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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

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Diversity within Diversity Management: Where We Are, Where We Should Go, and How We Are Getting There

Andri Georgiadou, Maria Alejandra Gonzalez-Perez and
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Abstract

Purpose — The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the research presented in this edited volume.

Design/Methodology — This report is based on 17 chapters, which vary in terms of research approach, design, and method, yet aims to present different country perspectives on diversity within diversity management.

Findings — The chapters present new insights on how the national and macro-social environment impacts the institutional approaches to diversity management across the world. Findings indicate the need for organizations to focus on deep-level diversity, rather than choosing a tick-box policy on surface-level diversity. Empirical studies reveal that every institution can adopt a diversity-friendly approach in a way that best fits their structure, culture and the mentality of their top management team.

Originality — The report summarizes and integrates novel insights on country perspectives and approaches on diversity management.

Keywords: Diversity; diversity management; country perspectives; macro-environment; social factors; under-researched national contexts

Introduction

The dominant business tendencies for globalization provoke questions on the capability of top management teams to retain and motivate their employees toward higher productivity and satisfaction, while respecting and further promoting diversity (Georgiadou, 2016; Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999). Kandola and Fullerton (1994) suggested various definitions of diversity focusing primarily on the notion that diversity consists of both visible and non-visible differences, including gender, age, background, race, and personality traits. A plethora of researchers have emphasized the positive contribution of employees coming from diverse backgrounds to effective organizational decision-making (Cox & Blake, 1991; Jackson, May, & Whitney, 1995; Simons, Pelled, & Smith, 1999), whereas others argue the possibility of diversity compromising group performance through social categorization processes (Guillaume, Dawson, Otaye-Ebede, Woods, & West, 2017).

Scholars have been notably intrigued in assessing the impact of demographic features on individual and group organizational behavior (Ely & Thomas, 2001), highlighting that beneficial outcomes go hand in hand with employees of diverse background sharing common ambitions and values with the rest of their colleagues (Weeks, Weeks, & Long, 2017). House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, and Gupta (2004, p. 5) stated that “as economic borders come down, cultural barriers could go up, thus presenting new challenges and opportunities in business. When cultures come into contact, they may converge on some aspects, but their idiosyncrasies will likely amplify.”

This edited volume, consisting of an introduction and 17 contributed chapters, is a collective attempt at examining the increasing relevance of studying diversity management in various country, national, and wider societal levels.

The Migratory Process and the Formation of Ethnic Minorities

Research on migration and ethnic relations is intrinsically interdisciplinary: sociology, political science, history, economics, geography, demography, psychology, and law are relevant. Within each social scientific discipline, there are a variety of approaches, based on differences in theory and methods (Castles & Miller, 1998; Foner, Rumbaut, & Gold, 2000).

A detailed survey about all the various social scientific paradigms is not possible here, but a distinction between the main approaches may be useful for a general understanding. Hugo (1993) identified neoclassical economic equilibrium theory, the historical-structuralist approach, and migration system theory as the three main approaches used in contemporary debates.

The neoclassical economic equilibrium perspective is based on Ravenstein’s statistical laws of migration in the nineteenth century, which were the antecedent of the systematic theory of migration (Castles, 1998). This theory emphasizes the individual decision to migrate, based on a rational comparison of the relative costs and benefits of remaining in the area of origin or moving to various alternative

destinations. This theory is essentially individualistic and ahistorical. Borjas (1989) described the model as an immigration market, saying that neoclassical theory assumes that individuals maximize utility: individuals “search” for the country of residence that maximizes their well-being. Competing host countries make “migration offers” from which individual compare and choose. In the immigration market, the information is exchanged and the various options are compared (Castles, 1998). This approach categorizes immigrants as individuals searching for the “best” country in which to be. Castles and Miller (1998) criticized this theory as simplistic and incapable of explaining actual movements. Empirical study shows that it is rarely the poorest people from the least-developed countries who move to the richest countries; more frequently, the migrants are people of intermediate social status from areas which are undergoing economic and social changes (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996).

Stark and Taylor (1991) provide an alternative economic approach. These authors argue that migration cannot simply be explained by income differences between two countries, but also by factors such as chance of secure employment, availability of capital entrepreneurial activity, and the need to manage risk over long periods. The idea of individual migrants who make free choices, which not only maximize their well-being but also lead to a balance in the marketplace, implies that migration is a collective phenomenon, which should be examined as a subsystem of a global economy and political system (Castles, 1998).

