

UNIVERSITY OF NAPLES FEDERICO II



DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS, MANAGEMENT, INSTITUTIONS

PH. D. COURSE IN MANAGEMENT
XXX CYCLE

MANAGING DIVERSITY IN ORGANIZATIONS FROM LIMINALITY TO INCLUSION

DOCTORAL THESIS
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ACADEMIC YEAR 2016-2017

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Introduction

The main objective of this thesis is to conceptualise a vision of gender identity within the diversity that take in account the not-well-explored linkages between individual and organizational identity; so moving from liminality, in which gender is considered merely as binary and diversity as something to manage, to inclusion, in which diversity means committing in support a processual way to see equality within organization.

Although anthropologists have studied cultural diversity for many years, the idea of diversity has only been tackled on in management literature since the last thirty years (Jonsen et al., 2011). The interest toward diversity in organization commonly starts with the report named “Workforce 2000” (Johnston and Packer, 1987). Diversity Management, as a scholarly concept, is used for the first time in that report, published by the Hudson Institute (Tatli et al., 2012). Firstly, Diversity Management has been considered as a shift from the anti-discrimination paradigm, i.e. ruled by the law, to the legitimacy concern (Kwon and Nicolaides, 2017). Since then, Diversity issue in organization has raised awareness within the public discourse (Roberson, 2006), nurturing societal pressures that have had encouraged organization in managing workplace diversity (Singal, 2014).

Thus, Diversity Management, that can be defined as the “collective amount of differences among members within a social unit” (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013: 949), has

increasingly become paramount for scholars due to many reasons. The globalization requires more “interaction among people from diverse culture, beliefs, and background than ever before” (Senichev, 2013: 337) and the demographic change in society reflects also in organizations (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013).

What challenges Diversity in organizations has to cope with, and in what extent the relationship between individual and organizational identity could help us to prevent any forms of discrimination (Shore et al., 2011) and to foster inclusiveness in organization?

Until the 80s, the concept of identity is rightly absent in organisation studies (Anteby and Anderson, 2014). The first contribution on organisational identity is by Albert and Whetten (1985), claiming that identity is made by the most stable elements of the organisation, without which an intelligible recognition of the organisation is not feasible. Since this first contribution, Management scholars have traditionally inquired into identity, reaching the result to connect the concept of identity to almost every topic in management studies (Alvesson et al., 2008).

From the extensive literature available on this topic, might be considered interesting only those contributions that allow us to observe an interaction between identity, at the organisational level, and the construction of identity, at the individual level. Following this criterion, the concept of identity evolves, in organizational studies, from an individualistic view (Albert and Whetten, 1985; Fiol and Huff, 1992; Gioia, Schultz

and Corley, 2000; Brown and Starkey, 2000) to a social one (Ashfort and Mael, 1989; Scott and Lane, 2000; Alvesson and Wilmott, 2002; Hatch 2013).

1. A discursive non-binary identity

The variable of Gender (meant here as the variable of the construction of individual identity) implicitly explains how the frontier of diversity in organization moves from a restrictive approach to an extensive one (Sicca, 2016). The world of gender in Diversity is often seen in a binary view without considering one of the most important source of discrimination in our daily organization that is linked to the sexual orientation and gender identity. Simon (1947) claimed that a processes of identification is complete when the decision making process is made considering the consequences at a group level instead of an individual one.

The binary view in western society daily influences some of our behaviours and fosters some practices of exclusion within organisation (Gagné and Tewksbury, 1998). Gender is assumed as declined in two only ways of male/female (Dentice and Dietert, 2015; Knights, 2015). This distinction is taken for granted, designing the intelligibility of agency within our social systems (Butler, 1999).

The binary view of the world, seen as ruled by heteronormativity and masculinity (Schilt and Westbrook, 2009), implies that those who do not perceive themselves as conforming to this binary system, live in organisations in a constant state of resistance. Butler (1999) considers how sex and gender are considered too close in our binary society, exploring the world of drag queen, that challenge the pre-constitutive view of

a binary system in which the performativity confirms gender stereotype on a daily base (Spicer, Alvesson, and Kärreman, 2009).

While most people support biological determinism, we should question whether or not biology actually determines gender identity and if it is possible to change one's sex and assume a new identity (Dentice and Dietert, 2015). Indeed, as "Butler (1999) argues that both sex and gender differences are equally cultural constructions but ones that are dominated by norms of heterosexuality", (Knights, 2015: 203), this entails that "dissolving binaries, by contrast, invites a collapsing of the terms so that they no longer sustain and reproduce the polarities, which reflect and reproduce the domination of discourses of masculinity" (Knights, 2015: 206).

2. Methodology

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), is often used interchangeably with critical linguistics – CL (Wodak and Meyer, 2002), as a narrower methodology than discourse analysis. The two main characteristics of CDA are the attention to the context where the discourse is produced (Leitch and Palmer, 2010) and its relation with power (Wodak and Meyer, 2002). This method is based on the use of text, as artefacts produced by the organization, notably financial report, ethical codes and many others; and talk, as discourse daily produced by the member of organization. More than other methods, CDA looks adaptable to analyse the context of discrimination based on people characteristics (such as gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity).

This thesis is mainly qualitative, and it would be based on desk-based research, in-depth interviews and focus groups taken on a set of public organization in UK county, such as the policeman, the county council, the Company of social working and others. All these tools would be used both with managers (especially coming from bigger corporations with an overt diversity policy) and employees. This mixed methodology, of both data collection and analysis, is aimed to deal with the complexity of a phenomenon almost neglect in management studies.

The analysis of the data is mainly based on an interpretative approach (Silverman, 1993) and it has been carried out with the support of the Nvivo 11 Pro software. The purpose of this multifaceted methodology is to grasp the dark side of organizational inclusion and, at the same time, the deep reasons of discriminations, even through the most inclusive actions. These different sources would be put in a same stream of interpretative results through content analysis, aimed to intercept the different point of view of managers and workers.

3. Gender identity in the workplace: a managerial issue?

Diversity management studies are currently polarised on at least two approaches (Tatli, 2011): a critical approach where discrimination between groups is criticised and a mainstream approach in which all the solutions and the practices adopted in managing diversity are compared with performances. Establishing a relationship between diversity and performance makes difficult affecting with different dimensions. Diversity management deals with age, race, nationality, disability and

sexual orientation, (Salomon and Schork, 2003). Therefore, gender and identity concepts are often interconnected, not always with an explicit acknowledge by diversity scholars, especially within the diversity management literature.

In order to foster an interaction between identity, at the organisational level, and the construction of identity, at the individual level, it worth to try to set a dialogue between gender and identity into DM literature. Setting the boundaries and including minorities implies a relationship between the identity of those who embody the minority population and the organisation (and its boundaries). In this context, it is proposed the term 'liminality' to capture this phenomenon (Van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 1969). Liminality refers to the faintness of the perception on the part of the organisation that condemns that group or individuals to a quasi-invisibility. The recognition of specificity of people, that move from a condition of liminality to its opposite, that is, a condition of acceptance, can be compared to the process of inclusion of those people that move along a continuum from a condition to a new one, and stop in a place in-between (Dentice and Dietert, 2015).

The observation of identity social construction processes (both for individual and for organization), the different ways in which minorities are discriminated within organisations could be interpreted as new ways to foster inclusion processes. Instances of discriminatory acts can be classified in forms of formal discrimination (harassment, insults, acts of violence) or informal discrimination, that is, the set of acts or lack of policies that do not include and protect minorities (Priola et al., 2014). Avoiding both

forms of discrimination means fostering the construct of inclusion. A sense of belongingness needs to be accompanied by the fostering of uniqueness. According to Shore et al. (2011) we can assume the concept of inclusion as the result of the relationship between belongingness and uniqueness. Hence, the feeling linked to being part of a group alone is not a sufficient condition in order to make inclusiveness flourish. It does not matter whether an employee occupies a good position in the organisation's chart. What truly matters is that the elements that make that individual unique are involved in decision-making processes.

In order to accomplished the aforementioned objectives, the thesis will follow this path: in the first chapter the issue of Diversity Management is addressed through a systematic literature review in the field (Crossan and Apaydin, 2010; Tranfield and Denyer, 2003), followed by an introduction to the identity issue in organizations, with some insight concerning the possible meaning of identity for both individual and organizations. The second chapter is dedicated to the method used to analyse the empirical data, that is Critical Discourse Analysis. This kind of method gives the possibility to observe act of resistance and power relationships through the analysis of texts coming from differentiated sources (Fairclough, 1992; 1995). In the third chapter, after a presentation of the tools, both theoretical and technological, used for conducting the interviews and for collecting the corpus of texts, the empirical field will be presented and analysed. The research has been conducted in UK, within one of the County based in England. In particular, seven organizations have participated to the

study at a twofold level: the first was allowing the author to participate to the meetings of the LGBT Committee, established and promoted by the University of the County, that comprised all the organizations involved in the study. The committee has the main aim to diffuse a culture of inclusion and to share knowledge and best practices for issues concerning the discrimination towards LGBT people in the workplace. To accomplish this task, the Committee is participated by both private companies and public bodies, in order to create positive contamination among areas of interventions.

Chapter I

1. Diversity Management and gender identity issue in organization

1.1.Introduction

The objective of this chapter is twofold: on the one hand it is aimed to give a systematic review (Crossan and Apaydin, 2010; Tranfield and Denyer, 2003) of the literature concerning Diversity Management as both a field of research and a managerial issue; in order to limit the bias of the reseracher in doing a narrative review and give the chance to repeat the same method with a different sample. On the other hand it is aimed to frame gender identity as a lens to look at diversity *per se* within organization; not merely as something to manage. Looking at these two words (gender and identity), the debate on identity involves both organization and workers, even without taking on issues like discrimination, inclusion, harassment, thus suggesting a topic to be explored and connected with diversity. Moreover, according to the dominant view in Western society, gender is generally subsumed under the traditional dichotomy of male vs. female (Dentice and Dietert, 2015; Knights, 2015; Claire and Anderson, 2013). Additionally, “as a system, gender is taken for granted, often completely overlooked” (Gagné and Tewksbury, 1998: 81). This binary contraposition daily shapes some of our behaviours, encouraging some practices of exclusion (or non-inclusion) in organizations. To explore the gender identity issue in organization, in this thesis the case of sexual minorities will be dealt with, especially concerning transgender people. For instance, as Grant (2011: 10) maintains, “every day, transgender and gender non-conforming people bear the brunt of social and economic marginalization due to discrimination based on their gender identity or expression”.

Thus, a systematic literature review on Diversity Management is proposed, based on the classification of this field of investigation into four non-overlapping turns (i.e. Demographic, Economic, Political, and Critical), proposed by Lorbiecki and Jack (2000).

More specifically, this chapter focuses on the topic of inclusion – formerly seen as a political chance for diversity management and then as a process to challenge the binary contraposition - including recent changes in management, within the field of Diversity. The topics addressed in this investigation can be seen as dramatic, since they represent strong plots that need to be cultivated and subverted at the same time (Czarniawska and Rhodes 2006), through the lens of the resistance to change, which should take into consideration the problematic aspect of whether the demand of giving new and feasible directions in organisation may compromise the organization.

Thus, are we tackling new strong plots in recent years? Are there some possible evolutions of these turns? How have these concepts been developed in recent years? These may be some of the questions that arise from the analysis of a previous narrative review like the one proposed by Lorbiecki and Jack (2000). Though, a systematic review of the literature is carried out, tackling the contributions published in the international literature over the last 23 years. Indeed, focusing on the different contributions that concern Diversity Management in organisation represents a chance to renew the application of a conceptual framework on the four turns introduced by Lorbiecki and Jack (2000). The objectives of this chapter are:

- to pinpoint confirmations in the identification of these four turns in relation to the existing Diversity Management literature;
- to scrutinise the literature searching for new perspectives concerning the four turns with reference to inclusion and gender;

To relate the abovementioned concepts to the specific case of transgender individuals in organizations

Therefore, this chapter critically investigates existing debates on Diversity Management, looking at the evolution of the ideas related to the four turns that characterises this review, to the point of adopting the same method proposed by Lorbiecki and Jack (2000) and proposing an overall turn (bounded to gender identity), as an expression of the centrality of the human being.

In order to achieve this, the chapter is structured as follows: after a brief inquiry on the interest that organisation seems to have towards diversity (Section 1.2), the methodology followed in carrying out the systematic review of the literature on Diversity Management is introduced (Section 1.3). However, some of the concepts particularly highlighted in the literature and within the observations made by Lorbiecki and Jack (2000) are criticised (Section 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4). Then, after coding (using a coding software as Nvivo 11) and critically evaluating the phenomenon highlighted in the literature review, a different and hopefully comprehensive turn is proposed, drawing on characteristics that have been traced in the others (Section 1.4).

In the following section, the concept of identity and its relation to gender binarism both in the context of organizations and individuals is explored. People who do not identify themselves with any of the two genders recognized by the dominant discourses, give impulse to an opposition addressed to organizations and, in particular, to organizational culture itself. Actions of resistance and reactions to it will be addressed in the fifth section of this chapter. Then, the two final sections are articulated as follows: in the first one, the concept of liminality is explored, both as a starting point for inclusion and as a research method, while in the second one, a singular approach to inclusion will be explored, merging together insights coming from pedagogical and organizational contributions. Finally, a brief discussion concerning possible means in the dimensions we already know about Diversity is carried out, which sees in organisation a social mediating role that, if understood and embraced, could offer a different perspective on cages that represent an obstacle to fostering and improving diversity (Thomas 2012).

1.2. Diversity in Organisations

Although the research field of cultural diversity has been fertile in the different field of investigation far from management and organization (i.e. Anthropology), this latter concept of diversity has only been tackled in management literature recently (Howarth and Adreouli, 2016). The interest towards diversity in organisation has been commonly linked to the report *Workforce 2000* (Johnston and Packer, 1987) in which the issue of imminent demographic changes is raised (Cukier et al., 2017), and a major participation of women and people of colour in the US workforce is predicted (Haynes and Alagaraja, 2016). Diversity

Management, as a scholarly concept, is used for the first time in that report published by the Hudson Institute (Tatli et al., 2012). There are several ways to use the term diversity in management field.

Firstly, Diversity Management has been considered as a shift from the anti-discrimination paradigm, i.e. ruled by the law, to legitimacy concerns (Kwon and Nicolaides, 2017). Since then, the engagement with diversity issues in organisation has raised awareness within the public discourse (Roberson, 2006), nurturing societal pressures that have encouraged organisation in managing workplace diversity (Singal, 2014).

Diversity is based on two broad categories, one comprised of surface-level differences (Singal, 2014; Bendl et al., 2009): gender, race, ethnicity and age, which are also protected by law; and some other characteristics, which are not observable but correspondingly represent an issue to deal with in managing organisations, such as cultural and cognitive differences (Kochan et al., 2003).

Thus, Diversity Management, which can be defined as the “collective amount of differences among members within a social unit” (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013: 949), has increasingly become paramount for scholars due to many reasons. The globalisation requires more “interaction among people from diverse culture, beliefs, and background than ever before” (Senichev, 2013: 337), and the demographic change in society is also reflected in organisations (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013).

According to the classification suggested by Lorbiecki and Jack (2000), Diversity Management is characterised by four non-overlapping turns. Namely, these turns are

defined as the demographic, political, economic and critical turn. Each one of these turns embodies a specific focus and different approach to Diversity in organisation that it is carried out in the next section.

1.3. A Systematic Analysis of Diversity in Business and Management Literature

The literature analysed in this chapter “adopts a replicable, scientific and transparent process” (Tranfield et al. 2003: 209), and the sample has been selected using the database SCOPUS and a research query that comprises all the journal articles in the Business and Management area that contain the exact phrase “Diversity Management” in their Title, Abstract or Keywords. The initial sample comprised 220 articles. After a general review of these sources, nine of them have been removed from the sample because they were actually abstracts rather than full chapters. Furthermore, the full-text of seven of the initial sample was not available at the moment of the analysis. Therefore, the final sample was made of 204 papers that have been analysed using the software NVIVO 11¹. Table 1 offers an overview of the journals comprised in the sample and the number of chapter (per journal) from 1994 to 2017 (up until May 2017, that is, the time when the data were collected).

Journal	# articles
The International Journal of Human Resource Management	19
International Journal of Organizational Diversity	7

¹ <http://www.qsrinternational.com/nvivo-product/nvivo11-for-windows>

Journal	# articles
Scandinavian Journal of Management	7
Human Resource Management International Digest	6
Journal of Human Resources in Hospitality & Tourism	6
Journal of Management Development	5
Journal of Organizational Behavior	5
Review of Public Personnel Administration	5
Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources	4
Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences	4
Human Relations	4
Personnel Review	4
Advances in Developing Human Resources	3
European Journal of Industrial Relations	3
European Management Journal	3
Group & Organization Management	3
Human Resource Management	3
Human Resource Management Review	3
International Journal of Hospitality Management	3
Journal of Business Ethics	3
Journal of Management & Organization	3
Journal of Management Education	3

Journal	# articles
Leadership & Organization Development Journal	3
Organization	3
Articles in journal with less than three articles	98

Table 1 Overview of the journals and the number of chapter (per journal) that are part of the sample under investigation.

As can be seen in Figure 1, the distribution over the years of the articles published on “Diversity Management” in the sample under investigation is displayed. This overview could be considered secondary in relation to the aim of this contribution. Notwithstanding, Figure 1 highlights two attributes of observation: the amount and the when of the debate.

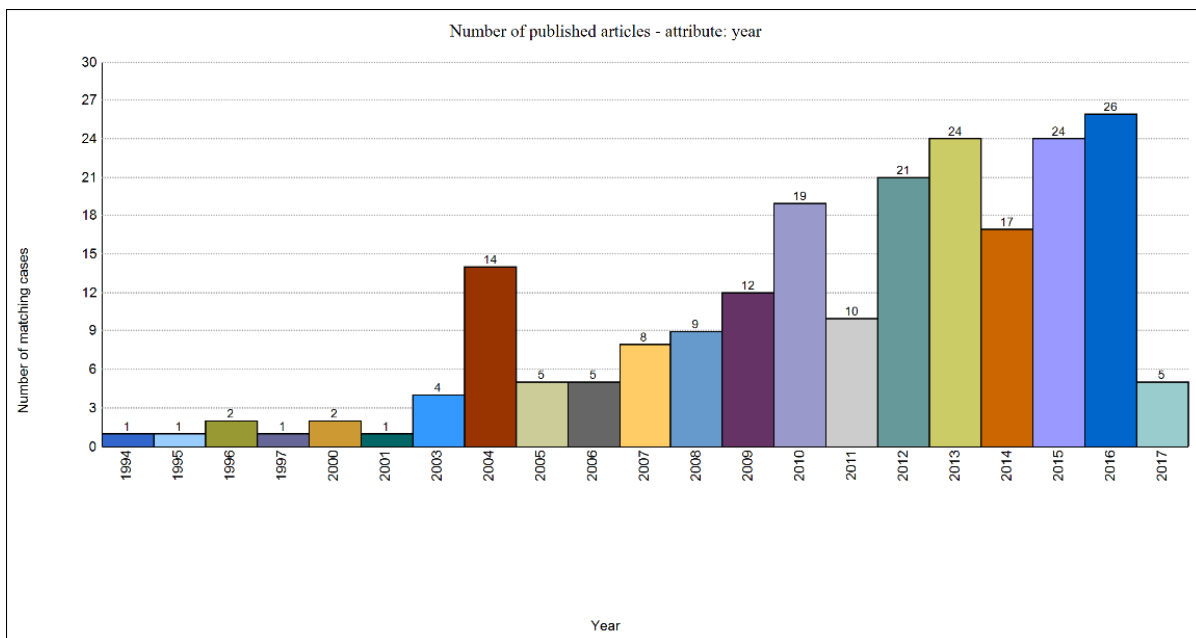


Figure 1 Number of article published over years on “Diversity Management” in the sample under investigation. All the full texts available have been singularly coded using the keywords related to the four turns (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000): Demography, Inclusion, Performance, and Critical.

1.3.1. Demographic turn

Research in workplace diversity suggests that through the demographic account of personal visible attributes, such as race, gender and age, culture in organisation can be studied in order to enhance commitment and collaboration within the workforce (Guillaume et al., 2015). Even if demographic attributes are more visible in defining different groups, value congruence more likely encourages positive work outcomes and general satisfaction at work (Gonzalez, 2016). Despite the emerging interests in demographic issues such as women's ratio in the workforce (Rodriguez-Ruiz et al., 2016), culture is considered as the main result of demographic composition, and demography composition as the cause of the necessity of managing diversity (Olsen and Martin, 2012). In order to pinpoint pitfalls in culture, some specific relations among attributes have been analysed to highlight contradictions in stereotyping certain groups (Furunes and Mykletun, 2007). Therefore, looking at the main attributes used to categorise the workforce (gender, race, and age), and according to the relational demography, in-group workers show more trust towards the inclusiveness of organisation, and they display less withdrawal behaviours (David et al., 2015).

