



Universitat Ramon Llull

DOCTORAL THESIS

Title: EXPLORATIONS INTO DIVERSITY AT INTER AND INTRA ORGANIZATIONAL LEVELS

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Preface

This thesis is presented in the format of “Monograph based articles”, which also includes articles that have not all been published. It contains four papers that are written during my PhD candidate research period. The central and common theme of this thesis- diversity at inters and intra organizational level- is derived and embedded in these four papers. All articles are the fruits of collaborative effort. I have been the leading author of first three papers, and the coauthor of a fourth one. Articles 1 and 4 have been already published, paper 2 served as theoretical background for papers 3 which is now under second review.

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Contributions to Scientific Knowledge: Academic Publications

Title	Peer-Reviewed	Journal & Impact Factor	Status
Mapping values in Old vs. New Members of the European Union: A comparative analysis of public sector cultures	Yes	Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal ISSN: 1352-7606 Impact Factor: 0.855	Published in 2013, Volume 20 issue 4 , pp. 503 - 527
Explaining the Disclosure of Concealable Stigmas: Analysis Anchored in Trust Embedded in Legal and HRM Practice Configuration	No	ESADE Working paper Indexed at SSRN http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2340444	
Explaining Sexual and Gender Minorities' Disclosure: The Role of Trust Embedded in Organisational Practices	Yes	Organization Studies ISSN: 0170-8406 Impact Factor: 2.504	Under revision; currently in second review
Public Sector Values: Between the Real and the Ideal	Yes	Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal Impact Factor: 0.855	Published in 2013, Volume 20 issue 4, pp. 586 - 606

Table 1: Contributions to the Scientific Knowledge

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction to Diversity, its Meaning, and the Respective Implications

Diversity, at its core, means acceptance and respect. The construct implies an understanding that each individual is unique, and that one should recognize the individual differences. Diversity in the sociological, psychological, and management disciplines is often discussed in terms of the dimensions of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, age, physical abilities, culture, religious beliefs, political beliefs, or other ideologies. It is the exploration of these differences in a safe, positive, and nurturing environment. It is about understanding each other and moving beyond simple tolerance to embrace and celebrate the richness contained within each individual.

Scholars in the field of diversity often conceptualize differences as an attribute leading to the perception that another person is dissimilar, regardless if this perception is indeed anchored in reality (Jackson et al., 1992; Triandis, Kurowski & Gelfand, 1994; Williams & O'Reilly 1998). As a characteristic of social groupings, diversity can be analyzed at the individual level or in its aggregate form (e.g., team, department, organization, community, or society) (van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007).

The topic of diversity and how to manage it has become more relevant than ever in today's workplace and the business environment. While phenomena such as immigration and international trade have been part of our civilization since ancient times, their current scale and intensity surpass anything that was known before. In addition, local demographic trends, the transition to a modern society, the fragmented consumer market, and changes in labor legislation have all made learning how to manage differences effectively critical for organizational success.

A brief overview of recent data focusing on the European Union (EU) can serve to illustrate the magnitude of the phenomena.

In the European Union (EU), as elsewhere, people seem to be interacting more and more with their counterparts from different national, cultural, ethnical and religious backgrounds. With 15 percent of the GDP now coming from external trade, and with over 20 bilateral Science and Technology agreements with non-member states, organizations and individuals in the EU appear to be collaborating with foreign partners on an unprecedented scale (European Commission, 2013a; European Commission, 2013b). Furthermore, nowadays, working with people from different cultural or demographic backgrounds does not require taking part in any international collaboration. Recent data shows that out of a total population of roughly 500 million, about 4.1% (17.2M) are EU citizens who have migrated from one member state to another, while another 6.4% (33M) were born outside the EU (Eurostat, 2013). Naturally, one of the products of this large flow of immigration is increasing cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity, and the consequently emerging political agendas (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010).