The historical-structuralist approach is an alternative explanation of international migration in which migration is seen mainly as a way of mobilizing cheap labor for capital (Gos & Lindquist, 1995). This approach has its roots in Marxist political economy and stresses the unequal distribution of political and economic power in the world economy. Historical-structuralist analysts criticize the neoclassical perspective because its assumption of free choice for individuals is unrealistic (Castles, 1998; Hugo, 1993). The availability of labor was both a legacy of colonialism and the result of war and regional inequalities within Europe (Castles, 1998).

But the historical-structuralist approach was criticized by migration scholars, questioning the fact of the constant breakdown of migration policies, such as the shift from labor migration to permanent settlement in certain countries, if the logic of capital and the interests of Western states were so dominant (Castles, 1998).

Equally, the neoclassical perspective and the historical-structuralist approach seemed too one-sided to analyze adequately the great complexity of contemporary migrations. The neoclassical approach neglected historical causes of movements and downgraded the role of the state; however, the historical-structuralist approach often saw the interests of capital as all-determining and paid inadequate attention to the motivations and actions of the individuals and groups involved.

The migration systems theory emerged out of such critiques. A migration system is a system of transactions which involved migrants between two or more countries. Migration systems theory emphasizes international relations, political economy, collective action, and institutional factors (Zlotnik, 1992). This theory suggests that migratory movements generally arise from the previous existence of links between

sending and receiving countries based on colonization, political influence, trade, or cultural ties (Castles & Miller, 1998).

The migration systems approach implies that any migratory movement can be seen as the result of interacting macro- and micro-structures embracing the networks, practices, and beliefs of the migrants themselves (Gurak & Caces, 1992). The macro-structures refer to large-scale institutional factors such as the political economy of the world market, relationship between states, and the legislation to control migration settlement in the receiving countries, while the micro-structures embrace the networks, practices, and belief of the migrant themselves, developed by the migrants in order to cope with migration and settlement. The family and community are crucial in migration networks (Fawcett, 1989). Family linkages often provide both the financial and the cultural capital which make migration possible. Generally, migratory chains are started by an external factor, such as recruitment. Networks based on family or on *paisanaje* (Latin American expression which means “came from a common geo-cultural place of origin, commonly same town”; from the Spanish *paisano*, fellow country-person) help to provide shelter, work, and assistance in coping with bureaucratic procedures and support in personal difficulties (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996).

The migratory process as a concept sums up the complex sets of factors and interactions which lead to international migration and influence its course. There is no single cause to explain why people decide to leave their country and settle in another. Castles and Miller (1998) defend that although each migratory movement has its specific historical patterns, it is possible to generalize on the way migration evolves and find certain internal dynamics in the process. For example, most migrations start with young, economically active people. They are “target earners,” who want to save enough in a higher-wage economy to improve their conditions at home, by buying land, building a house, setting up a business, or paying for education or dowries (Castles & Miller, 1998).

Castles and Miller (1998) summarize the pattern of the migratory process in a four-stage model:

- (1) temporary labor migration of young workers, remittance earnings, and continued orientation to the homeland;
- (2) prolonging of stay and the development of social networks based on kinship or common area of origin; the need for mutual help in the new environment increases;
- (3) family reunion, growing consciousness of long-term settlement increasing orientation toward the receiving country, and emergence of ethnic communities with their own institutions (as associations, shops, cafes, agencies, professions);
- (4) permanent settlement which, depending on the actions of government and population of the receiving country, leads to secure legal status and eventual citizenship, or to political exclusion, socioeconomic marginalization and the formation of permanent ethnic communities.

The long-term effects of immigration on society emerge in the fourth stage of the migratory process: permanent settlement. There are two extremes of outcomes depending on the actions of the state and population of the receiving country. Most of the countries fit somewhere between these two extremes. At one extreme, openness to settlement, granting of citizenship and gradual acceptance of cultural diversity which may allow the formation of ethnic communities, which are seen as part of a multicultural society. At the other extreme, denial of the reality of settlement, refusal of citizenship and rights to settlers, and rejection of cultural diversity may lead to the formation of ethnic minorities, enclaves, and even ghettos. In the first case, immigrants and their descendants are seen as an integral part of a society willing to reshape its culture and identity. In the second case, immigrants are excluded and marginalized.