Visible differences among workforce is still noteworthy because of the perception of the visible traits of a minority group that may be seen by the dominant group as a threat and activate resisting behaviours (Lorbiecki, 2001). Far from claiming Demography as being out of date, the set of attributes that are visible and easy to categorise is still relevant because of the tendency showed by hiring managers to recruit people similar to themselves relating to race, gender and religion (Manshor et al., 2003). In Herrera et al. (2011), the fostering of a collectivist culture is a good lever to enhance the adoption of diversity practices. In this

sense, it is paramount to see Diversity Management not from a strategic point of view but, rather, as an effect of a cultural behaviour.

1.3.2. *Political turn*

The demographic approach to diversity has an implicit limit: the mixed composition of the workforce, that represents an effective action *per se*, considers differences as a commodity with its exchange value (Roberson, 2006), that is what happen when companies show their diverse people through advertising, or other affirmative actions. On the other hand, filling up the organisations with a variety of minorities is not enough to evaluate diversity as managed.

Although inclusion is considered as the Diversity challenge of the recent years (Sabharwal, 2014), there are a lot of definitions of inclusion, some of them directly related to the concept of Diversity, to the point that inclusion goes beyond the concept of Diversity (Sabharwal, 2014). For instance, Roberson (2006) considers the two words 'diversity' and 'inclusion' far from each other. The author considers Diversity only in comparison to demography in organisation, and inclusion as the capacity to remove obstacles to people's fulfilment. In this light, inclusion is increasingly substituting the concept of diversity (Roberson, 2006). Therefore, people participates in organisation not only in a formal way but even when they are out of office, in those moments that become a sort of ritual in organisational life. However, it must additionally be highlighted that it is even more important to foster inclusion and participation to informal groups by adopting a social exchange approach. Few authors adopted the continuum between inclusion and exclusion (as its opposite) to explain

how diversity is an ongoing process and not a matter of fact. Not only belongingness and uniqueness (Shore et al., 2011) but also these two attributes in defining the individual in itself (Gonzalez, 2016) should be considered. Indeed, feeling as a member of a group, as an insider, may be seen as a source of self-esteem (Subharwal, 2014). The introduction of the word 'inclusion' within the debate on Diversity Management may clash with its pragmatic oversimplification of having several minorities represented in the workgroup without fully involving them in organisational processes. According to organisational goals, the ideal of a full participation of people is an opportunity that has to be taken (Roberson, 2006). Therefore, the organisational debate around inclusion is defined by Lorbiecki and Jack (2000) as a political turn, due to the fact that inclusiveness is considered more appealing in comparison to affirmative action.

The introduction of the concept of inclusion in management has stimulated many questions related to what inclusion is and what inclusion is not. Thus, inclusion is both considered as a tool to maximise competitiveness in the labour market (Day and Greene, 2008) and related to the concept of Diversity Management, to the point that inclusion is increasingly substituting Diversity Management in itself (Roberson, 2006). Inclusion is connected to the general wellbeing and satisfaction of the employee in the workplace (Mor Barak and Cherin, 1998). Since inclusion has been introduced into the debate, it can be also noted how discrimination towards vulnerable groups in organisation has gained more attention. Accordingly, the idea of inclusion is a way to challenge borders in order to push individuals towards the center of the organisation.

The inclusion of minority groups, or of individuals belonging to minority groups, is also related to the majority group's perception of the advantages stemming from the introduction of inclusive practices. Indeed, if the majority group feels like having something to lose from Diversity, they will resist to it (Ashikali and Groeneveld, 2015). The otherness related to minorities has a paramount relevance in inclusive processes; their perception of goodness or badness of inclusion will be reflected on the inclusiveness of the whole organisation, possibly producing exclusion (Solebello et al., 2015).

1.3.3. Economic turn

Since its introduction in the terminology and debates on Diversity Management, the implicit condition for engaging with diversity in organisation is to obtain more profit from practicing diversity (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013), introducing an 'extra headache' for Human Resource Managers (Senichev, 2013). "The business case for diversity" states that workforce diversity can be used as a level to improve performances (Merilainen et al., 2009; Pitts and Wise, 2010; Kochan et al., 2003; Guillaume et al., 2015). This claim has several effects, such as the evaluation of differences as an organisational commodity that is subject to market variations (Roberson, 2006). Since the initial interest concerning diversity is strictly linked to demographic attributes and to a seminal importance of gender in organisation (Danowitz et al., 2012), unsurprisingly enough, the number of women and their role in organisation have been studied as a predictor of organisational outcomes, such as number of customer, financial result, etc. (Rodriguez-Ruiz et al., 2016). Further studies (especially quantitative ones) have tried to understand this phenomenon that has revealed itself as a pure insight.

For instance, the work carried out by Guillaume et al. (2015) has pointed out how diversity practices have a positive effect only if matched with a growth or innovation strategy. Furthermore, “the business case for diversity” plays also a major role in empowering minority groups in working hard and effectively, casting on the members expectations the whole demand of commitment to the workforce; and by highlighting the importance of making minority groups participate in the organisational life (Sippola, 2007). The effect on performance is tenaciously debated due to inconsistency of the results. Indeed, negative results on performances have been underlined in presence of high workforce diversity (Lin, 2014; Singal, 2014; Ohemeng and Mcgrandle, 2015). On the other hand, positive performances are triggered by the impact of racial minorities in the workforce (Pitts, 2009). Accordingly, performances have different meanings and interpretations depending on the involved actor: workers, employers and managers (Senichev, 2013). Sometimes, what can be considered as a secondary cause of improved performance, is revealed as the variable that influences the result. According to Sabharwal (2014), Diversity Management is not sufficient *per se* in obtaining commitment and wellbeing from workers as well as increasing economic results: it could be the result of an inclusive environment that take self-esteem, belongingness and uniqueness into account (Brewer, 1991; Shore et al., 2011).

1.3.4. *Critical turn*

Affirmative actions, equal opportunities and organisational inclusion run the risk of enhancing and nurturing diversity more discursively than in practice, thus creating an organisational paradox: the more you discursively address diversity, the more diversity will

be forgotten by the workforce (Morrison, 2006). The attention of critical scholars is devoted to the understanding of what hinders diversity to accomplish its task, drawing from discursive practice and focusing on the establishment of power relation. Indeed, a distinction can be highlighted in diversity approaches between the mainstream and critical literatures (Tatli, 2011). The mainstream literature is aimed at achieving a positive performance both financially and organisationally; looking at diversity solely as an opportunity to enhance positive factors both for managers and employees (Cox and Blake, 1991). In this sense, diversity is not seen as a social achievement of equality and non-discrimination, but rather as a managerial project where the positive effects are to the advantage of the firm. Critical scholars state that approaches carried out by the mainstream literature and good practices guidelines have no sufficient impact in fostering inclusion and enhancing commitment (Ghorashi and Sabelis, 2013). Furthermore, Richard et al. (2002) claim that there exists a point beyond which the benefits coming from diversity in the workforce decrease (critical threshold), with the consequence that some adverse events such as lack of communication and commitment become evident. For instance, the relationship between gender and performance can be positive or negative depending on the amount of similarity. Østergaard et al. (2011) also find that a good amount of gender diversity contributes to innovation processes (Marfelt and Muhr, 2016). Furthermore, most studies at the organisational level are strictly quantitative and try to map the effects of diversity initiatives with a focus on managerial goals (Kochan et al., 2003). Discourses and practices could be tightly intertwined only if a discursive construction of the concept of diversity would have been strictly related to management. By deconstructing how the concept of

diversity is discursively shaped within the managerial setting, it is needed to explain how diversity management risks reproducing the very same inequalities that it claims to redress and explore how an alternative and more open forms of addressing diversity may be reached. "It is important however to recognise that the discourse which is constituted by and is constitutive of diversity management does enable diversification of the workforce in demographic terms". Nonetheless, the discourse also has potentially repressive effects, and in studies focusing on the benefits of diversity management these are often forgotten. Therefore, the potentially problematic aspects of diversity discourse have to be taken on, not to condemn this discourse, but to contribute to its improvement (Christiansen and Just, 2012). Habermas claims, through the concept of dialogue, that, despite the inclusion and diversity rethoric, every practice led by organisations imposes to minority group the deny values and cultures of the context where their identities were formed (Kersten, 2000).

1.4. Turning to gender (and) identity

Matters related to gender and gender expressions are not included in the four turns proposed in Lorbiecki and Jack (2000). Including them, however, can be seen as a means to disrupt that boundary that allows us to move from a restrictive to an extensive approach (Sicca, 2016). The world of gender in Diversity is often seen and preconceived according to binary models without considering one of the most important sources of discrimination in our daily organisation that is linked to sexual orientation and gender identity.

Simon (1947) claims that a process of identification is complete when the decision-making process is made by considering the consequences at a group level instead of an individual

one. The binary view on gender in Western society daily influences some of our behaviours and fosters some practices of exclusion within organisation (Gagné and Tewksbury, 1998). Gender is assumed as declined in two only ways of male/female (Dentice and Dietert, 2015; Knights, 2015). This distinction is taken for granted, designing the intelligibility of agency within our social systems (Butler, 1999).

The binary gender system wrongly combines, in a deterministic way, the visible traits of genitals and reproductive functions with a certain way to identify an individual that lives in our society. In other words, the dualistic preconception surmises that people who were born and identified as male or female may act only in *a priori* established ways. As previously underlined, such assumptions begin at birth, where the body is the only discriminant in identifying someone as male or female. The body, then, is an integral aspect of the self as presented to the world and to which the world reacts.

This binary view of the individual that is seen as ruled by heteronormativity and masculinity (Schilt and Westbrook, 2009), implies that those who do not perceive themselves as conforming to this binary system, live in organisations in a constant state of resistance. Butler (1999) considers how sex and gender are regarded as too close in our binary society, exploring the world of drag queens that challenges the pre-constitutive view of a binary system in which the performativity confirms gender stereotype on a daily basis (Spicer et al., 2009).

Even for protected categories of workers, gender binarism lies behind the corner. Therefore, as Gagné and Tewksbury (1998) argue, “while gender is an internalized sense of

self, it is also a social institution that, in western societies, demands conformity to a binary system where males present themselves as masculine men and females as feminine women” (Gagné and Tewksbury, 1998: 82). An organisation does not remain stable over time but, rather, it constructs itself daily, shedding light on the more evident phenomenon of whether the recognition of the individuals’ identities matters for the whole organisation as much as it does for the individuals themselves. According to Knights (2015), it is possible to go beyond the subjectivity, looking at the knowledge that derives from the individuals’ representation. This representation is not limited to the categories imposed by society, but he argues for a dynamic ontology of the subject, aiming at dissolving, and not only challenging, the binary system of gender.

While most people support biological determinism, we should question whether or not biology actually determines gender identity and if it is possible to change one’s sex and assume a new identity (Dentice and Dietert, 2015). Indeed, as “Butler (1999) argues that both sex and gender differences are equally cultural constructions but ones that are dominated by norms of heterosexuality” (Knights, 2015: 203), this entails that “dissolving binaries, by contrast, invites a collapsing of the terms so that they no longer sustain and reproduce the polarities, which reflect and reproduce the domination of discourses of masculinity” (Knights, 2015: 206).

From a theoretical point of view, gender binarism in organizations can be analysed with a particular focus on transgender people as instance of a minority population in organization. Indeed, Davis (2009) points out that “transgender issues in the workplace represent the

bleeding edge of the cutting edge in the LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) diversity human rights movement” (109), meaning that they are subtly discriminated in and outside the policies adopted for LGBT individuals, since they represent an extreme sample of the whole population that challenges the consolidated binary view of gender². Thus, the study of this community represents both an important source of knowledge and the occasion of putting “under the microscope” (Sicca, 2000: 145) and further advancing the understanding of the ideologies behind given workplace practices, since extreme cases typically contain more information in them than the average of the cases (Martí and Fernandez, 2013).

Sexual minorities³ experience several types of discrimination every day. Such discriminations have different sources and impact on different aspects of social life: health, sport, personal relationships, employment. In this chapter, it is argued that the principal source of discrimination and exclusion experienced by sexual minorities in organization stems from gender binarism.

² This population comprises a lot of categories that do not identify themselves with the gender assigned at birth. Some examples are represented by queer and intersexual. Even some bisexual and homosexual individuals who do not feel comfortable in declining their gender identity according to the binary system socially recognised. Even some heterosexual individuals confess to live their lives by assuming some of the characteristics or traits that are socially associated as belonging to and/or indicative of the opposite sex (Claire and Anderson, 2013; Rundall and Vecchietti, 2010).

³ The term “sexual minorities” is related to all individuals that feel themselves as not correspondent to the gender (male or female) assigned at birth. For this reason, the general expression “gender non-conforming” collect a lot of individuals that feel to not correspond to the binary system in several ways.

How can the binary system in organization be seen within organization? Here, the Agamben's (2009) interpretation of the foucauldian definition of apparatus is adopted, thus, defining it as (Agamben, 2009: 2–3):

[...] a heterogeneous set that includes virtually anything, linguistic and non-linguistic, under the same heading: discourses, institutions, buildings, laws, police measures, philosophical propositions, and so on. The apparatus itself is the network that is established between these elements.

Following this definition, an apparatus can thus be seen as a network that establishes connections between certain discourses and institutions, therefore, creating pre-determined views and attitudes. In this sense, the apparatus “always has a concrete strategic function and is always located in a power relation” and “as such, it appears at the intersection of power relations and relation of knowledge” (Agamben, 2009: 3).

The previously mentioned elements constituting the apparatus additionally play a fundamental role in reifying themselves in actual relations of power in a specific historical context, that is, a particular “set of institutions, of processes of subjectification, and of rules in which power relations become concrete” (Agamben, 2009: 6).

However, it has to be promptly underlined that the aim of this chapter is not to demonstrate that gender binarism can be generally considered as an apparatus *per se* but, more specifically, as an apparatus of resistance. Indeed, while the motivations behind the use of this category is based solely on a multi-dimensional approach to the phenomenon at the individual, organizational, and institutional level, leaving aside questions linked to the very nature of the apparatus, the objective of this chapter is to explore the possibility that gender binarism is, more specifically, a proxy of practice in the apparatus that favours

resistance to inclusion. The purpose of this apparatus, and consequent power relations fostered by its historic element, is to discriminate and not include in organization all those people that challenge the binary system through their ideas, behaviours, and interactions (with all the consequences that non-inclusion implies), in the next paragraph it will be explored how the construction of their own identity may represent somehow a threat for the organizational identity.

1.5. Individual and organizational identity: an un-binary view

The concept of organizational identity is widely debated in organizational literature and, more generally, in management studies, up to the point where organizational identity is linked almost to everything (Alvesson et al., 2008; Van Tonder and Lessing, 2003). Until the 1970s, in the field of sexual minorities in organization, the word 'identity' was quite inexistent. As Anteby and Anderson (2014) underline, the concept of identity was absent in the organizational context up until 1980. The 1980s represent in the literature the matching between sexual minorities' identities and organizational identity, as "theories and research suggest that members' identities and organizational identity are closely linked" (Scott and Lane, 2000: 43).

From the extensive literature available on this topic, they are considered interesting only those contributions that allow us to foster an interaction between identity, at the organizational level, and the construction of identity, at the individual level. Following this criterion, the concept of identity evolves, in organizational studies, from an individualistic view (Albert and Whetten, 1985; Fiol and Huff, 1992; Gioia et al., 2000; Brown and Starkey,

2000) to a social one (Ashfort and Mael, 1989; Scott and Lane, 2000; Alvesson and Wilmott, 2002; Alvesson et al., 2008; Hatch 2013). In this chapter, they are investigated as two steps in the evolution of the concept of identity that can be subsumed under two broad categories: the permanence of those elements strictly linked to the organizational identity and the construction of its own social identity, where elements of the individual identity interact with the organization, and vice versa. The two categorisations have been referred to as the classical and constructivist approach.

Albert and Whetten (1985) can be considered as the pioneers of the classical approach. They were the first scholars to use the term 'organizational identity' in order to identify those elements that remain "stable, substantial and distinctive" over the time. The concept of identity argued by Albert and Whetten (1985) is quite close to the etymology of the word 'identity': *id* in Latin means 'the same', enduring over the time. The authors analysed a period of economic crisis in their university, interviewing some of their colleagues and asking them what they would do and what their future plans would be in case they were fired. Their answers shed light on how the concept of identity crisis moves from individuals to organization (Hatch, 2013). From this point of view, the organizational identity becomes more visible and acknowledgeable during periods of crisis, in that precise moment when people are forced to question which elements are stable and which are not.

Gioia et al. (2000) expand on Albert and Whetten's (1985) elements of stability and distinctiveness over the time in organizational identity by adding that, while an organization might not be considered stable over time, it nevertheless preserves some of its

features, thus conveying a certain halo of stability. Thus, according to Gioia et al. (2000), what changes are the meanings associated with those labels that represent the stable elements of the organizational identity. In other words, while individuals perceive organizations as stable, they are always at the mercy of change as the meanings associated with those labels change. Gioia et al. (2000) call this process “adaptive instability” (Gioia et al., 2000: 63), which allows organization’s members to interpret certain organizational labels, in order to increase their self-esteem (Brown and Starkey, 2000).

Corley and Harrison (2009) state that organizations need to change in order to preserve their own identity. Therefore, identity is not only an individual issue but a collective one. Therefore, it is strictly correlated with the interaction among individuals and the interaction between individuals and the organization in the wider social context. Likewise, the organization’s identity is of significance for all the individuals belonging to that organization and, correspondingly, individuals’ identity is of paramount significance for the organization. Thus, people who are undergoing a process of identity (gender) transition or those who are planning to do so should be valued by managers and by all the organization’s members.

In the case of transgender people, individual identities are constantly, if not at the same time, resorting to different ways of displaying and hiding themselves (Ward and Winstanley, 2007), since their social identity is not correctly recognised by others (McLemore, 2015). While the non-recognition of a given social identity may be

psychologically disruptive (McLemore, 2015), when an individual's gender identity is accepted, a strong feeling of inclusion is engendered (Rundall and Vecchietti, 2010).

Transgender people construct their identity in the workplace because there is a dialectical relationship between social identity (shaped also by the organization) and the occupation (Beagan et al., 2012).

The constructivist approach assumes that the social context is a lever for the shaping of identity. Indeed, the Social Identity Theory (Ashfort and Mael, 1989) argues that the individual tries to obtain a better social identity thanks to the feeling of belongingness to groups that are highly considered. Organization's members face a social identification process through the organizational identity. Even for protected categories of workers, gender binarism lies behind the corner. Thus, even transgender and gender non-conforming people need to categorise themselves (Rundall and Vecchietti, 2010). Therefore, as Gagné and Tewksbury (1998) argue, "while gender is an internalized sense of self, it is also a social institution that, in western societies, demands conformity to a binary system where males present themselves as masculine men and females as feminine women" (Gagné and Tewksbury, 1998: 82). Drawing on the social constructivist view of organizational identity means to admit that organization does not remain stable over the time but, rather, it constructs itself every day, shedding light on the more evident phenomenon of if the recognition of the individuals' identities matters for the whole organization as much as it matters for the individuals themselves. According to Knights (2015), it is possible to go beyond the subjectivity, looking at knowledge that derives from the individuals'

representation. This representation is not limited to the categories imposed by society, but he argues for a dynamic ontology of the subject, aiming to dissolve, and not only challenge, the binary system of gender.

While most people support biological determinism, we should question whether or not biology actually determines gender identity and if it is possible to change one's sex and assume a new identity (Dentice and Dietert, 2015).

1.6. Organizational resistance to a hegemonic binary system

The binary view of the world, seen as ruled by heteronormativity and masculinity (Schilt and Westbrook: 2009), implies that those who do not perceive themselves as conforming to this binary system, live in organizations in a constant state of resistance. Before further exploring how resistance manifests itself in the specific case of resistance to organizational inclusion, the attention is here focused on the very concept of resistance, starting from an etymological view of the concept. A brief etymological *excursus* can, indeed, help us highlight what is at stake in the complex dialectics between organizations and the dynamics linked to resistance to inclusion.

As reasoned by Oliverio et al. (2015), the word 'resist' is comprised of two elements: a prefix *re-*, whose semantic value suggests a backward positioning, thus conveying a sense of opposition; and the verbal root *-sistere*, which indicates the action of standing towards something. Two important insights may be drawn from this etymology. Firstly, every resistance is a kind of opposition but not every opposition is a resistance. Indeed, we have

an opposition whenever something is placed 'in front of' (*ob-positio*) us, while resistance refers to that kind of opposition deriving from something which, at least in some of its elements, stays in the backward. The core of the resistance consists in this character of 'backwardness' which creates a friction. Secondly, if resistance is understood in this way, its opposite is *existence*. Indeed, if resistance is that kind of 'standing' that derives from something remaining in the backward, existence is that 'standing' that is constantly being *projected forward* (*ex-*). Existence is the condition in which an organization stands insofar as it constantly moves forward and, therefore, 'stands out'; resistance, instead, is the condition in which it stands insofar as it stays (at least in some of its constitutive elements) backward.

