



### Workplace Diversity Case Model

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## Tēnā koutou, Mālō 'etau lava, As-salāmu 'alaykum, 你好 and warm greetings to all our members.

New Zealand's existing and potential talent pool is diverse across many dimensions – a quality, research tells us, that provides organisations with strategic advantages. But a diverse workforce does not thrive without a culture of inclusion. When employees feel a sense of inclusion and belonging, they feel valued – safe to make their best contribution to the success of your organisation. This is the job of confident inclusive leaders: to build cultures of inclusion for high-performing and sustainable organisations.

Evidence tells us that workplace inclusion is more than just the right thing to do, it is a strategic imperative that increases operational performance. But that knowledge hasn't always been widely accessible for New Zealand leaders and managers who are at the front line, responsible for implementing inclusive cultures for our diverse workforce.

We are pleased to present a review of the best available evidence for the advantages of workplace diversity and inclusion, including:

- the evidence for workplace inclusion improving employee engagement, business performance and social outcomes;
- why workplace inclusion is both "the right thing to do" as well as a positive driver of innovation and productivity; and
- why doing workplace inclusion well will attract and retain your super-diverse talent pool as well as future-proof your products and services.

The Workplace Diversity Case Model has been developed to help people leaders talk about the advantages of workplace inclusion with ease and confidence. If you know the why, you can get on with the how.

This research review is supported by a communication tool kit including presentation aids for speaking to groups and handouts for targeted discussions – all of which members can access on our website. I hope this practical information will help you talk easily about why diversity works for New Zealand, so that you can get on with how to build a culture of inclusion in your organisation.

RACHEL HOPKINS
CHIEF EXECUTIVE



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This report provides an analysis of the literature on workplace diversity and inclusion and based on this, proposes a case/model to inform New Zealand state employees, particularly middle-managers, of the potential benefits of accepting diversity and inclusion as a leading philosophy in daily operations.

From this perspective, the document shapes what is simultaneously called a model (a dimensional representation of knowledge) and a case (a justification of a set of proposed outcomes). Throughout the report, there are continuous reference to a "case" as opposed to a "business case" for diversity and inclusion. This is because there have been historical tensions between proponents of the social justice case and those of the business case, not only in the public service but in organisations in general. In other words, some proponents see a moral case for diversity (diversity is the right thing to do), while others look at the profitability side of it (diversity can enhance performance).

The document is roughly divided into four sections, the first of which is a short introduction focusing on the need of having a strong case for diversity and inclusion in the New Zealand Public Service. In a second section the report elaborates on its methodology. Important information in this section includes how the proposed model derived from 210 studies for practitioners and academics on diversity; that it flows from empirical evidence collected in over 20 countries; and that most of the reviewed pieces are relatively new studies in public administration published in prestigious journals.

In the third and fourth sections the report provides a quick overview of the history of workforce diversity and inclusion globally and in the New Zealand public sector. There, it is argued that the discussion and focus globally has moved from a social justice case, to actively respond to historical exclusion and marginalisation of societal groups, to an emphasis on managing diversity and creating cultures of inclusion.

In a fifth section, the most important of them all, a model/case is proposed by integrating and organising a myriad of alleged positive outcomes supported by empirical and theoretical evidence.

The multi-level-outcome model is represented by the convergence of two geometrical shapes, a triangle and a circle. The triangle representing potential workplace diversity outcomes and the circle of inclusion in which they are to flourish. The basic premise of this model is: workplace diversity can lead to three types of positive outcomes if, and only if, cultures of inclusion are fostered.

The report provides extensive empirical and theoretical evidence in each component part. Most of this evidence derives from public service literature and experience at the international and local level. Every outcome is later subdivided into a new set of potential benefits. Overall, these are the alleged outcomes and sets of benefits proposed by the model:

**Social outcomes are at the top** —or inverted base— of the triangle and represent the most important set of outcomes in any organisation whether public or private. **These social outcomes are further broken down into three main categories:**social equity outcomes, co-production outcomes and social cohesion outcomes.

- Social equity outcomes refer to how, by integrating minorities and vulnerable groups into the public service, governments can better design strategies to address historical inequalities by more adequate design and delivery of public services.
- **Co-production outcomes** refer to how communities represented in the public services are more ready to collaborate and participate in government initiatives given the bonds of trust flowing from representative bureaucracies.
- **Social cohesion outcomes** refer to the potential benefits that workforce diversity and inclusion in the public service can bring to the overall harmony of society by bringing traditionally excluded groups to the decision-making table.

In a second layer —at the centre of the triangle— the report locates **productivity outcomes**. That is, outcomes that can enhance organisational performance and help the public service to achieve its goals in a more efficient and effective manner. Productivity outcomes are later further deconstructed into three categories: motivational outcomes, creativity and innovation outcomes and team-performance outcomes.

- **Motivational outcomes** refer to how workforce diversity and inclusion can boost organisational morale, as well as levels of engagement of diverse and non-diverse employees, resulting in better levels of productivity and engagement as well as lower turnover rates.
- Innovation and creativity outcomes refer to the potential gains the public sector can achieve by bringing heterogenous minds flowing from heterogenous stories to the design and operation of public policy. Indeed, the document lists overwhelming evidence that diversity encourages creativity and fosters an innovative organisational spirit through openness and inclusiveness.
- **Team performance outcomes** refer to how public organisations can strengthen their problem-solving and decision-making capabilities by correctly managing diverse views and developing solutions to new and old public policy problems.

Finally, at the pointy end of the inverted triangle the report locates what it is known as: **prospectivity outcomes**. That is, the potential outcomes public organisations can achieve by using demographic projections to proactively drive representation in their workforce and public policy. Here it is argued that, whether one likes it or not, diversity is an unstoppable force public agencies should manage well, and while doing so, they will be able to plan better, grow their services correctly and anticipate barriers and difficulties to the operation of public initiatives and services.

The last part of the model is the **circle of inclusion**. That is, the inclusive environments organisations should foster in order to achieve the positive outcomes of workforce diversity. The document refers a great deal of evidence pointing in the direction that, for diversity to grow and reach its full potential, inclusive management is a quintessential requite. Moreover, as it is argued, inclusion challenges managers to expand their capabilities and to acquire new types of skills to make sure that "everyone in the organisation is a valued part of the organisation".



In 2007 American Professor of Complex Systems and Economics, Scott E. Page published "The difference: How the power of diversity creates better groups, firms, schools and societies". Since its release by Princeton University Press, the book has gained tremendous influence among academics and practitioners trying to demonstrate what Page calls the diversity conjecture, a simply constructed, yet difficult to prove statement: diversity leads to better outcomes.

Page himself acknowledges that the blurriest part of such a proposition relates to those 'better outcomes' that diversity can bring to organisations. In other words, is there a list of benefits that make workplace inclusion important in increasingly complex societies and their public and private organisations? If this exists, has it been supported by evidence engraved in real life experience? Do we have models to prove such benefits, especially in the case of the public service?

Interestingly, even before such a conjecture was proposed, numerous studies —theoretical and empirical— had consistently demonstrated a myriad of positive gains that organisations could obtain by correctly managing diverse workforces. Such trends have remained surprisingly steady in current reports prepared by prestigious practitioners who argue that, when correctly managed, a diverse workforce can provide, among others, faster growth rates, larger financial returns, important market gains, and innovative pools of talent (Credit Suisse, 2012, 2016; Deloitte, 2011, 2017, 2018; McKinsey & Company, 2018; OECD, 2018).

Similar results have been consistently demonstrated by numerous academics who have explored workforce diversity and inclusion from multiple contexts, angles, epistemologies and methods (e.g. T. H. Cox, 1994; T. H. Cox & Blake, 1991; Michàlle E. Mor Barak, 2000, 2017; Thomas, 1990, 1992; van Knippenberg & Mell, 2016). Furthermore, from the public service perspective, academics have long argued and demonstrated that workforce diversity and inclusion can help state bureaucracies to build better relationships with increasingly diverse societal groups and, while doing so, improve social cohesion (Carrell & Mann, 1995; N. Riccucci, 2018; Sabharwal, 2014; Sabharwal, Levine, & D'Agostino, 2018).

Together however, all these studies have also demonstrated how difficult it is to manage diversity and particularly how difficult it is to convince a sceptical workforce of these promised long-term gains. Moreover, when it comes to building an integrated case for diversity, this impressive body of literature is still fragmented by tensions between contrasting positions.

At Diversity Works New Zealand, we undertook the challenging task of reviewing over 200 published works on workforce diversity and inclusion and shaped them into an integrated, holistic and useful model to defend the diversity conjecture in

the New Zealand public sector. Our purpose was not simply to list a number of relevant studies, but to find a way to organise them in a simple model that can be easily shared and discussed across all New Zealand state agencies.

This primary "alpha" document is one of two fundamental pieces in reporting on this task. Here we encompass, in a rigorous academic way, the foundations and evidence of our model. To do so, we have reviewed classic and contemporary works, proposed a timeline for the evolution of diversity and inclusion, situated New Zealand and its public service in it and arranged the numerous potential outcomes in a structured academic way.

A second document summarises the findings and model from a practical, didactic, graphic perspective. Its role is to communicate the key points of the report in a way that will be easy to grasp and will assist members of the New Zealand public service in their training efforts and their day to day discussions on the potential benefits of workplace diversity and inclusive cultures.

The document is organised in five main sections including this opening introduction. We first explore the key methodological underpinnings behind our work; we then briefly explore the history and evolution of diversity and inclusion in the literature; from there we move to situate New Zealand and its public sector in this timeline; and finally we deconstruct all the elements of our model to illustrate it with selected theoretical and empirical pieces.