The concept of ethnic minority always implies some degree of marginalization. Ethnic minorities are therefore a product of both “other definition” and self-definition. Other definition refers to various forms of exclusion and discrimination. Self-definition has a dual character. It includes assertion and recreation of identity, centered upon pre-migration cultural symbols and practices. It also includes political mobilization against exclusion and discrimination using cultural symbols and practices in an instrumental way.

As conclusion, the migration process has different theoretical explanations. One central argument is that migration and settlement are closely related to other economic, political and cultural linkages being formed between different countries in an accelerating process of globalization, in which international migration must be seen as an integral part of the world developments. A second argument is that the migratory process has internal dynamics based on the social networks. And a third argument concerned the nature of ethnic minorities, and the process by which they are formed is based on a cultural identity which defines themselves.

Types of Immigrant Workers

There are significant differences in migration goals and their relative fulfillment. There are socioeconomic origin and reason for departure characteristics, which could be organized to present a typology of migrants that tend to be associated with different courses of adaptation.

Portes and Rumbaut (1996) classify immigrants in four types: Labor Immigrants, Professional Immigrants, Entrepreneurial Immigrants, and Refugees and Asylees.

Labor Immigrants

Low-skill labor immigration is the most closely related category to stereotypes about contemporary immigration. Whatever their motivations, low-skill workers could not immigrate if there were not a demand for their labor. Employers value immigrant workers’ diligence, reliability, and willingness to work hard for low pay (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). They argue that native workers are either unavailable or unwilling to perform hard menial jobs (Waldinger & Lichter, 2003).

There are no recruitment or other costs in hiring immigrant laborers because they come on their own and bear all the dangers and expenses of the journey. In the case of the United States (US), some labor immigrants do stay and attempt to carve a new life in the Americas. Many return, however. Because although US wages are higher, the crop of these wages in terms of consumption, investment, and social status is often greater back home. Having accumulated enough savings, most immigrants seek to re-establish or gain a position of social respectability accomplished in their home communities.

Manual labor immigration is thus not a one-way flow away from poverty and want, but rather a two-way process fueled by the changing needs and interests of those who come and those who profit from their labor (Dundon, Gonzalez-Perez, & McDonough, 2007; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996).

Professional Immigrants

Unlike the labor workers, professional immigrants come legally not destined to the bottom echelon in the labor market. Known as “brain drain” in their countries of origin, this flow represents a significant gain of highly educated, trained, and experienced personnel in many countries. In several countries, work visas or work authorization allows a person to enter employment and become a medium- to long-term, legal resident. They also have the right to travel if a reentry visa is obtained before a person leaves the country. However, in most cases, they do not have the right to free medical care and other social welfare entitlements. Furthermore, they are often deprived of the right to free education. Foreign professionals often migrate because of unemployment back home or attracted by offers by the host country recruiters.

In the case of the United States, the gap that generally makes the difference in their decision of immigrating is not the individual income differential between prospective US salaries and work conditions in their home countries and those regarded there as acceptable for people with their education. Professionals who earn enough at home to sustain a middle-class standard of living and who are reasonably satisfied about their possibilities for advancement seldom migrate.

Because they do not come to escape poverty, but to improve their careers, immigrant professionals rarely accept menial jobs. They tend to enter at the bottom of their respective occupation and to progress according to individual merits. This is usually the case of medical doctors, nurses and information technology professionals.

Entrepreneurial Immigrants

In the case of the US, areas of concentrated entrepreneurship, known as ethnic enclaves, can be found. Their emergency has depended on three conditions: first, the presence of a number of immigrants with substantial business expertise acquired in their home countries; second, access to sources of capital; and third, access to

labor. In many countries, there is an established process to apply for a business permit.

Refugees and Asylees

Being a refugee is not a matter of personal choice, but of governmental decisions based on a combination of legal guidelines and political expediency. Depending on the international context, a particular flow of people may be classified as a political exodus or as an illegal group of economically motivated immigrants.

