Diversity and Public Administration

Theory, Issues, and Perspectives

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Increased Diversity of the Workforce

Opportunities for Research in Public and Nonprofit Organizations

Blue Wooldridge, Jacqueline Smith-Mason,
and Barbara C. Maddox

Changing demographics provide an important opportunity for researchers in public administration to advance management theory and be helpful to practitioners. Jamieson and O'Mara, writing in *Managing Workforce 2000* (1991), suggest that diversity is creating unparalleled workplace challenges. Thus, research that empirically identifies and explores trends is needed to help public practitioners anticipate, understand, and appropriately address the numerous challenges of managing a diverse workforce (Lewis 1995). Yet, in a recent *Public Administration Review* article, Wise and Tschirhart (2000, 390) lamented, "Public management journals have made virtually no contribution to this body of research." They call for greater contributions from public administration scholars. This chapter answers this call by identifying key components of workforce diversity (called "identity groups") and providing current data on their magnitude; briefly reporting some organizational research that suggests significant differences between these groups as the subjects of traditional organizational research; and complementing the call for more research to provide practical information for public and not-for-profit managers. Finally, the chapter suggests areas of future research.

It is conventional wisdom that all individuals are different. However, life attitudes are not randomly distributed through the population. Members of the same "identity groups," say those having the same age, gender, race, and such, have had overlapping life experi-

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ences that may, in turn, predispose them toward more or less favorable attitudes about particular company practices and cultures (Mirvis and Kanter 1991).

As one writer on leadership has suggested, understanding the differences in coworkers assists in developing effective work teams now, but assuredly more so in the future (Fairholm 1994). Besides facilitating team relationships, leaders who effectively and appropriately consider the diverse needs and capacities of their people can expect improvement in the overall quality of life on the job (Fairholm 1994). Such understanding is vital in light of the important attributes of high-performing organizations (HPOs), which must: manage by data (Deming 1986; Cornesky, McCool, Byrnes, and Weber 1991); empower employees (Popovich 1998; Crosby 1979; Deming 1986; Juran and Gryna 1988); work through teams (Crosby 1979; Juran and Gryna 1988; Hunt 1992); provide recognition and rewards desired by employees (Lawler 2000; Vroom 1964); depend on shared values, commitment and participation (Popovich 1998; Deming 1986; Crosby 1979); and use technology appropriately (Popovich 1998; Wooldridge 1994a; Goddard 1989). As managers take these attributes into consideration, the implications of workforce demographics must be considered for a balanced approach to achieving HPOs.

Changing Diversity of the U.S. Workforce

The U.S. workforce is rapidly changing, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Hudson Institute's *Workforce 2000* report, and other reports have identified several demographic changes in the U.S. workforce (Fullerton 1991; Fullerton and Toossi 2001). These changes are discussed below.

Gender Diversity

Much of the increase and diversity of the workforce can be attributed to women. For instance, current workforce participation rates of women are very different from the 1950s. "The labor force participation of women stood at 34 percent in 1950 and increased to 60 percent by 2000. The number of women in the labor force rose from 18 million in 1950 to 66 million in 2000" (Toossi 2002, 1).

Dual-Income Couples

Research shows that more than three out of four married employees have spouses or partners who are also employed, an increase from 66 to 78 percent over the past twenty years (Families and Work Institute 1997). Other findings of the institute include: 46 percent of the workforce are parents of children under the age of eighteen, and 20 percent are single parents; and 20 percent of all parents also have responsibilities for raising children and caring for elderly relatives. This is often referred to as the *sandwich generation.*

Older Workers

The U.S. population is growing older because of increased life expectancy and lower birthrates than in past decades. The graying of America is increasingly visible in the workforce. Women are a large proportion of the older working population. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, women represented 38 percent of all older workers in 1975 (age sixty-five and older). In comparison, women accounted for 43 percent of all older workers in 1990. Furthermore, retirement does not mean that men and women completely leave the world of work. Many may reenter and work part-time or fulfill temporary work assignments (Halachmi 1998).