As the national body for workforce diversity and inclusion, Diversity Works New Zealand is convinced of the numerous gains that organisations doing diversity and inclusion well can and have already brought to our public sector. Our state agencies have walked a long way, and many public sector initiatives are now regarded as excellent examples of workplace inclusive practices. Yet, many challenges remain. We hope that this research review and model can facilitate what still is a difficult discussion for some.



This case was designed through the review of approximately 200 books, journal articles, governmental and academic reports, and case studies written and edited by both practitioners and academics inside and outside New Zealand. The exploration of the literature occurred mostly through a purposely-designed data search algorithm composed of 15 code words which were later expanded to fit our model. Additional materials were obtained in numerous archives, repositories and databases, including our own case studies database developed over more than 20 years of running the Diversity Awards NZ™.

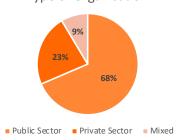
Methodologically speaking, our initial search criteria resulted in over 2,000 potential matches which were later re-checked and narrowed down according to their relevance to the project. The selection criteria included an arrangement of factors such as: type of organisation, diversity dimension, temporality and type of research.

During our review process, we prioritised publications on public administration and public management especially from the fields of organisational development and human resources. Prestigious journals such as Public Administration Review, Public Administration and Public Administration Quarterly received particular attention given their reputation and the global reach of the research they conduct. In total 68 percent of all selected and reviewed materials belong to the public administration category.

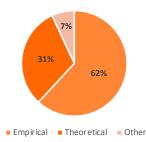
Acknowledging that valuable information was to be found not only in public administration papers, our model also incorporated reputable sources on workplace diversity and inclusion from a broader perspective; 32 percent of our reviewed materials came from sources other than the public service, they included business reports, journals, practitioners' books and databases. These materials were particularly relevant to shape a wider view of the evolution of workplace diversity and inclusion, as well as to create connections with new public administration philosophies and practices.

In terms of types of research, we were careful to build a comprehensive set of empirical materials without disregarding the theoretical foundations necessary to the project. Thus, 62 percent of the revised resources refer to organisational cases, experimental explorations, and critical observations of real-life experiences at the local and international level. Unfortunately, there are not a vast number of publications on New Zealand cases. Nonetheless, we made sure that selected works were representative of different regions in order to identify common patterns and shared challenges. Also, we integrated our own collected case studies developed through numerous entries to the Diversity Awards NZ<sup>TM</sup>, as well as reflexive notes from our own experiences in the field.

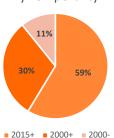
#### Type of Organisation



#### Type of Research



#### By Temporality



The materials collected and analysed include experiences from New Zealand, Australia, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Italy, Israel, Finland, Canada, Switzerland, Denmark, Germany, China, Norway, Sweden, South Africa, Ireland, South Korea, India, Ghana and France.

Theoretical works were crucial to construct synchronic and diachronic articulations of workplace diversity and inclusion phenomena between past and recent literature. We were careful to maintain a contextual perspective, yet still provide the reader with a global panorama of current theories and approaches to key concepts and terms. These inform not only a great deal of the history of workplace diversity and its contextual nuances in the New Zealand case; but also some of the underpinning factors of social and political theory in the section regarding social outcomes.

Our selection also prioritised recent research; 59 percent of the reviewed sources are fairly recent (dated 2015 and up), with some released in the first weeks of 2019. Eleven percent of our selection belongs to the period between 2000 and 2015, which is essential to illustrate the development of workplace diversity and inclusion both in the public and private sector. Most of the classical pieces from authors such as Cox, Thomas, Mor Barak, Van Knippenberg, can be found among these materials. Finally, we also selected historically-relevant pieces on public administration, social psychology and history to frame our discussions of specific topics such as representative bureaucracies, the social and psychological constructions of workplace otherness, social cohesion and new public management. Many of these belong to a period before 2000.

The common topics and trends detected through our algorithm were later organised, merged and tested for consistency using a multi-layered coding process of three levels (open, axial and selective) adapted from grounded theory methodologies and research. This helped us achieve a better level of consistency in our results and provided guidance to the content and locations of elements across the model.

## DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION: A BRIEF PERSPECTIVE

In one of the many reviews of the history of workplace diversity and inclusion, a renowned New Zealand scholar, Dr. Judith Pringle, observes how studies are plagued with numerous dualisms not fully resolved along the past three or four decades. Practitioners vs. academics, gender vs other dimensions, US based cases vs. rest of the world cases, quantitative vs qualitative studies, and probably most important, tensions between the social and the business cases upon which workplace diversity and inclusion have been historically justified (*Pringle & Strachan*, 2015).

Theoretically speaking, the foundations of diversity and inclusion have usually been associated with early propositions of identity and self-categorisation (*Blau*, 1977; *Tajfel*, 1978; *Turner*, 1982), liberal egalitarianism and feminism (*Ferree*, 1980; *Hacker*, 1981; *Rabinow*, 1986; *Rawls*, 1993), discrimination and social exclusion (*Beck & Horan*, 1980; *Halaby*, 1979; *Silver*, 1994), and workplace post-colonialism (*Gonsalves*, 1975; *Weinstein*, 1977). In other words, the history of workplace diversity and inclusion can be traced to multiple forms of exclusion and how these have been legally and socially addressed. Therefore, it is crucial to remember that we cannot think about diversity without thinking of historical forms of exclusion. This is what gives the social case for diversity such a relevance in, and beyond, the public service.

Until the 1970s it was relatively easy to find studies testing differences in performance and intelligence across demographic groups in the workplace (e.g.Bloom & Barry, 1967; Gitter, Altavela, & Mostofsky, 1974; Lyle, 1973; Rosen & Jerdee, 1973). The now unacceptable terminology used in many of these studies is not only an example of contextual factors in the workplace during those decades, but it also reflects core notions fuelling the justification of demographic separation and exclusion in the workplace (Q. Roberson, Ryan, & Ragins, 2017). This body of literature did however create awareness and trigger curiosity from practitioners and academics to dig further into issues that are now well-known barriers to inclusion, such as stereotyping and bias. It was during that period that Tajfel (1978) suggested that individuals' sense of belonging to specific groups provides social identity and a sense of "fitting in". He pointed out that people divide their worlds in a dichotomic way based on notions of "them and us" and that such notions shape ideas of inclusion and exclusion affecting many societal arenas including the workplace.

With increased attention to workforce differences, studies started expanding into distinctive streams. Diversity in teams and organisations became the focus of researchers who were primarily interested in group differences in job performance; others, focused on differences as individual dissimilarity, acknowledging the impact of personal variables such as sex and ethnicity, and on people's employment experiences; while a third strand considered the effects of demographic characteristics on personnel selection, training, and job attitudes. An important point to raise here is that, often such studies rejected the

notion of inclusion based on the inherent communication and interaction barriers that dissimilarity brings to work performance. Moreover, in these types of studies one can find the roots of some the historical arguments still used to justify workplace exclusion.

#### **DISCRIMINATION AND EXCLUSION**

It is in this context, that for more than two decades workplace diversity studies, not yet covering our current notion of inclusion, were commonly associated with arguments of social-justice and historical compensations. The underlying assumption at the time was that, while incorporating new demographic groups into the workforce, some of them faced structural barriers as a consequence of historical disadvantages (e.g.Chadwick-Jones, 1962; Doeringer & Piore, 1970; Gould, 1968; Kain, 1963). Consequently, during the period running from the 1980s to the 1990s, workplace diversity was to be seen through national or organisational policies on discrimination-prevention, affirmative action and equal employment opportunity. As Pio and Signham (2018) observe, the literature on workplace discrimination has never been geographically homogeneous, therefore the diversity dimensions were often different from one place to another.

The legacy of this period is probably a deeper understanding of discrimination, which we now understand as differences in treatment based on personal characteristics - such as race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, disabilities, political affiliation and national or social origin - which impairs or nullifies fairness of treatment or opportunity in the workplace (Badgett, 1995; Colella & Stone, 2005; James, Lovato, & Cropanzano, 1994; Tomei, 2003). Awareness has now grown that workplace discrimination does not only occur openly, and is not limited to one stage of a person's career or similar. It shows up as a multi-dimensional phenomenon happening across several stages of workers' careers. Formally, discrimination against workers perceived as "different" can take place not only during the recruiting process but also while granting opportunities for training, promoting, providing incentives and even retiring (Ashbaugh & Fay, 1987; Cohen, 2000; Lee-Badgett, 1996; Snizek & Neil, 1992). Informally, opportunities for suffering the effects of discriminatory behaviours are numerous and rooted in the dynamics of daily work-interaction (e.g. Kieseker & Marchant, 1999; McAdams, 1995; Wender Zak, 1994).

#### **EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION**

Using legal mechanisms to try to prevent discrimination was indeed an achievement. Nonetheless, tougher, hands-on solutions were created through direct governmental intervention in organisational human resources systems. Most of these have been funnelled through the construction of what is commonly known as Equal Opportunity policies in general, and Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) policies in particular. In the broadest possible sense EEO is a set of government policies that require that employers do not discriminate against employees and job applicants based upon certain characteristics, such as age, race, colour, creed, sex, religion, and disability. In that regard, what is probably more important, is to analyse how this approach to prevent discrimination later crystallised into a more aggressive approach to achieving equality. Here the forces of activism, research and a consciousness of inequality led policy makers to operationalise this principle through the design and implementation of what is commonly known as affirmative action policies. An affirmative action policy is one intended to bridge inequalities in employment and pay, bettering access to education and promoting diversity.