The official label of refugee conceals differences not only between national groups but within each of them as well. There are two categories found in most refugees' flows. First, there is the category of elite refugees, namely the ones who left their countries due to ideological and political oppositions to their countries' regime. Usually, they have little difficulties in validating their claim of political persecution, and they tend to be among the earlier arrivals. Second, there is a mass of individuals and families of more modest backgrounds who left at a later date because of the economic exactions and hardship imposed by the same regimes.

Labor Market Impacts of Immigration

Immigrants are, in a strict economic sense, a factor import, and the impacts of immigrants on incomes in destination countries are inextricably linked with trade. *Neoclassical trade theory* offers clear predictions about the impacts of immigration on destination-country workers. In general, it predicts that immigration has negative effects on workers for whom immigrants are substitutes in production. The neoclassical view's main competitor in the economics literature is the *dual labor market perspective* that immigrants do not compete with native workers for the same jobs, and immigration, therefore, does not have adverse wage and employment effects on destination-country workers (Dundon et al., 2007).

Stolper and Samuelson (1949) considered the effect on factor prices (wages and the return on capital) of an import tariff that increases the domestic price of the import-competing good relative to that of the export good. Under the Heckscher–Ohlin assumptions and the assumption that the basic trade pattern is not altered by the tariff, an import tariff increases the price of the relatively scarce factor relative to the prices of the other factor and both goods. Thus, a tariff levied against labor-intensive imports in the US will increase the US wages relative to other factor and good's prices, compared with the free-trade case.

Both Stolper–Samuelson and the Heckscher–Ohlin theorem on which it is based lack consideration of international factor movements, including migration. However, if migration responds positively to international wage differentials, then protectionism in the US and Ireland should encourage migration from countries with disadvantages.

The same migration result should follow from protectionism (of capital-intensive industries) in other countries (e.g., Eastern European countries in the case of

Ireland, or Mexico in the case of the US). Even if trade in goods is restricted, labor will flow across borders to equalize wages, at which time economically motivated migration between the two countries will cease. According to this theory, “labour mobility [can] fully compensate for the non-traded good,” for example, the good for which barriers to trade exist (Krauss, 1976, p. 474).

In this admittedly simple scenario, trade permits the capital-rich and labor-rich countries to specialize in producing the goods in which they have a comparative advantage and to satisfy their demand for other goods through trade. Trade barriers increase wages in capital-rich relative to labor-rich countries, triggering more migration. The arrival of immigrants depresses wages in the labor-scarce country, whereas the departure of emigrants raises wages in the labor-abundant country. Trade liberalization (e.g., through NAFTA) has the same effect. In the presence of trade barriers, migration continues until wage differences across borders equal the cost (economic and psychic) of migrating. In short, according to trade theory, only in the presence of trade distortions that inflate wages in destination countries relative to migrant-sending countries will international migration take place, and this migration will cause the wage gap to revert back toward its free-trade level. Immigration increases the total income of the two countries. However, it adversely affects wages in the labor-scarce country (US/Ireland), by increasing the supply of labor there.

Consider two countries with different factor endowments. For example, country A (e.g., Switzerland) is capital-rich, and country B (e.g., Serbia) is capital-poor but has an abundance of labor. Assume that the two countries share the same technologies (production functions) and that the same two factors of production, capital and labor, are used in each country to produce the two goods. If the two countries engage in free trade, each country will export (import) the good more intensive in the factor that is relatively more (less) abundant in that country. That is, Switzerland will import labor-intensive goods from Serbia, and Serbia will import capital-intensive goods from Switzerland.

Diversity, Equality, and Multiculturalism: United Nations’ Perspective

Je suis nécessairement homme [...] et je ne suis français que par hasard.¹

The founders of the United Nations (UN), in the aftermath of World War II, were motivated by a desire for international cooperation to ensure peace, development, and respect for the rights of individuals. Based on the stark evidence of the experiences of Jews, Gypsies, and other ethnic minorities who were the victims of genocide during World War II, they were also aware of the need to address the treatment of ethnic minorities (Glendon, 2001; Lauren, 1998).

¹(I am necessarily a man [...] and I am French only by chance.) The antinomic stance is the one formulated by the nineteenth-century conservative thinker Joseph de Maistre (1980).