National and cultural diversity are not the only factor, as demographic diversity, for example related to age and gender, also play a significant role. For instance, the EU population is aging, which suggests that more generations coexist; roughly one out of six of the working age population suffers from some form of disability, and female participation in the workforce is steadily increasing -- now standing at 58.5% (Eurostat, 2010; Eurostat, 2012). Societal values are also changing. The family structure has become more varied with a rise in more extramarital births, single parenthood, childless couples, and same-sex relationships (Eurostat, 2010). In addition, the cultural and linguistic diversity of the 28 EU countries seems to indicate that society has never appeared so diverse.

1.2 Acknowledgment of Diversity by Governments, the Private Sector, and Academia

Over the years, these demographic and global changes have received increasing attention from each of the triple helix partners: governments, the private sector, and academia. Governments throughout the world have introduced legislation, directives, and initiatives to adjust the workplace environment to the current reality. Many of these actions have focused on protecting individuals from discrimination and facilitating the inclusion of traditionally under-represented groups such as women, people with disabilities, and racial, ethnic, and sexual minorities (e.g., Eurostat, 2010; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009; U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2009). Some governmental initiatives are even moving beyond mere legislation and are assuming an educative role by preparing private organizations and managers to work effectively in the new diverse environment (e.g., Prince Edward Island (Canada), 2011; Social Innovation Europe, 2011).

Actions originating in the private sector have naturally been oriented toward finding ways to manage more effectively the increasingly complex workforce, markets, and business relations. As pointed out by Kahn (2013), the trend is clear: by 2001, 12 of the top 15 Fortune 500 companies included the words diversity or inclusiveness when describing their organizational values. Diversity and Inclusion, or D&I, is by now a very large industry, involving specialized consultancy services and trade literature. To stay competitive, organizations worldwide invest millions of dollars in D&I initiatives and consider it an integral part of the larger HR field (Grossman, 2000; Rajan, Servaes & Zingales, 2000; Butts, Trejo, Parks & McDonald, 2012).

In academia, diversity as a discipline has deep roots. As noted by Williams and O'Reilly in their important review (1998), workforce diversity research has a history of over 60 years. Since early works such as Allport's (1954) influential book on discrimination entitled "the Nature of Prejudice," academic studies on diversity have grown to encompass many different disciplines, including psychology, economy, sociology, and organizational science.

Starting from demographic studies, various scholars have tried to document and project diversity trends and their possible effects on organizations and businesses (e.g., Jackson & Associates, 1992; Tossi, 2006). Scholars focusing on this branch of diversity research tend to explore how, whether, and under what conditions diversity effects workplace outcomes (e.g., Bantel & Jackson, 1989; Elly and Thomas, 2001; Groggins & Ryan, 2013; Nishii, 2013; Tsui, Egan & O'Reilly, 1992; Roberson & Park, 2007; van Knippenberg, De Dreu & Homan, 2004). Naturally, an important stream of studies is devoted to the impact of different diversity management strategies, such as training or recruiting, on the group's or organization's performance (e.g., Dass & Parker, 1999; Kulik & Roberson, 2008; King, Dawson, Kravitz & Gulick, 2012; Guillaume, Dawson, Woods et al., 2013).

Some studies focus more on the individual, and try to learn about the subjective experience of difference. For instance, various researches have explored the way diversity affects employees' wellbeing (Liebermann, Wegge, Jungmann & Schmidt, 2013; Wegge, Roth, Neubach, Schmidt & Kanfer, 2008; Waldo, 1999) or the way employees identify with their peers and workgroups (e.g., Chatman & O'Reilly, 2004; Huo, Smith, Tyler, & Lind, 1996; Chattopadhyay, Tluchowska, & George, 2004; Polzer et al., 2002). Finally, of course, there is important research that takes a more neutral approach by aiming to categorize differences. Most prominent in this area of studies are cross-cultural scholars such as Hofstede (1980, 2001),

Schwartz (1999), House, Javidan and Dorfman (2001), and Trompenaas (1994), who have all proposed different cross-cultural psychological models to map differences across national boundaries.