The United States is widely recognised as the original creator and one of the most active proponents of affirmative action policies. The concept was first used in the context of race discrimination and became part of legislation in 1961. By 1964, with the passage of the American Civil Rights Act, the scope of such policies was expanded to include sex, national origin and religion. Not surprisingly, one of the most commonly cited definitions in the literature is the one coined by the American Psychological Association (APA) that defines affirmative action as "voluntary and mandatory efforts undertaken by federal, state, and local governments; private employers; and schools to combat discrimination and to promote equal opportunity in education and employment for all" (American Psychological Association, 1996p.2). The goal of affirmative action is to "eliminate... discrimination against women and ethnic minorities, and to redress the effects of past discrimination" (Kravitz et al., 1997p. vii).

Regardless of its American origin, affirmative action policies have been adapted, reengineered and implemented in dozens of countries around the globe. Defenders of affirmative action have argued that quotas and preferential treatment should be a priority of governments and organisations. Proponents say these policies: encourage vulnerable groups who have been historically excluded to enter the job market; help reduce the prevalence of stereotypes; promote group-opportunities to move up the social ladder; and that they create awareness of otherwise invisible demographic groups (Balafoutas & Sutter, 2012; Beaman, Chattopadhyay, Duflo, Pande, & Topalova, 2009; Coate & Loury, 1993; Niederle, Segal, & Vesterlund, 2013).

Despite these alleged, and often empirically demonstrated, benefits it is clear that affirmative action interventions were not always well-received by numerous players both in the government and private organisations. In some cases, poor implementation focused more on compliance than performance, reinforced some of the stereotypes the policies were intended to erase.

#### **VALUE IN DIVERSITY**

A pivotal moment in the history of diversity was in 1990 when the discussion moved beyond affirmative action and equal employment opportunity to one that focused on managing workplace diversity (*Thomas*). Thomas defined managing diversity as "the process of creating and maintaining an environment that naturally enables all participants to contribute to their full potential in focused pursuit of organizational objectives" (p. 112). Just months after this definition was coined, *Taylor Cox and Stacey Blake (1991)* proposed the value in diversity hypothesis which, together with Thomas' work have constituted the basis for the business case for diversity ever since.

In contrast to the traditional psychological theories of identity and the social justice arguments, this viewpoint advocated in favour of removing cultural barriers, so people of different backgrounds, genders, ethnicity, ages and ideologies could thrive while fostering efficient, innovative and competitive organisations. From this perspective, instead of a barrier to team work and interdepartmental performance, people's differences are better seen as an opportunity, since they broaden the range of perspectives and cognitive resources organisations have at their disposal. Dissimilarity exposes members of work units to minority opinions and more creative alternatives and solutions, while providing access to a larger and more varied social network (Mannix & Neale, 2005). Thus, with greater access to task-relevant information and expertise, organisations have greater ability to engage in quality problem-solving and decision-making (Robertson, Ryan & Ragins, 2017).

#### There are six interwoven arguments behind Cox & Blake's value in diversity hypothesis.

#### 1. Cost argument

This involves the cost of doing a poor job in integrating employees. Broadly speaking, this means that organisations handling diversity well will create cost advantages over those who don't.

#### 2. Resource-acquisition argument

Organisations with the best reputations for managing diversity will win the competition for the best personnel. As the labour pool shrinks and changes composition, this edge will become increasingly important.

#### 3. Marketing argument

For multi-national organisations, the insight and cultural sensitivity that members with roots in other countries bring to the marketing effort should improve these efforts in important ways. The same rationale applies to marketing to subpopulations within domestic operations.

#### 4. Creativity argument

Diversity of perspectives and less emphasis on conformity to norms of the past (which characterise the modern approach to management of diversity) should improve the level of creativity.

#### 5. Problem-solving argument

Heterogeneity in decision and problem-solving groups potentially produces better decisions through a wider range of perspectives and a more thorough critical analysis of issues.

#### 6. System Flexibility

Diversity makes organisations less determinant, less standardised, and therefore more agile. The increased agility should create greater flexibility to react to environmental changes (i.e., reactions should be faster and at less cost).

All these arguments gained momentum during the 2000s and their effects are still visible in many articles, studies and reports (*Robinson & Dechant, 1997; Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010*). These six arguments have been constantly used to empirically prove Scott E. Page's diversity conjecture and we have used some of these arguments to shape our model.

Although various advantages may accrue through workplace diversity, a large body of research investigated the associated performance benefits in groups and teams, and concluded that such gains happen through enhanced information exchange and decision-making supported from the top of the structure (*Q. Roberson et al., 2017; Q. M. Roberson & Park, 2007*). Indeed, to reach any potential gains from workplace diversity, it must be ingrained in corporate culture. This requires, "visible and ongoing support from senior management, a clear articulation of the business case for diversity, line manager accountability, and training programs directed at communications, conflict resolution, and team building" (*Slater, Weigand, & Zwirlein, 2008*).

Considering these new trends in research, from the late 2000s, the discussion of diversity has slowly but steadily moved to the arena of inclusion (Boekhorst, 2015; Davidson & Ferdman, 2002; Hirak, Peng, & Carmeli, 2012; Kulkarni, Boehm, & Basu, 2016; Oswick & Noon, 2014). Research recognises that workplace diversity management can only achieve positive results if organisations allow employees to thrive in their workplaces through inclusive practices that foster empowerment, openness to and management of dissent, enhanced communication processes and inclusive leadership. Furthermore, this approach challenges organisations to rethink their traditional organisational structures and business models, their goals and values, missions and visions to align them with more holistic views of diversity.

Before finishing this brief review, it is crucial to go back to where we started - the dual tensions between the business and the social cases for diversity. So far, our analysis has revealed crucial differences between models. Our core assertion is that both views appear stuck as they are based on two different perspectives difficult to reconcile with each other. This proposition is far from new and far from being ours alone. Like *Pringle and Strachan* (2015), numerous scholars have observed such tensions, criticised how they have fragmented our views on workplace diversity and have called for more integrative perspectives and cases to defend what should be a balanced model able to accommodate increases in both morale and productivity (e.g. Knights & Omanović, 2016; O'Leary & Weathington, 2006; Seierstad, 2016; Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010; van Dijk, van Engen, & Paauwe, 2012).

# THE NEW ZEALAND PUBLIC SECTOR AND ITS CHALLENGES

New Zealand has been historically considered to be a social laboratory for the rest of the world; a pioneer in granting women the right to vote and recognising unions as legal entities to negotiate worker's rights (Spoonley, Pearson, & Shirley, 1994).

We have been a progressive nation and our brand is widely associated with positive adjectives. We like to see ourselves as a tolerant, open, equal society where opportunities to participate in all aspects of social life are granted to all our members. Our workplaces are not free from facing challenges when it comes to diversity and inclusion. Indeed, numerous authors have observed how the global discourse on diversity and inclusion never fit perfectly into New Zealand culture and how specific arrangements were needed to shape a unique view on diversity management, one that has been often described as a soft approach (Jones, Pringle, & Shepherd, 2000).

Regardless of such alleged softness, the literature also recognises the New Zealand public sector as an early adopter and an agenda pusher for workplace diversity and inclusion practices and interventions in Aotearoa. This started as early as 1984, when the State Services Commission made its first statement concerning equity in employment in New Zealand's public sector. These early efforts resonated and later resulted in the inclusion of provisions for mandatory EEO policies across agencies as stated in the New Zealand State Sector Act of 1988. In that same year, the State Services Commission released its first comprehensive EEO programme which aimed to identify and eliminate institutional barriers that cause or perpetuate inequality in respect to the employment of any persons or groups of persons.

In 1991, the terms diversity and Equal Employment Opportunity appeared more frequently in the New Zealand public sector literature, especially after the creation of the Equal Employment Opportunities Trust (now known as Diversity Works New Zealand) as a partnership between government and employers. Indeed *Jones et al. (2000)* observe how both terms were the centrepiece behind the creation of the Trust and of its original core slogan "Making the most of a diverse workforce".

There was debate about whether the Equal Employment Opportunities Trust should have been a full affirmative action watchdog rather than a purely educational role. The New Zealand public service has been and still is a close partner with Diversity Works New Zealand. Together, they have explored and built diversity and inclusion policies and interventions ever since.

The relevance of the New Zealand public service in the workplace diversity and inclusion landscape of Aotearoa is particularly relevant. As mentioned by *Pio and Singham (2018)*, as an employer, the New Zealand state sector represents 13.8% of the country's total workforce. It is easy to see why most of the case for diversity in the public sector has been constructed from a social-justice perspective, specially under the representative-bureaucracy theoretical umbrella (*Pio & Signham, 2018*). Nonetheless, with the adoption and evolving implementation of new public management philosophies and strategies, New Zealand practitioners and authors have been more open to the adoption of key components of the business case (*Pallot, 1998*). For instance, in 2014, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commissioner argued in favour of the potential benefits that diversity and inclusion could bring to the public service in terms of innovation, staff retention, productivity and openness to new market models (*Blue, 2014*).

Major efforts have been articulated in the New Zealand public service over the last three decades, especially in the areas of recruitment and career development for people in marginalised groups. However, it has been argued that the results of these efforts have been discernible, but slower than expected (Donnelly, Parker, Douglas, Raveswood, & Weatherall, 2018; Pio & Signham, 2018).

