

EXPLORING PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AND DIVERSITY
IN A SINGLE EMBEDDED CASE-STUDY:
DEVELOPING NEW THEORIES AND STRATEGIES
FOR CULTURAL DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT IN
GERMAN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATIONS

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Abstract

The public sector of Germany is presently debating and addressing a number of aspects of what is called ‘intercultural sensitivity’, reinforced by a significant trend in the strategic development of Cultural Diversity Management (CDM) in German public sector organisations (Gesemann & Roth, 2009; Krell, 2009). However, there is a current lack of a theoretical framework that transcends the original business-case model of diversity management so that it may be applicable to the needs of public administration. Thus, in contrast with the mainstream business-case-philosophy, the current study concentrates on the perspective of ‘social justice’. It aims to develop a conceptual framework for a ‘*public management case for diversity*’ oriented towards the social responsibility of assuring equal treatment and avoiding discrimination, especially since the public sector is, in principle, subject to equal treatment¹. Referring to the role of the state, this study, therefore, posits two main arguments: first, based on fundamental duties, public administrations generally must ensure all its citizens that they can access, unhindered, jobs in public administrations and have suitable and appropriate representation in government; second, the concerned government should guarantee all its citizens barrier-free access to all public services without any discrimination, as a matter of social justice or equity.

Existing literature shows the shortcomings of the theoretical analyses of diversity initiatives in German’s public sector organisations (Köppel et al., 2007; Süß and

¹ I.e. public sector organisations have to assure different groups that their workforces are representing the interests of their citizens/service-users equally. Further, the equal treatment requirement is referring to legal obligations in German Public Law and Employment Law in general.

Kleiner, 2005). In particular, concepts and perceptions of diversity management, ignore or at least downgrade the dimensions of social justice and equity which, it is argued here, are the special focus of public sector organisations.

Against this background, the current study investigates the local administration of Hamm in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany, as a single case study. The study observes and evaluates existing diversity measures and leadership practice across 7 Citizens' Service Offices to analyse key themes and to determine factors for the strategic implementation of CDM.

This research intends to underline the organisational motivation for CDM, and examine the important influences wrought by organisationally pre-defined 'acculturation strategies' that determine the cultural and value-based orientation and implementation of these diversity strategies. The study, therefore, focuses on the organisational acculturation strategy and the (hitherto missing) understanding of existing equality and anti-discrimination policies, which have been the explicit and implicit basis for public service management.

Findings of this study show that various personal attitudes, viewpoints and perspectives greatly influence the approach and implementation of CDM. As a result, approaches of CDM are decisively influenced by existing or pre-defined acculturation strategies reflecting these attitudes, viewpoints and perspectives, which in turn are classified and can be understood according to certain theories of sociology and social policy. Subsequently, the findings show strong evidence that a more fundamental or abstract discussion is needed for the existing and already applied theoretical concepts for promoting equal treatment and anti-discrimination

measures, since, in practice, there is a lot of uncertainty among the employees about the meaning behind these key terms. Developing this theme, the study concludes with a broad strategy for introducing CDM, requiring a fully articulated theoretical base for CDM which is distinctive for public sector organisations, and which constructively but critically engages with the above personal attitudes, viewpoints and perspectives.

I. Introduction

I.1 Content of the study

Diversity management is a complex topic. Recently, the concept of cultural diversity and diversity management has gained a lot of momentum as various organisations have had to address their legal obligations for the equal and just treatment of their employees, while also making it a business aim to gain competitive advantage when managing diverse workforces. It has been advocated that cultural diversity leads to varied perspectives within existing operational practices, which results in diverse teams being more creative and more likely to solve problems, than those teams lacking such cultural diversity (Vedder, 2006).

However, diversity management is a relatively young management discipline and an emerging field in human resource management. This subject matter is being discussed in both private (Süß & Kleiner, 2005; Köppel, 2011) and public sector organisations in Germany. Both of these sectors are confronting constant changes in the dynamics of globalisation and demographic pattern shifts (OECD, 2009; Koall, 2011; Zeoli, 2012). The demographic changes and their consequences have been present in Germany for many years in almost all areas of life. Its main causes are the continually increasing life expectancy, the permanently low birth level, and growing national and international mobility. Since 2010, the number of immigrants has also increased. Subsequently, it might be said that Germany is today 'an immigration country'. The reasons for this development are the increased immigration from EU countries, migrant workers from non-EU countries and the increasing number of migrants who are coming to Germany for various reasons, related to, for example,

economic and political environments that immigrants are seeking to either foster or escape from. These three demographic trends mean that the German population has already changed in its structure and will continue to change. For example, the number of the working population aged between 20 and 66 will decrease by up to 3.5 million by the year 2030, which will affect the public sector workforce too (Demography strategy of the federal government, 2012, www.bundesregierung.de, Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2017)

With these current societal changes in mind, leading to a culturally diverse society, this study addresses the implementation of a programme of Cultural Diversity Management (CDM) in Germany's public sector. Furthermore, similar challenges of organisations committed to following and promoting a 'diversity approach' are faced by both, public sector and private sector organisations (Wilson and Iles, 1999). However, as will be explored here, there are also different conditions and intentions for business companies or governmental organisations that can profoundly influence the approaches pursued by them when addressing diversity issues.

Nevertheless, Germany lacks a general anti-discrimination culture (Bruchhagen, 2010; Klose, 2012; Federal Government Commissioner, 2012; see Chapter II, section 5.2), despite there being an increase in cultural variety prevailing within German society, reflected in the consistent increase in the number of people having a migration background. So, in 2015, the Federal Statistical Office of Germany registered approximately 17 million people with migration background (and see figure 6, p. 201) in Germany. This represents 21 per cent of the German population,

and from amongst these, about 9 million were already German citizens (Federal Statistical Office of Germany, 2016). Various other demographic trends have furthered the trend of cultural diversity whereby the population increasingly comprises people of cultural diversity. A decline in population, for example, was noted amongst German natives (Federal Statistical Office of Germany in 2016). Therefore, it is expected that the future demographic studies will posit that the population of culturally diverse people will increase, significantly impacting the German social domain; thus, it can be concluded that various organisations will consist of an increased heterogeneous workforce (Bissels et al., 2001), with some of these changes including an increased proportion of working women, and/or the (necessary) integration of an ageing workforce as the labour force shrinks and ages. (Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung, 2015, www.demographie-portal.de).

In other Western countries like the USA or the UK, there is much debate on managing diversity with a view to providing organisations (particularly perhaps within the private sector) with competitive advantage (Government Equalities Office, 2013). However, this idea is rather nascent in Germany. Instead, public management research, tends to cover the organisational culture of public sector organisations (Klages & Loeffler, 1995; Barlow & Röber, 1996; Larbi, 1999) as well as the 'public service identity' (Horton, 2006; Caron & Giauque, 2006) of public employees. Thus, the emphasis lies on how human resources might be used within personnel administration but with the risk, according to some, of ignoring the 'human face' of the workplace by concentrating on organisational systems and procedures (for example, see Tshikwatamba, 2003). Various, in many other countries, the inculcation of diversity in the public service has been recognised as a

top political priority (as distinct from an organisational priority), since the promotion of diversity would aid in the attainment of political and social government objectives, such as social mobility, equity, and quality in service delivery (OECD, 2009).

Thus, as the diversity management is a burgeoning concept, the studies in such a context in Germany are inconsistent (Becker, 2006) and based, almost exclusively, on practise-generated, ad hoc theories, rather than coherent political and social goals underpinned by fully articulated theories of diversity (Köppel et al., 2007; Köppel, 2011, Roland Berger Strategy Consultants, 2012; Ernst & Young GmbH, 2016; see Chapter II, section 5.4). Alternatively, the UK has decades of experience regarding equal opportunities management, legislation and policy. There are a wide range of anti-discrimination approaches, which advocate equality and involve private and public sector organisations and other stakeholders including trade unions, consultants and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) (Greene and Kirton, 2004). Moreover, similar studies have been conducted in the Anglo-American countries and have shaped the debate but which might also be peculiarly related to the German experience (Thomas, R., 1991; Cox, 1993; Gardenswartz & Rowe, 1994, Cross, 2000).

Thus, the current study addresses questions as to whether the seminal work of scholars like Taylor Cox (1993), Roosevelt Thomas (1991), Anita Rowe (Gardenswartz & Rowe, 1993) and Elsie Cross (2000) constitutes an appropriate contribution to implementing CDM in German public sector organisations. So, the Anglo-American focus assumes that diversity management is part of a larger

political and social strategy of organisational change to promote a better climate for promoting diversity, while conquering workforce discrimination; such pre-requisites for diversity management could be considered as tasks for both private and public organisations. Subsequently, this research addresses the question as to whether, or to what extent, this focus can be applied to the perspectives of the public sector within a specific German context? Such a context does not presently align with the Anglo-American trends and justifications in policy, but rather focuses on diversity management strategies within organisations which presents its own special problems for implementation. The above research question would allow for a systematic evaluation of the possibility of this alignment, so as to understand better CDM in Germany and how it might develop strategically.

This thesis therefore investigates how a German public sector organisation implements CDM, and what the central determinants are of a Public Management Case for CDM. The findings of this study, however, show that there is general support for the approach of (cultural) diversity management. Nevertheless, the issue of how ethnic minorities should be viewed and treated by public services, reflects a range of personal and individual attitudes of the participants which also needs addressing within a specific German context. And in consequence, the answers to the questions of how broad the principles are of CDM, as reflected in the Anglo-American literature, and how these principles are applied to the specifics of German public sector practice, will differ considerably. Given this analysis, it will then become clear that a more fundamental or abstract discussion is needed within a German context, as well as referencing to the wider literature, in order to understand better relevant theoretical concepts, and how these might be applied to

the specifically German experience of promoting equal treatment and anti-discrimination measures for culturally diverse groups.

I.1.1. Change in organisational culture – Providing barrier-free access in Public Service Delivery

Following the principles from seminal CDM research, this study investigates the essential changes in organisational culture during the implementation of diversity management practices. The study focuses specifically on public service delivery, which is central to administrative reforms and modernisation in Hamm, which is similar in other German municipalities (Initiative Neue Qualität der Arbeit, 2017).

The organisational culture in German public sector organisations is dedicated to the traditional Weberian model of bureaucracy, which is characterised by procedural correctness, equality of treatment, risk avoidance and strict adherence to rules and regulations (Caron & Giaque, 2006). It is also determined by the current and recent developments with the advent of a New Public Management (NPM) approach that emphasises the outcome of performance and customer-orientation that means a management culture that essentially focusses on the customer and their respective needs (Caron & Giaque, 2006). By implementing CDM practices amongst public authorities, one must consider the impact of these recent initiatives on public service employees at the local level. For instance, the new efficient and result-oriented ethics might lead public employees to act more opportunistically to economic indicators with less of a 'public interest' in mind, as explored here.

Further, the term 'diversity management' has not been much researched in the context of organisational strategy within public administrations (White, 2000; Horton, 2006). However, there has been a detailed focus on the theory of representative bureaucracy (Selden & Selden, 2001; Pitts, 2005). The main

argument is that a workforce should reflect all population groups, with this being the main driver for recent diversity initiatives (Schader-Stiftung, 2011).

Nevertheless, the concept of diversity management is also promoted as some kind of panacea for recent (governmental) challenges with the hope that well-trained and competent staff will be employed to allow for diversity management to develop good practice. However, recent problems, for instance like those of changed conditions in the labour market, skills shortage or demographic developments like ageing workforces (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012), continue to remain central in German political debate and can manifest themselves as obstacles leading to the development of good diversity management practice.

Moreover, to adopt the philosophy of managing diversity, a considerable overhauling of organisational culture is, for some, the most fundamental requirement (for example, see Thomas, R., 1991). This applies especially to public authorities, who are currently taking 'baby steps' toward what Cox (1993) calls as multicultural organisations. Therefore, the first initiatives for CDM in the German public sector constitute attempts to change organisations from monoliths to pluraliths with a general agreement that diversity should be valued. From a recent perspective, this could be evaluated as real advance as whole organisations are invited to engage in the process of promoting diversity. However, this kind of holistic approach toward diversity management still requires greater engagement within organisations. For example, Cox (1993, pp. 166-167, 207, 226-229) has strongly advocated 'pluralism as acculturation process' and 'absence of institutional cultural bias in HRM' as main elements of any thorough multicultural organisation.

Even today, the public sector organisations in Germany are characterised by an imbalanced representation of minority groups (Federal Government Commissioner, 2012, 2016). According to an employment survey on the representation of people with a migration background in the federal administration from 2015, the average share of employees with a migration background in the federal administration is 14.8%. Thus, they are evidently underrepresented when compared to their total share of the population, which is 21% (Ette et al., 2016). Moreover, there are prevalent institutional cultural biases in the human resource management practices within the public sector. For example, Zeoli (2012) reports a lack of adequate representation of migrant teachers and administrative staff, who report systemic exclusion mechanisms, related to ethnic differences, attribution mechanisms or prejudice paradigms, which means that they are exposed to unconscious bias from others related to their cultural characteristics. "This type of exclusion is anonymous and is often masked by the legitimization of organisational distribution processes", Zeoli (2012, p. 3) summarises. Highlighting that minority exclusion is favoured by the existing organisational culture and the prevailing understanding of cultural diversity, which in turn is dominated by the values and attitudes of the majority group. Without sensitising cultural differences, attribution mechanisms can arise because of these 'ascribed prejudices'. Thus, this subsequently signifies another gap in the research of diversity initiatives in the public sector in Germany. So, recent studies (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012; Schader-Stiftung, 2011) have concentrated more on general policy recommendations and trends regarding how (local) politics and public leaders speak about these issues; whereas detailed analysis of conceptual developments of

intercultural and barrier-free access to public services and their organisational structures, are missing.

Furthermore, research on diversity initiatives amongst the public authorities of Germany have been majorly focussed on the evaluation of best practices and general observations of the public sector organisations' alignment towards intercultural sensitivity and diversity measures (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012). As a result, scholars' recommendations and their theoretical implications are predominantly concentrated on fixed perceptions of intercultural competences to maximise the potential of the employees and nothing else (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012; imap-GmbH, 2013; Schader-Stiftung, 2014, pp. 58-90). However, some scholars have dealt specifically with intercultural competence as a prerequisite to the selection of personnel (Leenen et al., 2014). They nevertheless (Leenen et al., 2014) place the respective organisational-related requirements on intercultural competence at the centre of the investigation,² which ignores the wider organisational cultural problems of delivering the CDM strategies. This means that the importance and understanding of intercultural competences can differ depending on the understanding of the authorities or various governmental tasks that intends to promote diversity. As a result, recommendations provided often miss the fundamental concerns of laying the foundations of a barrier-free public service delivery and protecting fundamental rights of the individual as a citizen with these rights, and so on. In fact, there is little

² In addition, they describe the differences between the candidates with and without a migration background in the selection process and the importance of culture-fair recruitment procedures.

or no research, which has investigated the changes and influences of diversity initiatives in the German public sector in relation to public service delivery, reflecting these deeper organisational cultural issues and the problems which ensue. That is, in relation to developing and implementing CDM strategy (see Chapter II, section 1.5).

I.1.2 The public sector's perspective and potential alignment with Cultural Diversity Management

In contrast with the private sector, the focus on cultural diversity and intercultural competences in German public sector seems to be evolving rather slowly (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012; imap GmbH, 2013; Deutscher Landkreistag, 2014), although it is an (acknowledged) demographic reality that cultural diversity is a permanent part of the landscape of Germany (Federal Government Commissioner, 2012). The public sector is confronted with pressures to reform the administration and to be more efficient while incorporating those changes in the working and wider social world. Such changes entail that modern personnel management is inclusive of staff members who are attuned with the concept of diversity. Against this background, it is worth examining the impact of the administrative reform initiatives on diversity management practices in public sector organisations. The organisation focused on in the case study here is characterised by fundamental changes in the scope of administrative reforms – with regard to citizen and service orientation. These changes have taken place in the last decade under the heading of 'new public

management', that is based on administrative reform and state modernisation, and derived from the further assumption of private management principles being applied to public administration. In turn, the culturally diverse urban population was also crucial in giving a direction to the newly created Citizens' Service Offices. Nevertheless, until now there is scarce evidence of systematic approaches that incorporate both, new public management *and* diversity management strategies.³

Diversity management is an intricate part of personnel management impacting the nature of the relationship between the concerned organisations and the employees (Weech-Maldonado et al., 2002). In the context of economic justification for organisational change, public sector organisations have adopted varied perspectives as opposed to those adopted by organisations in the private sector (Junge et al., 2006). However, there are valid arguments for both types of organisation; business case arguments try to foster competitive advantage by establishing a better corporate image, improving group and organisational performance as well as attracting and retaining human capital (Bleijenbergh, 2010). Public sector organisations are often hindered by demographic developments and financial constraints, thus the importance of the provision of an effective and competitive personnel management is also paramount (Schader-Stiftung, 2011). However, this thesis defends the argument that the origins of CDM, in fact, is better and more coherently supported by the values of equal opportunities and social justice (Maxwell, et al., 2001; Krell, 2009; Bleijenbergh, 2010), which is in accordance with

³ See Chapter III - Literature Review Part A (Managing Cultural Diversity), section 2.1 (The organisational culture of public sector organisations and impacts of public management reform initiatives) and 3 (Conclusions – Developing a public management case for diversity).

the traditional public responsibility of promoting equal rights for citizens. This support is very distinct from business models and their justifications for diversity management. The further argument is that the strategic and voluntary alignment of the concept of diversity management within public sector organisations can be promoted alongside existing initiatives which are based on the promotion and provision of equity, equal opportunities and social justice (Krell, 2009).

However, given the concept of diversity management has its roots in business research (Vedder, 2006), this study covers the general developments that lead to (cultural) diversity management, but provides a more detailed background to its underlying theory and philosophy. With the intention of examining the perspectives of the public sector towards the concept of diversity management, this study aims to classify diversity management under the wider academic field of business management *and* public management. Furthermore, the study also applied the underlying ideas and concepts gleaned from cross-cultural research, where the social and political sciences have a significant impact. The latter is particularly relevant because the debate in Germany about cultural diversity and intercultural sensitivity in wider society is dominated by social work scholars and founded by social work as a professional practice. This emphasis is, in turn, underpinned by an approach (informed by social work training and education) which includes explicit reference to sociological and social policy paradigms or approaches to

understanding social problems, and explored here in some detail (again as distinct from business paradigms or approaches).⁴

There are various debates about the recommendations for a strategic 'managerial' development of cultural diversity within public sectors organisations (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Integration and Refugees, 2012; Charta der Vielfalt e.V., 2014).

Nevertheless, there is still no theoretical framework which combines both the above paradigms and approaches, and/or translates the business concepts adequately for public administration to practice. Accordingly, the main purpose of this study is to address this gap in research and provide a theoretical foundation for public managers to act upon. Doing so, the study provides different perspectives on diversity management, which are summarised as the 'business case for diversity' (employer-led) and the 'equity view' (anti-discrimination and equity led). This new perspective provides an original research focus in the studies of diversity management in the context of Germany, as it goes beyond, what might be termed classic business administration research (Köppel et al., 2007; Rathje, 2010). The study will also go beyond social and political science-oriented approaches that cover societal developments, attitudes, understandings of inter-culture and integration of immigrants, but that have traditionally not necessarily had a deeper consideration of public administrative functions within organisations (Terkessidis, 2010).

⁴ See Chapter II - Literature Review Part B (Theoretical background and the significance of the concept of Diversity management), section 4 (Diversity management beyond the business case).

In contrast with previously conducted studies (Süß & Kleiner, 2005; Köppel et al., 2007; imap GmbH, 2013; Deutscher Landkreistag, 2014; Ernst & Young GmbH, 2016), the argument defended here is that the theoretical background of diversity management and equal treatment may be observed as the essential pre-requisites for the implementation of CDM strategies in organisations. Thus, the research uses and develops different theoretical models of sociology and social policy and acculturation strategies which then are utilised for understanding cultural diversity management in the context of specific organisational practices. Awareness of the prevailing acculturation strategy is also essential in countering possible organisational resistance toward implementing diversity measures, and are also identified in the case-study.

In short, acculturation is the process of learning about and adapting to a new culture. According to Berry (1984), acculturation refers to the process, through which, cultural changes occur as a direct effect of inter-cultural group contacts. Following this analysis, a specific acculturation strategy generally aims at collaborating and intersecting various groups of individuals present within an organisation. Cox (1993, p. 166) further emphasises that acculturation processes are “alternative strategies for handling intercultural relationships that produce specific outcomes both for organisations and individuals”. However, the significance of acculturation strategies for the implementation of CDM has not been the fundamental subject of research pertaining to diversity in Germany. This study, therefore, particularly investigates the importance of acculturation strategies in the implementation of cultural diversity management in reference to the case study and the above theoretical frameworks.

The examination showcases various views across the workforce on cultural diversity and different understandings of intercultural sensitivity and intercultural competence among employees and senior managers which often leads to significant contradictions and ambiguities in the implementation of CDM programmes. In this context, the history of CDM and especially, the approaches to equal opportunities in both business and public sector organisations remain fundamental for this kind of organisational evaluation.

More specifically, looking at the public sector and the role of the state, two main arguments are asserted for the management of diversity. Firstly, on the basis of the fundamental duties, public administrations must ensure access to public vacancies (Art. 33 II GG) and that the governmental workforce is representative of the wider population.⁵ And secondly, government has to guarantee that all people have barrier-free access to all public services and avoids discrimination. It is one of the most imperative concerns of the public sector and the responsibility of the government to provide services and access to public services for all people and citizens (Art. 3 GG).

Therefore, the study defends the assumption that intercultural sensitivity and CDM have to be understood as part of a necessary organisational development strategy and common underlying principles being applied to all (public) organisations and

⁵ The German federal government has, at least since 2012, reaffirmed its objective that the cultural diversity of the population must also be reflected in the administration: "The proportion of employees with a background of migration in the public sector is still small compared to their share in the total working population in Germany. The public sector is faced with the challenge of integrating all societal groups into decision-making processes when possible, and to use their knowledge and skills, to address the specific needs of all population groups. " (Federal Government, National Action Plan for Integration, 2012, p.34)

institutions. This includes considering criticisms and barriers towards such an approach and especially providing a critical perspective in regard to relying solely on the business case argument for diversity management in the context of public sector organisations. Additionally, following the business model, there is a growing tendency to perceive diversity as an asset to be harnessed rather than a social issue to be solved (e.g. OECD, 2009; Ospina, 2001). Hence, this study examines the extent to which concrete public management initiatives in Germany consider diversity management as an essential asset to improve government performance.

I.1.3 Criticising the business-driven nature of diversity management

Though the study is based on seminal research on diversity management, it questions the business-driven nature of this research that is aligned with the economic and rational/measurable criteria for the management of a diverse workforce (Mensi-Klarbach, 2010). A general argument for this study, is therefore, that the necessity of diversity management should be seen from different perspectives, the business-case *and* the social justice and fairness perspective in relation to the aims of public sector organisations. In general, the challenges for public sector organisations who are committed to a diversity approach are similar to those for the private sector (Wilson and Iles, 1999). Increasing cultural diversity is influenced by demographic changes and developments such as globalisation, internationalisation, migration and labour mobility, all of which are concerns for the private and public sectors. However, if diversity management and the promotion of cultural diversity is an important part of Human Resource Management and wider public policy, then it can be claimed that the public sector must pay attention to different issues as well. Diversity programmes solely oriented at the business case could act merely as a means of “concealing enduring patterns of discrimination and prejudice” (Prasad & Mills 1997, p.14). In general, there are different and potentially conflicting expectations of business and public sector organisations associated with their respective ‘missions’ and, which in turn, relate to the distinction between the social justice case and the business case for diversity (Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). If (business) organisations predominantly aim for economic success through diversity management because discrimination is generally seen as economically disadvantageous, there is a risk of the possibility of

cases where discrimination could be justified economically, on the occasions when discrimination is economically advantageous - e.g. with regard to negligible customer groups; so if customer groups are preferred because they are seen as more profitable but then are subsequently prioritised over other groups that may be as a result, unfairly excluded (Noon, 2007).

After seminal research in the 1990s (Thomas, R., 1991; Cox, 1993; Gardenswartz & Rowe, 1994), the concept of CDM has recently acquired prominence in practice and in academic discussions. The approach constituted the 'valuing of diversity' attitude (Cox, 1993), which implies valuing the differences as well as similarities between individuals (Thomas, R., 1995; Krell, 2004).

However, literature and practice provide diametrically different understandings of managing diversity (Thomas, R., 2001; Ongori & Angolla, 2007; Koall, 2011), with a basic assumption of the non-business literature asserting that diversity management must aim to resolve discrimination as it supports equal treatment and instils moral principles of equal opportunities and anti-discrimination. The engagement for equal treatment links public duty of guaranteeing equal rights with measures like affirmative action in the public sector. In this context, the concept of diversity management is criticised by public administration scholars (Selden & Selden, 2001) due to it being business-driven that focusses essentially on the economic success as a justification of diversity. A sole consideration of economic factors hinders public sector organisations that aim to offer adequate public services, whenever possible, to all citizens, preventing (social) inequalities. Albeit, it is also important to emphasise that some literature pertaining to business

management have asserted criticisms of an approach that is exclusively business-driven as it disregards the realities of social group-based disadvantages (Kandola & Fullerton, 1998; Kirton & Greene, 2006; Krell & Wächter, 2006; Vedder, 2006).

Nevertheless, there still remain different conditions and motivations for private and governmental organisations, which, it is contended here, are bound to influence profoundly their respective approaches to diversity management.

So, existent research (Cox, 1993, Gardenswartz & Rowe, 1994, or Roosevelt Thomas, 1991) with regard to private organisations promotes a well-formulated and academically acknowledged 'valuing of diversity' approach.⁶ Taylor Cox, a prominent researcher in this field has subsequently developed general principles of managing a multicultural organisation (Cox, 1993) that are fundamental to this study:

- cultural competency as an on-going commitment or institutionalisation of appropriate practice and policy for diverse populations
- change in organisational culture; and
- the key role of committed leadership

However, these principles although would help to build a general framework for institutional practice have to be 'translated' and 'adapted' further to the individual organisational requirements for best results. Nevertheless, with special adherence to Germany, recent scholars (Vedder, 2003; Krell & Sieben, 2007; Schröer, 2007;

⁶ This study focuses on these aspects of cultural diversity and therefore cultural diversity management. As the thesis refers very much to the seminal (general) diversity management research the terms 'diversity management' and 'cultural diversity management' are at various times used interchangeably (unless otherwise stated). Although it is important to recognise that the understanding of diversity management is, of course, much broader than cultural diversity management with the latter concentrating on the diversity dimension of cultural diversity/ethnicity.

Terkessidis, 2010) agree with these general principles rooted in a business approach but argue for a wider focus on cultural diversity and strategic alignment (this focus is also seen as a permanent task underpinned by a strategic reorientation in the context of on-going organisational learning).

More specifically, diversity management, therefore, lays a solid foundation for promoting human and equal rights and should be understood as an organisational and personnel development tool for both private and public sector organisations (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2012). However, so far, there has been a lack of in-depth research that sheds more light on the specific motives of public administration and their employees and the acculturation strategies that underlie diversity initiatives in public sector organisations. This study addresses this gap in the research by investigating the internal organisational perspectives and attitudes of public administration employees and senior managers toward the implementation of cultural diversity measures and organisational changes related to CDM. More broadly, the findings of this study make both theoretical and methodological contributions. The qualitative and explorative research design of this study enables the discovery of ambiguities, disagreements and uncertainties in dealing with relevant theoretical and value-based concepts, such as intercultural competences and equal treatment. The point being that these concepts and values should, at the same time, be the basis for a common organisational strategy, and yet if they mean different things to different people then any CDM strategy risks becoming incoherent, especially if this problem remains unacknowledged. It can be furtherly claimed that it is possible to gain deeper insights from this kind of qualitative study, which helps to ensure that these ambiguities and uncertainties

are made more visible. The derived insights have tremendous potential for encouraging and facilitating an intercultural sensitive administration that is able to develop its practice more robustly and maturely as a result.

To summarise, the current study focuses on CDM in Germany's public sector organisations, with an in-depth study of the local Government of the City of Hamm. Although, intercultural sensitivity promoting innovative practices have gained momentum in Germany, the introduction of diversity management programmes is rather new in specific administrative practice. In short, diversity management is a further development of the earlier regulatory approach, such as equal opportunities management, influenced by the business literature. Alternatively, developed from an examination of these and other more socially-based literatures on diversity and equal opportunities management (Chapter III, section 3.1), this study will provide a framework for understanding the practice development in CDM in the public sector that has occurred till date (Public Management Case for Diversity), and as defended throughout the thesis.

I.1.4 The 'key role' of a committed leadership

Moving away from the argument that implementing a strategic diversity management programme implicates a process of comprehensive organisational and cultural change, existing literature emphasises consistently the crucial role played by organisational leadership (Gardenswartz & Rowe, 1994). This argument highlights the perception that for a cooperative and pluralistic organisational culture that values diversity with regard to equal treatment of workforces and in terms of intercultural sensitivity to customer's needs, it requires the strong support of the top management (Ospina et al., 2011). This also implies that the incorporation of diversity management initiatives in organisational strategy must include a commitment of resources and an expressed willingness to change, but without necessarily leading to comprehensive organisational change. In short, the counter-claim is that the required commitment has to come not just from the top management, but also, middle management and finally, the whole workforce. That is, reflecting a wider and deeper cultural change within the organisation, based on the premise that the whole of the workforce should be enabled by the organisation to participate and be involved early in the process as supporters of CDM strategy at all operational levels (Cox, 1993).

The literature review highlights the lapses in the analysis of the initiatives taken for fostering diversity within the public sector organisations of Germany with regards to these leadership roles (see Chapter II, section 1.5). Although, there is a strong accordance with the argument promoting a key role for committed leadership, recent research is rather limited to general recommendations and appeals for

further research (Gesemann & Roth, 2009; Schader-Stiftung 2011; Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012). These general recommendations do not refer to the concrete demands of strategic leadership, which are necessary for the provision of (public service) managers' adequate assistance. For example, there is a lack of well-developed instruments or tools to help public service managers who are required to implement diversity initiatives in their organisations (Roberg, 2014; Scheitza & Düring-Hesse, 2014).

Addressing the shortcomings mentioned above, the thesis considers the concept of pluralistic leadership (Loden & Rosener, 1991). On the basis of Loden and Rosener's (1991) six dimensions for effective leadership, the recommendations of Gardenswartz and Rowe (1994), and in light of recent approaches on intercultural sensitivity, suggested by Terkessidis (2010) or Rathje (2010), the key elements of pluralistic leadership identified by Loden and Rosener (1991) are presented and explored here, namely:

- Vision and values recognising and supporting diversity within organisations
- Broad knowledge and awareness of diversity and multicultural issues
- Openness to change

The main assumption of the mentioned literature is that senior managers function as catalysts and promoters of change; and at an operational level, as mentors or tutors of employees embodying an ethical commitment to equal rights. However, few of the scholars advocate a paradigm or perspective shift for senior public managers, that is, "from discrimination and fairness to integration and learning" (Research Center of Leadership in Action, 2011, p. 11). Based on Ely and Thomas'

(2001) classification of organisational alignments of diversity management, managers should change their perspective from an 'only reactive position' to avoid and prevent discrimination, to a more proactive function to enhance work processes at all levels of the organisation by integrating culturally diverse employees; thus, aiming to be more 'holistic' in their approach. Incorporating comprehensive organisational change (see Chapter VI). This approach involves, amongst other things, (continuous) training of senior managers in intercultural competences as one central requirement of 'good' leadership (Bruchhagen, et al., 2010; Handschuck & Schröer, 2002; Krell & Sieben, 2007). Senior managers should be competent to contact and deal with culturally diverse customers as well as be sensitive when recruiting and integrating culturally diverse employees who can then, enrich the existing workforce currently, with the latter being characterised by the dominant cultural group.

However, while there has been progress on diversity initiatives in general, in business and public sector organisations, diversity research has been less focused on leadership practice. With regards to the research gap mentioned, the thesis considers advancements in the involvement of leaders in CDM practices implemented by the case-study organisation. The study subsequently explores the relationship between CDM practices and the leadership, while examining strategic implications with regard to intercultural skill-building and leadership and finally, investigating identifiable obstacles to initiate a strategic change process across the whole of the organisation in the way previously described. It is in this light that a case-study approach to collecting data was used.

I.2 Introduction and Design of Research

In order to fulfil the aims of the study being pursued, this study adopts a case-study methodological approach and a single case design, which is illustrated and explained in the Methodology Chapter (Chapter IV). The use of this design underlines the complexity of the topic, which requires an investigation and the development of empirical evidence to test the approach involving theory-building and verification⁷ (Robson, 2002; Yin, 2003; Saunders et al., 2007).

This qualitative research approach is considered appropriate and necessary for this research. The reason for choosing this approach was the lack of reported experiences of the impact of diversity management and consequent relationships with public service and leadership. Specific research on CDM practices in Germany, especially, in public service, is exceptional (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012; Schader-Stiftung, 2011). So far, only one study has focused directly on investigating the concept of diversity management in public sector organisations (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2012). Through qualitative methodology and methods, that is, with the use of semi-structured interviews, it is possible to get an insight into, and in-depth views, from within the case-study organisation. These methodologies and methods also draw attention to processes, meaning patterns, and structural features of the administrative practices, and various understandings of cultural diversity management and approaches to implement diversity initiatives from within a local

⁷ Using the words 'testing' and 'verification' in this relation throughout the thesis does not refer to testing a theory in a positivist way, but in an interpretivist sense. The methodology perspective is presented and discussed in more depth in Chapter IV, section 2.

administration. Qualitative research also enables greater flexibility and interaction with the case-study participants to acquire knowledge through evaluation and exploration of the specific organisational practices of diversity management and leadership (Easterby-Smith, 1997; Saunders et al., 2007). Hence, qualitative research enables both the exploration and detection of experiences, and of both the individual and groups; this cannot be attained with the use of quantitative methods. In addition, available secondary sources (first and foremost internal documents and relevant institutional reviews and reports) are evaluated and analysed to enrich data collection, and as a further independent source of data.

This research also emphasises the importance of theory-building and verification, primarily because there are not many in existence, which are formulated and discussed in relation to this specific research topic. Therefore, the research here in this sense turns over 'virgin soil' and constitutes a new and promising attempt to obtain and apply theoretical knowledge about CDM practices in Germany's public sector organisations.

A comparative study of the municipal integration and diversity policy in Germany (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012) concludes that there is either no research or very little qualitative research on CDM in smaller and medium-sized cities. A closer look at the circumstances and preconditions of rural areas or urban, yet non-metropolitan areas, is also a necessary development for further research.

To focus on some of the above gaps in the research, this study, then, investigated Hamm in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany, a local administration (non-

metropolitan) with about 180,000 inhabitants. Based on existing cultural diversity measures, the study explored and investigated the implementation and leadership practices in Hamm to analyse the key themes and determining factors facilitating strategic implementation of CDM.

The city developed a concept of 'integration', which served as a guide for organisational change. This constituted and underpinned its strategy for immigrant integration in the city and included different integration measures for different immigrant target groups, for example, immigrant children, families, workers, etc. (Hamm, 2016).⁸

The city's administration and political leadership were also actively engaged in their cultural diversity policy, making it a proactive local authority, according to the definition offered earlier. To cite an instance, the city implemented and enforced different diversity training programmes for public service employees. With a strong, committed office facilitating migration and integration, which centralised all local duties and public services for migrants, the city was willing to create an 'intercultural competent' public service (Citizens' Service Office). These conditions were the basis for the interview guidelines the researcher framed for interviewing

⁸ The City of Hamm has defined recent challenges that should be addressed using this integration concept. These challenges are: diversity of the languages and cultures of the immigrants; successful integration via the value of mutual respect while maintaining a balance between compliance with the values and norms in the Federal Republic (i.e. based on the Basic Law and the recognition of personal individual and group values based on a different cultural understanding); the special problems of unaccompanied minor refugees; the work integration of adults; and the often unrecognized special burdens of the refugees through traumatic life experiences. This conception of integration covers 44 pages and is based on former political decisions of the city council (Kommunales Integrationskonzept, Hamm, 2016).

senior managers of the Citizens' Service Offices and the public service delivery staff (see Appendix).

The perceptions and the needs of the citizens with migration background as users of public services were not considered, nor were any interviews taken with the customers. This decision reflects the nature of investigation which focussed on organisational strategies, policies and attitudes of the employees, rather than the experience of citizens as such. However, the survey of customers' or citizens' experiences is an important element for the intercultural orientation of the civil servants within the administration and, thus, requires further investigation. However, the focus of this study is to provide a measure and evaluation of the overall strategy, to be critically examined in light of the theoretical framework produced and articulated here (and outlined above).

More specifically this study therefore, aims at gathering qualitative, rich data and conducting individual assessments (of non-management employees and senior managers) on the following issues (and reflecting, in turn, the main research questions of the study):

- 1. How does a medium-sized public sector organisation implement CDM?**
- 2. What are the central and crucial determinants of a public management case for CDM?**
- 3. What are the key influencing factors from a theoretical, conceptual, critically reflective perspective?**

4. What is the significance and impact of recent public management efforts in implementing an administration-related CDM approach?

These questions reflect the identified gaps in existing research on CDM practices in Germany's public sector which have been outlined in the previous section. Since, this is one of the first qualitative approaches, the data collection goes beyond the scope of existing studies in terms of its in-depth investigation and exploration of (new) methods for a strategic implementation of CDM in German public sector (see Chapters II+III). Moreover, because the study is very different to most of the existing studies in Germany (Süß & Kleiner, 2005, Köppel et al., 2007; imap-GmbH, 2013; Ernst & Young GmbH, 2016), the proposed findings and conclusions can be targeted directly toward public management/senior managers' practices (as well as their organisational strategies). This targeting has been made possible because of the in-depth analyses presented from the qualitative data procured.

Thus, 17 individual interviews were conducted during the fieldwork-phase from November 2013 to March 2014, on-site in Hamm and alternately, via Skype. Interviewees were selected on a voluntary basis by the city of Hamm (HRM unit). The head of the administration (mayor's office) strongly supported this research which intended to obtain qualitative data to foster and implement diversity management. Further, the city provided support to the study through two key offices, the Personnel Development Unit and the Office of the Local Commissioner for Migration and Integration. On-site visits to Hamm enabled the researcher to present the research project to the participants and decide on the venue of

interview sessions (in Citizens' Service Offices / different districts) while presenting the first findings to the participants in a workshop post interviews (see Methodology Chapter IV, Section 5.2 and Findings Chapter V, Section 5.4)

The research at the case-study organisation was structured thus:

Basic review of the `status quo`

This entailed documentary analysis of the existing cultural diversity measures and data from already conducted semi-structured interviews in the case-study organisation – leading to an original analysis of the strategic alignment toward cultural diversity management and the underlying understanding of intercultural sensitivity in the local administration of Hamm.

Central investigation of the public service delivery and leadership practice

The research was conducted using semi-structured interviews / telephone interviews with non-management employees of the Citizens' Service Offices and senior managers of the city of Hamm, including `expert-interviews` with key persons (specialists), namely the city's commissioner for integration and the head of the HRM unit.

Transfer and verification

This stage was used, in part, to issue the first feedback and analysis to the case-study organisation post data collection (paper or presentation). Finally, a group discussion took place with a group of participants from the case-study organisation to discuss and verify the results of the interviews and the researcher's analysis.

More specifically, during the research the city of Hamm showed deep interest in

investigating the advancement of intercultural sensitivity in its Citizens' Service Offices. These seven single offices offered general public services for all citizens in the seven districts of the City. These districts were differently affected by a culturally diverse population. The researcher was invited by the management of the citizen services office to observe and examine their work and orientation. Several visits, guided tours of the service offices in the city districts and the possibility of participating as observer during the visits offered the researcher deeper insights into their working. The researcher thus, received qualitatively rich data, which led to both the development of understanding the practical implications of implementing CDM, as well as adding to the body of theoretical knowledge (and see Remenyi, 2002).

In addition to the Citizens' Service Offices, further key departments, including the Migration Office and the Human Resources Office, were involved in the investigation. First, the results from the interviews were discussed and reflected upon with the respective heads of the offices. This ensured some level of generalisability of the research findings by using a cross-section view on the processes employed by the case-study organisation. In terms of senior managers' attitudes towards diversity management, it was a further advantage to focus on a single case enabling a building-up of mutual trust and qualitatively rich data through in-depth interviews etc. Various data from departments and participants ensured the external validity of theory building and analytical generalization (Saunders et al., 2007; Amis & Silk, 2008) which were selected, together with the city's commissioner for integration – who occupied the key leadership role for promoting this research.

For the current study, the data collection was inculcated with combined or multiple methods and triangulation for the validity of the procured data (Yin, 2003).

According to Flick (2004), triangulation implies that a research object has been considered from (at least) two points. The aim of high validity may be taken as a classical criteria of empirical social research (Pflüger, 2012). Triangulation is, therefore, a strategy for the integration of different assessments and evaluation processes. As implied in this study, triangulation highlights the connection and synthesis of different data forms and methods (Flick, 2004; Pflüger, 2012).

Thus, to conclude, the data of the current study was collated from the interviews conducted with the staff members of public service and senior managers belonging to different departments. Hereby, leadership practices and individual attitudes towards the internal diversity measures and programmes as well as attitudes to the corporate organisational identity and intercultural orientation of the public service were fundamental to the process of data collection. Interviews with two internal 'experts' or subject specialists (diversity and/or leadership) were also used to enrich the data collection and obtain some additional information on the research topic as well as verify the collected data. To a lesser extent, secondary data was also included, in the form of internal city council documents and the critical examination of the concept of integration used by the City of Hamm.

Of the total of 17 people interviewed via semi-structured interviews, 15 respondents were from the Citizens' Service Offices representing all seven of the city's districts, of which all 10 executives took part. 2 other expert interviews with members of other offices served to verify and enrich the data and results. All the

interviews lasted approximately 90 minutes each. The number of interviews was limited to 15 out of 100 employees of the Citizen's Service department due to the time constraints faced by the researcher who lives and works 500 km away from the case study organisation. However, the sample chosen was specifically focussed on obtaining a wide range of views and perspectives from across the organisation, and were of sufficient depth and length to address the formulated research questions sufficiently. The interviews took place over a field phase of three months from December 2013 to February 2014, at seven different interview days in the city administration of Hamm as well as via telephone / Skype (1 interview). A total of 26 hours of interview data were collected. All 10 executives of the department (Citizens' Service Offices) were involved, which resulted in a full review of all senior managers' views and perspectives. In addition, a further 5 employees and 2 experts were interviewed. Overall, the limited numbers do not undermine the main thesis as the focus was to gain detailed insights into diversity management practices and perspectives, especially from the middle management, through the use of the above qualitative surveys and methods. The interviews were conducted on a voluntary basis with agreement and support of the head of the administration (during working hours). The collected data was anonymised under strict data protection norms which conformed to standard research ethical practices, and approved by the University of South Wales.

I.3 Chapter outline

As already highlighted, the existing research on CDM in Germany provides important quantitative data and gives an overview of the motives and intentions of public authorities towards the broader concept of 'valuing diversity' (Schader-Stiftung, 2011, 2014; Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2012; Deutscher Landkreistag, 2014). However, as also previously stated there are several shortcomings within this aspect of the researched topic, particularly, with the apparent lack of qualitative analysis.

In particular, the implementation of diversity management on the practice and necessary adaptation of public service remains under-researched as there are only a few studies or articles that consider the aspect of public service delivery as an important element of intercultural development (Donecker & Fischer, 2014).

Subsequent to this, the thesis is divided into 7 chapters, which are briefly described below. The literature review spans and reviews seminal diversity research providing the theoretical background of the concept of diversity management (Part A - Chapter II). The chapter aims to elaborate the contours and delimitations and the similarities between the concepts of equal opportunity management, affirmative action and diversity management applied in administrative practice, in order to relate this to what will be called the ethical grounds of public service motivation. It also considers, in detail, the current state of research on CDM in public sector organisations, in particular, the German public sector organisations (Part A - Chapter III). The literature review develops, via Chapter II and Chapter III, an administration-specific approach to CDM, which is formulated in critique and in

contrast to the business case for diversity, and as distinct from a public management case for diversity.

Chapter IV explores the methodology and the methods applied in this case-study research. Since there are not many well-formulated theories available on this specific topic, the study emphasises the importance of theory-building and verification. With research design being based on in-depth qualitative analysis, the thesis is one of the first qualitative investigations with such focus in Germany.

Findings of the field work are presented in Chapter V. In this particular case study, with the help of interviews and observations, the research highlights various points and themes which should be considered during the implementation of CDM in public sector organisations. The main focus is on the question of how ethnic minorities are viewed by the organisation or by their employees and managers, and on the influences of the existing organisational culture on the Citizens' Service Offices.

The findings are then classified and discussed in Chapter VI, reflecting on the importance of the theoretical considerations of model-building derived from a sociological and social policy orientation which concentrates, in turn, on specific acculturation strategies for CDM during its implementation. The field work and analysis have shown that this reflection was central to the discussion about the introduction of CDM to the case-study organisation. Findings, therefore, were presented and related to existing diversity measures, influences of organisational culture, and in the wider context of how ethnic minorities are viewed by the participants. These findings were analysed through categorising them under the

models of assimilation, integration and pluralism, and drawing from the disciplines of sociology and social policy analysis. These findings showed that different attitudes and underlying social paradigms (reflecting these different models) were of great importance for either accepting or resisting reform efforts which focussed on diversity initiatives (see Chapter VI). This analysis in turn informed the determination and critical evaluation of the case study's acculturation strategy. In short, this strategy was found to be largely located between the models of assimilation and integration, rather than a thorough-going commitment to pluralism which might otherwise underpin the promotion of diversity within any organisational structure.

The study concludes with the recommendation for a more fully developed theoretical foundation when introducing CDM to the public sector in Germany (Chapter VII). The results of this study suggest a basic theoretical framework for understanding organisational practices and conditions that have, so far, not been considered or accounted for. More specifically, a comprehensive assessment should be undertaken of the conceptual basis of the underlying diversity approaches within the public sector organisation. The current study highlights how the employees and executives comprehend the concepts of diversity differently and also, that there is no universal opinion or perception about the specific organisational objectives and intercultural orientations that need to be analysed and consequently, addressed. Therefore, internal analyses of the organisation's acculturation strategy, existing or planned anti-discrimination policies and the existing efforts of past administrative reforms, are required for a clearer organisational determination of the proposed implementation of diversity management. A thorough conceptual examination of

the existing framework conditions and objectives makes a more coherent, organisational-related and strategic approach possible. This would also enable all employees to be involved at an early stage and favours the establishment of clear internal communication as to what is intended. In addition to the external factors which shape agendas for reform, such as the challenges of migration and population change, the focus should also be on internal factors, such as organisational culture and its capacity for change, the development of employees and competences, and the orientation of municipal services to the intransigence of attitudes which resist reform at all levels of the organisation. Finally, it is also necessary to transfer trust and responsibility to the middle management (from senior management), with the former being perceived to function as an organisational 'hinge' in the administration and implementation of decisive organisational change.

Finally, and with a cautionary caveat given the research is based on one case-study, these findings *may* be applicable to more municipalities in Germany (and also elsewhere). For example, despite the limitations of a case-study, the city of Hamm also reflects the issues and concerns of larger cities, which are specifically targeting intercultural openness through diversity measures, as entailed by a growing multicultural population and migration processes, and which have a direct effect on city administrative work (Federal Ministry for Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012). The administration of Hamm is also comparable to other German administrations in its administrative and personnel structure – i.e. as a self-governing city, which is similar to many other cities in Germany. Therefore, the findings, recommend the individual organisational ownership of the concepts of

intercultural competence as part of a wider city-based strategy for CDM. Furtherly, sensitivity in the practiced requirements of individual organisations in the context of CDM also advocates the development of a generalised set of principles which can be applied to all/many local governments in Germany (and, again, most notably perhaps in urban areas). These principles are distinct to the public sector (reflecting its different concerns and priorities compared with the private sector) and will facilitate long-lasting and penetrative change as organisations come to terms with the endemic wider cultural barriers to the successful implementation of CDM.

II. Literature Review – Part A: Managing Cultural Diversity

II.1 Introduction

Recently, the concept of diversity management has turned out to be significant for various organisations without the particular motive of adhering to legal obligations that ensures equal treatment, but to have cultural diversity as a prior-defined business aim that provides competitive edge and enables effective management of diverse workforces (Ernst & Young GmbH, 2016). In addition, diversity management is an emergent management discipline and field in human resource management (HRM) with this subject matter currently sweeping the private and public sectors having to confront issues related to globalisation, constant change and significant demographic shifts (Bruchhagen et al., 2010, Ette et al., 2016).

In the light of these changes and issues, modern liberal societies often aim at building more culturally diverse communities, and it is in this mentioned context that the study addresses the implementation of CDM measures in the German public sector (and see section 1.2 ‘context of the study’). However, the initial assumption to be critiqued is that the challenges for organisations that are committed to a diversity approach are similar for both public sector and private sector (Wilson and Iles, 1999). The counter-assumption to be defended here is that there are different conditions and motivations that drive organisations in both sectors and these have a significant impact on the different approaches taken toward diversity management.

The literature review is divided into two chapters – Part A (Chapter II) and Part B (Chapter III) – and presents the research topic of CDM and leadership commitment as key aspects of managing diversity in contemporary research.

In order to develop a theoretical framework for exploring these issues, Part A of the literature review (Chapter II) identifies central themes and issues in promoting the concept of CDM in public sector organisations, which in turn are said to address the recent challenges for German public administrative authorities outlined above (II.3.1). The chapter therefore, covers the implications from the perspectives of public management research, encompassing theoretical explanations that are concerned with the organisational realm of public sector organisations and, what might be termed, the ‘public service identity’ of public employees, which are affected by changing social values and ethics. Furthermore, this part examines the connections between the anti-discrimination aspects of organisational change and how this relates to diversity management. According to this examination, the different understandings of culture and diversity in the context of integration and immigration policy, and inclusive of issues relating to the access of public services, are discussed and recommended as the bases for developing comprehensive diversity management measures in public sector organisations (II.3.1-II.3.3). Based on the theoretical argumentation above, section II.3.4 defines and develops the concept of ‘committed leadership’ and ‘pluralistic leadership’ as key elements for a successful CDM approach in public sector organisations and recommends further in-depth theoretical and practical research.

Section II.4 draws up the final conclusions from existing literature referring to the theoretical implications of the business concept of diversity management for public sector organisations as well as drawing on observations from practice according to the approaches previously adopted in Germany.

To conclude, the literature review argues for a 'public management case for diversity', which is developed in light of a fundamental anti-discriminating mandate and based on a broad theoretical understanding and critique of (cultural) diversity and diversity management. Key elements are related to practice which includes recommendations for an organisational culture that values diversity, fostering intercultural competence as an on-going commitment and an applied concept of 'pluralistic leadership'.

It will be shown throughout both parts of the review how the theoretical and conceptual foundations of the diversity management approach have so far hardly played a role in the development of diversity initiatives in German administrations. This study, thus, aims at articulating these foundations from a distinctly public sector perspective, with the basic business-case orientation being viewed critically at least in its application to public sector concerns and priorities. In the process, much attention is paid to the theoretical background as well as to the actual practical and policy-based developments with regard to those diversity initiatives taken in public sector organisations in Germany. For these reasons, the literature review is a particularly important feature of the study, requiring appropriately significant attention.

II.2 General developments towards managing (cultural) diversity

Diversity can be described not only as reflecting the mixture of backgrounds and competencies, but can also be described as the valuing and using of people's different competencies, experiences and perspectives to improve government efficiency and efficacy (OECD, 2009). One of the commonly cited definitions of diversity in literature comes from Sepehri (2002, p. 77), who describes diversity as "a variety of qualities, or rather everything in which people are different from or similar to each other". However, cultural diversity also singularises the feature of culture that concerns characteristics like nation, region, ethnic group or religion, industry and professional cultures (Köppel et al., 2007). While diversity management has been developed to deal with diversity in all its aspects, CDM focuses on how to deal with *cultural* heterogeneity as a specific category, which has been seen to become increasingly important in a global business environment and within public sector organisations (and as explored in the previous chapter).

The term culture, however, is certainly a complex one: Groeschl and Doherty (2000) argue that culture consists of numerous elements, some are implicit and others, explicit. According to demographic and socio-cultural influences, it could additionally be assumed that the relevance of the dimensions of diversity would differ from one country to another as much as from organisation to organisation. The wider background of this study will be the six dimensions of diversity corresponding to the categories of the two European Union directives on equality and the German General Equality Act (AGG): age, disability, gender, cultural

affiliation, religion and sexual orientation. The focus in CDM, is on cultural affiliation including nationality, geographic origin, ethnicity or language.

CDM is therefore difficult concept to grasp, given these complexities, but nevertheless has a broad appeal or positive connotation. For example, a widely acknowledged academic argument that has been explored in the previous chapter, is that a diverse workforce creates opportunities for public sector organisations to better their performance in terms of meeting the demands and needs of customers or clients and thus, enhancing their services to the community in which they belong (CIPD, 2005; Cox 1993). Following this conclusion, public sector organisations develop policies and practises aimed at recruiting, retaining and managing a diverse workforce while meeting the demands of diverse customers or populations, by providing culturally appropriate services and improving access to public services. It might be said, then, that the goal of managing diversity is to enhance the workforce and customer satisfaction, improve communication among members of the workforce, and further improve organisational performance (Weech-Maldonado et al., 2002). The current study considers these research implications by examining first, the practical advances in an organisation.

Similarly, diversity management is a common paradigm in business management. However, the meaning of the term is also not explicit and clear. Although the subsequent sections cover this issue in more detail, this section presents one principle perspective: diversity management as a discipline of Human Resource Management (HRM) and therefore, having various implications for organisational development. However, personnel management has also undergone a drastic

change and now, is much more strategy-oriented. HRM therefore, often concentrates more on 'soft-HRM-issues', which emphasises strategic interventions for organisational commitment and development in various areas concerning the labour force, while the (traditional) 'hard approach' focuses solely on strategic interventions to secure full utilisation of labour resources (Wright and Rudolph, 1994). According to this understanding and distinction, the so-called softer 'human' side of HRM is more relevant to, and positively impacts on, initiatives that incorporate diversity management. The relevance of HRM in public sector organisations is also quite evident. These organisations have been recently challenged by different circumstances like demographic changes or financial restrictions, which have impacted the practices of personnel management. Current administrative reforms have also provided for the possibility of implementing strategic, organisational management measures, which can be aligned with the 'valuing of diversity' approach. The current study considers these general implications and developments toward diversity management initiatives and focuses on specific conditions for public sector organisations (Charta der Vielfalt e.V., 2014; Steinhardt et al., 2008).

HRM approaches generally move from a pragmatic, short-term, reactive and ad hoc style to an integration of HRM with business and corporate strategies (Wright and Rudolph, 1994). Keating and Thompson (2004, p. 595) argue that "the globalisation of business has resulted in the increasing recognition of the value of a well-managed workforce and the evolution of the human resource function from being viewed as a support function to one of strategic importance". In consequence, the management of workforce diversity has achieved critical status in strategic HRM

(Kossek et al., 2003) and remains at the core of organisational success as a key source of competitive advantage (Schuler and Jackson, 2000). These organisational objectives express the fact that human resources are most valued and if appropriately skilled and well-managed, then, employees in the right positions can prove to be the difference between organisational success and failure.

This emphasis on HRM and performance has been found in the public sector (as well as the private sector) where organisations seek to maximise the 'productivity' of employees and improve the quality and delivery of services (Wright and Rudolph, 1994). However, in circumstances of stricter requirements, limited resources, and often, dealing with considerable bureaucratic processes, public sector organisations face significant challenges in capitalising on their 'people capital' while simultaneously, implementing strategies that will project their selves as employers of choice to potential employees. This fact, coupled with the current skills shortage, an ageing workforce, and tighter legislation is responsible for so many in the public sector struggling to adopt successful approaches to HRM (Dickmann et al., 2016).

Further, diversity as a phenomenon and strategy, incorporates not only issues regarding business and human resources management but develops as a corporate strategic organisational goal that transcends the realm of human resources. Besides the traditional aspects of HRM, diversity management interacts with all other aspects of business-like leadership, management practices, product development, marketing and sales, financial projections, and community and global communications (Arredondo, 1996). In addition, diversity management also relates to those external relations with clients, citizens, social processes and diversity

politics to guarantee equal treatment, equity and social justice (Krell & Wächter, 2006). These requirements play a significant role as public sector organisations especially remain obligated to serve the public, 'equally' and 'fairly'. Following this, the thesis considers how public sector organisations may need to weigh equal treatment and anti-discrimination measures to achieve more than purely 'economic' success, recognising the important differences between promoting equality and equity approaches, as explored previously and as will be explored throughout the study.