1.3 Diversity Dimensions and Construct Boundaries

The wide range of topics that can fall under diversity studies seems to have served not only to expand the research field but also to generate debate and discussion. Scholars have made sure to clarify the vast span of attributes that could fall under the construct. Recognizing the relational aspect of diversity, Triandis, Kurowski and Gelfanc (1994, p 790) pointed out in their review that "in intergroup relationships people tend to use any attribute that happens to be available (the most salient) to make these categorizations.". Building on this approach, Williams and O'Reily suggested that diversity can be any attribute people use to tell themselves that another person is different (1998, p.81). Different to this more relational angle, Harrison and Klein (2007) define the construct more from a unit perspective stance by being "the distribution of differences among the members of a unit with respect to a common attribute, X, such as tenure, ethnicity, conscientiousness, task attitude, or pay." In agreement with the above broad view of the construct of diversity, the definition used in this thesis follows the recent contribution by Guillaume, Dawson, Woods et al. (2013) considering that workplace diversity includes "gender, ethnicity, functional background or any other attributes people differ on" (p. 123).

A review of academic work shows that the range of attributes that serves as a basis for diversity research might be close to infinite. While most academic studies still tend to focus on the more "classical" demographic attributes, such as gender, age, racio-ethnicity/nationality, tenure, and functional/educational background,

diversity research has over the years expanded to cover many additional attributes including physical conditions, sexual orientation, religion and more.

Table 2 provides a synthesized review of various dimensions covered in diversity research.

Diversity Attribute	Scholars
Gender	Oakely, 2000
Race/Ethnicity	Riordan & Shore, 1997
Nationality	Kearney, & Diether, 2009
Culture	Laurent, 1983
Tenure	O'Reilly, Williams, Barsade, Sigal & Gruenfeld, 1998
Skills & Expertise	Van der Vegt, Bunderson & Oosterhof, 2006
Education	Bantel & Jackson, 1989
Age	Perry, Simpson, NicDomhnaill, & Siegel, 2003
Disability	Olkin, 2002
Marital Status	Price, Harrison & Gavin, 2006
Sexual Orientation	Ragins, Singh & Cornwell, 2007
Gender Identity	Law, C. L., Martinez, L.R., Ruggs, et al., 2011
Personality Traits	Harrison, Price, Gavin & Florey, 2002
Values	Jehn, Chadwick & Thatcher, 1997
Religion	Hicks, 2002

(Source: Capell, unpublished)

Table 2: Review of Dimensions Covered in Workplace Diversity Research

This broad interpretation of what could fall under diversity studies, combined with the rapid growth of this research by various academic disciplines, has created

some areas requiring refinement and clarification. Acknowledging the variety of perspectives and research topics that fall under diversity research, the discussion below sets the stage for this dissertation. It expands on the three core elements for this academic work: cross-cultural studies, conceivable and visible diversity, and value dissimilarity. These three elements will form hereafter the axis for the discussion presented in this thesis.

1.3.1 Diversity and cross-cultural studies – the same field or different?

Apparently, one of the areas requiring more clarification is whether diversity and cross-cultural studies should be integrated into one research field.

The existence of sound theoretical and practical arguments to support each perspective has created a lively academic debate (see *Journal of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 2012, vol. 25, issue 3). As reflected in the choice of papers selected for this dissertation, the final decision, following a review of the different positions, was to consider cross-cultural research as a subset of the larger diversity field. Considering possible disagreements with this call, and the importance of fostering an open academic debate, this section will provide an overview of the debate concerning the integration of the two fields.

It is important at the outset to note that the debate is not whether culture constitutes a diversity dimension. Cultural differences among work group members have always been considered an element of diversity (e.g., Cox, 1994; Ely & Thomas, 2001; Ferdman, 1992). The central point of friction between scholars is whether the field of cross-cultural studies, which compares values, norms, and practices across societies (i.e., Hofstede, 1980; Riordan & Vandenberg, 1994; Adair & Brett, 2005), should be considered as diversity studies or should it be kept as a distinct research area.