Based on the results of different analyses, reports and on our own experiences in the field, it would be reasonable to state that there are still numerous structural barriers to the full development of inclusive practices in the New Zealand public service.

#### Among the most commonly mentioned are:

- · Important pay gaps across ethnic and gender groups.
- Resistance to embracing diversity and inclusion practices and philosophies from groups of public servants and specific tiers in the organisational structure.
- A sense of detachment from diversity and inclusion practices under the idea that these are a passing trend or something not relevant to all people.
- · Conscious and unconscious bias.
- · Entrenched masculine cultures around performance and leadership expectations.
- · Tensions between the business case and social justice case for diversity.
- · Tensions between the concept of merit and diversity.
- Under-representation of important demographic groups across organisational structures.

An issue that deserves special attention relates to bi-cultural relations and the role they should obviously play in the construction of any diversity model in Aotearoa. As observed by numerous scholars, this contextually relevant construct cannot be simply put aside in a society with unique socio-historical legacies from a colonial past (*Pringle & Ryan, 2015; Pringle & Strachan, 2015; Simon-Kumar, 2014*). The call for contextually sensitive discussions of this type has increased in recent times with the rise of cosmopolitanism, globalisation and multiculturalism. There are significantly different approaches by organisations around the hierarchy of bi-culturalism and multiculturalism.

It is our position that, an holistic view of diversity and inclusion in Aotearoa requires understanding multiculturalism and bi-culturalism not as mutually exclusive, but as complementary to each other. From this perspective, Māori and Tikanga Māori are not simply one of the many dimensions of diversity, but a fundamental foundation upon which integrative efforts to all dimensions are articulated. In other words, if multiculturalism involves the adoption of cultural norms and values of a new country while still retaining important parts of one's identity, New Zealand values and norms need to consider fundamental aspects of Māori culture, traditions and world view.



While exploring the extensive body of literature on workplace diversity and inclusion, it is plausible to state that there are strong foundations to support a new, comprehensive and easier to explain case for diversity and inclusion in the New Zealand public sector. Practitioners and academics have long listed numerous gains that organisations can generate by nurturing inclusive, participative and diverse organisational cultures.

It has been argued for instance, that inclusive organisations are three times more likely to be high-performing, six times more likely to be innovative, and eight times more likely to achieve better outcomes (*Deloitte, 2018*). Not surprisingly, more and more, we hear claims that there is a diversity and inclusion dividend which organisations can collect by correctly implementing diversity and inclusion practices. (*Deloitte, 2011; Kaplan & Donovan, 2013; McKinsey & Company, 2018*)

The one big lesson to be learned in reading the vast amount of diversity studies is that diversity and inclusion do not grow spontaneously in organisations. Doing diversity and inclusion well and reaping the benefits requires thorough, purposeful and constant efforts. Furthermore, their proper implementation requires first the adoption of a new philosophy on how to operate not only in our working environments but also in our minds. In a recent report by a renowned practitioner, it was observed how diversity and inclusion require rewiring not only organisational systems but individual behaviours (*Deloitte, 2018*). This is probably why diversity and inclusion initiatives are so difficult to grasp and therefore not accepted by many (*Dobbin & Kalev, 2016*). Change is difficult and accepting it is even more so (*Evans, 2014*). Diversity and inclusion not only need inclusive programmes, but also confident inclusive leaders convinced of the benefits this new philosophy can bring to New Zealand society in general and the New Zealand public service in particular.

#### **ENGAGING MIDDLE MANAGERS**

From what we have observed, inclusive leaders in the New Zealand public sector need tools to persuade sceptics when implementing and operating diversity programmes and initiatives. Middle managers have been recurrently identified in the literature as crucial players and determinants of the success or failure of diversity and inclusion interventions. The challenge here is two-fold, since many managers are already active diversity champions in the need of a strong case to persuade teams, while others may still be sceptical or even resistant, under the wrong perception that embracing diversity involves losing an already won position in the work-ladder, losing future individual opportunities or the effort of a problematic reshape of their well-known environments.

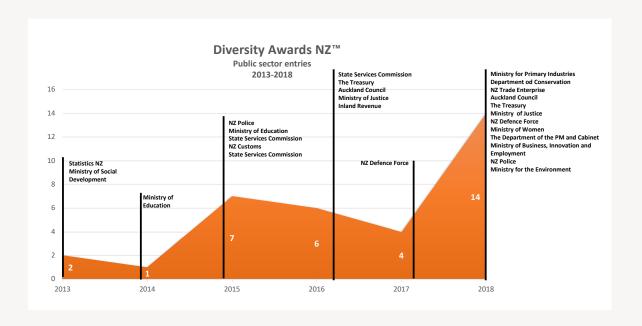
To figure out how to engage managers in embracing diversity and inclusion and driving it forward, it is essential to understand their world and the critical challenges they undertake during their day to day operations (Berry, 2015). In a world where one can be required to resolve dozens of divergent priorities per day, it is only logical to expect workplace diversity and inclusion to be relegated to the "nice to have but not essential" list of pending issues. By giving them a new way of seeing the multiple benefits of workplace diversity, we expect they can see it not as an operational hazard but as a valuable ally. An ally not only to achieve their goals, tasks and KPIs but also to achieve their career aspirations through gaining confidence with inclusive leadership skills.

A comprehensive, well-balanced, holistic case for diversity and inclusion needs to reflect the inevitability of diversity and highlight the role of the public sector in adopting a prospective approach to manage its workforce in order to better understand their future customers. A good model needs to be sensitive to the historical tensions between the social and the business cases for diversity and aim to build bridges between those two. As the national body for workplace diversity and inclusion, we have witnessed those tensions in the New Zealand public sector. While many employees strongly believe in diversity and inclusion they do it either from one perspective or the other. The result of this tendency has been to separate rather than integrate efforts.

Finally, a new model case for diversity in the New Zealand public service needs to acknowledge the tremendous amount of capital already gained through the design and implementation of dozens of programmes, policies and interventions over the course of more than 30 years. From the early efforts made by numerous district health boards, local councils, ministries and decentralised public entities, to the more sophisticated crossagency initiatives pushed by numerous diversity champions and convinced public agencies, New Zealand is still a pioneer in the development of social capital and inclusive working spaces.

Many of the stories collected by Diversity Works New Zealand over the past two decades point in that direction. They are indeed proof of the many ways in which workplace diversity and inclusion have generated numerous forms of public value, not only to our state bureaucracies but to individual employees and also to our country.

During these years we have witnessed an increasing number of public organisations asking us questions about how to use workforce diversity and inclusion as a managerial tool to enhance performance, foster innovation and create new forms of public value; how to solve specific problems and challenges emerging from leading an increasingly diverse public workforce; how to connect with other organisations, public and private, to create benchmarks and share



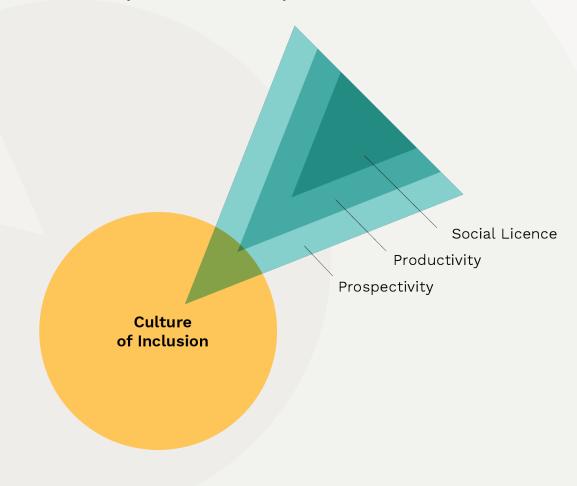
best practices. We have also received an impressive number of entries to the Diversity Awards NZ, and last year, public sector applicants tripled their average from the last six years.

These real life, contextualised experiences, have been incorporated into our model and, together with the reviewed books, articles, company reports and case studies, shape a new way of understanding the value of diversity and inclusion. Broadly speaking, this model was created by the amalgamation of similar findings and their classification into specific groups and subgroups.

Firstly, we have social outcomes which broadly encompass the positive effects that workplace diversity and inclusion can bring to the meta level of organisational development. Empirical and theoretical works on the moral case easily fit into this first category. Secondly, we found many productivity outcomes, directly related to performance enhancement in areas such as service development, team-formation, problem-solving, creativity and innovation. Finally, there are "prospectivity outcomes", that is the set of arguments crafted by academics and practitioners to illustrate the potential benefits of embracing diversity ahead of the unavoidable social and demographic changes faced by increasingly diverse global societies. Our categories are not simply theoretical constructs, but a collection of organised evidence supported by international empirical research and practical experience.

We accommodated these three categories across layers of an inverted triangle. At the top are the social outcomes, which are the fundamental guiding principles leading workplace diversity and inclusion in an era of increased focus on the social licence to operate. In a second layer we located the productivity outcomes; we did so to represent how central they are to achieve efficiency and effectiveness in day to day operations. At the bottom of the triangle we put the prospectivity outcomes, those leading the future as a reminder of the inevitability of a changing world to which organisations need to adapt.

The inverted triangle also represents the tip of an arrow pointing downwards. This symbolises a path to follow in a journey that goes from the general to the concrete. Furthermore, as the outcomes triangle meets the adjacent circle of inclusion, it reminds the reader that diversity outcomes cannot be fully achieved in non-inclusive cultures.





Within and beyond the traditional Kantian approach, there is a strong social/moral case for organisations to excel in their diversity and inclusion practices.

Organisations exist and operate within societies and their sustainability is therefore connected to the overall well-being and expectations of their members.