But what is more important is that there is a sort of co-belonging of these two conditions (whose shared root is a sign): if organizations just exist – in the strong meaning of the expression – that is, are constantly projected in their movement forward, they may risk dissolving because they are not anchored to any kind of continuity, whose elements of resistance represent a kind of (possibly ossified) remainder and even a reminder; but if their resisting parts get the upper hand, organizations are deadened in their vigour and power of existence.

This short *excursus* into the field of etymology has not been a diversion but it allows us to introduce a view of resistance to inclusion as an apparatus. The resistance-oriented elements of the organization are those that, by staying in the background, remain in the darkness (but often with the most impact on the organizational daily work), while the existence-oriented

parts are those that are foregrounded, even if they can be 'impeded' in their application by the dark sides.

The inclusive tension is what exists in organization and that the apparatus of gender binarism is what resists to organizational inclusion. Resistance is also enhanced by some types of discrimination, especially those that are less visible, generally referred to as informal discriminations (Priola et al., 2014), which generate subtle (Thomas and Plaut, 2012) or unwitting (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004) forms of resistance. All these concepts highlight that discrimination in organizations does not only appear with visible and acknowledgeable practices, although they are accountable for a lack of inclusion and for an increase of "existence" of the binary system.

For transgender people, performing their identity (Butler, 1999) means, on the one hand, challenging and defying the binary view of gender; on the other, seeking forms of acceptance and identification. This way of being adopted by transgender people concerns two aspects only apparently contradictory. Firstly, there is the challenge to gender binarism, which is not concealed by the identity cultivated by the hegemonic culture. Conversely, there is the need to be recognized as a member of the opposite sex. In other words, "the narratives of trans people who both embrace and challenge gender norms indicate the fragility of rigid dichotomous thinking with respect to 'nature' and 'culture', sex and gender" (Sanger, 2010, p. 270). Moreover, as Gagné and Tewksbury (1998) maintain, resistance and the willingness to adhere to the gender binary system are two faces of the same coin. Even individuals whose gender identities do not fit within gender binarism have

understood well the dominant belief system, for it is against that system that they react (Gagné et al., 1997). Despite the institutionalized nature of gender, its enactment has been analyzed from a Foucauldian perspective as a cultural statement (Townley, 1993). Following this tradition, the ways in which transgender individuals both are in opposition and conform to normative gender through their enactments of alternative gender identities have been analysed. Acts or non-acts of opposition are often induced by the fear of discrimination and lack of acceptance and inclusion. This is the reason why the practice of silence is considered one of the most used practices in resisting to organization (Ward and Winstanley, 2003; Bell et al., 2011). Silence could be used in order to not increase or affirm new binary gender practices or to hide transgender people's own identity. It is also a way not to contribute to the construction of organizational identity, to keep separate the organizational identity from the individual one. We are interested in internal/external pressures to conform, assuming that transgender people desire to maintain relationships, their own economic security and health. Although these issues push individuals toward conflicting ends of a binary system, the commonality is that these are all pressures to stay within the binary system itself. Transitions to one gender to the other challenge the assumption that gender is a natural outgrowth of sex. Indeed, to "the extent that gender rebels can be pressured to perfect their presentations of alternative gender to more closely approximate the "opposite" sex" (Gagné and Tewksbury, 1998, p. 86–87). In this way, "the binary system is preserved, with those known as transgendered relegated to the third gender category of "unnatural" or deviant" (Gagné and Tewksbury, 1998: 87).

Transgender individuals can teach an important lesson to the power dynamics of gender, as well as the possibility of resistance to the binary gender system's encroachment into the consciousness and identity of social actors. The performativity of their gender is an act of opposition to resistance aimed at negotiating their identity with the organizational one (Riach et al., 2014). Although many transgender people conform to binary expectations according to which, for instance, feminine individuals will be female, by actively transitioning from one gender to the other, for sexual minorities, work and organizational context constituted important settings through which they felt able to actively negotiate their terms of existence (Sanger, 2010), creating an opportunity to define their sense of self. Conversely, even resistance could lead to acts of discrimination, intimidation, and violence (Thomas and Plaut, 2012). Sometimes, the actual actors who resist are not conscious at all of their acts of resistance but that action is clear and acknowledgeable by other members of the organization (Hollander and Heinwöhner, 2004), although we should consider the fact that "reciprocity and the idea of taking the other into account reflect masculine discourses of separation between self and others – a separation that can only be bridged by the recognition and attempted fulfilment of each other's (instrumental) self-interest" (Knights, 2015: 208).

1.7. From liminality to inclusion

As aforementioned, when dealing with 'resistance to inclusion' by organizations, it is less interesting examining explicit discriminatory organizational practices and more concerned with the analysis of the ways in which even organizations committed to promoting inclusion risk reproducing somehow practices of exclusion.

The expression ‘resisting to inclusion’ plays a significant role in this discussion insofar as it refers to a structural way of being of any organization. That is to say, that only those practices of resistance to inclusion that are not the consequence of an open discrimination or of an intentional marginalization of a given minority are considered interesting. Indeed, this concern lies with those practices that testify a failure of the realisation of purposefully inclusive policies.

There is a sort of blindness even in those organizations particularly committed to fostering inclusion, and it is this kind of darkness we want to focus on, namely on those wedge-shaped cores of darkness that do not consist in any intentional wrongdoing (discrimination, marginalization, etc.), but in the mere fact that inclusion is always a process and – inevitably – some individuals may remain outside its scope. To put it in another way, any *strictly deterministic* attitude is completely alien to the engagement for the creation of inclusive organizations. Drawing on Biesta’s (2010) insights, we can say that the process of inclusion cannot be construed in terms of ‘interventions’ and ‘effectiveness’. While Biesta (2010) develops his stance on inclusion in the context of education, his remarks perfectly apply also to inclusion as it is understood here (Biesta, 2010: 30):

Effective interventions are those in which there is a secure relationship between the intervention (as cause) and its outcomes or results (as effects). It is important to note in this regard that “effectiveness” is an *instrumental* value: it refers to the quality of processes but does not say anything about what an intervention is supposed to bring about.

Conversely, in the processes linked to promote inclusive organizational practices, they are not so much faced with causal relationships but with “a process of *symbolic* or *symbolically mediated* interaction” (Biesta, 2010: 34). Or, more precisely, the interventions addressing causal relationships turn into truly inclusive actions and into the promotion of inclusive organizational practices only insofar as these interventions are re-appropriated, through symbolic interactions, by all the members belonging to the organization and, primarily, by those immediately affected by the outcomes of the intervention, who are, therefore, to be actively involved in the entire process (a consideration that will be further develop in the following sections).

Additionally, inclusive practices cannot comprise only general principles but they always have to be situated in very specific organizational contexts. Inclusion as a process is activated at the margins of organizations (even in the case of the most ‘progressive’ ones), in their ‘blind spots’, in their dark alleys, where the ‘clearing’ process (of barriers and of the causes of exclusion) has not yet come about, not (necessarily) because of intentional discrimination but because of an imperfect awareness of how organizations (re)produce exclusion (or, more precisely, because of the impossibility of predicting in which ‘places’ exclusion will (re)appear).

Drawing on this view of inclusion, we can gain some interesting insights coming from the existing organizational literature in order to focus on those practices that can pinpoint us

towards a broader observation of such organizational phenomena in a non-deterministic way.

According to Shore et al. (2011), an inclusive organization is one where:

- a. people feel to belong to the organization;
- b. individual uniqueness is accepted and fostered.

However, the feeling linked to being part of a group alone is not a sufficient condition in order to make inclusiveness flourish. Indeed, a sense of belongingness needs to be accompanied by the fostering of uniqueness. In the case transgender people, it does not matter whether a transgender person occupies a good position in the organization's chart. What truly matters is that the elements that make that individual unique are involved in decision-making processes. When we speak of unique characteristics, we are referring to specific competences, qualities, but also positive attitude, or traits that are possibly useful to resolve a specific problem. But inclusive processes can also be placed on a diachronic axis, meaning that increasing diversity representation and achieving workforce inclusion is a two-stage process, with each stage affecting the other. The first stage is reactive – organizations recruit and employ a more diverse workforce. The second stage is proactive – organizations come up with solutions in active diversity management with the aim of enhancing inclusion and fostering organizational effectiveness in their workforce (Mor Barak and Travis, 2009; Mor Barak, 2015).

The study of inclusive processes calls for an increasing focus on the organizational boundaries in order to highlight where inclusion comes into being. In particular, in the case

of transgender people in organizations, organizational boundaries may be considered as identity coherence (Santos and Eisenhardt, 2005). According to this view, setting the boundaries of organizations does not mean looking at the coherence between the organization and its activities, but it means choosing 'who we are' as an organization. The issue is twofold: it concerns scholars dealing with inclusion as well as managers dealing with diversity and minority management. Setting the boundaries and including minorities implies a relationship between the identity of those who embody the minority population and the organization (and its boundaries). Accordingly, this match is played by actors that are situated on the *limen*, negotiating their identity with the organizational one. In order to do this, the term *limen* (liminality) is used here in connection to identity.

In this context, the term 'liminality' is used to capture this phenomenon. 'Liminality' is here employed in a double meaning: on the one hand, the group or the individual at risk of exclusion is compelled to occupy a marginal, threshold-like position (even if not subject to actual discrimination) to the extent that their identity is not recognized in organizational practices. On the other hand, 'liminal' refers to the faintness of the perception on the part of the organization that condemns that group or individuals to a quasi-invisibility. The recognition of Transgender people that move from a condition of liminality to its opposite, that is, a condition of acceptance, can be compared to the process of inclusion of those people that move along a continuum from femininity to masculinity and stop in a place in-between (Dentice and Dietert, 2015: 76):

Those who successfully transition and eventually pass, re-enter the binary world as either male or female. Others who transition but do not effectively pass may continue to have negative encounters based on their gender presentation. Are these individuals still liminal even though they took all the steps to align with their gender of choice?

Traditionally, the literature dealing with transgender individuals in organization and the way they deal with binarism has paid attention to the perception of identity (Dentice and Dietert, 2015; Claire and Anderson, 2013; Rundall and Vecchiatti, 2010; Ward and Winstanley, 2003; Gagnè and Tewksbury, 1998). As aforementioned, practices of silence have also been quite investigated in the literature, with a particular focus on acts of resistance to these practices (Riach et al., 2014; Ward and Winstanley, 2003).

In this contribution, it has been examined how gender binarism impact on the feeling of inclusion/exclusion experienced by transgender people in organization. From a theoretical point of view, the most dangerous result in shattering gender binarism is that of creating new forms of binarism (Knights, 2015), split in what is in accordance to the binary system and what is not. transgender issues in the workplace are not a newcomer for researchers. Hence, in this chapter, we have specifically focused on that part of research that concerns the workplace life. Even if most of the researches carried out in the field of Diversity Management are particularly focused on recruitment (Thomas and Plaut, 2012), and despite the fact that investigating practices linked to transgender people is considered as typically associated with those scholars who investigate gender in organizations (Schilt and Westbrook, 2009), very few empirical researches have been carried out on forms of

discrimination and stigma taking place at the time of recruitment. Therefore, we have explored several possibilities in order to examine in depth the topic of gender binarism. Finally, we have tried to lay the ground for future work in order to link the category of gender binarism to some possible objects of empirical research, that is, identity, resistance, and inclusion.

Chapter II

2. Critical and Functional Approaches to Discourse Analysis in Organizational Diversity Practices

2.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to deal with the relationship between organizational practices and how these are produced and re-produced in the social world (Donnellon and Bougon, 1986). The methodological hypothesis to carry out this observation is based on the method of discourse analysis, and investigates how the production of discourse can support the researcher in observing and inquiring the social reality (Hardy and Phillips, 1999). Most critical discourse analyst tolerate different approaches, indeed the discipline is quite new and both contributions to theory and practice come from different fields. For this reason, there is no agreement yet on the boundaries and on the possibility to consider Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a standing discipline (Bloor and Bloor, 2007).

The chapter takes on different approaches in CDA and will continue as follows: in the first paragraph an analysis of the word discourse and the instrumental use of text, comprising their meaning in the social sciences has been carried out. In the second section, there will be analysed three aspects of the discourse analysis as a methodology: the first one with a critical approach in which discourse is considered strictly connected with control (Bloor and Bloor, 2007) and the second one with a functional approach in section 2.6 (with a focus on the role of metaphor). Before the functional approach, will be reviewed two instrumental category to the linkage between discourse and organizational practices: genre, and how this category could be used both for analysis of discourse and observation in organizations: and practice,

as *locus* of knowledge saver and produce. indeed a number of analysts see discourse both as a product of society and also as a dynamic force that is constantly prompting social practices and principles, both positively and negatively.

2.2. What is discourse

The word discourse has come to be used in several different senses. Due to lack of other terms, a lot of different meanings have been diffused. Generally speaking, discourse refers to the symbolic interaction that people have in a communicative event (Hymes, 1964; 1972), and may happen in different ways (usually written, spoken and visual). Going in deep into the odd use of the word discourse, this can be used narrowly, if considered within an institutional context. In this sense, is common to hear about legal discourse, scientific discourse and so on. This latter conception is less useful to analyse individual communicative event, although, it becomes more helpful in interpreting and understanding scientific discourse for instance, due to the abundance of different sources of discourse, such as research reports, papers, books and so forth. On the other hand, discourse can be used to indicate the solely spoken interaction, although nowadays this use is relatively rare because of the possibility to analyse a lot of written interactions (Phillips and Brown, 1993). Accordingly, discourse is also meant either as a treatise or as a discourse concerning a big topics such as the economy. Finally, Multi-modal discourse refers to discourse which relies on more than one mode of communication. Modern technology enables us to access visual information. For instance, a magazine might make use of written text, but also picture and other forms of communication; a scientific monography might incorporate written text with

diagrams; a film uses both images, words and music. Discourse includes language and other forms of semiosis such as visual and body language. texts (as discoursal elements) often combine different semiotic forms (the texts of television characteristically combine language and visual images. Moreover, the word discourse can be meant as a *symbolic human interaction*. It includes the spoken language but even picture, film or music (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). The scope of discourse analysis, on this view, is not simply the analysis of discourse *per se*, but the investigation of the relations between discourse, and non-discoursal elements of the social reality; in order to reach a better understanding of these complex relations (including how changes in discourse can cause changes in other elements). But, if we are to analyse relations *between* discourse and non-discoursal elements, we must obviously see them as different elements of social reality, as ontologically different.

2.2.1 Text

Text is a product of discourse. It is normally used as a proof of a communicative event. It may be both written and spoken. The term 'text' is used here in a generalised sense as the discoursal element of social practices. Texts have a twofold context: first, its relation to other aspects of social events, second in their relation to social practices which is internal to texts in the sense that they necessarily draw on orders of discourse, that is social practices in their discoursal aspects, and the discourses, genres and styles associated with them. Though, "texts are elements of tension between two forces: social practices and, through their mediation, social structures; and the agency of the social actors who speak, write, compose, read, listen to, interpret them" (Fairclough, 2005: 925). The social resource of discourses,

genres and styles are subject to the social agency, so that texts actively rewrite discourses, genres and style, articulating them together in potentially novel ways, hybridise them, transform them. The interdiscursive analysis of texts (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999) in CDA displays how texts articulate different discourses, genres and styles together drawing from diverse orders of discourse, and showing the capacity of social agents to use existing social resources, may contribute to changing the attractiveness of and relations between social practices (Heracleous and Hendry, 2000). From a CDA point of view, the general case for incorporating discourse analysis into organizational research includes the possibility that such research should include a detailed analysis of texts. The argument is a rather obvious one: one cannot research relations between discourse and other social elements, including the constructive effects of discourse, without a method for analysing linguistic, and interdiscursive features of texts in some detail.

2.3 Critical Discourse analysis

With the aim to clarify how the social world is constructed through actions of intersubjective meaning-making and to avoid the attention put on the micro-linguistic, critical discourse analysis was introduced by Norman Fairclough (Fairclough, 1992, 2005), to raise the attention on the macro-social aspects of discourse. The relation between discourse and social structure is dialectical due to the twofold nature of discourse, that is both an object and practice (Doyle and Sims, 2002). Accordingly, discourse is continually and recursively acting on individual meaning-making through the operation of texts (Barrett and Cooperrider, 1990). Critical discourse analysis theorises three categories of

social phenomena that is text, discourse, and social environment (Fairclough, 1992). First, subject positions are locations in social space from which actors produce texts, and then discourses. Organizations can be seen as the result of this discursive construction, made by members in their organizational experience (Gioia, 1986). Engaging in discursive practices can also represent a political action, a way to get power and determine finally the understanding of all the concepts produced and diffused within organization (Hardy et al., 2000). Importantly, the individuals who have the right to yield texts also have the possibility of producing concepts, objects, and the position of the subject. Although all the discursive structures produced result contradictory. The result is an ambiguous and contested set of discursive structures full of contradiction and subject to continuous negotiations as to their meaning and application. The approach to research methodology associated with critical discourse analysis uses method as the process through which one constructs objects of research (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) from research topics. One should not assume that the research topic is neutral in formulating coherent objects of research. The process of constructing them involves selecting theories and categories to bring to stand on the research topic. It is thanks to such theorization of the research topic and object of research that one can select appropriate methods of data collection and analysis. Sometime, this would be the work of an interdisciplinary research team; in others it may be a matter of a discourse analyst drawing on literature from other disciplines and theories. Interjecting discourse as the connection between texts and social context offers a framework for the reflection of how the re-production of sets of texts leads to change or stability in a specific social context and vice versa. In organizational research, more generally, discourse analysis

has been scrutinised in a number of research topics. For example, Munir and Phillips (2005) examined how the meanings and uses of technologies were discursively constructed. Other examples include Tienari et al. (2005), who used discourse analysis to scrutinise the construction of understandings of gender discrimination in corporate hierarchies; Doolin (2003) has applied ideas from discourse analysis to understand organizational change; and Phillips, Lawrence, and Hardy (2004), who used discourse analysis to theorise the process of social construction subsumed to institutionalization. Despite this growing enthusiasm for discourse analysis in management and organization studies (Grant et al., 2005) more broadly, its application of strategy has lagged behind some other areas of the discipline. This observation leads Vaara et al. (2004) to the conclusion that strategy research has paid little attention to the discursive processes involved in strategizing. Some researchers have identified crucial area of social change where CDA can play a part. For example Teun van Dijk's research focuses on racism (1993), Norman Fairclough has worked (2004) on issues relating to the globalisation. Central to the CDA is the statement that discourse is strictly connected to control. Power is held by both institutions and individual in contemporary society and any challenge to the *status quo* challenges those who hold the power. Thus, a commitment to equality is itself to those who are responsible for maintaining the inequalities in contemporary society and must be of major concern to those who challenge the status quo. (Bloor and Bloor, 2007: 4)

To find a methodological link between the micro scale of everyday language use and the macro scale of social structure, Fairclough (1992) has considered language use as a form of social practice, whereas discursive practice frames the structures. Accordingly, discourse contributes to all the levels of social structure interchangeably, and there is a complex and recursive relation between the texts produced in social interaction, discourse, and social structure (Giddens, 1984). This means that discourse analysis on this view involves working in dialogue with particular bodies of social theory and approaches to social research, identifying specific research questions for discourse analysis within the object of research, and trying to ensure that relations between discourse and other social elements are rightly addressed. For instance, Fairclough (2000) addressed the political phenomenon of New Labour from a discourse analytical point of view, formulating research questions in dialogue with objects of research constructed by political researchers. These perspectives are different, but we might say that they are not discrete, in the sense that other elements of the social (the social relations, material boundaries and structuring of space in organizations), in being socially constructed through discourse, come to incorporate or internalize particular discursive elements.