In a comprehensive discussion of the topic (2012), Ferdman, a diversity researcher, and Sagiv, a cross-cultural one, jointly presented apparent differences between the two disciplines. Their review comprises a few compelling arguments supporting a distinction between the two fields.

The authors started by suggesting that the two fields have a somewhat different focus. While cross-cultural researchers tend to make generalizations concerning similarities and dissimilarities between cultures, diversity scholars appear to focus more on power dynamics and to attend to individual and group experiences or to their perspectives and relations with other groups in their workplace context.

They have also claimed that the nature of the construct itself is different. In contrast to diversity, culture does not necessarily exist within a person, rather it can represent the social context in which the individual or group operate. Consequently, cross-cultural research strives to define clearly the level of analysis it examines, be it national, organizational, or other (e.g., Schwartz, 2012; Hofstede, 2002). Diversity work is argued to be different due to its tendency to integrate levels, which consequently opens it up to an array of topics such as diversity management strategies, power relations, discrimination, individual experience in different social environments, and so on (Konard, 2003). Concepts that are alien to the more neutral and non-judgmental stand of the cross-cultural research field.

When describing a certain culture and its members' behavioral patterns, cross-cultural studies are said to take a descriptive approach, portraying the culture in its context. A practice that clearly differs from the one commonly used in diversity studies, which strives not simply to describe a specific culture, but also to address the consequences of importing certain cultural patterns into a new context.

Against all these arguments, one might wonder how cross-cultural and diversity approaches can be addressed as one. There are, however, many compelling

reasons to consider them as such. In fact, even Ferdman and Sagiv (2012) point out that there are striking resemblances between the two fields. For instance, they mention that both diversity and culture originate in the social groups to which the individuals belong, that they both exist at a collective level, and that they have psychological implications and manifestations that affect interpersonal interactions and performance at the personal and aggregate level.

Accordingly, various scholars infer that the differences between the two fields are nothing but symbolic, and that cross-cultural research should basically be treated as a subset of diversity (e.g., Feitosa, Grossman, Coultas, Salazar and Salas, 2012; Lopez & Finkelman, 2012). Advances in research appear to support these claims. For instance, while the more classical cross-cultural studies have researched each culture as a standalone "entity," voices within the discipline are pushing toward studying dynamic cultural "interfaces" that can help explain the process and outcome of intercultural encounters (e.g., Gelfand, Erez & Aycan, 2007; Jackson, 2011). Furthermore, new models of international expansion and collaboration, such as outsourcing or web-based ventures make the distinction between a local versus a foreign context more difficult to make (Vives & Svejnova, 2007). Clearly, these trends end up blurring some of the important distinctions made earlier between diversity and cross-cultural research.

Culture then appears not as an element that exists between national boundaries; rather, as one that is inherently intertwined with diversity. For instance, *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus* (Gray, 1993), one of the top bestsellers of the 1990s, practically proposed addressing communication issues between men and women through cross-cultural lenses. By suggesting (metaphorically) that the two genders come from different planets, the book intended to guide readers on how to understand the culture of the opposite sex.

Addressing gender workplace diversity issues from a cross-cultural perspective has now become common, with different authors trying to advise (typically male) managers and (typically female) professionals on how to communicate better with their counterparts (Doyle-Morris, 2009; Wittenberg-Cox & Maitland, 2007). This relationship between diversity and culture obviously does not exist only in gender studies. Culture is recognized as a fundamental element of many diverse workforce groups, ranging from the ones formed around ethical, racial, and religious dimensions to ones based on occupational and professional clusters (Trice and Beyer, 1993; Knafo and Sagiv, 2004; Wilson & Schwabenland, 2012). Under these lenses, separating cross-cultural from diversity studies then seems quite impossible.