Moreover, as society becomes more diverse and organisations become more complex, they need increasingly complex governing structures, referring to both its day-to-day services and broader legislation frameworks which enshrine multi-layered rights and obligations for relevant participants (Will, 2008). So, Cox and Beale (1997, p. 2) argue that the implementation of strategic diversity management measures may create a "climate in which potential advantages for organizational group performances are maximized while potential disadvantages are minimized". However, there is still little or no evidence that public management agendas in Germany provide a clear recommendation for incorporating CDM measures or initiate strategic organisational development in public administration, based on fundamental rights and a public mandate of equal treatment. The argument being made in the study, and in accordance with the previous chapter, is that issues pertaining to equity and social justice as primary elements CDM become marginalised as a result.

More specifically, in Germany, if diversity management, or more generally, what might be called 'intercultural opening', is related to the public sector, then it is often discussed with a particular focus on foreign nationals and people with migration background, and assumes challenges related to cultural and language barriers (Will, 2008). Indeed, the increased acknowledgement of Germany as immigration-country and the statistical collection of people's migration background (see figure 6, p. 201) has led to increased interest in the topic. However, individuals and groups need to overcome stereotypes or prejudices and recognise that valuing differences can not only support group processes and performance as equal opportunities are implemented fully in any organisation (Hartel, 2004), but also support the wider social aims of equity and social justice, as argued previously.

So, in general, we might say that diversity has increasingly become a 'hot issue':

"Managers in public and private organisations will have to understand, predict and manage this intriguing nature of the diverse workforce" (Ongori & Angolla, 2007, p. 73). There are, of course, different viewpoints on diversity; while some organisations have identified themselves with the broader concept of valuing diversity which may or may not lead to equity or social justice demands, others consider solely the legal requirements of equality and anti-discrimination measures as underpinning the diversity agenda. Indeed, according to Ongori and Angolla (2007, p. 73) "...effective diversity management has historically been used to provide a legally defensive position; that is, a firm with a diverse workforce could argue that they were not guilty of discrimination because of the prima facie case based on their workforce demographics representing the demographics of the local

community”. However, as previously explored, the perspectives on diversity have changed and *should* change to a more proactive and valued concept and social goal.

Therefore, dependent on the motives, understandings or legal requirement strategies for managing a diverse workforce could considerably vary between organisations. HRM strategies fostering diversity management often “aim to implement initiatives, activities, and practices that recognize, promote, or encourage the differences between groups or people” (Jabbour et al., 2011, p. 60).

Conforming to R. Thomas (1991) – who is a consultant and leading theorist on defining diversity management – organisations can develop strategies for managing diversity based on three kinds of initiatives, which describe diversity as:

- valuing the differences that stimulate better relationships between employees and encouraging the acceptance and understanding of diversity;
- meeting affirmative action policies by social pressure; and
- making diversity management a structured process to obtain competitive advantages through a diverse group of employees

The point posited is that these initiatives maintain that organisations have to change their core cultural values and concentrate their efforts on effective diversity management practices. Central to this approach is the focus on ‘positive values’ and the achievement of social integration (Jabbour et al., 2011). Further, diversity management is also much focussed on successful outcomes for the organisation in terms of competitive advantages that include various HRM activities, like recruiting and retaining talents and building a skilled workforce, improving the organisational climate, improving customer or citizen services and reducing discrimination and harassment in the organisation (Jabbour et al., 2011). Following Cox and Blake

(1991), the current study intends to examine the organisational climate and culture, along with the involvement of top management and senior management to evaluate the effectiveness of the efforts made in diversity management.

In conclusion, so far, the terms culture and diversity and their consequent relationship are of significant interest to organisations. The literature claims that strategic HRM is essential for successful management of a diverse workforce. The assumption of this study, following this literature review, is that diversity management obtains competitive advantage through a general change in organisational culture that includes promoting the values of equality and an appreciation of diversity. However, as personnel management develops its practice through implementing these changes, it alters in a likewise manner from ad-hoc and reactive to becoming more strategic and pro-active. Moreover, organisations tends to develop roles to promote fundamental rights of equal treatment; they also tend to move away from focussing on the business case for CDM and the minimal requirement of meeting legal obligations of equality and anti-discrimination, to a more pro-active promotion of the wider social goals of equity and social justice. These latter goals are particularly pertinent for public sector organisations, and also serve to distinguish these organisations from private sector organisations.

II.3 Cultural Diversity Management in public sector organisations

II.3.1 The organisational culture of public sector organisations and impacts of management reform initiatives

II.3.1.1 Implications of the limits of public management research

As an emerging field of human resource and organisational management research, diversity management is of great interest in the field of public management research (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998; Naff & Kellough, 2003; Rice, 2007). However, diversity research with regard to public management has neglected the importance of developing systematic theory and knowledge for public service managers (Pitts, 2005). Also, the management literature implies that the impact of representative bureaucracy is contingent on organisational strategy (Andrews, 2005), thus diversity management was rather pushed by scholars and consultants as a ‘panacea’ for a number of challenges public sector organisations confront (Pitts, 2005). The inclusion and integration of underrepresented minorities brought proponents of affirmative action into the debate since this had offered considerable impetus to the diversity initiatives found in the public sector.⁹ However, again as explored previously, the literature is not consistent about whether affirmative action is a legitimate part of diversity management (Selden & Selden, 2001; Naff & Kellough

⁹ Affirmative action is generally related to the wider concepts and values of justice and equality. Although there is no consistency in the definition, one can argue that “affirmative action occurs whenever an organization expends energy to make sure there is no discrimination in employment or education and instead, equal opportunity exists” (American Psychological Association (2007, p. 5). Affirmative action may, further, be understood as reaction against prejudice, discrimination and group-based inequities, which have resulted in standard organisational structures and practices which promote equal opportunities (Crosby & Clayton, 2001). The term of affirmative action is considered in this thesis in more details in Chapter III, section 2 (pp. 110-116) and discussed related to the case study findings in Chapter VI, section 2 (pp. 365-379).

2003; Pitts, 2005). All these conflicts and tensions within and between literatures lead to a certain degree of incoherence regarding the theoretical explanation of relevant issues, and will be explored later in the study (see Chapter III, section 2 and Chapter VI, section 2).

Moreover, research with regard to public and diversity management has covered various policies and programmes. However, according to Pitts (2005) the previous studies have been limited to statistical analyses of workforce trends or descriptive presentations of good and best practices, rather than providing systematic theoretical analysis. This problem is also applicable to the situation in Germany with the conclusion being that until recently there was no empirical evidence even, which might inform a fully developed theoretical understanding of CDM (Schader-Stiftung, 2011; Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012; Federal Government Commissioner, 2016).

There is limited research in public management with regard to the impact of diversity management on organisational outcomes. The specific situation and role of public administrative employees or officials is seldom recognised in recent research on diversity management in the public sector. This lack of research evidence raises other research questions for this study as to whether, or the extent to which, the theory of diversity management as developed by scholars like Cox (1993) or Loden and Rosener (1991), is applicable to public sector organisations. It is in this context that the concept of *organisational* culture within the public sector will now be explored and its consequent relation with CDM.

II.3.1.2 Organisational culture of public sector organisations

Since the 1980s, there has been a fundamental reorganisation and modernisation of the public sector in industrial countries like the UK and Germany. Reforms under the heading of New Public Management (NPM) have shifted the emphasis from traditional bureaucratic public administration to more performance and output-oriented public management. Key elements include various forms of decentralising management within public services (e.g. the creation of autonomous agencies and devolution of budgets and financial control), increasing use of markets and competition in the provision of public services (e.g., resorting to contracting and other market-type mechanisms), and increasing emphasis on performance, outputs and customer-orientation (Larbi, 1999). The key elements of administrative modernisation are generally similar between countries but the reasons for reforms, and the specific policy instruments, vary considerably from country to country (Barlow & Röber, 1996).

The NPM, and its variants of entrepreneurial government (Klages & Loeffler, 1995), plus the new 'steering model' in Germany (Association for local Government administration management (KGSt¹⁰, 1993) have existed for more than 20 years.

Although the speed and extent to which countries and governments have adopted the NPM varies, there is an international trend reflected in changes in the size, role and functions of the state and many of these principles are shared by various countries that have undertaken administrative reforms (particularly, among the member states of the OECD). The guiding philosophy of these managerial changes is

¹⁰ The KGSt is as a central and independent organisation and an acknowledged 'think-tank' for municipal administrations in Germany founded approximately 70 years ago (www.kgst.de).

largely inspired by economic considerations. Caron and Giaouque (2006) for example highlight that the NPM is an attempt to breathe a new 'business-mindset' into the field of public administration, in response to criticism about the alleged and sometimes proven ineffectiveness and inefficiency of public sector organisations. Pierre and Peters (2000, p. 25) pithily describe these changes with the statement: "Governance is replacing government".

As a result, public sector employees are currently confronted with new professional challenges arising from the introduction of new principles and tools in the context of NPM and new business-oriented values such as productivity, efficiency, risk-taking and initiative. However, despite its radical overhaul of organisational structures and aims, NPM initiatives, hardly cover aspects of cultural change within and outside the organisation. Subsequently, the claim here is that these initiatives often also do not recognise the necessity and fundamental objectives of equity and social justice that demands, amongst other things, the proportional representation of minority groups within society to be employed in public government bodies and the alignment of public services to a changed/changing culturally diverse society. In short, then, ignoring the need for cultural change within (and outside) public sector organisations also ignores the distinctive features of these organisations, as promoters of equity and social justice.

II.3.1.3 Public service identity – changing values and ethics

Following from the above, it is important to critically consider the objectives of organisational changes within public administrations towards strategic CDM. So, focusing not only on how individual skills and strengths are developed, but also more, the imperative to critically examine the existing public service identity or organisational culture. That is, with a view to identifying obstacles and barriers to promoting diversity, while pinpointing useful starting points for change management. Indeed, recent attempts to reform public sector organisations have tended to usher in different internal changes in cultures and employees' identities. So, public services as traditional administrative and professional bureaucracies are being transformed into managerial bureaucracies based on business principles and practices imported from the private sector (Horton, 2006). There is also a change in the orientation of these public services and the ethics they follow, which impacts on public officials, their roles and the work they do, the way in which they manage these roles, their relationships with the public and the criteria by which they are assessed, both internally and externally. These criteria are continually evolving (Horton, 2006), and in consequence, changes in public service ethics will also impact the motivation of public employees and, what will be called here, the 'public service identity'.

The term 'identity' in business has been much discussed in the context of organisational theory, organisational culture and organisational psychology. The topic of organisational culture as a determinant of identity and a source of individual members' norms, values and behaviour was also much discussed in the 1980s (for example, see Peters & Waterman, 1982; Kanter 1983). However, in the

years after that, it acquired a new direction with new culture theorists like Hofstede (1991) entering the debate and stressing its importance in the 'process of change'. Moreover, it has acquired significant focus when scholars have examined the transition from traditional public administration to NPM. Generally, it is accepted that those who work in the civil services are bound by, and in most instances, subscribe to a public service ethos (or in German: 'Beamtenethos') through which they either identify themselves, and/or are identified by others. This public service ethos constitutes a cultural and, an ethical and political framework within which, civil servants are expected to work. Behavioural characteristics, for example, include honesty, integrity, probity, dispassionateness, and freedom from corruption, and above all, service to the 'public interest' (Horton, 2006). In many western democracies, reflecting these values, civil servants are expected to be politically neutral and implement the law and carry out the policies of the government. But in some political systems like Germany and the USA, "political appointments that change with governments fill the top level of the service" (Horton, 2006, p.536). In contrast, "in the UK, all top civil servants have traditionally been both politically neutral and permanent while acting as major advisors on policy to the government of the day" (Horton, 2006, p. 536).

It is often claimed that the current orientation of identity in the framework of NPM causes conflict for civil servants with the public service ethos. For example, the new 'results-oriented ethics' leads civil servants to make decisions and act in their self-

interest, in an opportunistic way, and in opposition to the traditional Weberian values that promote public ethics (for example, see Caron & Giaque, 2006).¹¹

Moreover, the managerial ideology of the NPM challenges the bureaucratic ideology on which modern Western administrative systems have been traditionally based. For example, a change of title from civil servants as public administrators, to public managers or chief executives, signifies a different identity both, internal and external, of the public service. Crucially, Milward (1996) argues that NPM has led to a deconstruction of public sector organisations, leaving public employees searching for their organisational identities. Briefly put, the public service identity theory is based on the general argument that public employees are motivated by a sense of service not found among private employees (Houston, 2000; Perry & Wise, 1990). The literature also confirms that public servants have greater interest in altruistic or ideological goals than private sector employees (Rainey, 1982, 1997; Shamir, 1991; Perry, 1996; Liu, 2008). This conclusion is supported by other scholars, such as Crewson (1997), who state that public employees in government organisations are motivated by a concern for the community and a desire to serve public interest. In short, one can conclude that public employees will therefore place a higher value on pro-social job behaviours (Kim, 2006), which will differentiate them from private

¹¹ Max Weber was a German sociologist, philosopher, jurist, political economist and strongly influenced the German public administration by his fundamental contributions to public administration theory and his analysis of bureaucracy, which emphasised that modern state institutions are increasingly based on rational-legal authority. His analysis finally led to the thesis that bureaucracy provides efficient structures to organise complex tasks. Weber's ideal-typical bureaucracy is characterised e.g. by hierarchical organisation and based on specific competencies of various offices (Swedberg and Agevall, 2005). Similar to the public administrations of many European countries, the German administration is still organised as a bureaucracy, even if the bureaucracy model has long been criticised and partly replaced by elements of New Public Management (Schedler and Proeller, 2006).

sector employees. This motivation amongst public service employees, in turn, could also support the promotion of CDM alongside the wider social goals of equity and social justice, aligned to the serving of public interests and needs.

However, the tools of NPM, mirroring the private sector, also favour the development of a greater allegiance of civil servants to their organisations *as distinct* from the wider public. Nevertheless, it will be argued here that it is a mistake to assume that the values of the private sector can be wholly transported to public service. Each sector has a different concept of efficacy, for example, which is reflected in their work and identity; public sector employees have a specific and different role to play compared to the private sector and see themselves in these terms (Crewson, 1997; Horton, 2006). In the context of shifting toward NPM, the new result-oriented ethic subsequently leads to a change in purpose, where results take precedence over the administrative (Weberian) standards that defend the public interest. Caron and Giaque (2006), for example, interpret the latter standards as the seeking after preserving the role of civil servants as an agent for the defence and perpetuation of democracy and the public interest, these being quite distinct to the standards promoted within the private sector.

In summary, the changes, which result from adapting NPM, such as individualisation and decentralisation of HRM are designed to increase productivity and motivate staff. However, what has been neglected is a particular concept of diversity management, rooted in the aims of equity and social justice and based on more traditional notions of public service. Acknowledging that this change brought about by NPM, represents a cultural shift in organisational behaviour, and is therefore

crucial to understanding the promotion of CDM in public sector organisations and as explored here.

II.3.2 Public sector organisations and Intercultural sensitivity

In Germany, there is still a highly controversial debate about its diverse society. It is only in the last one or two decades that policy officially accepted and acknowledged Germany as a country of immigration although labour migration was encouraged with first bilateral agreements in 1955. In addition, there are still considerable problems (in policy, research and across wider society) in identifying an agreed understanding of diversity, with disputed questions and issues concerning the 'integration' of immigrants and people with *so-called* migration backgrounds, and which includes even people born in Germany as German citizens. Moreover, these debates often centre on the assumed deficits of people with different cultural backgrounds, and a 'minority problem' which needs addressing (Cicero, 2016; Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2010). Further, it has been found that many studies are also limited to looking only at the differences and deficits related to cultures with no further analyses (German Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2011; Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2010). These highly debated concepts of culture and integration are ambiguous, controversial as will be explored here, and yet are often overused by proponents as well as opponents of immigration (and see Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2007). More recently, Diversity Management advocates in German research literature (Krell and Sieben, 2007; Terkessidis, 2010; Schader-Stiftung, 2011) claim a potential new perspective on cultural diversity and argue for comprehensive and broad-based understanding of culture. In regards to the development of intercultural sensitivity, a comprehensive work of analysing the requirements of processes on intercultural orientation in Germany, Schröer (2007), maintains that the term culture implies a broad understanding of culture, which

includes all day-to-day activities and one's professional life. He (Schröer, 2007) defines intercultural or cross-cultural issues/work as providing a comprehensive understanding of inter-cultural aspects, which could not be reduced, to the individual relationship between natives (Germans) and people with migration background. Indeed, this conclusion is consistent with German jurisprudence where it is also stated that migration-law and requirements for the integration process could not be limited to 'foreigners' alone (Thym, 2010). So, with reference to the whole of society and its wider cultural reference points, Schröer (2007) recommends focussing on a much more comprehensive relationship between different ways of life, which includes acknowledging differences in gender, age, religion, sexual orientation, corporality, socio-economic conditions, and even the differences between organisational structures in businesses or administrations.

Within the above contexts of public debate and academic research, the concept of 'intercultural openness' underpins one of the main paradigms in recent German debates on the integration of immigrants and CDM. However, again there is no consensus over its definition (Schader-Stiftung, 2011). The interpretations range from promoting 'assimilation' or 'interculturalism' or 'multiculturalism' (Roth in Schader-Stiftung 2011). The concept of assimilation has been formulated in previous sociological research on migration and is also used in a policy context too. It is related to a comprehensive adaptation by minority groups of their cultural, ethnic or religious identities toward the majority or dominant group's cultural, ethnic and religious identities within any society, and, more generally, with regard to its values and way of living (Oswald, 2007). For example, sociologists such as Esser (1980) have applied and transferred findings from US immigration policy of

the 19th and early 20th centuries to Germany's policy on integration of so-called 'guest workers' (labour migration).

Resonating with the above, in Germany, the association for local Government administration management (KGSt) has made declarations in 2007 about the integration of the (new) population groups with existing social structures of an 'admitting' society (Reichwein, 2007). Based on what is seen by the KGSt as a necessary adaptation of economic, social, legal, cultural and political conditions, these declarations tend to look at people from other cultural backgrounds as potentially 'interfering' or 'disrupting' of 'regular society' and existing social structures (Terkessidis, 2010). The task then would be to assimilate these minorities, in the ways just described, to avoid these outcomes. However, the contention here is that assimilation is no longer realistic today. For example, other ways of living have created new paradigms of trans-nationality in recent years, as individuals tend to move between different places of residence and societies (Thym, 2010). Terkessidis (2010) explained this phenomenon as living in a 'parapolis' which inevitably makes questions of identity around nations much more transient and heterogeneous, as opposed to being fixed and homogeneous. Nevertheless, the common (political) description of integration in Germany still appeals to the latter rather than the former, underpinned by a process of harmonisation of immigrant culture to the dominant host culture (and see the Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2011). This leads to a contradiction between the assimilationist aspirations of homogeneity against the more multicultural aspirations toward heterogeneity.

In the earlier studies on CDM, R. Thomas (1990) and Cox (1993) advocated principles based on the latter approach, which is derived from the values of tolerance and acceptance rather than from adaptation to a leading or dominant social group. So, Roosevelt Thomas Jr., in 1990, argued that the objective of diversity was “not to assimilate minorities [...] into dominant [...] culture but to create a dominant heterogeneous culture” (Thomas, 1990, p. 114). Taylor Cox Jr. (1993) in his work ‘Diversity and Organizational Performance’ explained cultural diversity as “representation, in one social system, of people with distinctly different group affiliations of cultural significance” (Cox, 1993, p. 6). He then addressed the concept and value of diversity in the context of social systems, which were dominated and characterised by a majority group and only additionally characterised by minority groups (Cox, 1993). About two decades later in 2009, Hill developed this analysis further and stated that successful diversity efforts were built on moving beyond tolerance to the *celebration of difference*, based on acknowledging that everyone has multiple identities which should be valued, for example, sexual orientation and gender identity and everyone belonged to a particular ‘race’, gender, ethnic group, and so on (Hill, 2009).

Similar to Schröer (2007), Hill (2009, p. 49) recommended that diversity initiatives should be broad-based, and include not only minorities, but also non-minorities, recognising that this concept may be “prickly” for some, because it “demands that we simultaneously focus on our ethical obligation to recognize the pain of historically excluded minority and underrepresented groups, while taking into account the valuable contributions of dominant group members” (Hill, 2009, p. 49).

Developing this point, Kapoor (2011, p. 290) stressed that “despite concerns that a

broad-based focus on diversity may dilute the claims of historically discriminated-against groups, it also enhances the ability to have the conversation in the first place and, hopefully, make a difference”.

Following these conclusions, the underlying understanding of CDM in the current thesis is that diversity should not be deemed important only because some groups are underrepresented; it should also be based on the intrinsic worth of plurality, derived from the idea that everyone must be included while maintaining that possessing and even promoting a group or individual ‘difference’ is a fundamental human right.

What though do we *mean* by difference more specifically? Translating the word diversity into German, Aretz and Hansen (2003) found many descriptions for the term: differences, disparity, otherness, heterogeneity, individuality or plurality. Although the term ‘diversity’ is generally used with a positive description, this translation shows that this is not always the case. However, there is a consensus in research and practice that promoting diversity underlies a wider understanding of culture. Moreover, it can be concluded that diversity and diversity management is not limited to particular dimensions or spheres, rather, it incorporates both our private lives *and* the public world of work (Schröer, 2007). The acceptance of plurality and even the promotion of differences and differentiations is therefore, also the basis of what is called ‘intercultural social work’ as something distinct from assimilation (Auernheimer, 1999). Following this distinction, diversity may be defined, then, as more than just a straightforward contrast between domestic and immigrant groups – as it often was and still is, both practised and based in German

diversity and integration policy – intercultural ‘social work’ and as explored here, reflects a more holistic approach, relating to all the circumstances of people’s lives, encompassing both differences *and* similarities in various different dimensions (Schröer, 2007; Terkessidis, 2010). On that foundation, a concept and understanding of intercultural *competencies* might be developed, which it is contended here, is again fundamental for developing comprehensive diversity management.

In his article, “McWorld oder Multikulti” Zülch (2004) presents insights from various research disciplines and describes in detail, the different concepts or definitions of intercultural competencies, which have been summarised in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Definitions of intercultural competences

Authors	Definition of intercultural competences
Gudykunst (1994)	Intercultural competence as combination of communication skills and specific or cross-cultural knowledge.
Hinz-Rommel (1994)	Concept of intercultural decision-making and responsibility with intercultural components of: interaction propensity, self-assurance, stress tolerance, ability of tolerating contradictions, empathy, awareness of one's own culture and language skills.
Jakubeit and Schattenhofer (1996)	Intercultural competence as 'competence of strangeness' which is explained with the challenge to allow that others ("strangers") have the free right to be diverse and different. And that additionally self-assurance is needed for the openness towards a constant and mutual interaction.
Luchtenberg (1998)	Intercultural competence as competence to overcome communicational problems, which are conditional on cultures. This approach combines communications competences with competences to avoid conflicts and states a synthesis of intercultural communication and decision making.
Bollmann et al. (1998)	Intercultural competence composed of 3 key competences: communication, integration through empathy, and conflict management skills.
Dowd et al. (1999)	Six strategies for managing diversity: Self-assessment of one's own cultural background, practicing flexibility, developing tolerance to differences (tolerance to ambiguity), accepting differences with creativity and style, meeting personal needs, using humour to cope with cultural differences
Rosen (2000)	Intercultural competences for leadership (global literacy) with 4 core competences: personal literacy (self-assessment), social literacy (with regard to staff motivation), business literacy (creating an organisational culture), and cultural literacy (knowledge of cultural specific differences)

Source: Based on Zülch (2004)

To summarise the figure above, intercultural competence can be defined differently depending on the specific perspective. However, many of the descriptions include a) communication or language skills, b) problem-solving skills and 'cultural knowledge' as well as c) general social skills and self-assessment like awareness of cultures, tolerance, empathy or 'ambiguity tolerance' as explored earlier. In general, we might say too that these definitions differ according to whether they are more conflict-oriented or problem-solving-oriented (Gudykunst, 1994; Luchtenberg, 1998; Dowd et al., 1999) or whether they emphasise self-reflexion as important (Hinz-Rommel 1994; Jakubeit and Schattenhofer, 1996). However, it is important to acknowledge that there are intersections between this classification making the definitional boundaries flexible rather than fixed (Bollmann et al., 1998; Rosen, 2000).

In practice, then, intercultural competence is often facilitated via cultural (family) background – if one assumes that persons with migration background have intercultural competencies due to migration-specific influences (Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung, 2006) –, or acquired knowledge from intercultural trainings or, other life experiences, for instance, temporary employment abroad, friendships with individuals from other cultures, and so on. Recommendations for necessary competencies, which are required in an intercultural environment and workplace, are developed within these contexts. For example, it should be apparent in all the above that beside communicational competence, self-awareness of one's own culture and empathy with other people's culture, are essential requirements of intercultural competence. So, according to Handschuck and Schröer (2002), intercultural orientation is aimed at heightening critical self-reflection with the aim

of facilitating equal treatment between cultures. In the process, empathy is an essential component of this competence – i.e. the capacity to recognise and understand the perspectives of others.

However, the study here assumes that no individual can be completely interculturally competent as the process of learning and developing these competencies is never finished. This leads, though, to the question as to whether intercultural competence is an ideal to aim for but which cannot be fulfilled, or whether it is a threshold or 'good enough' criteria that can be and should be met by all? Many authors have assumed the latter interpretation and so, for example, have focussed on ensuring workers gain a certain kind of skill-base, such as communication-related skills, and that a basic acquisition of 'cultural' knowledge is sufficient for intercultural competence (like Gudykunst, 1994 see figure 1). In opposition to these approaches, Hinz-Rommel (1994, see figure 1) and Jakubeit and Schattenhofer (1996, see figure 1) argue against this approach, concluding that this will lead to stereotyping tendencies with intercultural competencies being derived from only culturally-specific knowledge bases that are superficial in character. The central point here, by implication, is that developing competencies as an ideal (rather than a threshold) should allow for the permanent challenging or questioning of one's own patterns of thoughts and prejudices as a member of a particular cultural group. Following this analysis, intercultural competence is not something that can be gained by 'brief educational training', rather, it is a permanent *process* of learning and experiencing (and see Jakubeit and Schattenhofer, 1996, see figure 1).

However, regardless of whether intercultural competence is an ideal or a threshold, in general terms, intercultural competence may be summarised as the “ability [...] to interact effectively and appropriately with members of different cultures” (Wiseman, 2002, p. 208). Müller and Gelbrich, 2001 define three dimensions of competencies, which they identify as having emerged as the majority view (Zülch, 2004): First, there is the *conative* dimension using skills like flexibility, interaction and stress-management, respect, body language, and the ability to cope with ambiguity. Second, there is the *cognitive* dimension based on securing and maintaining the necessary “knowledge to interact interculturally” (Zülch, 2004, p. 22). Thirdly, there is the affective dimension which must incorporate the *motivation* of the particular stakeholders to behave interculturally which means engaging in “e.g. openness, interest, empathy, [...]” (Zülch, 2004, p. 78).

So, as the existing research shows, diversity is not a new phenomenon. We all live in diverse societies which, in turn, gets us to questions about the rights and experience of diverse groups within and between societies. However, the main argument here is that the stress and focus on intercultural competencies within CDM (i.e., with regard to managing a diverse workforce effectively) risks missing these fundamental concerns of a diverse society and of ‘laying the foundation of a barrier-free society’ and protecting fundamental rights of the individual as members of particular groups. Moreover, the claim here too is that the latter is of immense importance when we talk about diversity management and the intercultural openness of the public sector. In short, and as highlighted and explored previously, public sector organisations have a ‘social responsibility’ not only to guarantee equal treatment for group members (as defined by law and legal obligations), but also to

promote, more broadly, principles of equity and social justice for the diverse society in which we all live.

Following the above conclusions, this study considers the concept of interculturalism as Terkessidis (2010) has formulated, which he describes as a political programme to establish 'barrier-free access' with the goal of *real* social participation and affiliation. In his understanding, Terkessidis (2010) stresses not merely the acceptance of cultural diversity, the rivalry of different perspectives or living together with different cultures etc.; but the objective of a radical change in the characteristic or existing patterns of dominant cultures, which unjustly treat certain 'minority groups'. By implication, this focus fundamentally criticises the (German) approach of integration and assimilation as antiquated and inadequate.

Policy, recently, has been confronted with a major task of establishing general conditions for promoting a diverse society, which incorporates the whole society and does not just 'integrate' or 'assimilate' minority groups. As a result, and following the analysis presented here, Terkessidis (2010) argues that the concepts of integration and assimilation in German policy have been, in their effects, opposed to the realisation of equal treatment and equity for all its citizens.

Subsequently, Germany has not turned its attention to removing the many social barriers for certain disadvantaged groups. Its focus instead has been on the adaptation of the 'new people or minority groups' to the majority culture.

According to Terkessidis (2010) this policy is doomed to failure if people with different cultural backgrounds are only perceived critically, as 'deviations' from the dominant 'norm' or 'average'. Given this conclusion, and consistent with the claims made here in this study, the intercultural competency approach to interculturalism

must contain more than just equal treatment and a tolerance and respect for existing cultural differences; it must also aim at a pluralistic transformation of the public arena and wider institutional social practices. That is, with the view that these competencies are not fixed but permanently renewable and changeable within the context of promoting CDM (and see Terkessidis, 2010).

II.3.3 Cultural diversity and access to public services and public service delivery

We have so far seen that, in the context of public service delivery, culture is a central aspect to CDM, but which is often not recognised from the perspective of public management. So, according to Rice (2007), the understanding of culture, helps public service delivery providers avoid stereotypes and biases based on a critique of dominant culture, and can have the potential of promoting the characteristics of cultural diversity in a positive way including those cultures associated with minority groups. Therefore, public sector organisations that ignore these cultural aspects (and the critique of dominant cultures) may cause concern, for when culture is not considered critically by public service providers, “individuals, families, and groups are not getting the services or support they need, or worse yet, individuals, families, and groups are receiving services that is perhaps more harmful than helpful” (Rice, 2007, p. 624).

In this context, there are a number of practical implications for intercultural orientation in public service delivery. For example, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (US DHHS, 2001) has stressed the importance of cultural sensitivity with regard to service delivery. The US DHHS (2001) defined cultural competence as ‘having the knowledge, skills and abilities to be effective in a particular area’ or having attained a level of mastery in the context of culturally integrated patterns of human behaviour. Cultural awareness, knowledge and skills also underpinning intercultural competence, are further acknowledged as being beneficial to better performance of public service professionals (Suzuki et al., 2001).

This clearly strengthens the argument that intercultural orientation is central to

organisational performance and the corporate identity of an institution that serves the public interest.

However, further arguments for supporting intercultural competencies (as described in detail in section 2.2 here) with regard to delivering public services were also advocated in the literature. For example, it is essential that there are opportunities of redress, and to be able to challenge – public services' and programmes' treatment of minority groups (Geron, 2002) and their anti-discrimination measures (Terkessidis, 2010).

With reference to Germany, what we have presently is an on-going discussion in both the literature and in practice about developing intercultural orientation and competencies in the public sector (Handschuck & Schröer, 2002). Intercultural concepts and guidelines regarding the promotion of these orientations and competencies are widespread in cities and local authorities (Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration, 2010). However, there is a lot of variance, not just in the overall local approaches but also, in the degrees these approaches are being implemented: Evidence from government-funded research programmes demonstrate that public sector organisations often suffer from a lack of 'systematic strategies of intercultural openness' and essential resourcing support for this strategic orientation (Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration, 2012). Therefore, it could be argued that the approaches so far are limited to political impact and although may be helpful in creating some awareness of cultural diversity management, do not actually deliver substantive organisational change towards a multicultural or intercultural organisation.

Nevertheless, we need to press the arguments further to examine more closely what else is happening on the ground. Referring to Cox's (1993) model as a guide to organisational change, there are three types of organisations – monolithic, plural and multicultural. The initiatives of intercultural orientations have been observed in public administration in Germany, may require a move away from monolithic to plural organisations, which will include increasing the representation of minority groups at all levels of the organisation. This may, in turn, provide a justification for affirmative action programmes as well as a more general commitment to promoting diversity within the organisation and wider society (see section 3.1). Recognising the importance of promoting plurality within organisations also points to the concept of pluralistic leadership as part of any CDM strategy. This concept will now be explored in the next section.

II.3.4 Commitment towards Cultural Diversity Management – Pluralistic

Leadership as concept for public sector organisations

Literature on diversity management (Cox, 1993; Gardenswartz & Rowe, 1994; Vedder, 2003) and recommendations from research practice (Federal Government Commissioner, 2010, 2012; Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012) argue consistently for the strong commitment of top management to make effective organisational change.

According to Cox (1993, p. 230-232), this commitment includes,

- the commitment of resources,
- inclusion of managing and promoting diversity as component of business strategy,
- willingness to change the corporate-wide HRM (including e.g. performance appraisal and compensation systems),
- focussing mental energy and financial support for a long-term change process,
- and the institutional establishment of valuing diversity as a core value of the organisation.

Cox (1993) further argued, however, that top management commitment alone was not sufficient, because supporters were needed throughout organisational management, especially at the level of line managers. This supports the insight, previously identified and explored, that effective leadership requires more than a formal declaration of support for particular programmes, but a root-and-branch

transformation that changes or reorientates the organisation into delivering a new way of practice.

Following this analysis, it is claimed by business scholars, such as Ireland and Hitt (1999), that promoting and enabling strategic leadership, which facilitates this kind of root-and-branch transformation, is one of the most critical issues facing organisations. So, according to Gortner, Mahler and Nicholson (1987), strategic leadership necessitates the creation of an environment that supports the achievement of organisational goals. Strategic leadership therefore, assumes that organisations are, or will become, a reflection of their leaders. Cannella and Monroe (1997, p. 5) in this vein, emphasise that although strategic leadership acknowledges that strategies *can* emerge from below, top managers are in a unique position to have the most impact on the organisation's strategy, and therefore their role is absolutely central to organisational change.

Reflecting these conclusions, in their comprehensive and standard work on diversity management, Gardenswartz and Rowe (1994) present a detailed framework of essential qualities of effective leadership. Besides general characteristics of effective leadership, which are more or less universal, they argued for the possession of certain leadership qualities as being important "in creating an effective pluralistic team" (Gardenswartz & Rowe, 1994, p. 218). In this context, *pluralistic leadership* is a 'grass root' leadership concept (Loden & Rosener, 1991) that embodies the valuing of diversity: So, besides other more general qualities of effective leadership – like self-esteem and confidence, cultivating an open environment, vision and enthusiasm – Gardenswartz and Rowe (1994, p. 219) also

supposed that leadership should expand the knowledge and awareness of the wider organisational culture and its influence, as well as the presence of other diversity-related issues. This expansion in turn leads to a broader understanding of the value of diversity that incorporates *all* dimensions of diversity and all people in an organisation. Relating this recommendation to the previous argument about intercultural competencies as core competencies for all employees and management, Gardenswartz and Rowe (1994, p. 219) state appropriately that “diversity includes white men too”. However, because of this, part of the leader’s function is to stop “perpetuating the myth that you have to be a person of colour to have a culture” (and see section 2.2). In this way too we also move from focussing on ‘the problem’ of integrating or assimilating minority groups or cultures, to one which accommodates and values all viewpoints equally, but including the dominant culture’s.

The argument put forth by Gardenswartz and Rowe further corresponds to the recommendations of Loden and Rosener (1991, p. 182) who emphasise an “ethical commitment to fairness and the elimination of all types of workplace discrimination” as one core competency for effective leadership. There are other similar arguments defended by Loden and Rosener’s six dimensions essential for effective leadership (1991). These dimensions are generally accepted in the literature (see Cox, 1993; Thomas, 1996) and recognised by Gardenswartz and

Rowe (1994) who derive the following 3 central elements of these fundamental dimensions¹²:

- Vision and values recognising and supporting diversity within organisations
- Broad knowledge and awareness of diversity and multicultural issues
- Openness to change

In addition, Loden and Rosener (1991) supposed that pluralistic leaders function like catalysts of change in their organisations and promote a model for personal and organisational change as a key component of effective leadership. This has been supported by Gardenswartz and Rowe (1994) who describe the 'critical role of leader' as not only the commander, but also as tutor and facilitator.

The theoretical implications of these understanding of effective leadership also reflect the development of diversity management, for as previously explored, its characteristics incorporate both perspectives of equal opportunity (entailing a commitment to equal rights and the legal obligations and duties of organisations) and diversity (entailing a commitment to multiculturalism and wider social values of equity and social justice). The study here will investigate leadership practices in these terms and, moreover, will consider pluralistic leadership in this light.

Following this analysis, Loden and Rosener (1991) describe the development of pluralistic leadership as a necessary prerequisite to leading diverse organisations, which, in turn, require new attitudes and skills as vital resources for the management of staff. They further argue that pluralistic leadership should be able

¹² These arguments and dimensions are still confirmed and adopted by more recent publications and research (Terkessidis, 2010; Süß & Kleiner, 2005; Rathje, 2010).

to inspire employees to achieve the organisational goal of valuing diversity. On the other hand, there is also a commitment to “the assumption that something valuable can be learned from employees” (Loden & Rosener, 1991, p. 181). This last argument in the facilitation of effective leadership, incorporates, then, increased employee involvement in terms of initiating the required change in organisational culture. It is this change which again get us to issues of equity and social justice recognising the wider cultural context in which organisations (especially public organisations) operate, and reflecting a new aspect or dynamic in the examination of effective leadership.

In summary so far, then, we might conclude that the supposed self-contained understanding of managing cultural diversity and leadership styles, is itself, underpinned by the wider concepts and values of equity and social justice, and as diversity is promoted within organisations by CDM. This reflects how many authors and advocates of diversity management promote diversity programmes to enable the equitable and fair treatment of employees (Wilson, 1996). As explored previously, it is in this latter context though where controversial issues emerge. For example, affirmative action has been promoted and critiqued especially in the Anglo-American literature, regarding the ethics of giving preferential treatment to disadvantaged groups, and whether this action is in any case effective (McMillan-Capehart, et al., 2009; Thomas, R., 1996; Wilson, 1996). So, Wilson (1996) argues in favour of a (business) case for equity by fundamentally refusing affirmative or positive action measures (see section 3.1 in this Chapter and for further discussions Chapter III, section 2 and Chapter VI, section 2).

However, in light of this study's focus and the previous explorations, German public administrations only occasionally pay attention to other outcomes in organisational and human resource management endeavours, such as perceived inequity, social injustice, and so on. Leadership debates, therefore, tend to focus narrowly on issues concerning representative bureaucracy and pragmatic recommendations for CDM that guarantee barrier-free access to public services to all possible 'customers'. However, it has been argued here that diversity initiatives with a focus on public sector organisations will imply that wider attention should be paid to how social structures and institutions unfairly treat certain groups. The arguments therefore recommend a more 'inclusive' or 'holistic' perspective that becomes an essential part of developing good leadership practice. This conclusion, in turn, reflects the literature about inclusionary approaches to diversity management, and argues too that focussing on representative bureaucracy is not enough. Instead, it defends the need for a change in organisational culture that celebrates and leverages multiplicity and pluralism within the organisation, and as a model for wider society (for example, see Ospina, et al., 2011; Bleijenbergh, et al., 2010). That this change too constitutes a special role for public sector organisations, as distinct from the private sector, is also an important part of the argument presented here. The problem is that this role is not identified explicitly enough in the literature as much of the impetus of studies concerning CDM are from the business perspective.¹³

¹³ Wise and Tschirhart (2000), for example, argue that public administration scholars are not doing as much as they can to guide efforts for managing diversity. A similar conclusion comes from the Research Center for Leadership in Action (RCLA), NYU Wagner (2011). This report reviewed recent literature on leadership and diversity. Addressing different levels of diversity management (organisational, individual and programme levels), the report included 85 references to relevant diversity literature. However, only six from amongst these, was addressed specifically to diversity management in the public sector. Nevertheless, there is some relevant literature that covers

Following these arguments, Ospina et al. (2011, p. 11) emphasises that “the notion of inclusion calls attention to the relevance of organizational culture and of leadership for ensuring the right environment for nurturing and leveraging multiple cultural perspectives. This raises the importance of strategies that educate all leaders – not only leaders of colour – on the need for and benefits of creating inclusive environments”.

This recommendation has many implications for diversity leadership, as it necessitates public service leaders being aware of the need for intercultural competencies and intelligence (Bruchhagen, et al., 2010; Handschuck & Schröer, 2002; Krell & Sieben, 2007). Further literature emphasises that diversity management calls the leadership to ensure that the “right environment for nurturing and leveraging multiple cultural perspectives” is created (RCLA, 2011, p. 11). This further raises the question as to what is meant by the right environment and how this environment is implemented; which will be further discussed and addressed in the current study.

To summarise, then, the evaluations of diversity management initiatives in public administration (in Germany at least) often fall short in relation to the role of leadership, and without detailed analyses or recommendations of effective leadership needs and requirements (Schader-Stiftung, 2011; Gesemann & Roth,

diversity management and leadership – which has developed from the private sector literature but has been applied to public sector organisations (see above, Selden and Selden, 2001). So according to the Research Centre for Leadership in Action, leadership perspectives on diversity emphasises that “it is not enough to have representatives of diverse groups within organizations but to create an overall environment that celebrates and leverages multiplicity and pluralism” (RCLA, 2011, p.10). This conclusion is understood as a central requirement and challenge to (public service) leadership practice.

2009). It in this context that this study will now apply the conclusions of the literature review so far, in order to provide a conceptual framework for interpreting and understanding the empirical work collated for the case study.

II.4 Conclusions – Developing a public management case for diversity management

Of late, the increased interest in cultural diversity in Germany can be traced to demographic changes and various wider social developments, such as, globalisation, internationalisation, migration and labour mobility. Thus, diversity management and the subsequent promotion of cultural diversity is an important issue for Human Resource Management and public policy.

Literature and practice provide different understandings of the term ‘managing diversity’ (Thomas, R., 2001; Ongori & Angolla, 2007; Koall, 2011); however, there is a basic shared assumption that diversity management aims to resolve discrimination. The engagements for equal treatment link public duty of guaranteeing equal rights with the measures undertaken in the public sector like affirmative action (e.g. with regard to gender mainstreaming¹⁴). Also, there are various scholars who criticise the concept of diversity management. It’s predominantly business-driven nature and approach, with its exclusive focus on economic success, does not appeal to many scholars, and is often seen as inappropriate for public sector organisations (Kandola & Fullerton, 1998).

¹⁴ Gender mainstreaming means that policies, but also organisations and institutions, examine and assess any measures they wish to initiate with regard to their impact on gender equality and, where appropriate, gender equality measures. This means that different life situations of women and men and the effects on both genders must be taken into account in all phases of planning, implementation and evaluation of measures. At the level of the European Union, the gender mainstreaming approach was first bindingly enshrined in the Amsterdam Treaty of 1 May 1999. Since the adoption of the Treaty of Lisbon in 2008, the EU commitment to gender mainstreaming has been enshrined in Article 8 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2018; Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, 2016).

In accordance with such origins, the concept of CDM has become prominent, not only for practice, but also within academic discussions. The approach of CDM constitutes an attitude towards the 'valuing of diversity' (Cox, 1993), which means valuing the differences as well as the similarities between individuals and groups (Thomas, 1995; Krell, 2004).

As long as populations and workforce acknowledge cultural diversity, its management can enhance the positive interest of both, public and private organisations. However, in the private sector, seeking organisational competitive advantages through strategically management of diverse workforces has also become a prominent topic.

Nevertheless, the focus on cultural diversity and intercultural competencies in German public administration is evolving gradually, despite cultural diversity being an acknowledged demographic reality. Public administrations across Germany are further confronted by reform pressures pertaining to developments of a changing 'world of work'. However, until now there has been little evidence of approaches towards New Public Management (NPM) reforms in Germany that can incorporate strategies for diversity management, despite 'intercultural orientation' or 'intercultural sensitivity' becoming a 'hot topic' for public administration at all governmental levels (Federal Government Commissioner, 2012).

Meanwhile, and as previously explored, it is a widely acknowledged academic argument that a diverse workforce creates opportunities for public sector organisations to better their performance in terms of meeting demands and the needs of customers or clients (CIPD, 2005). Public sector organisations are

challenged to develop policies and practices aimed at recruiting, retaining and managing a diverse workforce. They must meet the demands of a considerably more diverse population by providing culturally appropriate services and improving access to public facilities and government. According to much of the literature, a strategic concept of managing diversity should be able to enhance workforce and customer satisfaction, improve communication among members of the workforce, further enhancing organisational performance (for example, see Weech-Maldonado et al., 2002).

Diversity management is generally, then, connected with personnel management and affects the nature of the relationship between the organisation and employees. However, as discovered in the literature review so far, public sector organisations possess a different perspective as opposed to business corporations, especially in terms of the latter's economic justification for organisational change. However, the review has also found that there are overall arguments that have general validity for both private and public sector organisations (Bleijenbergh, 2010). Further, public sector organisations are influenced by demographic changes and financial restrictions (Schader-Stiftung, 2011), which enhances the awareness for the potential of strategic personnel management measures being employed with good effect.

It is with the above in mind that this study defends the argument that the origin of the concept CDM, rather than being rooted in the business or private sector, lies in supporting equal opportunities and the aims of equity and social justice, which is in accordance with the traditional public responsibility for promoting equal rights for

all its citizens. Further, the argument has also posited that there is an important distinction between organisations (public or private) having to meet legal requirements and obligations regarding equality and anti-discrimination measures, in conjunction with this more explicit role for public sector organisations. Namely, to voluntarily promote a wider remit of equity and social justice initiatives, consistent with this traditional public responsibility role.

Therefore, distinct from the mainstream philosophy of the business-case for diversity, a different viewpoint proposed by public sector organisations emphasises a corporate societal and equity perspective of diversity management. It has also been argued that there should be an inclusion of a more holistic cross-sectional approach to CDM, which incorporates all government and administrative actions referring to legislative compliance, but also in addition, to the promotion of social justice and human rights.

Like in many other countries, cultural diversity in German public service has become politically relevant as it helps to achieve governmental objectives both political and social, such as social mobility, equity and quality in service delivery (OECD, 2009). Moreover, existing research studies highlight the relevance of skills, expertise and competencies of the workforce as important and valuable resources to any (public) organisation. Seminal research of CDM, predominantly from Anglo-American scholars, emphasises the opportunities that are presented by a diverse workforce in terms of better performance to meet the demands and needs of customers or clients (Cox 1993; Gardenswartz & Rowe, 1994). Resonating with this emphasis, it is proposed that public sector organisations must develop policies and practices

aimed at recruiting, retaining and managing a diverse workforce. Further, this study focuses on public service delivery as one main area of CDM. Public services have to be aligned to the demands of more diverse customers or populations by providing culturally appropriate services and improving access to public services, for instance, for ethnic minorities.

However, the review of literature has presented, on the one hand, a lack of research in the field of public management and cultural diversity. On the other hand, a critical questioning of the (solely) business case perspective for CDM has shown certain arguments favouring the adaptation of this approach along the lines of the requirements and public duties of the civil service, which are not primarily economically justified.

The overriding research question derived from the presented literature review is what can public management specialists learn from diversity management scholars like Taylor Cox, Anita Rowe, Lee Gardenswartz, Elsie Cross or Roosevelt Thomas, who have advocated and developed the 'valuing of diversity' approach with regard to private organisations?

As previously explored there are general principles that guide the management of multicultural organisations (Cox, 1993), which are:

- cultural competency as an on-going commitment or institutionalisation of appropriate practise and policy for diverse populations,
- change in organisational culture and
- the key role of committed leadership.

These principles create a framework for the development of an ‘institutional concept’ which can be committed to but has to be ‘translated’ and ‘adapted’ further to the individual organisational requirements of a public sector organisation. With special regard to Germany, recent scholars (e.g. Vedder, 2003; Krell & Sieben, 2007; Schröer, 2007; Terkessidis, 2010) agree with these general implications of the seminal research and argue for a wider focus of cultural diversity and strategic alignment; they also favour equity-oriented approaches.

The equity approach to diversity management, however, and as identified, is further characterised by a proactive strategy and a communicative process of organisational change in which, every individual is valued certainly, but also where wider critiques of social injustice are exposed and engaged within the organisation. This study, therefore, highlights the equity perspective of diversity management (see Chapter II, section 4.2) and tries to develop a conceptual framework for a peculiarly ‘public management case for diversity’. This case will be suitable for determining the practice of public sector organisations, and the associated social responsibility of assuring equal treatment and avoiding discriminations. In addition though, this approach also presents a new development in CDM in public sector organisations. Thus, transcending regulatory equal opportunities management (and including affirmative action measures) toward a more holistic strategy and change in organisational culture. The latter focuses on how the organisation as a whole (which is led effectively) will spearhead a radical change in dominant social norms and practices, and is a change that is intent on promoting wider equity and social justice across the whole of German society. The thesis will now explore in Part B of the literature review, and with further detail, the theoretical background and

significance of the concept of diversity management. The review overall, so incorporating Parts A and B, will then provide a comprehensive theoretical framework for the case study and the empirical data collected, with a view to testing¹⁵ this conceptual/theoretical framework within 'real world' practice. CDM will be explored in the city of Hamm with a view to providing a rich vein of qualitative data to understand how theory can be applied to CDM as the latter has been implemented within this municipality.

Various perspectives, viewpoints and attitudes that are present within the sample government organisation in Germany will be analysed and explored to identify the key themes in how the CDM strategy has been conceived, perceived and implemented.

¹⁵ Using the words 'testing' and 'verification' in this relation throughout the thesis does not refer to testing a theory in a positivist way, but in an interpretivist sense. The methodology perspective is presented and discussed in more depth in Chapter IV, section 2.

III. Literature Review – Part B: Theoretical background and the significance of the concept of Diversity management

III.1 Introduction

Part B of the literature review provides a detailed background for the underlying theory and the philosophy of the concept of diversity management (III. 2) and as a prelude to exploring the specifics of Germany's policies and practices in relation to CDM. As a foundation for the research project, section III.3 (with significance in Germany) presents an overview of recent developments on CDM, intercultural sensitivity in German public sector organisations, and an account of existing discrimination. This section further describes significant previous research and evaluations undertaken in Germany while illustrating and exploring its shortcomings and suggestions for further research.

Since it is claimed here that diversity management for both public and private organisations (employer-led or anti-discriminatory practice) have different aims, section III.4 presents varied perspectives on this issue, which are summarised as the 'business case for diversity' and the 'equity perspective'. These views on the same topic often seem to contradict each other, or are at least in tension, and incorporate a crucial ambiguity for public and government organisations when tackling this issue. Given this claim, the history of diversity and especially, equal opportunity approaches in private and public sector organisations, remain essential background information and is fundamental to further evaluation.

Based on the above theoretical assessment, the study aims to explore conclusions and recommendations for the implementation of CDM measures from the perspectives of the government and the public sector. As introduced before and observing the public sector and the role of the state, there are two main arguments posited for the management of diversity, which are central to this study. First, based on fundamental duties and obligations, public administrations have to assure adequate representation of the population in the government workforce and as a matter of fulfilling citizens' rights. And second, the government also has to guarantee that all people have a barriers-free access to all public services and can do so without any discrimination (Art. 3 GG; and see Chapter II, section 3.4 and Chapter IV, section 4.2). It is a public concern and the government's mandatory responsibility, to provide services and access to public services for all people and citizens. The study aims to find evidence of the extent to which changes in organisational culture under the heading of 'intercultural sensitivity' is enhancing the organisational capacity of such obligations and duties to be fulfilled. The study explores the assumption that intercultural sensitivity and CDM must be comprehended as a crucial part of organisational development strategy and should be a common underlying principle for all (public) organisations and institutions. However, this understanding includes the consideration of criticisms and barriers towards such approaches, especially incorporating a critical perspective with regard to the often-made business case argument of diversity management, in the context of public sector organisations.

III.2 Context of the study – Equality, equal opportunities and diversity

In Germany, a general anti-discrimination culture has been found lacking (Bruchhagen, 2010; Klose, 2012) but simultaneously, there has been an increase, as explored in Chapters 1 and 2, in the cultural diversity in German society indicated by a very significant increase in the numbers of people with migration backgrounds.

The official definition and explanation of the statistical construct of ‘migration background’ in Germany is stated as followed:

The definition of a population group with a migration background makes clear that migration as a thematic area does not only focus on immigrants as such, but must include certain descendants who are born in Germany, too. Thus, the population group with a migration background consists of all persons who have immigrated into the territory of today’s Federal Republic of Germany after 1949, and of all foreigners born in Germany and all persons born in Germany who have at least one parent who immigrated into the country or was born as a foreigner in Germany. The migration status of a person is determined based on his/her own characteristics regarding immigration, naturalisation and citizenship and the relevant characteristics of his/her parents. This means that German nationals born in Germany may have a migration background, too, be it as children of Ethnic German repatriates, as children born to foreign parents (in accordance with the so-called *ius soli* principle) or as German nationals with one foreign parent. This migration background is exclusively derived from the characteristics of the parents. And those concerned cannot pass the migration background on to

their offspring. As regards immigrants and foreigners born in Germany, however, they can pass their background on. In accordance with the relevant legal provisions concerning foreigners, this definition typically covers first to third generation immigrants. (Federal Statistical Office of Germany, www.destatis.de, 2017).

For 2015, the Federal Statistical Office of Germany registered about 17 million people with a migration background (see figure 6, p. 201) which constituted around 21 percent of the entire German population. Amongst them, about 9 million people were German citizens who have German nationality¹⁶ (Federal Statistical Office of Germany, 2016). Demographic developments have been further accentuated as there also has been a decline in population amongst native Germans (Federal Statistical Office of Germany, 2010). Besides this, other developments have taken place in terms of a more heterogeneous workforce emerging across organisations (Bissels et al. 2001). Examples in this context include significantly higher numbers of women employed or even the (necessary) integration of an aging workforce, *as well as* the increase in workers with a migrant background.

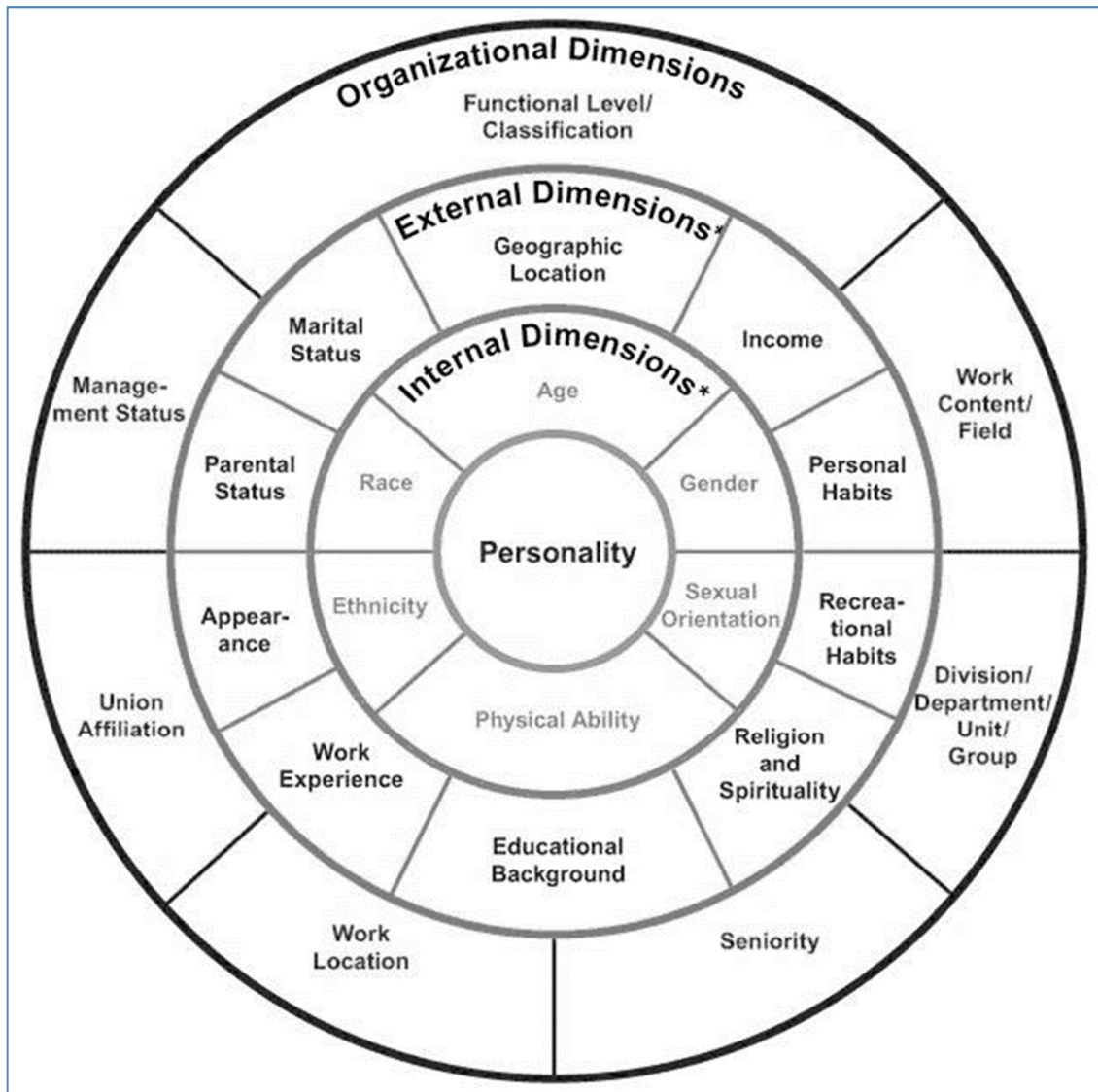
It is also important to highlight that the term diversity itself has a wide spectrum of definitions (and see section 3.3). For the current study on CDM, it is essential to cover a gamut of definitions. Generally, there is some consensus in the literature that the definition of diversity should be broad-based and holistically-formulated.