2.3.1. The sense of being critical in discourse analysis

In CDA, the word critical indicates similarly either a positive critique or a negative one, such as investigations of successful resistance text. As we have said, much of the critical discourse analysis of the twentieth century was essentially non-critical, which is not to say that it did not present a critique of social practices. In contrast, Fairclough indicate Foucault

as an author who has much to say about the connection between discourse and the dynamics of social systems, in particular, power relations (Clegg et al., 2006), but without considering the everyday processes of language use and meaning-making. This is particularly the case with Foucault's earlier archaeological method that deals with broad historical sweeps of discourse and, therefore, operates at a very high level of abstraction (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982). The role of language in this case is of paramount importance because of its capacity to influence people in their behaviour. The persuasive speech in advertising, for instance, can convince people to buy a certain product or service in place of another. In any conversation people are not neutrally represented. Certain aspects of the person identity are associated with the choices made in doing discourse and they both contribute to the construction of identity of that person. Critical approaches view discursive social reality construction as permeated with power and interest considerations, where dominant groups attempt to design reality, social practices, and even subjects' identities in ways that ensure the stability of the power dynamics. Discourses are not neutral, thus they are seen as a device to embody, on a daily base, all the dynamics subsumed to exercise power towards other people. Critical discourse Analysis has though a political challenge, and it is to show how this communicative event work and how the power is exercised by individual and institutions. Michel Foucault has been a key figure providing inspiration and analytical frameworks for research on critical discourse. This paragraph traces the development of Foucault's concept(s) of discourse from the Archaeological to the Genealogical periods, significantly drawing from Foucault's own texts. Second, it offers a critique of Archaeological conceptions of discourse, focusing on the discourse– subject

relationship, and on Foucault's related conceptions of change, choice, and rules of discursive formations. Third, it traces Foucault's conceptual shifts and concerns in his Genealogical period, in particular his views on power, discourse as a manifestation of the will to power, and a tacit acceptance of the importance of agency. Finally, implications for organizational discourse analysis are discussed. Critiques of Foucault's discussions of discourse have received much attention in organization studies (Reed, 1998). Despite sharp criticisms, Foucault's work has endured as an insightful critical resource (Knights and Willmott, 1989; Townley, 1993). Accordingly, providing an interpretation of the development of Foucault's concept of discourse from the Archaeological to the Genealogical periods is not an easy task, right of drawing from Foucault's own texts. Five interrelated main conceptions of discourse identified in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) are outlined: First, discourses as groups of statements belonging to a discursive formation; second, discourses as rule-bound practices; third, discourses as practices specified in archives; fourth, discourses as practices constituting objects; and finally, discourses as totalities determining subject positions. Then, a constructive critique of archaeological conceptions of discourse is offered, focusing on the discourse–subject relationship, and on Foucault's conceptions of change, choice, and rules of discursive formations. It is argued that Foucault attributes significant status to human agency at crucial junctures of his conceptual system while overall he denounces it. It is suggested that this is a manifest contradiction that ultimately derives from the fact that a foundational methodological choice in Foucault's project (to purposefully ignore human agency) implicitly promotes questionable ontological assumptions (that human agency is subordinated to and located in discourse); and that the lens of method should not be allowed

by virtue of its employment to make assumptions on the ontology of entities under investigation. Further, a brief examination of Foucault's ideas on change and transformation reveals conceptual contradictions relating to the use of terms, such as strategy and particularly choice, within a deterministic framework that is in conflict with the accepted assumptions connected to these terms (that choice implies an agent able to exercise it). In addition, beginning with the deterministic qualities that Foucault attributes to "rules" and "laws" it is suggested that his work confounds the logical necessity that subjects necessarily speak from within given structures, with the idea that the content of subjects' discourse (and even their reason) is unidirectionally determined by such structures. Third, this part discusses how later Genealogical writings begin to address some of the earlier issues, particularly the issue of agency, by introducing a tacit acceptance of agency through Foucault's discussion of various facets of the will (will to power, will to truth, will to knowledge), and more explicit reference to the levels of action and meaning. In this period Foucault questioned traditional views of power by suggesting that power is a property of social relations woven into the social nexus rather than a top-down force, the exercise of power consists of insidiously guiding conduct and outcomes rather than the brute exercise of strength power could only be exercised over free subjects that power influences and shapes subjectivity and power is positive and productive rather than simply repressive and constraining. Discourse was now seen as a manifestation of the will to power, and far from being neutral or objective, was always imbued with biases in favour of dominant interests. However, it is suggested that even though Foucault accepted in his later work the notion of agency, it was only in a muted and implicit way. Often his writing portrays a notion of the

will as a reified, outside force, rather than being intentionally derived from, and located in, individuals. Finally, in undertaking the earlier analyses, the paragraph aims to promote more fruitful appropriations of Foucault's work by discourse and organization scholars (Fairclough, 2005) through raising awareness of how the concept of discourse developed over time in Foucault's writings, and exploring what this journey can offer to studies of discourse. It is suggested that the conceptual system and analytical approaches espoused by Foucault could contribute substantially to management and organizational discourse analyses, provided that their substantive assumptions and limits are kept in mind and treated critically. Phillips and Hardy's (2002) framework of organizational discourse approaches is employed to suggest how Foucauldian concepts drawn from both the Archaeological and Genealogical periods could contribute to the various approaches. Even though Foucault's Genealogical writings still offer a reified conception of the will and lack an adequate conception of agency, coupled with earlier Archaeological concepts they do open up fruitful avenues for enquiry through offering a subtle and elaborate conception of the nature of power, a view of knowledge as an interest-laden force, and an explicit connection of discourse with power and social practices.

2.3.2 Discourses as Practices

People within specific domains engage in social practices. Indeed, these people are indicated as actors. Social practices are human behaviours which involves following certain socially established conventions within which the actors have some degree of individual freedom and opportunities for unique behaviour. Examples of social practices includes

religious ceremonies as well as business meetings. Most social practices involve knowledge of linguistic and discursal conventions. For example, in a religious ceremony, one may need to know how to behave in different situations and when specific action are more convenient. The knowledge and skills required to engage in social practices are part of socially shared knowledge. They have been picked up through experience or contact with other actors or they may have been learned via specific instruction within the home environment or as a part of education or training. Although social practices are often well established and persistent within a particular culture, they are rarely unchanging. A single instance of a social practice is a social event, which when language-based (such as a committee meeting) is also known as a speech event. When discussing the formation of objects, Foucault concluded that discourses should be treated “as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (49). Discourses as practices, in Foucault’s scheme, are regulated by discursive relations, and discursive objects exist “under the positive conditions of a complex group of relations” (45). He pointed out that these relations are established between institutions, economic and social processes, behavioural patterns, systems of norms, techniques, forms of classification, modes of characterization. These relations are neither exterior nor internal to discourse, but they posit at the boundary. These relations are said to, tautologically, determine the group of relations that discourse must establish in order to speak of this or that object, in order to deal with them, name them, analyse them, classify them, explain them, etc. He further distinguished “discursive relations” from “real or primary relations”, which can be described between institutions, techniques, or social forms “independently of all discourse or all object of discourse” and

“reflexive or secondary relations [...] formulated in the discourse itself” (45), and stated that “the problem is to reveal the specificity of these discursive relations, and their interplay with the other two kinds” (45–46). This theme of the interrelations between discursive and non-discursive domains would be taken up extensively in Foucault’s later, genealogical writings, as will be discussed later. In summary, in his archaeological writings, Foucault viewed discourses as groups of statements that do not form unities but dispersions, which should themselves be analysed. Discourses have been seen as practices that obey certain rules, and are located in archives, or systems that establish statements as events and things. Discourses are constitutive of the objects they address, and especially subjectivity. Subjects, rather than being intentional producers of discourse, are at the mercy of anterior discursive structures.

2.4 The Use of Genre Within Organization

Discourse analysis has a twofold relational trait: it is concerned with relations between discourse and other social elements, and relations between texts and orders of discourse as discursal elements of social practices (and even languages and other semiotic systems as social structures). Networks of social practices include specifically discursal selections and orderings from languages and other semiotic systems which are called ‘orders of discourse’, redefining Foucault’s term (Foucault 1984; Fairclough 1992). *Orders of discourse* can more specifically be seen as a particular mixture of different discourses, genres and styles, which are articulated together in a distinctive way (Fairclough, 2005). A *discourse* is a particular way of representing certain aspects of the world, such as different political discourses

(liberal, conservative) which represent social groups and relations between them, in a society, in different ways (Koester, 2010). A *genre* is a way of acting socially, which means interacting; for instance, there are different genres for consulting, discussing or interviewing. A *style* is a way of being, that is a particular way of identification; for instance, there are distinct ways of managing organizations which can be characterised by different styles.

“Whereas one can see ways of representing as having a purely discoursal or semiotic character, ways of acting and ways of being have only a partially discursive character, and entail relations between discoursal and non-discoursal social elements” (Fairclough, 2005: 925). So the order of discourse of a particular organization will entail discourses, genres and styles whose distribution is complementary, but also conflicting alternatives, whose relations are defined in terms of resistance, marginalization, innovation. If an order of discourse constitutes a system, it is a system which may be more or less stable and durable, or stable in some parts and unstable in others, more or less resistant to change or open to change.

Workplace genres do not of course exist in isolation, but the discourse community, whether at the organizational or professional level, uses a genre repertoire (Orlikowski and Yates, 2004). Looking at the kinds of genre used within different workplace contexts, a very general distinction can be made regarding such genre sets or repertoires. In some professions, such as the legal professions and tax accounting, written texts play a key role. The work carried out by professionals in these fields consists in producing texts, and texts thus essentially

constitute and define the work (Devitt, 1991). In many other jobs, the work is carried out less (or less exclusively) through written texts, and more through a process of collaborative tasks. Verbal communication may interact with material resources or artefacts (Goodwin, 1995) that people use in their work (charts, forms, electronic devices); or the work itself may be constituted mainly through non-verbal action (as in the case of manual labour), and language may merely accompany the task. This kind of language has been referred to as language-in-action (Ure, 1971). Of course, even in professions which are heavily text-based, such as tax accounting, verbal genres is still be used; for example, tax accountants will have meetings or telephone conversations with clients. Both written and spoken genres are used in all workplaces, but in some professions written texts play a much greater role than in others. Written and spoken workplace genres also interact with one another, for example, meetings are minuted or medical records are produced as a result of verbal consultations. This relationship, or intertextuality, between written and spoken genres will also be examined, as well as the relationship between genre and material artefacts (Goodwin, 1995) or tools (Berkenkotter and Huckin, 1995) that are used in their enactment

2.5 Practices in organization

As aforementioned, organizational practices are of paramount importance for the implementation of inclusion procesess. In this paragraph, it is presented a quite deep reasoning for linking the daily organizational practices to the production of knowledge, that is, within a context, the production of discourse, though a source of discrimination for whom challenge such a binary view of gender. Knowledge based on practice has an

enduring tradition in sociological and organizational studies. In recent times, practices have been recognised as one of the most important categories when we think about social world (Schatzki et al., 2001). One of the reasons for this attention is the philosophical challenge to the rationalist view of the relationship between object and subject, put forward mainly by Heidegger and Wittgenstein (Sandberg and Tsoukas 2011, 2016; Schatzki, 2012). As Heidegger claims (1927) in his existential ontology, the core assumption on knowledge is represented by a sense of being in the world, a situated behaviour that has a specific meaning in a specific context. Wittgenstein (1958) on the other hand, assumes that following a rule imposed by society does not avoid the risk of misinterpretation. What is needed is the obedience to that rule, which implies the imitation of others following that rule. For Wittgenstein, the understanding of a social rule is determined by the belongingness to those specific practices. The repeated and repeatedly corrected common practice leads to the embodiment of a habitus, by learning an activity and an embodiment of specific pieces. Embodied knowledge allows improvisation, and the (following) embodiment of a piece allows being-in-there. Repeated and repeatedly corrected practice also leads to feeling one with each other when acting “together with”, and this allows being-together-in-there:

Because the habitus is an infinite capacity for generating products – thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions – whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production, the conditioned and conditional freedom it provides is as remote from creation of unpredictable novelty as it is from simple mechanical reproduction of the original conditioning (Bourdieu, 1990: 55)

“the term practice is a *topos* that connects ‘knowing’ with ‘doing’” (Gherardi, 2008: 517). The relationship between practices and organization has attracted the attention of a big amount of scholars interested in how knowledge is transmitted through the organization. Feldman and Orlikowski (2011) have recognized three ways in which the observation of practices could say something about the organizational reality. The first regards the understanding of the specific action made by people in the organization. Dealing with this aspect means to understand and codify knowledge about the specific activity endeavoured by organizational members. The second way, more theoretical than the former, is about how structures are engendered and how to interpret them through the continual of practices. The third way finally, concerns with “the constitutive role of practices in producing organizational reality” (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011: 1241). This latter could concerns also with the professional attitude.

One of the theoretical traditions regarding organisational learning, resumed in the stream of so-called practice-based studies (Corradi et al., 2010), is the literature on communities of practice (Brown and Duiguid, 1991; Lave and Wenger, 1991) that are characterized by the mutual engagement, the joint enterprise and a shared repertoire. This influential stream of research introduced to the organisational literature the perspective of the newcomer as an approach to better understand the content of tacit knowledge emerging in the community, which is often taken for granted (Gherardi, 2006). Researching through practice implies a thorough understanding of the corporeal and social field of observation. What is engaged with the observation is something embedded in micro gestures, that act as a source of knowledge. The differences between ordinary uses of language and workplace discourse

are not absolute, and of course workplaces also differ from one another. Nevertheless, research into workplace discourse has revealed distinctive interactive and linguistic patterns across different workplaces as well as within particular professional or workplace settings (Drew and Heritage, 1992; Koester 2006). Such discourses are a reflection of distinctive workplace practices which result from participants interacting in carrying out their tasks at work. While individuals will have varying degrees of autonomy depending on the nature of the work, working together always involves interacting with others through spoken or written genres within the narrowing of certain ways of doing things or practices. The main way of studying such groups in which people do things at work have emerged from the investigation on the workplace discourse and it is “community of practice” (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). What it follows, treats the main characteristic between community of practice and discourse communities, drawing from the concept of practice, and how the knowledge is not only a purpose but even a tool to perpetuate organization over time. Swales (1990) proposes that a discourse community has a broadly agreed set of common public goals, mechanisms of intercommunication among its members, in addition to owning genres, has acquired some specific terminology. Although some element of the community of practice and discourse community are quite similar, such as *mutual engagement* and *mechanisms of intercommunication*, what Wenger means by the former seems to go far beyond Swales’ categories. Mutual engagement does not just involve mechanisms of intercommunication, but it creates shared relationships and it connects participants in unexpected ways (Wenger, 1998). In the same way, joint enterprise creates within the group relations of mutual accountability. Looking at all of Swales’ six defining characteristics of a

discourse community, the emphasis is on how the discourse is used, and even more on the use of more genres. A discourse community is a socio-rhetorical community, and does not require assimilation of world view or a threshold level of personal involvement (Swales, 1990). Swales' aims to describe genres, and as a result, discourse communities are not actually given much attention beyond their role as users of genres. This is rather different in the social constructionist school of genre (Freedman and Medway, 1994), as this school tries to connect genres to the values and epistemology of the discourse community. Swales' discourse communities are therefore much more narrowly defined than Wenger's communities of practice (Koester, 2010), and the focus is on how these communities engage genres. Accordingly, with communities of practice, the role of discourse is much less visibly definite. Wenger's *shared repertoire* is again much broader than the notion of genre, including "routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gesture, symbols, genres, actions or concepts" (Wenger, 1998, 83). There are both linguistic and non-linguistic elements here, and it is not clear what role each of these elements plays in the enactment of the community. The accent in discourse communities is on the concept of *discourse*, as well as in the communities of practice it is on the concept of *practice*. It is doing in a historical and social context that gives meaning to what we do. In this sense, practice could be considered always social practice (Wenger, 1998). Thus, practice is related to social structures, and moreover it also interacts with the community's epistemology:

The competent members of a given workplace community not only manifest in their daily lives what counts as routine practice, but also, at a metalevel, they bring to scrutiny the very boundaries of institutional knowledge for renewal and reification. (Sarangi and Roberts,

1999). The concept of community of practice is thus more intricate than that of discourse community; however, it is more difficult to operationalize it for discourse analysis.

Focusing on the process of learning practices, this goes through two categories that affect to different ways in which practices could be observed:

- the growing interest in bodies and artefacts;
- organizational knowledge;

In the following sections, the principal arguments and the link between the acts and practices are traced.

2.5.1 The growing interest in bodies and artefacts in organizational studies

In recent years, increasing attention has been paid to how organizations are built and enacted through the everyday practices. This view is grown due the attention paid on an aesthetically based organizational life, in which are comprised bodies and their cognitive and physical interactions with other bodies within spaces (Berg, 1997; Clegg and Kornberger, 2006; Gherardi, 2000; 2008). The aesthetical understanding of organizations passes through senses (Strati, 1999) and the most of knowledge is embedded in how people interact with material devices, as evidenced by Wanda Orlikowski (2007).

Organisational studies previously "overlooked the ways in which organising is interrelated with the material forms and spaces through which humans act and interact" (ib. 1435).

In fact, acting and organising do not happen in a vacuum but in environments and spaces inhabited by bodies (human and non-human) that interact with each other. Investigating

practices requires charting something of the 'doing' involved in the return movement from the unknown of the imagination, to the relative known of the artefact or productions of artistic practice (Dallow 2003: 50). Practice is also a noteworthy field of research in the specific ground of organisational research (Rakowski and Mongan, 2014), which has focused for so long on the socio-material dimension of organisational life (Orlikowski, 2010). In this context, artefacts, spaces, bodies, and aesthetic understanding are considered fundamental components of those social practices sustaining the process of organisation (Clegg and Kornberger, 2006; Czarniawska, 2004; Strati, 1999).

Spaces, artefacts, and bodies are not simply elements that add symbolic meanings to organisational life (Gagliardi, 1999), they also shape the way we think, experience, and establish organisations and actions.

2.5.2 Organizational knowledge

Practices in organizations are considered and observed here as a source of knowledge, not only for practices in themselves, but even for the activity ruled by people involved. Polany (1966) claimed that tacit knowledge is an inner part of the whole knowledge; the assumption is that we "know more than we can tell". Knowledge management and organizational learning are then developed by several scholars, with the aim of investigating something that is never explicit in people activities (Luhman and Cunliffe, 2013). What combines these different views on organizational learning and knowledge management is investigating the hidden-side of human activities, assuming that each organization possesses something peculiar, to manage and deploy, in order to gain a competitive edge (Cohen and Levintal,

1990; Teece et al., 1997). On these premises, we can consider the work based on the organizational learning made by Argyris and Schön (1978), in which practices are examined in two different ways: firstly, by approaching to the practices in themselves, with the aim to accomplish the task and reach the results, secondly, by discussing the same practices through the evaluation of the aims accomplished before. Moreover, Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) traced the pathways through which knowledge develop from tacit and individually useful to explicit and commonly shared. In so doing, practices are institutionalised in collective action.

2.6 Functional approach to discourse

We suggested that functional approaches view discourse as language-based communication to be employed by managerial and social actors for achieving certain organizationally (and often personally) relevant ends. Discourse is seen as a tool at actors' disposal rather than as a constraining, dominating feature of social life (as in the critical approach); or as a shaping influence and a window to the ideational, symbolic world of organizations (as in the interpretive approach). In this paragraph, the functional approach to organizational discourse is illustrated through a discussion of how aspects of discourse, particularly metaphors, can be employed in efforts to accomplish more effective organization change and development. One key underlying assumption of functionally oriented approaches, often left implicit, is the interpretive insight that organizational discourse can not only provide access to the conceptual world of organizations but can also be used as an avenue for influencing this world. Effective organizational change and

development presents a set of perennial managerial problems. A discourse perspective highlights and illustrates that dealing with such problems is not just about the “hard” structural aspects of organizations, but requires an in-depth appreciation of the cultural, human aspects of organizations, and taking corresponding actions based on this appreciation. The literal view of metaphors, aligned with objectivist approaches in social science (Tsoukas, 1993) suggests that metaphors are overall attractive linguistic tools that simply indicate a field connection between two different domain (Black, 1993), not only do they not contribute to additional understanding, but can also distort the facts that should be articulated in literal language (Pinder and Bourgeois, 1982). From a constructionist viewpoint, however, this literal view of metaphors as unnecessary linguistic ornaments is refused, and their central role in human sense-making and understanding is emphasized (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Metaphors are viewed as primarily conceptual constructions that play a central role in the development of thought and intersubjective meaning making, allowing actors to reframe their perceptions, or “see the world anew” (Barrett and Cooperrider, 1990: 222). According to Lakoff (1993: 203), “the locus of metaphor is not language at all, but in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another”. In terms of research on persuasive communication, organizational actors are more likely to both understand the message, take it as having personal relevance, and spend more time thinking about it (Petty and Cacioppo, 1986). Morgan’s work (1986) has been seminal in fostering challenges to the dominant mechanistic and organic metaphors in organization theory, through a conscious understanding of the impact of such taken for granted metaphors on organizational studies. Morgan (1983) has gone as far as to suggest that

seeking to minimize the influence of metaphors is not only counterproductive but also infeasible, given their integral role to theorizing and sensemaking. According to Morgan, “the linguistic aspect is just a surface expression of a deeper process. This is why I like to describe metaphor as a primal, generative process that is fundamental to the creation of human understanding and meaning in all aspects of life” (1996: 228). Morgan’s approach has been criticized as potentially exercising an overly conservative influence on theorizing because of the suggested focus of metaphor on searching for interrelation between domains rather than highlighting differences (Oswick et al., 2002). The inherent ambiguity and imprecision of metaphors (Tsoukas, 1993), in addition, entails some persistent question marks and disagreements regarding their usefulness in organizational theorizing. Pinder and Bourgeois (1982), for example, have suggested that metaphorical statements do not fulfill a critical condition of social science, that is, falsifiability. Morgan (1983, 1996) responds by suggesting that the views of his critics in essence seek to substitute the trope of metonymy for the trope of metaphor in social science theorizing. In spite of the earlier issues, the sheer influence of metaphorical thinking in organization theory over the years (Grant and Oswick, 1996) bears testament to the usefulness and potential of metaphors as sensemaking devices that can engender or stimulate novel or at least interesting different understandings of particular target domains through creating correspondences with some source domains. As Grant and Oswick (1996: 2) have maintained, “there can be little dispute about the inevitability of metaphor. Nor about its having a generative quality.” From Semantic to Spatial, and on to Embodied Metaphors.