Generational Differences

Yet, the diversity categories discussed above are not the only diversity issues that will be faced by public administrators. Generational differences are emerging in the workforce. Every seven seconds in America, someone turns fifty years old. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 22 percent of the workforce was over fifty in 1998, but this will grow to almost 27 percent by 2008 (Quaddumi 2001). There are four generations currently in the workforce—*Matures* are about 5 percent of the workforce, *Baby Boomers* are about 45 percent, *Generation Xers* are about 40 percent, and the *Millennial Generation* about 10 percent (*Work & Family Newsbrief* 2002).

As noted earlier, some groups of individuals, because of overlapping life experiences, will react similarly to organizations' policies and procedures. When these "overlapping" life experiences are a

result of the timing of their births, this phenomena is referred to as *peer personality,* a set of collective behavioral traits and attitudes that later expresses itself through a generation's life-cycle trajectory (Strauss and Howe 1991, 32). Others refer to these similarities as *age cohorts*—a group of people who share given historical or socially structured life experiences, the effects of which are relatively stable over the course of their lives and serve to distinguish one generation from another (Rosow 1978, as cited in Jurkiewicz and Brown 1998). As Halachmi (1998) points out, every age group presents managers with "age-related" problems. Zemke, Raines, and Filipczak (1999) highlight the generational composition of the workforce in their book entitled *Generations at Work: Managing the Clash of Veterans, Boomers, Xers and Nexters in Your Workplace.* The authors point out that separation by age group and function is fading away. Positions once staffed by older employees are being occupied by younger workers and vice versa. Consequently, each generation brings a different perspective to the workplace and requires human resource management practices congruent with their generational perspectives (Caudron 1997; Corley 1999; Dunn-Cane, Gonzales, and Stewart 1999; Haworth 1997; Jenning 2000; Jurkiewicz and Brown 1998).

Racial and Ethnic Minorities

Immigration and birthrates indicate that by the year 2010 about 38 percent of people under the age of eighteen in the United States will be African-American, Asian, or Hispanic-American. The 2000 census found that the Hispanic population more than doubled during the 1990s and Hispanics have passed African-Americans as the nation's largest minority group. Hispanics make up about 13 percent, African-Americans about 12.7 percent, and Asians about 4 percent of the U.S. population. The Bureau of Labor Statistics data for 1999 indicates that white males will account for only 31.6 percent of new entrants in the workforce during the twenty-first century.

Gay and Lesbian Employees

Sexual orientation has become a mainstream diversity topic for many organizations (*HR Focus* 2002; Lewis 1995). Alfred Kinsey's clas-

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sic 1948 studies found that about 10 percent of American adults are homosexuals (cited in Kahan and Mulryan 1995). However, more recent research indicates that the gay and lesbian population estimate is between 4 and 7 percent (Kahan and Mulryan 1995, and Zill and Robinson 1995).

Disabled Workers

Approximately 54 million noninstitutionalized Americans have physical, intellectual, or psychiatric disabilities (the term intellectual disability is used instead of cognitive disability and mental retardation, and the term psychiatric disability is used in place of emotional disability). Of these cases, 26 million are classified as having a severe disability. Severe disabilities include Alzheimer's disease, autism, mental retardation, and long-term use of a cane, crutches, walker, or wheelchair. Historically, individuals with disabilities have not fared well in the U.S. labor force (Levitan and Taggart 1977). Census figures indicate that of the 15.6 million working-age adults (ages 16–64) with disabilities, only 34.6 percent were employed in contrast with 79.8 percent of those without disabilities. A preferential hierarchy based on disability type persists, whereby workers with physical disabilities continue to be viewed more positively than workers who have intellectual or psychiatric disabilities (see Hernandez, Keys, and Balcazar 2000).