Diversity implies a “variety of qualities, or rather everything in which people are

¹⁶ According to section 3 (1) of the German Nationality Act the German citizenship is acquired 1. by birth, 2. by a declaration, 3. by adoption as a child, 4. by issuance of the certificate, 4a. for Germans without German citizenship within the meaning of Article 116, paragraph 1 of the Basic Law, 5. for a foreigner by naturalization.

different from or similar to each other” (Sepehri, 2002, p. 77). Ongori & Angolla (2007, p. 73) states that diversity “refers to the co-existence of employees from various socio-cultural backgrounds within the company”. Diversity, and again as explored previously, includes cultural factors, such as race, gender, age, colour, physical ability, ethnicity, etc. The broader definition of diversity may also include age, national origin, religion, disability, sexual orientation, values, ethnic culture, education, language, lifestyle, beliefs, physical appearance and economic status (Wentling and Palma-Rivas, 2000). Also, there are various differentiations in terminologies: for example, ‘diversity as differences’ versus ‘diversity as differences and similarities’ (Krell, 2004). Kandola and Fullerton (1998) further argue that diversity consists of visible and non-visible differences, which includes factors, such as sex, age, background, race, disability, personality and work style. So, Loden and Rosener (1991, p. 18) stress that, “from an objective point of view, it is the vast array of physical and cultural differences that separate and distinguish us as individuals and groups”. They (Loden & Rosener, 1991) differentiate between four personal dimensions of diversity represented in the figure below:

Figure 2: Layers of Diversity



Source: Loden & Rosener: Workforce America! Business One Irwin, 1991.

However, it can be questioned if Loden & Rosener’s model of diversity is fully applicable in the context of this study. In Germany, the internal dimensions – corresponding with the diversity characteristics referred in antidiscrimination law – are central for organisational approaches valuing diversity. Besides this, and with regard to the organisational dimension, addressing and valuing a good work-life-balance is also a recent topic for German administrations (berufundfamilie Service GmbH, 2018). Nevertheless, in general a holistic consideration of diversity of the

kind promoted by Loden and Rosener is probably rather exceptional in German practice, and as explored previously. An example of such an approach is the Federal Employment Agency (2010) that has developed a life-phase-oriented personnel policy and diversity management for its organisation, but it seems that this approach is the exception rather than the rule.

Moreover, in countries such as the USA or the UK, there is much debate on the management of diversity to ensure competitive advantage for organisations, however, the debate is at a nascent stage within Germany. Hence, it is not surprising that (German) research regarding Managing Diversity in Germany can be summarised as inconsistent (Becker, 2006) and it is theoretically almost exclusively based on practise-generated ad hoc-theories rather than a more systematic theory-building. The UK, however, has, over decades of experience regarding the management of equality opportunities, law and policy, developed and experienced a wide range of anti-discrimination approaches, which advocate equality by involving both private and public sector organisations and other stakeholders including trade unions, consultants and NGOs (Greene and Kirton, 2004). Referring to this literature and other research on equal opportunities and diversity management practices applied in the public sector, the thesis therefore questions whether, or the extent to which, the seminal work of scholars like Taylor Cox (1993), Roosevelt Thomas (1991) or Anita Rowe (1994) constitute an appropriate contribution for implementing CDM in German public sector organisations.

Following this analysis, the study will also address the subject of HRM in the context of promoting cultural diversity in the public sector to tackle the recent challenges of

inequality and exclusion. The emphasis on human resources as a point of reference, on the one hand, contends that personnel administration management ignores the 'human face' of the workplace by concentrating on systems and procedures (Tshikwatamba, 2003). On the other hand, in many countries, diversity in the public service has become a top political priority as administrative organisations are seen to help achieve political and social government objectives, such as social mobility, equity, and quality in service delivery (OECD, 2009).

Moreover, in the light of a growing tendency to see diversity as an asset rather than a problem (e.g. OECD, 2009; Ospina, 2001), the study will also analyse whether concrete public management initiatives in Germany consider diversity management as an essential constituent to enhancing the performance of government: Diversity management may serve as an organisational development tool or provide reasons for changes to be introduced in the organisational structure. Given that (public) organisations work increasingly with heterogeneous groups in terms of 'race', ethnicity, gender, and other culturally diverse populations, diversity management has become a significant topic for public sector organisations and provides a helpful instrument to re-structure administrative organisations (Will, 2008). In general, earlier public management reforms in Germany have focused on aspects like reduction of bureaucracy, internal rationalisation and implementing systems of cost accounting and control, rather than personnel management and development; this largely follows the British approach to administrative reforms which has emphasised privatisation, consumer orientation and competition (Barlow & Röber, 1996).

Diversity management arguments are also relevant for reform agendas in terms of their impact on employee behaviour and consequently, on improving organisational efficacy. To analyse these impacts, one of the focuses needs to be on the changing circumstances and conditions in the 'world of work', especially in the public sector.

Globally, the labour markets have undergone various changes which are formulated by cultural factors and have a profound bearing on managing diversity. Factors, such as the culturally-specific history of countries, traditions and legislations, for example, in employment law, working practices, organisational structures or individual career patterns are important changes, as are the changes in demographic profiles explored earlier. For example, Ware and Grantham (2003, p. 142) state: "Who is doing the work is changing just dramatically as what kind of work is being done – basic changes in the characteristics, beliefs, values and expectations of millions of individual workers require equally fundamentally changes in the way those individuals are managed". Changes from globalisation come from many directions (increasing workforce diversity, environmental issues, government and public policy). Additionally, nascent European integration brings the topic of diversity close to its national populations – focussing on culturally-specific values, attitudes and preferences – all of which also become international and global issues (Hartweg, 2006). Generally, global competition and market liberalisation, and the consequent information developed, have created an unpredictable and complex working environment for government organisations and their employees (Sotirakou and Zeppou, 2005). These recent trends set the agenda for public administrative reforms and pressurises public sector organisations to

modernise but within the context of a multicultural environment (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; Frederickson, 1996; Durst and Newell, 1999).

Following the above analysis, neoliberalism has its main influence on public service organisations, subordinating public services to models of business management.

These models also underpin the NPM, which forms the overarching conceptual framework for this development (Bertelsmann, 2009; and see Chapter II, sections 3.1 and 4). However, the neoliberalism approach to administrative reform is not

without criticism. For many, neoliberalism stands for solely economically focused policy concepts. And from this position views these concepts as not being able to solve or address social problems, and even as causing them. For example, the

Bertelsmann Foundation in 2009 described the reform process under the heading of NPM – which they supported in the 1990s – as “a model of a social attack on public services” and states that the reform aims to promote negative outcomes such as “overtime, wage cuts, ‘performance increase’ for each individual employee and job cuts to precarious jobs on the one hand and supply restrictions and redistribution against the citizens on the other hand” (Bertelsmann, 2009, p. 1; and see Connell et al. (2009).

Jagsch (2013) further concretised this critique with specific regard to diversity management approaches. He (2013) criticised neoliberalism for being promoted alongside diversity management, leading to diversity management being only oriented toward economic success and performance indicators. This development has led, for example, to the reduction of affirmative action programs that were seen as being ‘no longer needed’ following a neoliberal market hegemony (Jagsch, 2013, p. 7; and see Chapter VI, section 2).

Promoting diversity as a positive strategy, and the concept of diversity management, both have their roots in the United States and debates about racism, sexism and discriminations against disabled people (Ohms & Schenk, 2003). The Civil Rights movement of the 1950s, 1960s and the 1970s and the adoption of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which made it illegal to discriminate when hiring or managing workforce on the pretext of race, colour, religion, sex or national origin, could be considered as fundamental legal starting-points for promoting equal opportunities in the USA. Fighting what was seen as unfair discrimination, several minority groups in the middle of the 20th century caused a wave of change in the political, social and economic landscapes of the USA relating to race relations and considerations of 'difference' (Lillevik et al., 2010). Particularly for black people in the United States, there were several seminal moments like the Bus Boycott of 1955 in Alabama and the engagement of protagonists like Martin Luther King, Jr., gained particular saliency. These political acts of civil disobedience were representative of the spirit of that movement (Vedder, 2006). As a result, Lillevik et al. (2010) maintain that the Civil Rights Movement led to a more racially diverse and open society in America.

Furthermore, there were various organisations of other groups in the US that promoted equal treatment for different dimensions of diversity, for instance, National Organization for Women (NOW), the American Indian Movement (AIM), and the Grey Panthers initiatives. For example, Elsie Cross (2000) explores diversity management¹⁷, according to which, she labels these movements as the “bedrock on which the theory we later called Managing Diversity was created”. The Civil Rights

¹⁷ Cross, E. (2000): *Managing Diversity - the courage to lead*. Westport.

Act also led to the foundation of the EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission), which still controls compliance with laws promoting equal opportunities (Vedder, 2006; Cox, 1993). From the 1960s, additional laws on non-discrimination were passed in the US to protect women and other disadvantaged groups at the workplace which advocated the promotion of equality while recognising diversity. These laws included, for example, the Equal Pay Act 1963, Age Discrimination in Employment Act 1967, Pregnancy Discrimination Act or later the Americans with Disabilities Act 1990. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 combated pay discrimination based on gender, and the Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Act of 1974 outlawed employment discrimination for veterans. All these significantly impacted upon a large number of employees covered by those laws (Cox, 1993).

Following these legal developments, equal opportunities in the workplace increasingly acknowledged a diverse workforce and, in turn, became strongly influenced by the US Supreme Court case law “[...] that helped to frame the dialogue regarding race and gender differences in the USA” (Lillevik et al., 2010, p. 313). Further affirmative action plans which included requirements for government contractors came to be implemented in order to “overcome past patterns of discrimination” (Herring, 2009, p. 209). These provisions pursued the objectives that former disadvantaged groups should be systematically advantaged (Cross, 2000; Vedder, 2006). A further push for the concept of managing diversity in the United States came from the Workforce 2000 Report, which insisted that the changes in the labour market of the United States highlighted the need for reorganisation within domestic business companies (Vedder, 2006). The resulting politics of diversity emanated from the fact that globalisation and population growth created

cultural diversity causing societies to become more multicultural (Ohms & Schenk, 2003). Subsequently, cultural groupings within Western societies, in particular, ceased to be homogeneous, with commonality between citizens being increasingly challenged because of the presence of difference (Ohms & Schenk, 2003).

Due to such social and political changes, various initiatives and measures were acted upon to manage diversity and to build an anti-discriminate environment. First, specific equal opportunities and affirmative action practices have been implemented in the US. Affirmative action programmes or specific measures or positive actions had a long history, for example, in the USA, with a view to remedying past policies and practices of discrimination (van Jaarsveld, 2000). For example, Equal Employment and Affirmative Action were used as tools to strengthen the rights and the representations of women and minority groups at the workplace. Additionally, these were also aimed at enhancing organisational performance on the assumption that a more diverse workforce is better performing. However, affirmative action programmes have proved very controversial and have generated diverse opinions politically (Reyna et al., 2005). Thus, these initiatives often invited challenges and criticisms about the fairness of these programmes (McMillan-Capehart et al., 2009). With regard to diversity issues in the United States, some authors have even claimed that with an increasingly acknowledged diverse population, affirmative action programmes are no longer necessary (Berry & Bonilla-Silver, 2007; Bobo, 1998). However, for others even if the acknowledgement of diversity allows for some increased representation in the workforce, it is insufficient, and motivated by an 'affirmative backlash', which furthers the disregard for women and other minorities who are still

underrepresented in specific organisational categories (Ohms & Schenk, 2003; Gardenswartz & Rowe, 1993; Vedder, 2006).

Considering continental Europe, there is also a longstanding engagement against discrimination towards women in the European Union. Measures against discrimination, because of sexual identity and ethnic origin, have also been the focus of several policy initiatives and public movements. European Union law, therefore, provides an essential tool to describe and evaluate the directions of anti-discrimination engagement in Europe. Based on several non-discrimination directives (Racial Equality Directive (2000/43 / EC), Employment Framework Directive (2000/78 / EC), "Gender Directive" (2002 / 73EC), Gender Equality Directive, including outside the world of work (2004/113 / EC) and Article 14 of the European Convention for Human Rights, the European non-discrimination law prohibits discrimination in many areas and for a number of reasons. However, as with the US, there is no unique Europe-wide system which promotes the law and regulations for equal treatment. On the principle that applying the same rule to everyone without consideration of the relevant differences constitutes indirect discrimination, governments, employers and service providers have tried to ensure "steps to adjust their rules and practices to take such differences into consideration" (European Agency for Fundamental Rights; European Court of Human Rights; European Council, 2011, p. 35). This accommodation of difference means taking specific measures to protect people from discrimination and to include policies of positive discrimination that attempt to compensate or redress various historically imposed disadvantages. These measures pursue particular objectives for governments to "ensure 'substantive equality', that is, equal

enjoyment of opportunities to access benefits available in society, rather than ‘formal equality’ which institutes merely the same treatment of different people(s) (European Agency for Fundamental Rights; European Court of Human Rights; European Council, 2011, p. 35).

The right not to be discriminated against, therefore, includes a guarantee from European governments that people whose situations are significantly different will be treated differently. So, the EU non-discrimination directives expressly allow positive actions: “with a view to ensuring full equality in practice, the principle of equal treatment shall not prevent any Member State from maintaining or adopting specific measures to prevent or compensate for disadvantages linked to [a protected ground]” (European Agency for Fundamental Rights; European Court of Human Rights; European Council, 2011, pp. 35-36). The Employment Equality Directive, for example, defines as appropriate, the measures to enable a person with a disability to have access to, participate in, or advance in employment, or to undergo training, unless such measures would impose a disproportionate burden on the employer.

General recommendations of United Nations have also underlined the admissibility of taking positive measures in favour of disadvantaged groups (UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 2009). However, it has stressed that “such measures should be temporary in nature, not extending in time or scope beyond what is necessary to address the inequality in question” (European Agency for Fundamental Rights; European Court of Human Rights; European Council, 2011, p. 38). Special measures in that form were stated as exceptions to the prohibition on

discrimination, and they could include (temporary) preferential treatment, targeted recruitment, hiring and promotion, numerical goals connected with time frames, and quota systems (UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, 2004). The case-law of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) has approved such measures but have posited that the proportionality of such defined measures would be examined in a 'stern manner' (European Agency for Fundamental Rights; European Court of Human Rights; European Council, 2011). Following this notice, differential treatment is accepted, but it has to be justified in the interests of correcting former disadvantages, such as underrepresentation of particular groups at the workplace.

Reflecting on the above ambivalence in policy and practice concerning what is controversially seen as legitimate and illegitimate forms of differential treatment, there is no consistency in the definition ascribed to affirmative action in scientific/academic research (albeit there is a more consistent reference to the wider concepts and values of justice and equality). Developing this last point, the American Psychological Association (2007, p. 5) has argued: "Affirmative action occurs whenever an organization expends energy to make sure there is no discrimination in employment or education and instead, equal opportunity exists". However, other authors distinguish between equal opportunity and affirmative action (McMillan-Capehart et al., 2009). Following Crosby and Clayton (2001), the Equal Opportunity approaches underline the assumption that affirmative action is a form of discrimination and does not/should not normally occur; and if it does, then, individuals can be protected by law. Alternatively, affirmative action may be understood as reaction against prejudice, discrimination and group-based

inequities, which have resulted in standard organisational structures and practices which promote equal opportunities (Crosby & Clayton, 2001)

There are other arguments that justify affirmative action on the principles of equality and justice, operating in contrast to various critiques for such measures being seen instead as 'reverse discrimination' (van Jaarsveld, 2000). However, there are important conceptual differences in understandings regarding these various views of positive or affirmative actions. Thus, from the viewpoints of its supporters, affirmative action can be described as a 'merit-upholding' policy while its critics perceive affirmative action as 'merit-violating' (Reyna et al., 2005, p. 670). Typical examples of affirmative action include reserving posts for women in male-dominated workplaces. Affirmative action in this context is also known as reverse or positive discrimination because "discriminatory treatment is given in order to favour an individual who one would expect to receive less favourable treatment based on past social trends" (European Agency for Fundamental Rights; European Court of Human Rights; European Council, 2011, p. 38). In other words, discriminating treatment is instituted by the supporters of affirmative action, to favour or uphold those merits of a person that have been previously unfairly ignored *because* she or he belongs to a group that has been historically disadvantaged. Whereas, those critics of affirmative action or positive discrimination would argue that a person is being unfairly favoured because they belong to a disadvantaged *group*, and not because of their *individual* merits. Thus, for these critics, affirmative action and positive discrimination violates what would be seen as the fair principle that individual merit should be credited and *not* the membership of any group, disadvantaged or otherwise (Reyna et al., 2005, p. 670).

As highlighted above, and in summary, affirmative action (also called positive action) is an action specifically taken to redress past disadvantages. However, this captures many different forms of action which in turn leads to a variety of different strategies motivated by a range of positions, which means that the general public is often not that well informed about how affirmative action may be defined by law and in practice (Crosby & Cordova, 1996; Reyna et al., 2005). Additionally, affirmative action programmes rarely address the concerns of people from the majority groups (McMillan-Capehart et al., 2009). This can be problematic for diversity management, given that affirmative action aims at the full representation of minority groups without necessarily addressing the concerns of the overall workforce or organisation.

Nevertheless, despite this disjuncture with affirmative action and the problems of defining what is affirmative action and whether it is justifiable or not, many of the origins of diversity management may still be traced to the formal affirmative action programmes of the 1970s and the 1980s in the US at least (McMillan-Capehart et al., 2009; Kelly & Dobbin, 1998). Depending on its alignment, diversity management therefore entails consideration, at least, of affirmative action goals. According to Lumadi (2008), diversity management should be based on acceptance, respect and acknowledgement that individuals are unique and different from each other. Thus, such actions are majorly aimed at minorities who are in a disadvantaged position within the workplace (Jabbour et al., 2011). Developing this notion, Fleury (1999) argues that the concept of diversity management becomes important and extremely promising if it is understood as a tool for social inclusion. Then, according to Bleijenbergh et al. (2010), diversity management may be viewed as a successor of

the traditional affirmative action or equal opportunities programmes, focusing on specific social groups rather than individuals solely. However, following the critique of affirmative action, there are arguments for using a broader definition of diversity management, which define managing diversity within a more holistic or inclusive approach, that is, not only with a focus on formal regulations and procedures that are specifically formulated to redress the grievances of the minority groups, but also as a proposal for a broader understanding of individual differences across and within both dominant and minority groups.

In a similar manner, management of diversity has been acknowledged as part of a larger strategy of organisational change for all workers and managers (Hur et al., 2010). For both the private and the public sector, managing diversity should be aimed at fostering a better 'diverse climate' across the organisation while also addressing workforce-specific discriminations. However, it has also been found in practice that human resource managers tend to use diversity management to tackle discrimination and promote equal opportunities but without reference to the wider organisational context. (Kirton & Greene, 2006). It is therefore, worth highlighting the differences between equal opportunities and managing cultural diversity as related to what also will be called here the 'business model' as distinct from the 'social justice' model of CDM.

Firstly, diversity management has often had a prior business driven nature or origin. As highlighted above, diversity management is frequently internally driven within business organisations, and is not therefore promoted to promote the value of social justice and equality but as a means to promote the economic aim of securing

competitive advantage, given the perceived positive effects on organisational performance of increasing team diversity (Wilson & Iles, 1999). Nevertheless, according to Bleijenbergh et al. (2010), managers have also used arguments both for the business case *and* for social justice principles when implementing diversity management. These arguments have been asserted on the grounds that the business case, for all its apparent credence and weight within the private sector, is implemented voluntarily, which means that the business case is made in effect “contingent, variable, selective and partial” (Dickens, 1999, p. 9). However, it is in this context that the business case for diversity as a *strategy* that could subordinate the aim of equal and fair treatment of economic success, seems especially inappropriate and unjustified (Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010). This lack of justification is derived from how the principles of social justice must be, *in contrast* to the business case, universal, consistent, non-selective and impartial (Miller, 2001).

Secondly, and to reinforce this problem of maintaining universality and consistency, Johns and Green (2009) have stressed how diversity management is also based on an inherently individualistic approach. This approach primarily focuses on the differences and similarities between individuals, rather than groups. This matters when promoting positive equality measures, if the focus and justification is on the ‘(disadvantaged) group perspective’. Indeed, the individualised aspect of diversity management could play an important but detrimental role in public sector organisations, and might explain why trade unions, for example (German Trade Union Confederation, 1996), have been sceptical about diversity management when seeking to promote equal opportunities. For example, Kirton & Greene (2006, p.

444) highlights this scepticism from a union's perspective about diversity management, questioning "whether a diversity approach would yield the expected outcome of valuing all individuals regardless of differences and whether instead it might prove in practice to be detrimental to tackling discrimination and inequalities".

Alternatively, if this individual perspective or approach is inclusive of the entire workforce then it can be argued that such an approach leads to an inclusive organisational culture, with a focus on every employee's equality of opportunities without being classified into certain rigid social groups. However, for others, as explored previously, this argument is only viable if the legal requirements in the context of equal treatment are fully guaranteed and additionally an active antidiscrimination culture in the organisation exists (Kirton & Greene, 2006).

On a more practical note, in order to benefit from a culturally diverse workforce and diversity management, organisations, in any event, "may need to adjust their Strategic HRM systems" (Bleijenbergh et al., 2010, p. 418). This leads to a third element that characterises diversity approach, namely the development of a Culturally Diverse Management (CDM) strategy. When perceiving CDM, it is important to consider it as an activity of human resource management operating in a particular context of organisation, thus, necessitating the provision of training programs on cultural diversity; however, this will not make an impact if they are not provided within an organisational culture that is supportive of managing diversity (Maxwell, 2004). Further Gilbert et al. (1999, cited in Maxwell, 2004, p. 189) argued that "a complete organizational cultural change designed to foster appreciation of

demographic, ethnic and individual differences” is of central importance for implementing diversity management. However, this conclusion could represent a significant obstacle for managers and employees. This comes about because of the branch-and-root changes required strategically and operationally, based on a fundamental and radical change in the orientation of the organisation, which “... reinforces the need to consider organisational culture in practising managing diversity” (Maxwell, 2004, p. 189). Following this last point, a fourth element, which research consistently highlights (Bleijenbergh et al., 2010), is the role of managers in the implementation of diversity management. The claim is that diversity management needs to be committed to, and even initiated by, higher management down to the workforce for a successful implementation of diversity management strategy (Krell, 2009; Vedder, 2006).

Reinforcing this argument, Cox (1993, p. 11) emphasises the role of management and even states that managing diversity is “at the core of leadership today”. He describes three organisational goals that are crucial for the organisation and should be of concerns for management and leadership of staff (Cox, 1993, p. 11): “(1) moral, ethical, and social responsibility goals; (2) legal obligations; and (3) economic goals”. Managers have the important task of promoting fairness and equality measures, while at the same time incorporating these values within the organisational culture. This includes the strategic implementation of diversity as an underpinning corporate organisational philosophy, both as a leadership principle and a corporate business objective, plus, concrete measures like flexible working hours, valuing working with diverse teams, diversity trainings, and diversity-oriented personnel development (Süß & Kleiner, 2006).

Following this theme of organisational leadership, another perspective of CDM, based on the business model identified above, in contrast perceives and promotes diversity *management* but focuses on its differences with equal opportunities policies, stressing instead the economic arguments for diversity management, and by the stated disadvantages and predicted threats within a market-based setting. For example, Vedder (2006) emphasises that economic arguments for an organisation's affiliation to diversity management are very strong as they aim at improving efficiency. The 'cost-argument' is also related to employee motivation and employee satisfaction. Cox (1993), for example, states that cultural differences could potentially explain a lot about less satisfactory experiences of employees in a diverse workforce. Vedder (2006) identified a risk in problems of 'adjustment', which could occur in diverse teams as members adjust to these differences. Others (Krell, 2009; Kirton & Greene, 2006) emphasise the value of working in diverse teams, which, as will be demonstrated in the course of this study, becomes an important argument for public sector organisations intent on increasing the recruitment of culturally diverse applicants for a range of reasons. This, in turn, leads to the 'marketing argument', which covers the public image of organisations relating to their human resource management, as one of these reasons (Vedder, 2006). However, the point here is that in the public sector this image is not just a superficial 'add-on' reason to protect 'brand image' but is an important part of how 'customers' or 'service-users' from a diverse population with different cultural backgrounds are viewed and treated as they come into contact with the public sector. So, if this marketing argument is to be extended as a *purely* marketing aspect for private organisations, then government organisations, in contrast, have

the fundamental obligation to project this image in order to provide public services independent of cultural (or other) differences of the public customers. Additionally, there is a 'personnel marketing argument', which should also not be disregarded (Vedder, 2006). Thus, in the light of demographic changes and skills shortages, both private and public sector organisations are confronted with problems of recruiting sufficient and appropriate staff at all levels. Activities which promote a positive organisational image in respect to diversity enhance the attractiveness of jobs for potential applicants from different cultural backgrounds possessing various intercultural competencies.

More broadly, then, we might say that diversity in organisations underlines a 'multicultural open-mindedness' (Vedder, 2006), which is experienced as welcoming for potential applicants. Finally, public sector organisations with predominantly mono-cultural workforces are generally associated as hierarchical and inflexible (OECD, 2009). Diversity management, however, fosters the acceptance of different views on existing operational practices – and subsequently an 'individual tolerance to ambiguity' and thereby facilitating 'cognitive flexibility' (Vedder, 2006). This 'creativity argument' reflects the anticipated potential of diversity management in breaking the limits of conformity with the provision of range of values and new ideas for the development. Consequently, it leads to the 'problem solving argument', which advocates that the diverse teams are more creative, and thus, more capable for the provision of solutions (Vedder, 2006). However, more sceptically, and with reference to the seminal work of Cox (1993), heterogeneity does not automatically result in organisational advantages. Adhering to such

conclusions, what is also needed is the sensitive management of diversity with special attention paid to the fostering of committed leadership (Vedder, 2006).

Nevertheless, when considering diversity management in public sector organisations, ethical and legal arguments are often more relevant than economic and/or performance-based arguments. Aspects such as promoting pluralism, valuing diversity and combating discrimination are significant elements of the concept of multicultural organisations (Cox, 1993) and should, arguably, be the general orientation for public sector organisations. Whereas, the disadvantages and predicted threats for diversity management as presented by Hartweg (2006), for example, revolve around the question of what motivates (business) organisations to implement diversity management. As economic arguments for diversity management are inevitably strongly decisive for these organisations, their motives to endorse the approaches are found in the above internal problems and uncertainties they face within a competitive market-place, with those diverse workforces and cultural affiliations of employees with different nationalities or ethnicities offering a competitive edge. However, it might also be argued that managing diversity requires a further sense of tolerance that demands the cooperation and courtesy of every individual employee, in addition to any considerations of increasing competitiveness and performance (Vedder, 2003). So, Hartweg (2006) argues that the introduction of diversity management entails transaction costs for communication and conflict management which becomes part of the calculation of how competitiveness and performance is measured. Additionally, the complexity increases for the organisation, which might contradict the effectiveness and efficiency of personnel management, where potential risks

ensue if the complex relationships that are emerging from increased diversity are ignored. Nevertheless, as stated previously, it is the duty of the governments to realise the principle of equality, which means to counteract discrimination and exclusion on account of gender, sexual identity, age, ethnic origin or religion, and so on, *regardless* of these risks (Ohms & Schenk, 2003).

Considering the framework of Krell (2004) highlighted above, and given that all individuals belong to various 'diversity' groups (Krell 2004); Thomas (1995, p. 5) has argued that, "diversity refers to any mixture of items characterized by differences *and* similarities" (emphasis added). Cultural diversity, in this context, singularises those features of culture that concerns differential characteristics like nation, region, ethnic group or religion as well as industry and professional cultures, but which are characteristics we all share in one form or another (Köppel et al., 2007). Thus, the promotion of cultural differences have the potential of contributing to satisfactory and fulfilling experiences within and across diverse workforces (Cox, 1993).

However, there is little knowledge developed about these universally shared differences and their impact on the organisational behaviour (Cox, 1993).

Nevertheless, it seems evidential (Cox & Blake, 1991), in the context of managing diversity, that ignorance of cultural differences does indeed lead to ineffective organisational performance. Further, (and as will be explored in more detail below) there are contradictions between traditional 'assimilationist-oriented' organisations where cultural differences are seen as a 'problem' solely in relation to minority groups. This, in turn, undermines the full participation of minority group members

as the dominant host group is not problematized as a culture which systematically excludes and labels other cultural groups as problematic (Berry, 2011).

Therefore, to lay the foundation for a more comprehensive strategic understanding of the implementation of a CDM scheme given what has been considered so far, the next sections demonstrate that resolving unfair discrimination is the basis for all equal opportunity and diversity initiatives and concepts. Over the last few decades, the anti-discrimination legislation and measures of affirmative action have been increasing in the ways described earlier, but more recently, a paradigm shift has also been observed. That is, from positive action approaches with protection of particular social groups to a more holistic and voluntary approach towards diversity management, and which includes all dimensions of diversity and focuses on the individual rather than groups. Consequently, actions and measures against discrimination have never been uncontroversial.

As previously stated, this study defends an argument with regard to the public sector, that both ethical and legal arguments are central and equality and social justice are the bases for a public case for diversity aiming at social inclusion.

Therefore, the conceptual framework for promoting CDM from the perspective of the public sector needs to reflect on aspects which often directly reflect the above theoretical perspectives, considerations, and controversies. This conceptual framework applies especially to the complexity of 'intercultural competencies' (as will be explored in more detail in section V below) and the affiliation with equal opportunities promotion within government organisations. The last aspect is a central part of the next section, which, in the process, explicitly opposes the

'business case' for diversity with an alternative 'equity view' on the promotion of cultural diversity, and in reference to Germany and CDM.

III.3 Significance in Germany

The significance of CDM in Germany can be related to different forms of discrimination in the context of ethnic origins, religion, nationality and existing anti-discrimination measures. The next section offers a brief overview of the relevance of these discriminations in Germany and subsequently, the necessity of implementing cultural diversity initiatives.

III.3.1 Legal background

In Germany, there are various legal norms and legal practices that have addressed equality and anti-discrimination in the workplace. For example, the constitutional legal norm, Article 3 of the German basic law (Grundgesetz – GG) posits that no individual should be discriminated because of gender, (attributive) race, language, homeland, origin, religion or political opinions or disability. Beyond Constitutional Law, the Work Constitution Act (Betriebsverfassungsgesetz) regulates the principles of equal treatment in work life, and which are well-established, historically. Further, special minority groups like disabled employees, pregnant women or young and older employees are protected by specific laws. More recently, the European Union’s anti-discrimination legislation came in focus when a nationwide debate in Germany led to the most recent version of the General Equal Treatment Act (‘Allgemeines Gleichbehandlungsgesetz – AGG’, introduced in 2006). The ‘AGG’ –

enacted in August 2006 – served to transpose several EU-directives¹⁸ in German law. The legislator aimed at a comprehensive approach that “unifies several dimensions of both diversity and life spheres into one single act” (Bruchhagen, et al., 2010, p. 117). The legislation refers to Employment Law as well as Civil Law. However, there was some debate and public discourse on this legislation and after an initial governmental concept in 2001, the first Draft Bill was stopped in 2005 after anxieties from private sector employers about potential legal prosecutions came to light. Concerns about the political change at the level of the federal government were also voiced. For example, from the Employers Federations’ position, the Draft Law was anticipated to be a ‘bureaucratic monster’ that would come with high costs (Bruchhagen, et al., 2010). Another crucial consideration was that the Draft Bill, finally, did not exceed the regulations of the EU directives (German Bundestag, 2006). Even the German government of 2006 recognised that these legislative initiatives had led to a ‘difficult and ideological’ debate, with the Government declaring that while there is a necessity for anti-discrimination regulations, discrimination does not occur within and between the vast majority of German citizens (Federal Ministry of Justice, 2006).

¹⁸ *Council Directive 2000/43/EC* of 29 June 2000 implements the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin; *Council Directive 2000/78/EC* of 27 November 2000 establishes a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation; *Directive 2002/73/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council* amends Council Directive 76/207/EEC on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion, and working conditions; and *Council Directive 2004/113/EC* of 13 December 2004 implements the principle of equal treatment between men and women in the access to and supply of goods and services.

III.3.2 Existence of discrimination

Nevertheless, several years after the legal validity of the AGG anxieties had transpired, various concerns about its legal validity have also diminished (Klose, 2012). In hindsight, and with the application of the AGG, Klose (2012) has given an overview of the significance of anti-discrimination advances and the 'realities' of discriminatory experiences in Germany with a focus on cultural diversity. The following paragraph summarises these analyses by Klose (2012) based on a research project of the Freie Universität Berlin 'Reality of Discrimination in Germany - Assumptions and Facts'. The study reviewed relevant existing studies on the reality of discrimination and have been expanded upon by his own empirical results.¹⁹

The results showed the relevance and importance of antidiscrimination measures and further research with regard to the diversity-dimensions of race and ethnic origin, religion and belief. Discriminations relating to these dimensions were perceived by many citizens in their working and business lives, referred to in about 25% of the answers. But also discriminations in public services/public sector organisations (16.6 %) as well as in schools and universities (12.5 %) were significant. Further an analysis of print media in 2009 presented similar results in terms of the relevance of these diversity dimensions in reporting or perceived discriminations as about 42% of the evaluated newspaper articles included reference to discrimination covering the dimensions of religion and ethnic origin.

¹⁹ The study has collected data by (a) an online-questionnaire directed to the general public about experiences of discrimination, (b) a survey among private and state antidiscrimination associations, (c) interviews with lawyers specialising in antidiscrimination law, (d) a survey across the decisions and practices of courts in Germany, and (e) analyses of leading media in Germany. For further information see: www.diskriminierung-in-deutschland.de

Moreover, the 2006 legislation (with the AGG) established a Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency which has reported more than 3,400 discrimination-inquiries between August 2006 and March 2010. About 15% were related to the dimension of ethnic origins, about 4%, to religion and belief.²⁰ However, interviews with advocates and a survey of courts in Germany have indicated that the dimensions of ethnic origin and religion played only a marginal role in concrete Case Law. The majority of the cases connected to anti-discrimination covered other characteristics, such as gender, age and disability. This leads to the conclusion that discrimination on the basis of ethnic origins and religion are certainly existing phenomena in Germany, but are rather problematic to seek redress for within existing anti-discrimination legislation and through the court system. For example, advocates for these groups highlight difficulties with regard to the 'burden of proof – rule'²¹ which makes it challenging to provide sufficient evidence in those cases. Further, even accessing court is difficult for these cases as barriers occur through hidden discriminations, lack of competent lawyers, and a critical 'cost-efficiency weighting' especially for people with minority ethnic and religious backgrounds who perceive and experience wider institutional discrimination, and so will be reluctant to come forward (Rottleuthner & Mahlmann, 2011). Promoting cultural diversity in Germany has also been increasingly problematised reflected in periodic public debates about

²⁰ In comparison 25.5 % disability, 24.2 % gender, 19.0 % age, Klose (2012).

²¹ According to § 22 AGG, in case of conflict, if one of the parties is able to establish facts from which it may be presumed that there has been discrimination on one of the defined grounds, it shall be for the other party to prove that there has been no breach of the provisions prohibiting discrimination. Generally, this is a problem for minority groups as the applicant must, first of all, demonstrate full evidence of unfair treatment. Furthermore, s/he has to defend assumptions (provide evidence), from which it can be concluded that the unequal treatment is based on an impermissible reason pursuant to Art. 1 of the AGG.

integration policy and its associated problems.²² Finally, increasing tendencies towards 'islamophobia'²³ and racism are clearly in direct opposition to any approaches that value cultural diversity (and see Federal Government Commissioner, 2012, 2014).

Given the above, it was concluded by Klose (2012) that systemic discrimination is still a social reality within Germany. Moreover, regular and frequent discrimination due to ethnic origin, religion, belief and race, were rarely challenged in the courts.

²² Examples of long-lasting and controversial hard-fought debates in Germany can be found in the interviews and the publication of Thilo Sarrazin in 2009 and 2010; Thilo Sarrazin: "Deutschland schafft sich ab", 2010; and in summary for the debate 2009: Lau, J.: Sarrazin-Debatte: Unter Deutschen, DIE ZEIT Nr.42/2009, 08.10.2009.

²³ Islamophobia refers to prejudice or discrimination against Islam or Muslims based on what is perceived as an irrational fear of these groups and their religious identity.

III.3.3 First steps towards Cultural Diversity Management

The Federal Government of Germany is undertaking its first steps in discussing approaches to build 'cultural competencies' and to embrace CDM measures (Federal Government, 2012). The German (nation-wide) initiatives are concentrated on making public sector organisations attractive for a diverse workforce (and most especially for people with a migration background) and with a view to combatting the challenges of recent skills shortage and aging workforce, which both the public and private sector organisations face. One business initiative (inspired by a similar model in France) is the so-called Charter of Diversity (German: Charta der Vielfalt), which was initiated in 2007 by four international business companies located in Germany and supported by the German government. Meanwhile, over 1,000 organisations, inclusive of various public sector organisations, have signed the Charter as a fundamental commitment to consider and treat people in a fair and just manner within their private organisations, and to generate a work environment that is devoid of prejudice and discrimination (www.charta-der-vielfalt.de).

Although the term diversity management in Germany is (still) not that prevalent in practical administrative and governments considerations, facilitating the processes of intercultural sensitivity is an acknowledged paradigm in German integration policy at all levels of government (Schröer, 2007). The German policy on integration of immigrants also became especially relevant in 2005 with the national integration plan as presented by the German government (Nationaler Integrationsplan). This governmental plan was the first collective attempt of federal, state and municipal governments, and including NGOs, to formulate a strategy and commitments (via

negotiated agreements) of special measures on social integration for particular institutions (Federal Government, 2007). Lima Curvello (2009) highlights how the national plan on integration uses the term intercultural sensitivity prolifically across all its activities, and, in the process, made a general statement about the value of an intercultural society. The plan essentially covered aspects of enhanced participation of employees, particularly those who possessed a migration background, the limitation of barriers towards the use of public services, and the need to augment the numbers of non-profit organisations and organisations related to migration-communities. However, measures were concentrated on general declarations rather than binding and detailed provisions. Nevertheless, despite the lack of the latter, the impact on further advancements should not be underestimated, as this plan led to various initiatives being undertaken at the level of local authority governance (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012).

Subsequently, the promotion of intercultural sensitivity became an issue of cross-section/organisation concerned with the integration and diversity policies in Germany and a central element of local (administrative) strategies (Federal Government Commissioner, 2007). Intercultural sensitivity, thus, became a common political objective since it aims at orienting public services toward the requirements of an existing diverse society and increasing immigrant representation in public sector organisations (Federal Government Commissioner, 2007). This sharply contrasts with the political debate some years ago, where discussion was over whether Germany was an immigration country or not – as Terkessidis (2011) has outlined. In Germany, as in many countries of Europe and the world,

immigration and emigration are not new or contemporary phenomena. 44 million people came to Germany between 1950 and 2014, 32 million Germans and non-Germans migrated. These migratory movements have always been characterized by political and migratory political and other economic and social conditions, such as the recruitment of workers in the 1950s and 1960s, or the provision of humanitarian leave due to wars and conflicts, as well as the free movement of persons in the European Union (Federal Government Commissioner, 2016). However, it is clear that this discussion as to whether Germany is an immigration country or not, has lost ground and credence given the above developments and trends in policy and social practice (Schader-Stiftung, 2011).

As a result, more recent studies (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012; Schader-Stiftung, 2011) present overwhelming evidence that intercultural orientation has become a prominent topic on the government's agenda. However, this leads to the burning question as to whether this is the first step toward implementing a concrete and effective CDM strategy for public organisations. Only one study thus far, has examined directly the approach to implementing diversity management (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2012) in German public sector organisations. The study here is an attempt help rectify this deficit.

The existing literature and research though, while lacking, consistently claims that cultural diversity in German municipal societies, is a process of opening-up the public services to a culturally diverse workforce and how this in turn has enabled organisational development. The terms 'intercultural openness and participation' or

'cross-cultural or diversity competence' are discussed extensively across municipalities and are no longer just slogans but have practical implications and applications (Federal Government Commissioner, 2012). Noticeably, many local authorities now focus increasingly on the positive potential of diversity rather than the adjudicated deficits of people with different ethnic or national backgrounds (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012). Moreover, the general aim of recent integration policy is to ensure equal participation and access to public services. This shift in thinking impacts the whole spectrum of public services, from immigration assistance to health services and all local departments, along with various other municipal offices and services. In addition, not only are individual employees and immigration or naturalisation authorities faced with the task of creating a new organisational culture, but the responsibility should be taken by public sector organisations to deal with the issue. Following this development, intercultural openness and participation is seen as a holistic process in the current time, underpinning and facilitating what is called within the workforce, 'cross-cultural or diversity competence' where workers too will have an attitude which reflects the value of diversity. However, the development of these competences seems to involve more than just human resource development through individual training; it also concerns critically assessing institutional levels and responses to this issue, entailing a systematic and on-going review and questioning of existing organisational structures (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2012). Nevertheless, despite these developments a significant study on local integration policy in Germany has concluded that only about three-quarters of the municipalities cater for the importance of intercultural

orientation in public administrations, with approximately only 40% of the surveyed municipalities highlighting a very high or high importance to intercultural sensitivity (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012). The results also show that there is a clear gradation of the general importance of intercultural opening processes commensurate with municipalities' sizes. While two-thirds of all cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants stated that they valued diversity initiatives, this was only the case with about one-third of the mid-sized cities. Further, approximately 43% of small cities and towns accorded low or very low importance to intercultural orientation (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012). But nearly two-thirds of the surveyed cities could at least name special efforts made to promote diversity within their administrations. However, the data gave no details concerning any concrete measures taken for CDM.

Nevertheless, the training of employees in the majority of the surveyed municipalities focussed on the promotion and encouragement of cross-cultural sensitivities and competencies. Nine out of ten large cities in Germany made efforts, via training, to strengthen the intercultural competencies of their public service employees (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012). Moreover, changes and organisational developments were significantly aligned with a perception towards the needs of a diverse society.

Exemplary for regional advances on intercultural orientation is the Berlin law on participation and integration ('Gesetz zur Regelung von Partizipation und Integration in Berlin'). The law aimed to write down (in statutory form) the principle

of CDM in Berlin and its application to public and social services for all areas of the City (The Representative of the Berlin Senate for Integration and Migration, 2011).

The administration of the city of Berlin conducted a project to investigate the implementation of strategies to inculcate diversity in the Berlin public sector organisations (LADS, 2011). Between 2010 and 2011, the concerned authorities in Berlin developed a set of criteria to implement diversity management in public administrations. A major advantage of this study was the consistent monitoring and support of the commencement of reform processes in public services towards a comprehensive and sustainable diversity strategy. However, the project concluded by highlighting some of the obstacles in promoting the integration of diversity values in the daily lives of the employees. For example, the study argued for an enhanced involvement of public service employees, who were to some extent quite reserved and reluctant to participate in the process, because of perceived problems in how the legislation could be applied to practice. The report, as result, concluded that the implementation of the legislation had to be oriented to the concrete problems and work situations, and be an integral part of the curricula of vocational training and further education (LADS, 2011). It is in this context, too, that the study here is presented, with the view to engaging with this level of detail regarding CDM implementation.

III.3.4 Lack of research and analysis

As an overall assessment, and following from the literature review that has been explored, it can be concluded that studies are rare which explore systematically CDM, particularly in Germany. Few studies evaluate diversity management approaches in German private sector organisations (Köppel et al., 2007; Süß & Kleiner, 2005) and these have generally concluded that CDM in Germany is 'lagging behind' when compared to its global scenario (Köppel et al., 2007).

So, between 2005 and 2016, the following studies investigated the general trends towards diversity and CDM in Germany:

- 2005: Süß & Kleiner: Diversity Management in Deutschland – Ergebnisse einer Unternehmensbefragung.
- 2007: Köppel et al.: Cultural Diversity Management in Deutschland hinkt hinterher.
- 2008: Krislin & Köppel: Diversity Management durch die Hintertür.
- 2010: Pullen / RKW Berlin: Diversity Management in kleinen und mittleren Unternehmen – Erfolgreiche Umsetzungsbeispiele.
- 2011: Köppel / Synergy Consult: Diversity Management in Deutschland 2011: Ein Benchmark unter den DAX 30-Unternehmen, Schwerpunkt Ganzheitliches Diversity Management und Frauenförderung.
- 2012: Roland Berger Strategic Consultants: Diversity & Inclusion. Eine betriebswirtschaftliche Investition.
- 2015: Völklinger Kreis e.V.: Diversity Management in Deutschland.
- 2016: Ernst & Young GmbH: Diversity in Deutschland.

These studies panned across the business case for diversity, in various attempts to comprehend its economic capability for business corporations. Initially, the studies analysed global and multinational business organisations and soon enveloped the

realm of small and medium-sized enterprises as well. Their central findings were related to the distribution and application of diversity management in Germany. Also, since 1998, there has been a significant increase of diversity management in the private sector of Germany (Süß & Kleiner, 2005). However, this applied predominantly to multinational or international operating private organisations (Köppel, 2011). Factors that influence the implementation of diversity management, in general, constitute size, origin and branch of the organisation. For example, businesses with external trade relations or origins in the United States pioneered diversity management. Further, societal expectations were identified as drivers for diversity management initiatives in business corporations but often were ignored in the business case made for diversity (Köppel, 2011; Süß & Kleiner, 2005). Another indicator of the prevalence of the business case in promoting CDM was the increased acknowledgement among private sector organisations to attest worthiness to diversity by signing the 'Charter of Diversity'. However, there is less evidence for the organisations' actual motivations to implement diversity management within these organisations. Recent studies certainly advocate the business case for diversity and its economic advantages (e.g. Roland Berger Strategic Consultants, 2012). However, as explored earlier, there is dearth of studies that have focussed on the efficacy of diversity measures within the public sector organisations in Germany.

There are further shortcomings and limitations of these studies, as an enhanced level of qualitative analyses in the realm of diversity measures are not prevalent at all. Beside the limiting focus on multinational businesses, an organisations' alignment towards diversity management are evaluated by cursory indicators such

as the existence of vacancies responsible for diversity issues, or focusing on the non-binding signing of the Charter of Diversity. Subsequently, studies claim that there is a strategic commitment to the concept of diversity management but provide scarce information and evidence of this commitment, and few managerial tools for its implementation. Further, surveys that explore evidence that measures the 'cultural' dimension of organisational practice in relation to the promotion of CDM, remain few and far between²⁴.

In fact, there is no standardised term for 'workforce diversity' in the German language. To conclude, the concepts and perceptions of diversity management in German companies remain under-researched, leading to lack of a knowledge base and theoretical coherence. Moreover, public administrations in Germany are accompanied by the same challenges as the private sector, and there are no clear and noticeable strategies and research on managing diversity from a peculiarly public sector's perspective. Yet major demographic trends are changing the face of Germany's labour market today, and public sector managers increasingly face a more diverse workforce recognising the presence of a more general competition for qualified employees²⁵.

²⁴ In addition to some scientific publications, surveys have often been carried out as 'trend surveys', without deepening analyses. In the context of literature research, journals, specialist books and brochures were reviewed from relevant public authorities and consulting firms. As a result, only 15 relevant publications/surveys were identified. E.g. Aretz and Hansen (2003); Charta der Vielfalt (2014); Ivanova and Hauke (2003); Köppel (2007); Sepehri and Wagner (2000); Süß and Kleiner (2005); Stuber (2005); PageGroup (2014); Völklinger Kreis e.V. (2013, 2015), Ernst & Young GmbH (2016).

²⁵ In Germany, about 20% of the population have non-German ancestors. Most of them – nearly 7 million people – are of working age and therefore part of the working population and so have a significant labour force potential (Federal Government Commissioner, 2010).

III.3.4.1 Research on public sector organisations

In the context of the public sector, the German Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency (2012) published the results of the first study that was undertaken for German administration's activities in diversity management. The research was pursued in collaboration with two regional government and two local government authorities. The study²⁶ evaluated existing diversity initiatives under the heading of 'diversity mainstreaming', which means committing to a comprehensive approach inclusive of not only one single diversity dimension, but all diversity dimensions so defined²⁷. This was the first time that a comprehensive definition of diversity has been used and applied to public service organisations. According to the definition formulated, diversity management:

1. incorporates a human and equal rights oriented foundation,
2. constitutes a necessary change of perspective from a problem to a resource focus on diverse workforces and populations, and
3. is an organisational and personnel development tool which leads to efficiency, customer satisfaction and social equality (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2012).

The study concluded that a comprehensive strategic concept of diversity management is rather exceptional. However, the authors noticed a visible trend in public sector organisations towards a changed perspective for an overall, broad-based diversity approach which might be described as comprehensive (covering

²⁶ This was a collaboration between the Brandenburg regional centre for equal opportunities and the working group on diversity at the judicial authority of Hamburg. Project 'Verifying (Equal) Opportunities Right Away – Diversity Mainstreaming in Public Authorities' from November 2010 until December 2011. The project aimed at providing support to the Laender and local governments around the topics of discrimination and the protection against discrimination.

²⁷ See six core dimensions of diversity: age, sex, sexual orientation, ethno-cultural affiliation, religion, disability (§ 1 AGG [General Equality Law]).

more than one single dimension) (Merx in Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2012). The main findings of the study focus on equal opportunity and diversity, the role and scope of administrative action, as well as knowledge about individual circumstances, discriminations and demands of the target audience, which were found to be very different from the surveyed public service employees.

Resonating with the findings of the Berlin City Project, the study also presented evidence of systemic barriers and obstacles while implementing diversity management measures. The problems that were identified for diversity management included lack of financial support for diversity measures, but it was also found that hierarchical organisational structures and organisational cultures as well as the continuing existence of stereotypes and stigma, created significant barriers for successful strategic and organisational change (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2012).

Unlike in large cities, the processes of intercultural orientation in smaller cities have only very recently been initiated and thus, are at a nascent stage. Intercultural competencies and intercultural openings are rarely discussed within the realm of small public sector organisations as local political goals or policies to reform public administration settings are often lacking (Schader-Stiftung, 2011). Smaller administrative units often also lack the required financial and human resources to develop their own intercultural training concepts and so aren't able to develop a diverse organisational culture even if political *intentions* were in this direction. In addition, the advent of scarce resources, plus less support from public sector organisations' executive management (Federal Government Commissioner, 2012)

further complicates matters. Of course, it might be assumed that this lack of support is linked to the relatively low proportion of people with migration background in rural areas, compared with larger cities. Nevertheless, rural communities may still see the positive potential for the promotion of labour force assets with an increased cross-cultural orientation, given demographic developments and declines in population numbers, especially from those of working age within these areas. As a result, these communities are confronted with an increase in competition for skilled workers in the local labour market. Thus, the establishment and welcoming of diverse cultures could be an important element for the positive development of many such communities. However, a broad understanding of cross-cultural orientation and acceptance, which covers the entire spectrum of public services, while has been identified as an essential component for promoting diversity management across the board is still lacking in many smaller public administrations (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2012; Federal Government Commissioner, 2012).

III.3.4.2 Some further results and findings

Studies observing local administrations' developments in the change processes within organisational cultures are very rare (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012). Nevertheless, the claim made by the current research is that organisational cultural change is a pre-requisite for the sustainable process of change within all the service-oriented local government organisations, and underpinning CDM strategy. So, while the public organisation's personnel units are held responsible for cultural diversity and organisational development (Federal Government Commissioner, 2012) – which is consistent with the tendency to increase the promotion of a more culturally diverse workforce in public sector organisations, especially in larger cities – these responsibilities will be harder/impossible to implement if there is no commensurate cultural change in public sector organisations.

More specifically, a proactive step in relation to these developments is the advance made in diversity management using the concept of depersonalised application procedures²⁸. These have been tested by the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency in 2010 and 2011. The Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency (2012) has started a nationwide pilot project wherein business enterprises and public sector organisations tested depersonalised application procedures²⁹. The project has

²⁸ The concept of depersonalised application procedures follows the assumption that reservations and prejudices during and after a personal talk will have less effect than when a decision is reached on the basis of written application documents. Aiming that the invitation to a job interview is exclusively extended on grounds of a person's qualification, depersonalised applications first of all do neither feature a photograph of the applicant, nor his/her name, address, date of birth nor any data relating to age, civil status or origin (Unit for Cooperation between Science and the Working World at the European University Viadrina and Institute for the Study of Labour, 2012).

²⁹ Within the scope of this project, the Deutsche Post, the Deutsche Telekom, the cosmetics producing group L'Oréal, the consumer goods company Procter & Gamble, the experience gift

shown that depersonalised applications procedures can be practiced and can also help HR managers to analyse and assess the qualifications of the applicant rather than irrelevant characteristics (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, press release of 17.04.2012).

To conclude, then, the current research provides an overview of the motives and intentions of public authorities in promoting the broad concept of 'valuing diversity'. However, the research pursued to date has various limitations, particularly in relation to qualitative analyses. According to the public duty and legal guidelines for equal opportunities, however, research and its practical methodological approaches within organisations should recognise employees' perspectives (Maina and Osongo, 2013). Obstacles and barriers towards a new alignment of organisational values and aims have not been the aim of research in the field of CDM, although employee involvement has been identified as a crucial success factor in its implementation (Yang and Konrad, 2010). In the light of these gaps, the current thesis aims at collecting qualitative data in the context of leadership practices and the involvement of the employee in the specific case wherein a given public sector organisation has taken the initiative toward ushering in CDM. However, before exploring this study in more detail, more attention will be given to the way the literature has developed in respect to both the practice and

provider Mydays, the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, the Federal Employment Agency in North Rhine-Westphalia and the municipal authorities of Celle are breaking new ground in the field of staff recruitment, each of them for a period of 12 months (http://www.antidiskriminierungsstelle.de/EN/Projects/AnonymApplication/DepersonalisedApplication_node.html).

theory of managing specifically the *cultural* component of CDM, with a view to providing a robust conceptual framework for analysing and interpreting the data.

III.4 Diversity management beyond the business case

III.4.1 The business case perspective

A general argument underpinning this study is that diversity management is necessary but that this need might be perceived from different perspectives. On the one hand, diversity management tries to foster prior competitive advantage by improving performances and attracting and retaining human resources, which may be summarised as ‘the business case for diversity’ (Bleijenbergh et al., 2010). On the other hand, diversity management aims at promoting equity and social justice and supports equal opportunities, and from which, it has been argued previously, the concept of diversity management has historically originated.

Consequently, a universal legitimation for diversity management from a business and economic perspective – and business research – is the business case for diversity, which is aligned to economic and rational (measurable) criteria for managing a diverse workforce (Mensi-Klarbach, 2010). Achieving competitive advantage is the most common reason for the business case perspective (Krell, 2009; Vedder, 2006; Cox, 1993). But it is also argued within this vein that a diverse workforce needs adequate leadership as it may not be called “*per se* a competitive advantage” (Mensi-Klarbach, 2010, p. 10). Mensi-Klarbach (2010) further indicates that some authors (for example, O’Leary & Weathington, 2006; Sepehri, 2002) suggest that diversity does not automatically lead to positive effects for organisations – the effective and optimal management and valuing of diversity is rather a challenge or an aspired to organisational objective. However, for others the positive potential of a diverse workforce and effective diversity management

cannot be limited to a crude monetary aspect even from within this business case (Vedder, 2006). For example, diversity is related to human resources and these are economically immaterial (intangible) assets. Arguing from a business case perspective, Cox (1993, p. 241) summarises that “diversity presents challenges to business leaders who must maximize the opportunities that it presents while minimizing its costs”. But, in order to accomplish that challenge, he (Cox, 1993, p. 241) suggests that organisations have to ‘transform’ to a ‘multicultural model’, which “creates an environment in which all members can contribute to their maximum potential”.