Metaphors are often based on traits belonging to the the physical world, as illustrated by the three generic image of up/down, container, and link or connection. This suggests that metaphorical sense-making draws from the human capacity of perceiving and mentally echoing with these physical relationships of and between objects (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Going beyond metaphors' verbal, semantic dimension, Weick (1990), for example, highlighted the relevance of mental spatiality in terms of cognitive maps as two-dimensional devices of sense-making employed in organizational practices. Cognitive mapping has operationalized maps as spatial metaphors that can facilitate organizational change and development (Bougon, 1992; Hodgkinson and Johnson, 1994). Cognitive mapping involves the creation of visual representations of a domain and portrays these entities within systems of relationships (Huff, 1990). Maps can serve as levers or focal points of reference and meaning negotiation in conversations, and it is primarily this communication around the mapping process that can trigger fruitful insights. Proceeding one step further from spatial metaphors, Jacobs and Heracleous (2006) discuss "embodied metaphors" in organization change and development. The term "embodied" in this context encompasses two related ideas. First, the literal construction of a physical object as an occasion for sensemaking introduces the body in processes of creating and exploring metaphors. More importantly, however, the physical constructions are themselves metaphors in the flesh, tangible metaphors representing organizational domains of importance to participants. In the construction process agents get immersed in 'practicing and 'doing metaphor', a promising avenue for innovation in the field or metaphor (Morgan, 1996). Both the analogical creation process and the evident physical constructions can be

fruitful occasions for collective sense-making and social reality construction, which can be immensely useful in processes of organization development and change. Several organization development approaches involving embodied metaphors have emerged over the last few years. For example, Barry (1994) draws on depth psychology and art therapy to introduce the concept of “analogically mediated inquiry” in which an object or model created by participants (“the analog”) allows the process accountant and the participants to engage in a collaborative process of interpretation and sense-making. The analog embodies conscious and subconscious cognitions of participants and serves as a “positive scapegoat” for them, enabling the surfacing of issues that may be politically contentious or up till then undiscussable. Doyle and Sims (2002), in addition, propose “cognitive sculpting” the construction of three-dimensional objects in the context of conversations for change in which participants are invited, using several objects on a table, to form a sculpture of particular organizational issues. This process involves verbal and nonverbal meaning negotiation that has both a mnemonic and a constructive effect; the construction process provides a collaborative setting of shared sense-making, and the resulting structures provide the opportunity for “decoding” of the issues, assumptions, and feelings embodied in them through skilled facilitation. Buergi and Roos (2003), finally, suggest a process of “serious play” in which participants are invited to configure and represent abstract organizational matters, such as organizational identity, by means of three-dimensional construction toys. As Heracleous and Jacobs (2005) suggest, such play-oriented, non-rational approaches can enable creative strategic and organizational insights to emerge, and can complement more traditional, rational, and structured approaches to think about the

organization and its strategic direction. Thus, through the spatial dimension, operationalized in concepts such as cognitive or strategic mapping, the inherently spatial nature of metaphors (as image schemata) can be brought to bear literally.

Further, through the bodily side, claimed in concepts such as analogically mediated inquiry, cognitive sculpting, or serious play, embodied metaphors can be brought to bear on processes of shared meaning construction and sensemaking about issues of shared concern. Both the concept and the technology of embodied metaphors operate within an emergent, inductive approach to metaphorical reasoning since organizational metaphors are intimately related to context and experience (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Embodied metaphors gain their currency from the ultimately local, contextual, and situated nature of their construction, rather than being based on assumptions metaphorically general and universal — a more deductive approach to metaphorical engagement in organization change and development programs.

2.6.1 Functional metaphors

The interest in Organization Studies for the behavioural aspects of work is well established. Research that was initially considered pioneering has now become part of the most mainstream currents in the field: such as Elton Mayo's studies (1933), when researchers started focusing on the "human factor" in organizations highlighting motivational aspects of people as both workers and individuals. Other key contributions throughout the development of a person-centred approach in organizational studies that have been used, discussed and critiqued at length, *inter alia*, include the informality within processes of

cooperation by Barnard (1938), Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1954), Herzberg's theory of motivation (1959), but also processes of enactment in the relationship between organizations and the environment (Weick, 1977; 1979), organizational learning (Argyris and Schon, 1978) and the well-known tradition of studies linked with the Tavistock Institute of London (see Klein 1946, 1959; Bion, 1961, 1962a, 1962b; Jaques, 1955; Menzies, 1959). The latter have contributed to the gradual spread and acceptance, both in communities of practice and research, of Freud's theories (1936). There is a turning point through which the interaction between the human side and the organization goes from a superficial behavioural level to a deeper level of interlacing with organizational design: a much more important role is given to the unconscious and the deeper dimensions of thought. Attention is then shifted from the observation of what motivates workers who, as human resources are by definition the object of an investment that needs to provide a return on investment, to the person who by definition is not simply an investment. Gareth Morgan's "Images of organization" (1986) aligns with this reasoning, as through his "images" the value for individuals of organizational structures as social mediation is made explicit. In the abovementioned volume, he uses seven metaphors "exploring the implications of different metaphors for thinking about the nature of organization" (p. 6): machines, organisms, brains, cultures, political systems, psychic prisons, flux and transformations, instruments of domination. Psychic prisons, in particular, are visible expressions of unconscious thoughts, which, if not consciously managed, can become traps of organizational activity. Metaphor may be figure out as more more than just a figure of speech. Seeing A in terms of B metaphor is not only the archetype of related tropes such as metonymy, synecdoche, simile and analogy but more

importantly, it is constructive of both social reality and scientific inquiry (Heracleous, 2003; Morgan, 1986), inducing, in actors' minds, ontological and epistemic correspondences between otherwise distinct domains (Lakoff, 1990). Literal views of metaphor see it as merely a statement of similarity or analogy that is potentially expendable, since what was stated metaphorically could also be stated literally (Black, 1979). This perspective is identified by Tsoukas (1993) as consistent with objectivist approaches in social science that view the use of metaphor as not only unnecessary but also distorting of the "facts" that should be expressed in literal language (Pinder and Bourgeois, 1982). Constructivist views of metaphor, on the other hand, such as the "interaction" view (Black, 1979) hold that metaphor is involved in fundamental thought processes through the projection of "associated implications" of a secondary subject on a primary subject, in which individuals both actively and sub consciously select, emphasize, suppress, and organize features of the primary subject by applying to it statements isomorphic with the secondary subjects implicative complex. Lakoff and Johnsons (1980) seminal study on the metaphorical structuring of experience emphasizes the status of metaphor as a constructive influence on social actors conceptual system, in terms of which thought and action occur. Lakoff provided a compelling statement of the constructivist view of metaphors through his "invariance hypothesis" in which he suggested that metaphors involve both ontological correspondences (in which entities in the target domain correspond systematically to entities in the source domain) and epistemic correspondences, where knowledge about the source domain is mapped onto knowledge about the target domain (Lakoff, 1990). The creative potential of metaphors has formed the basis for metaphorical typologies. Schon, for

example, distinguished generative metaphors from non-generative ones by the formers ability to generate new perceptions, explanations and inventions (1979); and Black distinguished strong from weak metaphors by the formers possessing a high degree of “implicative elaboration” (1979). But are metaphorical statements creative by revealing aspects of the target domain that were already there, or by constituting such aspects by virtue of the two domains that they bring into interaction? Black argues that the latter is possible in the form of his strong creativity thesis (1979: 37–39). These traps can have their roots in shared beliefs, the comfort of taken-for-granted past success or even from the influence cast by one group on another one. In order to explain how these traps of the psyche acts on peoples’ minds and actions, Morgan uses “Plato’s cave Myth” where prisoners can only get an idea of the outside world from inside the cave in the form of shapes projected by the fire on to a wall in the cave. Clearly, that is not the real world nor a truthful projection or representation of it, but, being unable to see anything else, they believe the projections to be reality. For those people, gaining freedom from the prison means the possibility (both as a person and as a human resource) to venture out of the cave in the open to experience the world, nature, its colours, the sounds and smells, and not accept the shapes and shadows from the fire as real. When taken as a metaphor of institutions, getting out of the cave means and the chains of prison for the mind, means to recognize institutional fears and anxiety and escape from the traps these can hide for the institution itself and for individuals. According to Julia Segal (1991), from the level of the unconscious the prison is created by the prisoners for the guards; at the same time the guards can be liberating in the organizational decision making processes by getting in touch with the unconscious dimension of organizations

without letting traps influence them (Renz, 2009). The creative potential of metaphorical statements depends upon there being sufficient differences between the two domains for a creative strain to exist (Morgan, 1983). The capability of metaphor to create situations and to foster organizational change is broadly testified in organization studies (Pondy, 1983). Metaphors can offer innovative ways of looking at existing situations (Crider and Cirillo, 1991; Morgan, 1980, 1983), while simultaneously acting as a linkage from a familiar to a new state (Pondy, 1983). The high latitude of interpretation afforded by metaphorical statements can help to accommodate the interpretations of organizational groups perceiving their interests to be mutually incompatible (Crider and Cirillo, 1991), and unstructured situations can be made more concrete and comprehensible through the use of metaphor (Sackmann, 1989). Metaphorical discourse analysis can focus on the root metaphors underlying a certain discourse, on the nature of the target and source domains and their implication complexes, on the presence of inter metaphor systematicity (interrelations among metaphors underlying a discourse), or on the longitudinal shifts in root metaphors and the aspects of their implication complexes, as employed by actors in a social system. Potential disagreements and ambiguities in metaphor use remain whether a single or several metaphors should be used to understand a given situation, to what extent politics are involved in metaphor use, to what extent literal language is needed (or is feasible) in analysing organizations, and to what extent different metaphors are incommensurable or complementary (Palmer and Dunford, 1996). These ambiguities raise the importance and desirability of researcher reflexivity, particularly in empirical studies, a central issue in organizational discourse. Researcher reflexivity highlights the need to clarify one's

assumptions and ideological biases and to consider how these shape various aspects of the research process (Heracleous, 2001).

2.7. Conclusions

As we have seen in the paragraph on gender and identity, is the power of discourse which reproduce the phenomena (Butler, 1993). Through the concept of performativity, Judith Butler addresses the concept of a socially constructed identity into a continuous and iterative way to respect gender norms and expected actions. Identities are not something fixed but something that needs to be done Kelan (2009), thus she conceives how the more relevant is to recognise identity as an outcome of a recognition process, rather than the 'doer behind the deed' (Kathleen, Rumens and Tyler, 2016). Individual identities are constantly resorting to different ways of displaying and hiding themselves (Ward and Winstanley, 2007), since their social identity is not correctly recognised by others (McLemore, 2015). While the non-recognition of a given social identity may be psychologically disruptive (McLemore, 2015), when an individual's gender identity is accepted, a strong feeling of inclusion is engendered (Rundall and Vecchietti, 2010). Therefore, "acts should not be considered as individual but also as part of shared experiences or collective action, suggesting opportunities for research within organisation" (Jenkins and Finneman, 2017: 8). The concept of gender as a social construction within organization has opened new understanding of discrimination and marginalisation in the workplace. In her contribution, Butler considers the binary vision of gender as a source of discrimination, scrutinising also a lack of knowledge as both an effect and a cause of it. The capacity of exploring a distance in the midst of a dichotomy makes the assumption on sex and gender as a methodological tool to explore different dichotomies. Beginning with the dichotomy between nature and culture, also explored in the second part of Butler (1999) where, she claims the part of "sex",

usually associated with nature, as associated to a prediscursive cultural establishment, helping us to understand even the cultural side of gender, as a repetitive performance (performativity).

Furthermore, Dentice and Dietert (2015, p. 76) claim:

Those who successfully transition and eventually pass, re-enter the binary world as either male or female. Others who transition but do not effectively pass may continue to have negative encounters based on their gender presentation. Are these individuals still liminal even though they took all the steps to align with their gender of choice?

Traditionally, the literature dealing with transgender individuals in organization and the way they deal with binarism has paid attention to the perception of identity (Dentice and Dietert, 2015; Claire and Anderson, 2013; Rundall and Vecchietti, 2010; Ward and Winstanley, 2004; Gagnè and Tewksbury, 1998). As aforementioned, practices of silence have also been quite investigated in the literature, with a particular focus on acts of resistance to these practices (Riach *et al.*, 2014; Ward and Winstanley, 2003).

In this contribution, we have examined how gender binarism impact on the feeling of inclusion/exclusion experienced by TGNC people in organization. From a theoretical point of view, the most dangerous result in shattering gender binarism is that of creating new forms of binarism (Knights, 2015), split in what is in accordance to the binary system and what is not. TGNC issues in the workplace are not a newcomer for researchers. Hence, in this paper, we have specifically focused on that part of research that concerns the workplace life. Even if most of the researches carried out in the field of Diversity Management are particularly focused on recruitment (Thomas and Plaut, 2012), and despite the fact that investigating practices linked to TGNC people is considered as typically associated with

those scholars who investigate gender in organizations (Schilt and Westbrook, 2009), very few empirical researches have been carried out on forms of discrimination and stigma taking place at the time of recruitment. Therefore, we have explored several possibilities in order to examine in depth the topic of gender binarism. Finally, we have tried to lay the ground for future work in order to link the category of gender binarism to some possible objects of empirical research, that is, identity, resistance, and inclusion.

After having tested the Diversity Management literature, a complex frame is emerging, in which resistance to the implementation of Diversity Management practices are still persistent. Notwithstanding very much has been done for the legitimization of Diversity Management within organization, also thanks to the role played by the concept of inclusion, that has contributed to transform Diversity Management in a widespread attitude, quite far from a top-down approach. One of the main result of this work is to contribute to a further element of legitimization of the Diversity Management within organization. Thus, it has been explored the role of social mediator played by organizations, that may be somehow contraposed to the natural selection, in which only who adapts itself to the environment may hopefully survive. On the other hand, organizations, due to their role of social mediator, are allowed to contain individual and collective anxiety, shaping identities in a constant interrelation between individual and organization, contributing to each other in constructing both individual identity and organization identity. This latter, is the reason why the identity issue in organization is of paramount importance to ensure a correct development of Diversity Management Practices, in which diversity has a holistic and not

categorized human traits, though to avoid the commodification of differences and the marketization of practices.

Chapter III

Conducting CDA in UK-county-based organizations

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter has been dedicated to scrutinize Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodological approach to the analysis of discourse. In this chapter, the proper analysis will be carried out grounding on that debate. To explain the protocol within which the analysis has been conducted, in the next paragraphs will unfold primarily the two elements of discourse (text and context) which have been considered as the category within which the discourse analysed is framed, particularly in organization theory. Then, the two main tool used to analysed all the texts collected (word frequency and cluster analysis) will be explored in the context of Nvivo 11, software for qualitative analysis. The second part of the chapter is based on the exploration of the empirical field, explaining in detail what is considered as text and what as context. In the following part, the organizations involved in the study will be singularly analysed in order to highlight all the main traits of the Diversity discourse in the workplace. After that, a discussion of the whole *corpus* collected during the research will be carried out in order find similarities and differences in the discursive elements within the context.

3.2. How to conduct a CDA

The social constructivism explores the different system in which reality is constructed by language (Fairclough, 1992). Accordingly, a set of texts is constitutive of a discourse, that is enacted through the practice of its production and reception to the context (Phillips and

Hardy, 2002). Topics and ideas manage and are managed by discourse at the same time, due to discourse function of regulate behaviours and reasoning (Hall, 2001). Therefore, a change in discourse affects not solely the way people understand the social context in which they live, but rather a set of interaction between organizational members and the social world (Fairclough, 1995; 2005).

CDA has been used a methodology approach in an extensive body of scientific research. In this analysis, it has been tried to conceptualize context in the organizational text. In the CDA literature it is clear how much can be confusing to decide what context is and what is not, even more in organizational studies (Fairclough, 2005; Harley and Hardy, 2004; Heracleous, 2006).

Discourses arise as particular ways of interpreting the social context. Making it frequent to abstract contexts from reality, discourses comprise certain aspects of them but not others, and focalize certain aspects whilst marginalizing others. Many features of the social world are enacted in different ways by different discourses; certain discourses live longer than others, and thus achieve varying measures of dominance over others, ultimately becoming hegemonic. Such discourses come to be more often recontextualized than others, shifted from one practice to others. Therefore, the achievement of a reliable measure of dominance is necessary for discourses to be put into practices, dialectically transformed into new identities; and then new material realities. The enactment of discourses is both a matter of dialectical relations between discourse and material reality, and 'intra-semiotic' dialectical relations between discourses and genres and styles (Chourialaki and Fairclough, 2010).

3.3 Texts in CDA theory

CDA theorists do not agree completely to the definition of “text”. This latter could comprise or not spoken language. Van Dijk (1997) assumes that written language is different from the spoken one, defining only the former as texts and the latter as talk. For this reason, Van Dijk (1997) claims that the object of analysis for CDA is not “text in context” but “talk and text in context” (3) and therefore any consideration of the potential implications of his definition of text for CDA practice must take this difference into account. On the other hand, Halliday (1978) defines texts as representation of a discursive practice, so comprising both spoken and written language. Kress et al. (1997) introduce a “multi-modal approach” that tries to comprehend “all the representational modes which are in play in the text” (258) such as the semiotic elements of a picture. From an organizational point of view, Phillips and Hardy (2002) define texts broadly as a “discursive units”. This latter is one of the most recent pillar of CDA, moving to a broader conceptualization of text (Fairclough, 2003), and including as texts visual images as well as sound. The variation to be found within CDA theory in relation to the definition of text therefore changes from the view of text as solely written language to the broad view of text as a broadly human creation. Accordingly, the focus and method of analysis through CDA will adjust upon which definition of text is used. Each definition brings with it a different set of methodological challenges for the researcher, relating on whether the object of analysis is a newspaper article or a conversation. Fairclough (2003) explains the value of textual analysis in terms of the “causal effects” that texts may have, despite effects are “mediated by meaning-making” on the part of those who interpret them. As Alvesson and Kärreman (2000) note, in choosing which boundaries are

adopting in materials collection, researchers confront the issue of “rigour vs. significance”. The selection of texts is, then, a fundamental component of any method associated with CDA because it subsumes justifications for the significance of the insights offered by the analysis (Harley and Hardy, 2004). This process of justifying text selection becomes more complicated through the active role of researchers in selecting the texts they analyse. Thus, CDA calls for authorial reflexivity (Musson and Duberley, 2007).

Given that multiple rather than single texts are generally analysed, establishing the intertextual relations between the chosen texts is also a characteristic associated with CDA. Therefore, Phillips and Hardy (2002) claim that social world is produced by various kind of text, both spoken and written, that constitute phenomena. It is through the analysis of both individual texts and the relationships between texts that the phenomena unfold to the observer.

3.4. Context in CDA theory

In 2001, Van Dijk assumed that “whereas we have many theories of talk and text, there is no such thing as an explicit theory of context. Indeed, there is not even a monograph about context” (Van Dijk, 2001: 108).

Context is arguably an under-theorized area within CDA. However, the perceived lack depends to some extent on how context is defined. On the one hand, some scholars emphasize the cognitive dimension of context and those that do not (Meyer, 2001; Van Dijk, 2001; Wodak 2006). Within the organizational literature, this concern has been expressed by Marshak et al. (2000), who fostered for empirical study of the “inner worlds”. Organization

studies about 'sensemaking' (Ashforth and Harrison, 2008; Weick, 1979) have begun to address the cognitive dimension of discourse. The more common focus within CDA in organization studies in relation to context, however, has been on the "outer world" and in this respect the most influential theorist has been Norman Fairclough. Whilst the cognitive dimension has not been a feature of Fairclough's research, he has cited "mental maps" to interpret texts and social realities, which are open to many interpretations. Similarly, although Van Dijk (1997) has emphasized and sought to develop our understanding of the importance of the cognitive dimension of context, he has not reduced context to this dimension. Text and context may be thus differentiated (Heracleous, 2006). The act of organizing leads to the creation of organizations which may be transformed through renewed and more actions (Reed, 2005). There has also been a related tendency within CDA to reify context rather than to subject it to analysis (Hardy, 2001). Fairclough (2005) has therefore been concerned about both the eradication of context when everything is defined as a text and the reification of context. One reason for the collapse of text into context may be the emphasis on intertextuality within CDA (Kristeva, 1986). The concept of intertextuality refers to the links that texts have with close texts. It also refers to the way in which interpreters make sense of texts by drawing upon their knowledge of other texts or discourses in themselves, including the conventions that exist within particular textual genres. An intertextual analysis is, then, one that takes account of the role of genre into texts. However, it may also be an analysis in which texts constitute the context so that the focus of analysis is solely upon chains of related texts.

3.5. The Use of Word Frequency Query with Nvivo 11

Researchers who are interested in finding differences among informants may want to conduct a word frequency query. Whilst it is possible to qualify the use of a word as “many” or “few”, other scholars use to get different results reporting the actual counts additionally to the accounts of the phenomenon (Sandelowski, 2001). There are at least three explanations for counting in qualitative data analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994):

- to identify patterns of analysis more easily;
- to verify a hypothesis;
- to maintain analytic integrity.