At its core, diversity involves difference and often such difference involves 'otherness' from which exclusion can flow. Somebody who is 'different' is more likely to be judged against what are considered as acceptable 'in-group' parameters and any deviation from such perceived standards is perceived as problematic and can create conflict and confusion.

As previously discussed, one can trace the origins of diversity management to the notion of social justice and its impetus to overcome discriminatory behaviour towards 'outsiders'. This view starts by recognising that, historically, some societal groups have not been treated equally, and demands intervention to change institutions and organisations towards being more inclusive by bringing traditional outsiders into the job market. Such interventions, in the end, aim to shape societies where everyone can thrive and fully contribute, regardless of their perceived differences (Ferdman, 2018).

An inclusive society is thus one where everyone is treated with dignity and respect and is fully integrated into its economic, cultural and political arenas. In such a society diversity is celebrated and moral responsibility is demonstrated through the creation of sets of positive shared values (*Katai, Nishida, Fruchter, & 2011*). This outcome requires collaboration of all societal sectors. Recent studies point in the direction that, when various societal sectors work in concert, there are numerous positive gains. Indeed, corporate social responsibility and the notion of social licence have emerged in recent years as concepts that better describe strategic alliances between governments and private organisations to conjointly create new types of public value (*Demuijnck & Fasterling, 2016; Syn, 2014*).

The very nature of government agencies provides them with a unique take on this matter. If the concept of leading by example is to be applied, then it is clear that governments have a strong responsibility in creating inclusive workplaces (Baekgaard & George, 2018; Chun & Evans, 2018). From this point of view, representativeness is nowadays a precondition of state bureaucracies. It has been argued that representative public organisations embody the commitment to "a natural inclusion and acceptance of worth of individuals" (Selden & Selden, 2001), thereby representing the plurality of social values that is characteristic of a mature multicultural democracy.

This is even more so in multicultural societies such as New Zealand where the natural assumption of integration —as opposed to assimilation—involves the recognition of people's diverse backgrounds and capabilities as a determinant factor in the construction of the social fabric (*Pio & Signham, 2018; Reynolds, 2018*). Although traditional views on multiculturalism have referred to race and ethnicity, recent accounts of the subject have tried to link it more integrally to the complex reality of contemporary societies and its public and private organisations (*Jansen, Otten, & van der Zee, 2015; Kaasila-Pakanen, 2015; Stevens, Plaut, & Sanchez-Burks, 2008*).

#### REPRESENTATION AND PUBLIC WORKFORCE DIVERSITY

The growth of academic and practitioner interest in the issues of representation and public workforce diversity has prompted a significant increase in the scholarly development of theoretical frameworks. Probably the most relevant framework has been the concept of representative bureaucracy, the origins of which can be traced to the 1940s in the seminal work of *J. Donald Kingsley (1944)*. In his book, he calls to dramatically change the way bureaucrats were selected so that it ceased to be dominated by elite groups. Kingsley did not develop the theoretical links among his claims or test them empirically in the way contemporary social scientists would. This was left to scholars such as *Frederick C. Mosher (1968)* and *Samuel Krislov (1974)*, who illustrated how representative bureaucracy is desirable because: it makes government as a whole more representative; can help counteract defects in representation in other institutions, such as legislatures and courts; and it symbolises as well as promotes equal opportunity and equality. Mosher distinguished passive representation, which refers to how the social characteristics of the bureaucracy mirror the general population, from active representation, which involves the exercise of administrative discretion by bureaucrats to benefit their social group (a process that is assumed to flow from passive representation).

The general premise of representative bureaucracy is that diversely formed bureaucracies will lead to better societal outcomes, but it is still necessary to reflect on what such outcomes might be, and how they have been empirically sustained in the academic and practitioner literature. Overall, we can list the social outcomes into three broad categories:

- 1. Social equity;
- 2. Social collaboration and coproduction; and
- 3. Social cohesion.

#### **SOCIAL EQUITY OUTCOMES**

Representation of diverse groups in the public service helps to ensure pluralism in the design and implementation of public policies and programs (Denhardt & de Leon, 1995). Numerous studies have demonstrated how both descriptive and substantive bureaucratic representation offers positive findings regarding the final outcomes of public policy (e.g.Agyapong, 2018; Brunjes & Kellough, 2018; Fernandez, Koma, & Lee, 2018; Marvel & Resh, 2015; Schuck, 2018). Necessarily, minorities represented in the public service will have a closer understanding of specific problems and challenges faced by people in their communities. When diversity dimensions such as ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, age or physical capabilities are articulated and addressed by public servants belonging to such communities the results can be tremendously effective. A labour force of diverse social workers, police officers, teachers, doctors and nurses, just to name some, can help in reducing important social and economic service gaps not only of their own group but of multiple disadvantaged communities they share similar challenges with.

Positive correlations have been prevalent in contemporary empirical discussions on representative bureaucracies. For instance, *Ashworth and Meier (2014)* illustrated the benefits of having gender and minority ethnic representation in the British fire authorities. Their study revealed how more representative authorities tend to be more effective organisations. In a previous study *(Meier & Nicholson-Crotty, 2006)*, it was found that police forces with larger numbers of female officers file more sexual assault reports and make more sexual assault arrests.

Similarly, in their analysis of representative bureaucracies in the American Judiciary, *Bradbury and Kellough (2011)* listed a body of evidence of positive outcomes for social equity. In a recent article, *Johnston and Houston (2018)* investigate the passive representation of female police officers at leadership levels and the active representation of women vis-a-vis gender-based violence arrest rates in the UK, providing important support for the hypothesis of diverse gender representation, especially in front-line roles.

In the educational sector, (Keiser, Wilkins, Meier, & Holland, 2002) demonstrated how female maths teachers and female teachers in general enhanced female students' maths scores in American schools. Similarly, a study of Danish schools found that students with teachers of the same gender perform better in maths and language arts (Pedersen, 2013). Another recent study focusing on African American teen pregnancy found that the presence of African American teachers lowered teen pregnancy rates among African American teenagers (Atkins & Wilkins, 2013).

Several scholars have looked at sexual orientation as a characteristic potentially positively influencing bureaucratic behaviour in the delivery of medical services regarding HIV prevention and treatment (Slack, 2001; Thielemann & Stewart, 1996). On the topic of age, Gade and Wilkins (2012) tested for the effects of representation of veteran workers. They identify how veteran status positively influences the delivery of public services among elder populations.

The positive outcomes on social equity have not been exclusive to Western countries, in fact a recent study conducted in China indicates that the presence of female maths teachers in the classroom significantly increases the maths scores of female students. Further examination supports the interpretation that female maths teachers actively represent the interests of female students. (Zhang, 2018). Similar results were found in a recent studies in Ghana (Agyapong, 2018) and South Korea (Song, 2018) where positive correlations were found between passive representation of female teachers and the performance of girls in the classroom. Finally, recent empirical evidence collected in Brazil suggests that women elected leaders increase the probability that women will be appointed to head public agencies, and through these agency heads they can positively influence the representation of other administrative positions. The study also found that female Brazilian public administrators are faster to propose and implement more women-friendly policies (Meier & Funk, 2017).

In summary, these studies —only a small fraction of all the available evidence—show that the mere presence of diverse bureaucrats can lead to substantive benefits for those being represented. However, active representation in the form of advocacy or partiality cannot always be excluded and may have played a role. While several researchers have identified the earlier work on the link between passive and active representation did not control for sources other than advocacy, these researchers now admit that they cannot fully control for active representation, which might have also benefited the community, or fully control for mechanisms other than those being measured (Atkins & Wilkins, 2013; Gade & Wilkins, 2012; Theobald & Haider-Markel, 2008).

#### SOCIAL COLLABORATION AND COPRODUCTION OUTCOMES

A second set of positive societal outcomes refer to social collaboration and cooperative work at the local and community level (co-production). Although sometimes merged in the literature with the previous category, we found enough evidence to support a separate group of outcomes based on the overwhelming evidence of positive achievement. Broadly speaking, collaboration and cooperative work refer to the willingness of communities made up of diverse individuals —who have been traditionally segregated or marginalised— to collaborate in state-driven projects.

According to recent research, such willingness originates in the slow but steady construction of trust flowing from perceptions of real representation in governmental bureaucracy. This notion has shaped the concept of symbolic representation (*N. M. Riccucci & Van Ryzin, 2017; N. M. Riccucci, Van Ryzin, & Li, 2016*) which is often used to describe how the mere existence of passively representational bureaucracy can itself improve outcomes by influencing the attitudes and behaviours of represented groups, regardless of bureaucratic actions or results. A symbolically representative bureaucracy has the potential to modify citizens' perceptions on the fairness and legitimacy of governments and, in turn, how willing they are to cooperate, comply with rules, and co-produce policy outcomes (*Kennedy, Butz, Lajevardi, & Nanes, 2017; Molina, 2018; Morton, 2015; van Ryzin, Riccucci, & Li, 2017*).

There is emerging evidence that symbolic representation can have real effects. For example, Theobald and Haider-Markel's (2008) research shows that the presence of African-American police officers enhances African-Americans' trust of the police, thereby creating greater legitimacy for the law enforcement agency within the community and in turn more cooperation and compliance with the law. Similarly, Riccucci, van Ryzin, and Lavena (2014) examined gender representation in the context of policing and domestic violence. Using an online sample of about 800 participants in the US, these researchers showed that gender representation in the police department influenced people's judgments of the department's fairness, trustworthiness, and performance Thus, these findings clearly indicated that the gender composition of the agency can causally influence people's judgments of the agency.