Consequently, although there exist numerous research contributions that may explain the financial benefits of diversity for private organisations, there is an apparent lack of general consensus in literature for a ‘*compelling business case*’ (Mensi-Klarbach, 2010; Krell & Sieben, 2007) (emphasis added). Research subsumed by the business case concentrates majorly on the functional role of diversity management, focusing on the better use of human resources in an organisation (Litvin, 2006; Gardenswartz and Rowe, 1994; Cox & Blake, 1991). In this definition, diversity management therefore differs from the formal equality of opportunity model that is only about ensuring equal treatment through standardised procedures (Johns & Green, 2009). Further, authors like Noon and Ogbonna (2001) argue that equal opportunities conventionally refer to a moral concern for social justice rather than a business concern. So, supporting the social justice argument, Johns and Green (2009, p. 293) recommend that a “liberal equality of opportunity” is closer to the diversity approach since it pursues activities for better representation of minority groups but is not designed to “substantively alter

[economic] outcomes” (Johns and Green, 2009, p. 296). It is further suggested that the principles of equal opportunities when included in diversity management, could then incorporate these wider moral principles (Kandola & Fullerton, 1994; Kirton & Greene, 2006). The risk is that organisations will only reinvent their equal opportunities practices as a response to the demands of diversity management, ignoring these calls for social justice underpinned by these wider moral principles of equal opportunity (Liff, 1997). Further, critics (Dickens, 1999; Kirton & Greene, 2006) emphasise that the business case for diversity is too selective, partial, contingent and therefore inadequate for reducing or eliminating discrimination. Johns and Green (2009, p. 297) even argue that managing diversity could lead to employers’ recruiting “people they want according to their own needs and prejudices” as the concept of diversity incorporates both ‘group identity and individualism’ and therefore may *include* these prejudicial attitudes and needs exhibited by employers that favour one different individual or group over another.

Proponents of the business case, however, refer to the benefits of businesses taking advantage of diversity in the labour market, maximising employee potential, managing business across borders and cultures, creating opportunities and enhancing creativity (Kirton & Greene 2006; Cornelius et al., 2001), with the reduction of discrimination (as a basis for potential competitive advantage) being promoted as well (Mensi-Klarbach, 2010; Vedder, 2006).

The business case arguments therefore lead to the conclusion that diversity can positively impact the organisational performance (Bleijenbergh et al., 2010).

Diversity practices are crucial in this regard. Hence, the ‘value in diversity’ approach

(Cox, 1993) has had an encouraging effect on employers who judge this approach more favourably in contrast to what is perceived as the more negative equal opportunities/anti-discriminatory programs. Additionally, the positive elements of (business-driven) diversity management with its impact on human resource management encounter less resistance on the employer's side compared with the legislative obligations entailed in promoting equal opportunity and anti-discrimination practices (Kirton & Greene, 2006). Subsequently, Johns and Green – who examined the aims of equal opportunities' policies in the UK – emphasised that the reasons for business and public sector organisations displacing equal opportunities practice through diversity management was very simple as “the focus of the policy has shifted from the employee to the goal of the firm or economy as being prime importance” (Johns & Green, 2009, p. 297). Following this analysis, however, it could be argued that the existing positive action implications of CDM practice would fall victim to the implementation of diversity management (see Chapter II, section 3.1 and Chapter III, section 2). On the other hand, supporters of equal opportunities may conclude alternatively that continuing to argue for social justice and equality through CDM could strengthen the equality perspective of diversity, and as distinct from the business approach. Moreover, these arguments could help avoid “pitfalls of a purely business-driven approach” and the diversity discourse “might [instead] be used as a smokescreen” for equality initiatives (Kirton & Greene, 2006, p. 438). Either way, diversity management remains controversial for a range of reasons, reflecting wider debates about the relationship between business goals and social goals, and whether, or the extent to which, these goals are in conflict or cohere.

Finally, there are different and controversial results with various theoretical explanations in studies in relation to the economic benefits of diversity (Cox, 1993; Kelly & Dobbin, 1998; Süß & Kleiner, 2006; Mensi-Klarbach, 2010). For example, referring to 'social identity theory', Cox (1993, p. 61) stresses the concept of identity as at the core of understanding diversity in organisations and argues that the "vital step toward building personal competence for working in diverse groups [is the] appreciation of this [...] fact, that we all have group identities which affect our behaviour and how others treat us". Critics opposing this kind of diversity approach, have claimed though that: "diversity [...] disregards the realities of social group-based disadvantage" (Kirton & Greene, 2006, p. 439). Bleijenbergh et al. (2010) adds that this practice could even increase stereotyping and reduce inclusion, with Johns and Green (2009) further arguing that governments could not overcome social inequality if diversity management was solely related to economic factors and workforce performance, and did not also critically examine the systemic disadvantage of minority groups experienced in wider society.

Moreover, business case arguments for cultural diversity refer to the positive effects of inclusion on organisational performance (Bleijenbergh et al., 2010), but empirical evidence supporting this thesis is rare. However, some research indicates relevant potential positive economic effects of diversity activities on *perceived* organisational performance at least (Krell, 2009; Vedder, 2006; Sepehri, 2002; Cox, 1993). In an investigation of 130 organisations in the United States, Allen et al. (2008) found strong support for the hypothesis that employee perceptions of diversity at the senior management level of an organisation were positively related to perceptions of organisational performance. It was argued that diversity

management had at least some positive potential for organisations, which aimed for optimal human-resource use and allocation. Although quantitative evidence of the relationship between economic success and diversity management has not been 'proved' as such, a 2005 study from a German consulting company found (qualitative) arguments favouring the economic benefits of diversity management (Stuber, 2005). In an online-survey with 39 European and 29 U.S. companies, the study presented evidence that first, diversity was widely accepted as an instrument to improve the core business; second, that business managers supported diversity management because of the implications for bettering the performance of the individual employee and enhance teamwork (Stuber, 2005). However, other studies have questioned this straightforward positive relationship between diversity and performance (Watson et al., 1993; Thomas, D., 1999); and, as explored previously, there is only very limited research on the diversity management effects on organisational outcomes in the public sector (Naff and Kellough, 2003).

In opposition to the business case argument explored above, then, the following section considers the equity and social justice perspective on the issue of diversity management, and as an alternative to the business case model.

III.4.2 The equity perspective as distinct from the equality approach

Some authors (Herring, 2009; Kelly & Dobbin, 1998) describe the business case perspective as underpinning mainstream diversity management practice, and which can be traced to Anglo-American research (Cox, 1993; Thomas, R., 1991). The focus of diversity research is also influenced by social identity theory (Cox, 1993; and see above as well as Chapter VI, sections 1 and 2). As previously described, while promoting the resource-based view of the business case for the management of diversity, it may still be difficult to conclude that (human) resources *alone* can bring about competitive advantage.

Hence, the argument here is that the equity or social justice perspective should play a decisive role in diversity management particularly regarding public sector organisations. Indeed, the claim here is that this perspective is fundamental in discussions about managing an increasingly diverse workforce in the public sector. However, this equity or social justice perspective should be distinguished from the equality perspective outlined earlier (see section 2 and Chapter II, section 4).

As previously explored, it can be posited that there has been a tendency to promote the equity or social justice perspective to some degree at least within organisations, developed out of a practical need to address common law requirements and equal opportunity legislations (French & Maconachie, 2004). For example, public sector organisations have to assure different groups that their workforces are representative of the wider community which is derivative of *both* equality and equity concerns.

Also, the public sector organisations were under pressure to reform in view of challenges such as tighter budgets and the need for more efficient use of resources (McKinsey & Company, 2011). However, and again as previously explored, the business case arguments for diversity management in public sector organisations is not based solely on short-term financial concerns, but also on pressures to develop effective human resource management practices in the long-term. Accordingly, it can be argued that the implementation of diversity management is an important measure within public sector organisations, provided that this measure addresses both the managerial/resource-based strategies or demands, *and* the equity or social justice perspective in relation to staff development and workforce representation, and so on. Moreover, to focus on equal treatment *and* the promotion of diversity through CDM, one must consider and promote an intercultural orientation, which includes, not only human resource policies but also pays attention to external relations (e.g. toward customers or service-users) and the wider corporate image which reflects the organisation's social responsibility to ensure equity for the community which it serves (Krell, 2009). The arguments made for CDM perceives this dual-promotion as reflective of internal pressures that are supported by business-case arguments and equality approaches highlighting the external pressures from equal opportunity legislation, *plus* other equity considerations of maintaining social justice and human rights (Maxwell, et al., 2001). French and Maconachie (2004), for example, argue that equity is encouraged *through* the business case arguments for equal opportunities as it leads to a strategic approach that values individual differences. This direction, for public sector organisations, which synthesises the business and equality/equity perspectives is in some ways an

important development because CDM initiatives are then more likely to be discussed at a strategic senior management level; whereas in the past, these initiatives tended to impact just at operational level, and were perceived by senior management primarily as concerns of personnel departments or human resource specialists (Kandola & Fullerton, 1994; Maxwell, et al., 2001).

However, if there is a wider focus on the intercultural orientation identifiable within public sector organisations CDM strategies, and incorporating all government and administrative actions at all levels of the organisation, then it might provide reasons to complicate or nuance the business case, and to problematize the too easy association between equality and equity demands (Federal Government Commissioner, 2012). In addition, if this wider focus operates in tandem with the governmental task to promote anti-discrimination *and* equal treatment to guarantee barrier-free access to public services, then it will again have reference to the values of equity as well as equality. The next question then is what is the right role (if at all) of the business case for CDM within the public sector, given the criticism, previously outlined, that its promotion may risk an “exclusion or dilution of the social justice case” (Greene & Kirton, 2011, p. 23)?

It was highlighted previously how equal opportunity can be enhanced with the help of diversity management; also, that equal opportunities policies are derived from legislative frameworks (see Chapter II, sections 2-4, Chapter III, sections 2 and 3; and see Chapter VI, section 2). In such a manner, the resulting organisational practices are not voluntary and have to be accepted and acknowledged with the perspective of the employer regardless of the view and orientation of the

employees. Moreover, public administrations as organisations generally do not follow economic goals as their only priority, which is very different from private businesses. It is in this context, it is contended here, that ethical-moral issues concerning the demands of equity *as well as* legal arguments of equal treatment must both characterise the model of CDM (and see Krell, 2009).

In accordance with this viewpoint, much of the literature asserts that diversity management needs the support of (top) leadership and their commitment to anti-discrimination and equality, which should expand beyond the legality of equal opportunity (Maxwell, et al., 2001). Thus, the equity perspective of CDM considers both anti-discriminatory and effective management of diversity issues that are “concerned with ensuring that all people maximise their potential” and are not subject to unfair discrimination (Kandola and Fullerton, p. 20).

All these arguments describe a positive public assignment to advocate rights of equal treatment as a duty-bound obligation to fulfil, but also to advocate equity and social justice, which will be willingly and so voluntarily committed to by public sector organisations. But critics (Brodén & Mechiril, 2007) however, argue that a solely voluntary diversity approach cannot successfully guarantee equal treatment. Due to this problem, public sector organisations often enforce equal rights policies through concrete affirmative action measures like quotas for underrepresented group members. However, as explored previously, leading American authors (Cox, 1993; Thomas, R., 1991) and British authors (Kandola & Fullerton, 1994) have argued that diversity management, first and foremost, should not admit positive action measures. Positive action is related to those special initiatives that address

ethnic or gender imbalances in the workforce, and so, by implication, issues of inequity or social injustice, as well as equality (see Chapter III, section 2). However, many authors argue that there is no place for such measures within diversity management as a more 'holistic' or inclusive approach would emphasise *overall* equal treatment, with personnel decisions exclusively based on competencies rather than group memberships as such (Cox, 1993; Kelly & Dobbin, 1998). Nevertheless, we have also seen that there are several diversity management practitioners (Gilbert et al., 1999) who disagree and argue instead for positive or affirmative action (see Chapter III, section 2 and Chapter VI, section 2). Especially regarding the public sector and gender policies, affirmative action is therefore very controversial, but in turn reflect the distinctions and conflicts over promoting equality and equity in the workforce.

Reflecting on these conclusions, the following figure provides an overview of the fundamental differences between equal opportunities and the equity approach of diversity management. The figure aims to clarify the differences between both approaches, and should function as a prelude to further theoretical discussion about the meaning and justification of these different concepts to ensure effective CDM:

Figure 3: Equality vs. Equity

Equality	Equity
Externally driven / Legal imperative	Internally driven / Voluntary
Operational / Reactive strategy	Proactive strategy
Defensive / Minimum communication	Proactive communication
Group-focused	Individual-focused
Ethical, moral and social case	Ethical, moral and social case plus organisational change
No involvement of management	Managers advocate diversity management
Equality costs but is a matter of meeting legal equality obligations	Diversity pays and is a matter of promoting equity or social justice

Adapted from Prescott, 2016

Finally, reflecting on the above distinctions between the equality and equity approaches, there are arguments and criticisms for both and, subsequently, between diversity management and affirmative action, but which in turn skews the debate and so need further clarification. For example, business organisations that have argued progressively for diversity management have often observed that diversity is positively associated with productivity and competitiveness, but that promoting equal opportunities is negatively associated with legality and cost (CIPD,

2005). In short, diversity management is seen as going beyond the considerations of equal opportunities management as described by law, and emphasises instead the strategic importance of promoting the values of diversity and equality as a matter of good business, but only incidentally or instrumentally therefore, as a matter of promoting equity or social justice (CIPD, 2005). For example, according to diversity management scholar (Cox, 1993), promoting diversity has positive outcomes (for both the private and public sectors) leading to an efficient and productive workforce. However, the argument here (and to be explored in more detail below) is that these outcomes are secondary to the public organisation primary aim of promoting social justice/equity, not as an incidental or instrumental value to the promotion of efficiency and productivity, but as 'ends in itself' that is promoted for its *own sake*.

German initiatives have been studied by Schröder (2007), who developed comprehensive conceptual recommendations for public managers that combined equality alignment with diversity strategy, which, by implication, parallels the distinction between the equality and equity approaches highlighted above.

Moreover he (Schröder, 2007) defined key objectives as crucial for intercultural orientation in Germany, which will be further considered in detail in Chapter III, section 2. However, building on the analysis presented so far, the following criteria outlines a framework for diversity management that aims at equity rather than or distinct from the business case approach, and for the reasons just highlighted.

The objectives for intercultural orientation of public sector organisations according to Schröder (2007) are:

- the assertion of constitutional equal rights and justice and acknowledgement of equality and diversity in multicultural societies
- a critical reflection of organisational and administrative cultures in comparison with different cultural living environments of citizens
- to establish an intercultural orientation as cross-sectional approach in all administrative (government) areas and services for the public – and in both a strategic and operational manner
- the renunciation of the deficit-approach that considers immigrants (or people with immigration-background) as problematic; and the advancement of a resource-based and empowerment approach that perceives cultural diversity as an opportunity or asset
- the reduction of barriers relating the access to public services, the prevention of discriminating processes relating to ethnicity, the recruitment of cultural diverse workforce in all public areas and functions
- the intermediation of intercultural competences through knowledge about migration processes, integration issues and the comprehension of the necessity of active and productive management of cultural plurality
- the initiation of (self-) reflexive learning and change processes for individuals, groups and organisations.

In accordance with the conclusions and the analysis mentioned above and in Figure 3, advocates encouraging the application of diversity management pursue both the methods, that is, via the business case and the social justice/equity approach. In this context, business motives will use diversity *merely as a means* to maximise the potential of the workforce, bettering the market position and enhancing business opportunities. However, the point here is that these motives undermine promoting social justice or equity, via CDM, as an ‘end in itself’. More specifically, and referring to prevailing diversity discourses, one can conclude then that the business case for diversity management does not provide sufficient justification for the social

inclusion of minority groups, which, in turn, reflects a wider socio-cultural context that is bound to fall short of meeting equity or social justice standards.

Reflecting this latter conclusion, the current study will defend the assumption that organisations within the public sector with a broader focus and perspective of diversity and intercultural orientation could gain help from the strategic approach of valuing differences. It could advance existing equal opportunity measures, while developing strategies for a change in organisational culture that are *also* consistent with the demands of equity and social justice. In that sense, anti-discrimination schemes may be developed and combined with diversity management to create effective management strategies that match public sector legal requirements, but also has as its task the promotion of equity or social justice as a valued end in itself, and for the community it serves.

IV. Structure of Methodology and Methods

IV.1 Introduction

To further enhance the limited research on diversity management and to focus on the research gap which has been identified earlier in the context of CDM in German public sector organisations, this study focuses on current developments leading to the initiation of CDM in the city of Hamm, a medium-sized town in North-Rhine Westphalia, by examining the processes undertaken by an administration that strongly supports intercultural orientation (and as defined earlier, see Chapter II, section 3.2).

Therefore, the following research questions are the subject of this study:

How does a medium-sized public sector organisation implement CDM?

Cultural diversity is a complex term underlying different understandings as explored previously. The study investigates how the organisation in the case study views cultural diversity as an organisational and societal task or goal and the kind of emphasis it takes and considers. Further, the study examines the actions that have been carried out and how the organisation deals with cultural diversity.

What are the central and crucial determinants of a 'public management case' for CDM?

The study concentrates on the focus group comprising senior managers from the organisation in the case study (via the Citizens' Services Office) to explore their influence on CDM and administrative practices. Since commitment to leadership has been acknowledged here as a main and crucial success factor for organisational change processes, the involvement of the entire leadership and the role of senior managers is a core question of this research. However,

this study also focuses on the ‘public management case for diversity’, which, it is contended here, includes incorporating a different role for the senior managers of public sector organisations when compared with those in the private sector. Particularly in external relations, the public duty of guaranteeing equal rights and the ‘public ethos’ of serving the public interest and pursuing the values of social justice or equity, provide a quite different ground for diversity initiatives than the business case for diversity.

What are the influential factors in CDM from a theoretical or conceptual point of view?

A central emphasis within this research is on theory-building and conceptual verification, because there are not many existing, well-formulated theories available on this specific research topic. Therefore, the study takes account the specific standpoint of public sector organisations based on the assumption that this standpoint differs from the private organisations’ perspectives given their different organisational objectives. Against this background, the study questions the appropriateness of using the business case for diversity as a central concept for public sector organisations. It investigates the underlying and explicit motives for implementing cultural diversity initiatives in German public sector organisations referring to values such as equity and social justice, and so, it is contended, uses concepts that are beyond the theoretical boundaries of the business case.

What is the significance of recent public management efforts for the implementation of a public administration-related CDM approach?

The study is also based on the assumption that the administrative reform efforts of German (municipal) administrations in recent years have a variously important influence on their intercultural orientations and the introduction of diversity measures. The organisation in the case study is characterised as such by its strong customer orientation, which forms the basis on which the organisation establishes what it sees as an interculturally competent citizen service.

These issues were investigated using the case study research methodology and methods described here. This chapter consists of six major sections. The next section (section 2) discusses research paradigms and justifies the choice of the interpretivism paradigm for this research. The third section examines the use of qualitative research methods as distinct from quantitative research methods. The fourth section justifies the use of case study research within the interpretivism paradigm, followed by an outline of the reliability and validity checks that were carried out. The remaining 2 sections discuss the level and depth of the prior theory explored and defended in the previous chapters, and the design and use of the 'case study' and the analysis procedures used, respectively. Finally, the chapter discusses the limitations and ethical considerations associated with this research.

IV.2 Justification of the paradigm used for this research

The first step in research design is to choose the research paradigm that would be appropriate for the research. There are three major research paradigms of *positivism, realism and interpretivism*, which have been reviewed and evaluated here. Interpretivism was chosen for this research and will be justified accordingly.

Methodological perspectives and philosophies

Remenyi (2002) states that the final results of research must add something to the already existing body of theoretical knowledge. But at the beginning, the researcher's methodology perspective or philosophy needs to be considered. As Amaratunga and Baldry (2001, p.95) points out "like any human action, research is grounded on philosophical perspectives, implicitly or explicitly". More specifically, the epistemological and methodological characteristics of any research area, have a profound impact on the research design, and so also on the developed objectives and methods used throughout the research project.

So, following the argument of Easterby-Smith (1997) understanding the philosophical positioning of research is particularly important and useful when clarifying alternative designs and methods for the research project, and identifying those which are more likely to work in practice. It can be asserted, therefore, that ignoring these philosophical issues can adversely affect the quality of research being conducted in management science and/or studies (Amaratunga and Baldry, 2001).

According to Saunders et al. (2007), the research philosophy that the researcher adopts contains important assumptions about the ways in which the researcher

views the world. In accordance with Saunders et al. (2007), there are three main research philosophies or approaches that this study considers.

IV.2.1 Positivism

Positivism can be described as that type of research which works with what is defined as an observable social reality, based on the assumption that there are universal scientific laws that govern social events (Kim, 2003). Remenyi et al. (1998) maintain that the positivist approach is often designated by quantitative research, which correspondingly asserts that the subject under analysis can be measured through objective methods rather than be inferred, subjectively (through sensation, reflection or intuition). Saunders et al. (2007, p. 103) call it the “resource researcher” approach where the researchers are significantly concerned with ‘objective facts’ rather than subjective ‘impressions’, and thereby claim to be value-free and external to the *process* of collecting data. This approach also follows what might be termed a ‘foundationalism ontology’ based on the assumption that the world exists independently of our knowledge of it – and as an objective approach it tends to refuse, or at least downplay, individuals and their experiences (and see Houghton, 2009).

The methodology associated with positivism, then, is highly structured and the emphasis is on quantifiable observations that lend themselves to statistical analysis (Yin, 2003 cited in Saunders et al., 2007, p.140). The overall aim of objective positivist studies is to develop and/or use replicable methods so that common laws can be generated (Benton & Craib, 2011), which then can be applied universally, regardless of time and location (Houghton, 2009).

The primary role of the research enquiry is deduction – based on theory-testing (Wong, 2014). The research paradigm focuses on measurement and analyses of

causal relationships using variables (Easterby-Smith, 1997). The primary data collection techniques therefore include controlled experiments and surveys. According to Wong (2014), the positivists are, as a result, concerned with the confirmation or disconfirmation of a theory or hypothesis.

The research undertaken, is then, value-free as far as possible. It is imperative for the researcher, following this philosophy, to be independent and not affected by the subject of the research (Saunders et al., 2007 with reference to Remenyi et al., 1998).

However, there are shortcomings of positivism with regard to its application to the social sciences or, less positivist-like, in the field of social *studies* as distinct from social *sciences*. For example, Houghton (2009, p. 3) summarised positivism as the “failure to distinguish between natural and social worlds”. Following this summary, a fundamental criticism of positivism refers to its claim to objective certainty or accuracy. The belief in objectivity is predominant in positivist research, however, objectivity and therefore the claim or aim for accuracy or certainty is not always achievable in research practice, and most especially perhaps in social research (Bancroft & Fevre, 2010). This criticism is particularly relevant for this study, as a main criticism of the prior research on diversity management in Germany (and explored in Chapters II and III) is related to its claim or aim to be generally applicable and objective, but without a deeper investigation and insight into organisational *social* contexts, and without regard for the complex phenomenon of cultural diversity within wider society.

Another weakness of positivism lies in the discrepancy between the theory and practice of the scientific method if objectivity is valued as prerequisite for scientific research. Critics (Marsh & Stoker, 2010) argue, for example, that there could be no research and analysing without the interpretation of data. Again, this is a main motivation for the research here: to address the lack of theoretical interpretation in cultural diversity management research, and especially from an employee perspective. The positivist claim for objectivity, however, would likely view this process of interpretation as resulting in 'biases' towards particular research conclusions (Benton & Craib, 2011).

The assumptions underlying positivism's paradigm (and suited to quantitative research as stated) are not therefore suitable for the current research as the primary purpose of this study is to observe public leadership practices and to explore the subjective meanings attached to these practices by staff within the organisation. This is consistent with the aim of collating qualitative rather than quantitative data, bearing in mind, too, the lack of qualitative research on CDM in German public sector organisations.

Based on seminal diversity management research, this study has also subsequently developed a theoretical and conceptual framework for a 'public management case' for diversity (see Chapter I, section 1.2 and Figure 1). In short, the thesis critiques the general business-driven nature of this research that is aligned to *so-called* objective economic and rational/measurable criteria for managing a diverse workforce (Mensi-Klarbach, 2010). The study rather argues that the necessity of diversity management should be seen from two different perspectives or

interpretations – the business case perspective *and* social justice and fairness perspective, both relating in various complex ways to the aims of the public sector organisations. Moreover, the developed theoretical and conceptual framework has, as a result, been used in a non-positivist way in this research to provide contextual depth for analysing administrative and leadership practice. The aim, in opposition to the positivist approach, is to recognise and explore internal and subjective views of employees concerning their roles and functions, these being decisive for CDM initiatives in public sector organisations.

IV.2.2 Realism

A second approach to research is realism, or developing from this general approach, *critical realism*, with its associated 'epistemological position'. This approach in many, but not in all ways, stands between the two-poled options of positivism (section 2.1) and interpretivism (section 2.3). According to Connelly (2001), who refers to Bhaskar (1975, 1989), critical realism, and realism more generally, has been used to explain and ground the claims of knowledge, truth, progress and reality as obtained through research in both, the natural and the social sciences.

Saunders et al. (2007), who refer to Connelly (2001) and Carlsson (2003), assert that critical realists explore what one experiences, as being sensations, and the *images* of things in the real world, but not the things directly. The 'real world', according to this approach, exists and behaves independently of our subjective knowledge and beliefs about it (Benton & Craib, 2011). This suggests, in turn, two contrasting positions. First, that reality exists 'out there' and that the researcher's responsibility is to access and assess this reality by means of 'objective' data collection techniques. In this context, the subjective thoughts of people expressed through language either adequately or inadequately represent this objective reality, which get us back largely to the positivist position (Oppong, 2014).

The second position derived from critical realism is, though, very different.

Amaratunga and Baldry (2001) argue that the critical realism approach understands 'reality' as holistic, and socially constructed, *rather than* objectively determined.

The realism approach, from this second position, is also described as an attempt to understand and explain a *phenomenon or subjective experience*, rather than a

search for external causes or fundamental/objective laws (Easterby-Smith, 1997; Remenyi et al., 1998; Amaratunga and Baldry, 2001).

More specifically, and reflecting the first position outlined above, according to Saunders et al. (2007, p. 104), the principle of “realism is that what the senses show as reality is the truth – objects have an existence independent of the human mind”. And in this vein, Benton & Craib (2011, p. 120) state that: “critical realism holds that one can make sense of cognitive practices such as the sciences only on the assumption that they are about something which exists independently”.

Consistent with this position, realism is therefore seen as being similar to positivism in that “it assumes a scientific approach to the development of knowledge” (Saunders et al., 2007, p. 105).

However, according to the second position outlined above realism (and in particular *critical* realism) differs from positivism in that theorising knowledge involves variable and subjective means of representation, and incorporates a critical reflexivity about the conditions of possibility for thoughts, language etc. (Benton & Craib, 2011). Given this second position, it is possible, for example, that the researcher can interact with the organisation mentioned in the case study, and not compromise the validity of the research.

Moreover, as critical realism implies that reality exists independently of subjective human consciousness, but that all interpretations of ‘reality’ derive *from* human consciousness, it also suggests that data collected during research cannot adequately and accurately reflect reality separate from the subject; and that therefore universal truth cannot be derived directly from an objective and separate

empirical world (Oppong, 2014). This second position, in turn, reflects the interpretivist approach as *opposed* to positivism (and see section 2.3). The interpretative philosophy which is implied here, underpins as well, the general approach of qualitative research, as the focus is on subjective understandings as *distinct from* providing objective explanations (i.e. the identification of objective law-based cause and effect relationships, and so on, associated with positivism).

It is in this light that the study here, aims to explore the phenomena of ‘public sector attitudes’ to diversity management, and its impact and relationships with public service delivery and leadership. This though implies a different role for the researcher compared with the realist approach, who is now acting *within* a complex social context and so not operating separately to it, and leads to a focus (or refocus) on using interpretative methods.

IV.2.3 Interpretivism

A third approach, then, is interpretivism, which was chosen for this research.

Interpretivism “is an epistemology that advocates that it is necessary for the researcher to understand differences between humans in our role as social actors” (Saunders et al., 2007, p. 106). According to Kelliher (2005), interpretive research has value in providing contextual depth, but the results are often criticised by the other two approaches, in terms of its lack of validity, reliability and generalisability (referred to collectively, as indicators of research legitimisation). The epistemology of interpretivism, though, assumes that truth is a construction, which refers to a particular belief system, and is not therefore something that represents or reflects an ‘external reality’. That means the researcher must interpret “social roles of others in accordance with our own set of meanings” (Saunders et al., 2007, p. 107). The approach follows the assumptions that subjective meanings have more value than objective measurements, and underpins the research here (Wong, 2014; Saunders et al., 2007, p. 106).

More specifically, the interpretative approach is applicable to this research because it is related to social actors within an organisation, working in a complex social context. However, accordingly, the main weakness of using the case-study method within the interpretivist approach is its lack of generalisability.

The researcher, nevertheless, can interact with the subjects of the study and observe organisational practices consistent with this approach. Subsequently, rich and detailed qualitative data can be collected with a view to comprehend interactions within the organisation, including the social meanings of the relevant

concepts and values subjectively referred to and used by employees. It is within this context, too, that it becomes possible to critically investigate how the organisation's leadership can influence and shape the strategic implications of CDM.

Moreover, consistent with this approach, a crucial ethical and methodological tool for the researcher entails ensuring critical rigour by keeping a reflexive journal as a means of enhancing critical self-awareness (Smith, 1999). Developing this critical-interpretivist theme (Schwandt, 2000), then, the researcher aims to adopt a personal, reflexive standpoint which underpins the academic character of the research. During this study, for example, there were several times when self-reflexivity has been particularly relevant to the research and its development. So, during the field work it became quickly apparent that despite attempts to elicit honest responses from the interviewees, it was difficult to get deeper or more candid information about individual attitudes relating to the description of intercultural competences. At the start of the first interviews it was often perceived negatively by the participants to even ask about intercultural competencies. This negative perception seemed to arise because some participants felt implicitly accused of not being sufficiently intercultural competent if the question was raised, although this was certainly not the intention of the researcher when he posed the question. This difficulty was detected by the researcher which then led to a critical self-reflexion which was recorded in a diary, and the subsequent adaption of the briefing and introduction to the interviews. Subsequently, immediately prior to the interview, short briefings were introduced for reflection on general issues concerning diversity and cultural competencies, which seemed to prepare the interviewees better and allow a 'safe space' for more candid responses in the

interview. In addition, the issue of uncertainty and apprehension of being confronted with the term 'intercultural competence' within the interview was also raised during a post-interview workshop and analysed further in this thesis (see Chapter V, section 5.1 and Chapter VI, section 2.2). This focus within the workshop allowed for further interpretative data that then fed into the theoretical interpretations which were also being developed in response to the data collected.

Following from the last point, the above philosophical and critically reflexive approach underlying this research was also highlighted by the way the research questions were formulated. An inductive approach provides the researcher with a method to collate qualitative data and create a flexible structure that allows for the alteration of the intended path of research, if new findings occur (Saunders et al., 2007). Following this approach, qualitative data was collected to gain an insight into the perception of ethnic minorities as articulated by the employers of the organisation in the case study. This approach also allowed for the development of theory-building based on the collected data/understandings which is both interpretative and exploratory in character, and to develop and explore the theoretical implications of developing a strategy for introducing CDM in the public sector. The study starts then with the seminal researchers on the topic of diversity management, such as, Taylor Cox, Elsie Cross or Anita Rowe, which then served as a framework for articulating the central research questions with the aim of providing a theoretical foundation for understanding CDM in the public sector. More specifically, the researcher, consistent with the interpretivist approach, tried to uncover the *meaning* of cultural diversity within leadership practices by drawing attention to the organisational processes and meaning patterns which arose from

the interpretation of CDM by the staff. Moreover, as highlighted previously, this approach constitutes a new attempt at obtaining knowledge about CDM practices in public sector organisations in Germany, given that qualitative research of this kind on diversity management in German public sector organisations is rare. To reiterate, the previous research lacks deeper insights into organisational practices (as explored in Chapters II and III), which the interpretative case-study approach offered here seeks to remedy.

IV.2.4 Summary

Overall, this research project chose an interpretivist methodology with an emphasis on induction. This methodology is based on a philosophical approach that holds that reality can never be objectively observed from 'the outside' and as a result, it must be observed from 'the inside' through the subjective experience of the individuals being studied. Contrary to the natural sciences, then, it also posits that no universal or objective laws can be established in investigating human behaviour as a social science. However, this approach enables the researcher to be involved and to interpret elements of the study as an integral part of the research process. The researcher's role is to understand and explain the social world through the eyes of different participants from within the case study. This role is particularly important to establish for this research because the exploration of the development of diversity management practices from an insider view/employee perspective is presently lacking, and thus, it is anticipated that it will significantly contribute to knowledge. This contribution includes the critically reflexive standpoint of the researcher who aims to investigate and examine the complexity and depth of 'meaning making' within the case-study organisation regarding its development and implementation of CDM strategy. The chapter will now explore further justifications of the qualitative methodology and the case-study approach, in the context of defending the appropriateness of using this methodology and method for the study here.

IV.3 Further justifications for qualitative research

Briefly put, and following from the previous section, in answering research questions, quantitative research aims at answering the ‘what’, ‘who’, ‘how much’ and ‘how many’ questions – which are explanatory in nature, whilst qualitative research aims to answer the ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions – which are exploratory in nature. Figure 4 provides a further comparison of these two paradigms.

Figure 4: Quantitative vs. Qualitative research

Quantitative research	Qualitative research
Reality is objective and usually one dimensional	Reality is more subjective and multidimensional
Independence of the researcher	Researcher interacts with the subject being researched
Values do not play a role, and as such is unbiased	Data obtained is value-laden, and hence biased
Language is formal and rather impersonal	Language is more informal and rather personal
Research process: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • deductive • cause and effect relationships are proved • static design • research is context-free • generalisations are made to explain, understand and predict • obtains accuracy and reliability through validity 	Research process: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inductive • mutual shaping of factors • emerging design • research is context-bound • patterns and theories are developed for understanding • accuracy and reliability are obtained through verification

Source: adapted from Creswell, 1994, p.5.

As stated, it is within the above qualitative paradigm, that the primary objective of this study is to consider the range of different opinions and perspectives of public employees and senior managers with reference to the theoretical frameworks

explored earlier, of business and public management research into CDM.

Investigating a case-study organisation should provide a rich vein of knowledge which, in turn, will inform further development of these theoretical frameworks to critically evaluate organisational practices. In other words, the qualitative research engaged in the current study (and reflecting the characteristics identified in Figure 4 above) is being used not merely to validate a theory, but to build theoretical understanding with an aim to identify phenomena for further research, and thereby facilitating a process for further critical reflection on organisational practice.

Qualitative research is also considered appropriate and necessary here for the following additional reasons:

1. Although diversity management is not a new field of study, its impact and relationship with German public service management and leadership is a new phenomenon and must be explored. Further, this relationship can be understood adequately only if it is seen in specific organisational contexts.
2. Through qualitative strategies – like interviews, expert-interviews or focus-group discussions – it is possible to get an insight into the organisation that is a part of the case study and draws attention to processes, meaning patterns and structural features of the organisation.
3. Qualitative research enables greater flexibility and interaction with the participants of the case study. The aim is to obtain deeper knowledge through evaluation and exploration of the organisational practices on diversity management and its leadership. Hence, qualitative research enables the detection of and learning about the experiences of individuals and groups within the organisation.
4. Additionally, it is critical to this research to gain in-depth qualitative perspectives concerning what is understood as successful cultural diversity measures and leadership practices. It is in this context too that internal

experts and available secondary sources (first and foremost, internal documents and relevant institutional reviews and reports) were included to enrich data collection, providing a plural and independent source of data ensuring the verification of collected data via triangulation (and see section 5 below).

IV.4 Defining and justifying the use of case study research

The research design can be described as the general plan which intends to answer the devised research questions, specify the sources from which the researcher intends to collect data and consider the constraints which might occur (e.g. access to data) as well as enable the discussion of ethical issues (Saunders et al., 2007).

This study adopted a case study referring to in a municipal organisation as a single case. According to Robson (2002; cited in Saunders et al., 2007, p. 139), a case study is “a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence”. It is aimed at exploring a deeper understanding of the context of research and the processes being transacted or as Amaratunga and Baldry (2001) describe, a case study is a research strategy, which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single settings.

Saunders et al. (2007, p. 139) highlights that a case study method has a considerable ability to “generate answers to the questions ‘why?’ as well as the ‘what?’ and ‘how?’” and that a case study is one of the most used strategies in both explanatory and exploratory research. This approach, combined with the inclusion of the ‘insider-view’ (of the participants who are involved in and affected by leadership practice and diversity measures), allows for a richness in the understanding of how ‘social worlds’³⁰ are formed and shaped within the case-study organisation.

³⁰ The use of the term ‘social worlds’ (plural and subjective) as distinct from ‘social reality’ (singular and objective) is deliberate. That is, to underline the distinction between positivism and realism

What is particularly pertinent here is that the preconditions for an advanced exploration of leadership practices within this case-study are already present, given:

1. The city has gone a long way in developing the concept of integration, which serves as a guide for organisational change.
2. The city administration and its political leadership are strongly engaged in a policy that promotes cultural diversity. Due to this promotion, the city is a proactive local authority which has taken important first steps towards implementing CDM.
3. The city has also implemented and enforced different diversity measures like diversity training programmes for public employees.
4. The city administration has also put in place a committed office for migration and integration, which has centralised all local duties and public services for people with migration backgrounds.
5. The city is aiming to create an 'interculturally competent' public service (via its citizens' services offices) (see Chapter V, section 5.1).

There are also other characteristics of the city which make it eminently suitable as a single case study. A recent study of the municipal integration and diversity policy in Germany (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012) presented evidence that intercultural sensitivity and diversity management have become increasingly relevant for municipal cities. However, the commitment and consistency of their application vary considerably according to the size of cities, and the percentage of people with migration backgrounds (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012). This

approaches to research, and interpretivist approaches to research, and as discussed in the previous sections.

study also concluded that there was little or no research on CDM within smaller and medium-sized cities (such as Hamm).

Furthermore, various other studies highlight the occurrences of instances of discrimination in public services (and wider working life) based on ethnic origin or religion (and see [Chapter II](#), section 5.2). Moreover, this phenomenon occurs not only in bigger cities with the greatest share of immigrant populations, but also, in smaller cities such as Hamm (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2010a; Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Integration and Refugees, Federal Government Commissioner for Matters relating to Persons with Disabilities, 2017).

Nevertheless, the research on diversity is limited concentrating on the apparent orientation towards an intercultural alignment of public services (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012; Schader-Stiftung, 2011). Specific research on management practices of CDM in Germany is exceptional (and see [Chapter II](#), section 5.4). Indeed, only one study has focused directly on investigating the concept of diversity management in public sector organisations (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2012).

Thus, it can be concluded that the city of Hamm is a suitable case-study for the following reasons:

1. The city of Hamm with about 180,000 inhabitants in 2015 (Hamm, 2015) is a fairly large, but non-metropolitan city. The city is not then too small – so does not have limited staff resources, competencies and responsibilities with regard to its public services – which would otherwise make the investigation of diversity management rather difficult.

2. It is a city with multi-national inhabitants (e.g. immigrants and students) and so a significant population with migration backgrounds (and see figure 6, p. 201). Therefore, from an organisational perspective CDM has top priority in the city of Hamm, leading to a proactive policy of promoting and facilitating diversity and local integration both within the organisation and across the city more widely.
3. Following from this, and as previously explored, intercultural sensitivity and diversity management has become a general topic for local authorities. Diversity management is regarded favourably by the city (and beyond) seen as a positive measure of adapting public services to a changing society. The city too has been part of pilot projects facilitating diversity management and intercultural sensitivities. This means that staff members and senior managers are familiar with the concept of diversity management and as reflected in the creation of the Citizens' Service Offices which main purpose is to address a culturally diverse population.
4. The case-study can also be developed from the researcher's existing professional relationship with the city's commissioner for integration. This commissioner is responsible for the strategic process of ensuring the city's administration is open and accessible for people of all cultures and backgrounds. This relationship has allowed the researcher access to the organisation using multiple sources of data collection (e.g. interviews with senior managers, non-management employees and specialists).

IV.5 Criteria for judging quality of case study research

Following Yin's (1994) postulation for the need for research validity and reliability, the case study design incorporates several elements to ensure that it conforms to and repeats good academic research practices.

Regarding the underlying research aims, there are different characteristics, which should underpin the use of a case study strategy:

- the use of multiple sources of evidence to establish a 'chain of evidences' (construct validity)
- pattern matching, explanation building in the data analysis (internal validity)
- replication logic through using multiple case studies (external validity)
- development of a case study data base (reliability)

The case study approach enables the employment of various and combined techniques of data collection (e.g. interviews, observation, documentary analysis and questionnaires). To ensure a valuable research result, multiple sources and triangulation of different data collections techniques are used within one study.

To identify best strategy regarding research objectives, Yin (2003) describes two dimensions of case studies:

1st dimension: single case vs. multiple case

2nd dimension: holistic case vs. embedded case

Exploratory studies are generally better served by single cases, i.e. where there is no previous theories. Multiple cases are preferred when the purpose of the research is to describe phenomena, develop and test theories. Multiple cases also

permit cross-case analysis, a necessary feature for widespread generalisation of theories.

The current exploratory research has chosen a single case design. Subsequently, the study does not intend to test a new approach to diversity, but to use the organisation as an exemplary case for evaluating action taken and the introduction and development of new theories and CDM strategies, which can then be compared with the seminal diversity management literature explored previously.

The embedded case study design is an empirical form of investigation, then, that is appropriate for descriptive studies and is used in this study to describe the context introducing CDM in a local German public administration. Therefore, the analysis focuses on different sub-units of the phenomenon of 'how ethnic minorities are viewed'. The embedded case is especially recommendable if a single organisation is under study (Yin, 2003). The holistic case study, however, is useful when no sub-unit can be identified and when the theory underlying the case is itself of a holistic nature (Yin, 2003), for example if the investigation concentrates on the implementation of a special diversity measure without further data collection, e.g. about specific employee groups or from other sources.

It is in this context that a single (1st dimension) and embedded (2nd dimension) case design have been chosen with a view to enabling deeper insights into organisational practices providing points for further research. As previously stated the decision to use a single case study also addresses the lack of qualitative research in this area.

However, single and embedded case designs require careful investigation to avoid misrepresentation and to maximise the investigator's access to evidence.

Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2001) argue that a case study approach is strongest when the researcher's expertise and intuitions are maximised and where it may be concluded that a key determinant of the quality of a piece of case study research is the quality of the insights and thinking brought to bear by the researcher. Whereas, Brombley (1986) stressed that the researchers' biases impact on the internal validity of the data, with Amaratunga and Baldry (2001) further concluding that the aim of case studies could not be to deduce global findings from a sample to a population, rather, to understand and articulate patterns and linkages of theoretical importance. To overcome or address these limitations in case study research methods, combined or multiple methods (e.g. triangulation) are used (Yin, 1994; Stake, 1995).

Following these observations, there are many arguments in favour of case study research, along with some criticisms. On the one hand it suffers from a lack of rigour and an excess of bias (Amaratunga and Baldry, 2001), which also implies the dangers of ad hoc theorising and the neglect of testing data. On the other hand, it allows for multi-dimensional and interactive research, which is context-bound so as to develop, in this case-study, a deeper understanding of the many factors which affect CDM and wider organisational practice. In summary, case studies can make no claims to be typical as, 'case studies are neither ubiquitous nor a universal panacea' – they cannot therefore answer a wide gamut of research questions (Hodkinson and Hodkinson, 2001; supported by Saunders et al., 2007). However, this was never the intention of this research. Instead, the aim is to offer a detailed consideration and observation of the new managerial concept of CDM within the context of a particular public sector organisation.

IV.5.1 Validity and Reliability

To reiterate, for qualitative research, validity and reliability are of utmost importance which leads to the notions of external validity, internal validity, and triangulation.

Further, sufficient data access is crucial for success in any research project. The access to the research was attained via existing occupational contacts in the organisation. In addition, to improve the reliability of this research, the researcher engaged an expert (the local commissioner for integration) who assisted him in initiating the interviews and cross-checked all findings during the data analysis stage (and see Barbour, 2001, p. 1116).

Process reliability refers to the extent to which data collection techniques will yield consistent findings (Saunders et al., 2007; Yin, 1994). According to Wong (2014), a case study protocol must collect data in a systematic manner and develop a case database during the data collection stage. This database will provide copies of all the important documents and evidences used, for instance, interview transcripts. In short, all procedures must be documented so that others can replicate them (Yin, 1994).

The generalisability of research findings (essential for external validity) is pursued in this case-study by using a sample of different departments providing 'cross-sectional views' of the structural processes within the organisation.

For example, the interviewees were selected from all the participating departments inclusive of all senior managers and the city's commissioner for integration. In

addition, secondary data was also used (existing reports and evaluations), to enable the researcher to generalise from a set of results to a broader conceptual framework or theory of CDM, and being implicitly used by the organisation (and see Yin 1994).

Internal validity is a concern for causal (explanatory) case studies, for example, in which an experiment is required to establish a direct causal link (Tellis, 1997; Yin 1994). It is concerned with justifying causal relationships, “when an investigator is trying to explain why event x led to event y” (Yin, 2013, p. 146). The causal relationship in this case is distinctive to research, else it is inappropriate to descriptive or exploratory case studies (Baskarada, 2014), “which are not concerned with this kind of causal situation” (Yin, 2013, p. 146). The latter applies as well for this study – i.e. an explanatory case study, which aims to collect qualitatively rich data about the public sector’s specific understanding of CDM and wider organisational practice on intercultural sensitivity in the case study organisation.

Internal validity is generally not a major concern for quality research; however, it is still necessary to eliminate or minimise contradiction and ambiguity (Wong, 2014).

It is in this context that the use of triangulation – multiple sources of data, or multiple methods that confirmed the emerging findings – can lead to increased internal validity.

IV.5.2 Triangulation

Data collection for this study was particularly reliant upon the use of combined or multiple methods, thus, triangulation was undertaken to ensure data validity (Yin, 2003; Torrance, 2012). Data was primarily received from interviews conducted with senior managers of the city's administration and from the workers within the different citizens' services offices of the city council, to get a multi-viewed insight into the public service delivery departments. Hereby, eliciting individual attitudes towards the internal diversity measures and programmes implemented have been the centre of the data collection. Furthermore, this form of data collection includes examining attitudes of the corporate organisational identity as equal opportunity employer, and the intercultural orientation of public service delivery.

Subsequently, interviews with non-management employees were conducted to triangulate the data collection process, alongside in-depth interviews with key persons responsible for diversity or leadership measures being implemented.

Approximately three months after conducting the interviews, a workshop was also held by the researcher with the participants, which served to communicate 'first impressions' and some of the key results of the interview statements to the participants. The main topics, which emerged from the first summary analysis, were "intercultural competences" and the "role of executives" (see Chapter I, section 1.4 and Chapter II, section 3.4) and were discussed in the workshop. Additionally, the framework conditions and the strategic direction of the city administration regarding the implementation of CDM were also discussed. References to these discussions were also included in the evaluation (see Chapter V, sections 3-5 and

Chapter VI, section 2). The workshop took place at the city administration of Hamm and lasted three hours. In total 10 interview participants were present, including the head of the Citizen Services Offices and a representative of the Personnel Office. The results of the workshop discussion were recorded by the researcher (see Chapter V, section 5.4).

IV.6 Ethical considerations

Anonymity of the participants was assured and consequently, the identities of all the interviewees were kept confidential. The maintenance of this anonymity and confidentiality was guaranteed during the data collection and analysis procedures. The participation in the study was also voluntary (Saunders et al., 2007) and guaranteed in advance.

One basic ethical issue in interviewing participants is the acquisition of prior consent and information to the interviewees about the content of the interviews (Ali Cheraghi et al., 2014). Thus, to address this issue, a meeting with all the participants was initiated weeks before the first interview appointments by the researcher. The reaction of the participants, the potential effects on participants and the behaviour and objectivity of the researcher were considered part of the preliminary talks, and were also discussed via e-mail communication prior to data collection (Allmark, 2009). It was after all these processes, that the consent of the participants was attained. The researcher also explained that the interviews will be conducted as part of a PhD-project³¹ and allowed participants to raise any questions and concerns to do with the project.

³¹ This research went through an ethical approval process of the University of South Wales too. The University's research ethics "involves considering how research projects which requires interaction between the researcher and human participants are planned, managed and reported. It also relates to human tissue or data relating to humans and animal subjects. [Further the] [...] research ethics policy provides guidance to [the] researchers on the University's research and ethical standards when preparing a research project to ensure that they: treat people fairly, respect the autonomy of individuals, act with integrity, seek the best results - by avoiding or minimising harm and by using resources as beneficially as possible" (University of South Wales, 2017).

At the beginning of this study, some concerns were raised about the motivation of the project by employees, since these participants had been identified by their supervisor (head of the department). However, by the end of the research process the employees voiced their gratitude for being able to contribute to the internal debate about CDM.

In addition, it is of general ethical concern that research should not cause harm to participants (Saunders et al., 2007; Bulmer, 2001). This potential harm relates not only to the way in which consent is obtained (see above), but also to the analysis and reporting of the collected data. Since the topic of cultural diversity included sensitive questions about individual beliefs, attitudes and work experiences regarding dealing with different groups of customers, this could have led to painful recollections for participants. When this became apparent, the researcher stopped this line of questioning and continued with more general issues of discussion, and to avoid “embarrassment, stress, discomfort [...] [or] harm” (Saunders et al., 2007, p. 181).

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that the researcher’s own values and position played a central role. The researcher has been professionally involved for many years in the areas of migration, integration and intercultural developments in Germany. This involvement concerns both legal developments as well as administrative efforts at the different federal levels around cultural diversity management. The researcher has been working for almost ten years for the Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration. Thus, there lies a thematic link between the work experience of the researcher and the conducted

research, which led to the development of professional competency in the realm of anti-discrimination law and practice of intercultural competency. This experience has probably influenced the conduct of the study as well. For example, this could be a contributory reason for a restrained response at the first interviews conducted relating to questions about intercultural competence (and see sections 2.3).

However, the researcher's professional and academic background in the arena also seemed to motivate the participants to provide detailed insight into the implementation of diversity management practices, and provided a platform for building trust and cooperation which was essential for the conduction of the study.

V. Findings

This chapter analyses the findings of the field work of this research. It presents the profiles of the participants and their views and assessments as generated from the interviewed non-management employees, middle managers and senior managers. The subsequent analysis also evaluates the existing diversity measures to ascertain how ethnic minorities are viewed, and identifies the potential pitfalls and challenges for the city. Further, it focuses on the predominant organisational culture, the handling and significance of intercultural competencies and finally, the role and function of senior managers in the organisation examined in the case study.

V.1 Profile of participants

Overall 17 interviews were conducted within the scope of this study. Of these, 15 were carried out with employees of the Citizens' Service Offices and 2 with other employees of the city administration, and who had special functions relevant to this study - the city commissioner on integration, and a representative from the personnel unit. These last two interviews were conducted as expert-interviews after all the other interviews had taken place, for verification and classification of the results of the interviews with the employees of the Citizens' Service Offices, and so as part of the triangulation process explored in the previous chapter.

Regarding the conducted interviews with the staff from the Citizens' Service Offices, 10 were with senior managers³² while 5 were administrative clerks³³ (public service delivery staff). In all interviews, pseudonyms have been used to protect anonymity while presenting the quotes here.

Since the case study focuses on the workforce employed within the Citizens' Services Offices (i.e. public service delivery staff), the following descriptions of participant profiles include the 15 (out of 17) participants who have worked directly within these offices, as the study aims to analyse existing diversity measures and leadership practices. The participants are not representative of the total workforce of the organisation but rather have been sampled to focus on those staff most closely associated with CDM. All senior managers of the department for public service delivery (Citizens' Service Offices) have participated in this study.

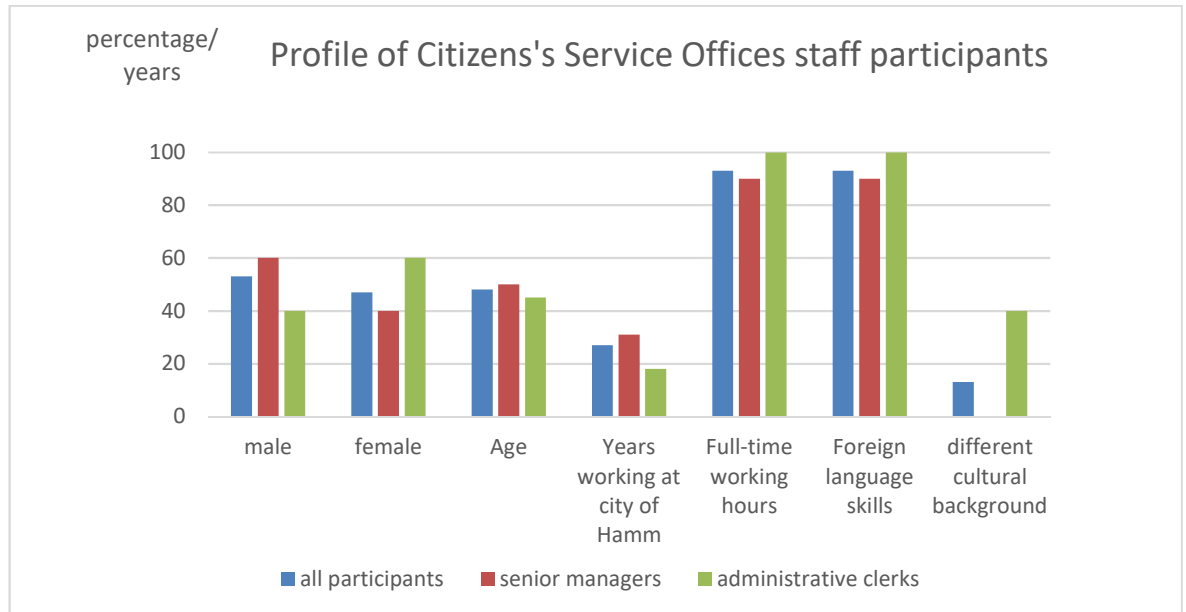
Figure 5 illustrates the age, sex and seniority of the participants along with other aspects, such as working hours, their language skills, and different cultural backgrounds. Such profiles revealed the socio-structural characteristics of the participants (age, sex, cultural background etc.) and offer insights about their organisational role (seniority, working hours etc.) and personal backgrounds (language skills as one relevant competency for the investigated topic). This kind of profiling enables an evaluation of both personal and organisational relations

³² To ensure the anonymous representation of the interview quotations pseudonyms were used. In addition, unidentifiable job titles were used to further ensure anonymity. The following unidentifiable job titles were selected for executives who work in similar functions in the Citizens' Service Offices: chief administrator, deputy head of division, chief officer, assistant chief officer, senior manager.

³³ The following names for functions were selected for public service delivery staff without a senior or middle management leadership function: administrative officer or administrative clerk.

through examining the interview data within the context of the analyses of organisational structures and behaviour (Mayring, 2010). These profiles are described and summarised below.

Figure 5: Profile of Citizens' Service Offices staff participants



Source: Interview data, own representation.

Key facts of socio-structural characteristics

Profile of Citizens' Service Offices staff participants including senior managers (15 participants)

1. Participants are both male and female and the number of participants for both genders are 8 male and 7 female participants.
2. Participants are on average, 48 years old, and long-serving employees. On average, they have worked for 26 years in the administration. Thus, the employees' period of employment (working life) at the same employer is very high. This is because most of the employees have begun their professional life as young trainees in the city administration. The long period

of employment in turn could lead to a close relationship or close identification with the organisation and which might, in turn, explain some of the responses explored below.

3. The vast majority of the participants work full-time (14 out of 15 participants).
4. Almost all Citizens' Service Offices staff participants have foreign language skills. 14 out of 15 participants speak English, 6 of these, have further language skills (French, Spanish, Polish or Kiswahili).
5. 2 out of these 15 participants (13%) have a cultural background that is different from the autochthonous German (see definition of migration background in Figure 6, p. 201). This is significantly lower than population share of people with migration background nationwide (21%) and especially in Hamm (34%). However, on the basis of available statistics for the German public sector so far, the share of employees with migration background is on a comparable level with the state administration in North Rhine-Westphalia (13.4%) and the Federal administration (14.8%).

The population share of people with a migration background in Hamm 2015 is 34.2%, that is, the highest in the region of Westphalia. Regarding children under 6 years the population share is 51.6%, the highest in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia (Hamm, 2016, p. 4; and see Ministry of Employment, Integration and Social Affairs of North Rhine-Westphalia, 2016a). Nationwide the share of the population with a migration background in the population as a whole reached 21.0% in 2015 (Federal Statistical Office, 2017). The proportion of employees with a migration background is otherwise not statistically collected in the city administration of Hamm. For North Rhine-Westphalia, figures are available for the highest regional authorities (ministries). According to this, the share of employees with migration background in 2015 in the public service at state level is 13.4% (2011: 12.1%) (Ministry of Employment, Integration and Social Affairs of North

Rhine-Westphalia, 2016b). For the Federal Administration, the share of employees with a migration background in 2015 is 14.8% (Ette et al., 2016).³⁴

Profile of senior manager participants working at the Citizens' Service Offices (10 participants)

1. There are more male senior managers (6) than female (4).
2. Executives are older and have more work experience. The average age of a senior managers is 50 years and senior managers are long-serving employees with 31 years of experience, on average.
3. 9 out of 10 senior managers work full-time.
4. 9 out of 10 senior managers have foreign language skills, predominantly English followed by French (4 out of 10).
5. No senior manager (0) has a cultural background different from the autochthonous German (see definition of migration background in figure 6, p. 201).