The word frequency query will search selected text and identify the most frequently used words in that text. The word frequency query will find words used in sometimes surprising ways and can be useful for exploratory work, but it is not substitutable with interactive coding.

While attention regarding the text-mining tools is well recommended, this may be an appropriate strategy for generating ideas for follow up with other tools in the software. In some forms of conversation or discourse analysis, text-mining is used to identify passages suitable for detailed coding and analysis from within the larger body of text.

In qualitative research, numbers tend to get ignored. However, the primary task of the qualitative analysis is to tell us something more than the essential numbers could do (Miles and Huberman, 1994). However, when we analyse a phenomenon, we observe how many times this phenomenon has happened and the consistency in the context. This manner allows the researcher to estimate the importance of the words recurrence, in order to make

a hypothesis and ultimately, to provide a tool for verifying questions. Though, even in qualitative research is fundamental to deal with numbers, primarily to carry out a significant amount of data and to protect both authors and readers from biases.

3.6. The Use of Cluster analysis with Nvivo 11

Cluster analysis provides a summary of the assembly of the data that seem to fall together (Miles and Huberman, 1994), letting the researcher to increase the understanding of the themes emerging from the ground of the text. Arising from Close reading of your nodes (Guest and McLellan, 2003). NVivo's clustering tool evaluate the closeness of both sources and nodes, based on:

- the similarity of words used
- the similarity of coding that has been applied

Those similarities are then presented with a dendrogram, that in this thesis is represented either vertically or horizontally, depending on the available space. Clustering data based on similarities in content is often used within exploratory methods. Though to raise ideas and formulating new questions.

A cluster analysis of the sources, based on word similarity, shows in what extent the different sources dealt with the same categories or not. The CA will show whether or not these sources fall neatly into two main clusters, based on the language used in relation to the topics covered (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013). A similarity metric is a statistical method used to calculate correlation among clusters. The Nvivo 11 cluster coding similarity approach has been used in this research to cluster data to be analyzed in terms of similarities

based on Pearson's correlation coefficient (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013; Richards and Richards, 1999).

3.7. The Empirical Setting

The empirical context of the research is entirely set in a UK county. The reason of focusing research in a certain area of the Country is the availability of such different organization, and the peculiar characteristic that all of them are unified under a same entity (LGBT Committee). Indeed, all the organizations involved in the data analysis belong to a committee that promotes Equality and Diversity across the region in the field of LGBT people inclusion. This is a very peculiar way to analyse very different actors⁴ across the UK government and private bodies (Ward and Winstanley, 2005) because in the committee (that is considered as the context of the research) are represented multinational companies as well as public services such as the Police and Fire and Rescue services. The data collection has been carried out during six months, where the author has participated to meetings and events organized by the committee and has conducted three in-depth interview. The interviewee were people with a twofold role: one as active member of the committee for equality and diversity, the other as responsible for equality and diversity in their respective

⁴ All the organizations participating to the study were anonymized during the analysis. People interviewed were aware to participate to a PHD research project and they have expressed their consent. However, some of them have requested to remain anonymous. In regard of this, the author decided to anonymize all the sources. Although this ethical issue, they have been accomplished all the possible efforts to repay the reader with all the added value stemming from the relationship between the Committee for Alliance towards LGBT Community and the bundle of public bodies and private organizations involved in the study.

organizations. This bridging role is one of the reason to conduct an in-depth interviews, the second one was the necessity to integrate written materials with a daily based experience, in order to highlight the gaps between the discourse declared through the official policies and the richness of the human experiences lived into organizations involved. Both the Word Frequency and Cluster Analysis have been carried out using NVivo 11. In the case of the word frequency they have been selected the fifty most used words in a bundle of sources that comprises the written materials (declared for each organization) and the transcription of interview. The query comprises stemmed word, in order to include in the analysis even the different forms of the word. For example, in the count of the word “inclusion” have been used also the word “inclusive”, “included”, “inclusiveness” and so forth.

3.7.1. The LGBT committee⁵

The LGBT committee is a network of different organizations based in the county where the empirical data have been collected. The main objective of this committee is to share resources and best practices across the private, public and third sectors for the benefit of people in the workplace.

The committee comprises 26 members, including the university in which the organization is based, a manufacturing company, a county-based rehabilitation company, the fire and

⁵ The synopsis of the organization analysed is actually and adaptation from the institutional site. On the one hand, it was a purpose of the author to immerse the reader into the institutional communication, on the other it was not possible to cite the weblinks used due to anonymity statements observed.

rescue service, a county-based football association, the Ministry of Defence Police and the county-police.

The aim of the Alliance is to promote equality and wellbeing, raise awareness of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans (LGBT) issues including issues around LGBT people with multiple identities and to share best practice with regard to sexual orientation and gender identity within the workplace⁶.

The minutes of all the meeting held from the beginning of the committees' activites have been analyzed. The documents analyzed are eleven and the author has participated to one of the meetings. It follows the Word Frequency Table (3.1) and the Cluster Analysis Dendogram (Figure 3.1.)

Table 3.1. The LGBT Committee Word Frequency

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
event	139	2,28	event, events
lgbt	104	1,71	lgbt
meetings	100	1,64	meet, meeting, meetings
members	78	1,28	member, members, members'
university	76	1,25	universities, university
alliance	60	0,99	alliance
students'	49	0,81	student, students, students'
careers	45	0,74	career, careers
suggested	43	0,71	suggested, suggestions

⁶ Cited from the committee web-page.

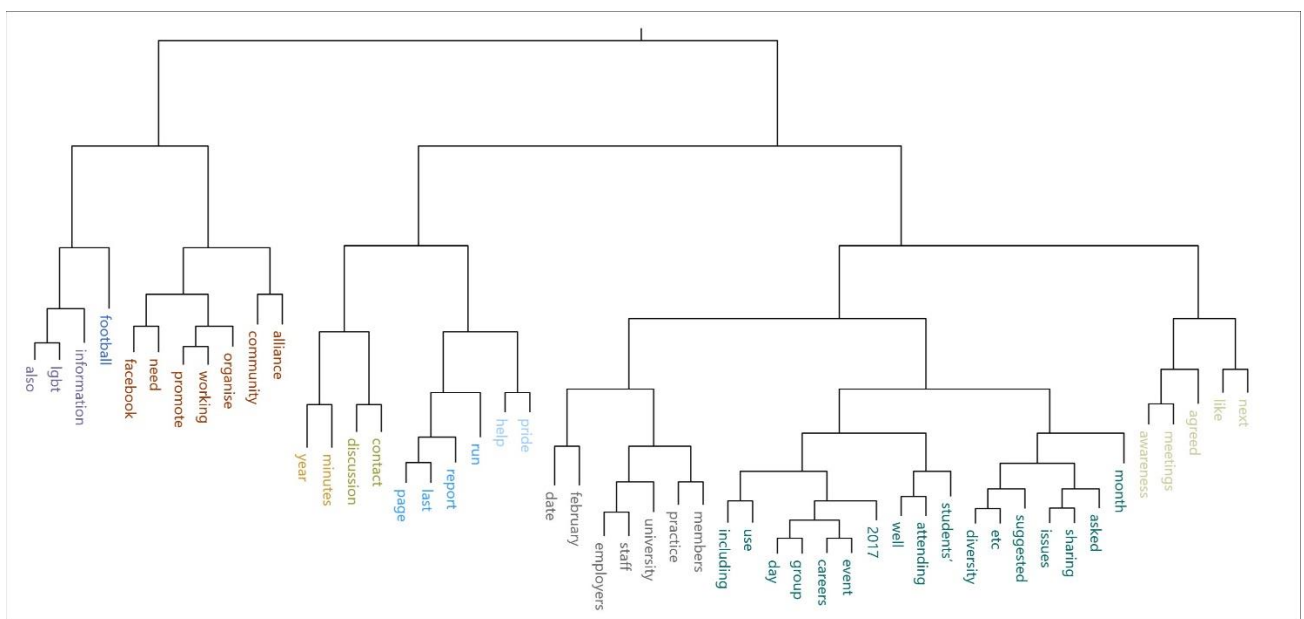
organise	41	0,67	organisation, organisations, organisations', organise, organised, organiser, organising
also	36	0,59	also
staff	35	0,58	staff, staff'
working	33	0,54	work, working, works
etc	32	0,53	etc
group	32	0,53	group, grouped, groups
minutes	30	0,49	minute, minutes
need	30	0,49	need, needed, needs
next	30	0,49	next
february	29	0,48	february
asked	28	0,46	ask, asked, asking
diversity	28	0,46	diversity, diversity'
pride	28	0,46	pride
agreed	26	0,43	agreed

contact	26	0,43	contact, contacted, contacting, contacts
community	26	0,43	communicate, communicated, communication, communities, community
use	25	0,41	use, used, useful, using
sharing	24	0,39	share, shared, sharing
day	23	0,38	day
promote	23	0,38	promote, promoting, promotion
last	22	0,36	last
attending	21	0,35	attend, attendance, attended, attending
2017	20	0,33	2017
practice	20	0,33	practical, practice, practices
well	20	0,33	well

month	19	0,31	month, months
year	19	0,31	year, years'
help	19	0,31	help, helped, helpful, helping
awareness	18	0,30	aware, awareness
football	18	0,30	football, footballer
including	18	0,30	include, included, including
information	18	0,30	informal, information
issues	18	0,30	issue, issues
like	18	0,30	like

report	18	0,30	report, reported, reporting, reports
run	18	0,30	run, running
date	17	0,28	date, dated, dates
facebook	17	0,28	facebook, facebook'
page	17	0,28	page, pages
union	17	0,28	union, unions
discussion	17	0,28	discuss, discussed, discussion, discussions

Figure 3.1. The LGBT Committee Cluster Analysis



3.7.1.1. The use of the word event and the acronym LGBT

The most used words in the Committee minutes are LGBT and events. The interest is focused in particular about the use of the word “event”. This word is not unsurprisingly used, due to the convergence with one of the main objective of the Committee that is the exchange of best practices across the County-based organization, even those not belonging to the Committee. On other hand, two issues have to be noted: the first one is that the two most used word within the texts are quite far in the clusters analysed, i.e. the two words are used in different sentences. The second one is the negative mood in which the event are signaled within the Minutes. Indeed, most of the time the word event is used to note that the Committee has not participated to a certain event for some reason. Here there some examples

- LGBT Committee is not present due to lack of time to prepare for **event**
- The **event** took place and invitations were sent out to the Committee but no members were present.
- The February Diversity **Event**, which was planned for the day after the LGBT careers event on 25 February, was cancelled. The reasons are unclear...

3.7.2. The county council – adult social care service⁷⁷

County councils are settled in England since 1889. They are responsible for a wide array of services, though they represent a very large employers in England. County councils

⁷⁷ The synopsis of the organization analysed is actually and adaptation from the institutional site. On the one hand, it was a purpose of the author to immerse the reader into the institutional communication, on the other it was not possible to cite the weblinks used due to anonymity statements observed.

have a great variety of functions including education, social services, fire and rescue services and libraries, among others. A recent local government reform has followed the invitation from central government to make more efficient the provisions from County councils to local districts, mainly eradicating the County and District councils and establishing a one-tier authority for some of the already existing counties. This thesis is focused on the adult social care service that provide several types of support to adults, from health to education, from safety to disability support. In this case, the service has not specific diversity policies within the organization, because it is directly managed by the council. For this reason, to analyze the diversity policies the general County council documents have been taken, Furthermore, a semi-structured interview has been conduct with one of the social worker involved in equality and diversity issues.

Sources analysed:

1. Equality impact assessment. It concerns the evaluation of the new or revised policies adopt by the council over the year.
2. Annual Workforce Diversity Report.
3. Consultation of the draft equality strategy.
4. Equal Pay Audit.
5. Equality Strategy 2015-2018.
6. Equality Policy Statement.
7. One interview with a social worker.

Table 3.2. The County council Word Frequency

Word	Count	Weighted Perc. (%)	Similar Words
people	374	1,11	people, people'
equally	347	1,03	equal, equalities, equality, equally
disabled	294	0,87	disabilities, disability, 'disability, disability', disabled, disabled', disabilities
services	270	0,80	service, services, services'
employees	255	0,76	employee, employees, employees', employees'
council	243	0,72	council, council', councils

community	240	0,71	communicate, communicating, communication, communications, communities, community
county	211	0,63	counties, county
operations'	207	0,61	operating, operation, operations, operations'
groups	167	0,50	group, grouped, groups
places	153	0,45	place, places
commissioning	150	0,45	commission, commissioned, commissioning, commissions
strategy	146	0,43	strategies, strategy
diversity	144	0,43	diverse, diversity

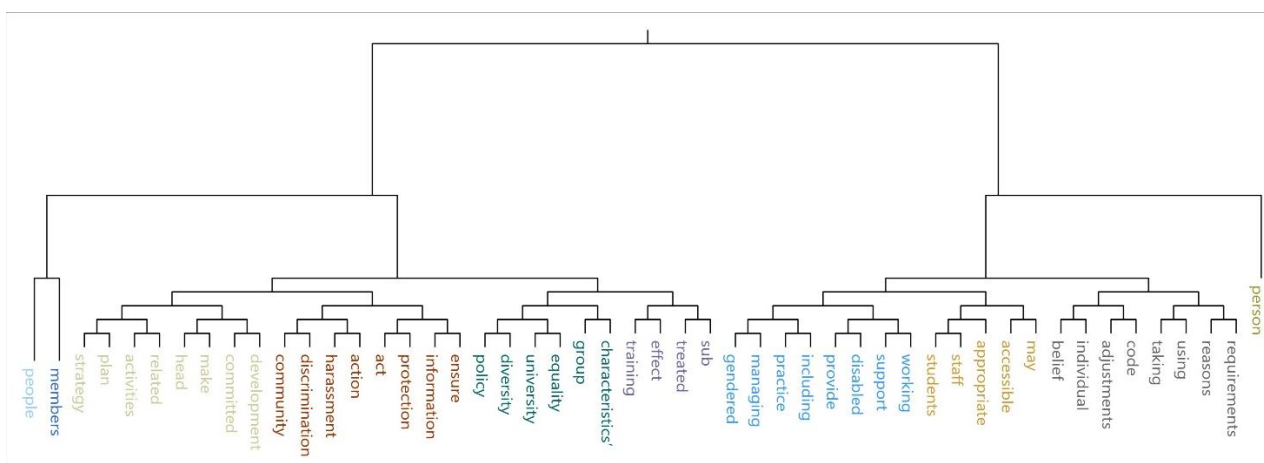
work	135	0,40	work, worked, working, works
2015	131	0,39	2015
ecc	129	0,38	ecc
need	125	0,37	need, needed, needs
ethnicity	122	0,36	ethnic, 'ethnic, ethnicity
bme	118	0,35	bme
ensure	106	0,31	ensure, ensures, ensuring
ages	105	0,31	age, age', aged, ageing, ages, aging
2016	102	0,30	2016, 2016'
support	98	0,29	support, supported, supporting, supports
different	97	0,29	difference, differences, different, differently, differing
corporate	96	0,29	corporate

family	96	0,29	families, family
gender	96	0,29	gender, gender', genders
adults	90	0,27	adult, adults
page	90	0,27	page, pages
pay	87	0,26	pay, paying
undisclosed	86	0,26	undisclosed
workforce	84	0,25	workforce
white	83	0,25	white
outcomes	82	0,24	outcome, outcomes
customer	82	0,24	customer, customers
across	81	0,24	across
performing	81	0,24	perform, performance, performers, performing
access	80	0,24	access, accessed, accessibility, accessible, accessing
annual	80	0,24	annual, annually
part	80	0,24	part, parts

year	80	0,24	year, yearly, years, years'
report	79	0,23	report, reported, reporting, reports
areas	76	0,23	area, areas
including	76	0,23	include, included, includes, including
applications	73	0,22	applicant, applicants, application, applications

information	72	0,21	inform, informal, information, informative, informed, informing, informs
rates	72	0,21	rate, rated, rates, ratings
bands	71	0,21	band, bandings, bands
making	69	0,20	make, makes, making

Figure 3.2. The County Council Cluster Analysis



3.7.2.1. Notes about Adult Social Care Service

Even in this case, the most frequent words (“People” and “Equality”) are not in the same cluster, on the contrary, they are put in two quite far ones. This, indicates that these two words are frequently used despite they are not correlated. It could be curious to hypothesize how long the equality issue is in somehow considered far from people in themselves. Similarly, the Diversity issues look entirely hidden in the daily practices of the Social Working Service as long as the current responsible for equality and diversity took on the role:

Q. What did happen before you become Diversity and Equality Officer? What kind of discriminations were lead in the past towards LGBT people?

A. *Actually we didn't have notifications of precedent discrimination issue. The reason is that a support group for LGBT people was established, but nobody have participated either to the meetings or other initiatives, it was more like an empty box.*

3.7.3. Fire and Rescue Service⁸

The British Fire and Rescue services have been recently regulated under the Fire and Rescue Services Act (2004). Duties under the Act include the promotion of fire safety issues, including the provision of advice related to the prevention of fire and escape from a fire. It

⁸ The synopsis of the organization analysed is actually and adaptation from the institutional site. On the one hand, it was a purpose of the author to immerse the reader into the institutional communication, on the other it was not possible to cite the weblinks used due to anonymity statements observed.

has also developed its own Older People Strategy. Those guidelines specifically aim to enhance the fire safety of the elders with the explicit obligation to continue older adults' community safety initiatives, including provision of "Home Fire Safety Visits". These Visits target exposed people, where fires and fire deaths are higher than in the rest of the Country. The assistance includes a discussion of fire safety, the placement of a free smoke alarm, and planning an escape path in the event of a fire.

Recently, the Local Government Involvement in Health Act (2007) requires to all public sector partners, including Fire and Rescue Authorities in England, to deliver some shared initiative to their communities.

In this thesis they have been analysed some of the documents provided from the Fire and Rescue Service website:

1. People Management Policy;
2. Equality Objectives;
3. Workforce Report 2015;
4. Initial Equality Impact Assessment.

Table 3.3 The Word frequency list (Fire and Rescue Service)

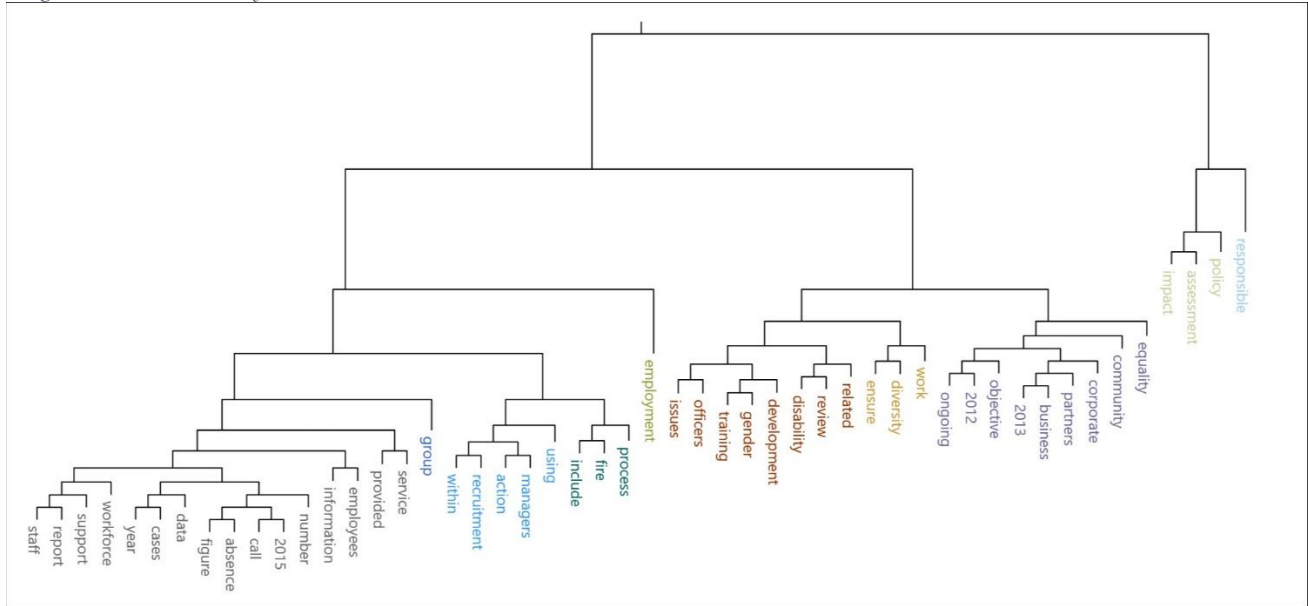
Word	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
service	99	1,54	service, services
equality	95	1,48	equal, equalities, equality
policy	76	1,19	policies, policy
managers	75	1,17	manage, managed, management, manager, managers, managing
partners	73	1,14	partner, partners
business	70	1,09	business
community	66	1,03	communicate, communicating, communication, communications, communities, community
employees	65	1,01	employee, employees

diversity	54	0,84	diverse, diversity
2012	52	0,81	2012
data	50	0,78	data
ongoing	48	0,75	ongoing
group	47	0,73	group, groups
corporate	44	0,69	corporate, corporately
ensure	44	0,69	ensure, ensuring
support	44	0,69	support, supported, supporting, supportive, supports
report	43	0,67	report, reported, reporting, reports
2013	41	0,64	2013
cases	40	0,62	case, cases
development	38	0,59	develop, developed, developing, development
fire	38	0,59	fire

review	37	0,58	review, reviewed, reviewing, reviews
staff	37	0,58	staff
include	35	0,55	include, included, includes, including
2015	34	0,53	2015
officers	33	0,51	office, officer, officers
disability	32	0,50	disabilities, disability, disabled
assessment	32	0,50	assess, assessed, assessment
objective	30	0,47	objective, objectives
action	30	0,47	action, actions
impact	30	0,47	impact
call	29	0,45	call, calls
provided	29	0,45	provide, provided, provides, providing
gender	28	0,44	gender
recruitment	28	0,44	recruit, recruitment

related	28	0,44	related, relating, relation, relations
work	28	0,44	work, working
responsible	27	0,42	responsibilities, responsibility, responsible, responsive
using	27	0,42	use, used, using
training	25	0,39	train, trained, training
absence	25	0,39	absence
employment	25	0,39	employed, employment
workforce	25	0,39	workforce
year	25	0,39	year, years
issues	24	0,37	issues, issues'
process	24	0,37	process, processed, processes
number	23	0,36	number, numbers
within	23	0,36	within
information	22	0,34	inform, informal, information
figure	22	0,34	figure, figures

Figure 3.3 Cluster Analysis Fire and Rescue Service



3.7.3.1 Notes on Fire and Rescue Services

Surprisingly, the rule respected by the previous two organizations is confirmed even for the Fire and Rescue Service. Indeed, the most used word are represented with a low correlation in the Cluster analysis. In this case, the two words are “Equality” and “Service”. It appears quite evident that the equality issue is not considered a service *per se*, or at least not a service for the community. The only cases in which the two words equality and service have been used in the same sentence are those cases in which the noun “service” was functionally put to synthetize the “The Fire and Rescue Service” (i.e. The service). The other interesting word in the word frequency query is the noun “Community”, which has a twofold value, the first as amount of people, the second as a liaison between the service and the public (Communication). The references coded with this have a positive mood, they follow some examples:

- partnership with our staff and **communities** to achieve equality of outcomes;
- Objective: Effective Service Delivery and **Community** Engagement. We will work hard;
- Clearly and consistently communicate our progress on service delivery.