Expanding their research area to the field of recycling policies, Riccucci and colleagues (2016) made an interesting discovery: by replacing authorities' male names (the mayor, the sanitation commissioner, the deputy mayor for operations and the director of organic recycling) to female names in a one-page description of a local recycling initiative (based on an actual programme in New York City) they found significant evidence that perceptions of gender matter to female citizens. For women, the findings showed that when the

description of the recycling initiative included more female names of public officials, women's willingness to recycle increased, with the greatest gain in willingness to do heavy composting, the most arduous form of recycling. Specifically, while only about 46 per cent of women in the study reported being highly likely to do heavy composting when the officials had all male first names, this rate increased to nearly 60 per cent when the officials had all female first names. The results of this study clearly demonstrate the influence of female representation on the willingness of women to cooperate and hence co-produce an important policy outcome, especially when such co-production is more demanding.

In terms of race and ethnicity, Theobald and Haider-Markel (2008) found that African-Americans regard police stops and car searches as more legitimate when the officer is African-American and because of that are more likely to cooperate when necessary. On a similar note, but from the German educational sector, Buchard (2017) reveals important correlations between teachers' ethnic backgrounds and the willingness of diverse ethnic parents and students to enrol and collaborate in the delivery of educational programs. Using Atkins and colleagues', as well as Lim's, lists of casual mechanisms of passive representation in state bureaucracies, Buchard observes that passive representation of diverse bureaucrats affects the behaviour of minority citizens by making the agencies' services more attractive, while also play an aspirational role in which the bureaucrat serves as a role model for the citizen.

#### SOCIAL COHESION OUTCOMES

Evidence shows that well managed diversity is linked to the creation of stronger intergroup-relations in society. This is particularly salient in today's global world where increasing tensions and fragmentations are seen in the social fabric of advanced democracies. As argued by von Maaravic, Peters and Schroter (2013), the aim of integrating minorities into government is to reduce the tensions originated by traditional models of elite-control bureaucracies, which are historically identified as not mindful of the needs and wants of their minorities.

Cox, Osborn & Sisk (2017) explore how minority integration can mitigate divisive politics, empower underrepresented or historically marginalised political players, ease tensions on language policies and national identity, and increase the efficiency of national-level inclusivity agendas.

Numerous scholars such as *Berger (1988)*, *Edward (2004)* and *(Nagle, 2016)*, have explored this issue from a peace-building perspective in post-conflict societies, but as argued by *Soroka and colleagues (2017)*, minority differences matter to shared-power in multicultural societies where social cohesion itself relies on the removal of barriers to representation and participation in all societal arenas. Similar arguments have been developed by *Kymlicka (2015, 2016, 2017)* and other influential scholars in diversity and multiculturalism.

Pio and Signham (2018) explain the relations between social cohesion and inclusive workspaces in the public services by arguing that the term cohesion denotes "a collective quality achieved through a balanced representation to achieve harmony". Looking at social cohesion in this way, entails an expectation of equal distribution of opportunities not only to access but to participation in the administration of public services and the creation of public value. Similar arguments have been made by authors such as Demireva and Heath (2017), Alcocer (2014) and Petsinis (2013).

Scholars and practitioners have long argued that social cohesion is formed by the social structure and that inequalities directly erode cohesion within a society (Beauvais & Jenson, 2002; Jeannotte, 2000; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). Going back to our opening argument, this perspective posits a pivotal role to the state as responsible for shaping the context in which diverse citizens from multiple groups live together as a unit (Easterly, Ritzen, & Woolcock, 2006). As argued by Helly and colleagues (2003), social cohesion should shape integrated and inclusive communities where intergroup encounters are guided under the influence of the state. Such inclusive communities could hardly be achieved without balanced representation in state service delivery.

# PRODUCTIVITY OUTCOMES

A second set of outcomes, probably the most sought after by adherents of the new public management philosophy, refer to productivity. Regardless of whether we label it management for results; performance accountability; public organisational development; outcomes-based performance; or benchmarking, it is impossible to ignore the economic rationalism that has resurged in public administration since the 1980s (Bale & Dale, 1998; Heinrich, 2002; Kamensky, 1996; Mascarenhas, 1993; Pallot, 1998).

It is in this context that a fluid conversation between the private and public sector has been constantly enriching state bureaucracies with transferable business ideas, concepts, models and personnel/talent for nearly 40 years.

As observed, New Zealand has been a pioneer and a world role-model in this regard, therefore it is only logical to expect a strong emphasis in productivity outcomes in the design and implementation of public policies and state services. A crucial component of our model's rationale is that such emphasis is not detrimental to the social case, but complementary to it. From our perspective, this view is shared by the State Services Commission and is reflected in its underpinning documents and plans. Diversity management is a strategic tool not only to achieve social outcomes but to do so in a fair and efficient way.

According to Olsen and Martins (2012), managing diversity involves enabling every member of the workforce to perform to his or her potential. Such high hopes are not, and should not be, exclusive to the private sector. Inside our public organisations are complex networks of individuals who also require inclusive managers able not just to deliver services in an effective manner, but also to be creative, innovative, and to make inclusive decisions as part of their every-day jobs. Both public and private organisations are equally composed of humans, all diverse in one way or another, and helping them navigate the intricate corridors of diverse human behaviour and interaction is essential to productivity and performance.

As argued by Cox and colleagues, the management of diversity involves planning and implementing organisational systems and practices to manage people so that the potential advantages of diversity are maximized while its potential disadvantages are minimized. Moreover, as widely demonstrated by this group of scholars, adequately managing diversity does not simply result in already-existing outcome-maximisation but also in the creation of new types and levels of productivity outcomes (T. H. Cox & Blake, 1991; T. H. Cox & Finley-Nickelson, 1991; T. H. Cox & Finley, 1995; T. H. Cox, Lobel, & McLeod, 1991; McLeod, Lobel, & Cox, 1996).

It is important to highlight the differences between workplace diversity itself and managing workplace diversity. Diversity deals specifically with understanding and valuing the differences among the employees within the organisation with regard to race,

ethnicity, gender, age, disability etc. Whereas diversity management focuses on the efforts that an organisation takes to encourage greater contribution from their workers of all backgrounds and lived experiences. Some researchers have suggested that the negative effect of diversity management not being managed is increased conflict and reduced connectedness amongst employees. Consequently, managing diversity well increases knowledge, creativity and performance amongst employees (Olsen & Martins, 2012).

A simple bibliometrical search revealed that there are approximately 8,000 academic pieces containing the combined words 'diversity' and 'productivity'. Many of these works aim to empirically test Cox's diversity hypothesis, mostly with positive results. We compiled and reviewed selected pieces of this evidence —particularly, although not exclusively in the public sector realm— and grouped them in three types of potential gains:

- 1. Motivational outcomes;
- 2. Creativity and innovation outcomes; and
- 3. Team-performance outcomes.

#### **MOTIVATIONAL OUTCOMES**

We found enough evidence to support the idea that, when correctly managed, diversity and inclusion policies and interventions can positively impact organisational culture, boosting levels of engagement of both diverse and non-diverse employees. Numerous studies have shown that demonstrating care and support for employees of diverse backgrounds and capabilities is often interpreted in positive terms by the whole organisation (e.g.Downey, van der Werff, Thomas, & Plaut, 2015; Nurbarirah et al., 2018; Singh & Gupta, 2015; Smith et al., 2018). Organisations with effective diversity and inclusion policies and strategies normally have lower turnover and higher job satisfaction rates. When combined with complementary policies these positive features can increase other positive effects such as discretionary effort, empowerment and organisational commitment.

Choi (2008), examined the effects of diversity and inclusion on employees' job satisfaction and turnover in the American public sector. Against the old premise that a demographic homogeneous workforce is related to reduced organisational commitment, Choi was able to prove that organisations that properly manage diversity, were related positively to job satisfaction, while, on the contrary, those with no proper diversity infrastructure were associated negatively to job satisfaction.

In the Netherlands, *Ashikali and Groeneveld (2015)* used survey data from a representative sample of more than 10,000 public sector employees and showed a positive effect of good diversity management on employees' affective commitment which is attributed mostly to the perceived inclusiveness of a public service culture in an organisation. In addition, they found that this impact is influenced through specific leadership traits identified in the middle and lower middle management tiers of public organisations. The role of supervisors as leaders, implementers and agents of inclusiveness is highlighted as critical in this research. Similar results about the role of supervisors, diversity management and job satisfaction have been reported in public and private organisations across the globe (e.g. Ayoko, Härtel, & Callan, 2002; Gonzalez & DeNisi, 2009; Moldogazien & Chris, 2015; Ritz & Alfes, 2018).

Positive effects are not confined to Western organisations. For example, examining a sample of 162 Indian organisations, *Kundu and Mor (2016)* revealed that implementing diversity management in the form of equality based HR practices such as recruitment and selection, training and development, performance appraisal, and compensation, leads to increased organisational commitment among employees.

Selden and Selden (2001) made a significant contribution to bringing this discussion to the context of the public service. In 'Rethinking diversity in public organisations for the 21st century: Moving towards a multicultural model' they made a case for harmoniously accommodating diverse employees' needs and wants in order to foster inter-personal trust, loyalty and work satisfaction. A pivotal element of their proposal is that public agencies should adopt more acculturative [integrative] approaches to their diversity management programmes, as opposed to the traditional assimilationist ones which expect people to fully change who they are in order to merge into the existing dominant organisational culture.