There are no statistical surveys on the proportion of managers with and without a migration background in the German public sector to date. However, a first survey at the higher federal governmental level shows that migrant workers are more likely to be employed in lower administrative positions (Ette et al., 2016).

Profile of administrative clerk participants working at the Citizens' Service Offices (5 participants)

1. More administrative clerks are female (3 out of 5).
2. Administrative clerks are, on average, 45 years old and have a work experience of more than 18 years, on average. Again, this sub-group is characterised by a long career at the city administration. However, the group clearly differs from the group of senior managers that is characterised by a work experience of 31 years, on average. This suggests that professional

³⁴ Since the data on the migration background among public service employees are not collected regularly, the data presented are the most recent.

advancement in the city administration requires appropriate professional experience.

3. All participant administrative clerks work full-time.
4. All participant administrative clerks have foreign language skills. English is one of the foreign languages, while one participant is also fluent in Polish and Spanish.
5. 2 out of 5 participants (40%) have a cultural background different from the autochthonous German (see definition of migration background in figure 6, p. 201). The share here is higher than the population share of people with migration background nationwide (21%) and as well in Hamm (34%). Furthermore, this share is significantly higher than comparable figure for employees with migration background as state level in North Rhine-Westphalia (13.4%) and Federal level (14.8%) (see above). However, this data from the interviews conducted is not statistically representative. The further interviews showed that there are almost no people with migration background employed in the Citizens' Service Offices to date (and see above).

Thus, to conclude, all the participants who are part of the study are characterised by lengthy work experiences. Senior managers set themselves apart with work experiences panning 31 years on average. 6 out of 10 senior managers have been employed with the city administration for 30 years or longer (up to 43 years of employment). According to a senior manager of the Citizens' Service Offices, these participants over the past decades have been involved (as part of the affected workforce) in different public management reforms.

Further, almost all participants are middle aged (42-59 years) and well-trained regarding their duties, functions, roles and continued professional development.

Besides possessing functional skills in relation to the implementation of public law, it is apparent that almost all participants speak at least English as a foreign language, which is seen as an advantage in the context of public service delivery.

Only 2 out of the 15 participants from the Citizens' Service Offices possess a cultural background different from the autochthonous German (and so have a so-called migration background) and according to a number of the participants, the representation of employees with migration background is unjustifiably limited, and is subsequently problematic for the implementation of CDM. Although this is not a representative survey, it offers some insights into a rather small percentage of people with different cultural backgrounds within the administration. Notably, there are no senior managers with a migration background.

Figure 6: Statistical definition of 'migration background' in Germany

Migration Background – a statistical definition

Since 2005, Germany has been publishing official data that distinguishes between those who are migrants and those who are not. According to the official definition, the population group with a migration background (as a statistical construct)

“...consists of all persons who have immigrated into the territory of today's Federal Republic of Germany after 1949, and of all who immigrated into the country or was born as a foreigner in Germany. The migration status of a person is determined based on his/her own characteristics regarding immigration, naturalisation and citizenship and the relevant characteristics of his/her parents.”³⁵

Source: German Federal Statistic Office, 2017.

³⁵ This includes e.g. all foreigners and people born as foreigners but who have been naturalised in Germany, but also children of naturalised Germans (former foreigners).

The researcher also requested information regarding the individual working hours for all participants. It was found that only one senior manager works part-time. This may be related, amongst other things, to the ages of the participants. Thus, it can be assumed that part-time working models are preferred generally by younger employees because of family commitments (and particularly by women (Deutscher Beamtenwirtschaftsring e.V., 2017; DGB-Personalreport, 2016)) or older employees, before full retirement.³⁶

³⁶The facility of partial retirement has been increasingly used by employees over 55 years (www.der-oeffentliche-sektor.de). But the increase in the proportion of women working in the organisation, and reflecting wider trends, has also led to an increase in part-time employment rates. In 2015, the overall part-time rate for employees in municipal administrations was 36.35%. (Deutscher Beamtenwirtschaftsring e.V., 2017. DGB-Personalreport, 2016).

V.2 The characteristics of intercultural sensitivity as part of CDM

Since this research investigates the manner in which the organisation addresses cultural diversity as an organisational and a societal issue, the first part of the interview examines the initiatives taken by the city of Hamm to promote cultural diversity. The intention, in the first place, was to identify and understand the meaning of cultural diversity by drawing attention to organisational processes and the uses of the terminology. Consistent with the research methodology and methods explored in the previous chapter, this research explores the topic from an internal or subjective perspective, with participants asked to describe their own individual valuations of the city's recent diversity actions and policies. Thus, all the participants offered comments and descriptions that were personal and sometimes critical which further reinforced the importance of maintaining anonymity.

Given this context and remit, the researcher investigated three different aspects of CDM in detail:

- existing diversity measures
- organisational culture that values diversity
- how ethnic minorities are viewed as a result

Evidence and valuations from the perspectives of the employees and senior managers are presented below.

V.3 Existing diversity measures

Throughout the interviews, there were many diversity issues that were referred to by the participants. The following summary identifies specifically-named existing measures that are relevant to public service delivery and CDM, and are presented in order of their frequency of being mentioned in the interviews conducted (see numbers in brackets for how many times mentioned):

- Use of “administration-dictionary” (self-developed dictionary for basic vocabulary in most common foreign languages) (10)
- Use of translators/internal translation facilities (staff with special language skills) (8)
- Visits to city districts to meet diverse communities (5)
- International employee exchange (4)
- Customer-orientation as a key aspect in official or formal appraisals (4)
- Use of a flyer with information in different languages (4)
- Annual offer by the administration of intercultural training (3)
- Job advertisements directly addressing and targeting people with different cultural backgrounds (3)
- General principle of valuing diversity (3)
- Developing a concept for the adjustment and induction to a new job that includes intercultural issues (2)
- Workshop with senior managers related to the facilitation of intercultural competence³⁷ (2)
- Testing intercultural competencies as part of job interviews (1)

³⁷ See Chapter II.3.2 for the underlying definition of intercultural competence in this study and relevant debates on this issue.

Besides identifying these existing diversity measures, other aspects of the data collected were also identifiable, most notably centring on four main themes (and will be explored and evidenced in more detail below), namely:

- (1) There were numerous measures named that were directly related to communication issues. The focus on translation from a foreign language to German (and vice versa) was deemed highly significant by the participants. It is also pertinent that the initiative and execution of the development of a dictionary for work in public service delivery originated from the employees themselves.
- (2) However, the relevance and motivation for engaging in intercultural training was rated low by a majority of the participants.
- (3) Most notably, knowledge of the existence and the objectives of the administration's present cultural diversity measures seemed rather vague. Knowledge tended to be based on individual experiences rather than organisational priorities and objectives. The internal promotion of diversity management strategies was lacking within the organisation with little or no specific focus on diversity measures for particular departments or divisions within the organisation.
- (4) Finally, the participants presented ambivalent views on either the need for, or the positive outcomes, for the promotion of cultural diversity measures. Some participants did stress the potential of having improved interculturally-competent public services, while others reacted defensively. The latter group perceived the introduction and development of new diversity measures as an implicit criticism of what was generally seen as the previous (good) work of cultural diversity measures which had been developed for public service delivery within Hamm.

In the following section, the findings explore the themes and issues under the categories of "relevance", "motivation", "sustainability" and "potential" of cultural

diversity measures, via a more specific analysis of interview data. These categories are derived from qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2010) designed to identify the determining factors which affect the impact and further prospects of implementing cultural diversity measures. The interviews with the participants were conducted in German, recorded and transcribed in German. For the content analysis, as a first step, the data was structured and interview quotes were categorised in provisional tables alongside the research questions. In the next step the interview quotes were translated by the researcher into English and further detailed analysis took place regarding the main themes developed from the first analysis step (Sections V.3 – V.5.). In a last step, to build theory, the results were analysed in relation to models of sociology and social policy and the organization's cultural acculturation strategy (and see Chapter VI.). For the analysis a software-analysing-tool was deliberately not used. The use of an analysis software such as NVivo was considered, but then discarded, because it was judged that the interview data should be examined slowly, step-by-step, and in-depth. To be critically self-reflexive using the interpretative approach explored and defended in the previous chapter, it was thought better to analyse the interview data 'by hand' and not via computer software (see Chapter IV, section 2.3).

V.3.1 Relevance of promoting intercultural sensitivity

The first part of the interview questions focussed on the perception of the significance of intercultural sensitivity in the organisation being studied, and addressed the general position of the interviewee regarding the 'cultural diversity agenda', after acknowledging the multi-cultural population of Hamm. The findings of the interviews are presented below and throughout this chapter. This presentation includes the interview statements (respectively enumerated and ordered in separate answer blocks from (1) to (56)) as well as the relevant questions that were asked in the respective interview sections.

The relevance of intercultural issues for the public administration overall was rated rather positively and was considered valuable (see quotes under 1 below).

According to most of the interviewees, communication problems (see quotes under 2 below) (if any) were often focussed: either on the customers who were not fluent in the German language; or those problems that negatively impacted the general support for diversity measures within the organisation; or sometimes, the staff members who were unable to communicate in any other language apart from German. Many participants also reported incidents of intercultural conflicts (see interview-statement under (3) below), which seemed to be related mainly to the above communication problems. Further, it was these communication problems which seemed to create uncertainties in service delivery and administration, for example, if the customers spoke a foreign language that public service employees did not understand. It is in this context that communication skills are regarded as highly relevant for a quality-oriented public service delivery and are also highly

valued by the staff. However, the question remained as to whether ‘intercultural competences’ in this respect at least, are those which should be primarily cultivated by the service-users or staff members, with the stress from the interviewees on the former’s lack of competencies *rather than* the latter’s?

Interview-Questions:

- *Is promoting intercultural sensitivity an issue for the administrative practice of the Citizens’ Service Offices?*
- *What relevance is diversity orientation or diversity management for you?*
- *What do you see as the most challenging aspect of cultural diversity for the administration? Please give examples of how you met these challenges?*
- *What kind of experiences have you had working with colleagues and citizen of a different cultural background?*
- *Can you give an example of a time you or your team had to alter the working style to meet cultural diversity needs (customer needs)?*
- *Please give examples of working situations or scenarios which relate to intercultural issues in public service delivery?*

Interview-Statements relating to the relevance of intercultural issues (supporting (1) above):

- “[Intercultural sensitivity] is definitely a recent challenge for the public service. Since the [culturally diverse] people come to the Citizens’ Services Offices, you can’t withdraw from this problem or possibility – or how do you

name it – [...] Yes, there are challenges. Employees are trained in foreign languages to manage simple customer requests, e.g. in Turkish or Russian or Kazakh. On the other hand, German is still the official language in the administration. To what extent is the other side requested to change its behaviour? I see a problem on both sides [public service and customers].”
(Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)

- “The intercultural orientation is a challenge for the administration. It’s a problem and a possibility [...].” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “A Diversity Management is essential for the city administration, because the city life has changed. One example is that recently a Turkish culture festival took place on a local football ground.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “Integration and intercultural orientation have immense influence on the job.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural sensitivity has become an important task, for example in context of recent migration to Hamm from Rumania und Bulgaria.”
(Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural orientation is very relevant, it is an everyday practice in the Citizens’ Service Offices.” (Virginia, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “Diversity Management is an inevitable future task, not only for the Citizens’ Service Offices.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)
- “The City of Hamm has dedicated itself very early to the task of integration and intercultural orientation.” (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)

- “The Citizens’ Service Offices have customers from almost all nationalities. 50 per cent of the people in our district have a Turkish cultural background. Intercultural orientation is a big challenge, especially also because of the recent migration from Bulgaria and Romania.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)

Interview-Statements relating to communication problems (supporting (2) above):

- “The most obstructive are the communication problems, e.g. regarding administrative clerks, who unfortunately only speak German and where appropriate, English. By the way, we have good experiences with English, because many non-German customers speak English, too. I don’t want to criticise someone, but communication is problematic if someone tries to explain something in detail, e.g. asking for a vehicle registration certificate, and you don’t understand anything. Due to this, communication is the key element, I think.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)
- “First of all [I would name as important measure] the interpreters’ activities. We have now an interpreters list, which is published on the intranet. E.g. we ask now and then the Turkish colleague [...] above us who speaks perfect Turkish. This would be much easier if we had more colleagues with different language skills.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Communication problems are a recent challenge. We have made bad experiences with wrong translation by a Rumanian translator who has accompanied different customers.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)

- “We work with translators for different languages to overcome communication barriers with the customers, who do not speak German” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “The Citizens’ Service Offices recently are affected by a special situation of the so called ‘poverty migration’ from Bulgaria and Romania. A main problem that occurred therefore is the lack of German language skills of these customers.” (Kathrin, administrative clerk, aged 40+)
- “Decisive for diversity measures are, above all, the existing problems of communication and the lack of foreign language skills of the employees.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “There is scepticism among some employees about cultural diversity. One problem is the partial lack of understanding with customers. In some parts of the city there are many people who do not speak enough German.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “We have developed a checklist with information available in foreign languages to overcome communication barriers with cultural diverse customers.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)

Interview-statements relating to intercultural conflicts and as related especially to communication problems (supporting (3) above):

- “How do you feel if customers in front of my desk speak all the time in a foreign language – Turkish, Russian or whatever – to each other, although they are able to speak German? [...]. Why do these people do not talk in

German? [...] And I know this from my colleagues, too. They will get angry if someone talks in a foreign language although we have talked all the time before in German.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)

- “Recently, we have had some problems with customers from Bulgaria, because we have no interpreters for Bulgarian. If they come with their own interpreters, we will be very sceptical about the right translation.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “If some customers would rather like to speak in their mother tongue, I generally answer in German” [...] There is an internal dictionary for use with people whose mother tongue is not German. But there are limitations to work with. You cannot translate all relevant things.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)
- “Intercultural issues reported by the employees are often related to conflict-situations and conflict-management. On occasion, I discuss these situations as a superior with the employees.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural competences are very important, because it [customer service] is not always easy with other ethnic groups. 90 per cent of the customers with migration background are no problem, but maybe 10 per cent cause problems, e.g. due to their behaviour or lack of German language skills. However, it is the same with ethnic German customers, where 10 per cent as well are rather difficult to deal with.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “I realise stereotypes regarding religious differences, for example by believing Muslims. Sometimes there occur conflicts between male Muslim customers and female colleagues.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)

- “Intercultural sensitivity is difficult, if prejudices were confirmed in work situations. [...] So intercultural problems are often language skills problems.”(Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)
- “Special problems with people with different cultural background perceived in the customer service cause special awareness. These are problems we do not know from German customers. This is related to individual behaviour, but also to communication problems, for example if documents are to be checked for authenticity.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)

V.3.2 Equality as a guiding idea for customer service

Public service delivery in the Citizens' Services Offices is characterised to an extent by providing advice to customers/citizens; it functions like a helpdesk or advisory service. It was argued by many of the participants that if the communication problems were solved, customers from various cultural backgrounds would be treated 'like other customers' regardless of their German language competence (see interview-statements under (5) below). This expresses in part a 'customer orientation' as it is practiced in the Citizens' Services Offices, which must act as a 'service provider' for all its clients/citizens equally. It also reflects the governmental equality objective (see interview-statements under (6) below) (and explored earlier, see Chapter I, sections 1.2-1.3, Chapter II, section 4, Chapter III, sections 2 and 4.2) that local government should provide a service to all its citizens, regardless if some are non-German-speaking people or new immigrants. It is in this context, too, that the development of customer service must include focusing on intercultural sensitivity (see quotes under 7 below), especially given this city's administration wherein a major share of its customers is comprised of people with varied cultural backgrounds. It could also be argued that equal treatment (understood as a central part of customer orientation) requires the development of intercultural sensitivity because different customer groups have different needs. As explored earlier (see Chapter III, section 2), equal access to service resources often requires differential treatment, and systematic changes within the organisational practice, rather than a mere appeal for the service users and staff to use the same language.

However, even though this universal provision includes finding solutions which imply differential treatment in the name of equal access, the participants overall expressed a certain level of ambivalence to these type of solutions (see interview-statements under (8) below). This ambivalence, in turn, was reflected in where the barriers to accessing public services lie according to the interviewees, with the subjective perceptions of staff at times reflecting wider prejudices and stereotypes about immigrants. For example, while some participants spoke of the need to treat customers differently because of say communication problems, other participants mentioned how communication barriers are a result of the lack of effort from customers (regarding their cultivation and use of sufficient German language skills and knowledge about the administrative procedures).

Interview-Questions:

- *What does it mean to have a commitment to cultural diversity and how would you develop and apply this commitment at this organisation or department?*
- *What does cultural diversity mean in your organisation? What does diversity or intercultural orientation mean to you?*
- *How are diversity initiatives supported?*
- *What are the necessary elements for successful CDM?*
- *Can you give an example of a time you or your team had to alter the working style to meet diversity/customer needs?*

- *What kind of experiences have you had working with colleagues or citizens of a different cultural background? What are the debilitating elements/factors that have to be recognised for the successful introduction of CDM?*

Interview-Statements relating to the working practice of equal treatment that includes intercultural sensitivity (supporting (5) above):

- “Intercultural orientation means treating migrants and people with migration background like all ‘normal’ customers.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “It is the special advancement of our so-called ‘Bürgeramtsphilosophie’ [special service philosophy] that every person or customer will be treated equal.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural orientation is synonymous with equal treatment. And customer orientation includes equal treatment. Because of this no special focus on target groups, e.g. people with different cultural background is necessary.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Our approach is customer orientation and equal treatment. This means: there are no problems, but eventually difficult solutions.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)
- “My aim is to promote something that I name ‘individual equality’, that is, individual support for customers and citizens but focusing the same result, according to our public duty and legal obligations.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)

- “Intercultural orientation and intercultural competence include ensuring equal treatment and valuing diversity. [...] Equal treatment is very important in our job and as important as valuing diversity. I say always: the aim is clear, legal requirements are our guidelines, but the ways of handling [each customer, individually] can be different. It depends on the customer and how I handle different situations. I don’t need to explain administrative details about a vehicle registration to an elderly Turk who doesn’t speak German. In this case, I ask for an interpreter and take some extra time to solve this problem. And this will be different if I talk to a local car salesman. There are different ways but finally the same aims to provide the requested service. But oriented to individual circumstances or conditions.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural sensitivity means working with difficult clientele. We have to treat every customer equal.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “I have some difficulties with term of intercultural competence. I agree with the general aim of equal treatment, but there are societal problems with people with different cultural background, too.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)

Interview-Statements relating to local policy engagement for equal treatment (supporting (6) above):

- “Intercultural orientation and integration policy is a central agenda of the city's mayor.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)

- “The management makes a lot for a barrier-free administration. There is a dominating positive, customer-oriented organisational culture.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “The administration aims at equal treatment and is widely intercultural oriented and barrier-free to all customers.” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)
- “The city’s mayor has promoted the Citizens’ Service Offices and customer orientation with further developments and established additionally Service Offices at the building authority or a for migration and integration.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “The head of administration strongly supports the strategy of intercultural orientation.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural orientation and equal treatment are important topics for the city administration. The administration should be a mirror of the society. It is an additionally public duty to avoid discrimination and campaign against discriminations.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “The management of the city administration has chosen the Citizens’ Service Offices as pioneer departments for promoting intercultural orientation and equal treatment.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)
- “Customer satisfaction and customer service have high priority for the administration/management.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)

Interview-Statements relating to adjustments of customer service related to a more culturally diverse population (supporting (7) above):

- “If I think a customer speaks a foreign language, I will try to welcome him or her in this language. But often, it is a false impression and as these people were born in Germany and speak German.” (Cato, chief officer, aged 40+)
- “We offer, for example, individual arrangements for marriage ceremonies as well with special regard to cultural background. This is a good example of how public service delivery is influenced by intercultural sensitivity.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “We have to ask ourselves what we can do to improve our customer service. One example is the development of a multilingual homepage for customer services.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “Diversity management and intercultural sensitivity is easy to implement in Citizens’ Service Offices because the existing customer orientation supports it. Generally, customers ‘get what they want’ in our Offices.” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)
- “Different needs of customers with migration background should be recognised in public service delivery.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “You cannot separate customer orientation and intercultural orientation. Both is important for successful public service delivery.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural orientation should be relevant at periodic senior management meetings. Awareness building for intercultural issues and customer

orientation are important for public service delivery. However, I don't tolerate if I am treated without respect.” (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)

- “Awareness for cultural diversity and intercultural competences are essential job specifications for public service delivery staff.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)

Interview-Statements relating to individual perceptions of intercultural conflicts

(supporting (8) above):

- “One example for intercultural issues in working situations are conflicts between a Turkish man and female employees.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural conflicts are often considered with different views between local [native] people and people with migration background of equal rights of men and women.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “One example for intercultural issues in working situations are conflicts between family members because of cultural specifics, e.g. a father speaks instead for the adult daughter.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural competences mean for example understanding of cultural specific characteristic of ethnic groups, e.g. (equal) rights of men and women.” (Cato, chief officer, aged 40+)
- “Independent of cultural background public service delivery means explaining specific administrative regulations to customers. Cultural diversity

is only relevant in special situations and with regard to ethnic groups, e.g. rights of men and women.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)

- “There are associations if people wear headscarves or I have to estimate if people are new citizens or born in Hamm. I am getting involved in new situations every day, I know the people from different ethnic groups in Hamm, and in consequence stereotypes do exist.” (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)
- “I have had some bad experiences with customers with migration background, who were rather socially disadvantaged. And this leads to prejudices and stereotypes.” (Kathrin, administrative clerk, aged 40+)
- “Awareness for cultural diversity and intercultural competences are job specifications for public service delivery staff. This is part of customer orientation. However, prejudices about cultural diverse customer exist, because of ‘extreme cases’ of customers in the Citizens’ Service Office. That is, conflict situations with cultural diverse customers.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “We are too customer-oriented to people with different cultural background. They [immigrants / cultural diverse people] have to become integrated and especially learn the German language.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “There is a necessity for change by the customer-side [immigrants / cultural diverse people].” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)

V.3.3 Motivation and knowledge acquisition through training

The motivation of employees and senior managers is critical to initiate comprehensive change processes (Doppler and Lauterburg, 2008, p. 174). As explored previously (see Chapter III, section 3.3), existing studies have highlighted a consensus within and between organisations concerning the value of promoting diversity measures among public sector organisations (Federal Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration, 2012; Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2012; Deutscher Landkreistag, 2014). However, no investigation has explored the internal motivations and possible resistances of staff towards the cultural diversity initiatives that are aimed to foster encompassing changes within the administrative processes.

Although the relevance of intercultural orientation is widely acknowledged in broad terms by the interviewees (*“important task”, “up-to-date topic” “recent challenge”*), existing training measures were generally perceived to be unimportant both for the wider workforce and for the interviewees themselves (for example, see interview-statements under (9) below). With specific regard to diversity training, various participants stated that there is an apparent ignorance of diversity measures, again amongst the wider workforce but also amongst the interviewees, but that more training would not address this problem. Even if these measures are known, there is limited knowledge regarding the broader aims and content of these measures. In addition, there also seemed to be a perceived lack of knowledge concerning what support and training is available for staff in implementing these measures.

Interview-Questions:

- What is the perception and understanding of diversity measures amongst the workforce?
- What are the most urgent needs for action? What should be avoided?

Interview-statements relating to perceived low relevance of diversity measures/intercultural training (supporting (9) above):

- “The effectiveness of internal intercultural skills training could be questioned. There is no review of the quality and outcome and no obligation for participation.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “There are no periodic training courses for intercultural competences and no obligations.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “I don't know special training courses with regard to intercultural competences.” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)
- “There are trainings in intercultural competencies, but I don't know its contents.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “I have visited a training course many years ago. Intercultural training is not a present topic any more. However, motivation should come on one's own terms.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “I visited an interesting training course with regard to intercultural competences. I attended on my own initiative. But there is need for more offers.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)

- “I don’t know special training courses with regard to intercultural competencies. However, training courses only make sense if people are motivated.” ... “I am naturally a ‘training and education junkie’ and visit lots of training courses on different topics, but I have never heard of an internal further-training program.” (Cato, senior manager, aged 40+)

A few participants undertook relevant training courses some years ago, and posited that there was no further need to understand the subject as they feel adequately aware of the topic, and/or there were no further opportunities to pursue training in any event (see above quotes of Liane and Alice). In this context, then, the use of diversity measures is seen as being strongly dependent on the staff member’s own initiatives and motivations. It is to be assumed that participation in intercultural training is more likely if there is already a certain level of intercultural sensitivity exhibited among the employees (and see Scheitza and Düring-Hesse, 2014). In addition, the relevance and necessity of intercultural training is generally attributed to younger staff rather than older staff (see quotes under 10 below).

Interview-statements relating to motivation for diversity measures/intercultural training (supporting (10) above):

- “It is easier to attract younger employees for diversity measures. And it is a further task to motivate long-time employees for this process.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)

- “Training courses only make sense if people are motivated. Currently there is no special motivation for me to participate.” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)
- “There is every year a training course schedule with a chance for every employee to train for intercultural competences. No further action needed.” (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)
- “Training courses are not appropriate to acquire intercultural competences.” (Kathrin, administrative clerk, aged 40+)
- “Training courses with regard to intercultural competencies are not always helpful. I was registered for a seminar, but I was not available when it took place. [...] They are special situations to handle which employees are asked to attend seminars, e.g. problems with customers. But there is lots of ‘learning by doing’ in our job. Customer service includes contact with people with different cultural backgrounds.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “My intention was to look for recommendations from other colleagues, because intercultural training was not available in my department. Finally, I think motivation should come from one’s own initiative.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)

Moreover, several participants had refused special diversity measures training for the public service delivery staff, using the argument that there was no further need for public delivery staff to undertake special training programmes because intercultural competencies had already been embedded in their job specifications

(see interview-statements under (11) below). It is also important to note, though, that some participants also criticised the training programmes as having an over-general character, and so with no direct and specific link to their workspaces, and that training tailored to specific jobs were most desired. Therefore, it was the *type* of training on offer which was being criticised by these interviewees, not necessarily the offer of training *per se*.

Interview-statements relating to refusing special trainings (supporting (11) above):

- “Because customer orientation already involves intercultural sensitivity, no special focus on target groups and no further training is necessary.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “The issue of intercultural competence trainings etc. tire people out, I suppose. Differences between customer orientation and intercultural sensitivity are unclear. And there is a feeling that foreigners should be treated better than other customers.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 50+)
- There is no need for intercultural training for Citizens’ Service Office employees, because equal treatment and customer orientation are the main job specifications of all employees in general.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Training courses with regard to intercultural competence are generally refused by Citizens’ Service Office employees, because there is no demand for intercultural competence training.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)

- “There is no need for special measures for intercultural orientation and diversity management. The administration is widely intercultural oriented and barrier-free.” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)
- “In the Citizens’ Service Offices we have experiences and don't need more assistance.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural sensitivity is not a new phenomenon. In consequence there is no special need for further training.” (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)
- “Citizens’ Service Offices are especially determined by customer orientation. However, employees should change the perspective - putting their selves in the position of the customer with different cultural background. Some employees have not yet recognized this aspect and do not see themselves as a target group for diversity measures.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)

Diversity training programmes are offered regularly, but on a non-obligatory basis.

Employees from the Citizens’ Services Offices were found to have problems becoming motivated for further training as they felt already well-trained in customer-orientation and in offering ‘equal treatment’ to service-users. Any additional benefits of participating in further diversity training programmes were also not recognised by the interviewees, citing poor training, lack of motivation, and lack of staff competency, as reasons for this non-recognition amongst other members of the workforce. Therefore, more broadly it might be concluded that

specific 'added value' for performance in public service delivery in relation to CDM is insufficiently explained, understood, and promoted both by the participants, and it seems by the administration too. It can also be concluded that if the participants are highly sceptical about the positive impact of training in the implementation of cultural diversity measures, it would be difficult to implement the required CDM strategy, regardless of the broad position and specific measures taken by senior management.

V.3.4 Sustainability of existing diversity measures

Sustainable changes in organisational culture require the implementation of long-term objectives and a specific strategy, which is supported by the management and institutional leaders (Pascher-Kirsch and Uske, 2014). Following from this conclusion, a very important issue concerning CDM is the determination of the successful orientation of intercultural diversity that can be initiated by the leaders of organisations, and which can ensure long-term sustainability of diversity measures. Single measures should complement one another, aiming at specific long-term goals (embedded in a diversity strategy) and even successful measures should be critically reflected upon from time-to-time, to facilitate continuous improvement (Uske et al., 2014). Ideally, this would include the implementation of consistent measures that secure expected outcomes, with these outcomes being defined both internally (via employees) and externally (via customers).

Nevertheless, it is not easy to monitor diversity practices and measures, although various authors have claimed that there ought to be some measures in place that can determine the effectiveness and development of intercultural orientation (Brenman, 2012). For example, the EU commission provides an overview of various measurement approaches which can be employed to establish a comprehensive monitoring process. These range from initial audits and analysis to ongoing measuring/controlling management techniques (European Commission, 2012).

In the context of the study here, there were various staff members who could specify numerous existing diversity measures, however, the objectives set by the administration from the management perspective remained unclear or unknown.

Nevertheless, there were a number of interviewees who were aware of the need for measures and for continuous improvement and learning in the ways described above (see interview-statements under (12) below demonstrating this awareness).

Interview-Questions:

- *What is the perception of diversity measures amongst the workforce in general?*
- *How effective is the communication of the diversity strategy across the organisation?*

Interview-statements relating to the need for continuous improvement (supporting (12) above):

- “There are training courses for intercultural competencies and working groups, but [...] you can’t assume that every good practice will stay good in two years.” (Cato, chief officer, aged 40+)
- “There are numerous specific diversity measures, but these are only single projects. Up to now, reporting or controlling efforts are missing.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural competence includes awareness of cultural diversity. However, this requires continuous awareness building.” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)

- “Intercultural competence is important for a strategic alignment and commitment to valuing diversity. This requires support of continuous awareness building.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “An overall strategy is essential, to sensitise for intercultural issues and to overcome barriers and anxieties for that necessary organisational change.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Diversity Management should be a global goal for the whole administration.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)
- “There are single diversity measures like internal training programs or projects like town twinning with a city in turkey. But there is no reporting or controlling system. [...] It would be beneficial, if intercultural orientation or diversity management became a defined corporate strategic aim for the whole administration. (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “The strategic development of CDM should be based on the concept of customer orientation.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)

V.3.4.1 Performance management

The sustainability of intercultural orientation is a major goal or concern for a strategic approach to CDM, however, it is not easily attained (Pascher-Kirsch and Uske, 2014). Nevertheless, many of the participants were optimistic about this achievement, and referred to the further development of existing diversity measures and new ways for implementing innovative methods, events and actions, which supposedly value diversity and secure intercultural sensitivity.

Interview-Question:

- *What advice would you give for the strategic implementation of CDM in your organisation?*

Interview-Statements (13):

- “There is need for intensified trainings in intercultural competence development. Trainings should be specialised for different target groups and needs.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “A further development of recent measures could be reached by strengthening public relations for intercultural sensitivity and diversity management, and if good practices will be made public.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “I would recommend using management by objectives – as we do it for other purposes – for improving intercultural sensitivity.” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)

- “As the outcome of diversity measures is difficult to measure, I would say frequently feedback meetings between senior manager and team members with focus on intercultural sensitivity and diversity measures will be useful.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “I think we are still at the beginning of implementing cultural diversity management in the city of Hamm. The share of employees with migration background is low. That is a good indicator for still existing barriers. A recommendation would be to initiate internal survey and evaluation on this issue.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)
- “Helpful would be results of an employee attitude survey about diversity management and leadership practice.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “Pluralistic leadership and intercultural competences of senior managers can be measured with an appraisal system. Additionally, the complaint management system could be used.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)

Moreover, a number of participants recommended a range of proposals for further diversity measures, with a strong focus on the development of leadership practices. This included management by ‘objectives’, which is a proven and well-used measure of the city administration for other purposes. However, according to the participants, the topic of intercultural orientation or specific actions to promote the organisation’s cultural diversity strategy does not appear in individual objective agreements. In addition, target agreements could include measures such as ‘fewer complaints’, ‘better relationships among diverse staff members’ or ‘more diverse

hiring' (Brenman, 2012), but are usually not. One participant also suggested using the complaint management system, and a few others suggested the introduction of regular employee surveys (see above quotes of Anita and Alice).

Some participants agreed that there were positive effects of management installing specific objectives and emphasised the positive attributes of implementing a 'top-down' approach (in the sense of a comprehensive senior management commitment to valuing diversity), and which in turn related to established measures such as target agreements, appraisals, performance-related pay or even the use of a balanced scorecard³⁸, which are measures already implemented in Hamm for strategic planning and organisations management. Generally, it was considered important that the management is involved and is made responsible for the organisational change process (and see Donecker and Fischer, 2014).

Furthermore, these measures, which are often used in the context of what is termed 'customer orientation' (see Chapter I, section 1.1 and Chapter III, section 3.1), have been perceived as effective by senior managers and lower grade employees. Both groups emphasised the importance of establishing meaningful target agreements viewed as practicable planning and development instruments. It also seems that lower grade employees are not afraid of sanctions. The focus instead is on the alignment of common goals between managers and employees (see interview-statements under (13) above).

³⁸ In the city administration, the Balanced Scorecard instrument is used as a holistic, key indicator-based management instrument. It serves to align strategic objectives with work-based practice.

However, although senior managers and administrative clerks seem to make regular use of target agreements, it was difficult for the participants to describe specific agreement content that includes intercultural development amongst individual staff members. The participation in diversity training, for instance, is not named in the agreement content. However, interviewees often emphasised the positive effects of clear guidelines and see potential thereby in promoting intercultural development via the use of specific target agreements (see interview-statements under (13) above).

Interview-Question:

- *What advice would you give for the strategic implementation of CDM in your organisation?*

Interview-Statements (14):

- “There is an established practice of management by objectives in the administration, which focuses e.g. on the further development of customer orientation. However, there is the possibility of using it concretely to promote CDM. But we have never thought of it.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “It is expected that we agree every year on three aims.... Further senior managers have the obligation to agree at least one financial goal. But of

course personnel development and development of social competencies are common objectives, too.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)

- “Intercultural orientation and diversity management could be a desirable part of management by objectives approach. We have made good experiences with this management measure.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Using objective agreements and performance-related pay are appropriate instruments for senior managers to influence the implementation of cultural diversity management. We would have to agree individual objectives each year, this is a good practice.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “We need a clear guide by the management how to develop intercultural orientation. I recommend the use of continuous management by objectives for this topic. We use target agreements recently in the Citizens’ Service Offices between supervisors and employees and it works.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)
- “From my point of view, strengthening intercultural competencies of employees should be part of target agreements.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “The existing strategic governance through the use of target agreements and balanced scorecard can be used for diversity management purposes.” (Cato, chief officer, aged 40+)
- “The measurement of successful diversity measures is difficult. However, I think it is recommendable to use management by objectives for this purpose.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)

- “The better use of diversity measures could be achieved by management by objectives. We use for example target agreements in the Citizens' Service Offices in order to maintain further training needs.” (Kathrin, administrative clerk, aged 40+)

All/most participants confirmed that the city administration established a differentiated and sophisticated system of performance management. They also highlighted the potential of utilising this instrument for the purpose of supporting and implementing CDM. However, this again was viewed as necessitating a top-down process. That is, where the support of CDM via senior management needed to be conveyed across different management levels, and so from the top management to the middle management right down to the lower grade employee level, and that a coherent CDM strategy should be in the first place initiated by the head of the administration. In Germany, there is generally strong support for this kind of top-down approach to CDM, where ‘executives’ or the top management’s role is to lead the processes of intercultural orientation, which then becomes binding for the whole administration. In addition, though, lower levelled employees are to be included in the process of change within this top-down approach. This should also include an interculturally oriented personnel development for the existing workforce and recruitment of employees with migration background (and see Schröder, 2007).

However, the point in relation to the study here is that this top-down focus by senior management on performance management as a way of changing practice to

improve service orientation, is in danger of missing the more structural or cultural issues (and as explored previously in Chapter II, section 4 and Chapter III sections 2, 3.4 and 4.2 as well as further discussions in Chapter VI, sections 2 and 3). The majority of answers of the staff members and senior managers regarding these issues were rather vague and did not refer to any strategic vision regarding the implementation of CDM and the tackling of these wider structural or cultural issues (see interview-statements under (14) above).

Interview-Questions:

- *How is intercultural service orientation promoted in your organisation?*
- *Why is it important to promote intercultural sensitivity in your organisation?*
- *What are the possible reasons for using management 'by objective' for the purpose of implementing CDM?*

Interview-Statements (15):

- “The reasons for not implementing diversity management and the possible use of management by objective for this purpose are difficulties in recent administrative processes. Further we only have a tight budget for recruitment and personnel development, which makes it necessary to control the existing resources.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “There are some single measures like special job advertisements, a general principle on valuing diversity and a leadership concept, which generally have

significance for diversity management. But intercultural orientation is still a subordinate issue.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)

- “Intercultural competence trainings should not be obligatory. However, work experience in public service delivery departments will help staff to learn intercultural competence.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)
- “Intercultural competences are basic requirements for working in public service delivery. It is a competence that must exist without special training.” (Virginia, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural sensitivity can be learned by private experiences or life experience.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Job specification for Citizens’ Service Offices include to be open-minded and customer oriented - especially with regard to people with different cultural background. This can be stated as significant management objective as well for other parts of the administration.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)

Nevertheless, the argument here and in accordance with the analysis presented in Chapters II and III, is that if the sole focus is on individuals’ performances that can be evaluated (as the quotes above seem to illustrate), then this could undermine the possibility of developing better practices of individuals working within a wider structural context that *itself* might be discriminatory against minorities with different cultural backgrounds. More specifically, by focusing on the problems of individual employees and their needs, for instance, training, it could be argued that

senior managers have not been 'critically reflective' enough regarding the wider institutional norms and practices that may reinforce bad practices. Moreover, and as explored previously, a critically reflective perspective is a general requirement for bringing about institutional change (Donecker and Fischer, 2014 and see [Chapter III](#), section 2 here). The problem is that, according to the interviewees, the respective offices are *already* interculturally-oriented and so do not need any further change (see as well interview-statements under (11) above). It is therefore crucially important that this kind of viewpoint or attitude is questioned and challenged, as without this challenge or questioning, critical reflection will be fundamentally undermined which will very likely further restrict development and improvement in CDM practice, both for the individual employees and the organisation as a whole (see as well section 5.4 and further discussions in Chapter VI, sections 2.1 and 3.1).

V.3.5 Potential for further diversity measures

As has been seen, the participants used the interviews to make a multitude of recommendations for the use of diversity measures. These recommendations highlight the potential for the application of existing management tools, to facilitate employee involvement and to strengthen the CDM approach, so developing a robust and sustainable strategy for intercultural orientation.

In general, this potential is identified in: (a) strategic organisational development, (b) personnel development, and in (c) job recruitment for a more representative bureaucracy and workforce. For example, the recommendations regarding the strategic organisational development of the intercultural orientation approach, in many cases, referred to a perceived increased senior management engagement for the special purpose of CDM. The city administration was seen to be characterised by an efficient structure of functional and professional engagement at the senior management levels. In the division 'Citizens' Services Offices', there are seven senior managers and one head of division, who have built-up permanent working structures across divisions. They have also established ad-hoc working groups, if necessary, for recent challenges or important topics such as the implementation of changes to laws. Indeed, at the time of this study, an ad-hoc working group was in place to address the challenges created by increased immigration of people from south-east Europe to Hamm. According to the interviewees, consistently establishing working groups via the heads of departments was perceived as a good practice for successful and efficient change. So, this particular working group meets monthly, where current ideas and projects can be initiated and actively supported

informally and quickly. This group was also responsible for monitoring and exercising on-going control and development of good practice.

However, notably, the more *general* topic of intercultural orientation and the explicit strategic elements of CDM, were not introduced within this working group structure, with working groups preferring to focus on the specifics problems of practice instead (see i.e. interview-statements under (12) above. This again illustrates a lack of critical evaluation of any wider structural issues which might be brought to bear on CDM and its development, and as such, risks undermining more long-term sustainable change.

V.3.5.1 Employees' perspectives on internal intercultural trainings

Following from the above, some interviewees mention the further development of intercultural training (see interview-statements (16) below). However, there is a lack of a comprehensive formulation of the specific requirements for intercultural competence from the point of view of Citizens' Service Offices across German local administrations generally (and see Chapter III, section 3.2). Nevertheless, the perspective of senior management within this case-study at least, indicated a commitment to 'top-down' leadership explored in the previous section, and the importance of leaders in the organisation undergoing mandatory intercultural training (see interview-statements (17) and (18) below).

Interview-Question:

- What efforts have you made, or been involved with, to foster intercultural competences and understanding in your team?

Interview-Statements (16):

- "There are further training programmes for employees, which I am offering – and other colleagues too – all the year. [...] The training from internal experts are well accepted among the workforce. We are trying to align the training along practical examples that are relevant for our administration. The problem is that the topic [of intercultural competencies] often provokes anxieties among employees. This makes it difficult to choose external trainers for our purpose." (Steve, Head of department, aged 50+)

- “We offer internal training for the development of intercultural skills and foreign languages. [...] We aim to win trainers and lecturers as much as we can out of our workforce; we have a lot of potential people here, some people have migration background, and some people are multilingual. We aim to involve these people in our training and concept building. And this approach has been successful.” (Daniel, Personnel Officer, aged 40+)
- “Training should be aligned to the specific needs of the departments (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)
- “There is potential for continuous improvement of customer services, e.g. through regular advanced intercultural trainings.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)

Moreover, some senior managers who were interviewed argued in favour of an obligation to engage in intercultural skills training for all senior managers.

Interview-Question:

- What strategies should be used/or have been used to address intercultural awareness?

Interview-Statements (17):

- “From my point of view, intercultural training should be an obligation.” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)

- “I argue for the obligation of intercultural trainings, e.g. for senior managers. Otherwise the participation should be promoted by the use of target agreements.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “Sometimes it would be helpful, at least in some cases, especially for senior managers, if trainings were made obligatory.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural competency training was part of my leadership training as a junior executive. This should be mandatory for all executives.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “The implementation of diversity management and intercultural orientation needs some time. One should start with intercultural trainings of senior managers, who then could motivate other employees.” (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)

The statements above indicate that a special ‘pioneer role’ of the senior manager was perceived to be valuable, which was consistent with the commitment from lower grade employees to ‘top-down’ leadership (and explored in the previous section). For example, during the interviews, it was widely acknowledged that intercultural skills development needed to be initiated by senior leadership.

Interview-Question:

- What strategies should be used/or have been used to address intercultural awareness?

Interview-Statements (18):

- “Senior managers have the obligation to promote diversity management and intercultural trainings.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)
- “Senior managers have to convince team-members. Employees must recognise the benefit of cultural diversity management and intercultural trainings.” (Kathrin, administrative clerk, aged 40+)
- “Senior managers can strengthen intercultural competency development of employees if trainings were part of target agreements.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Senior managers could promote CDM if they encourage employees own initiative for development of intercultural competences.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural competence trainings for all employees can be standardised and promoted by senior managers, e.g. with use of management by objectives. There is a need for persuading them.” (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)
- “Senior managers could promote CDM if they make intercultural trainings relevant for appraisals.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)

Indeed, the more the topic was discussed during the interview, the more ‘intercultural leadership’ emerged as relevant. So, some of the participants concluded that the role and function of senior managers was decisive and that this issue, therefore, required more attention (see interview-statements under (19))

below and Chapter III, section 3.4). It is further emphasised that the middle management level should also promote the development of intercultural competences, due to their 'exemplary role' played in the administration in day-to-day work practices.

Interview-Questions:

- How would you rate the role and function of senior manager with regard to promoting intercultural awareness?

Interview-Statements related to the role and function of senior managers

(supporting (19) above):

- "It makes sense to use the middle management to promote intercultural sensitivity. We are examples or role models. If you don't exemplify this, nothing will change." (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)
- "Senior managers play a key role in terms of organisational change processes. Therefore, special trainings are desirable." (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)
- "Senior managers, middle management and chief officers, play a decisive role for any organisational change process and therefore also for intercultural development." (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)

V.3.5.2 Focus on senior managers and their tasks

As leadership development is already a central aim for the administration for the past several years (Daniel, Personnel Officer, aged 40+), some participants emphasised a well-functioning internal leadership development as a 'connecting point' for implementing strategic diversity measures, such as the further development of the senior managers into intercultural competent leaders. They also emphasised those ideas and recommendations which make explicit use of existing personnel development measures for implementing CDM (see interview-statements under (20) below).

Interview-Questions:

- Do you think existing intercultural or pluralistic leadership³⁹ could be a promising tool to promote a beneficial organisational change? Or do you have further recommendations regarding this issue?

Interview-Statements (20):

- "We have a very good leadership development concept, which promotes individuals and prospective junior and senior managers. From my perspective, pluralistic leadership could be a part of it, because the concept

³⁹ Pluralistic leadership is a 'grass root' leadership concept (Loden & Rosener, 1991) that embodies the valuing of diversity. Pluralistic leaders value diversity across all dimensions of life and advocate that all people can maintain their language and cultural values. See Chapter III section, 2.4 for further discussion of this concept.

attracts interests: that has to be stated. It constitutes a very good support for junior/senior managers.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)

- “We should use our existing personnel development concepts to develop new and future executives. As intercultural competencies are today core competencies of public leaders, we could easily incorporate this aspect in our concept to promote this management task.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “I could imagine making intercultural or pluralistic leadership a prerequisite or requirement for future leaders. Intercultural competencies are one part of a bigger tool box for public leaders. You have to be aware of very different requirements for senior managers, which are functional and interpersonal. There is a plurality of people, and senior managers have to be responsive to that diversity. I think pluralistic leadership could contribute to this.” (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)
- “We have very good senior managers in our department, who function as role models and appreciate the work of the employees. In general, they have been trained or developed internally in the administration to take over management tasks. For this reason, the administration has implemented a management development scheme, which is well used. This concept could be complemented to an intercultural competence dimension.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)

As senior management is given a centrally important role as promoters of intercultural sensitivity (see [Chapter III](#), section 2.4), some participants advocated the expansion of existing management meetings, making them more directly relevant to the implementation of cultural diversity measures.

Interview-Question:

- How can senior managers in public service organisations promote cultural diversity management and institutional adaptations in the public interest?

Interview-Statements (21):

- “There are periodically senior managers’ meetings which can be used for exchange and further development of diversity management.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “We should use the monthly senior managers meetings for discussing the implementation and progress of diversity management.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Senior managers can promote CDM if they follow an open-minded and democratic leadership style. They have the function of quality assurance for organisational practice. Our regular staff meetings could be used to discuss diversity management progress and critical issues.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)

- “Senior managers provide an organisational culture that supports diversity management. Further they give support to employees in conflict situations. One measure would be to institutionalise this function, for example, during monthly meetings.” (Virginia, administrative clerk, aged 40+)

In relation to the training of more junior managers and new employees in the Citizens’ Service Offices, the development of the administration’s training concepts regarding intercultural skills training was cited a few times (see interview-statements under (22) below).

Interview-Questions:

- If senior managers have a special role in promoting intercultural sensitivity, what strategies can be used to further develop intercultural competency for senior managers? And what tools or strategies they need for promoting CDM measures in the organisation?

Interview-Statements (22):

- “Our management is developing a concept for adjustment to a new job, one part is especially related to intercultural issues.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “My idea would be a creation of a new further education programme that teaches both elements of customer orientation and intercultural

competencies. Target groups should be, at first, the management level, e.g. junior managers (Virginia, administrative clerk, aged 40+)

Following the discussion in Chapter III, section 3, and the earlier argument that intercultural orientation is an urgent leadership task some participants wanted training that addresses the specific needs of public service delivery (see above), but only by synthesising the contents of customer orientation more generally, with the specifics of -developing intercultural competencies (see interview-statements under (23) below). This synthesis is also justified by referring to intercultural competencies as part of the wider job profile requirements - the implication being that intercultural competencies should be more systematically integrated with these wider requirements, based on the principle of equal treatment of all citizens.

Interview-Question:

- From your point, of view, what would be debilitating elements or desirable main characteristic of intercultural trainings?

Interview-Statements relating to the alignment of intercultural trainings (supporting (23) above):

- “Intercultural competences mean mix between customer orientation, customer service and awareness for and consideration of individual customer needs.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)
- “Intercultural competence is equivalent to customer orientation, so a training concept should combine both dimensions.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural competences belong to job requirements in public service delivery. It means treating migrants like other customers, that is, equal treatment, which is part of customer orientation.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “There are some difficulties to me with term of ‘intercultural competence’. I would name it customer orientation. This is what we do and where we are trained.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)

Following from the last quote, it seems that the intentions of some participants were, however, to obtain confirmation of the existing practices in the Citizens’ Services Offices that were generally well appreciated by the workforce regarding customer orientation (see interview-statements under (24) below). Subsequently, these statements refer to customer orientation trainings rather than specific intercultural competence development, and as such reflect again the rationale for the above synthesis.

Interview-Question:

- How important is the promotion of intercultural competences by senior managers to the Citizens' Service Offices?

Interview-statements further confirming a customer orientation approach for intercultural development (supporting (24) above):

- "Intercultural competency training should definitely be one part of our personnel development concept, just as training with regard to customer orientation, which has already become very significant." (Liane, chief officer, aged 40+)
- "We have had good experiences with the introduction of customer orientation, which was implemented years ago. I think customer orientation and what we call the "philosophy of Citizens' Services Offices" has worked because it was successful. Personnel development is very important: senior managers have to promote and support team members, they must be able to transfer a new philosophy. CDM could be implemented under the same heading, however, with an extension as employees and senior managers have to engage themselves in other cultures. This was not necessary in the past." (Steve, Head of department, aged 50+)
- "As intercultural competence includes open-mindedness and customer orientation, trainings could be aligned to intercultural customer orientation. This is our philosophy and strength of our work." (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)

- "The Citizens' Service Offices are especially determined by customer orientation, which includes intercultural orientation. This is important in all divisions, too, which have to be trained in the same way." (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)

V.3.5.3 Further development of diversity and personnel measures

There were some interviewees who emphasised the development of existing strategies and personnel measures, but also outlined new suggestions that were perceived as being impactful. So, suggestions were made aiming to develop a wider strategy for CDM and personnel development. In this context, again the symbiotic relationship between customer orientation and diversity management was emphasised. Moreover, potential was seen in the fact that non-management employees were more likely than management employees to become acquainted with people of different cultural backgrounds. That is, not only in working situations in the Citizens' Service Offices, but also through personal encounters in the city districts. Given this, the onus was on the organisation to facilitate arenas where these encounters can happen more frequently and meaningfully for all employees, whether management or not.

Interview-Question:

- For a strategic implementation of CDM in your organisation, what advice would you give to the administrative management?

Interview-Statements (25):

- "Since intercultural issues have become more and more relevant for public service delivery, we have recently developed a concept for initial job training for new employees, especially senior managers. Besides customer

orientation, intercultural sensitivity and mediation of intercultural competencies will be a part of this concept. [...] Our aim is to develop a professional customer service. In doing so, we have been running across the issue of creating an intercultural customer service, very early.” (Steve, Head of department, aged 50+)

- “Helpful for implementing the approach of intercultural and customer orientation is ‘job shadowing’ between employees from the Citizens’ Service Offices and other departments”. (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “I would recommend the use of external knowledge as well. For example, one could initiate regular meetings of administrative employees with multicultural associations and population groups. There are different possibilities to get in contact, e.g. open days of mosques or the Tamil temple in Hamm.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “We could offer information events for inhabitants, especially in districts with high share of population with migration background.” (Virginia, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “We have to look outside the administration, I think. We could learn intercultural competencies through working with multicultural organisations or visiting cultural diverse people, visiting mosques or participate at sugar festival. Further the city itself could organise an open day for all cultural diverse inhabitants.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)

Finally, an interesting suggestion was given by an interviewee who recommended that an employee *and* customer survey should be carried out, that covered the implementation of CDM and so incorporating the views of all interested parties and not just employees.

Interview-Question:

- For a strategic implementation of CDM in your organisation, what advice would you give to the administrative management?

Interview-Statement (26):

- “How can you measure the acceptance of a new organisational culture? I would suggest that a survey be conducted. I would refer only to the first step of CDM implementation. I would ask not only employees, but also customers. What do public service customers expect from us? This would be exciting to know. What is expected of an interculturally sensitive public administration? Or, the other way around, are there people who say: I don’t want that?” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)

However, it is important to reiterate that the workforce of the city’s administration is characterised by a low proportion of employees who represent the cultural minorities in the city’s population, whereby every third person in Hamm has a migration background (Hamm, 2016; and see section 1). Only 2 out of 15

participants from public service delivery staff (Citizens' Service Offices) have a migration background (see section 1, figure 6, p. 201). Mindful of this problem of under-representation, a number of the interviewees perceived that there was a lot of opportunities to improve the image of the city as a local employer. That is if the administration enhanced the attractiveness of being employed in the city for potential applicants from different cultural backgrounds (for further findings and discussion of this issues see section 5.2 in this Chapter and Chapter VI, section 3.1.1).

V.3.6 Summary so far

The data collated from the interview provides an initial overview concerning the significance and justification of intercultural sensitivity and CDM more broadly, as viewed from within the organisational case-study (and see [Chapter III](#), section 2.2). According to the participants, the relevance of the topic of intercultural sensitivity and CDM is significant. This relevance and significance is justified by the citing of recent challenges to public services regarding providing services to people with different cultural backgrounds and who represent an increasing proportion of the city's population. Communication problems were perceived as a particular challenge for public service delivery and one of the main reasons for focusing on intercultural orientation or sensitivity. In addition, the city's special focus on customer *satisfaction* has also been found to be a determining factor for the perceived high relevance of promoting intercultural sensitivity which is recognised as one part of its existing customer-focussed working culture.

However, although senior managers support the approach of intercultural sensitivity in general, the motivation to proactively promote further change processes seems rather low or non-existent amongst the staff members.

Participants majorly concluded that the single departments (Citizens' Service Offices) are already interculturally competent and that the working culture already represents an interculturally-oriented customer service. Consequently, there is limited self-critical awareness of any further changes that might be needed to sustain the development of CDM.

The contention here is that one reason for this lack of self-critical awareness (and following the theoretical issues explored in Chapter II, section 4 and 5 and Chapter III, section 3) is due to the perception of the 'diversity agenda' as a 'problem to be solved' rather than it is reflecting wider cultural and social trends, which could promote the *value* of diversity to enhance the quality of customer service. This finding is particularly pertinent as the administration positions itself as a local government leader for the provision of a proactive organisational strategy. Moreover, with its implementation of the customer-orientation approach in the past decade, the administration sees itself as mastering a fundamental change process, which has supposedly led to a new organisational culture aligned to public needs and so is *not* problem-oriented.⁴⁰

Moreover, this observation regarding the organisation's lack of critical self-reflection was confirmed when the initial findings were presented to the participants in a workshop post interviews (see Chapter V, section 5.4). The participants were alarmed and astonished that this lack of critical self-awareness might be the case as reflected in the preliminary conclusions. So, confronted with the thesis that a strategic CDM programme and strategic leadership that *valued* cultural diversity could improve their customer service, the participants outright rejected such a possibility. In short, a further development of its 'success story' was not imaginable from their perspective. One argument used in defence of their position was that many other departments in the city administration had not even followed the general customer-orientation approach, and thus, by definition, the

⁴⁰ The 'problem solving' paradigm is a determining perspective on CDM practices and strategy that will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VI.

office was, without any ambiguity, at the cutting edge of CDM and so 'ahead of the game' (these findings will also be discussed in more detail in [Chapter VI](#) below).

Further, another suggestion that highlighted limited motivation in the context of participation of the employees towards diversity training programmes, was also not well received by the participants when it was presented to them; despite the responses explored above that staff motivation in relation to salient features of CDM and staff engagement was found to be ambivalent and complex. The table below offers a summary of these complexities tabulated according to the quotations and themes identified earlier from the interviews:

Figure 7: Staff evaluation of intercultural issues and diversity measures

Category	Valuation
Relevance of intercultural issues	High
Motivation for intercultural trainings	Vague / Low
Sustainability of existing diversity measures	Vague
Potential of diversity management being a catalyst for change	High

Source: Analysis from Interview data.

The evaluation of existing diversity measures by senior managers is also ambiguous and ambivalent relating to the sustainability of cultural diversity measures. Diversity measures referring to solving specific communication *problems* (especially translating support) were found to be the most sustainable. However, this could imply that a more (holistic) self-critical evaluation is still not a routine part of the institutional culture of the kind explored previously, nor is the valuing of intercultural sensibilities and differences part of the institutional fabric or structure.

The various measures mentioned and highlighted by interviewees directly support the existing working model of a customer-oriented public service. Nevertheless, the perceived success of customer orientation, can also appear as an obstacle for establishing proactive and sustainable measures for cultural diversity and its management, if it prevents critical reflection on more structural and cultural organisational issues and themes (and see [Chapter V](#), section 5.1.2 and [Chapter VI](#), 1.4.2).