The positive mood about the use of the word Community is also confirmed by the cluster analysis, in which the higher correlation is paired with word like: objective, development, work, ensure, ongoing.

3.7.4. Police⁹

Law enforcement in UK is organised distinctly in each country. The law enforcement is carried out by police officers serving in regional police services. These regional services are complemented by UK-wide agencies, such as the National Crime Agency.

Police forces employ staff who perform many functions to assist officers and support the good running of their police force.

Police officers have been recognized of certain powers to allow them to accomplish their responsibilities. Their primary duties are the protection of life and property, preservation of the peace, and prevention and detection of criminal offences. In UK, officers exercise their powers to police with the implicit consent of the public. "Policing by consent" is the phrase used to describe this. It clarifies that the legitimacy of policing in the eyes of the public is

⁹ The synopsis of the organization analysed is actually and adaptation from the institutional site. On the one hand, it was a purpose of the author to immerse the reader into the institutional communication, on the other it was not possible to cite the weblinks used due to anonymity statements observed.

based upon a general consensus of support that follows from transparency about their powers, their integrity in exercising those powers and their accountability for doing so. To analyse this organization a set of documents have been downloaded from the website of the County in which the research was held. It follows a list with the title of these documents:

1. The operational benefits of diversity for the police service;
2. Code of ethics;
3. Workforce Monitoring Report 2010/2011;
4. Summary of the Equality outcomes 2012;
5. Police Statutory duty information report 2013;
6. Police Statutory duty information report 2014;
7. Police Statutory duty information report 2015;
8. Police Statutory duty information report 2016;
9. Police Statutory duty information report 2017.

Table 3.4 Word Frequency Police Service

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
policing	1267	2,66	police, police', polices, policing
officers	584	1,23	office, officer, officers
total	402	0,84	total

staff	398	0,84	staff
community	344	0,72	communal, communicate, communicated, communicating, communication, communications, communities,

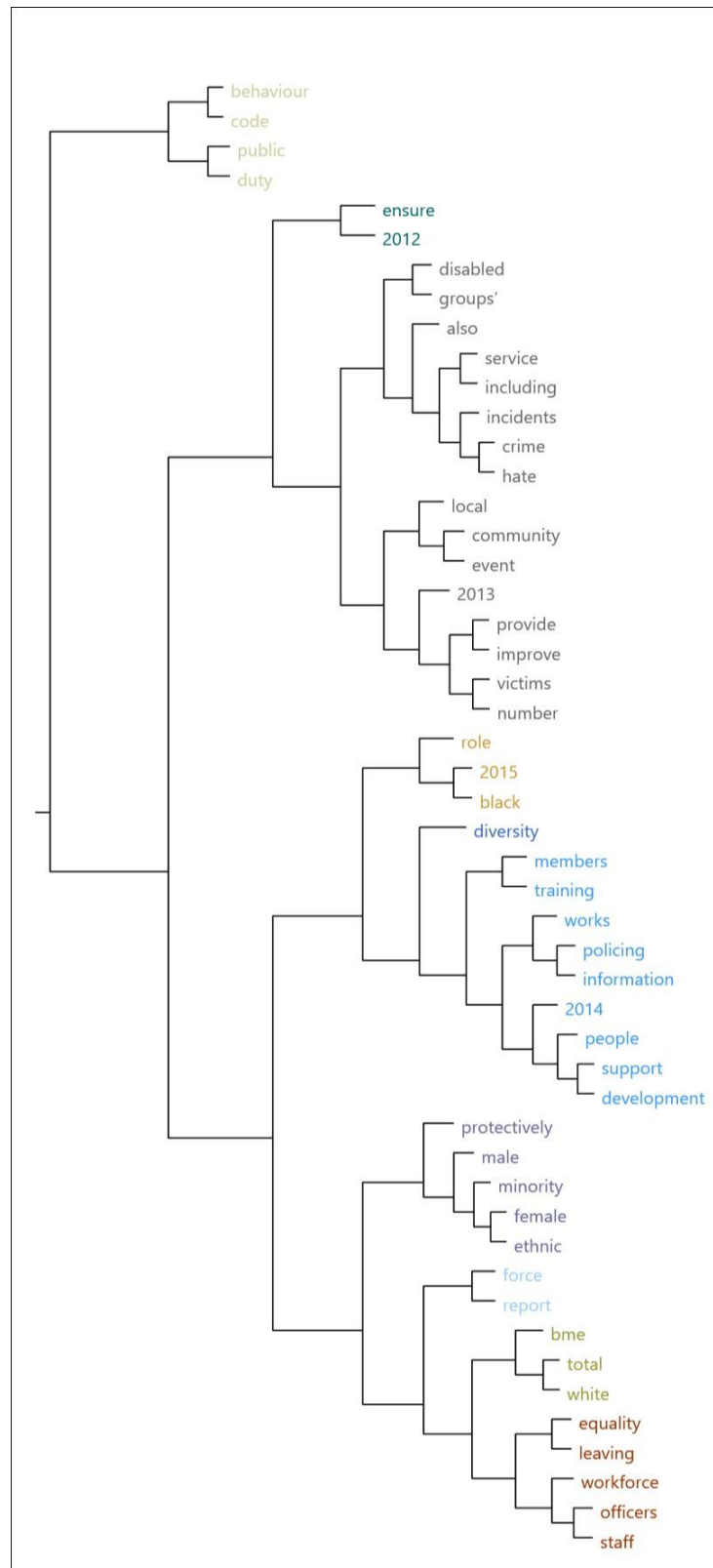
			communities', community	groups'	210	0,44	group, groupings, groups, groups'
crime	325	0,68	crime, crime', crimes	public	206	0,43	public, publication, publications, publicity
works	316	0,66	work, worked, working, works	force	205	0,43	force, forces
hate	270	0,57	hate, hate'	including	203	0,43	include, included, includes, including
support	270	0,57	support, supported, supporter, supporting, supportive, supports	report	194	0,41	report, report', reported, reporting, reports
female	249	0,52	female, females	informatio n	192	0,40	inform, informal, information, informed, informing
service	244	0,51	service, services	people	176	0,37	people, peoples, peoples'
ethnic	240	0,50	ethnic, ethnic', ethnicity	minority	175	0,37	minor, minority
equality	225	0,47	equal, equality, equally	2014	170	0,36	2014
disabled	217	0,46	disabilities, disability, disabled	victims	170	0,36	victim, victims

provide	163	0,34	provide, provided, providers, provides, providing
development	159	0,33	develop, developed, developing, development, developments
bme	151	0,32	bme
protectively	149	0,31	protect, protected, protecting, protection, protectively
male	142	0,30	male, males
2015	139	0,29	2015
white	138	0,29	white
members	132	0,28	member, members
also	131	0,28	also

diversity	128	0,27	diverse, diversion, diversity
incidents	128	0,27	incidences, incident, incidents
ensure	125	0,26	ensure, ensured, ensures, ensuring
event	123	0,26	event, events
training	123	0,26	train, trained, training
duty	121	0,25	duties, duty
number	118	0,25	number, numbers
workforce	117	0,25	workforce, workforce'
2012	117	0,25	2012
black	117	0,25	black
improve	114	0,24	improve, improved, improvement, improvements, improves, improving

role	114	0,24	role, roles	local	112	0,24	local, locally
leaving	112	0,24	leave, leave', leaving	2013	111	0,23	2013
behaviour	112	0,24	behaviour, behaviours	code	108	0,23	code, codes

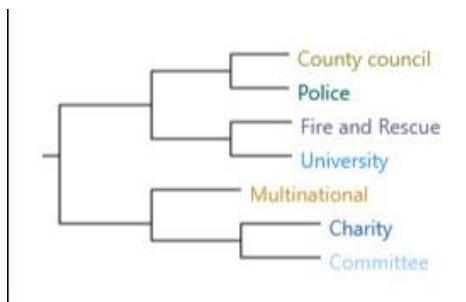
Figure 3.4 – Police Cluster Analysis



3.7.4.1. Notes on Police

One of the most interesting observation made about the police analysis is the use of the word community as well as for the Fire and Rescue Service. On the counterpart, the word community for police is not associated to a positive mood as well as for the Fire and Rescue Service. Therefore, as we can observe from the cluster analysis calculated on the materials collected, community is correlated with: victims, incidents, crime, hate. With the aim to observe whether police and Fire and Rescue use more or less similar words when they talk about Equality and diversity a further Cluster Analysis has been conducted (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5. – Clustered organizations



As we can observe, in the Figure 3.5. they are clustered all the materials collected during the research. As well as foreseen during the analysis of the use of the word community, Police and Fire and Rescue Service have one of the highest Pearson's Correlation Index (About 40%). However, the use of the community is totally different between Police and Fire and Rescue Service. For the former the community is seen generally as people to protect, for the latter as the linkage between the force and citizenship, a conduit to foster the equality message across the County. Furthermore, the interview conducted with one of the fire

officers involved in gender and equality processes has highlighted something that seems deny this engaging vision.

Q. What kind of practices do you implement during your interventions to not perpetrate any form of discriminations?

A. *We do not implement any practices in the relationship with the community. Actually we have a gender and equality policy aimed at not discriminated LGBT people in the workplace.*

3.7.5. University¹⁰

The university that promotes the committee has been founded during '60s. Some of the first disciplines introduced in the universities were physics, sociology, literature, economics, mathematics, government, chemistry. In Autumn 1963, red was chosen as the University colour, the first prospectus was arranged and work began on the first permanent buildings. In October 1964, the first 122 students arrived with 28 teaching staff in three schools: Comparative Studies, Physical Sciences and Social Studies. Departments of Chemistry, Physics, Government, Sociology, Literature, Mathematics and Economics open along with the Language Centre (later the Department of Language and Linguistics)

¹⁰ The synopsis of the organization analysed is actually and adaptation from the institutional site. On the one hand, it was a purpose of the author to immerse the reader into the institutional communication, on the other it was not possible to cite the weblinks used due to anonymity statements observed.

and the Computing Centre (later the Department of Computer Science and Electronic Engineering).

Between the 1970s and the 1980s, the University added a health Centre, day nursery, printing centre, bookstore, exhibition gallery and expanded the current student residences. New student residences were also constructed. The departments of philosophy, school of law, human rights centre and the department of biological sciences were opened.

The university entered the 1990s with the expansion of its facilities, adding new residential blocks to provide further living space for its student population between 1991 and 1992. By its 30th anniversary in 1993, the university had built itself up into 17 key departments, providing education and research opportunities for 5,500 students, and employing 1,300 staff and faculty. The University is engaged with equality and diversity issue through a very well developed gender and equality function that has allowed the University to be awarded with a lot prizes, and to be recognized as one of the most inclusive University in Uk. Part of the document produced within the University has been already analysed through the Minutes of the committee, on the other hand, the official documentation that follows has been analysed with the word frequency query and cluster analysis:

1. Equality and Diversity Codes of Practice;
2. Equality and Diversity Framework and Substrategy.

Table 3.5 - University Word Frequency

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
equality	227	2,45	equal, equalities, equality, equality', equally
staff	187	2,02	staff, staff'
students	182	1,97	student, students, students'
university	168	1,82	universities, university
diversity	157	1,70	diverse, diversity, diversity'
members	86	0,93	member, members
working	77	0,83	work, working, works
support	66	0,71	support, supported, supporting, supportive
disabled	64	0,69	disabilities, disability, disability', disabled
policy	62	0,67	policies, policy
ensure	62	0,67	ensure, ensures, ensuring
information	59	0,64	inform, informal, information, informed
provide	56	0,61	provide, provided, provider, providers, provides, providing
protection	55	0,59	protect, protected, protection, protective, protects
act	50	0,54	act, acts

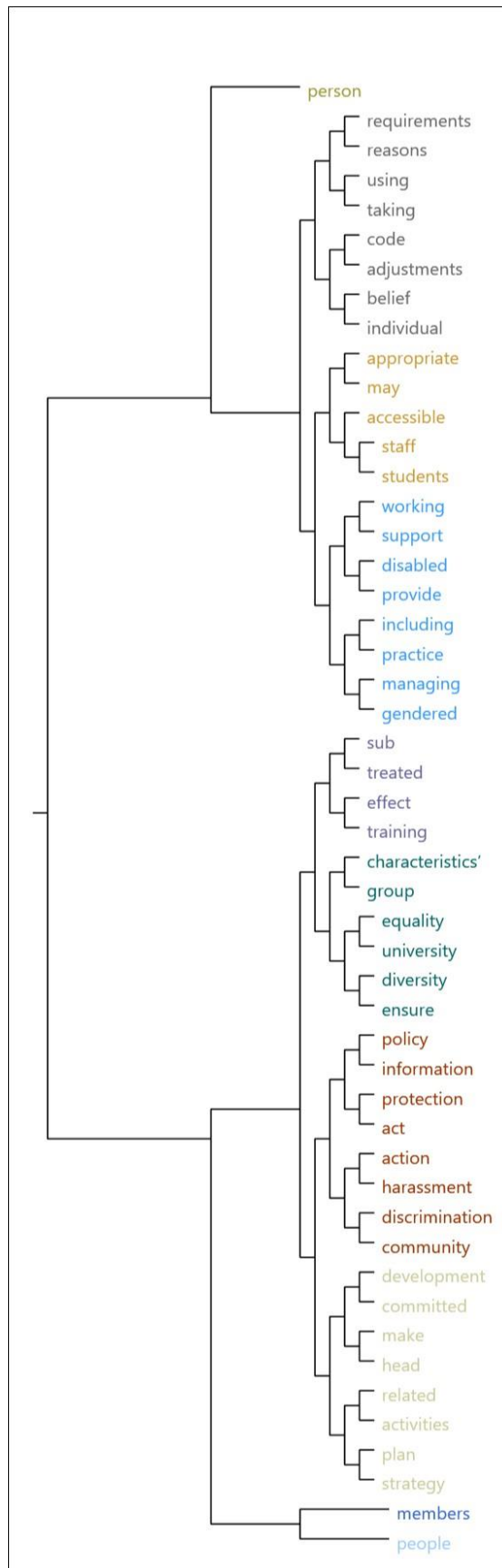
including	49	0,53	include, included, includes, including
action	48	0,52	action, actions
harassment	48	0,52	harass, harassed, harassment
practice	48	0,52	practicable, practical, practicality, practice
discrimination	47	0,51	discriminate, discriminated, discrimination
community	45	0,49	communicate, communicated, communicating, communications, communities, community
development	45	0,49	develop, developed, developing, development
people	44	0,48	people
person	44	0,48	person, personal, persons

committed	43	0,46	commit, commitment, commitments, committed
make	43	0,46	make, making
managing	42	0,45	manage, management, manager, managers, managing
gendered	41	0,44	gender, 'gender', gender', gendered
head	41	0,44	head, heads
related	40	0,43	related, relating, relation, relations
requirements	40	0,43	require, required, requirement, requirements, requires, requiring
activities	38	0,41	actively, activities, activities', activity
reasons	38	0,41	reason, reasonable, reasonable',

			reasonably, reasons
plan	37	0,40	plan, planned, planning, plans
strategy	37	0,40	strategies, strategy
using	37	0,40	use, used, useful, using
sub	35	0,38	sub
taking	35	0,38	take, takes, taking
treated	35	0,38	treat, treated, treating, treats
code	33	0,36	code, codes
effect	33	0,36	effect, effective, effectively, effectiveness, effects

adjustments	32	0,35	adjustment, adjustments, adjustments'
individual	32	0,35	individual, individual', individuals
training	32	0,35	trained, training
belief	32	0,35	belief, belief', beliefs
may	31	0,33	may
accessible	31	0,33	access, accessibility, accessible
appropriate	31	0,33	appropriate, appropriately, appropriateness
characteristics'	31	0,33	characteristic, characteristics, characteristics'
group	30	0,32	group, groups

Figure 3.6. The University Cluster analysis



3.7.5.1. Notes about the University

In this word frequency query the most used word is “equality”. It has been used 227 times (including stemmed word such as equal, equalities, equality, equality’, equally). As well as in the other organizations, the second most used word, in this case “staff”, is not correlated to the first one. Looking at single references within the materials, equality is always seen in these documents as a process, since it is always combined with future actions; some examples are “objective”, “ensure”, “complete”, “awareness”, “opportunity”. These latter are always associated to future actions, fostering a functional use of the term equality, not in affirmative way (i.e. such as an *a priori planning*), but rather as an inclusive process, in which the equality it doesn’t actually represent the centre of the action; despite the forces that pull from the external boundaries.

3.7.6. The Multinational¹¹

The Multinational has been founded in France, and is now the worldwide leader in Quality of Life services. In combining the diverse talents of the teams, the Multinational is the only company to integrate a complete offer of innovative services. They develop a unique array of On-site Services, Benefits & Rewards Services and Personal and Home Services for all the

¹¹ The synopsis of the organization analysed is actually an adaptation from the institutional site. On the one hand, it was a purpose of the author to immerse the reader into the institutional communication, on the other it was not possible to cite the weblinks used due to anonymity statements observed.

clients to improve the Quality of Life. At the Multinational, they believe that the best way to create real value is to make people the central focus of organizations and society as a whole. They view Quality of Life as a decisive yet largely unexplored factor governing individual and collective performance.

On-site Services. Their mission is to improve Quality of Life – whether in corporate, Government Services, Health Care, Universities, Schools, Energy & Resources, or Sports & Leisure environments. They enhance the health and well-being of employees, students, patients and doctors, through a wide range of services from construction to reception, sterilization of medical equipment, cleaning and foodservices.

Benefits and Rewards Services. Providing innovative responses to ease daily life or designing customized tools to recognize hard work and accomplishments are our way to improve individuals' quality of life. From gym memberships to theater tickets or from meal vouchers to incentive and recognition programs, their services open the doors to healthier lifestyles, a more satisfying work-life balance, an improved standard of living and greater access to culture that directly impact individuals' engagement.

Personal and Home Services. the personalized services respond to key trends currently impacting our society. As more women enter or re-enter the workforce, The Multinational eases the transition by providing flexible, affordable and reliable Childcare Services. As society ages, the in-Home Services allow seniors to remain safely in their own. And as more and more people strive to improve their work-life balance, Concierge Services simplify and facilitate daily tasks. In the case of the multinational, all the policies and materials about

Diversity management are available directly on the website, without the possibility to download the pdf. For this reason it has been used the capture tool provided by Nvivo 11 pro to add to the sources all the webpages in the site concerning with equality and Diversity in organization.