Contingent Workers and Alternative Work Arrangements

As a result of changing demographics, nontraditional work arrangements are increasing. A survey of CEOs in Fortune 500 companies shows that 44 percent rely more on temporary, part-time, leased, and contract workers than they did five years ago, and 44 percent expect to rely more on external workers in the next five years than they do now (Fierman 1994). These workers are referred to as *contingent workers*. Based on the Bureau of Labor Statistics' definition, contingent workers are those persons who expect their jobs to end in a year or less or report their jobs as temporary. There are an estimated 5.4 million contingent workers in the United States (*Monthly Labor Review* 2001). In addition to contingent workers, the bureau refers to independent contractors, temporary workers, on-call work-

ers, day laborers, and those employed by contract firms as workers employed in alternative work arrangements. The bureau in 2001 reported 8.6 million independent contractors (6.4 percent of total employment), 2.1 million on-call workers (1.6 percent of total employment), 1.2 million temporary help agency workers (0.9 percent of the employed), and 633,000 contract company workers (0.5 percent of total employment).

Workplace Illiteracy

At a time when international competition is increasing and technology quickly changes, workplace illiteracy is a growing problem. Although reports often differ on the extent of illiteracy because of difficulty in measuring, there is agreement that illiteracy is high, particularly among immigrants and racial and ethnic minority groups. A 1992 survey by the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics estimates that about 21 percent of the adult population—more than 40 million Americans over the age of sixteen—had only rudimentary reading and writing skills. In 1982 the English Language Proficiency Survey (ELPS) placed the nonliterate U.S. adult population at between 17 and 21 million; 7 million of that group was from a home where a language other than English was spoken (U.S. Department of Education 1986; National Clearinghouse on Literacy Education 1991). Other research indicates that half of the adult workforce does not read, write, or compute well enough to perform their work satisfactorily (Ford 1992). The U.S. Department of Education estimates that the functionally illiterate now account for 30 percent of the unskilled, 29 percent of the semiskilled, and 11 percent of the managerial, professional, and technical workforce. It is estimated that more than half of the 26 million new jobs that will be added to the economy during the early years of the new millennium will require some postsecondary training, and about one-third will demand a college degree (Bernardon 1989).

Current Organizational Workforce Diversity
Research Findings

As long ago as 1976, Dunnett pointed out a major gap in the field of organizational psychology: the absence of coverage given to

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groups such as women, minorities, and the disadvantaged. In spite of recognition of the growing diversity of the workforce, this gap still exists. For example, in the matter of racial diversity, Cox and Nkomo (1990) surveyed twenty major management journals that published organization behavior research between 1964 and 1989 and found that the amount of total published research is small relative to the importance of the topic. They also found that the topics covered are not representative of the domain of organizational behavior. Amazingly, they concluded that the trend is for less rather than more research on these topics. Frideger (1992) agrees and argues that, with a very few exceptions, research in organizational behavior has generally disregarded the domestic cross-cultural and interracial implications of its theories (Wise and Tschirhart 2000). Not surprisingly, some demography researchers have emphasized the following: (1) the need for developing an understanding of the effects of racial and gender diversity in organizational content, particularly as this increasing diversity impacts individuals who are members of what have traditionally been the dominant majority group in organizations; and (2) the need for understanding the relationship between demographic attributes and process variables such as communication, conflict, influence, and decision-making (Tsui and Egan 1992).

Cox and Nkomo (1990, 420) conclude, at least in the area of racial diversity, that "in addition to a general lack of researcher attention, the development of research in this area has been hindered by research questions that are too simplistic, by an absence of theories of race effects and by the types of research designs employed." They also observe that less than 35 percent of the 140 empirical studies reviewed addressed racial groups other than African-Americans and whites, and only 33 percent of the 132 organizations studied were public organizations.

While the research is limited, it indicates that there are differences between various identity groups that will impact the workforce. Brenner, Blazini, and Greenhaus (1988), for instance, examine whether the work values of 322 white and African-American managers differed based on race and gender. The managers were asked to indicate the importance of several job characteristics: Factor I—extrinsic (respect for others, job security, income, and working conditions); Factor II—managerial activities (opportunity to take risks, work

on important problems. supervise others, and develop personal contacts); Factor III—independence (working independently and determining one's own work method); and Factor IV—intrinsic (importance of task variety, feelings of accomplishment, and recognition for a job well done). The researchers conclude that both African-American female and male managers place a greater importance on extrinsic work values than do white managers. With regards to managerial activities. there is little difference between the groups. Both African-American females and males place a higher emphasis on the values of working independently than do white managers. Finally, under Factor IV—both the African-American and white females place greater importance on intrinsic work values than do male managers. Thus, these differences could have an influence on how individuals feel about their workplace cultures. Fernandez (1991) notes that over the years he has found that African-American employees are by far the most critical of corporate treatment of minorities. He points out that 87 percent of African-Americans, 57 percent of Asians, 54 percent of Hispanics, 44 percent of Native Americans, and 35 percent of whites believe that minorities have a more difficult time finding a sponsor or mentor than white employees do.