Criticisms of the organisation addressed the lack of a strategy, which resulted in many measures being characterised only as single project and by a lack of sustainable components that secure continuous improvement and establish 'follow-ups', and so on. So, according to the participants, there is potential to focus on long-term goals by strengthening "continuous improvement" and making use of performance management. They argued strongly for the positive and sustainable effects of performance management and attributed this evaluation to past successes in the field of customer orientation (and see [Chapter III](#), section 2.1). However, it should be a priority for the senior management to devise strategies and monitor its implementation in an effective manner.

Finally, focussing on the 'potential of diversity management' illustrated the importance of involving 'staff target groups' within the organisation to bring about desired change. Besides a general appreciation of the city's agenda on intercultural sensitivity (as well as some criticisms), interviewees also suggested several of their own ideas for improvement. These findings show a desire for engagement on the part of the workforce. The employees have important insights into the work process and show an interest in being involved in the development of CDM strategy as well as its implementation. One conclusion from this observation is that this level of staff involvement presents a great opportunity to facilitate CDM and to avoid institutional resistance to it. The interview data overall has shown that employees and managers have many ideas and have a desire to actively contribute to the implementation and direction of cultural diversity measures, albeit not necessarily within what might be termed traditional training contexts and as demonstrated previously.

V.4 Understanding the Development of Organisational Culture in a Wider Context

The importance of an organisational culture which values diversity is a fundamental argument that has been explored and defended in the literature review (see Chapter III, section 2). Consequently, the participants were asked about the specifics of organisational culture in the city's administration and especially in the Citizens' Services Offices. As a result, it was found that there are three main factors that positively influence the organisational culture regarding intercultural orientation, and which will be explored in more detail below:

1. proactive local integration policies,
2. the long-established customer-orientation as a guiding principle of the administration and
3. particular characteristics of public service delivery in the case study organisation.

V.4.1 Influence of integration policy

The city administration is characterised by a highly valued and visible local integration policy, which is strongly supported and promoted by the city's mayor.

The city has repeatedly addressed immigration issues over the years as it has become an increasingly diverse population, and in response to these issues has developed a local integration policy⁴¹ which includes undertaking public

⁴¹ This integration policy relates to migrants' integration into 'host societies', whereby measures include all local government and wider societal measures. Central areas of action are the intercultural openness of the administration, civic engagement, language and education,

management reforms with a special focus on ‘customer orientation’ (and see Chapter VI, section 3 for a more detailed exploration of this policy).

However, given the resulting long-standing experiences with immigration issues and public service reforms, the interviewed employees were relatively unimpressed about the more recent challenges of immigration and that have led to an increasingly diverse population and diverse customers, wherein almost every third inhabitant of the city has a varied cultural background, and the Citizens’ Services Offices’ customers represent and serve an increasingly wide gamut of nationalities⁴²

Nevertheless, the city used this changing demographic profile to emphasise the importance of promoting its integration policy: “The integration of migrants is for the future of all citizens of paramount importance. Approximately 30% of residents in Hamm have a migrant background” (Hamm, 2015)⁴³. This promotion reflects earlier initiatives such as those taken in 2001, when the city launched an integration initiative together with associations and charities, migrant organisations, the

professional integration, and ‘social space’ integration. See Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Government Commissioner, 2012.

⁴² A prominent contemporary political and social issue has been the recent immigration from EU-member states (especially from Romania and Bulgaria – beginning in 2010). What was seen as not relevant to the interviews, however, was the issue of refugee migration. However, the immigration of refugees to Germany starting 2014/2015 has further stressed the importance of developing a local integration policy. The point here is that both immigration from EU member states and refugee immigration (with the latter mainly from Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan or West-Balkan states in the years 2014-2016) have similar influences on the local administration as a public service agency, and especially the Citizens’ Service Offices, being confronted with increased requirements of intercultural sensitivity as explored here. The level of refugee migration most recently has been potentially even greater than that of EU immigration, given their increased and more acute needs, and tangentially reinforces the influence of the Citizens’ Service Offices in Hamm (for statistical evidence on the different forms of migration to Germany see Federal Statistical Office of Germany, 2016).

⁴³ <https://www.hamm.de/soziales-und-gesellschaft/migration/buergeramt-fuer-migration-und-integration/abt-integration-523/integration.html> – 2015/10/24).

integration council and professional, claiming that it had 'trodden innovative paths' (Hamm, 2016).

These initiatives included the construction of a citywide 'integration network', offering relevant information on public services in the 'original tongue' of the immigrants and orientation courses for newly arrived immigrants, language training with support for particularly target groups like for mothers in club rooms and mosques, the establishment of management boards of migrant associations with bilingual dialogues, and city information events being held for 'young and old' (Hamm, 2016).

Against this background, some participants also concluded that a valued (local) integration policy positively impacted the internal processes of intercultural orientation and the development of CDM (see interview-statements under (27) below).

Interview-Question:

- How does a medium-sized public service organisation implement cultural diversity management? What are important characteristics of the City of Hamm's organisational culture and reform steps?

Interview-statements relating to a valued local integration policy (27):

- “Our mayor really promotes integration policy, which has immense impact on the internal intercultural development.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “CDM is influenced by the local integration policy that is a central agenda of the city's mayor.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Integration is "trade mark" of our mayor. Many activities of the mayor are visible in the city. This is really supporting.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “The mayor is strongly engaged for local integration policy.” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)

Such a connection was consistently highlighted by the interviewees, alongside the long-standing ‘special engagement’ initiated by the city’s mayor regarding its local integration policy, which further led to an enhanced focus on customer orientation, and included all population groups with diverse backgrounds (see interview-statements under (28_ below). For example, currently, there is an action plan for new immigrants that aims at faster access to support measures and active support of integration processes for individual citizens (Hamm, 2016). Finally, through various Council decisions over at least two decades, the city of Hamm perceives itself to have established comprehensive and sustainable promotion of integration, with the motive to ensure social participation of new immigrants and people with migrant backgrounds since the late 1990s (see interview-statements under (29) below).

Interview-Questions:

- How does a medium-sized public service organisation implement cultural diversity management? What are important characteristics of the City of Hamm's organisational culture and reform steps?

Interview-Statements relating to mayor's efforts on integration and customer orientation (supporting (28) above):

- "As an employee, I see the efforts of my employer, who is very concerned about integration. This is one of the main goals of the mayor and close to his heart. Also within the administration, the integration work and inter-cultural orientation is therefore very important." (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)
- "Hamm is basically 'multiculturalist'. We get that too, strongly exemplified in our mayor, who has really taken ownership of the issue." (Frank, administrative clerk, aged 50+)
- "Years ago, the city and especially this mayor promoted a customer focus within our administration. This included the creation of Citizens' Services Offices in different areas for example, migration and integration." (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- "The Lord Mayor is a crucial factor here in the city because since 1999, since he was elected here, he has been a very powerful driving force in the field [of integration policy] and has also brought this issue forward from the beginning." (Steve, Head of department, aged 50+)

Interview-Statements relating to the city's promotion of integration (supporting (29) above):

- “There is a special commitment of the management to integration. This is visible to the outside and must also be reflected internally in the administration.” (Kathrin, administrative clerk, aged 40+)
- “The administration of the city of Hamm is on a good path. Since the end of the 90s we have always been one of the objectives of the city of Hamm, promoting the integration of migrants. This is always one of five or six goals for our city council. We have stayed with the issue of opening-up the administration over the years. That is, there are different levels. Once the training offers for employees, which I, as well as others, permanently offer here. We are working hard, and we are also responsible for the personnel area, above all the promotion of young talent, i.e. in the vocational training sector, to hire people with a migration history. There are also various actions and measures.” (Steve, Head of department, aged 50+)
- “We have taken the first Council decision on the promotion of integration in 2002. This was then decided by the Council as a central intention of the administration and also deposited with its own financial resources. At the time, this was something that only took place in a few municipalities. So that you have spent your own resources to bring the integration forward.”
(Daniel, Personnel Officer, aged 40+)
- “I believe that the issue of migration is not just about cultural differences and values and the like, but also about social problems. [...] In part, this

continues over generations, so we always have a connection with the issue of migration and social problems, unemployment, poor schooling, etc., which we have to tackle specifically as administration." (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)

V.4.2 The influence of customer orientation

In addition to the city-wide integration policy just explored, the special focus on customer orientation is also a unique feature of the city of Hamm. Beginning in the late 1990s, the city established several Citizens' Services Offices in various districts which offered all the essential public services and provided considerable support to its citizens. In 2014, there were seven Citizens' Services Offices which were tasked to focus on civil registration, vehicle registration, civil registry, disability law and parental benefits. Currently, these offices employ about 100 people.

However, at least since the beginning of New Public Management (NPM) reforms, it is a consistent challenge for governments to be responsive to the needs and demands of wider society (and see [Chapter III](#), section 2.1 for a further discussion of this issue). Public sector organisations are being reformed to provide better, faster and more services (Bogumil, 2002). Citizens have a prominent place in these reforms which are increasingly determined by a cross-cultural orientation.

Customer orientation, in this context, is observed as a basis for success underpinning an organisational culture that supposedly supports and promotes the value of diversity (Andrews and van de Walle, 2012). This stress on customer orientation as the key to tackling CDM issues is also reflected in the interview-statements here, the emphasis being on customer orientation leading to the adoption of different perspectives to better inform service-delivery for the 'culturally diverse' citizen (see interview-statements under (30) below).

Interview-Statements relating to organisational culture influenced by practicing customer orientation (supporting (30) above):

- “The organisational culture is determined by a special focus on the different needs of (diverse) customers.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “The approach of customer orientation has been established for a long time. The superiors also play an exemplary role. The core is, I always say, to change the perspective. If I was on the other side of the desk, how would I feel as a recent immigrant who was unfamiliar with the issues?” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “We try to implement the change in perspective on a regular basis, which may be related to our specific workflow. So, for example, we had a situation in the registry office, because we once invited a social worker who looks after asylum seekers to try to get their perspective on our work and our range of information.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “The city administration as a whole ‘lives’ customer and intercultural orientation.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “The Citizens’ Services Offices are characterised by engaged and open-minded employees and by a positive charisma and good working atmosphere as well as busy days. [...] Management makes a lot for a barrier-free administration. This led to a dominating positive, customer-oriented organisational culture. Citizens’ Service Offices are beyond others in terms of intercultural orientation.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)

- “The City of Hamm is citizen-friendly offering a comprehensive understanding that means being especially customer oriented and interculturally open-minded.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Customer orientation means that different needs of customers with migration background will be recognised.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural orientation is everyday practice. We provide our services around our customers.” (Virginia, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “Customer orientation the guiding principle. It incorporates valuing diversity.” (Cato, chief officer, aged 40+)
- “According to our philosophy we focus on different needs of cultural diverse customers.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)

According to the views posited by interviewees, it was revealed that customer orientation is understood broadly, including various aspects of intercultural orientation (see [Chapter III](#), section 2.2). This understanding is, on the one hand, a big advantage illustrating a modern customer-oriented management programme. On the other hand, there exists a differentiation between customer orientation as has been understood previously – which may mean being geared towards a largely fixed culturally homogenous population – and a more advanced understanding of professional and interculturally-competent customer service, which continually adapts to changes within the population profiles which are culturally heterogeneous (see [Chapter III](#), section 2.3; and see previous discussion in this Chapter, section 3.3). It is the latter response which is required for the city of

Hamm, to further develop the customer service that resonates with the wider aim of committing to equity and fair treatment and a barrier-free access to public services (and see discussion in Chapter III, section 3). However, according to some participants, the overall and ‘internalised’ principle for customer orientation is equal treatment (see interview-statements under (31) below; and see section 3.2 with previous interview-statements under (5) above).

Interview-Question:

- How is customer orientation implemented in the Citizens’ Service Offices?

Interview-Statements relating to equality as guiding principle for customer orientation (supporting (31) above):

- “Citizens’ Services Offices are pioneers for customer orientation. They have established an own philosophy (‘Bürgeramtsphilosophie’) that means every person is treated equally.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 50+)
- “Customer-orientation goes along with intercultural sensitivity. We have to treat every customer equal. We already live for intercultural orientation.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Our approach is customer orientation and equal treatment. There are no problems with intercultural issues that we can’t solve.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)

- “At the city administration, customer orientation and equal treatment is already implemented.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)
- “It is the advantage of our organisational culture and intercultural orientation that every person or customer will be treated equal.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)

The equality or same treatment principle seems to serve, then, as the basis for the professional and empathic treatment of all customers, on the grounds that all citizens are entitled to local government support. However, as this appeal to equality stands as a formal principle, there is no differentiation between fair and unfair treatment, and subsequently, when it may be fair to treat people the same way *or* differently according to this formal principle (and see [Chapter VI](#), section 2 for a further discussion of this issue).⁴⁴

Thus, it can be concluded that the general description and explanation of equal treatment in public service delivery fosters the notion of same treatment for all. However, when more specific descriptions occur, a closer look at different life situations and needs of customers that justify differential treatment is necessary. This distinction between generalised and specific descriptions and explanations also impact on the specific orientation of public services (This issue is further analysed and discussed in [Chapter VI](#) as it constitutes a main organisational characteristic of the case-study presented here).

⁴⁴ The formal principle of equality states that like cases should be treated the same and unlike cases differently, which then, depending on how a like/unlike case is interpreted, will lead to judgements about what are fair or just treatment between cases (Gosepath, 2011).

V.4.3 Change model: public service delivery

Moreover, some participants emphasised that the Citizens' Service Offices are the most suitable divisions of the city's administration for the implementation of CDM (see Chapter III, section 2.3). They argue that the Citizens' Service Offices offer the best prerequisites for the implementation of CDM due to their special organisational culture and professional customer orientation. However, they again assume a straightforward integration between customer orientation and intercultural sensitivity, as if these can be dovetailed unproblematically.

Interview-Question:

- What positive aspects or potential obstacles should be taken into account regarding the further implementation process of CDM?

Interview-Statements (32):

- "Citizens' Service Offices are especially determined by customer orientation and there most suitable for intercultural sensitivity. Other divisions should adapt this strategy." (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- "Customer and intercultural orientation in Citizens' Service Offices is working well. But it depends on the successful outcome for the customer. It will be different in other divisions like social welfare office or jobcentre."
(Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)

- “Citizens’ Service Offices are special administrative offices with motivated employees. It would be more difficult, if you aim to transfer this to other departments.” (Virginia, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “Customer orientation, including intercultural orientation, is not easy to transfer to other divisions, e.g. jobcentre, because there are stricter regulations by law.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)
- “The implementation of cultural diversity management is a challenge because there is still a separation between administrative employees and the multicultural citizenship in Hamm. We still have to professionalise the intercultural customer orientation.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “The focus only on ethnic minorities is too tight. There are maybe arguments for a wider diversity approach considering further diversity characteristics.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)

Following this positive self-evaluation, employees of the Offices characterised themselves as:

- “real service providers” for all customers (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “pioneers for customer orientation”, which was “strongly supported by management” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)
- dominated by a “special organisational culture based on diverse customer needs” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- dominated by “open-minded and very engaged employees” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)

- aimed at “equal treatment and barrier-free” services (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)

However, these statements are derived from the unquestioned assumption that the strategic development of CDM could be based on the concept of customer orientation, which in turn is facilitated by a supportive organisational culture. This argument was corroborated by some staff statements that the Offices envisioned themselves as service providers *to* a diverse population, because unlike other offices, these offices enjoy a more enhanced and so better quality communication with the culturally diverse population (and see interview-statements under (33) below).

Interview-Questions:

- How is customer orientation implemented in the Citizens’ Service Offices?
What aspects or potential obstacles should be taken into account regarding the further implementation process of CDM?

Interview-statements relating to self-image as a service provider for cultural diverse customers (supporting (33) above):

- “Intercultural competences mean providing information in foreign languages.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- Citizens’ Service Offices are particularly appropriate for implementing CDM because they have a self-image of a service provider for all customers.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “To transfer the good practice from Citizens’ Service Offices to others, it should be made aware that we are a service provider for all customers, including cultural diverse people. This is maybe easier in Citizens’ Service Offices, because we normally solve almost all problems.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 40+)
- “The successful approach of the Citizens’ Service Offices and the image as service provider for all customers should be transferred to other departments like jobcentre, but this could be difficult. The Jobcentre is recently not a service provider.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)

It is important to highlight that apart from these statements, the aspects of the integration paradigm and policy (as explored earlier) were also summed up by the participants⁴⁵. However, as previously explored, and as will be explored in more

⁴⁵The integration paradigm refers to the aim of accepting a variety of cultures. However, according to this paradigm, cultural sub-groups still must conform to the dominant ‘host’ community on certain dimensions, albeit retaining substantial parts of their own culture (Olsen and Martins, 2012) and see Chapter VI, section 1.2 for a further discussion of this issue.

detail in Chapter VI, the concept of integration puts limitations on the expectations of the host community to change their behaviour – e.g. to learn the language of immigrant populations. This also, by implication, limits CDM measures being employed further in the city administration (and see [Chapter V](#), section 3 here). Aligning with the integration paradigm, the interview-statements below *acknowledge* cultural diversity but largely on the host’s terms. Moreover, by expressing the need for maintaining the existing approach, the participants emphasize the role played by the host society for preserving and defining the standards for integration (and see interview-statements under (34) below).

Interview-Question:

- What would you recommend as necessary for implementing successful diversity measures for the Citizens’ Service Offices?

Interview-statements relating to resistance for further CDM measures (supporting (34) above):

- “There is no more need for special measures for intercultural orientation and diversity management.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)
- “There is every year a training course schedule with a chance for every employee to train intercultural competences. No further action needed.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)

- “Awareness for cultural diversity and intercultural competences are job specifications for public service delivery staff. This is part of customer orientation. Because of this, no further focus or action is needed.” (Virginia, administrative clerk, aged 40+)
- “Because intercultural competence is a matter of course, no further action is needed” (Kathrin, administrative clerk, aged 40+)

V.4.4 Summary

The civil service, particularly the organisation analysed for the current study, are faced with the constant challenge of adapting to changes in the population and in wider society.

From the interviews, it is clear that there is a dominant administrative culture prevalent in the municipal offices that is characterised by a special 'customer service orientation', and which underpins the organisational culture across all Citizens' Service Offices. This orientation reflects administrative reforms within the NPM approach, which are related, in turn, to a more performance and output-oriented public management, seeing service users, for example, as customers rather than citizens (see Chapter II, sections 3.1.2 and 3.1.3). The findings show that the key elements of NPM, particularly increasing emphasis on performance and customer-orientation are prevalent in the Citizens' Service Offices. Moreover, the city and local politics are characterised by a special commitment to the integration of people with a migration background. The urban population has been culturally diverse for many years and has been profoundly influenced by sustained and prolonged immigration. These two factors – diverse population and particularised and localised commitment to integration policy – also determine the current change processes in local government, which must adapt its services to population changes and to diverse customer needs.

However, integration policy does not function without controversy, given its emphasis on 'the problem' of migrant populations in adjusting to the host culture, which will be further discussed in Chapter VI. It is in this context too that the

operational staff seem content with the implementation of integration policy, which could conflict with the senior management's perspective that is more likely to question this strategic alignment and suggest further improvements to CDM. So, while the senior management may understand the importance of further intercultural development of public services as a major future task, there is some significant resistance to further changes at the front-line staffing level.

V.5 How ethnic minorities are viewed

The perceptions of ethnic minorities are central to the content of the current study and helps to determine the intricacies and complexities of cultural diversity and cultural diversity management. Although, it has been found that a basic commitment to the local integration policy and customer orientation is evident at all levels of the organisation, addressing issues, such as responding to the special needs of minorities or the targeted promotion of minorities has been rather more difficult to implement. The focus of the study has subsequently been on understanding staff 'intercultural competencies' and the management's target of establishing a representative bureaucracy, which means "that a public workforce [should be] representative of the [population] in terms of race, ethnicity, and sex [to] ensure that the interests of all groups are considered in bureaucratic decision-making processes" (Bradbury & Kellough, 2010, p. 1). The next section, therefore, describes and classifies in more depth intercultural competences (5.1), evaluates further the objectives of representative bureaucracy (5.2), and the role and function of the senior managers in the organisation and (5.3) – concluding with a summary of the importance of the main findings of the study, and as a prelude to further discussions of these findings in Chapter VI.

V.5.1 Intercultural competence

In accordance with the explorations made in the literature review (see [Chapter III](#), section 2), the term intercultural competence leads to many debates (Schröer, 2007). However, while it is a specific issue that confronts public sector organisations, there is little or no resistance in public sector organisations to the idea in principle. This reflects the wider acknowledgement of living in a more diverse society. Yet, while the idea in principle is not generally objected to, it, by implication, mandates a distinction between organisational aims and competencies and individual aims and competencies, focussing on the latter rather than the former. Thus, practical problems, for example, perceived intercultural conflicts between individuals (such as between city employees and citizens), are more in focus than the organisational aim of developing an intercultural orientation that resonates with the modern or current style of administration. Moreover, and as was explored earlier, although the term ‘intercultural competence’ is now widely used in the field of intercultural orientation, there are rarely any concrete, unambiguous, applicable definitions used in practice (and see Leenen et al., 2014; Zülch; 2004).

Developing the above theme, two important questions were raised in the interviews which will inform the theoretical reformulation of CDM strategy here in subsequent chapters, and are explored in more detail below.

V.5.1.1 What does intercultural competence do, and what is it good for?

In general, participants argued that intercultural competence was important to cultivate to solve *problems* with customers who have different cultural backgrounds. Moreover, this approach was frequently seen as a basic requirement for working in the sphere of public service delivery (see interview-statements in (35) below).

Interview-Question:

- How would you describe the importance and relevance of intercultural competences for your work?

Interview-Statements (35):

- “Work with people with different cultural background sometimes goes along with problems. Knowledge about cultural specifics is therefore essential for the job.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “People with different cultural background are a disadvantaged group, which sometimes cause some problems. Public service employees need intercultural competences to handle this.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Special problems with people with different cultural background cause special awareness.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)

- “Intercultural competences are important for public service delivery staff because there are sometimes problems with costumers with a migration background.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural competences are a basic requirement for the work in the Citizens’ Service Offices and a matter of course.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural competences mean working with difficult clientele. We have to treat every customer equally.” (Cato, chief officer, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural competences belong to job requirements in public service delivery, because sometimes we have to solve problems related to intercultural issues.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural competences is a basic requirement for working in public service delivery. It is a competence that must exist because we work with a cultural diverse audience.” (Virginia, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “Customers with a different cultural background differ from other customers” [belonging to the (German) majority]. They have a different picture of what public service is responsible for and how services are provided.” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)

In addition, despite the general commitment to intercultural competence as a basic requirement for public service delivery, the term itself is vague and leads to uncertainty amongst staff about its meaning.

Thus, from the interviews conducted it can be postulated that there are *different* meanings attributed to the term intercultural competence by the participants (see Chapter III, section 2.2), and reflecting the analysis above. The following figure (figure 8) gives an overview of these meanings under three broad headings:

Figure 8: Overview of the different understandings of intercultural competence

1. Social competence in general terms	2. Problem solving competence as a problem of the customer	3. Competence to improve customer service for or to the customer
<i>“Intercultural competence means open-mindedness, avoiding prejudices, ensuring empathy.”</i>	<i>“Intercultural competence means working with difficult clientele. We have to explain our rules and procedures to new immigrants, some information as well in foreign languages.”</i>	<i>“Intercultural competence includes adapting public service to customer needs.”</i>
<i>“Intercultural competence means noticing prejudices and reflection.”</i>	<i>“Intercultural competence means knowledge about different culture problems e.g. dealing with different roles of men and women.”</i>	<i>“Intercultural competence means offering individual arrangements with regard to cultural backgrounds, e.g. as done for marriage ceremonies.”</i>
<i>“Generally, employees in our Offices have to be open-minded. And empathy is needed to be intercultural competent.”</i>	<i>“Intercultural competence is important to solve problems with customers with migration background. Because there are societal problems with migrants here.”</i>	<i>“Intercultural competence means continuous awareness building for specific customer needs.”</i>

Source: Interview data.

The feedback from interviewees has been divided into these three broad categories that, while overlapping, provide distinctly different emphases concerning what

intercultural competence might mean in practice. The first category summarises the answers which describe intercultural competence as a general social skill. This coincides with a common understanding that has been promoted in literature and in practice, which is related to empathy and avoiding prejudices and stereotypes (Hinz & Rommel, 1994; Bollmann et al., 1998, and see figure 4). Nevertheless, the descriptions proffered tend to be rather general statements about the attitudes and beliefs of staff without necessarily considering concrete actions that might follow from adopting these attitudes and beliefs.

The second category sees intercultural competence as a prior problem-solving skill (and see interview-statements under (36) below). This view might be said to also reflect (at least at times) a so-called deficit approach as it focusses on what the customer 'lacks' which then should be met by the development of competencies by staff. In this context, cultural diversity is widely perceived as 'a problem' to be addressed, for example, when customers or service-users do not speak German as their mother tongue, and/or if administrative procedures must be explained in more detail for a new immigrant. In addition, this category of competencies may also include holding prejudices towards migrants, and especially perhaps, if they are Muslims. For example, Muslim women because of their family traditions, often do not talk with the administrative staff in the absence of a male relative, and Muslim men do not talk to the female administrative staff. This then often leads to a response from staff which betrays their prejudices and, subsequently, undermines their intercultural competencies, so defined.

Interview-Question:

- How would you describe intercultural competences? What are your associations with the term intercultural competence?

Interview-Statements relating to general descriptions of intercultural competence

(supporting (36) above):

- “Intercultural competences mean for example understanding the culturally specific characteristic of ethnic groups, e.g. (equal) rights of men and women.” (Cato, chief officer, aged 40+)
- “One example for intercultural issues in working situations are conflicts between a Turkish man and female employees. [...] Sometimes they refuse to communicate their concerns to a woman.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “There are associations if people wear headscarves or I have to estimate if people are new citizens or born in Hamm. I am getting involved in new situations every day, I know the people from different ethnic groups in Hamm, and in consequence stereotypes do exist.” (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)
- “I have had some bad experiences with customers with migration background, who were rather socially disadvantaged. And this leads to prejudices and stereotypes.” (Kathrin, administrative clerk, aged 40+)

- “Awareness for cultural diversity and intercultural competences are job specifications for public service delivery staff. This is part of customer orientation. However, prejudices about cultural diverse customer exist, because of ‘extreme cases’ of customers in the Citizens’ Service Office. That is, conflict situations with cultural diverse customers.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “One example for intercultural issues in working situations are conflicts between family members because of cultural specifics, e.g. a father speaks instead of the adult daughter.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)

The third category describes the feedback of those who perceive intercultural competence in terms of a concrete action. They describe or think about how they can improve their work and customer service with the help of intercultural orientation. It differs from Category 1, because specific reference is made to work in the civil services and the need for action to be identified related to diverse customer needs. Unlike category 2, cultural features are not so much seen as a problem because it is recognised that there is a need to adapt the work or service to the customer.

These uncertainties and ambiguities in meaning regarding the concept of intercultural competency are compounded by a certain defensive stance found in staff regarding the further facilitation of intercultural competencies. As previously explored (see Chapter II, section 3.2 and Chapter III, section 3.3), for several years, the local integration policy has been a key policy objective, which has engaged the

organisation in developing its practices. The general objectives of intercultural orientation are also publicly agreed to and has affected work practices profoundly. However, employees face new challenges and demands at work as a result, with the motivation for further development and change being found to be rather low. For example, for some staff at least within the Citizens' Service Offices, there seems to be little or no incentive to acquire more intercultural skills. The assumption being that they have already set-up a specially adapted organisational culture and established their working methods, where customer orientation and intercultural competences are already central elements of CDM (see quotes under 37 below and section 4.2 in this Chapter).

Interview-Question:

- How would estimate the relevance of further intercultural trainings personally?

Interview-statements relating to the rather low individual relevance of intercultural training for Citizens' Service Office employees (supporting (37) above; and see section 3.3 with interview-statements under (9)-(11) above):

- "Cultural diversity is daily routine. Intercultural orientation was already handled by the Citizens' Services Offices. Intercultural orientation means equal treatment of people with and without migration background." (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)

- “In the Citizens’ Services Offices we have a longstanding work experience and don’t need more assistance.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Citizens’ Services Offices are beyond others in terms of intercultural orientation.” (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural competences can be learned in different ways, e.g. work experience, projects, international exchange.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural competences can be learned by private experiences or experience of life.” (Cato, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural competence just is experience. You can’t learn it via simple training.” (Virginia, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “There is no demand for intercultural competence training.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “There are satisfied customers in Citizens’ Service Offices. Other departments could have problems with foreigners or people with migration background, for example the jobcentre. They have bad practices.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “Citizens’ Service Offices are beyond others in terms of intercultural orientation.” (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)

Fundamental to these findings is the underlying belief that customer service is regulated to consider and treat every customer in a similar manner. Equal treatment is therefore understood as the sole objective of opening-up the

administration to different cultures, again, without a fully developed appreciation that there might be good reason to treat people differently (and see previous exploration in this Chapter, section 3.2, and in Chapter VI section 2).

Interview-Question:

- What are essential elements of customer orientation in the Citizens' Service Offices?

Interview-statements (38):

- "The essence of customer orientation is that every customer will be treated equally." (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- "Intercultural orientation was already handled by the Citizens' Service Offices, because customer orientation is dedicated to equal treatment of people with and without migration background." (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- "Our successful philosophy is customer orientation, that is, equal treatment." (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)
- "My aim is to promote something that I name 'individual equality', that is, individual support for customers and citizens but focusing on the same result, according to our public duty and legal obligations." (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)

- “Customer orientation includes especially equal treatment of all customers.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “Independent of cultural background public service delivery means explaining specific administrative regulations to customers. We have to treat everyone equally.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)
- “Equal treatment is central to customer orientation. This is promoted by the senior managers of the Citizens’ Service Offices.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 50+)

However, despite this apparent stress on equal treatment, it is important to highlight that the organisational strategy for CDM is effectively committed to equal *outcomes* and not equal treatment, which, in this particular case-study, seems especially attentive to effective communication with all the service-users as the main equality outcome aimed at. Committing to this equal outcome means, however, unequally treating service-users as immigrant populations need to have *additional* services, such as language translation services, to ensure this equal outcome. This issue of *differential* treatment being justified on the grounds of promoting equal outcomes is further analysed and discussed in [Chapter VI](#), section 2.

V.5.1.2 Is intercultural competence a culturally-specific expertise or a universal key competence?

In contrast to the general recommendation that ‘Intercultural competence is a basic requirement for working in public service delivery’, there were a few participants who took their own prejudices or negative experiences as a starting point for intercultural competence development. For example, a deficit view about the different roles of men and women among the Arabic or Muslim migrants was articulated. This, in turn, led to a rather limited definition of intercultural competence reflecting a definition offered by Hinz-Rommel (1994, p. 56), namely: “Intercultural competence as combination of communication skills and specific or cross-cultural knowledge”.

The promotion of understanding of intercultural competence can have therefore a very different focus to those who promote an anti-racist agenda. In short, this agenda criticises the culture of dominant host communities (see [Chapter III](#), section 2.2). So, rather than perceiving a deficit in the immigrant communities, it focuses its criticisms on the stereotypes held by many employees which are bound to reflect the racism of the dominant culture (Bonnett, 1997; Lewis, 1998; Lloyd 2002).

Interview-Question:

- From your point of view, why are intercultural competences important for your work in the Citizens’ Service Offices?

Interview-Statements (39):

- “Special problems with people from different cultural backgrounds causes special awareness. Those are problems we do not know of from German citizens.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural competence is a controversial issue. In general, equal treatment is the standard, but I perceive also a societal problem with customers of different cultural background.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural competences are important because it is not always easy with other ethnic groups.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural competence is important to handle intercultural issues. For example, there are problems with individual cases of delivering incorrect and illegal documents and certificates with foreign origin.” (Cato, senior manager, aged 40+)

Thus, resonating with the findings here, some respondents wanted to acquire special intercultural knowledge to deal better with what was defined as problematic situations. Their goal was to make better use of cultural knowledge in potential-conflict situations to provide better public service that is devoid of conflicts. Specific cultural knowledge played an important role because it was the claim of Citizens’ Services Offices that they respond to the individual and different needs of their customers.

Interview-Question:

- How would you describe intercultural competences or intercultural knowledge?⁴⁶

Interview-Statements (40):

- “People come to Hamm from different countries because they are doing badly in their home countries. There are easy and difficult foreigners and customers. If some employees have a problem with that, they will be referred to special trainings or local events like Ramadan festival etc.”
(Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Work with people with different cultural background sometimes goes along with problems. Knowledge about cultural specifics are essential.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “I pay attention to individual behaviour of customers. Some cultures have different understandings for gestures, distances etc. [...] often already simple gestures or salutations in foreign languages are helpful for customer service with people with other origin.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)

⁴⁶ The answers of the interviewees to the interview question “How would you describe intercultural competences or intercultural knowledge?” can be divided into two main categories – as related to specific intercultural or cultural knowledge needed only in special situations (40) and as universal and key competences for public service delivery staff (41).

- “Intercultural competence means having knowledge about different cultures, religions and traditions, but also about attitudes towards clients in the sense of having empathy.” (Steve, Head of department, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural competences mean knowledge about different cultures with specific characteristics (e.g. rights of men and women), beside other things like language skills.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)

However, intercultural competence is also discussed as a universal and key competence for all employees and administrative tasks, especially for public service delivery (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2012; Deutscher Landkreistag, 2014). While working in the Citizens’ Services Offices, the employees and senior managers become more competent in dealing with culturally diverse populations as a special skill, and have a particular awareness of how public service should adapt its processes and services to the changing population. Moreover, it might be argued that it is in this latter context where more sophisticated and self-critical understandings of CDM is best promoted. In this sense, diversity management goes beyond the considerations of equal opportunities management as described by law, and emphasises the strategic importance and promoting the values of diversity and equality as a matter of equity or social justice (CIPD, 2005; and see Chapter III, section 4.2).

Interview-Question:

- How would you describe intercultural competences or intercultural knowledge?

Interview-Statements (41):

- “Intercultural competences mean ensuring equal treatment and valuing diversity. Job specifications for employees in the civil service have significantly changed over the last decade. It should include intercultural competence in the sense of open-mindedness, friendliness, and customer orientation - especially with regard to people with different cultural background.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “Intercultural competences mean awareness of existing prejudices, reflecting on difficult work situations.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Awareness for cultural diversity is very important for working in public service deliver. [...] Intercultural competences mean noticing prejudices and reflection – it makes employees more efficient and the work easier. [...] There are legal obligations for administrative action, but the way to an administrative decision can be different and individual. Administrative processes should be oriented to individual customer needs. Therefore, intercultural competences can be very useful.” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)
- “I've often noticed that this topic people fatigued, that they say: 'Civil Service - I'm already citizen-friendly, what else is the problem? I am annoyed, I do my job good '... This is then discussed along the lines of: 'that

annoys me. I serve every customer the same, should I treat some better than others? So, this is more likely the other way, that people fear that foreigners should be treated better than the German customers.” (Cato, senior manager, aged 40+)

V.5.2 Representative Bureaucracy

A fundamental objective of the case study organisation is to reflect the local population in its diversity within the workforce (KGSt/Bielefeld, Hamm und Münster, 2011). However, regarding the Citizens' Services Offices, the current situation is characterised by a minimal representation of employees with different cultural backgrounds. Few employees with a migration background work in these offices. However, during the case-study investigation, no representative employment organisational data had been collected by the city. Also in the context of the research, during various visits to the Citizens' Service Offices, the impression was confirmed that there are no recognisable (visible) employees with a different cultural background (and see section 5.4 in this Chapter).

Nevertheless, many participants highlighted existing diversity measures that support the promotion of a more representative bureaucracy, for example, specially targeted job advertisements (and see Chapter III, section 2).

Interview-Questions:

- Is representative bureaucracy an organisational goal? What are recent representative bureaucracy measures?

Interview-statements (42):

- There are job advertisements addressed especially to people with migrant background, which are very useful." (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)

- “There is cooperation with schools to recruit young people with migration background.” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)
- “The administration aims to recruit more people with different cultural backgrounds. However, this could only be done via recruitment of trainees, because recently we don’t employ other persons.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “The administration has to be attractive for all potential applicants. We should use our good image to present ourselves as a local employer with good working conditions and a desirable organisational culture. However, further campaigning is necessary.” (Virginia, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “I know that there was a campaign to motivate people with migration background to apply for apprenticeships. We are interested in qualified employees.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “One administration’s aim is to employ more people with different cultural background. Every year young people with migration background start to work as apprentices.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)

Although, currently few people with migration background work in the city’s administration and in the Citizens’ Services Offices, some interviewees emphasised that employees with different cultural backgrounds could act as positive role models both internally and externally (Andrews, 2005).

Interview-Question:

- From your point of view, is there an added value of having a representative bureaucracy?

Interview-Statements (43):

- “If employees have visible migration background, it would reflect the society and at the same time have a good impact.” (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)
- A culturally diverse workforce would make the administration "rich", more productive and attractive for other applicants with a migration background.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “Employees with a migration background can be helpful examples as well for potential applicants.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)

However, according to some participants, again acquiring foreign language skills are central arguments for endorsing increased representation in the work force, because they attribute culturally diverse people with certain foreign language skills (see interview-statements in (44) below).

Interview-Question:

- What is the relevance of representative bureaucracy?

Interview-Statements (44):

- “Colleagues with different cultural background are very helpful, because they speak several languages.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Campaigning for more employees with migration background is important, because they speak different languages, which is an advantage.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “The share of employees with migration background should be increased. Important are their languages skills.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)
- “Colleagues with different cultural background are very helpful, because they speak several languages.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)

In addition to the general support and appreciation of a culturally diverse workforce, it is acknowledged by many participants that different structural barriers exist that hinder the objectives of a representative bureaucracy (see interview-statements under (45) below). For example, there was concern regarding the lack of attractiveness of the government as an employer for those with immigrant backgrounds, related to pay and other issues, leading to fundamental difficulties in the recruitment process.

Interview-Question:

- Are there current obstacles that hinder the achievement of a more representative bureaucracy?

Interview-statements relating to obstacles to representative bureaucracy

(supporting (45) above):

- “I think we are still at the beginning of implementing CDM in the city of Hamm. The share of employees with migration background is low. That is a good indicator for still existing barriers.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)
- “The attractiveness of the city as employer is rather low. Young people don't earn much money here. Additionally, we have even no apprentices in our Citizen's Service Office.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “I think that more people with different cultural background would be interested to work for the city, if they knew there is an employer who is interested in their competences and who values diversity.” (Cato, chief officer, aged 40+)
- “There are some barriers in regard to recruitment: skills shortage, competition with private organisations and a rather bad payment structure.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “If administration aims to recruit more people with different cultural background, actually this can only be done via recruitment of trainees because recently we have no external recruitment. [...] Further job

interviews were conducted in a short time. There is no room for testing or valuing intercultural competences.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)

Furthermore, some of the respondents stated that promoting representative bureaucracy includes the risk of treating people from different cultural backgrounds with undue favour, reflecting the arguments explored earlier against affirmative action and positive discrimination (and see interview-statements under (46) below and Chapter II, section 3).

Interview-Statements relating to preferential treatment (supporting (46) above):

- “There is a need for objective requirements for recruitment, because there is a risk of recruiting only because of cultural diversity attributes. People with migration background have at times problems with literacy and language.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “I don't know if the administration could officially and legally campaign for more employees with a migration background. Representative bureaucracy includes the risk of treating people with different cultural background with favour, doesn't it?” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “There is need for transparent application processes and the explaining of objective criteria used for recruitment decisions in order to avoid the appearance of positive discrimination.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 50+)

- “A certain professional skills requirement must be maintained. One should not hire [culturally diverse] people solely because of implementation reasons without looking at basic requirements.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)

To recap, the terms affirmative action and positive discrimination means treating someone preferentially because of their ethnic origin, gender, age or sexual orientation, and so on (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2010b). The objection though is that this treatment may lead to unfair discrimination against others who do not belong to these groups. However, the argument in favour of affirmative action and positive discrimination is that it “aim[s] to foster greater equality by supporting groups of people who face, or have faced, entrenched discrimination so they can have similar access to opportunities as others in the community” (Australian Human Rights Commission, online, 2017). In Germany such measures are laid down in § 5 AGG (General Equal Treatment Act)⁴⁷.

In response to the above issues, one participant questioned whether potential applicants with a migration background really want to be perceived as such ‘special’ target groups (see interview-statements under (47) below).

⁴⁷ “In order to promote groups that have been previously subject to discrimination, targeted measures can [...] be adopted by employers in relation to the field of work and by parties to private contracts for the access to and supply of goods and services. By adopting positive measures, it is possible to both compensate for an existing case of discrimination and to prevent threatened discrimination. With the inclusion of this provision, the General Equal Treatment Act clearly goes further than simply prohibiting discrimination.” (Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency, 2016)

Interview-statement relating to negative perceptions of the target group

(supporting (47) above):

- “A problem could be that potential applicants with different cultural background don't feel as migrants or don't want a special status.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)

In summary, representative bureaucracy is a general goal allowing for equal participation of people from different cultural backgrounds working within the administration. In this respect, there seems to be no resistance among the workforce towards this general approach. However, the general concept of positive discrimination was not supported by any of the interviewees. The benefits of increased representation of cultural diversity are especially focussed on the different foreign language skills that people with migration background bring, and which would help promote better customer service. In other words, an increased representative workforce would *add value* to the organisation that faces changing demographic and societal developments and challenges. Indeed, following from this conclusion, to ensure better performance in public service delivery, the recommendation here is that the organisational aim needs to value or celebrate diversity (and see [Chapter III](#), section 3). Respectively, the efforts of the administration seem well conceived in this regard. However, an increase in the proportion of the employees with different cultural backgrounds is not evident which brings into focus a range of organisational and structural issues that are obstacles to this objective.

In this context, it can also be asked whether, or the degree to which, CDM can contribute to addressing the problem of not having a representative or diverse workforce, given this is the preferred aim of the workforce and the senior managers, too. Consequently, the objective of having representative bureaucracy can, thus far, act as a foundation for a common vision, reflecting a basic consensus between all stakeholders that a more representative administration will promote better intercultural competencies in local government. For this reason, a new diversity strategy has recently been articulated by the city of Hamm, which aims at more representative employment, alongside promoting social participation, equal treatment, as well as intercultural customer-orientation (Hamm, 2016). It is in recognising the importance of establishing this diversity strategy that we turn finally in this chapter, to the theme of the role and function of senior managers in the development of CDM.

V.5.3 Role und function of senior managers

This section examines the findings related to the main roles and functions of senior managers as perceived by the interviewees. According to most of the participants, both the senior managers and the employees, senior managers are very well appreciated within the organisation under study regarding their functions as they carry out their activities. These functions have been classified under three main headings: (a) their role as 'champions' or a positive role model function, (b) their influence on the organisational climate which may facilitate a process of a change, and (c) their responsibility for knowledge transfer within the organisation. The last aspect has also taken into account the concept of pluralistic leadership, that supports valuing diversity and awareness for cultural diversity within an organisation, and that was introduced to the participants during the case study research⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ According to Loden and Rosener (1991), who developed this concept, pluralistic leadership should include visions and values recognising and supporting diversity within organisations, a broad knowledge and awareness of diversity and multicultural issues, and general openness to change. See Chapter I, section 1.4 and Chapter III, section 2.3 for a further discussion of this concept.

V.5.3.1 Senior managers as champions

There was a broad agreement among respondents, which is inclusive of senior managers as well as all 5 administrative employees, that senior managers could promote CDM well if they acted as good examples and undertook initiatives for employee engagements which value cultural diversity and intercultural customer-orientation. The function of executives as role models is, in any case, undisputed among the participants. Moreover, the middle managers in the administration have been specifically promoted and trained as key decision-makers. Generally, management structures, and the organisation and work of the executives were highly valued by the interviewees. However, the majority of the participants also remained convinced that senior managers could recognise and consider employees' perspectives on organisational change more, and in developing and implementing CDM policies and practices.

Interview-Questions:

- How can senior managers in public service organisations promote cultural diversity management and other institutional adaptations in the public interest?
- How would you rate the role of middle management regarding their influence own organisational change processes?

Interview-Statements of senior managers (48):

- As a senior manager I pay attention to competencies like open-mindedness and flexibility for my team-members - that is very important for an intercultural customer service." (Cato, senior manager, aged 40+)
- "Senior managers or middle management and chief officers play a decisive role for any organisational change process." (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)
- "The middle management staff "lives for" customer orientation [...] and senior managers act as role models as well for intercultural orientation. This causes effects for the entire administration." (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)
- "Intercultural and social competences are competences that all senior managers need [...] they should take the role of champions for equal treatment and diversity. [...] Senior managers can promote CDM, if they use regularly individual feedback-meetings to address the topic or give assistance in regard to intercultural issues [...] or if they are in particular customer-focused, intercultural sensitive, result-oriented and if they are used to building awareness for intercultural issues." (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- "Senior managers play a key role in terms of organisational change processes." (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)
- "It is very important to inform and also report on positive examples. One hears only of negative cases, that is, problems or peculiarities at dealing with customers with a migration background. As a leader, you have to be open

and honest and cooperative. [...] Why don't I go even into a mosque or visit a social worker in a social focal point where perhaps particularly many migrants live? Then one gets a very different understanding of things. This means intercultural orientation in my point of view and should be encouraged and exemplified by managers and their management style.

(Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)

Interview-statements of administrative staff (49):

- "Senior managers' attitudes to CDM are the main influence on the working climate and further empathy of the workforce to diversity measures."
(Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- "Senior managers in our organisation provide an organisational culture that supports diversity management." (Virginia, administrative clerk, aged 40+)
- "Middle management has a key role for our administration. There is constant exchange and established boards and panels, etc. that influence organisational processes." (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)
- "Middle management is most suitable for promoting intercultural orientation." (Christian, administrative clerk, aged 30+)
- "Senior managers are examples and important communicators. Their task is to increase the sensitivity of intercultural issues." (Kathrin, administrative clerk, aged 40+)

V.5.3.2 Creating a climate for change

In addition to the perceived attributes of senior management outlined above, middle management too can positively influence organisational change. Senior managers are held responsible for the (good) work environment, given they significantly influence the overall strategic framework for organisational change. Moreover, senior managers play a key role as a link between the administration and the local Council which is responsible for political decisions. According to some participants, this position can also be used to promote and influence organisational change as senior management are in a unique position to articulate how the political imperatives can interface with the administrative processes and practices. Middle management, in this context, operates then as monitors and implementers of standards of governance that, ideally, are supported by front-line staff too.

Interview-Questions:

- How can senior managers in public service organisations promote cultural diversity management and institutional adaptations in the public interest?

Interview-statements (50):

- "Senior managers function as a link between the administration and local city council. This is an important role of these positions." (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)
- "Middle management are in a certain 'sandwich-position' between employees and management, but also with regard to our local politics. This

can be used to promote any organisational change.” (Frank, chief officer, aged 50+)

- “Middle managers are in a particular position influencing organisational change. They work with the top management and representatives of the city council and they have always to recognise and consider the employee perspective.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)
- “Middle managers function as communicators between employees and different departments and have main influences on organisational processes, e.g. they could establish a task group or working group for the implementation stage to promote and support CDM.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)

V.5.3.3 Knowledge transfer through Pluralistic Leadership

Aligning the above, the main function of the leaders is to be responsible for ensuring that the organisation and the employees continue to develop and improve public services. Regarding the intercultural focus of the civil services, this means that managers are also responsible for ensuring the transfer of knowledge of intercultural competencies. Moreover, they provide the basis for adequate employee participation when introducing intercultural citizens' services and programmes for diversity management. This also leads to issues concerning management *style* as well as function, and subsequently to the notion of pluralistic leadership (Loden and Rosener, 1991; Kezar, 2000)⁴⁹.

Interview-Questions:

- Please describe briefly your leadership-style. Are valuing diversity and equal treatment central issues of your leadership practice? What kind of leadership efforts would you make to ensure a commitment to valuing cultural diversity?

Interview-Statements (51):

- "A good leadership style is open-minded, cooperative and team-oriented. Pluralistic leadership could support a positive and long-term personnel

⁴⁹ According to Loden and Rosener (1991), who developed this concept, pluralistic leadership should include visions and values recognising and supporting diversity within organisations, a broad knowledge and awareness of diversity and multicultural issues, and general openness to change. And see Chapter I, section 1.4 and Chapter III, section 2.3 for a further discussion of this concept.

development. However, it is generally difficult to force a change of leadership practice for long-standing senior managers." (Cato, chief officer, aged 40+)

- "Leadership style cannot be decreed. Every person is individual with his or her own personality. I am promoting pluralistic leadership, but it is a long-term task to change leadership practice." (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)
- "Intercultural sensitivity is a managerial function. I influence the professional behaviour of my employees." (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)
- "It is helpful for people's motivation and the outcomes of our office, if leadership is participative and not authoritarian. It is an important capacity of teamwork, valuing and promotion of each team member [...] Pluralistic leadership and intercultural competencies should be an explicit part of a personnel development concept." (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)

These statements from the interviewees above also express how senior managers need to make decisions and be prepared for possible staff resistance. Loden and Rosener (1991, p. 180) stress that it is the lower and middle management levels, which recognise "both the opportunities and barriers associated with managing employee diversity". However, managers generally, should also be equipped with the necessary skills to meet with these resistors. Furthermore, managers can counteract potential resistance preventively by incorporating and convincing

employees of the value of CDM both for the organisation *and* for their own individual professional development.

This means, facilitating empowerment and the involvement of diverse employees and to “be able to inspire employees to act as in support of the organizational goals” (Loden & Rosener, 1991, p.181). Moreover, this facilitation implies a real and substantial change in organisational culture, because it is assumed as necessary “if diversity is to become a true asset” for the organisation (Loden & Rosener, 1991, p. 181). Therefore, it is crucial to promote CDM with senior managers following an open-minded and democratic leadership style. There was also considerable agreement among the participating executives that pluralistic leadership should be promoted (see interview-statements in (52) below).

Interview-Question:

- What do you think about the concept of pluralistic leadership?

Interview-Statement (52):

- “Pluralistic leadership raises awareness to intercultural issues and antidiscrimination.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Pluralistic leadership and intercultural competencies should be part of a personnel and leadership development concept – to strengthen the diversity approach.” (Michael, deputy head of division, aged 40+)

- “Pluralistic leadership and requirements of intercultural competencies should be obligatory and part of the leadership development concept.”
(Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Pluralistic leadership could support long-term personnel development.”
(Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)
- “Pluralistic leadership could be a successful strategic instrument if it is part of the internal leadership development and personnel development concept.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)

Furthermore, some respondents refer to pluralistic leadership practice as beneficial in supporting social and intercultural competence development, which are seen as essential competences for senior managers.

Interview-Question:

- How could leadership practice support the expanding of awareness of cultural diversity in the organisation?

Interview-Statements (53):

- “Leadership requires social competences. This includes intercultural competencies. And this could be promoted through a concept of pluralistic leadership.” (Alice, senior manager, aged 40+)

- “From my point of view, a general change regarding job specifications for public service employees took place. Today especially, social competences are essential for senior managers.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “First and foremost long-term personnel development is essential.” (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+)
- “I think, leadership guidelines should be added with intercultural components.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural competences should be part of the internal leadership development concept.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)

Executives are also those who make decisions on staff recruitment. Thus, they have a special function and occupy key positions when establishing intercultural personnel management and recruitment programmes. This was confirmed and discussed by some respondents as well.

Interview-Question:

- How could leadership practice support the expanding of intercultural knowledge in the organisation?

Interview-Statements (54):

- “Intercultural competences belong to the job requirements in public service delivery. And senior managers are in the specific role to select the right people.” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)
- “Recently job interviews were conducted in a short time. There is no space for proofing intercultural competences. However, this is up to the management that could influence this.” (Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “It is a recent task for senior management to strengthen the recruitment of a diverse workforce. This requires, for example, consideration of intercultural competences in job interviews.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “There is a demand for recruitment of people with different cultural background. But we have to overcome existing barriers. That is a recent task for the management and the executives who recruit new staff. And this works already well for apprenticeships and training positions.” (Virginia, administrative officer, aged 40+)

However, it seemed – according to a few participants who referred explicitly to this issue – that intercultural competence and the promotion of cultural diversity still play a rather subordinate role in the personnel selection processes.

Interview-Question:

- Does valuing diversity matter in recruitment processes?

Interview-Statements (55):

- “Intercultural competences are not in general part of our job interviews, but customer orientation is. This applies as well for our internal leadership development programme.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “Intercultural competences did not play a role in last job interviews which I attended as senior manager.” (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+)

The scope for senior managers making their own decisions on recruitment is nevertheless limited by financial conditions and a freeze on recruitment due to financial restrictions.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, senior managers have other ways of influencing the daily work of existing employees, impacting general organisational practices through performance management. For example, working with organisational or individual targets regarding human resources development is seen as significant amongst the staff. Target agreements are often cited as good starting points to underpin the development of intercultural orientation (and see evidence presented in section 3.3.1).

The participants – both senior managers and administrative clerks – were introduced to the concept of pluralistic leadership, probably for the first time.

⁵⁰ This applies particularly to the municipalities in the state of North-Rhine Westphalia, where in the past 20 years, only one municipality could finance its liabilities without loans. According to a study by Ernst & Young (2014), almost 9 out of 10 municipalities in North Rhine-Westphalia reported a budget deficit in 2014. Subsequently, it might be said that CDM and especially the objective of employing more employees with migration background (aiming at a more representative bureaucracy) is therefore currently hindered by budget savings. Nevertheless, this study’s focus is on structural issues and the specific organisational culture separate to those of considerations of finance and resources. It may be, for example, that a local administration is very well funded, but still does not recruit a culturally representative workforce.

Respondents interpreted it as ‘good leadership given the culturally sensitive leadership required for CDM’. Although this theoretical construct was previously not known or had not been used, respondents had many concrete examples in mind to illustrate this style of leadership, and made suggestions for its measurement and evaluation.

Some of them, mostly senior managers, were also mindful of the strategic implications if qualitative indicators of intercultural sensitivity and pluralistic leadership were regularly monitored and evaluated. Again, as explored previously in the introduction and literature review (see Chapter I, section 1.4 and Chapter III, section 3.4), the monitoring of leadership practices is not without problems. The interviewees recommended some rather indirect indicators, like the use of initial job training (on intercultural sensitivity) for new senior management employees, or the use of specific evaluations from the existing complaint management systems, alongside a regular measurement of the proportion of employees with different cultural backgrounds. The last aspect although relates to issues explored earlier concerning representative bureaucracy (see section 5.2 in this [Chapter](#) and [Chapter III](#), section 2), could also offer the possibility of evaluating senior managers’ influence and engagement across the organisation and in relation to recruitment strategy and policy.

Interview-Questions:

- What are the beneficial elements of pluralistic practice? What action is needed regarding promoting corporate pluralistic leadership practice? Do

you have recommendations for the further introduction of pluralistic leadership?

Interview-Statements (56):

- “Pluralistic leadership could be a successful strategic instrument if it is part of internal leadership development/personnel development concept. [...] With a priority it can be applied to the development of junior managers.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)
- “Pluralistic leadership and intercultural competences of senior managers can be measured with the internal appraisal system. Additionally, the complaint management could be used.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)
- “I think we are still at the beginning of implementing CDM in the city of Hamm. The share of employees with migration background is low. That is a good indicator for still existing barriers.” (Roberta, administrative clerk, aged 50+)
- “Recently we are developing a concept for initial job trainings for new employees. To mediate intercultural sensitivity will be part of this concept for senior managers.” (Anton, chief administrator, aged 50+)
- “It is difficult to find indicators [for pluralistic leadership]. A senior manager needs to be in close contact with its employees, and must be open to problems and should give regular feedback. What I imagine is a kind of a reporting system that would involve all management levels.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)

- “To force intercultural orientation from my point of view the top management needs to take action. We have as well various management control instruments already established, which could be used. For example, performance-related pay and working with individual target agreements. We have introduced the Balanced Scorecard for senior management. That means, we must agree on three objectives. In addition to a mandatory financial target especially in senior management positions you should agree objectives to advance social skills and personal development of your employees. I think this is an interesting steering and control instrument that is well suited to influencing the decision makers and the management style positively.” (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)

V.5.4 Results of the post interview workshop

As introduced in the methodology chapter (Chapter IV section 5.2) there was a workshop set-up where the first insights from the interviews were presented to the participants. The discussion of the results with the participants brought further insights into the interviewees' understandings and perceptions and was therefore very productive. Beside the observations regarding the lack of self-critical reflexion (see section 3.6), the workshop discussion revealed that the understanding of CDM and intercultural sensitivity remained unclear for the interviewees. Moreover, the majority saw customer orientation as a central element of intercultural sensitivity and reacted with some defensiveness to any questioning of this position.