They have been collected 16 webpages that have been analysed in the same way of the previous ones, that is with the word frequency query and the cluster analysis. Furthermore, it has been conducted an in-depth interview about all the action carried out to promote and implement equality practices within the organization. The interviewee indeed, as well as the previous ones, was an insider of the committee and at the same time it has the responsibility for monitoring and planning the gender and equality activity within the organization.

Table 3.6. The multinational word frequency

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
diversity	113	1,79	diverse, diversities, diversity
women	86	1,37	women
inclusion	66	1,05	inclusion, inclusive
global	62	0,98	global, globally

community	60	0,95	communicate, communication, communications, communities, community
business	59	0,94	business, businesses

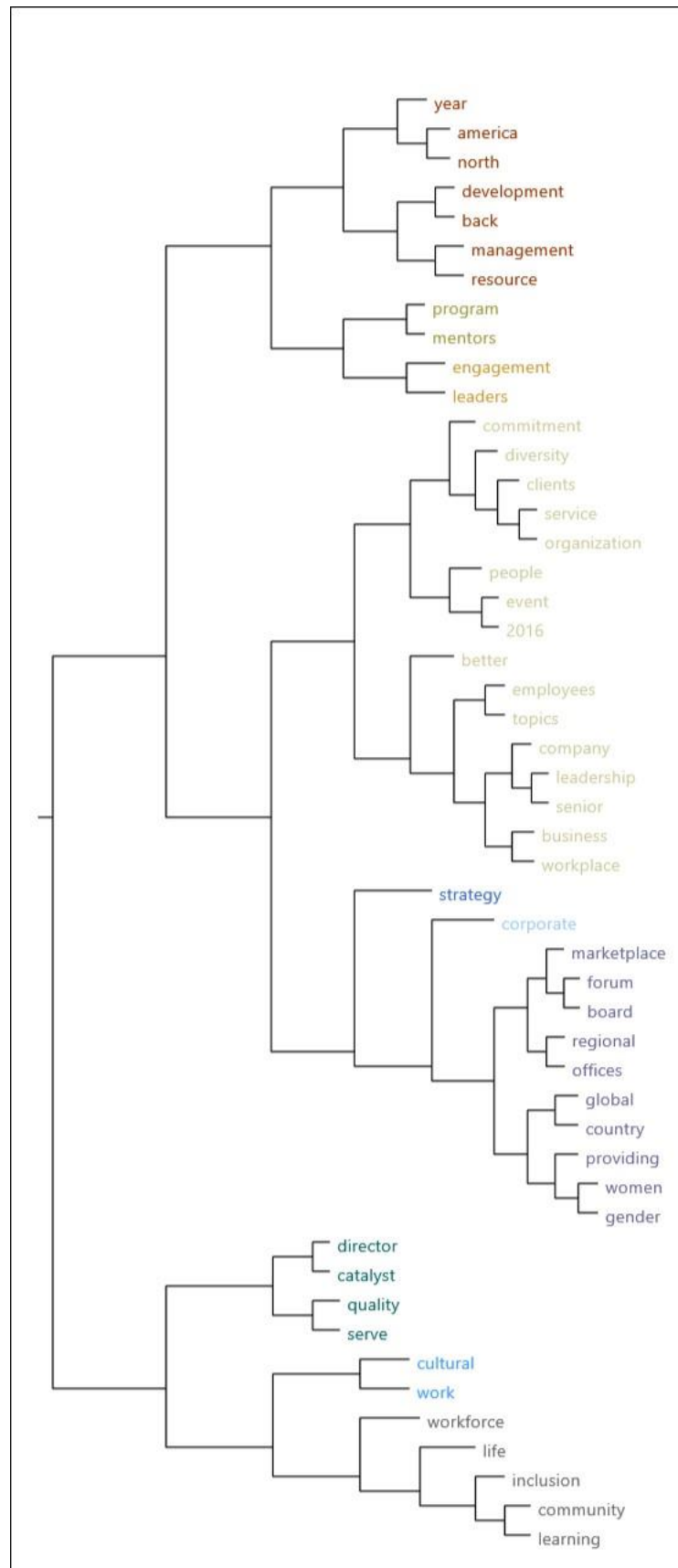
developm ent	59	0,94	develop, developed, developing, development
managem ent	57	0,91	managemen t, manager, managers, managing
leadership	54	0,86	leadership
employees	52	0,83	employee, employees, employees'
strategy	48	0,76	strategies, strategy
event	44	0,70	event, events
cultural	43	0,68	cultural, culturally, culture, cultures
gender	39	0,62	gender
workplace	39	0,62	workplace
work	38	0,60	work, worked, working, works

providing	37	0,59	provide, provided, provider, provides, providing
commitme nt	36	0,57	commitment , commitments , committed
learning	35	0,56	learn, learned, learning
forum	32	0,51	forum, forums
clients	32	0,51	client, clients
marketpla ce	31	0,49	marketplace
service	31	0,49	service, services
engageme nt	30	0,48	engage, engaged, engagement, engaging
life	30	0,48	life

leaders	29	0,46	leader, leaders
people	29	0,46	people
program	29	0,46	program, programs
better	28	0,44	better
regional	28	0,44	region, regional, regions
america	27	0,43	america
2016	26	0,41	2016
back	26	0,41	back
corporate	26	0,41	corporate
quality	26	0,41	quality
organizati on	25	0,40	organization , organizations
director	23	0,37	director, directors
serve	23	0,37	serve, served,

			serves, serving
workforce	23	0,37	workforce
mentors	23	0,37	mentor, mentoring, mentors
resource	23	0,37	resource, resources
board	22	0,35	board, boards
country	22	0,35	countries, country
north	22	0,35	north
year	22	0,35	year, years
catalyst	21	0,33	catalyst
company	21	0,33	companies, company
offices	21	0,33	office, officer, offices

Figure 3.7. The multinational - Cluster analysis



3.7.6.1. Notes about the multinational

Since now, the word Diversity wasn't one of the interesting word used in the document analysed. Actually, in this document the most used word was the name of the company but it has been anonymized due to ethical statements. The quality of the use of the word diversity is suggested by the cluster analysis. Therefore, the most correlated words are (Figure 3.7.): "committment", "clients", "service", "organization", "people", "event" and, at a lower level of correlation, "leadership", "workplace", "business". It seems like this organization embody a benchmark for "The Business case for Diversity", in which the appearance of diversity is totally performative, dedicated to reach better organizational performance and profit (Merilainen et al., 2009; Pitts and Wise, 2010; Kochan et al., 2003; Guillaume et al., 2015). Even during the interview, where the informant appears as authentically committed to implement practices and policies that bring benefit to the LGBT community in the workplace, it was noted how the most inclusive action were substantially embodied by the specific responsible, and though were not institutionalized in the organization.

Q. Can you please tell me about an episode of discrimination that happened in the period before did you engage this professional role?

A. *We don't have any report or documentations about discrimination episode in that period.*

Q. According to you, Why did it happen?

A. Maybe workers didn't feel so free to share with colleagues and management some unsatisfactory status.

3.7.7. The Charity¹²

The Charity is a lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) rights charity in the United Kingdom that is now the largest LGBT rights organisation not only in the UK but in Europe, it was formed in 1989 by political activists and others lobbying against section 28 of the Local Government Act.

Section 28 was an offensive piece of legislation designed to prevent the so-called 'promotion' of homosexuality in schools; as well as stigmatising lesbian, gay and bi people, it galvanised the LGBT community. The aim from the outset was to create a professional lobbying group that would prevent such attacks on lesbians, gay and bi people from ever occurring again. The Charity has subsequently put the case for equality on the mainstream political agenda by winning support within all the main political parties and now has offices in England, Scotland and Wales.

The charity has diversified into policy development for the rights of lesbian, gay and bisexual people after Labour came to power in 1997. It remains a lobbying organisation

¹² The synopsis of the organization analysed is actually an adaptation from the institutional site. On the one hand, it was a purpose of the author to immerse the reader into the institutional communication, on the other it was not possible to cite the weblinks used due to anonymity statements observed.

rather than a membership organisation. The Former Chief Executive has commented: “We are not a 'democratic' organisation... We seek to develop all our work, and policy positions where appropriate, by building as wide a consensus as possible among lesbian, gay and bisexual people”.

The Charity receives no core government funding and funds are instead raised in a variety of ways including donations, sponsorship and fundraising events.

The Charity is a member of the Equality and Diversity Forum, a network of national organisations committed to progress on age, disability, gender, race, religion and belief and sexual orientation issues.

The charity has regional offices for all of Great Britain: it is based in London, Edinburgh, Cymru and Cardiff. Currently, Stonewall does not have any regional headquarters in Northern Ireland.

Table 3.7. The Charity Word Frequency Query

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)	Similar Words
lgbt	317	2,39	lgbt, lgbt'
cent	316	2,38	cent
per	316	2,38	per
people	314	2,37	people, people', peoples'
staff	185	1,40	staff

caring	162	1,22	care, care', cared, caring
service	154	1,16	service, services
health	148	1,12	health
trans	147	1,11	trans
patients	138	1,04	patient, patients

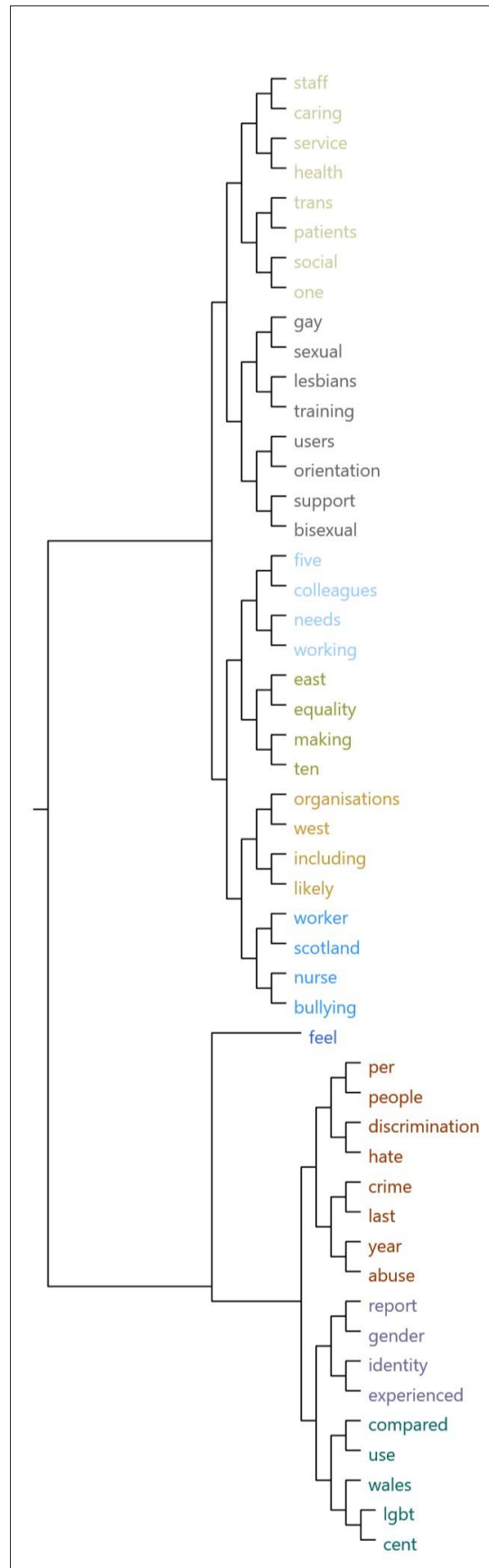
social	131	0,99	social, socially
one	128	0,97	one, ones
gay	119	0,90	gay, gay', 'gay, gays
discrimin ation	116	0,87	discrimina te, discriminat ed, discriminati on
sexual	96	0,72	sexual, sexuality, sexually
lesbians	95	0,72	lesbian, lesbian', lesbians, 'lesbians'
hate	94	0,71	hate
training	92	0,69	train, trained, training, trains
crime	90	0,68	crime, crimes

users	86	0,65	user, users, users'
last	80	0,60	last
orientatio n	79	0,60	orientatio n
support	74	0,56	support, supported, supporters, supporting, supportive, supports
bisexual	70	0,53	bisexual
five	70	0,53	five
colleague s	69	0,52	colleague, colleagues
needs	69	0,52	need, needed, needs
working	69	0,52	work, worked, working
year	66	0,50	year, years
east	64	0,48	east

abuse	62	0,47	abuse, abused, abusive
report	61	0,46	report, reported, reporting
equality	60	0,45	equal, equality, equally
making	60	0,45	make, makes, making, 'making
gender	58	0,44	gender, gender', gendered
identity	55	0,41	identities, identity
feel	54	0,41	feel, feeling
ten	54	0,41	ten
organisations	53	0,40	organisati on, organisatio nal, organisatio

			ns, organise
experienced	52	0,39	experienced, experiencing
compared	51	0,38	comparatively, compared, comparing
Including	50	0,38	include, included, includes, including
West	50	0,38	west
Likely	49	0,37	like, likely
Use	47	0,35	use, used, using
Wales	47	0,35	wales
Worker	47	0,35	worker, workers
Scotland	46	0,35	scotland
Nurse	45	0,34	nurse, nurses, nursing

Figure 3.8. The cluster analysis



3.7.7.1 Notes on Charity

The charity represent the first case in which the two most used words have also a high correlation, though they are used similarly within the text. Intuitively, this peculiarity may be depend from the core activity of the organization. Indeed, in the case of the charity, the core activity is the support for LGBT rights, against any form of discrimination. This trait doesn't belong to the other organizations, where the commitment for equality and diversity is mainly due to the Equality Act 2010.

3.8. Silencing identity/Voicing identity

In almost all the organization analysed, independently on their status of public bodies or private companies, it has been noted how the most used words in the word frequency query were also the most far cluster in the text and interviewes analysed. This is not interesting *per se*, but rather in the extent in which the words in each classification belong to the two same categories. Indeed, one is usually bound to a Diversity category (e.g. lgbt, equality, diversity) and the other is referred to a group of people (e.g. community, members, people). Considering the macro-social perspective as the constructive driver of the reality (Fairclough, 1992) it seems that people and rights are far from each other both in the texts and in the reality. Since discourse is both an object and a practice (Doyle and Sims, 2002), we could assume that the distance between terms contributes to enact distance between individuals and their organization, especially when the value o equality and diversity are so proposed, but they are perceived as faraway. All the strategies recalled to put afar people from

equality value can be interpreted as strategies of silence, a topic quite developed in the organizational literature. Before drawing on the conclusions, recalling these disposals, related to identity and discursive issue, a brief introduction to silence and voice in organization is proposed.

3.9. Voice/Silence in organization

Silence has favoured the lack of sexual orientation in the agenda of diversity in organization (Ward and Winstanley, 2003), despite the large amount of literature on gay, lesbian and queer theory. Furthermore, language is one of the factors that influence people in remaining silent (Ward and Winstalely, 2003). "Foucault is recognizing that discourse may be made up of silence and of things that do remain unsaid may be, in some way, forbidden. Silence, can thereore being illustrative of power being articulated, or as a means of resistance" (Ward and Winstanley, 2003: 1260). The aim of this section is to understand how the category the voice and silence impacts on organizational life. In particular, the interest in analysing the role of lgbti people is considered off a paramount importance for this research. Silence and voice can be considered as two opposites categories, but sometimes silence can be interpreted as something different from the lack of of voice (Dyne and Botero, 2003). The category of voice, on the one hand, is usually identified as a process to contribution either to the strategy or some practice considered too bad to keep the silence. Silence on the contrary is often seen as a way to hide itself to the other members of the organization and to avoid any performance about their sexual orientation or gender

identity. Organizational silence occurs when organizational member choose to withhold his/her opinions about organizational problems (Morrison and Milliken, 2000). Even in research, the instance for inclusion and disclosure of sexual orientation are considered as “voice lesser heard in organization” (Ward and Winstanley, 2005). “Lack of voice is usually attributed to lack of power (Morrison and Milliken, 2000), and for stigmatized groups, silence is considered to be either quiescent, voluntarily withholding of voice to protect oneself, or acquiescent, an involuntary withholding of voice that reflects an acceptance of adverse circumstances as being normal (Pinder and Harlos, 2001).

We can identify at least two types of silence in organization:

- silence as covering the own sexual orientation and gender identity;
- silence as the transparency of heteronormativity, that it is always taken for granted;
- silence as the lack of acknowledgment by colleagues, when the sexual orientation becomes overt.

The two category of voice and silence have been fruitfully scrutinized in organization studies to deal with the gender issue in organization (for a literature review on the theme Simpson and Lewis, 2005). The step that is not made yet is the consideration not for a binary view of gender, but for a poststructuralist (Reingardé, 2010) of performativity of gender identity and sexual orientation (Butler, 1999)

Our knowledge about the experiences of silence or coming out sexual orientation at work and the influence of these experiences on their identity is very limited (Reingardé, 2010).

The study of employees' voice entangled with issues of diversity, equality and inclusion, because members of traditionally disadvantaged groups frequently experience discrimination in different forms on the expression of dissenting views and on their power to effect change (Bowen and Blackmon, 2003; Roberson and Stevens, 2006). As Allen (1995) noted, high levels of authentic voice in an organization are an indicator of successful diversity management. One of the reason of the difficulty in carrying out research on sexual orientation and gender identity at work is related to the informants.

Conclusions

As we have seen in the section on gender and identity, is the power of discourse which reproduce the phenomena (Butler, 1993). Through the concept of performativity, Judith Butler addresses the concept of a socially constructed identity into a continuous and iterative way to respect gender norms and expected actions. Identities are not something fixed but something that needs to be done (Kelan, 2009), thus she conceives how the more relevant is to recognise identity as an outcome of a recognition process, rather than the 'doer behind the deed' (Kathleen, Rumens and Tyler, 2016). Individual identities are constantly resorting to different ways of displaying and hiding themselves (Ward and Winstanley, 2007), since their social identity is not correctly recognised by others (McLemore, 2015). While the non-recognition of a given social identity may be psychologically disruptive (McLemore, 2015), when an individual's gender identity is accepted, a strong feeling of inclusion is engendered (Rundall and Vecchietti, 2010). Therefore, "acts should not be considered as individual but also as part of shared experiences or collective action, suggesting opportunities for research within organisation" (Jenkins and Finneman, 2017: 8). The concept of gender as a social construction within organization has opened new understanding of discrimination and marginalisation in the workplace. In her contribution, Butler considers the binary vision of gender as a source of discrimination, scrutinising also a lack of knowledge as both an effect and a cause of it. The capacity of exploring a distance in the midst of a dichotomy makes the assumption on sex and gender as a methodological tool to explore different dichotomies. Beginning with the

dichotomy between nature and culture, also explored in the second part of Butler (1999) where, she claims the part of “sex”, usually associated with nature, as associated to a prediscursive cultural establishment, helping us to understand even the cultural side of gender, as a repetitive performance (performativity). The proposal of this thesis is played on that boundary, where the challenge launched by the organizational identity, that is shaped around silencing, match with a strategy that is made of voicing, in particular voicing in organization. Indeed, it is still useful the case of transgender people in which, as Dentice and Dietert (2015, p. 76) claim:

Those who successfully transition and eventually pass, re-enter the binary world as either male or female. Others who transition but do not effectively pass may continue to have negative encounters based on their gender presentation. Are these individuals still liminal even though they took all the steps to align with their gender of choice?

Traditionally, the literature dealing with transgender individuals in organization and the way they deal with binarism has paid attention to the perception of identity (Dentice and Dietert, 2015; Claire and Anderson, 2013; Rundall and Vecchietti, 2010; Ward and Winstanley, 2004; Gagnè and Tewksbury, 1998). As aforementioned, practices of silence have also been quite investigated in the literature, with a particular focus on acts of resistance to these practices (Riach *et al.*, 2014; Ward and Winstanley, 2003).

In this contribution, it has been examined how organizational identity impact on the feeling of inclusion/exclusion experienced by LGBT people in organization, evaluating the possibility to confirm a silence strategy or not. From a theoretical point of view, the most dangerous result in shattering gender binarism is that of creating new forms of binarism (Knights, 2015), split in what is in accordance to the binary system and what is not. LGBT issues in the workplace are not a newcomer for researchers. Hence, in this paper, we have specifically focused on that part of research that concerns the workplace life.

After having tested the Diversity Management literature, a complex frame is emerging, in which resistance to the implementation of Diversity Management practices are still persistent. Notwithstanding very much has been done for the legitimization of Diversity Management within organization, also thanks to the role played by the concept of inclusion, that has contributed to transform Diversity Management in a widespread attitude, quite far from a top-down approach. One of the main result of this work is to contribute to a further element of legitimization of the Diversity Management within organization. Thus, it has been explored the role of social mediator played by organizations, that may be somehow contraposed to the natural selection, in which only who adapts itself to the environment may hopefully survive. On the other hand, organizations, due to their role of social mediator, are allowed to contain individual and collective anxiety, shaping identities in a constant interrelation between individual and organization, contributing to each other in

constructing both individual identity and organization identity. This latter, is the reason why the identity issue in organization is of paramount importance to ensure a correct development of Diversity Management Practices, in which diversity has a holistic and not categorized human traits, though to avoid the commodification of differences and the marketization of practices.

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