Other studies have explored racial and ethnic diversity in the realm of discrimination and resistance to diversity. A January 1994 cover story in *BusinessWeek* titled "White, Male & Worried" (Galen and Palmer 1994) describes the reaction of white, nonHispanic males in companies that are aggressively supporting diversity programs. "They're feeling frustrated, resentful, and most of all, afraid. There's a sense that, be it on the job or at home, the rules are changing faster than they can keep up" (Galen and Palmer 1994, 50). "White males are like the firstborn in the family, the ones who have had the best love of both parents and never quite forgave the second child for being born" (Kochman, as quoted in Galen and Palmer 1994, 52). This reaction has profound organizational consequences. While some authors suggest that race relations will improve as the representation of racial and ethnic groups increase in the workplace (Blau 1977; Kanter 1977), others argue that discrimination will increase as the proportion of the minority groups increases (Blalock 1957).

Hernandez's (1992) review of the organizational communication literature suggests that heterogeneous work groups have a dysfunctional impact on communication, which negatively affects creativ-

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ity. This line of research contrasts with that identifying higher orga-
nizational creativity associated with greater work group diversity.
Tsui, Egan, and O'Reilly (1992) do an excellent job of reviewing
the available literature on this issue and point out that there is evi-
dence that the diverse work groups are beneficial for tasks requiring
creativity and judgment. They also note the research shows that ho-
mogeneous groups are more likely to be socially integrated and ex-
perience higher satisfaction and lower turnover (O'Reilly, Caldwell,
and Barnett 1989; Jackson 1991). In a recent study of the interac-
tion process and performance of culturally homogeneous and cul-
turally diverse groups, researchers found that the homogeneous
groups score higher on both process and performance effectiveness
initially (Watson, Kuman, and Michaelsen 1993).

Tsui and Egan (1992) also review previous research studies that
report on the reactions of the usual numerical majority (men and
whites) in the presence of the usual minorities (women and non-
whites). Their review suggests that women in predominantly male
jobs are treated with hostility by male coworkers, while men in pre-
dominantly female jobs experienced almost no hostility from fe-
male coworkers. Their review further indicates that in balanced
settings, when neither men nor women are the numerical majority,
men reported lower job-related satisfaction and self-esteem and more
job-related depression. They note that research in race relations in
organizations is more consistent with the hypothesis that discrimi-
nation by the majority will increase as the proportion of the minority
increases, than with the view that the quality of intergroup relation-
ships will improve with greater heterogeneity. Their own research
with more than 1,700 respondents shows that for men: "Increased
differences in the gender composition of the group are associated
with lower levels of psychological attachment, increased absence,
and a lower intent to stay [with the organization]. . . . Similarly, for
whites, increasing difference from others in the work unit is related
to lower attachment, while for nonwhites, being different in race has
no effect on attachment to the organization" (Tsui and Egan 1992,
569). Furthermore, token women were isolated, whereas token men
appeared to be socially well integrated into the female work group.
"All else being equal, men in balanced settings and in settings con-
taining a small proportion of women are significantly less satisfied
than women in these settings" (Wharton and Baron 1989). Tsui and

Egan (1992) conclude that "future research should expand its focus from analyzing how women and people of color 'fit' the dominant culture to understanding the adjustment process of the dominant group to the reality of diversity and heterogeneity."