Finally, practitioners and organizations also advocate merging the two fields as a means to best leverage their workforce. Recognizing that diversity exists within a cultural context, and that culture is an element of diversity (Gundling & Zanchettin, 2007; Shemla & Meyer, 2012), organizations are now increasingly bringing the two areas under a single umbrella called "Global Diversity." Such initiatives build on the common competencies that leaders need to exhibit to effectively manage diversity and cross-cultural issues, namely cultural adaptability, the ability to apply different perspectives, and well-developed interpersonal skills (Butt, Trejo, Parks & McDoland, 2012). One of the most important outcomes of this trend is the creation of a common language and framework that further brings together the two, previously distinct and often contentious disciplines.

1.3.2 Can you tell I am different? Visible and invisible diversity

As diversity includes an almost infinite array of dimensions or attributes, different scholars have tried to identify ways to cluster its dimensions into specific

categories. One of the most common categorizations is a division into two broad groups based on the manner in which the diversity attribute or dimension becomes evident. Is it visible by its nature or does knowing about it require receiving additional information (Barak, 2013)? In the literature, these two categories are widely referred to as visible and invisible diversity. The distinction between these two types of diversity is significant not only in the study of differences between people, but also in research on stigma and social identities due to the strong relationship between these fields (Clair, Beatty & MacLean, 2005; Goffman, 1963; Tsui & Gutek, 1999).

Although a categorization based on visible versus invisible characteristics may at first seem fairly self-explanatory, a closer review of the evolution of the terms over the years suggests otherwise. In one of the most important early works, Goffman (1963) set the basis for the distinction between the two types of diversities by pointing out that some bases for stigma are more visible than others. Later, around the mid to late 1990s, with the growing interest in the field of diversity, various scholars studying organizational behavior classified workplace diversities along similar lines. The terminologies that were suggested included "readily detectible" versus "underlying" attributes (Jackson, May & Whitney, 1995), "observable," and "less visible" attributes (Milliken & Martins, 1996), "surface level" and "deep level" diversity (Harrison, Price & Bell, 1998), and "visible" and "invisible" diversity (Barak, Findler & Wind, 2001). Although the vocabulary has varied somewhat, in practice researchers have used similar keys to distinguish between the two types. The first type of diversity referred mainly to physical demographic characteristics such as age, sex, race, or ethnicity, and the second to variables such as values, skills, knowledge, attitudes, or group membership.

Ongoing work has served to refine the types of diversities that should fall under each category. While frequently still using similar terminology, scholars have increasingly included non-physical characteristics such as language and speech patterns under visible diversity, while expanding the list of invisible diversities to include demographic characteristics such as sexual orientation, certain physical and mental conditions, mixed racial backgrounds, and so on (Clair, Beatty & MacLean, 2005; Ragins, 2008). This evolution was significant as it challenged the previous paradigm that made the distinction between the two groups seem simpler, namely physical attributes on one side, and more psychological on the other (e.g., Harrison, Price, Gavin & Florey, 2002).

Blurring the basis for the distinction between the two types of diversities appeared to prompt the critical insight that the same diversity characteristic can sometimes be both visible and invisible. A case in point is religion. On one hand, because it is a belief, religion constitutes an invisible diversity; on the other hand, because many people wear clothes or symbols that identify their faith, it can be argued that religion is a visible diversity. Sexual orientation is another example. A gay person at work can decide to "pass" as heterosexual, which will make his sexual orientation invisible; alternatively he can hang a photo of his same-sex partner on his cubicle wall, and by that make his sexual orientation visible. Accordingly, more recent works have started using language that better captures this subtlety. One example is Quinn and Chaudoir's (2009) introduction of the term "concealable" when referring to diversity characteristics that can be hidden, but that can also be made visible.

1.3.3 Separation diversity – when values differ

In an effort to explain the mixed effects of diversity on workgroup outcomes, Harrison and Klein (2007) came up with a tripartite classification of the significance of diversity: variety, disparity, and separation.