An even greater defensiveness was also evident in the workshop when a number of difficult issues concerning the complexities of intercultural competences were raised. Dealing with the term intercultural competences continued to be difficult throughout the interview process and led to several descriptions of what 'intercultural competencies' should include according to the participants. An official definition⁵¹ as laid down in the integration law of the state North-Rhine Westphalia, which is the state in which the city of Hamm belongs, was perceived as too general and so rather unhelpful. However, despite disagreements over the specifics of cultural competencies found in the interviews, within the workshop there seemed to be a consensus for a 'holistic approach' to intercultural competencies which pays

⁵¹ § 4 Abs. 2 Teilhabe- und Integrationsgesetz des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen: "Intercultural competence in the sense of this law includes: 1. the ability to be successful and to act in mutual satisfaction and benefit, especially in professional situations with people with and without a migration background; 2. the ability to assess and act with respect to the various impacts on people with and without a migrant background in projects, policies, programs etc., and 3. the ability to recognise and overcome the anti-inclusion effects of discrimination and exclusion."

attention to several/all diversity categories and competences, and not just cultural competencies. This approach though can again be equated with the customer-led orientation explored previously; with the implication being that all customers are treated equally, but which may, in turn, lead to barriers to the implementation of CDM (see Chapter VI, section 2) as justifications for differential treatment are not properly considered.

V.6 Summary of the findings from the interviews and the workshop

The answer to the question of how ethnic minorities are viewed in the organisation under study is determined by two complex issues: the understanding of intercultural competence and the support and practical realisation of a more representative bureaucracy. There is a general support for the approach of interculturally-oriented public services. However, the issue of how ethnic minorities should be treated or addressed by public services, reflected a range of personal and individual attitudes of the participants. And because of this, answers to the question of how broad principles are applied to the specifics of public sector practice differed considerably.

Therefore, it has been shown that various personal attitudes, viewpoints and perspectives greatly influence the approach and implementation of CDM which is often ambiguous and diverse as a result. This issue is further described and discussed in [Chapter VI below](#).

More specifically, and reflecting these ambiguities and differences, it was found that there is neither specific strategy management concerning the promotion of a more representative bureaucracy or workforce, nor a uniform definition of intercultural competence for staff employed within relevant administrative units. Subsequently, although a general description of intercultural competence is found in what is seen as desirable social skills, (e.g. open-mindedness and empathy), employees and supervisors are unsure of how to focus more specifically on developing these and other skills in relation to concrete work situations or even, how much such intercultural orientation and competence is needed.

For example, there is a confusion over the general requirements for a citizen-friendly administration and customer orientation, on the one hand, and the specific promotion of intercultural sensitivity, on the other.

As a result, the administration is faced with the challenge of both agreeing to and implementing concrete steps for an interculturally-developed civil service and for a fuller more comprehensive development of a diversity management programme.

However, the participants agree that the management staff, which generally has a good reputation, is equally crucial to the process. The role of the middle management is emphasised as they were posited to be the most competent group that can best recognise and consider the employee perspective. In addition, the interviewees seemed to appreciate the role model function of senior managers, and as it has been practised in the past with special regard to customer orientation in the Citizens' Services Offices. In this context, too, there was a common view that it may be promising to have senior managers act as 'champions', showing a leadership engagement in customer sensitivity and orientation and when valuing cultural diversity both within and outside the organisation.

Further, senior managers are seen to significantly impact the working atmosphere and environment, uniquely positioned between the local politicians (city council) and employees.

Finally, the perception and understanding of the leadership functions by the managers was also identified as an important aspect in addressing CDM issues.

Awareness of intercultural knowledge, frequently and actively seeking knowledge transfer and implementing an open-minded leadership style were evaluated as

relevant and significant by the interviewees. Some managers have described a cooperative and open-minded leadership style as good practice and 'trademark' of the good organisational culture in the Citizens' Services Offices. As a result, when considering the concept of pluralistic leadership as defined here, participants have tried to match this concept, which was new to them, with their own practice and vision.

It is in this latter context, that the study will now further discuss the leadership roles in CDM addressing in more detail the various issues raised in this research so far, most notably, concerning acculturation, assimilation, integration, and multicultural perspectives in sociology and social policy analysis. Moreover, it will also explore the themes of equality, social justice and fairness and their role in the promotion of CDM. That is, in a peculiarly public sector setting, linking the findings explored in this chapter, with the various theoretical themes and arguments explored and defended in the literature review.

VI. Discussion

VI.1 Models of social policy and acculturation strategies for Cultural Diversity Management

As part of the data analysis, interviews were classified using theoretical models of sociology and social policy. Alongside the conclusion in the literature review chapter for a 'public management case for diversity', it became apparent in the analysing of the collected data that a fully articulated theoretical base for CDM was needed to understand existing acculturation strategies. In short, the interview statements reveal very different conceptual perspectives of the participants. That is, concerning how ethnic minorities should be viewed and treated, which, in turn, relate to established sociology and social policy paradigms, and variously reflecting notions of assimilation, integration or multiculturalism.

This chapter, therefore, aims to classify and discuss these different paradigms and approaches to diversity management in cross-cultural research within an organisational context. In the process, it seeks to examine various acculturation strategies that are used to differentiate between various perspectives and practices. In general terms, acculturation is learning about and adapting to a new culture (see sections 1.4 and 2). According to Berry (1984), acculturation refers to the processes through which cultural changes occur, and which has an effect of facilitating contact between inter-cultural groups. For example, one specific acculturation strategy (explored earlier in section 1.2) aims to integrate various groups of individuals within the working environment of an organisation. The philosophy for such an

organisation would be to aim for the establishment of a successful organisational culture, which is perceived to be devoid of any conflicts between different cultural groupings.

In accordance with the above analysis, Berry (1997) has developed a very influential model which is used by mainstream diversity management scholars and is still considered relevant for analysing organisational approaches for managing cultural diversity (and see Olsen and Martins, 2012). This model classifies four acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation (Berry, 1984). In this typology, assimilation refers broadly to the giving up of one's own minority cultural identity in favour of adapting or changing to the demands and expectations of the host culture. Integration refers to standing up for the maintenance of one's own culture while simultaneously, participating in the host culture. Separation may be related to the maintenance of one's own culture and a rejection of the host culture. Finally, marginalisation is the non-identification or non-participation in either cultures. Cox and Finley-Nickelson (1991) adapted this model and identified assimilation, separation, deculturation and pluralism instead, where deculturation was similar in meaning to marginalisation. The 'new' classification here, was pluralism that implied a "two-way learning and adaption process" (Cox, 1993, p. 167) operating within a work-based organisational context. This means in practice that both the organisation and the new (culturally diverse) employees adapted, to some extent at least, to one another and underwent some change to reflect a synthesis of common values and perceptions, wherein, both the groups gradually make the efforts to move *towards* each other.

Cox (1993) and similarly, Loden and Rosener (1991) further connected the social and integration paradigms within an organisational context. According to Cox (1993, p. 166) these acculturation processes are “alternative strategies for handling intercultural relationships that produce specific outcomes both for organisations and individuals”.

The analyses and discussion in this chapter will build on these typologies and briefly define each paradigm used and as a framework to analyse the interview responses in the organisation being studied. Subsequently, three common paradigms will be identified as especially relevant to the debate on German integration and diversity management procedures (and see Chapter II for a further exploration of the associated literature): namely, (1) assimilation, (2) integration and (3) multiculturalism or cultural pluralism. In Germany, the discourse on migration, integration and assimilation have been repeatedly used over the last decade in discussions over the inclusion of people with foreign roots (ARD, 2010⁵²). And more recently, the term pluralism has entered the debate as part of the CDM initiatives implemented by business and public sector organisations, which has made it, too, a central issue of governmental integration policy (Ernst & Young GmbH, 2016; Krell, 2015).

More specifically, this chapter aims to further the analysis and discussion of the findings presented in the previous chapter (Chapter V) to explain how organisational culture influences the acculturation process, as reflected in the case study, which is again particularly pertinent for the development of CDM strategies.

⁵² <https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/zuwanderung134.html>.

After introducing the relevant paradigms for this analysis – assimilation, integration and multiculturalism – a deeper level of investigation of the case study data will therefore become possible and will underpin a more abstract form of analysis, informing the theoretical debates around this issue (and as promised in the literature review). The results of the first analysis presented in Chapter V, indicate that acculturation strategies within the case-study organisation, often follow assimilation or integration paradigms. The sections below focus on both these paradigms to provide a more thorough-going critique of the acculturation strategy identified in the city of Hamm.

VI.1.1 Assimilation

In general, the concept of cultural integration, relates very much to the discourse of 'race', ethnicity and migration, but is variously interpreted by theories in the social sciences, and is inclusive of several definitions in the development of policy and practice (OECD, 2003; Lewis, 1998). One dominant definition of *so-called* 'integration' in past policy and practice, is based on the discourse of assimilation. This discourse is characterised by defining as 'best', the adaptation of immigrants or people with cultural backgrounds different from the host community, to an existing, unified social order (OECD, 2003, p. 5). The non-dominant sub-groups are expected to conform to norms and values of the dominant group (Olsen and Martins, 2012). This approach aims for a one-way adaption in which the common culture becomes the standard behaviour for all others (Cox, 1993). Assimilation is a perspective that most traditional organisations, for example, follow to reinforce values of homogeneity but, for its critics, tends to treat employee diversity as a liability and threat to organisational stability and success (Loden & Rosener, 1991). The goal of assimilation is to eliminate cultural differences to the detriment of minority culture and the enhancement of the dominant culture (Cox, 1993). However, there are obvious limits to this strategy both in principle and in practice. For example, regarding the latter, individual characteristics, such as ethnic origins and behaviours which are embedded and even hidden in the private sphere (such as religious beliefs) make complete assimilation impossible and unrealistic (OECD, 2003). Additionally, one can argue that in many multicultural societies, there exists no monolithic culture or social order to which an adaptation would be required (OECD, 2003). Thus, the social reality in Europe, in the context of cultural diversity and

different lifestyles, signify that any notion of homogenous normality in society and in the world of work is difficult to define and identify, which renders assimilation impractical, as well as, in principle, undesirable for many.

Nevertheless, according to Loden and Rosener (1991), there are 'dynamics of assimilation' in organisational practice that supports homogeneity and at the same time obstructs or undermines the promotion of diversity in an organisation. These dynamics include the following:

- Dominant group standards for employees regarding performance and working styles
- Continuous competence testing of diverse employees, while others are generally assumed to be competent
- Closed communication networks/exclusion of cultural diverse people from existing informal networks
- Closed decision-making systems/absence of diverse people from leadership positions
- Discouraging of diverse support groups within the organisation

These criteria can be used as illustrative reference points to identify the operative modes of acculturation in any organisation.

To summarise, then, in an assimilationist organisation where absorption into the dominant group is the primary target or aim (Lewis, 1998), it is difficult for the culturally diverse employees to become a legitimate part of the workforce population as their existing identities are viewed with suspicion by the dominant host organisational culture, with these employees being the only ones who are expected to change their behaviour (Cox, 1993). The influence of assimilation on organisational practice is no doubt a significant hindrance for administrations, such

as the local government of the city of Hamm, that attempt to increase the numbers of culturally diverse employees.

VI.1.2 Integration

Alternatively, an integration strategy can be more inclusive and may better recognise the importance of one's individual cultural identity (Ely and Thomas, 2001). Therefore, it might be argued that integration strategies contrast with the assimilation perspective, as integration also refers to the ability and willingness of the host society to change certain core aspects of the host (organisational) culture, with the aim of accepting a variety of cultures. Integration, however, can have different directions and emphases which may reflect, to lesser or greater degrees, assimilation. So, cultural sub-groups may still have to conform to the dominant 'host' community on certain dimensions, albeit retaining substantial parts of their own culture (Olsen and Martins, 2012). Subsequently, Lewis (1998) explores how the aims of integration and assimilation, while different in some respects, both assume the virtues of a homogeneous society, which must be protected at least to some degree. Subsequently, both approaches are also highly normative in character underpinned by an assumption of a desirable social order (OECD, 2003). This assumption can be observed in the German debate too. Terkessidis (2010), for example, criticises the integration approach because in Germany, integration has often been interpreted as something standardised towards which the minority groups need to adapt. For example, the language used by most of the population is prescribed as the dominant language, with a minority population being expected to learn and use it (Terkessidis, 2010, p. 40). Additionally, integration is often characterised by arbitrary and generalised notions of societal behaviour that many in the host society do not adhere to, despite its categorisation as a part of the majority culture, but which the minority culture is still expected to conform. This

applies, for instance, to the basic principle of the equality of men and women. This principle is often presented in current integration debates (Zeit Online, 2017) as an essential feature of a German or European culture. However, other minority cultures are expected to adapt to this principle, even though equality between genders is not often committed to in many/most non-minority families (Terkessidis, 2010, p.42).

Regarding the organisational context, the integration perspective certainly acknowledges cultural diversity. It accepts the existence of cultural differences which might be valuable to societies and organisations. However, the aim is still an 'integration process' reflecting to lesser or greater degrees, assimilation, derived from accommodating a different culture but to fit 'them' into the host culture dominating the organisation. Certainly, the assimilation perspective is challenged by a more inclusive definition of integration, for example, via the promotion of understanding and knowledge about different cultural values and intercultural competences, which are deemed important from the organisational (host society) side. This leads to the demand for intercultural training of members of the host group, as explored in this case-study. Nevertheless, these types of integrationist policies, while following a general rule of valuing cultural diversity, are not without conditions; for example, if minority cultural identities lead to conflicts with the host community views then it is often expected that the minority culture yields to the dominant culture – e.g. Muslim women wearing headscarves at work has often been disallowed under this conception of integration (Lewis, 1998). Therefore, by implication, we might say that an integration strategy requires a common foundation – i.e. core aspects or values originating from the host culture – for

communication, participation and appreciation and so on, but to which new members must then 'assimilate' (and see Olsen and Martins, 2012).

VI.1.3 Multiculturalism and cultural pluralism

Criticisms of integration (and assimilation) strategies state that 'integration' and 'assimilation' are only measured in relation to successful adaptations to the existing social order (OECD, 2003). This, in turn, it is argued, often leads to the neglect of basic problems surrounding the existing social structures that hinder successful integration processes (Lewis, 1998). Regarding public services, this neglect can mean that immigrants and people with different cultural backgrounds are excluded from public services (e.g. health services) because these are only provided, by and for, indigenous people – for example, those who speak exclusively in the official national language and without any intercultural sensitivity or competences needed. In short, the institutional expectation, then, is for the minority community to learn this official national language to best integrate and assimilate.

For local public authorities that are in close contact with their citizens and especially, minority groups, the issue of language is a prominent problem. Therefore, the concept of integration has been *developed further*, leading to strategies such as inclusion, participation and, what has been termed, interculturalism (Terkessidis, 2010). Each of these has been developed to eliminate or reduce the exclusion of minority groups regarding their access to and participation in the benefits of public services (Schader-Stiftung, 2011).

Further, multiculturalism and pluralism oppose the paradigms and theories of integration and assimilation, and can also be promoted as part of a public service strategy. More specifically, since the failure of integration can be the result of resistance to change by the receiving or host society (as well as the minority

communities to 'adapt'), the alternative strategies of multiculturalism and pluralism reject a simple 'integration' and/or 'assimilation' of cultural diverse people within the host society (Olsen and Martins, 2012).

Distancing themselves from the strategies of assimilation and integration, advocates of cultural pluralism refer to an 'adaption process', which is seen as both two-way and equal, "... in which both the organization and entering members from various cultural backgrounds change to some degree to reflect the cultural norms and values of the other(s)" (Cox, 1993, p. 167). This perspective, therefore, does not ignore the difficulties of living within a heterogeneous society, but assumes the co-existence of ethnic minority groups, and that the dominant majority group can help the people with migration background and identities to shape their own identity to promote such marginalised identities as an integral and positive part of the whole society (and see Algan et al., 2012, p.3).

Therefore, it can be concluded that pluralism like multiculturalism implies that there are benefits to social change and cultural diversity, and aims to involve all social groups who live and work together to meet the needs of these groups within an explicitly heterogeneous and plural society (Berry, 2011). This approach, as a result, demands the mutual respect of different cultures, rather than demanding changes from one single group (Berry, 2011). Within the realm of public institutions, this implies that public services will reflect a diverse society that caters for all (culturally diverse) social groups. The policy and practice response may require a change in institutional processes and the recognition of evolving organisational cultures as well. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that such an approach *includes* the

adaptation of existing and evolving values by those minority groups who encounter public institutions, alongside changes to the dominant culture too.

VI.1.4 Acculturation strategies among public service employees in the organisation under study

Considering the above analysis, and a thorough critique and development of an organisational strategy for CDM, the intercultural alignment of diversity management can often be associated with the integrationist paradigm, understood via the more inclusive definition just explored. However, the characteristics of the assimilation strategy are also found among some of the interviewees' statements reflecting a more exclusionary understanding of 'integration'. Interviewees have, for example, referred to the perceived different behaviours of their Muslim customers (in contrast to their non-Muslim customers), seeing these behaviours as unpleasant and/or stressful (see [Chapter V](#), sections 3.1 and 5.1).

Following from the above, the integration strategy, as officially stated by the organisation, explicitly values individuals' cultural identities. In this sense, organisations that follow an integration strategy are "able and willing to change even core aspects of its organisational culture" (Olsen and Martin, 2012, p. 11). Nevertheless, in the context of the data generated from interviews during the current study and further explored in the findings chapter, two broad views on this strategy can be identified in the organisation. First, cultural diversity is valued and reflects wider demographic changes in the population, which then leads to the aim of ensuring that minority population groups, as consumers of public services, can participate in the social and economic development of the country they have emigrated to. Second, however, while the interviewees associate the understanding of integration (local integration policy) with intercultural or diversity management

measures, there is an uncertainty about the use of these concepts. Unlike in private organisations, where the term 'diversity' is fairly well established, amongst public authorities, there seems to be a reluctance to use the term 'diversity' or 'diversity management' when they describe their activities around intercultural sensitivity and cultural diversity (Völklinger Kreis e.V., 2015).⁵³

Moreover, the interview data highlights the lack of common understanding about CDM and limited self-critical awareness of present practices and existing diversity measures (see [Chapter V](#), section 4). For example, there was often no differentiation between the aim of valuing individuals' identities and valuing differences among diverse groups (Olsen and Martin, 2012). People with different cultural backgrounds are often defined as a unified group. Many of the interview statements resonate a similar ideology, and correspondingly reflects the assimilation strategy explored above. For example, the descriptions of intercultural competence-building still seemed to be based on stereotypes about Muslim customers or service-users (see [Chapter V](#), section 5.1).

Nevertheless, while countering the above assimilationist tendencies, various interviewees strongly recommended the need for an intercultural 'open customer service' that is oriented to the special needs of customers, and which also includes a special focus on culturally diverse customer groups. Additionally, the internal consideration of diversity management practices is further determined by a local integration policy, which is characterised by the integration paradigm. The local

⁵³ In Germany in 2015 79 % of the questioned private organisations have used the term diversity (management), while public authorities have frequently used other description (51% of them have used diversity or diversity management. Völklinger Kreis e.V., 2015, S.12.

integration concept for the city of Hamm (2016) postulates the principle of what is called 'promoting and claiming' (in German: 'Fördern und Fordern') that stands for an explicitly two-way process: supporting of migrants with integration measures, but also claiming integration efforts from immigrants. Thus, the city demands of its new citizens: "to learn the language, to find their way in a foreign society, to orient oneself in attitudes to the applied values and to keep to the rules and norms" of the host community (Hamm, 2016, p. 10). In this context, it can be concluded that the ambivalence between assimilation and integration found in the local government staff attitudes and beliefs, is also reflected in the policies and social aims of the city's political administration.

VI.1.4.1 Acculturation strategy between assimilation and integration

To further classify and analyse the interview data and other research observations, the next section distinguishes between assimilation and integration-related aspects of policy and practice. This analysis is based on Olsen and Martin's (2012) work, which describes both paradigms and develops a differentiated theory-based typology of diversity management approaches based on the research of Cox (1993) and Ely and Thomas (2001) (and see the literature review – [Chapters II](#) and [III](#)).

Although both approaches, assimilation and integration, possess a corresponding organisational goal (managing cultural diversity), as previously stated, crucial differences exist regarding the desirable organisational culture that manoeuvres such a process. Assimilative organisations certainly aim at having an organisational culture to which all employees assimilate into. This organisational culture, similar to the organisation under study, is defined by the majority group. As the workforce consists almost exclusively of German 'natives', this culture is likely characterised in part by the stereotypes and prejudices of the dominant group. This process also applies if specific cultural differences are considered when implementing diversity management measures, reflecting what has been called "identity-conscious practices" (Olsen and Martin, 2012, p. 12), for example, if only one cultural group is focused on in recruitment drives. In this context, one main difference perhaps between the assimilation and integration strategies is the different ways of dealing with individual views and the beliefs of non-dominant group members. While the assimilative acculturation strategy has the effect of "inhibit[ing] the expression of values and beliefs" of non-dominant employees (Olsen and Martin, 2012, p. 14; Berry, 1984), the integration (and as well multiculturalism or pluralism) strategy

seeks to incorporate these minority viewpoints to some degree at least. Thus, while assimilationist strategy and policy formally recognise diversity in work practice it assumes that the legitimate viewpoint in relation to organisational change and strategy, is from the dominant culture. In contrast, while the integrationist strategy also formally recognises diversity, it will informally maintain the difference pertaining to both the host and the minority cultures, and thus, would include the viewpoints of minority groups. Formal diversity, in other words, constitutes simply a proportionate representation of various groups, but without any further inclusion necessarily implied, with integration seeking to develop formal and informal integration processes. The latter means committing to a more genuine inclusion of cultural diverse employees within the organisation, including providing access to existing informal exchanges like social networks to become a full-fledged member of the organisation who has a particular voice and viewpoint (and see Cox, 1993; Olsen and Martin, 2012).

In accordance with the analysis so far it can be stated, then, that the organisational strategy for the case study aims to achieve certain benefits from simply *recognising* cultural diversity. Thus, the aim of developing a more effective public service delivery (Citizens' Service Offices) and, in particular, relating this aim to the distribution and marketing of its existing services for culturally diverse customers remains imperative. However, there are other benefits of *promoting* diversity that are related more to the integration and pluralism paradigms; so informal promotions of diverse cultures in the way just described, which subsequently aim to change the organisation and ensure the better expression of diverse ideas and beliefs to improve the strategic alignment of the public services and that decision-

making is adapted accordingly. Almost all interviewees referred to the customer orientation philosophy, and comprehensively described the organisational focus on the development of an interculturally-sensitive public service system. Consistent with these descriptions, the case study organisation aims to align its services with a non-dominant, and increasingly diverse population. More specifically, as the culturally diverse population accounts for a large part of those availing the citizens' services, there are certain adjustments made within the realm of public services. The administration observes itself as having to face the task of adapting the work structures and procedures to these changed conditions, thereby, constituting a proactive and new approach for the administration to adapt directly to the customers' needs, which again may be an expression of the previous customer-orientation strategy and of a more inclusive integrationist/pluralist/multicultural paradigm.

However, the organisational culture itself (whatever its direction) is highly, if not exclusively, influenced and shaped by the majority population group. Since the administration's workforce is characterised by non-migrant populations, it is difficult to incorporate the viewpoints of those in minority cultures and who may be the target group of this adaptation process, and whatever form it takes. According to the interviewees, minority participations via customer surveys or the involvement of migrant-communities' organisations in the development of policy and practice, were not part of common practice.

Furthermore, the study found that this 'majority perspective' (as it might be now called) is strongly based on an existing understanding and promotion of equal

treatment defined by the members of the organisation, again most of who belong to the majority population group.⁵⁴ However, this understanding and promotion of equal treatment, it is argued here, is an obstacle towards effective CDM practices; that is, if there is lack of consideration concerning what is *fair* or *socially just* treatment for diverse groups. So, when is it fair or socially just – according to the organisational aims and legal obligations – to treat people the same *or* to treat people differently is a key question that is often ignored or downplayed? The point here is that addressing this fundamental question of social justice or fairness within an organisational setting, should include the viewpoints of the culturally diverse population groups, otherwise the answer risks being skewed toward the interest of the dominant groups and thereby reflecting those assimilationist and exclusionary paradigms to minority cultures just explored.

⁵⁴ Most of the participants promoted equal treatment unproblematically seeing this as a simple solution to avoiding discrimination (see Chapter V, section 5). Following this analysis, as equal treatment is seen as ‘good’ and is part of ‘proven practice’ in the Citizens’ Service Offices, it is also used as an argument that no further action is necessary (see Chapter V, section 3).

VI.1.4.2 Equality as guiding principle

The organisation's acculturation strategy is likely, in large part, to broadly reflect non-discrimination policies and intercultural training (Olsen and Martin, 2012). However, such a strategy can align either with the emphasis on the importance of catering to the existing culture of the dominant group (assimilation and exclusionary forms of integration); or to an enhanced intention towards promoting the value of cultural diversity and sharing and respecting intrinsic differences (inclusionary forms of integration and pluralism). The case study organisation has been found to explicitly pursue a strategy of proactive orientation towards the appreciation and development of an interculturally competent administration. This means that the different living conditions and potentials of the people with migration background are recognised and considered when the management decides on how best to adapt public service delivery for them. Following from this strategy, equal treatment has been found to be the guiding principle for customer service delivery (see [Chapter V](#), section 3.2). It is regarded as fundamental to public service delivery, and it is often un-criticised or taken for granted. Consequently, a simple formula has prevailed: *'The administration is a service provider and every citizen should be treated in a same manner, courteous and service-oriented'* (Liane, chief officer, aged 50+). This formula also corresponds to modern administrative procedures that follow the New Public Management approach (see previous explorations in Chapter II, sections 3.1.2, 3.1.3 and 4, and Chapter III, section 2, and it will be explored in more detail below, see section 3.1), which is characterised by a special focus on customer-orientation and customer needs. Interviewed senior managers, draw the general conclusion that this approach comprises equal

treatment, but also acknowledge the importance of intercultural sensitivity, thus, recognising, in principle at least, the notion of diversity (see [Chapter V](#), sections 3.2 and 5.1). However, the notion of equal treatment and intercultural sensitivity as perceived by the organisation are still vague and unclear.

The training in the organisation (and further education, in general) is mostly carried out by the employees themselves. This means the training is offered by those deemed 'experts' in specific areas of work in the organisation. In general, this is advantageous for the organisation since this enhances participation in staff development. However, several interviewees have refused the offer of intercultural training on the grounds that competencies have been met and that no further staff development is therefore necessary (see [Chapter V](#), section 5).

So how can one understand this negative response to offers of training using the analysis presented in this chapter? Clearly, the offer of training can be problematic if notions of diversity and intercultural openings are defined by the dominant group. However, this does not *necessarily* imply a negative evaluation of the training content, provided that the dominant group is susceptible to change and self-critical evaluations. Nevertheless, if the diversity management procedure is aligned to and imparted from an 'internal' dominant group's viewpoint, based on existing organisational culture, there is a strong chance that an assimilative strategy may be committed to, despite organisational pretensions to the contrary, which in turn will likely underpin this negative response. For example, the Findings Chapter ([Chapter V](#), section 3) shows first and foremost that communication and language-based issues are central to the city's diversity measures, so much so, that for many

interviewees, if the communication barrier disappears, then, it may be possible to treat all customers similarly or equally. This viewpoint not only reflects the simple customer service principle of equal treatment for everyone, but also reflects the more hidden view that *other* differences between the dominant and minority cultures are not important or valuable to consider. As a result, individual or group cultural identities are not considered further, and equal treatment becomes equivalent to 'being like' the majority group (reflecting the assimilationist strategy) insofar as communication has been successfully facilitated.

Moreover, according to Olsen and Martin (2012), it is notable that non-discrimination policies of the kind promoted in this case-study organisation, often overlap with conflict management measures. For example, the case study organisation aims to reduce discrimination *and* to diffuse the potential problems and conflicts associated with a diverse workforce as well as culturally-diverse customers. Consequently, regardless of the acculturation strategy, it seems that non-discriminatory policies and intercultural training, while having a generally positive effect, vary in content according to the adopted acculturation strategy and how it specifically relates to either non-discrimination *and/or* conflict management. There are recent diversity measures in Hamm which focus on recognising the presence of culturally-diverse customers and employees, for example, through using translators that facilitate the provision of information in multiple forms. These measures enable customer-orientation as a key aspect of official appraisals and ensure the general principle of recognising cultural diversity (and see [Chapter V](#)). In general, these diversity measures also correspond to trends for organisations within the public sector in Germany (Völklinger Kreis e.V., 2015, p. 26). Nevertheless, these

measures, while recognising the differences in language competencies between customers and staff, do not acknowledge the problem of the “suppression of differences” (Olsen and Martin, 2012, p. 15) in contexts, such as the sensitivity for cultural fairness in personnel selection processes. Since these processes are usually devised by those belonging to the dominant group (native or non-migrant people), they are inclusive of features that are influenced and characterised by their culture, which was quite evident during the interviews (see Chapter V, sections 4.3 and 5.1). This inadvertently leads to what is termed ‘unconscious bias’ (Zeoli, 2012), especially, if so-called ‘general knowledge’ is socialised through the education of parents who often dub this knowledge as ‘common sense’ and so above question. Against this background, the same questions in a recruitment test, for example, can often not be answered as well by applicants whose parents did not attend school in Germany (Stumpf et al., 2016). Thus, a corresponding question arises as to whether these tests are relevant to the ability to do the job, or are they merely reflecting the dominant ‘common sense’ norms being perpetuated within a job selection process, which remain taken-for-granted?

Moreover, it is evident from this study how ‘problem solving’ is one of the predominant goals in the case study organisation which further influences the content of training sessions (Chapter V, sections 3.1 and 3.3). Indeed, this aim is common among German public authorities. So, according to a recent survey conducted by Gesemann and Roth (2016), the majority of municipalities (cities, towns, local communities and counties) in Germany, justify their engagement for local integration measures on the grounds that these measures prevent conflicts.

Moreover, the cost of non-integration and socio-spatial problems are also

highlighted in this problem-solving approach, which may be disadvantageous for the minority groups given their often relatively poor living situation and environment. This problem is compounded as discriminative processes are often rampant in the housing market and the cultural segregation of housing schemes (Gesemann and Roth, 2016, p. 27).⁵⁵

For the case study organisation, the descriptions offered by the employees often include, the problem-solving perspective. Moreover, the perceived problems and deficits of cultural minorities were predominantly reflected in the interviews. Whereas, the appreciation of having a culturally diverse working population was rarely emphasised (see Chapter V, section 5.1). It is also noteworthy that when staff talked about ‘immigrants’, most of the people being referred to are born and brought up only in Germany.

Thus, in summary, it can be comprehensively concluded that the answers of the participants indicate that the assimilative elements of the organisation being studied are aligned with certain features of the diversity management processes promoted within the city administration’s practices, and despite some pretensions to the contrary. This corresponds to Ely and Thomas’ (2001) “*discrimination and fairness*” diversity perspective, wherein the case study organisation focussed on the value of equality and same treatment among all employees, including culturally

⁵⁵ The survey responses were respectively confirmed in separate surveys undertaken in 2011 and 2016 among all German municipalities. The answers can be applied to the activities of intercultural development and the alignment of diversity management procedures, because similar perspectives (reflecting the above socio-political paradigms) of the public leaders were seen to be based on local integration and diversity management measures.

diverse employees, but, in the process, failed to accommodate the difference of the minority groups. Olsen and Martin (2012, p. 17) classify this perspective as “terminal *assimilation*” and argue that this approach is well accepted by many people because of its emphasis on equal application of organisational policies and standards across culturally-diverse groups.

Considering the case study organisation of the current study, cultural diversity is considered as a desirable aim but wherein integration (defined as an exclusionary term) is deemed as the guiding ethical principle. Olsen and Martin (2012, p. 17) maintain that this aim and its practical application also requires equal consideration of all cultural groups and hence, they classify this aim as “terminal *integration*”. The difference between terminal assimilation and terminal integration lies in how the latter follows the ethical obligation to treat different cultures, not only individuals, equally. Terminal assimilation more straightforwardly stands for “de-emphasis[ing] differences among demographic groups in favour of assimilation into the dominant organizational culture” (Olsen and Martin, 2012, p. 17). Thus, in the context of this study, the organisation supports representative bureaucracy, but there are no evident changes in the day-to-day administrative practice in public service delivery. Terminal integration, however, emphasises “the view [...] that requiring non-dominant groups to assimilate to the dominant culture is not the right strategy for achieving diversity” (Olsen and Martin, 2012, p. 17).

According to the interview data and the theoretical conclusions in the case study organisation, it can be asserted that there is a ‘back and forth’ between both these paradigms. The majority of the participants argued for a general, but vague and

indefinite, understanding of equal treatment that looks at the individual.

Simultaneously, group-specific attributions are used to argue for different diversity measures (see [Chapter V](#), sections 3.2 and 5).

So, the organisation is often willing to implement an integration acculturation strategy. The evidence shows many statements that describe the characteristics of the civil service and the orientation of customer focus (see [Chapter V](#), section 4.2). Subsequently, the public service is likely to lay down an equality standard for all service actions to demonstrate an unprejudiced behaviour to all (culturally different) customers. However, this is a 'one-sided' consideration. The customer perspective (from customers with and without a migration background) and views of other stakeholders (such as NGOs and advocate groups for migrants etc.) are not yet included. Therefore, the 'standard' for what is fair treatment and interculturally-sensitive public service is based on the attitudes and experiences of the administration, which again, mostly if not entirely, reflect the dominant cultural group.

This analysis leads to a further distinction in acculturation strategies by Olsen and Martins (2012) namely, 'instrumental assimilation' and 'instrumental integration'. Both approaches recognise cultural diversity as an important organisational objective. However, the assimilation approach identifies and acknowledges the instrumental value of cultural diversity but only to obtain access to specific customer groups, and so still expects that members of the organisation conform to the dominant culture. This approach is similar to Ely and Thomas' (2001) '*access and*

legitimacy' perspective that aims to open up diverse markets and clients *as a means to* gaining profit.

The instrumental integration approach aims to achieve organisational objectives, such as access to new customer groups, but also encourages (culturally diverse) members of the organisation to draw on their cultural backgrounds to make the organisation better, thus resulting in more 'intercultural competence'. The interviewees have, by implication, referred often to this kind of instrumental strategy. They have emphasised the importance of an interculturally-competent public service, which includes competent contact and dealing with culturally-diverse customers, while also ensuring the development in recruiting and integrating culturally-diverse employees who can further enrich the existing workforce characterised by the dominant cultural group (see [Chapter V](#), section 5.2). This also reflects Ely and Thomas' (2001) '*integration and learning*' perspective that aims to inform and enhance core work and work processes at all levels of an organisation. Many interviewees emphasised the high value of work experience, which is related both to existing intercultural competencies *and* customer-oriented public service delivery, as a basis for the development of diversity management. However, the willingness to 'learn', beyond the existing dynamics, was in some cases low and can be considered an obstacle to this approach (see [Chapter V](#), section 5.1 and see previous discussion concerning the negative response to offers of further training). In general, these theoretical classifications provide a very useful abstract framework for analysing the strategic positioning of organisations and their acculturation strategies. In practice, though, certain combinations can exist as 'dual value'

strategies. For example, 'dual value' assimilation is related to fair treatment of individuals based on moral, social or legal responsibilities and at the same time, appreciates the 'business case' for diversity (Olsen and Martin, 2012). However, these business goals are primarily related to securing economic advantages, such as better marketing and access to (new) customers, and are instrumental to the value of diversity rather than viewing it as a value, which is an end in itself (see Chapter III, section 4.2).

Whereas, dual value integration seeks further to encourage cultural diversity because of the contributions to organisational achievements, and simultaneously it looks for "its inherent value as an end-state" – that is, of cultural diversity inclusion in the organisation (Olsen & Martin, 2012, p. 20). There are moral or legal arguments that also are consistent with this approach, if one follows the social justice perspective in the introduction of diversity management, which this study has taken as its basis (and will be explored further below). These arguments correspond to the main assumptions underlying this research as presented in Chapter I (Introduction) and have been developed throughout the thesis.

First, based on the fundamental duties, a public administration must assure access to public vacancies (Art. 33 II GG) and a representation of its population in the governmental workforce. Second, governments must guarantee that all people have barrier-free access to all public services with no discrimination. It is a public concern and governmental responsibility to provide services and access to public services for all people and citizens (Art. 3 GG). More specifically, it has been found that this approach, to some extent, corresponds to the political integration agenda

of the city (integration concept of the city of Hamm, 2016; and see Chapter III, sections 3.2 and 3.3, Chapter V sections 3.2, 4.1 and 4.2, and Chapter VI, section 1.4), which includes the further development of intercultural sensitivity within the city administration with the aim of providing barrier-free public services. However, as indicated by the results of the survey, there is a lack of a targeted approach to the moral and legal arguments for CDM strategies, which are not oriented towards the business case for diversity; however, they focus on the anti-discrimination aspect of the administration. The stated understandings, ideas and visions of diversity management, are often classified under the headings of the assimilative approaches (as explored here), and as such weaken the social justice perspective, even though this perspective has been clearly identified as a central and peculiar feature of public sector policy and practice.

VI.1.5 Summary

This section presents a summary analysis of the different characteristics of the case study organisation in dealing with cultural diversity at the organisational level, and as a prelude to further discussions in this chapter about the relationship between the values of equality and diversity, and corresponding justifications of both same and differential treatment – that is, focussing on what will be called here an ‘equality paradox’. Following the description of relevant paradigms that (partially) influence the strategy of organisational acculturation, in particular, this research found the assimilation and integration paradigms to be prevalent when classifying the case study’s acculturation strategy. Both paradigms focused first and foremost on the differences between the cultural groups but were strongly oriented to supporting and maintaining the existing culture of the ‘receiving’ or the ‘host’ society.

The organisational culture and acculturation strategy of the organisation being studied highlighted varied characteristics that reflected both these paradigms. However, a strict and exclusive adherence to either of these paradigms is unlikely in practice, even if they *predominantly* influence organisational behaviour, because other paradigms are also inevitably present in organisational practice to some degree. For example, there is a clear proactive attitude to promoting diversity with the aim that the organisation and its services become interculturally sensitive. Within this aim, the organisation follows the general approach of CDM (and NPM) with a focus on ‘customer orientation’, and operating under the guiding principle of equal treatment and anti-discrimination. However, the research here has concluded

that the organisational understanding of equal treatment could be an obstacle to integration and the valuing of differences found in multicultural and pluralist strategies, due to the perceptions promoted by the majority within the organisation under study. So, one main difference between the assimilation and integration strategies is the difference in dealing with individual views and beliefs of non-dominant group members, with the latter tending to incorporate the viewpoints of the minority.

Nevertheless, in the assessment of the case study, there are *both* integrative and assimilative elements evidenced by the interview data. For example, the stress on integration within the organisation has led to diversity measures strongly focussing on the recognition and the respect accorded to culturally-diverse customers and employees. Cultural diversity, in this context, is a desirable organisational aim which is acknowledged by the workforce. For example, numerous statements from the interviewees refer to the organisational goals such as possessing desirable social skills, open-mindedness and promotion of intercultural sensitivity, and which also reflect the demographic changes within the city (see [Chapter V](#), section 5). These aspects are related to Olsen and Martin's (2012) categories of 'terminal integration' as well as 'instrumental integration' or 'dual-value integration', which Ely and Thomas (2001) categorise as integration and *learning* diversity perspectives.

However, there is other evidence that suggests that the organisation follows an assimilation-acculturation strategy. The main more abstract argument here, and to be explored in more detail below, is that, this strategy reflects what will be called an equality 'paradox' which is exposed via the tension between promoting sameness of

treatment as reflecting an equality principle, but which in turn leads to discriminatory practices if dominant cultural groups define the norms of same treatment on their own terms solely. As presented, the guiding organisational principle is equal treatment. The public services, therefore, see themselves as successful pioneers of customer-orientation based on an ethical obligation of the organisation to treat every individual and different cultures, equally. Although this aim is used to justify an integration approach, the crucial issue identified here is of 'equality' which is defined solely by the dominant group and so, the experiences of 'the majority' in the organisation hold sway. Consequently, the organisation aims to reduce problems that are associated solely with existing diverse customers, by so-called non-discrimination policies and equal treatment, which however, fail to acknowledge the more deeply-rooted problems of institutional discrimination found *within* the dominant organisation and in wider German society. Therefore, although the recognition of cultural diversity is the guiding principle of existing diversity measures, given that the 'problem-solving' is based on the 'equality standard' which is defined solely by the dominant group and its institutional norms, which focuses on 'the problems' on the characteristics of the ethnic minority and, correspondingly, *not* those of the ethnic majority. These findings also reflect other research exploring CDM in German public sector organisations (Federal Ministry of Urban Development & Federal Commissioner, 2012).

VI.2 Distinction between affirmative action and positive discrimination

In accordance with the above conclusion and after classifying the acculturation strategy, and studying the characteristics of the organisational culture that influence the alignment and the development of CDM, this research will now analyse and discuss specific diversity measures and/or antidiscrimination policies to demonstrate the differentiations and contradictions within the postulated organisational goals of equal treatment.

As argued in the previous section, equal treatment is the central issue for the development of organisational strategy which has correspondingly generated a paradox or tension within the organisation observed under the current study. It is a key organisational principle, but can also be a hindering factor for successful diversity management, provided that is defined or determined solely by the norms and practices of the dominant institutional group. This section explores this issue further by asking two very basic ethical questions: “When is it fair according to the principles of CDM to treat people the same?” (and see section 2.1) and “When is it fair to treat people differently?” (and see section 2.2).

To answer these questions, the data generated from the interviews is analysed from two different perspectives or viewpoints. That is, firstly, treating people equally which means that organisational practice treats them the same way regardless of their individual characteristics. Versus, secondly, treating people fairly or in a way that might be defined as socially just, which means treating people *appropriately* according to particular characteristics, but which can justifiably result in treating people differently because of different individual (or group-specific) needs. For

example, affirmative action programmes do not treat people equally, rather they are oriented toward groups that have been discriminated against and are aligned to give certain preferences to these people (Reyna et al., 2005), but not so much in relation to *outcomes* (such as job selection), rather in relation to the *processes*, which lead to these outcomes (such as the advertising of jobs which might be targeted toward certain disadvantaged groups). In general, then, affirmative action is a compensatory approach and can be voluntary as well as based on legal obligations and duties. A synonym for affirmative action is positive action, which is a term mainly used in Europe and anchored in the German anti-discrimination law (General Act on Equal Treatment). This action includes access for disadvantaged groups to facilities for training or to encourage job applications from under-represented groups (Gilhooley, 2008). In Germany, positive action measures often are limited to job advertisements that include particular calls for applications from minority groups.

Following from the above, the underlying principle of affirmative or positive action is equity not equality (Thomas, 1996; Wilson, 1996; Reyna et al., 2005; McMillan-Capehart et al., 2009). There is an important difference between these two words. Equality means sameness, but equity means fairness, with the former implying that everyone should get the same opportunities, but which then, leads to a further related equity question: what opportunities are fair given that people may be different? Moreover, what is especially relevant to this research and the promotion of CDM is the focus on *particular* differences? So, if equal treatment is the guiding principle to manage cultural diversity, it implies providing all customers with the same treatment regardless of their individual situations and needs. The

interviewees as seen, however, often refer explicitly to individual special needs, for instance, translation for non-German speaking customers, which then, provides reasons to justifiably treat people, differently (see [Chapter V](#), section 3.1).

In contrast though to affirmative action, there is positive discrimination. Positive discrimination means treating someone preferentially in relation to outcomes rather than processes, based on positively favouring individuals from groups that have been historically discriminated against because of their ethnic origins, gender, age, sexual orientations etc. (Kapoor, 2011; Hill, 2009). This favouritism simultaneously, leads to discrimination against others who may be equally qualified and is, therefore, often prohibited. However, there are exceptions, for instance, in the context of disability discrimination, which is allowed and in some cases where it is even obligatory to prefer disabled over non-disabled employees (in Germany, for example, see regulations according to the Disabled Equalization Act and Equal Opportunities Act).⁵⁶

In summary, Johns and Green (2009) categorise positive discrimination as a radical form of equality of opportunity, which is however, frequently illegal. Non-legal positive discrimination would constitute measures, which result in automatic and unconditional preferential treatment in the selection of workers. This would be the case, for example, if apparently poorly-qualified migrants are only hired to increase the proportion of migrants in an organisation. This would be equal to a quota,

⁵⁶ Unequal treatment is permissible according to § 5 AGG. The regulation allows for measures to remedy existing disadvantages as well as preventive measures to avoid future disadvantages, via certain forms of preferential treatment.

which also would fall under the category of illegitimate positive discrimination in most cases (Merx, 2008).

VI.2.1 When is it fair, according to the principles of Cultural Diversity

Management, to treat people the same?

The notion of diversity management can be interpreted as an approach which encourages fair treatment and values cultural differences among employees and customers. As explored in the literature review, the concept can be understood as offering a new approach in dealing with issues, such as equality, discrimination and injustice in the workplace, and in how customers or service-users are viewed and dealt with. More broadly, it can also be seen as a critique of traditional equal opportunities policies, if these are based on the promotion of 'sameness' and 'equal treatment' (to reduce inequalities) with diversity management aiming at recognising and valuing individual and group differences. Following this analysis, it can also be asserted that the philosophy of business-case diversity management can be observed in opposition to this "right-based" equal opportunities approach (Foster and Harris, 2005, p. 5 referring to Webb, 1997), because central to the business-case approach is the aim of organisational efficacy and economic success rather than the end-state of social justice and inclusion of individuals.

Subsequently, with the introduction of diversity management to the public sector, the organisation being studied pursues the goal of providing public services to all customers or inhabitants. This can be attributed, in part, to the statutory mandate for equal treatment. However, in parallel to this mandate, diversity management is acknowledged as providing a broadening of the "concept of equality beyond the issues covered by law" (Foster and Harris, 2005, p. 6; CIPD, 2005), since it is the goal of the organisation to offer customer-oriented services which must in turn

recognise and accommodate for various and differing needs. For example, many of the interviewees referred to their motivation to provide enhanced customer services based on the imperative to deal sensitively with culturally-diverse customers, with special needs. This imperative also requires the development of intercultural competencies from the workforce (e.g. intercultural sensitivity or language skills) which then facilitates this better practice (see [Chapter V](#), sections 3.5 and 5.1).

However, interviewees also revealed different attitudes toward the principle of equal treatment which has important implications for the question posed here of whether/when it is fair to treat people/customers the same way and whether/when it is fair to treat people/customers differently?

Thus, the interviewees would often state that all citizens should be treated equally, irrespective of their cultural backgrounds (see [Chapter V](#), sections 3.2 and 5.1). This could be understood such that every customer would get the same service and the same support to solve his concerns or answer requests. This approach reflects the basic principle of equality and is central to the organisational culture. However, following from the above discussion, this approach can also be superficial or a 'surface level' response to issues of diversity management, if someone is inadvertently excluded from receiving support or service *because* of his or her individual differences.

Moreover, this analysis clarifies that there is a profound difference between offering the same access to services (which is difference-blind), and offering the same opportunities to participation and inclusion (which is difference-sensitive).

Same access would simply mean that all customers get a standardised service, regardless of their differences. Offering the same opportunities to participate and be included would mean providing equity by *recognising* these differences.

It is being claimed here that although the latter strategy is one of the central aims of the case study organisation (thus resulting in non-discrimination policy and appropriate services for all (diverse) customers), often the interviewees argued for equal treatment of all people *regardless* of differences. This attitude was typified, for example, by the statement made by Anita, chief officer, aged 50+ (see [Chapter V](#), sections 3.2 and 5.1.2)

“Intercultural orientation means equal treatment of people with and without different cultural background. This is already implemented.”

So, in short, difference here, is defined as a ‘problem’ characteristic of the customer, who belongs to a minority group and should, in principle, be treated the same as other groups:

“Customers with a different cultural background differ from other customers” [which belong to the (German) majority]. *“They have another imagination of what public service is responsible for and how service is provided.”* (Gabriele, assistant chief officer, aged 40+; and see [Chapter V](#), section 5.1.2)

Such an attitude often underpins the developments of diversity management and what may be defined as an interculturally-competent public service. As a result, individual or group-specific needs become focused on as ‘the problem’ which then

lays the foundation for equal treatment once this problem is 'solved'. For example, translation support is provided to address the communication problem of 'the immigrant' but then, once this is met, the customer is treated the same as anyone else regardless of other differences, which might otherwise be thought of as being valuable or worthwhile to promote and recognise within the community.

As previously explored from the internal organisational perspective, the predominant outcome for effective and successful citizens' services lies in effective communication with all the services-users. Hence, committing to this equal outcome means the unequal treatment of specific culturally-diverse customers through the provision of additional services, such as language translation services to ensure equal outcomes (see [Chapter II](#), section 2.2). However, once this problem is dealt with, all customers are treated the same, according to this strategy. Indeed, it is important to also highlight that a minority of interviewees argued for the same treatment from the beginning, and refused to recognise individual differences at all, in any part of the service-delivery, and *especially*, for people with different cultural backgrounds. As explored in the previous sections in this chapter, this recommendation reflects a full-blooded assimilation, and contradicts the general strategic alignment of the city toward integration and 'intercultural openness', underpinning the concept of diversity management. Nevertheless, the justification for this assimilation can be gauged in the context of equality promotion that *opposes* differential treatment. For example, some of the interviewees criticised translation support measures, insisting that any change must come from the immigrant population and not the organisation:

“We are too customer-oriented to people with different cultural background. They [immigrants / cultural diverse people] have to become integrated and especially learn the German language.” (Konrad, chief officer, aged 50+)

“There is a necessity for change by the customer-side [immigrants / cultural diverse people].” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)

Finally, in this section, it is important to stress again that the concept of diversity management can also emphasise the benefits of cultural diversity. As explored in the literature review, individual and group diversities are valued in the business case for CDM because of the organisational efficiencies and profits promised when an organisation is diversity-minded. The senior management of the organisation under study here also values diversity due to its positive contribution towards the organisational practices and therefore, reflects the business case for CDM.

However, the argument here posits that diversity should also be valued because of an appeal to equity and social justice. This appeal is distinct in character to the business case for CDM, and is an appeal that can be made by the public sector organisations directly whose aims are focussing on traditional commitments to public service and social responsibility *rather than* profit and efficiency. It in this latter context that diversity management for the city administration of Hamm can be seen as having strong associations with the promotion of customer service for all its citizens and must focus on developing an interculturally-sensitive and competent public service. This focus, in turn, can contribute to greater equity and social justice, understood now as the underlying aim of public sector organisations. Following this

conclusion, the study will explore further the question of when is it fair or socially just to treat people differently.

VI.2.2 When is it fair to treat people differently?

As previously explored, if the aim is to treat people as equal recipients of the services provided, it may be necessary to treat them differently. It has been observed that one way to discover individual differences is through offering equal opportunities' policies, for instance, initiating affirmative or positive action (Chapter VI, section 2.1). Thus, traditional CDM strategies in public sector organisations are likely to include appropriate positive action measures that aim at establishing targets, recruitment efforts or initiating the alignment of public services to certain population groups. According to this principle, the purpose of a public organisation would be to recognise and address systemic disadvantages. However, diversity management in general is not targeted at equalising (cultural) differences (Johns & Green, 2009), but rather it supports the positive recognition of individual differences.

Following this analysis, the organisation reviewed in the current study has advanced an organisational code of equal opportunities that have resulted in the Citizens' Services Offices having to implement this code. To cite some of the interviewees again who argued in this vein:

"Customer orientation the guiding principle. It incorporates valuing diversity." (Cato, chief officer, aged 40+)

"Citizens' Services Offices are pioneers for customer orientation. They have established their own philosophy ('Bürgeramtsphilosophie') [Citizens' Service Offices philosophy] that means every person is treated equally." (Herbert, senior manager, aged 50+)

“According to our philosophy we focus on different needs of cultural diverse customers.” (Winfried, chief officer, aged 50+)

The interviewees often recognised differences among customers and offered individual specific services if applicable (see [Chapter V](#), section 4.2). However, some of the interviewees also stressed the value of treating people the same and, as a result, often resisted the push toward differential treatment.

“Intercultural orientation is synonymous with equal treatment. And customer orientation includes equal treatment. Because of this no special focus on target groups, e.g. people with different cultural background is necessary.”
(Anita, chief officer, aged 50+)

These quotes also exemplify the difficulty of staff within the organisation to prioritise and classify different administrative or managerial initiatives which promote *both* equality and difference. The further contention here is that the absence of any clear differentiation between customer-orientation and diversity management on the one hand, and equal treatment and positive measures to ensure equal opportunities on the other, reflects a general uncertainty among the workforce and senior managers about how the values of equality and diversity are conceptualised and applied to organisational practice. For example, there is a lack of an agreed statement between the workforce and the management on the targets of CDM for the Citizens’ Services Offices, although the interview data offers evidence that the aims of diversity management are generally supported. Also, the statements from the interviewees explored in the previous sections (and see [Chapter V](#), sections 3-5) exhibit a consistent perception about the intricacies that

should be involved in customer orientation, namely, fair treatment and equal outcomes. However, as discussed in this chapter, commitments to these general principles do not provide substantial answers to the questions of when it may be fair to treat someone equally and when, it may be fair to treat someone differently, and most especially, in the context of CDM?

Moreover, senior management (and other leaders) within the organisation have not articulated answers to these questions which can be deemed as a serious shortcoming that apparently has placed staff in stressful positions when challenged with practical problems of dealing with a highly culturally diverse customer profile. This shortcoming, in turn, might help to explain some of the negative attitudes towards diversity management as a result of the intercultural conflict which sometimes ensues between staff member and service-users with immigrant backgrounds (see [Chapter V](#), section 5.1.2).

VI.2.3 Summary

Since equal treatment has been established as a central organisational objective in the case study investigated here, a closer look at this term is of particular importance for the analysis. In addition to the conceptual distinction between affirmative action and positive discrimination, the case study is concerned with the aim of understanding the meaning of same treatment. Further deductions have to be made in the context of attaining equal *outcomes* through fair treatment. This last aspect has been identified as one of the main aims of the organisational strategy implemented by the Citizens' Services Offices. However, it has also been found that these distinctions are not clear in the responses of the interviewees, which may be attributed to the lack of consideration of theoretical, basic concepts, found within the organisation more widely and especially perhaps from senior management. Moreover, the contention here is that the resulting uncertainties, if these persist, will be a permanent obstacle to further intercultural development and the successful development of CDM programmes in the Citizens' Services Offices. Such an obstacle occurs due to the lack of differentiation between these concepts and their associated explanations of CDM, which can lead to the false conclusions that no further measures or changes are necessary to ensure an interculturally-sensitive and fair, or socially just, public service.

Finally, there is also a risk that, as a result, the positive general framework conditions which establish customer-oriented services in the Citizens' Services Offices can become a significant problem for intercultural orientation. That is, if the conceptual differences and conflicts between *fair* treatment with the goal of

achieving the same outcome, and *same* treatment in all matters regardless of outcome, are not recognised by the organisation and by its employees.

VI.3 The importance and influence of New Public Management (NPM) on Cultural Diversity Management in public administrations

As illustrated in the literature review (Chapter III), the reforms of NPM have greatly influenced the organisational cultures of German public administrations. Since the 1990s, there has been a strong modernisation trend in German administrations. In addition to factors, such as demographic change and a changed service requirement of citizens and employees in the public sector, the focus has shifted on the measures to save and 'bundle' resources⁵⁷. However, many approaches to the modernisation of the administration are *in general* congruent with the objectives and measures of the concept of diversity, particularly with regard to improved citizen-orientation, and so are important to examine here.

The aim of NPM in Germany (in German: Neues Steuerungsmodell) has been to explicitly establish a 'business-like' decentralised management and organisational structure characterised by Bogumil, (2002):

- clear separation of responsibilities between politics and administration in the form of contract management,
- decentralised resource and profit responsibility combined with an emphasis on centrally controlling organisational management
- output control in the form of product definition, cost and performance calculation, budgeting and quality management to create what is defined as 'direct customer-orientation'

⁵⁷ Representing situational and context-sensitive bundling of public services is often seen as an important aspect for successful customer-oriented provision of public services. This resource-based concept follows the assumption that capabilities are needed to bundle, to manage, and otherwise to exploit resources in a manner that provides 'added-value' for customers (for example, see Wimmer, 2002).

- activation of competitive elements (e.g. competition surrogates, market tests, public-private-partnerships) and
- increased involvement of citizens defined as 'customers' (e.g. including surveys, strengthening of the customer rights elements of service-delivery, more inclusion in representative or direct democracy processes).

It is in this context of NPM and the ongoing modernisation process that comprehensive diversity management is emerging in Germany's public sector, and against the background of wider economic realignment (and see Charta der Vielfalt e.V., 2014). Thus, the establishment of the Citizens' Services Offices as part of the administrative reforms in Hamm which were incepted in the 1990s should be considered in a similar manner. Central to these reforms was the introduction of the citizen orientation with the establishment of Citizens' Service Offices in all municipal districts, as well as the Citizens' Offices for Migration and Integration in the Town Hall.