From research on gender differences, Segal (1991) finds that men and women have different management styles. The "operating style model" of men is competitive, while that of female managers is cooperative. The organizational structure for men is vertical and hierarchical, while that of women is horizontal and egalitarian. The basic objective for male managers is winning, while the female managers' basic objective is that of quality output. The problem-solving approach of men is rational and objective and for the female manager intuitive and subjective. It is true that most managers possess a combination of both male and female managerial characteristics. However, in a study that compared perceptions about male and female managers who used either an authoritarian or participative leadership style, managers were viewed more positively when they used a leadership style that was typical of and consistent with their gender (Griffin 1992). The study further indicates that more participants said that they would not like to work for an authoritarian female manager. Women managers, however, have found that using the "command-and-control" style of managing others is not the only way to be effective and successful. They are drawing on the skills and attitudes they have developed from their shared experiences as women, not by adopting the style and habits that men have found successful (Rosener 1990). Other research also indicates that men and women have different learning styles that need to be taken into consideration when developing job training (Chanlin 1999).

As noted elsewhere in this chapter, Hispanics are the fastest-growing ethnic group and have surpassed African-Americans to become the largest ethnic group in the United States. However, very limited research has been conducted to understand the experiences of Hispanics in the workplace (Knouse, Rosenfeld, and Culbertson 1992). Among the few studies identified in our literature review, Rubaii-Barrett, Beck, and Lillibridge 1991) investigate the differences between Hispanic (predominantly Mexican-American) and Anglo employees of a local government agency in terms of their attitude toward the work environment and job satisfaction. Table 3.1 summarizes their findings.

Further, very little research on Hispanic women who work outside

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Table 3.1

Satisfaction with Job Attributes for Hispanics and Anglo Employees

Job attributes	Satisfaction
Employees	
Satisfaction with personnel policies	Hispanics more satisfied
Satisfaction with supervision	Hispanics less satisfied
Satisfaction with job tasks	Hispanics less satisfied
Satisfaction with work rewards	Hispanics less satisfied
Satisfaction with coworkers	Hispanics less satisfied
Satisfaction with employee competence	Hispanics less satisfied
Satisfaction with promotion, pay, employee motivation, participatory management, stress levels, and overall satisfaction with the job	No difference in satisfaction
Supervisors	
Satisfaction with personnel policies	Hispanics more satisfied
Satisfaction with employee competence	Hispanics more satisfied
Satisfaction with participatory management	Hispanics more satisfied
Satisfaction with supervision, job tasks, work rewards, coworkers, promotion, pay, employee motivation, stress levels, overall satisfaction with the job	No difference in satisfaction
Managers	
Satisfaction with personnel policies	Hispanics more satisfied
Satisfaction with employee competence	Hispanics less satisfied
Satisfaction with supervision, job tasks, participatory management, work rewards, coworkers, promotion, pay, employee motivation, stress levels, overall satisfaction with the job	No difference in satisfaction

Source: Derived from Rubaii-Barrett, Beck, and Lillibridge (1991).

the home has been conducted. Previous research focused on their domestic workforce participation. Thus very little is known about Hispanic women in managerial and professional jobs (Sisneros 1993). Due to their positions, these women may serve as community leaders and important role models for young Hispanic women. Because of the visible and demanding nature of their jobs, the challenges they face in majority work settings and their break from traditional female roles, Hispanic women professionals are subjected to multiple sources of stress at home and in the workplace (Amaro, Russo, and Johnson 1987). To complicate matters, research indicates that Hispanics are not a homogeneous group, and there are important differences be-

tween Hispanic subgroups depending upon level of education, socio-economic status, and other factors (Arbona 1990).

Although high levels of education and socioeconomic status suggest that Asian-Americans have succeeded in American society, leading them to often be referred to as the *model minority*, they frequently face a glass ceiling and discrimination (Cheng 1997). In their summary of organization-related research on Asian-Americans, Sue and Wagner (1973) report that, in general, Asian-American males exhibit less need for dominance, aggressiveness, exhibitionism, autonomy, and heterosexuality, whereas Asian-American females are more deferent, nurturing, and achievement-oriented than their white counterparts. Historically, Americans have directed both positive and negative attitudes toward the Asian population.