The first type, *variety*, refers to differences in categories such as information, knowledge, or experience. The second, *disparity*, points to differences in the concentration of valued social resources or assets such as status, access to privileges, or pay. The third type, which is the most relevant to the discussion of this dissertation, is termed *separation*. In essence it means disagreement in ideas, positions, or values. Each type of diversity is said to be associated with different outcomes. Variety tends to enrich the group output by fostering creativity and debate; disparity tends to increase differentiation and hence may lead to competition or withdrawal; and separation, such as in the case of values, to polarization, conflict, distrust, and lower performance.

Indeed, the negative outcome of dissimilarity in values is well documented in numerous studies (Bao, Vedina, Moodie & Dolan, 2013; Harrison, Price, Gavin & Foley, 1997; Jehn, Northcraft & Neale, 1999; Jehn, Chadwick & Thatcher, 1997; O'Reilly, Chatman & Caldwell, 1991). The underlying reason for these adverse effects is that value diversity can suggest an underlying incompatibility in terms of what different members consider to be the group's real goal, mission, or task (e.g., Dolan, Garcia & Richley, 2006; Jehn et al., 1999; Schwartz, 2012). For instance, in a service organization, group members who value equality may, in certain situations, end up in direct conflict with group members who prioritize values such as economic gain. The first group may insist on providing the same level of attention and care to all clients, while the second will tend to differentiate their treatment based on the revenue they receive from a specific client. Accordingly,

various authors propose that in order to improve organizational and personal well-being and success, management should strive to promote values that organizational members can agree on (Dolan, Garcia & Richely, 2006; Edwards & Cable, 2009; Jehn, 1999).

1.4 Introduction To The Four Articles

This doctoral dissertation intends to contribute to the understanding of diversity by exploring it on an inter- and intra-organizational level. To achieve this aim it presents four articles that together strive to complement each other and add value to the scholar community that is interested in these theme.

In continuation, a short introduction to the four papers comprising the thesis.

1.4.1 Paper 1: Mapping Values in Old vs. New Members of the European Union: A Comparative Analysis of Public Sector Cultures

The first paper in this dissertation is an empirical, cross-cultural study, comparing the values in older EU member states (Germany and the Netherlands) and newer EU member states (Estonia and Lithuania).

This paper has two aims. The first is to revitalize the current discussion on the diversity of values across cultures. The field of cross-cultural studies has expanded tremendously over the years; at the same time there has been very little innovation when it comes to testing new models. By and large, the field seems to be dominated by a few models that, while providing useful operational measures to describe cultures, are not without their weaknesses (e.g., Hofstede, 1983, 1993; Trompenaas, 1997; House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman & Gupta, 2004; Schwartz, 1992, 1994). Two of the weaknesses of these models are their lack of parsimony

and the lack of consideration of the dynamics between the different values. The first part of this paper aims to open up an academic discussion on the consideration of other possible frameworks for understanding cultures.

The second aim of this paper is to discuss differences and similarities between the value orientation of newer and older EU member states. While growing interconnectivity at a global level requires government agencies to increasingly collaborate across national borders (Farazmand, 1999; Krahmman, 2003), there is currently very little international comparative research on public-sector agencies (Hou, Ni, Poocharoen, Yang & Zhao, 2010; Jelovac, van der Wal & Jelovac, 2011). This article therefore proposes to provide useful input by comparing the values of public-sector agencies operating in different regions. The results of this study point to areas of dissimilarity in values, or separation type diversity. Accordingly, this discussion elaborates on some potential remedies for future international collaboration.