With this in mind, *D. W. Pitts, Hicklin, Hawes, and Melton (2010)* demonstrated that public officers are more committed to their organisation when adequate diversity and inclusion strategies are in place. On the opposite side of this equation, using a sample of 3400 employees of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds in Southern California, *Mor Barak and Levin (2002)* also found support for the hypothesis that minorities are more likely to feel excluded in non-inclusive environments, and that exclusion is linked to job dissatisfaction and a lower sense of well-being. Using structural equations modelling, *Wind and Mor Barak (2007)* tested a similar proposition in a representative sample of 114 employees in Israel. The results point to significant links between diversity and organisational-culture variables and between organisational-culture variables such as fairness, inclusion, stress, and social support with employee outcomes of well-being, job satisfaction, and organisational commitment. In a similar study with social workers, *Pittman, Gibbons,* 

and Castellanos-Brown (2009), show how organisational diversity, supervisory support, and perceptions of inclusion/exclusion are significant in predicting job satisfaction.

In Canada, a survey of over 11,000 managers, professionals, and executives working in nine large organizations show that employees who received effective diversity training were significantly more committed to their organizations and more satisfied with their careers than employees who perceived diversity to be ineffective or non-existent (*Yap, Holmes, Hannan, & Cukier, 2010*). The intersection between commitment, job satisfaction and diversity has also shown similar effects in one-dimensional studies regarding ethnicity, age, and gender (*Grissom, Nicholson-Crotty, & Keiser, 2012; Herring, 2009; D. Pitts & Jarry, 2009; D. W. Pitts, 2005; Vanderschuere & Birdsall, 2019*).

#### CREATIVITY AND INNOVATION OUTCOMES

It has long been argued that diverse and inclusive workplaces are more likely to unleash creativity and innovation among their workforces. Indeed, there is overwhelming evidence showing how organisations that have historically been conformed in demographically homogeneous terms tend to confront similar barriers to see outside the boundaries set by their own similarly-conformed groups. It is in this regard that practitioners and academics have constantly demonstrated that conforming diverse and inclusive teams helps organisations expanding such boundaries. Moreover, it has also been shown that inclusive environments make people more aware and receptive of different ways of living, thinking and reacting, triggering curiosity and expanding their traditional mindsets.

The exploration of organisational innovation and creativity can be traced long back to the 1950s and 1960s in the influential work of authors such as Hoffman and Triadis who were later followed by many others arguing and demonstrating how diverse groups are good for idea generation, problem-solving and creative thinking. Over more than 60 years practitioners and academics have written dozens of articles with compelling empirical evidence that diversity fosters innovation and creativity and that there are tremendous gains for public and private organisations in these fields. For instance, *Van der Vegt and Janssen (2003)* analysed the creative behaviours of 343 members of 41 teams and revealed a strong correlation between innovative behaviour and team heterogeneity. Although Van der Vegt and Janssen's analysis involved mostly private sector organisations, Østergaard and colleagues (2011) found similar results in their analysis of Danish fisheries, agricultural and forestry sectors, closely related to areas of public policy. Similarly, in a literature review of innovation and public sector in the context of the European Union, *Bekkers and Voorberg (2013)* identified diversity and

inclusion as fundamental drivers for innovation. *Lambert (2016)*, proposed the term multilevel creativity while exploring how organisations that value diversity become innovative through their ability to harness creativity and transform it into useful ideas and services. In his analysis he cleverly argues that diversity, and probably more importantly, the way in which this is managed, creates an environment for organisational innovation to flourish.

In an analysis of 2,763 German new ventures from 10 different industry sectors *Bort*, *Bersch, Wagner, and Rueffer (2017)* revealed that the effects of diversity in innovation are not straightforward and depend on types of both diversity and innovation. Nonetheless, their results still provide compelling evidence for the business case. This evidence was consistent with previous studies in Germany showing that the difference in knowledge and capabilities of workers from diverse cultural backgrounds enhances performance and innovation, and outweighs the challenges, for example, in communication barriers (*Niebuhr, 2010*). Similar results were found in Denmark where it was estimated that the contribution of workers' diversity in cultural background, education and demographic characteristics were relevant in determining innovation activity (*Parrotta, Pozzoli, & Pytlikova, 2014*).

Further explorations of innovation and diversity relate to the issue of team learning. In Hong Kong, *Teh, Ho, and Lin (2017)* examined the relationships between diversity and team learning and innovation performance. Using a sample of 266 white-collar professionals, they found that diversity plays a substantial role in improving both individual and team learning, and these two in turn correlate positively to individual and team innovation performance.

Most results on workplace diversity and innovation have been pretty similar across cultures. In a recent study *Bouncken, Brem, and Kraus (2016)* conducted a longitudinal qualitative analysis in a global company with offices in three different countries. Over a two-year period, they conducted over 70 interviews with innovation teams, finding stable results across settings. Their results indicate that cross-cultural teams have a high creative potential, but are confronted with difficulties arising from different working and communication styles which have to be proactively managed from the beginning. Once again, a strong emphasis on competent diversity management is recognised as a pre-requisite for innovation. Moreover, it has been argued that innovation as a process borrows and transfer ideas across settings. The public sector benefits from this sort of exchange. For instance, *Albury (2005)* observes how the British Welfare to Work programme was an innovative adaptation from Scandinavian and US initiatives, and how different innovations in 'restorative justice' were built on Māori experience.

Interestingly, new research trends have demonstrated that the positive power of diversity does not only occur in our physical working spaces. *Daspit and Usher (2018)* analysed the performance of global virtual teams in the technological industry concluding that heterogeneity benefits innovation outcomes by bringing together diverse knowledge from individuals who are not geographically proximate. Using a capability perspective, they found that teams' diverse absorptive capacity is a fundamental means to achieve innovation.

Skilled-migration and innovation has been another common topic of diversity analysis. For instance, *Bosetti, Cattaneo, and Verdolini (2015)* found that a larger pool of migrants in the skilled professions is associated with higher levels of knowledge creation. Skilled migrants contribute both to the creation of "private" knowledge, measured by the number of patent applications through the Patent Cooperation Treaty, and to more "public" research, measured by the number of citations to published articles. Similarly, when analysing data from 500 organisations in Norway, *Solheim and Fitjar (2018)* found that bringing educated foreign professionals and creating the conditions to help them work together with nationals significantly increases innovation and creativity. They argue that bringing employees with different national and racial backgrounds provides teams with expanded views of problem-solving and service-development.

Finally, in terms of gender, numerous practitioners and academics have demonstrated that enriching traditional male-oriented views with female perspectives at the senior executive level can also trigger creativity and innovation. Examining the board composition and firm outcomes of all Fortune 500 companies from 2001 to 2010, *Glass and Cook (2018)* found that firms with women CEOs or gender diverse boards are associated with stronger business and equity practices. Similarly, a recent Norwegian study analysing the relationships between women directors and organisational innovation in 341 Norwegian firms found that women directors contribute positively and significantly to organisational innovation (*Torchia, Calabrò, Gabaldon, & Kanadli, 2018*).

Studies have not only unveiled links between innovation and gender at the top level. In their comprehensive review of the topic *Agnete Alsos, Ljunggren, and Hytti* (2013) provide a comprehensive account of multiple international studies exploring female contributions to innovation. These studies are consistent with previous research showing the positive effects of gender diversity in the workplace (*Cheraghi, 2013; Lindberg & Schiffbaenker, 2013; Miller & Triana, 2009; Torchia, Calabrò, & Huse, 2011*).

## **TEAM-PERFORMANCE OUTCOMES**

Although sometimes contested, we found important evidence supporting the hypothesis that diversity and inclusion bring benefits to team performance. As *van Knippenberg, van Ginkel, and Homan (2013)* recognise, diversity can enhance as well as disrupt team performance. The double-edged sword of diversity (*Milliken & Martins, 1996*) has been illustrated through two opposing but clear logical statements. On the one hand it is true that human beings feel more comfortable working with demographically similar colleagues so adding outsiders to the equation can sometimes be disruptive of group harmony and cohesion. On the other hand adding such outsiders often brings in new types of knowledge, expertise, information and perspectives.

This set of opposing outcomes has informed practitioners and academics' discussions over the past five decades. Most empirical research on diversity in teams has been dealing with how to magnify positive outcomes while reducing its negative effects. From this perspective dozens of articles, case-studies and books have concentrated on providing techniques to bring the best out of diverse teams. Problem-solving and decision making has been one of the most promising areas of research in that regard. According to *Hong and Page (2004)* a collection of bonded but diverse agents can find optimal solutions to very difficult problems and when correctly managed they normally outperform teams comprised of homogeneous agents.

A big portion of the traditional business case for workplace diversity has been defended from what is called the informational/decision making perspective (Williams & O'Reily, 1998). Core to this perspective is the notion that diversity is an informational resource. Demographic differences between people are also reflected in differences in knowledge, expertise and experience, that affect the perspective they may bring to the team task. Greater team diversity therefore brings a more diverse pool of task-relevant information and perspectives that teams can draw from. In knowledge work, such informational resources may add to the quality of team decision making and, more broadly speaking, team performance (van Knippenberg & Mell, 2016). Also, research suggests that team dissimilarity exposes members of work units to minority opinions and more creative alternatives and solutions, while providing access to a larger and more varied social network (Mannix & Neale, 2005). Thus, with greater access to task-relevant information and expertise, groups have greater ability to engage in quality problem-solving and decision-making.