Other Identity Group Characteristics Requiring Further Research

As the workforce grows more diverse, there is a need to conduct a wider breadth of research beyond class, gender, race, and ethnicity. For instance, Yuker (1988) reports on a study where adults worked at tasks given to them by a research assistant who was either disabled or nondisabled, and either likable or obnoxious. It was expected that people would be more willing to help the disabled research assistant than the nondisabled one when both were likable, but less willing to help the disabled person as compared with the latter when they were equally obnoxious. Contrary to the theoretical expectations, subjects in the positive/pleasant condition were three times as willing to help the nondisabled research assistant as they were to help the disabled research assistant. In the negative/obnoxious condition they were just as strongly biased in the opposite direction—that is, in the direction of giving relatively more help to the research assistant with the disability. Yuker (1988) concludes that nondisabled people tend to (1) insist that the disabled person is suffering, even when there is no evidence of suffering, or (2) devaluate the unfortunate person's behavior because she ought to suffer and does not. The implications of this experiment are that some people become angry and annoyed with the disabled because they violate their beliefs about how people with disabilities are supposed to behave. Furthermore, due to myths about the disabled, many employers are not taking advantage of this increasing

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talent pool (*HR Focus* 2003). Other research that contributes to meeting the challenges of twenty-first century public managers also includes studies on cognitive style diversity and its effects on organizational communication as well as its effects on the ability of different people to work together and achieve consensus (Cox and Beale 1997). For example, some exciting and interesting recent research shows that matching e-mail correspondents on one important cognitive style, called *perceptual modality preferences*, can increase rapport in written electronic mail communication and thus improve communication effectiveness (Crook and Booth 1997).

In employment as well as other aspects of life, gay men and lesbians are in a classic double-bind. It is very stressful and demeaning to remain closeted; that is, to hide an essential aspect of one's identity. However, it can also be stressful and dangerous to come out of the closet, particularly if there are no civil rights protections to employment on the basis of sexual orientation (Hixson 1992). Levine and Leonard (1984) surveyed 203 women to explore in-depth the factors affecting employment discrimination against lesbians. To shield themselves from possible discrimination, most women in the study reported that they stayed closeted; only 23 percent informed most or all work associates. Seventy-seven percent were partially or totally closeted on the job; 29 percent told some friends, 21 percent told only close friends, and 27 percent told no one at all. Such caution appears justified. In the same article the authors find that "thirty-one percent of the lesbians surveyed anticipated employment discrimination because of sexual orientation, and 13 percent had actually experienced it; 8 percent of the women had lost or had almost lost their jobs because they were lesbians. The only comparable estimates for gay men reveal that 29 percent of all gay male workers have had their careers negatively influenced by their sexual orientation" (Levine and Leonard 1984). Such anxiety makes gay and lesbian employees less productive. Brian McNaught (quoted in Stewart 1991) says, "My basic premise is that homophobia takes a toll on the ability of 10 percent of the workforce to produce."

Implications for Future Research

The following implications for public managers are summarized from Sawyer (1993). The overwhelming research on sexual orientation

issues in the workplace indicates that the biggest area of concern is discrimination. The manager is responsible for assuring a climate that is accepting of all workers. Research indicates that gay men and lesbians experience higher job satisfaction when they are able to come out of the closet. They are more likely to do this when they do not fear discrimination or negative social consequences. Public managers must be sensitive to diverse lifestyles, to allow friends or partners to replace spouses at business and social functions, and let it be known that jokes and negative remarks about any lifestyle are not acceptable in the workplace. Gay men and lesbian women highly value their careers and management needs to respond by providing opportunities for advancement and career planning. Every effort should be made to break the "glass ceiling" that is experienced by gays and lesbians, as well as other identity groups. Training of all employees in issues of sexual preference must become a major element of all organizational human development efforts. For example, in West Hollywood, California's new employee orientation classes, nondiscrimination is one of the topics for discussion. Included in these classes is treatment of the subject of sexual orientation (Edgerly 1992). Findings from other research suggest that exposure to and interaction with homosexuals results in self-reported reduction in discomfort with homosexuals (Lance 1987).

