The time has arrived for a more active approach in managing the differences which Affirmative Action and changing demographics

have helped create.   Training public managers to understand and

value diversity is the key.

> The reason...to move beyond affirmative action to
> managing diversity is because affirmative action fails
> to deal with the root causes of prejudice and
> inequality and does little to develop the full
> potential of every man and woman in the
> (organization)....the goal of managing diversity is to
> develop our capacity to accept, incorporate, and
> empower the diverse human talents of the most diverse
> nation on earth (Thomas, 1990:117).

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