In their influential study, *Bowers and colleagues (2000)* integrated 13 studies to examine the effects of team member dissimilarity across different attributes on team performance. With a focus on gender, ability level, and personality diversity, the results were supportive

of the performance benefits of heterogenous teams. After this pivotal study, researchers have concentrated on creating meta-analyses of diversity-performance work with a greater level of specification and attention to context (Bell, Villado, Lukasik, Belau, & Briggs, 2011; Joshi & Roh, 2009; van Dijk, van Engen, & van Knippenberg, 2012) they all suggest that contextual factors create differences in the performance effects of diversity, nonetheless, all provide solid bases to the informational/decision-making perspective.

More recent studies have started to explore new territories of diversity, work-teams and decision making processes. Examples of some current topics include: fostering environments; new cognitive processes; dealing with faultlines; optimal distinctiveness theory; and specific combinations of all these. For instance, a recent study in China empirically tested the performance of diverse teams and came to the conclusion that mediated knowledge-sharing and fostering positive moods are fundamental factors to achieve good team outcomes (*Tang & Naumann, 2016*). Also *Maynard, Mathieu, Gilson, R. Sanchez, and Dean (2019)* recently investigated the relationship between familiarity, team effectiveness, and viability, and how these relationships are mediated by information elaboration. Their results suggest that professional familiarity is positively associated with team information elaboration, which in turn relates positively to effectiveness in decision-making processes.

Finally, it is worth noting that new trends of diversity and decision-making research are moving from the traditional diversity dimensions (age, ethnicity, gender, etc.), to more complex forms of heterogeneity such as diversity of opinion or thought. For instance, *Phillips-Wren (2018)* investigated diversity of thought in governing bodies and how this affect decision-making. Using a rich data-set of 1430 organisations, this research provided an important basis to the information/decision-making perspective from a new angle. In New Zealand in 2018, Mai Chen et al published the Diverse Thinking Capability Audit in New Zealand Boardrooms 2018 to illustrate that diverse thinking around the board table is essential to improving the performance of companies and organisations.

## PROSPECTIVITY OUTCOMES

Many of our reviewed works start by warning the reader about the inevitability of diversity (e.g. Al Ariss, 2015; De Meulenaere, Boone, & Buyl, 2016; Griffiths, Roberts, & Price, 2019; N. Riccucci, 2018). This common practice is not simply based on personal opinions nor common sense but on the interpretation of factual statistical information and demographic projection data. While doing so, the message seems simple: whether we like it or not, diversity is all around us and will increase in the coming decades, so it is better for our organisational performance to be prepared than to be resistant.

We refer to the social and productivity opportunities of being prepared for the future workforce and consumers as "prospectivity outcomes" (to describe the potential gains organisations can achieve by paying close attention to demographic trends, projections and analyses).

Changing demographics provide an important opportunity for public administrators given the unparalleled challenges they create (*Rice, 2015*). Analysing and identifying trends is thus needed to help public practitioners anticipate, understand and appropriately plan for the numerous challenges of managing increasingly complex populations (*Wooldridge, Smith-Mason, & Madox, 2015*).

Today, more than ever, we are aware of this complexity. Hundreds, if not thousands of studies have warned our public administrators about the differential attitudes of younger populations; we know that our retirement age does not necessarily match the realities or the wants of many; we are aware that new views on gender and sexual orientation are bringing more fluid sexualities in our workplaces; we know that important sectors of our populations are growing old, that is not unusual to have more than one ethnic identity and that we coexist with numerous religions we probably didn't know much about in the past. The literature has warned us about labour shortages, and migratory influxes; of digital gaps, pay gaps and knowledge gaps. We know about birth-rates, divorce-rates, death-rates, epidemic-rates and have data available that enables us to forecast demographics in specific geographies. In other words, we know more than ever about our differences, and this knowledge puts important challenges in front of our public services.

In New Zealand right now, we know there are slightly more females than males; that our average age is 38 and that is ten years older than what it was only three decades ago; that the number of New Zealanders still working at the age of 65 has doubled in the past decade; that Māori and Pasifika groups are growing at a rapid pace; that migrants from China and India are soon to outnumber traditional migrant groups from the UK and Australia; that forty four percent of people living in our largest city were born overseas; that only one out of every four people earning \$100,000 or more is a woman; and that our population is soon to grow near five million (Statistics New Zealand, 2018).

Diverse populations are not just silent numbers but demanding realities. Prospectivity outcomes help public administrators in their planning processes when it comes to policy and service design. Within our diverse population lies the future of New Zealand public administration. It is up to us to create inclusive environments where new generations can thrive and understand increasing complexities.



Up to this point our results seem straightforward, diversity can bring positive outcomes to organisations in general and to public organisations in particular. Nonetheless, a crucial understanding that also flows from the literature is that diversity cannot thrive outside a circle of inclusion. This is interesting since the term inclusion is relatively new in both practitioners' and academics' literatures. Oswick and Noon (2014), observe how interest in inclusion was almost non-existent in the human resources discourse until the 1990s. From that point onwards, he observes, the term has been incrementally used and recently the number of studies on the subject have reached an influential level.

The term inclusion usually refers to a set of procedures intended to shift organisations towards a culture in which policies and procedures provide opportunities for every member of the organisation to excel (Digh & Bennet, 2003; Society for Human Resources Management, 2012). Michàlle E. Mor Barak and Cherin (1998) refer to inclusion as the extent to which individuals can access information and resources, are involved in group works, and can influence decision-making processes. Downey and colleagues (2015), explain inclusion as the degree to which employees feel to be a part of essential organisational processes. These definitions are particularly interesting considering that previous accounts used to illustrate inclusion referred to the subject mostly based on perceptions of esteem, fair and equitable treatment and workforce motivation (Nishii, 2013; Shore et al., 2011). From this perspective, there is now an emphasis on the issue of agency - through employees' empowerment - as a requisite for inclusion.

Bendick, Lou Egan, and Lanier (2010) argue that building an inclusive environment is a combination of commitment from the top decision makers, respect for diverse opinions and fostering equitable policies. Diversity involves shaping more heterogenous workforces, inclusion is making sure that they flourish and grow in an environment of mutual understanding and collaboration. Inclusive frameworks are thus different to diversity frameworks and have been observed to produce better outcomes (Sabattinin & Crosby, 2008).

Inclusive organisations look for how uniqueness can contribute to achieve organisational goals and enrich strategies. One of the biggest researchers on inclusion in the public sector (Sabharwal, 2014), observed how in inclusive environments, leaders are eager to tap into the differences of individuals by offering them a platform where employees are treated as an asset rather than a liability. Workplaces that value employees for their opinions use a synergistic approach to problem-solving and decision-making. This describes what we refer to as cultures of inclusion.

When talking about a culture of inclusion authors refer to organisational environments in which different voices are sought and utilised as opportunities to add value. For instance, *Pless and Maak (2004)* describe these in terms of organisational environments that "allow

people with multiple backgrounds, mindsets and ways of thinking to work effectively together and to perform to their highest potential in order to achieve organisational objectives based on sound principles". Drawing on the work of numerous scholars of inclusion, (Bendick et al., 2010; Davidson & Ferdman, 2002; Gasorek, 2000; Holvino, Ferdman, & Merrill-Sands, 2004; Michàlle E. Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998; Pelled & Mohrman, 1990; Shore et al., 2011), Sabharwal (2014) proposed the term Organisational Inclusive Behaviours and emphasises that cultures of inclusion can be constructed upon three main factors:

- a) Commitment from top leadership to foster inclusion;
- b) Ability of employees to influence organisational decisions; and
- c) Fair/equitable treatment from management.

It is clear that the role of leaders has significantly changed in current views of inclusion and inclusiveness. Instead of focusing on numbers demographically representational spreadsheets, leaders are now expected to work passionately to eliminate systemic barriers and create avenues in which all employees can contribute to their fullest potential. Nembhard & Edmondson's (2006) work, Hirak et al. (2012) explored "leader inclusiveness" as leaders' modelling openness and exhibiting accessibility in their interactions with followers to facilitate better unit performance. Their empirical findings highlighted how, beyond the expected efficiency outcomes, inclusive leaders provide psychological safety and facilitate learning from failure.

It is in this context that contemporary frameworks to manage workforce heterogeneity rely on the founding principles of inclusion.

Contemporary discussions on the subject of inclusion are now touching on how, while creating inclusion, organisations can also create unintended forms of exclusion. It is from this perspective that terms such as "benevolent discrimination" (Romani, Holck, & Risberg, 2018) and "inclusive exclusion" (Priola, Lasio, Serri, & De Simone, 2018) started permeating the work of critical scholars. In this context, we are aware creating cultures of inclusion is not an easy task. Even harder in traditional environments or large public agencies compared to smaller, more agile organisations in the private sector. We are also aware that, as Holck (2018) pointed out, inclusion is a malleable concept not always totally achievable. However, we argue that an inclusionary organisational philosophy is a challenging concept worthy of investment. Inclusive organisational cultures do not only allow differences to be recognised and valued but also find ways to foster spaces for different voices to be understood and empowered. In order to unleash the potential of workforce diversity, cultures of inclusion need to be established.



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With a strong background in public management and public policy, Guillermo has worked as a senior public officer, columnist, lecturer and academic researcher in Latin America, Europe and New Zealand. He is a published author on integration and inclusion. His academic work revolves around the value of migrants' processes of integration to their receiving societies. He is also a HR specialist with more than 20 years of experience in talent management, organisational development and change.

Brought up in a family of strong women and being a member of the LGBTTI community, Guillermo truly cherishes diversity and he is convinced that diverse workplaces have the potential to foster understandings of the self and others, unleash organisational potential and make this a better world.

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