1.4.2 Papers 2 and 3: Explaining the disclosure decision of concealable diversities

Articles 2 and 3 are treated as one in this introduction as they both focus on concealable diversity, such as in the case of sexual orientation and gender identity. Their aim is to explain the decision of employees with stigmatized identities to take the risk associated with the disclosure of their stigma at work. The two papers, one theoretical and the second empirical, present models that integrate knowledge from studies and theories concerning identity, inclusive HR practices, stigma, antidiscrimination legislation, trust in management, and social exchange to explain how individuals decide to go through with self-disclosure at work. The intent is to complement earlier works (e.g., Clair, Beatty & MacLean, 2005; Ragins, 2008; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Law et al., 2011) and to contribute to the development

of a more complete model of the disclosure phenomenon. An important contribution of the two papers is in the way the construct of trust is positioned within the proposed model. In contrast to the previously held view that positioned trust as a factor facilitating a motivated action (Dirks & Ferrin, 2001), trust in the model is conceptualized as a moderator operating in a different way. Conclusions of these two papers suggest that the stronger the level of trust, the less the motivators for disclosure appear to play a role in the decision to share the sensitive personal information (and vice versa).

1.4.3 Paper 4: Public Sector Values: Between the Real and the Ideal

The fourth and final paper in this thesis presents the results of research on values within the public sector in Peru. It addresses the topic of separation type diversity as manifested by incongruence of values.

This paper first presents the debate concerning the ethical risks associated with the implementation of New Public Management reforms (Hood, 1991; Frederickson, 1999; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000; Kolthoff, Huberts & van den Heuvel, 2007). Special attention is given to how these potential hazards are magnified in the context of developing nations (Haque, 2008; Hughes, 2003; Manning, 2001). This paper then presents a clear separation-type diversity between the values that are advocated as the guiding principles for Peruvian public sector organizations and the values that are followed in practice. While the guiding values clearly adhere to the traditional public sector ethos, the values reported as the most important are more New Public Management or business-oriented ones. In that sense, the study provides empirical evidence reinforcing previously published theoretical frameworks highlighting the difference between espoused and practiced values (Schein, 1992). The discussion that follows

addresses the implications of the apparent conflict and the risks associated with such a clear disparity in values.

2. Article 1

Mapping Values in Old vs. New Members of the European Union: A Comparative Analysis of Public Sector Cultures

Ben Capell, Kubra S. Canhilal, Ruth Alas, Lutz Sommer, and Carloine Ossenkop

Published in 2013 at Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal,
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Abstract:

Purpose – The purpose of the paper is twofold. The first purpose is to provide a synthesis of the dominant cross-cultural models and to present the more recent tri-axial model as a promising alternative that responds well to the limitation of prevailing models. Consequently, the second purpose is to employ the model to explore key differences in the culture and values of public service organisations in old and new EU member states.

Design/methodology/approach – The paper surveyed public sector employees in four different countries, two old EU (OEU) states (Germany, The Netherlands) and two new EU (NEU) states (Estonia, Lithuania). The employees were asked to classify 60 values on the three axes of the tri-axial model and to select the five most important values in their organization. The survey replies were analyzed and mapped to facilitate comparison of the tri-axial cultural profile of the two EU clusters.

Findings – The results show differences in value orientation between the two groups of countries: the public sector in the OEU member states appears to be more ethically and less pragmatically oriented than in the NEU member states. Findings show that in the new member states, value congruence is very high across demographic groups, in contrast to the situation encountered in the OEU member states.

Research limitations/implications – Further research should include more countries before generalising the conclusions of this study to the rest of the OEU and NEU countries. Furthermore, although collecting data from a homogeneous unit (e.g. public sector) suggests more valid comparison, in the future, research should strive to also examine additional units, for example private companies.

Practical implications – The conclusions derived from this exploratory cultural mapping provide useful knowledge for improving international collaboration across public sector organizations.

Originality/value – This study is the first study that maps the values in the public sector using the tri-axial model

Keywords: Public sector, values, tri-axial model, cross-culture.