This type of research on organizational-related attributes of the members of a diverse workforce can be thought of as the first step toward managing and valuing diversity (Thomas 1991). Moreover, not all demographic characteristics are equal. Cummings, Zhou, and Oldham (1993) suggest that those highly visible demographic characteristics such as gender and race produce more negative relationships than those less visible demographics such as job tenure or religion. Research is needed to determine under what organizational and societal situations different demographic characteristics become salient. Research is also needed on how an organization creates a situation where the functional instead of the dysfunctional consequences of workforce diversity are manifested. One suggestion is to look at the organizational culture. Chatman et al. (1993) conclude that in organizations that are characterized by the collective dimension of Hofstede's Individualistic-Collective dimension of culture (Hofstede 1980), heterogeneous work groups performed better in terms of creativity, having beneficial conflict, degree of interaction

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neous work groups. Cox, Lobel, and McLeod (1991) examined the
differences between minorities and whites in levels of individualism
and collectivism and concluded that European cultures tend be more
individualistic, whereas people from Asian, African, and Hispanic
cultures tend be more collective. Research that identifies the charac-
teristics of team assignments leading to the functional rather than
the dysfunctional consequences of team diversity is important in
contemporary workforces (Watson, Kuman and Michaelsen 1993).
Hernandez (1992) reports that one characteristic of organizations
that maximize the potential of their diverse workforce is the pres-
ence of effective "Valuing Diversity" programs. Such programs in
the private sector are described in Jackson (1992) and Thomas (1991).
An excellent description of a methodology for establishing "Valu-
ing Diversity" efforts can be found in Thomas's *Beyond Race and
Gender*, a must reading for today's public managers.

Summary and Conclusion

After reviewing this literature, Wooldridge, Smith-Mason, and Clark
Maddox (1993), in their paper entitled "Changing Demographics of
the Work Force: Implications for Research in Human Resource Man-
agement," identified at least twenty areas of organization behavior
where further research to detect significant identity group differ-
ences is required. Some of these areas include:

- Organizational design—do any of the identity groups react sig-
nificantly different to degrees of centralization/decentralization,
specialization, formalization, span of control, organization size,
and/or work unit size? (Steers 1978)
- Cognitive styles—implications for organizational communica-
tion, training, and development efforts
- Basic Personnel/Human Resource Management (P/HRM) func-
tions—these include elements such as effectiveness of recruit-
ment strategies and performance appraisal methods
- Barriers to effective organizational performance; strategies for
effective organizational development and growth; determinant
of upward mobility; effectiveness of various incentives in moti-

vating desired behavior; training needs and the selection of train-
ing strategies; occupational safety and health issues
- Organizational communication
- Causes of organizational conflict and effective conflict resolu-
tion strategies
- Magnitude of organizational influence; modes of exerting or-
ganizational influence
- Relationship to types of organizational culture
- Types and manifestation of organizational creativity
- Causes of and reaction to organizational stress
- Determinants of job satisfaction and job commitment and the
relationship between these organizational elements
- The effects of organizational stress on job satisfaction and job
performance
- Work values and attitudes such as involvement, loyalty, inten-
tions to leave, cynicism, and compatibility with technology.

Understanding the challenges and opportunities that diversity brings
is critical to twenty-first century public managers. Human resource
management practices deemed effective in a homogeneous work-
force are showing signs of not being as effective in a highly diverse
workforce. Human resource professionals surveyed for the Hudson
Institute's *Workforce 2000* report indicate three major concerns about
the increasingly diverse workforce: (1) hiring and managing diverse
groups, (2) creating family-friendly policies to meet the needs of
the increasing number of women in the workforce, and (3) the pos-
sibility of labor force shortages. Consequently, there is a need for
consistent and ongoing research in organizational behavior. Schol-
ars of public administration must recognize these changes and their
implications for public sector management. One size does not "fit
all." As pointed out by Cox and Nkomo (1990), the effect of race on
work-related variables has been rare and the research results have
often been mixed. Furthermore, Adler (1983) argues that research-
ers have limited their research efforts to differences between iden-
tity groups, but similarities should also be explored. Consequently,
we have a unique opportunity to offer insights and perspectives on
changing demographics in the public sector and how to effectively
administer services to an increasingly diverse population at all lev-
els of government.

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