However, according to the Association for Local Government Administration Management (KGSt), the traditional bureaucratic model, which has contributed decisively to the establishment of liberal and democratic constitutional orders in the last century, has been counteracted by the NPM (KGSt, 2007). As shown in the literature review (Chapter III), the NPM has caused a paradigm shift in service-delivery and initiated a phase of fundamental systemic changes in the municipalities. According to the KGSt, it has evolved from a concept of reform, to advocating a more radical set of changes in management and control systems, which have become widely accepted and implemented today, in theory and practice, and within both private and public sectors (KGSt, 2007).

The study will now problematise and critique these changes with a view to identifying the limitations of applying the business case (via NPM) to the development of CDM strategy in public sector organisations, and drawing from the case study explored here.

VI.3.1 The delimitation of Cox's multicultural organisation (Cox, 2001)

Against the backdrop of the business orientation associated with the modernisation of the administration, the adoption of the classic business concept of diversity management could also be of interest to the administration studied here. However, as presented in the literature review chapter (Chapter III), there are different conditions and underlying motivations for private and public sector organisations when implementing CDM programmes. Business case motives for diversity management entail maximising the potential of the workforce, developing a better market position or enhancing business opportunities and profit. Although public sector organisations have both a legal obligation and social responsibility in the context of assuring equal treatment in public service delivery, the business case arguments can be relevant for public sector organisations as well. Moreover, they are often used to convince local government administrations to implement diversity management (Charta der Vielfalt e.V., 2014).

As explored in the literature review (Chapter III), the main elements of a multicultural organisation are pluralism, reflecting the acculturation process, and the absence of institutional 'cultural biases' in Human Resource Management. However, using a particular classification of acculturation strategies, which was explored in detail in Chapter VI, section 1, the case study organisation is characterised by integrative and assimilative strategies rather than strategies associated with promoting a multicultural organisation.

So, following from the analysis presented in this chapter, the research will consider two central issues highlighting the difficulties experienced by the case study

organisation, and which hinder the implementation of a comprehensive diversity management. First, the challenge of considering diversity as a value-added activity or component of an organisation (and see 3.1.1) and second, how to diagnose correctly the problems faced by the organisation and as a basis for change taking place (and see 3.1.2). Both these issues are cited by Cox (2001) as important reasons for the failed implementation of CDM-oriented efforts.

VI.3.1.1 Diversity as valued added activity

In the organisation observed in the current study, cultural diversity as a general phenomenon or social reality, is seen as positive and valued. For example, according to the head of the Citizens' Service Offices division, promoting diversity as a value-added activity or component of the organisation is an essential criterion in Citizens' Services Offices, so as to provide public services to all population groups and fulfil the governmental task as service provider successfully (see [Chapter V](#), sections 4.2 and 4.3).

According to Cox (2001), five criteria must be further considered since they are deemed imperative to the value of both promoting and managing diversity.

1. Problem solving: Improved problem-solving and decision-making is a prospective benefit brought about by the promotion of cultural diversity within the organisation. Following several statements from the interviewees (for example see [Chapter V](#), section 5), problem-solving is one of the main arguments supporting CDM by the administration (and the employees) given the perceived challenges in public service delivery as a result of having to meet the needs of a multicultural population. For example, to avoid communication problems with citizens whose mother tongue is not German, services and training are provided to ensure information in foreign languages are made available, or to increase the (foreign) language skills of employees.

2. Creativity and innovation: A commonly used argument for promoting cultural diversity among workforces is based on the assumption that intercultural or heterogeneous teams perform better than homogeneous teams (Cox, 2001; Tang

and Byrge, 2016). However, in the organisation studied here, this criterion is irrelevant or has, by default, become marginalised, as a very limited proportion of culturally diverse employees work within the administration of the city. While there are efforts and aspirations from across the city to create a more representative bureaucracy, these are still in their nascent stages and acts as a significant obstacle towards the development of CDM (see [Chapter V](#), section 5.2).

3. Organisational flexibility: The argument for organisational flexibility is based on the assumption that diverse teams can react more flexibly to different tasks because of a broader and richer base of experiences and knowledge.⁵⁸ In relation to the case-study, some employees argued similarly when they have described individual experiences from encounters with culturally-diverse people as sources of intercultural competence development (for example see [Chapter V](#), section 5). Nevertheless, the case study investigation also showed that there are more uniform or typical ways of organising, dealing with, or responding to information as Citizens' Services Offices presently stand, derived from a specific organisational structure and philosophy that pre-determines or shapes practices (see [Chapter V](#), section 4). It is possible that these practices, in turn, might limit the flexibility of responding to customers or service-users, especially again if the workforce is not culturally diverse or representative.

4. Improving the quality of personnel through better recruitment and retention:

Attracting and retaining culturally-diverse employees for the public sector has

⁵⁸ Cox (2001) points out, however, that the flexibility argument is speculative rather than scientifically-founded.

become a general aim for most German administration offices (see exemplary web campaigns of Baden-Württemberg (www.vielfalt-macht-karriere.de) and of the Federal Government (www.wir-sind-bund.de)). This aim can be justified as the intercultural skills are introduced into the 'talent pool' as a result. Another reason is that local government administrations in Germany are often in tough competition for employing skilled workers, and with the private sector particularly (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2017). Given these reasons, enhancing the quality of personnel is particularly pertinent for the case study organisation which can be, in turn, underpinned by the importance of valuing diversity within the organisation. However, positive or affirmative actions is usually not practiced for the recruitment of culturally-diverse employees within this case study, and as such is another hindrance to effective CDM (and see Chapter V, section 5.2).

5. Improving marketing strategies: The marketing argument is related to the business case for CDM and that customer markets are becoming increasingly diverse owing to the impact of globalisation (Keating and Thompson, 2004). However, this argument has also become relevant for public sector organisations and particularly in the context of promoting NPM as explored in the previous section. Public service delivery is aligned with its 'customers' or 'citizen consumers' as well. Thus, visible cultural diversity among the workforce can enhance the value of public relations if the organisation is seen to embody intercultural openness and sensitivity to customers via its recruitment policies and practices. This visibility could also attract more people from minority cultures to apply for a career in the public services. However, while these objectives are aligned with the organisational motives of the case study organisation, it was also found that these aims are/were

more closely related to the external *political* strategy of local integration, rather than with the *administration's* approach to internal diversity management (see Chapter V, section 3).

The research will now identify some of the implications of the above assessment of Cox's model as applied to the case study, and explore further the possible barriers to CDM which might ensue according to Cox.

VI.3.1.2 Misdiagnosis of 'the problem'

Cox (2001) describes the reasons for the failure of efforts for CDM, despite the organisation acknowledging the potential problems *and* benefits of promoting cultural diversity. Most notably, Cox (2001) refers to the organisational culture of most employers as not being ready or suitable when it comes to dealing with cultural diversity, *even if* CDM is promoted officially by the organisation. This organisational problem is not easily solved, even if workers of different cultural origin are employed in the organisation. For example, if organisations follow a strategy for assimilative acculturation (see sections 1.1 and 2.1 in this Chapter), they may “tend to hire people who are perceived as fitting the existing culture of their firm” even if they are from different cultures, which could lead, in consequence, to a situation where “real differences tend to diminish over time” (Cox, 2001, p. 12).⁵⁹

Indeed, as explored earlier, a similar finding has been demonstrated in the case study, where assimilation was found to often characterise the organisation’s acculturation practices (see section 2).

Moreover, the organisation under study, although supports CDM and the potential of an interculturally-competent public service delivery model, the current organisational perspectives and acculturation strategy on cultural diversity risk ‘mis-diagnosing’ the problems to be addressed. On the one hand, intercultural competency training and awareness-raising are an important and integral part of the concept of diversity and is certainly promoted with the city of Hamm. On the other hand, there must also be a critical, self-reflective view of the existing

⁵⁹ Cox called this kind of organisational culture ‘diversity-toxic’.

procedures and practices – these being a direct reflection of the dominant culture which minority cultures are often expected to assimilate to. The absence of this critical self-reflective viewpoint was found to be prevalent within the organisation and as such represents a significant obstacle to the development of CDM (see Findings in [Chapter V](#), section 3, and theoretical issues explored in [Chapter II](#), section 4 and 5 and [Chapter III](#), section 3). In addition, the recommendation here is that this critical self-reflection should operate in the context of the modernisation of the administration and of promoting customer-orientation.

Proactive customer-orientation is, as mentioned before (see [Chapter V](#), section 4.2), in many respects ‘cutting edge’ and has acted as a trigger for the case study to introduce CDM. Thus, diversity management appears as a useful and necessary supplement to the concept of customer orientation (Charta der Vielfalt e.V., 2014). A linkage of both concepts is nevertheless not devoid of obstacles and difficulties. For example, due to the success experienced by the Citizens’ Services Offices, the concept of customer orientation remains unchanged. Some interviewees even argued that customer orientation, operating within existing NPM frameworks, already incorporates an interculturally sensitive orientation, which does not require further adjustment or development (see [Chapter V](#), sections 3.3 and 4.3).

Therefore, the organisational culture in the city administration of Hamm is determined by a culturally homogenous workforce comprising mainly of the indigenous/non-migrant people who are often not critically self-reflective. Moreover, the organisational culture in the Citizens’ Service Offices is shaped by extensive administration modernisation (NPM). A strong emphasis on management

modernisation *per se* is not necessarily opposed to the diversity management approach. Nonetheless, a closer examination of the elements introduced via the NPM (such as customer orientation) should be considered in the implementation or further development of cultural diversity management. In the case study organisation, these elements are highly relevant assuming that the practice of customer orientation is thoroughly critically interrogated. Whereas, not recognising the influence of these reform elements and the need for self-critical reflection will likely lead to mistaken conclusions and a skewed understanding of the issues concerning CDM.

VI.3.2 Correlations with the associated administrative reform concept of intercultural customer orientation

From customer orientation to culture-oriented customer orientation' has now become a common political slogan and goal for many municipalities and is an important requirement in the context of intercultural development within local government (Donecker and Fischer, 2014). However, every administration, including the one being studied, claims to be a modern administration, open to the public, with services that are available equally to all inhabitants, guaranteed by the fulfilment of certain legal obligations and duties to its citizens. Thus, the potential for the continued development and *critical* evaluation of CDM is difficult (see Chapter V, sections 3.2 and 4.2). So, according to one of the interviewees:

“all citizens are treated equally, simply because this is the legal task of the administration”. (Herbert, senior manager, aged 40+)

Moreover, instead of providing a comprehensive critical assessment of the diversity concept and CDM, the existing practices of the Citizens' Services Offices are often unproblematically recommended by the organisation and the individuals working within it, and so with any remaining problems residing, by implication, with the immigrant service-users (See Chapter V, section 3.2). So to cite another interviewee:

“There is a necessity for change by the customer-side [immigrants / cultural diverse people].” (Peter, administrative officer, aged 40+)

Following the above analysis, difficulties also lie in delineating the goals of an *intercultural* orientation and intercultural administrative work which emphasises

diversity, in contrast to more general *customer* orientation (see Chapter V, section 4.2) which emphasises sameness or equality. So, if intercultural orientation is related to special needs of customers with different cultural background, often citizens or customers are not treated equally. This tension or conflict between these goals can also be seen in the organisation under study here and has been explored previously.⁶⁰ When such a conflict or tension is left unchecked and/or unrecognised, inappropriate attitudes to both, equal and differential treatment, are perpetuated which limits the development of CDM.

For example, Donecker and Fischer (2014, p. 31) refer, in this context, to the “administrative-cultural glasses” of the employees that need to be ‘more sharply focused’ in order to clearly recognise an ‘alleged’ equal treatment. So, it is not only necessary that (cultural) differences are perceived and recognised, but it is just as important for interculturally-competent citizen services to be aware of the different and unequal access to public services experienced by minority groups. This awareness, as a fundamental aim of the interculturally-competent customer orientation, helps to focus essentially on the structural disadvantage experienced by some groups, and to recognise and avoid unconscious bias, both in the delivery of service and in the adoption of recruitment policies.

⁶⁰ For example, on the question of the distinction between fair and unequal treatment and the associated conceptual, theoretical principles and arguments, see section 2 in this chapter.

VI.3.3 Summary

Until now, the link between NPM and CDM diversity initiatives in Germany has hardly been considered in previous research, albeit there are some important insights concerning their intersection (for example, see Charta der Vielfalt e.V., 2014). However, it is clear from this study that the introduction of customer-orientation (being derived from NPM) has made a significant impact on diversity management (derived from CDM). Thus, in the case study organisation, customer orientation proved to be the trigger and the practice-base for the diversity initiatives being taken by senior management.

The study has revealed, that modern management under the heading of NPM, with its business orientation and customer orientation, offers important stimulants and links to diversity concepts and the promotion of CDM. However, an in-depth analysis of the success of its implementation has shown an ambivalence about these stimulants and links.

It is evident that it is not an easy task to influence the existing citizens' services, for it is generally oriented towards customer friendliness and openness, and perceives itself uncritically in these terms. The fact that the employees must have adequate prerequisites for service orientation and intercultural skills is an advantage while promoting CDM that is consistent with the aims of NPM. However, there are established and very entrenched methods of work based on ideas about equal treatment within the case study organisation, which seem less open to change or criticism. A more comprehensive critical approach, which is sensitive to both the employees' expectations and to the views and perspectives of minority groups,

highlights a non-business model for the comprehension and strategic development of CDM. In this context, it is important that the management set clear targets and involve employees to help the latter realise the importance of an administration that is built on interculturally-oriented citizens' service, and as such is consistent with NPM and the business model. Nevertheless, along with such a comprehensive critical approach of CPM a critical analysis of the theoretical foundations and differences of equality concepts, diversity measures, anti-discrimination strategies, understanding of intercultural competencies, and so on, should also be offered and critically scrutinised within the organisation. This analysis *beyond* the business model is necessary to achieve a common approach and agreement among employees, but at the same time pays attention to wider issues of acculturation, social justice and equity, as explored previously (for example, see section 2).

VII. Conclusion

VII.1 Overview of study

The following chapter briefly summarises and concludes the findings and analyses of this research, which has investigated the introduction of CDM in a municipal administration in Germany as part of a single embedded case study. The object of the investigation was the Citizens' Service Offices in the city of Hamm in North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. The study was initiated due to the need to examine the implementation of diversity initiatives from an organisationally internal perspective. Therefore, the study pursued a qualitative and explorative research design that enabled the observation and examination of the internal organisational processes as well as attitudes of both the managers and employees towards CDM measures. During the fieldwork phase, spanning about six months, the researcher investigated the work and the working conditions on-site from this 'insider's' perspective.

More specifically, the study explored the underlying motivations and objectives of public sector organisations that lead towards the development of diversity initiatives (research questions 1 und 2, pp. 37 and 161-162), examining the influence of public management reforms' efforts (research question 4, pp. 38 and 162). The notion of 'customer orientation' has been identified as being decisive for public sector organisational culture, and how employees within public sector organisations view and treat ethnic minorities (see [Chapters V and VI](#)). It is within this context that the study has been conducted, with a view to examining a range of issues concerning effective theoretical and methodological modelling for research

in this area (research question 4); the value and pursuit of equal treatment and antidiscrimination policies; the practical and principled obstacles to implementing CDM, and to developing a coherent CDM strategy; and the development of a theoretical foundation for understanding CDM within a distinctly public sector organisational arena, and with reference to the values of social justice and equity.

This study concludes with recommendations and a 'new' strategy for introducing CDM in German public service organisations (see section 3.2 below). The findings should be applicable to other cities and administrations in Germany albeit with the usual cautionary caveats given this research focuses on a single case-study.

Nevertheless, many local governments face the same challenges and have also taken a proactive approach to service orientation and appreciation of cultural diversity (Federal Government Commissioner & Federal Ministry of Urban Development, 2012). Also, many face the same or similar challenges of establishing multiculturalism and intercultural competence within their administration, as well as devising and implementing strategies for CDM. In short, the findings here while focussed on a single case study, have established a *general* lack of theoretical considerations of the basic concepts underpinning CDM, and reflected in the formulation of organisation-specific approaches and understandings.

VII.2 The Public management case for Cultural Diversity Management

The initial question of the research undertaken was whether the seminal work of diversity management scholars like Taylor Cox (1993), Roosevelt Thomas (1991), Anita Rowe (Gardenswartz & Row, 1993) and Elsie Cross (2000) constituted an appropriate contribution to implementing CDM in German public sector organisations. This question, however, has subsequently been shaped by two main considerations; first, diversity research has always been recognised as an important foundation for the development of interculturally-competent organisations (Krell, 2006; Vedder, 2006). This recognition, in turn, reflects the perception that the above seminal research is fundamental both for private sector organisations and public administrations. Second, however, the hypothesis underlying the study here is that public sector organisations do follow organisational objectives which are distinct from private sector organisations because of their 'public mission' and their commitment to notions of 'social responsibility'.

In regards to the initial question, then, it constitutes a new research topic in the investigation of diversity management initiatives in Germany assuming this distinctiveness in the public sector ethos. Moreover, the current study discovered that even though different researchers in Germany have dealt with fundamental and seminal research on diversity management (Krell & Sieben, 2007; Schröer, 2007), these studies are generally descriptive in content. A further critical investigation of the theoretical framework conditions, from the point of view of German public management organisations and the perspective of the employees concerned, largely remained unpursued, and therefore needs addressing. Against

the lack of a theoretically critical background, the current research has questioned the already identified 'success factors' from diversity research and, in its case study, has investigated an example of a municipal administration in Germany, in detail, and which has a reputation for being very committed to CDM and diversity management. The anticipation being that this commitment would bring to the surface a number of pertinent theoretical issues, and which could be critically examined in this light.

VII.2.1 The pursuit of social justice and fairness vs. the business model approach to CDM

More specifically, the study showed that the city administration comprehended the task of diversity management as a central part of a local integration and equality or an anti-discrimination policy, derived, primarily, from committing to principles of fairness and social justice. In some aspects, this seems fundamentally aligned with CDM (Cox, 1993; Krell, 2009), thus, the city's political administration faced both internal and external pressures to pursue the values of social justice and fairness in the context of having to deal with an increasingly culturally diverse population (Merx, 2013). Subsequently, it might be said that the growing cultural diversity of the local population was the decisive factor that caused changes in the management of the administration and its internal organisational practices. Thus, the commitment to diversity management became centrally important for this public sector organisation and, in the process, appealed to the business case for CDM as well as social justice arguments (Bleijenbergh et al., 2010).

However, according to the findings of this study the above 'dual approach' to CDM implies a certain contradiction and potential conflicts within the organisation.

Answering the research question of how CDM is implemented, the study clearly showed that equal treatment, customer-orientation and the anti-discriminatory approach (based on fulfilling statutory or legal obligations) are the main motives driving diversity management in the organisation in the case study, which in turn largely reflected the business model approach to CDM. Nevertheless, these motives reflecting the business model, disguise or underplay the importance of promoting

equity and social justice as part of a public sector organisation's principle objectives.

The assessment of the success or failure of CDM or whether there is a need for

improvement is therefore difficult because the understanding of these latter

organisational objectives, are yet to be clarified or fully articulated by the

organisation. The recognition of this latter issue is one of the original contributions

of this study to existing knowledge.

VII.2.2 Organisational culture

In addition to the above questions around organisational motivation, another contribution of this thesis is to identify how specific cultural orientations of the organisation can be understood and evaluated when diversity management measures are/have been introduced. Answering the research questions relating determinants of a public management case for diversity (research question 2) and relating these determinants to the significance of public management reform efforts (research question 4), it was found that, not only was the basic principle of non-discrimination and giving equal access to all municipal services to all customers or residents important, but also the cultural attitude and orientation of the organisation where diversity management measures are/have been introduced. Most importantly, this attitude or orientation plays a special role in the process of facilitating intercultural openness of public administrations, which is determined, among other things, by the ways in which the city or local policy 'integrates' immigrants. This has been the case with the city administration of Hamm, with its political leadership explicitly and aggressively promoting local integration policy. All these political initiatives impact on the public sector's organisational culture, which has been subject to (further) changes with the introduction of various CDM measures leading to reforms in the organisational practices of public administration within the last two decades. So, the city administration of Hamm has attempted to be a 'citizen-friendly' administration and since the beginning of these reform efforts, 'citizen-orientation' has been a central guiding principle, which has radically changed and reshaped the organisational culture. This change in the organisational

culture has occurred simultaneously to the commencement of 'intercultural competency' as a management measure of staff work practices, and operating within CDM.

Following these observations, the findings of this research illustrate the importance of developing intercultural sensitivities within the administrative management processes. The relevance of intercultural competences to daily work and the increased orientation of the administration, taking into account the culturally diverse population, were generally very highly valued by the management staff *and* staff employees of the administration.

This finding suggests that (further) changes to and adaptations of organisational culture are fundamentally supported by the employees. However, despite this, there was only a limited willingness and motivation to change practices further, from both senior managers and employees participating in the existing diversity measures. Two reasons could be identified for this reluctance. First, there was a mixed picture of the medium and long-term impact that could be achieved via these diversity measures which led to a certain scepticism about the positive benefits of further changes. Second, the reduction of language barriers was regarded by far as the most significant problem, but this led to other measures, aimed at a more fundamental critical self-reflection of existing processes and practices, being less focused upon.

Within the latter context especially, a major obstacle was identified which highlighted the problem of having little or no cultural diversity representation within the workforce of the organisation. In short, this lack of representation has

led to the organisation having a limited understanding of the experience of migration, which, in turn, has undermined the organisational capacity for critical self-reflection in relation to CDM.

Subsequently, it was mainly the assessment of staff from the Citizens' Service Offices that they had little or no need for further education and training. Sufficient intercultural sensitivities and intercultural competencies were viewed as being already developed and part of existing customer-orientation practices. In fact, the respective service offices were found to be highly customer-oriented. They embodied a friendly and supportive environment where the employees and managers were very receptive to intercultural sensitivity in public services. In the interviews, it was also shown that staff had a large number of proposals on how to further develop intercultural openness strategically through diversity management measures. However, it was also clear that many of the participants saw little or no individual need for further education or training because they believed they already had sufficient competences. In other words, the study has found that there can be resistance and restraints to further change and development, even though the cultural orientation and awareness of the organisation has already been established.

Finally, a lack of detailed management strategy was deplored by staff. Even if there were clear and communicated ideas concerning the local integration policy, there was a perceived lack of a strategy with regard to CDM operating in the organisation through employee involvement. Consistent with this finding, , it is recommended that the involvement of the employees and their ideas regarding CDM could have a

positive influence on the evolution and development of strategic human resource management (McMahan et al., 1998). Indeed, there is a risk of failure of CDM, if the employees, because of their lack of involvement, remain unconvinced of the necessity and advantages of further intercultural orientation and competencies being facilitated across the administration.

VII.2.3 Intercultural sensitivity and competencies

The term intercultural sensitivity, relating to how ethnic minorities are viewed and treated, has also been a central part of this research, and has been a focal point for identifying influential factors in the development of theory and conceptual verification, concerning a peculiarly public management case for diversity (research question 3, pp. 37 and 162). Furthermore, intercultural sensitivity is a key factor in the implementation of CDM measures, but, according to prior research, are often applied superficially in practice (Schader-Stiftung, 2014) and is not properly considered in academic research (Köppel et al., 2007; Krell, 2009; Ernst & Young GmbH, 2016)⁶¹. One of the main findings of this study and the contribution to knowledge thereof, is understanding better how ethnic minorities are viewed and treated, by all employee ranks within a public administration organisation.

Following this theme, and in the context of this research, the respondents first had the opportunity to express their own attitudes towards 'intercultural openness' and the existing measures for CDM. However, many of the interviewees found it difficult to express their opinions in a concrete and critically reflexive manner. Indeed, the very discussion of the research topic was itself, sometimes regarded as a reproach of organisational practice, and that the intercultural sensitivity of the individual staff member was also being questioned. Nevertheless, in broad terms, the principle of customer-orientation, alongside the promotion of local integration policies, was comprehensively endorsed by staff across the organisation, which was also

⁶¹ For a detailed exploration of intercultural competence as a requirement characteristic for personnel selection see Leenen et al. (2014).

supported by the City's political administration. Thus, the city's political administration set up a municipal integration centre, which coordinated all language training measures and integration support measures for older migrants, as well as educational measures for children and immigrant youth. These issues, however, were perceived as only indirectly related to intercultural organisational development and CDM, insofar as the latter are seen to be organisational issues to be addressed rather than reflecting political issues as such.

Moreover, a wide range of personal attitudes to diversity and immigration was identified across staff, and in relation to how the integration of immigrants and CDM are understood. Also, there was significant opposition to 'the valuing of diversity' approaches to CDM, and the subsequent adaptation of administrative procedures to the needs of the new target groups. The respondents' viewpoints were also often guided by individual experience from their working style and private life, with some respondents seldom considering the perspectives of the customers or users of public services. It is also contended here that the latter also reflects the lack of involvement of service users in the development of policy and practice from amongst the population with migration backgrounds.

Following the above analysis, another significant result of this study was that although there is a general consensus that intercultural competencies are of particular importance (Schröer, 2007) for administrative activity and practices, there is no uniform description of what these competencies entail exactly. Thus, although communicating in the same language was considered a necessary competency by all interviewees, some interviewees also focussed on the negative

effect of holding certain minority cultural values, often reflecting their own prejudices and stereotypes of minority groups which were 'confirmed' when experiencing conflicts with 'customers' from these groups. In this sense, then, the 'problem of competencies' was focussed on the minority group rather than the employees. At the same time, there were other essential personal characteristics, identified by the majority of interviewees – for example, open-mindedness, empathy and avoidance of prejudices – which were also seen as necessary competencies to be held by staff members.

Intercultural skills are also described in a variety of ways, as reflecting important social competences and/or problem solving competences and/or a further development of customer-orientation. In particular, the study found that the connection between customer-orientation and intercultural competences is a new and an under-researched phenomenon and so needed further study. However, since there is no uniform understanding of intercultural competencies, it is important to start developing this understanding at least on the basis of identifying existing common values, which, in turn would provide an opportunity to jointly describe a common framework for determining intercultural customer orientation.

Nevertheless, the study found that such a common understanding has so far been omitted or is absent in the implementation process. This risks what is called here 'superficial goal-determination' within the organisation, that does not properly acknowledge the conflicts and tensions over objectives, and the different meanings of the same terms used in management, and particularly for CDM.

VII.2.4 Role und function of senior management and the valuing of diversity

The senior management was identified by the interviewees as crucial to the successful implementation of CDM, most importantly providing a leadership role in advancing the process of developing a common understanding of intercultural competencies and intercultural orientation of citizens' services, and as discussed above. The role of senior managers, as well as the senior political executive within organisations, have generally been described as centrally important and relevant for successful public sector organisational change processes (Ospina et al., 2011). These roles are also seen as crucial and relevant within diversity management research (Gardenswartz & Rowe, 1994) and are important for the current study. However, the interviewees also attributed similar significance and importance to the role of middle management, regarding the development of organisational policy and practice. Moreover, although senior management was often seen as a positive role model and was appreciated by employees, interviewees also often presented middle management (that is, the lowest managerial level) as the most competent group, and which can best understand and embody the employee perspective. This constitutes a significant finding relating to the exploration of the influence of managerial staff on CDM (research question 2, pp. 37 and 161-162). Therefore, although there seems to be a general commitment to the overall political direction of the administration in relation to diversity and integration policies, the employees were keen to highlight that any organisational reorientation required to address CDM cannot be implemented successfully by senior management without the participation of the workforce, and especially including middle managers.

Senior managers are credited with a high degree of responsibility, in particular, for ensuring the transfer of knowledge with regard to the development of intercultural competencies. However, until a collaborative approach is initiated to involve the employees in the development of appropriate guidelines (as explored earlier), it falls onto senior managers to provide appropriate guidelines for the handling of culturally diverse customers, or for enabling adjustments to the provision of services for cultural minorities. Nevertheless, according to the interviewees, the middle managers often perform these tasks on their own without an overall organisational guideline.

In addition, the study also found that managers, at whatever level, were also very appreciative and open to new management ideas and concepts. For example, the presentation of the concept of pluralistic leadership led managers to critically review their own work processes and leadership orientation. In short, pluralistic leadership is a 'grass root' leadership concept (Loden & Rosener, 1991) that embodies valuing diversity as a leadership competence, and, in so doing, includes within the organisation the perspectives of all the workforce as a way of informing policies and practices. It also stands for the process of ensuring that both managers and employees' skills and understandings are fully committed to the values of diversity and inclusion (Dolezalek, 2008). In promoting pluralistic leadership, parallels have been drawn to current trends of management within the public sector, which is geared to modernisation and customer-orientation. In this latter context, the study has concluded that whatever new concept or idea is used in the development of new management techniques, a positive working culture is one that facilitates cooperation and customer-oriented practices, built into an

interculturally competent administration that considers the cultural diversity of the population *and* the workforce a value worth pursuing and harnessing.

VII.3 Theoretical and methodological contributions

As stated from the outset, one of the basic purposes of this study is to contribute both theoretically and methodologically to the development of cultural diversity strategies in the context of administrative reform efforts in Germany (research question 3, pp. 37 and 162). This study has sought to contribute to diversity management theory in four principal ways, which follow from the research questions presented in Chapter IV (pp. 161-162). The findings that were discussed mainly in Chapter VI signify that the administrative and organisational approaches of CDM are decisively influenced by existing or pre-defined acculturation strategies, which in turn are classified according to certain theories of sociology and social policy. In general, the terms 'race', ethnicity and migration have been classified alongside the models of integration, assimilation or multiculturalism (Lewis, 1998), which stand for different conceptual directions on how ethnic minorities are viewed and treated in society.

Given diversity is understood in this study as entailing a commitment to multiculturalism and the wider social values of equity and social justice, the conceptual debate exploring the concepts of sociology and social policy is very relevant to this study. On the one hand – relating to seminal diversity management research more generally – a multicultural organisation (Cox, 1993) characterised by the absence of institutional cultural bias is a central aim of CDM and offers a basic conceptual framework. On the other hand, multiculturalism has been the object of a broader debate in Germany and Europe more widely for well over a decade

(Miera, 2007), with controversial conclusions concerning the political failure of multiculturalism being declared in Germany and elsewhere (Koopmans, 2017).

Multiculturalism, therefore, is both a theoretical concept and a value-laden term which, in official discourse, is under considerable pressure. Despite this pressure, the valued notion of multiculturalism implies that there are benefits to social change and within the realm of public institutions, which further implies that public services should, without equivocation, reflect a diverse society that caters for all (culturally diverse) social groups. Following this analysis, the study has also focused on how both the concept and value of multiculturalism aligns with 'equal treatment', recognising that the latter has often been seen as a basis for combatting prejudices and institutional cultural bias. The thesis shows that commitments to treat everyone equally, however, even in public services, is not sufficient to deal with and address multiculturalism as it exists in Germany and in wider Europe. More broadly, the findings and recommendations of this thesis, therefore, could contribute to recent debates about multiculturalism across Europe, focussing on how the notion of equal treatment might be properly understood and promoted internationally as well as within specific national contexts.

Furthermore, the relevance of this kind of organisational analysis, which so far has not been used in diversity research in the public sector in Germany, represents an original theoretical contribution of the study. This contribution, furthermore, relates to the justification of intercultural sensitivity in the context of public service delivery. In short, the findings show strong evidence that a more fundamental or abstract discussion is needed for promoting equal treatment and anti-

discrimination measures, since in practice, there is a lot of uncertainty among employees about what these key terms mean.

The study's contribution to methodology is constituted by the qualitative insights offered into an area which is still poorly investigated. This study is one of few in-depth qualitative investigations of CDM practices in German public sector organisations. To date, various research pertaining to this subject area has been limited to describing various forms of intercultural initiatives, and the growing importance of these initiatives to public administrations in Germany (for example, see the German Council for Integration and Migration Foundations, 2014). So, although these studies have usefully quantified diversity initiatives and their frequency of practice in public sector organisations, they provide little or no theoretical critique of the kind offered in this study.

The focus here on the qualitative character of the research (spanning for several months within the city's administration), has allowed the study to investigate in-depth the organisational advancements, strategies and policies in relation to CDM, exploring in rich detail the attitudes and perceptions of the employees to CDM. This exploration has provided new insights into an organisation's culture and values which, in turn, has informed the further development of theory. More abstractly, the chosen inductive approach of interpretivism and the method of observing a single embedded case study has enabled these insights, not only into the investigated administrative units, but also the theoretical understanding of the complex contexts of the workplace and its effects on employees and their views.

VII.3.1 The implications of a lack of theoretical analysis: considerations for acculturation strategies and the tensions of promoting both equality and social justice

Efforts to achieve intercultural, competent and valued management and organisational practices are promising as they are based on positive assumptions that public administration align its services with the diverse needs of the population or 'customers'. However, following from the analysis above, the customer-orientation approach that is predominant in the city administration of Hamm has its origins in the NPM discipline, and not in the theoretical analysis offered by sociology and social policy analysis. To this extent, a systematic theoretical foundation for understanding the introduction or further development of cultural diversity management and anti-discrimination measures, is lacking.

More specifically, in principle, the participants expressed an encouragingly positive attitude towards key elements of CDM. The participants, in the process, supported the values of equity and fairness, for example, and recognised the importance of facilitating intercultural competencies and awareness. However, employees and senior managers also expressed attitudes and perspectives toward the basic concept of cultural integration, which are often understood in the sociology and social policy literature at least, to be oppressive and discriminatory. For example, the investigation has shown that the paradigms of assimilation and integration are frequently decisive for employees. Both approaches aim, in general, at achieving the organisational goal of managing diversity. However, in executing this aim we also saw that the organisational culture in the organisation under study is

predominantly or even exclusively defined by the 'ethnic majority'. Moreover, it was found that this definition often included negative stereotypes and prejudices of minority groups, reinforced by the fact that the vast majority of employees have no migration backgrounds. Addressing this issue head-on should form part of further research on implementing cultural diversity management in Germany, and again is a main contribution of this thesis.

The study has also concluded that although the organisation aims for 'formal' diversity – e.g. by recruiting culturally diverse employees – the attitude to diversity is shaped by the concepts of assimilation or integration, that is, where minority cultures are, on the whole, expected to adapt and change to dominant norms and practices.

Such a finding is important as it is bound to shape and determine how CDM proceeds. Using these theoretical classifications, in addition, helps us identify various possible diverging positions and obstacles to the implementation of diversity measures. Thus, it is possible to discuss with more clarity and depth the characteristics needed to deal with cultural diversity at the organisational level along with the understanding of intercultural competencies, armed with a comprehensive theoretical classification tool for critically evaluating acculturation strategy as it is implied in the organisation's orientation or ethos.

Moreover, the theoretically identified social paradigms and predominant attitudes towards cultural diversity are again decisive for an acculturation strategy, which, as a result, *positions* the organisation and enables more nuanced differentiations between perspectives and practices. Thus, the analysis of the organisation under

study was based on this new approach to investigating CDM implementation and which follows Berry's acculturation model (1997) and further classifications according to the works of Ely and Thomas (2001) and Olsen and Martin (2012). In short, it found that equal treatment and anti-discrimination constitute guiding principles for the administration. Nonetheless, because of its assimilationist and integrationist leanings, it is the ethnic majority that determines the alignment of these principles with implementation strategies and diversity measures within the organisation, and which, in turn, marginalises or devalues the importance of recognising differential treatment as a legitimate aspect of good CDM practice. Following this analysis, an important issue is how to systematically accommodate the perceptions and views of the underrepresented groups, which can profoundly differ from the majority population. It is therefore highly significant that the organisation has not yet directly involved the ethnic minorities of the city population in the development of CDM and the process of facilitating the intercultural openness of the local administration. During the interviews, a customer survey was proposed by one participant. In addition, some respondents stated that existing contacts in the cultural communities in the city districts should be expanded to incorporate various views of the minority groups. Thus, it seems that there might be some organisational response from staff that the existing diversity measures undertaken by the authority moves from assimilation to a more inclusive integration strategy that is also explicitly multicultural in character which can then full-bloodedly value diversity (and see [Chapter VI](#)).

However, the problem from the findings presented so far, is that if paradigms of assimilation and excluding forms of integration are adhered to by staff, then the

characterisations of Ely and Thomas (2001), that promote equality and anti-discrimination as guiding organisational principles, are inevitably skewed and distorted. For example, many interviewees emphasised a vision of equal treatment of all people, which, although understandable as a starting point for developing CDM practice may ignore important differences between how customers should be viewed and treated.⁶²

As a result, the administration is subject to what is called here an equality 'paradox'. It is paradoxical because the understandings of equal treatment, borne from assimilationist and excluding integrationist paradigms, hinder the development of a consistent intercultural customer-orientation approach. That is an approach which is determined by the principle of equal treatment, while *at the same time* considering legitimate differences in treatment, and adhering to the principles of fairness and equity, as *distinct from* equality. Because of this lack of theoretical clarity concerning the influence of these exclusionary paradigms, the definition of equal treatment is also unclear within the organisation; further the principles that could be applied to equal treatment and their further evolution in strategic development remain vague as well.

Moreover, the sole focus on the existing and tried-and-tested concept of customer orientation leads to a limited reflection on these more nuanced aspects of equal treatment. The study concluded that developing a more comprehensive and systematically coherent theoretical approach would be helpful, which would

⁶² Following from this analysis, Olsen and Martin's (2012) classifications of 'terminal assimilation' and 'instrumental integration' are corresponding categories that describe well the status quo of this organisation's strategy for CDM (and see Chapter 6 for a further discussion of this and related issues)

illuminate explanatory and comparative differences and similarities between the conceptual elements of equal as *distinct from* fair treatment, affirmative action, positive discrimination, principles of social justice and equity, and so on. It was difficult for the participants to assign these latter concepts to a diversity management approach as well as to concretise organisational diversity measures that moves away from a simple equality approach, which, it has been argued here, ultimately restricts CDM strategy development within the organisation.

To avoid this outcome, it would be necessary for the organisation to refer to these theoretical concepts and controversies explicitly in the development of their strategy and clarify the strategies that are suitable for the organisation within the framework of CDM. An introduction of diversity initiatives requires, for example, a highlighting of the conceptual differences between equality opportunities management and affirmative action or positive discrimination. The results of the interviews exhibited that there are major reservations about the practice of positive discrimination. However, the lack of mature debate within the organisation about when it is fair or socially just to treat groups the same, and when is it fair or socially just to treat them differently, still remain unclear.

These findings also have a bearing on the wider debates in Germany and internationally about the limited impact of anti-discrimination policy. Although equality and social justice may be described as basic governmental objectives, and in particular for the activities of the Citizens' Service Offices, there are no detailed theoretical considerations as to what these concepts mean, how they might relate, and how they should be applied to organisational policies and practices. This lack of

consideration, it is argued here, is especially important for public sector organisations, where decisive questions revolve around what fair treatment, in this case, can mean, and how equality and fairness in relation to other groups can be ensured, or when may it be fair to treat people differently. These issues and questions remain unresolved in the city of Hamm and need to be addressed more thoroughly and explicitly. In short, focussing on the social justice or fairness aspects of diversity management in the public sector requires as much of a special theoretical consideration as equality and anti-discrimination policy, in order to develop and deliver a fully functioning CDM strategy. This refocus constitutes a main contribution to existing diversity management research in Germany that so far has not addressed these issues in any detail.

Finally, the influence of other administrative New Public Management (NPM) reforms in the public sector has also had a significant effect in the investigated authority. However, the concept of diversity management and CDM, which originates in business management research, is not often the subject of the NPM literature. The administration is therefore, faced with the challenge of bringing both concepts into line.

However, the findings of the study have led to the conclusion that the compatibility of both concepts, diversity management CDM and customer-orientation as part of NPM, must be considered carefully to identify possible overlaps and contradictions. Consequently, new theoretical concepts are required and these must be developed across both practices to promote the NPM *alongside* cultural diversity or CDM approaches. Again, and following from the above analysis, these concepts must

include a focus on the social justice and fairness aspects of diversity management, and as a central part of what public sector management must aim for, separate from other organisational aims and objectives exhibited in the private sector.

VII.3.2 A new strategy for introducing Cultural Diversity Management in the public sector

Finally, and based on the above findings, it is possible to define a broad strategy for the introduction of CDM, requiring a fully articulated theoretical base for CDM which is distinctive for public sector organisations. The central strategic goals for developing the concept of CDM in public sector organisations are therefore as follows:

(1) *A clear determination of the underlying motivations and objectives for the introduction of CDM measures.* This includes a distinction between the concepts of diversity management developed as a business case, as against concepts aimed at securing social justice and equity.

(2) *A promotion of organisational change focussing on structure and culture.* After clarifying the organisational motives and objectives in relation to (1) above, it is important that new organisational change be promoted 'root and branch' in relation to the organisational structure and culture. In the process, management must be able to convince and explain why the agreed motives and objectives are meaningful, e.g. that intercultural competences and intercultural sensitivity importantly contribute to the ability to provide effective and customer-oriented public services.

(3) *A substantial description of intercultural competencies should be developed and be applicable to the specific organisation or organisational department.* It is one of the most important findings of this study that it highlights the lack of understanding of intercultural competences. This was identified as a significant hindering factor for

the implementation of CDM measures and therefore should be addressed as a matter of strategic priority.

(4) *Trust and responsibility should transfer to the middle management levels of the organisation.* The 'first' or middle management level, forms a crucial 'hinge' between the staff and the senior management. The former's experience, competencies and their close relationship with the service activities are essential to organisational development and the successful implementation of CDM measures, and, subsequently, to the application of (1)-(3) above.

Moreover, in order to overcome a lack of analyses of the organisational determinants and requirements for CDM in public sector organisations, the following strategies should also be put in place for the development of further research and CDM practices:

(5) *The facilitation of further theoretical discussions about relevant diversity concepts.* There is a lack of theoretical discussion concerning existing diversity initiatives in public administrations in Germany, which must be remedied. The current implementation of CDM measures often fails due to the general and superficial approach for understanding the key conceptual elements of CDM. So, in the organisation studied, for example, it has been difficult for employees to distinguish between customer-oriented public management and CDM, which, in turn, has led to a lack of clarity concerning the implementation of (1)-(4) above.

(6) *Analysing acculturation strategy/strategies.* In particular, existing acculturation strategies determine the orientation and implementation of diversity initiatives. In any respective public sector organisational context, these strategies must be

specifically investigated and analysed before the articulation and implementation of CDM measures begins. In the organisation studied here, it became clear that different and conflicting conceptual and organisational orientations and paradigms concerning how ethnic minorities should be viewed and treated, were reflected in staff attitudes and perspectives. So, the competing paradigms of assimilation, integration and multiculturalism, variously influenced the perceptions and attitudes of employees towards cultural diversity measures. In short, depending on which paradigm or orientation the employees used, this had a decisive effect on staff understanding and implementation of diversity measures.

(7) *Use of seminal diversity research in leadership.* The study showed that the concept of pluralistic leadership was generally acknowledged and recommended by participants, although, no detailed analysis of this concept took place within the organisation itself. More work is needed to promote the concept of pluralistic leadership within 'diversity management' which can be explicitly linked to modern, goal-oriented administrative reform approaches (such as customer-orientation) which take account of and include a variety of perspectives both within the organisation, and outside, when developing policy.

(8) *An in-depth analysis of anti-discrimination policy.* To pursue a strategic approach based on the model of anti-discrimination diversity management, an in-depth analysis of existing anti-discrimination policies was found to be lacking. Addressing this problem is necessary in order to demonstrate differentiations and contradictions with the postulated organisational goals of equal treatment that were related to CDM, and, in particular, when critiquing an organisation (such as

the one studied here) which, for whatever reason, does not employ a diverse range of people from a variety of cultures. The lack of diverse perspectives from within the organisation was also seen, subsequently, as a barrier to developing policies and practices in relation to (5)-(7) above.

(9) *Analysing administrative reform efforts in the public sector.* Public

administrations, particularly, the municipal administrations in Germany, have undergone comprehensive reforms in administrative management, and/or are currently undergoing reform. Administrations, while becoming aware of modern management tools, have also undergone radical changes in organisational culture, that is, from being bureaucratic administrators to becoming customer-oriented service providers. The investigation has shown that this reorientation contributes decisively to the more heightened awareness of intercultural, comprehensive service management issues. Intercultural sensitivity, as a result, is understood as a goal set by the organisation itself and has a positive effect on the development and promotion of CDM. However, the study has also shown that it is important not to lose the more traditional bureaucratic role within Germany's public sector that has promoted the values of 'public service' and 'social responsibility'. It is in this latter context that the values of equity and social justice for wider society, as well as within the organisation, can be promoted as a distinct public sector strategy that is markedly different to the values promoted within the private sector.

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Appendix

Interview guidelines for semi-structured interviews with senior managers or experts of the case organisation⁶³

- I. **Introduction** (Presentation of the research project / background information)
- II. **Socio-demographic characteristics:** Sex, age, nationality, ethnic origin, marital status, staff membership/seniority, educational background, language skills, working hours.
- III. Provisional questions and operationalization

Note: The guide is for guidance purposes only. The selected questions are coordinated with the background of the discussion partners. The interview time should not exceed 90 minutes.

1. Introduction to the interview and general consideration of the topic

- Significance of cultural diversity for your scope of duties
What does cultural diversity mean in your organisation?
- Significance of leadership practice for your scope of duties
- Estimation and first valuation of the connection of leadership practice and introduction of cultural diversity management
What does diversity or intercultural orientation mean to you?

2. Cultural Diversity Management – appreciation and determining factors

- What do you see as the most challenging aspect of a cultural diverse workforce? (eventually differences according to (former) equal opportunities measures) Please give examples of how did you meet these challenges?
- Is intercultural sensitivity a recent issue for the administrative practice of the Citizens' Service Offices?
- What relevance has diversity orientation or diversity management for you?

⁶³ In the field examination, which was carried out in German, the corresponding versions were used in German.

- What kind of experiences have you had working with colleagues and citizen of a different cultural background?
- What does it mean to have a commitment to cultural diversity and how would you develop and apply this commitment at this organisation or department? (Why or why not is an introduction of diversity management in your organisation necessary or desirable?, exemplary measures, target group)
- What does cultural diversity mean in your organisation? What does diversity or intercultural orientation mean to you? How are diversity initiatives supported and promoted?
- What is the perception and understanding of diversity measures amongst the workforce?
- How effective is the communication of the diversity strategy across the organisation?
- What are the necessary elements / factors for a successful introduction of cultural diversity management?
- What are the debilitating elements / factors for a successful introduction of cultural diversity management?
- What are the most urgent needs of action?
- What should be avoided?

3. Impact and effects of diversity management for public service delivery

- Would you say cultural awareness, intercultural knowledge and skills of your employees are beneficial to better performance of public service delivery providers? Why or why not? Please give examples of relevant working situations related to intercultural issues in public service delivery.
- Can you give an example of a time you or your team had to alter the working style to meet diversity needs (customer needs)?
- What would you recommend as necessary diversity measures for the Citizens' Service Offices?
- How would you describe the importance and relevance of intercultural competences for your work? How would estimate the relevance of further intercultural trainings personally?
- From your point of view, why are intercultural competences important for your work in the Citizens' Service Offices?
- How would you describe intercultural competences? What are your associations with the term intercultural competence?

- How does your organisation or department come up against stereotypes, bias and probably existing prejudices of public service delivery providers? (E.g. are there special trainings?)
- Do you think public service delivery should be a significant part of a diversity management concept? Why or why not?
- Please give examples of working situations where your organisation could benefit from an intercultural oriented public service?
 - What are the potentials?
 - What are possible obstacles?
 - What are urgent needs of action / requirements in terms of training or further training for employees and senior managers?

4. Pluralistic Leadership

a) *Leadership and diversity*

- Please describe very briefly your leadership-style.
- Please give examples of what are the most important things about good and fair leadership from your point of view (team performance, employee development, best outcome/service)?
- Are valuing diversity and equal treatment central issues of your leadership practice? Why or why not? What kind of leadership efforts would you make to ensure a commitment to valuing cultural diversity?
- How would you handle a situation when a team member is not accepting of other's (citizen's or colleagues) diversity?
- What have you done to further your knowledge about cultural diversity? Is diversity leadership included in your professional development? How have you demonstrated what you have learned?

b) *Impact and effects of diversity management for leadership practice*

- How could leadership practice support the expanding of knowledge and awareness of cultural diversity in the organisation (multicultural issues / ambiguity tolerance and valuing of cultural diversity)? Please give examples of what impact did you made on the diversity value of this organisation?
- How would you rate your own role as "middle management" leader in regard to influences to a change of the organisational culture? Please give

examples of how senior managers can promote a model for personal and organisational change?

- What efforts have you made, or been involved with, to foster intercultural competences and understanding in your team?
- What strategies have you used to address recent cultural diversity issues and to address intercultural awareness? And what were the positives and negatives?
- Do you think intercultural or pluralistic leadership could be a promising tool to promote a beneficial organisational change? Or do you have recommendations in regard to this issue?
- How can senior managers in public service organisations promote cultural diversity management and other institutional adaptations in the public interest? How would you rate the role and function of senior manager with regard to promoting intercultural awareness?
- If senior managers have a special role in promoting intercultural sensitivity, what strategies can be used to further develop intercultural competency for senior managers?
- And what tools or strategies they need for promoting CDM measures in the organisation?
- Is representative bureaucracy an organisational aim for your department? If yes, please describe a working situation in which this became relevant? What are recent representative bureaucracy measures? From your point of view, is there an added value of representative bureaucracy? What is the relevance of representative bureaucracy?
- Are there current obstacles that hinder the achievement of a more representative bureaucracy?
- Does valuing diversity matter in recruitment processes?
- How can senior managers in public service organisations promote cultural diversity management and institutional adaptations in the public interest?
- From your point of view can cultural diversity management reasonably complement the approach of representative bureaucracy? Why or why not?
 - What are the potentials?
 - What are possible obstacles?
 - What are urgent needs for action?
- What do you think about the concept of pluralistic leadership?
- Do you think a service-oriented pluralistic leadership practice can lead to an increase in employee satisfaction and better outcome in public service delivery? Please give examples of possible and relevant working situations.
- How could leadership practice support the expanding of awareness of cultural diversity in the organisation?

- What are beneficial elements of pluralistic practice? What action is needed regarding promoting corporate pluralistic leadership practice?? Do you have recommendations for the further introduction of pluralistic leadership?
- What are beneficial elements / factors for pluralistic leadership practice?
 - What are the potentials?
 - What are debilitating elements / factors of pluralistic leadership practice?
 - What are needs for action regarding to promoting a corporate (pluralistic) leadership practice?
 - What should be avoided?

5. Implementation / Obstacles

- How would you evaluate the introduction of cultural diversity management in your organisation today? Please describe elements that are essential and say why?
- From your point, of view, what would be debilitating elements or desirable main characteristic of intercultural trainings?
- How important is the promotion of intercultural competences by senior managers to the Citizens' Service Offices?
- How would you describe intercultural competences or intercultural knowledge?
- What would be needed further (support, money, employee involvement / employee representation, etc.)?
- What potential obstacles should be taken into account?

6. Concluding comments / advices

- For a strategic implementation of cultural diversity management in your organisation, what advice would you give in regard of leadership practice and public service delivery to:
 - Heads of administration
 - HRM / Personnel development department
 - Organisation department
 - Operating departments
 - Individual employees
- Any further comments?

Interview guidelines for semi-structured interviews with non-management employees of the case organisation⁶⁴

- I. **Introduction** (Presentation of the research project / background information)
- II. **Socio-demographic characteristics:** Sex, age, nationality, ethnic origin, marital status, staff membership/seniority, educational background, language skills, working hours.
- III. Provisional questions and operationalization

Note: The guide is for guidance purposes only. The selected questions are coordinated with the background of the discussion partners. The interview time should not exceed 90 minutes.

1. Introduction to the interview and general consideration of the topic

- Significance of cultural diversity for your scope of duties
What does cultural diversity in your organisation or a diverse workforce mean for you?
- Significance of leadership practice for your scope of duties
- Estimation and first valuation of the connection of leadership practice and introduction of cultural diversity management
What does diversity orientation or diversity management mean for you?

2. Cultural Diversity Management – appreciation and determining factors

- What do you see as the most challenging aspect of a cultural diverse workforce? (eventually differences according to (former) equal opportunities measures) Please give examples of how did you meet these challenges?
- Is intercultural sensitivity a recent issue for the administrative practice of the Citizens' Service Offices?
- What relevance has diversity orientation or diversity management for you?
- What kind of experiences have you had working with colleagues and citizen of a different cultural background?
- What does it mean to have a commitment to cultural diversity and how would you develop and apply this commitment at this organisation or

⁶⁴ In the field examination, which was carried out in German, the corresponding versions were used in German.

department? (Why or why not is an introduction of diversity management in your organisation necessary or desirable?, exemplary measures, target group)

- What does cultural diversity mean in your organisation? What does diversity or intercultural orientation mean to you? How are diversity initiatives supported and promoted?
- What is the perception and understanding of diversity measures amongst the workforce?
- How effective is the communication of the diversity strategy across the organisation? What are the necessary elements / factors for a successful introduction of cultural diversity management?
- What are the debilitating elements / factors for a successful introduction of cultural diversity management?
- What are the most urgent needs for action?
- What should be avoided?

3. Impact and effects of diversity management for public service delivery

- Would you say cultural awareness, intercultural knowledge and skills of your employees are beneficial to better performance of public service delivery providers? Why or why not? Please give examples of relevant working situations related to intercultural issues in public service delivery.
- Can you give an example of a time you or your team had to alter the working style to meet diversity needs (customer needs)?
- What would you recommend as necessary diversity measures for the Citizens' Service Offices?
- How would you describe the importance and relevance of intercultural competences for your work? How would estimate the relevance of further intercultural trainings personally?
- From your point of view, why are intercultural competences important for your work in the Citizens' Service Offices?
- How would you describe intercultural competences? What are your associations with the term intercultural competence?
- How does your organisation or department come up against stereotypes, bias and probably existing prejudices of public service delivery providers? (E.g. are there special trainings?)
- Do you think public service delivery should be a significant part of a diversity management concept? Why or why not?
- Please give examples of working situations where your organisation could benefit from an intercultural oriented public service?
 - What are the potentials?

- What are possible obstacles?
- What are urgent needs for action / requirements in terms of training or further training for employees and senior managers?

4. Pluralistic Leadership and Representative Bureaucracy

- How could leadership practice support the expanding of knowledge and awareness of cultural diversity in the organisation (multicultural issues / ambiguity tolerance and valuing of cultural diversity)?
- Do you think intercultural or pluralistic leadership could be a promising tool to promote a beneficial organisational change? Or do you have recommendations in regard to this issue?
- How can senior managers in public service organisations promote cultural diversity management and other institutional adaptations in the public interest? How would you rate the role and function of senior manager with regard to promoting intercultural awareness?
- If senior managers have a special role in promoting intercultural sensitivity, what strategies can be used to further develop intercultural competency for senior managers?
- And what tools or strategies they need for promoting CDM measures in the organisation?
- Is representative bureaucracy an organisational aim for your department? If yes, please describe a working situation in which this became relevant? What are recent representative bureaucracy measures? From your point of view, is there an added value of representative bureaucracy? What is the relevance of representative bureaucracy?
- Are there current obstacles that hinder the achievement of a more representative bureaucracy?
- Does valuing diversity matter in recruitment processes?
- How can senior managers in public service organisations promote cultural diversity management and institutional adaptations in the public interest?
- From your point of view can cultural diversity management reasonably complement the approach of representative bureaucracy? Why or why not?
 - What are the potentials?
 - What are possible obstacles?
 - What are urgent needs of action?
- What do you think about the concept of pluralistic leadership? Do you think a service-oriented pluralistic leadership practice can lead to an increase in employee satisfaction and better outcome in public service delivery? Please give examples of possible and relevant working situations.
- How could leadership practice support the expanding of awareness of cultural diversity in the organisation? What are beneficial elements of

pluralistic practice? What action is needed regarding promoting corporate pluralistic leadership practice? Do you have recommendations for the further introduction of pluralistic leadership?

- What are beneficial elements / factors of pluralistic leadership practice?
 - What are the potentials?
 - What are debilitating elements / factors for pluralistic leadership practice?
 - What are needs of action regarding to promoting a corporate (pluralistic) leadership practice?
 - What should be avoided?

5. Implementation / Obstacles

- How would you evaluate the introduction of cultural diversity management in your organisation today? Please describe elements that are essential and say why?
- From your point, of view, what would be debilitating elements or desirable main characteristic of intercultural trainings?
- How important is the promotion of intercultural competences by senior managers to the Citizens' Service Offices?
- How would you describe intercultural competences or intercultural knowledge?
- What would be needed further (support, money, employee involvement / employee representation, etc.)?
- What potential obstacles should be taken into account?

6. Concluding comments / advices

- For a strategic implementation of cultural diversity management in your organisation, what advice would you give in regard of leadership practice and public service delivery to:
 - Heads of administration
 - HRM / Personnel development department
 - Organisation department
 - Operating departments
 - Individual employees
- Any further comments?