Introduction

The study of cultures is a fascinating topic. Historical evidence shows that formal studies of groups of people dates back as early as thousands of years ago (Mead, 1967). This curiosity about cultural differences grew significantly over the last century, driven by the globalization of business and economics that created a need for a greater understanding of cultural differences, and the way these differences impact the manner people operate in working environments (Earley, 2006).

Over the years, various scholars have proposed different models to measure the construct of culture and identify the differences or similarities between the values of collectives working in different national boundaries (e.g. Hofstede, 1980; Trompenaars, 1994; Schwartz 1992; House et al. 2004). These intents to affectively capture and analyze cultural differences have sparked a debate concerning the strengths and limitations of the various models. One clear evolution of the models is that scholars, Hofstede included, have increased the number of dimensions used to analyze cultures, namely for the sake of greater precision and inclusiveness. As a consequence, the construct of culture remains fragmented and focuses on “narrower” independent bi-polar dimensions. This trend contradicts the need for parsimony in social and behavioral science and results in models that ignore the dynamic and holistic character of the construct of culture.

An important field in the study of culture in workplace setting is the research of values in public sector organizations. This field of study gained considerable attention over the last two decades mainly due to concerns and doubts about the

possible influence that efficiency driven public sector reforms had on the traditional public sector values (van Thiel and van der Wal, 2010). Another important area of research, yet one significantly under-studied, is the study of public sector cultures from an international and cross-cultural perspective. The importance of this line of research has become critical in recent years due to the need for international cooperation between public sector agencies in order to solve current global challenges (e.g. financial, health, terrorism). This reality represents an urgent call for the academia to produce knowledge that can facilitate such cross-national collaboration. Surprisingly however, most current cultural public sector research focuses on a single country and does not provide insights on cultures across borders (Jelovac et al., 2011). Some scholars (e.g. Hou et al., 2011) suggest that failing to respond to the call for more global approach in public administration studies jeopardizes the relevancy of this academic field.

Taking into account both the development and the debate in the research of cultural studies, this paper intends to make a contribution in a few different areas. First, the study presented herein aims to synthesize previous research conducted in the cross-cultural field and the respective debate around the different dominating models. Second, the paper presents concludes that new models are needed, and subsequently present the tri-axial model (Dolan et al., 2006; Dolan, 2011) and its methodology for cultural mapping. It is argued that this instrument of research (despite some inherent limitations) can respond to the shortcomings of the prevailing cultural models and steer an instrumental discussion in the cross-cultural management field. Accordingly, we use this promising instrument to analyze cultural differences between public sector organizations in new and old EU countries.

A short summary of research on Culture, with a special attention to cross-cultural context

Despite being commonly used in daily life, the so-called construct of culture has been a subject of constant debate. A review of recent writing suggests that

- many conceptual and operational definitions have been employed over the years; and
- that values are an important focus for a cultural analysis.

Back in the 1950s, Kluckhohn (1951, p 86) defined culture as

[. . .] patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting [. . .] constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups [. . .] the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values.

Around the same time, the definition made by Kroeber (1952) has an eye on the past and sees culture as “the historically differentiated and variable mass of customary ways of functioning of human societies” (p. 157).

Hofstede (1980, p. 25) a pioneer in the field of cross-cultural management, expanded on the elements of differentiation between groups, asserting that culture is “a collective programming of the mind which distinguishes one group from another”. A later definition by Kuper (1999, p. 227) emphasizes the relationship between culture and values, when he states that culture is “a matter of ideas and values, a collective cast of mind”.

Cross-cultural management historians propose that the seeds in this field were indeed sown by Hofstede (1980, 1984) and his colleagues. Scholars have cited his work on culture more than the work of any other researcher (Jones, 2007). In his original model, he identified four key cultural dimensions which, together, comprise a culture

- (1) Individualism- Collectivism, a dimension that addresses the relationship between the individual and the group
- (2) Power Distance, which refers to the way different societies accept social inequality and the power of authority
- (3) Uncertainty Avoidance, a scale that captures how different societies deal with uncertainty
- (4) Masculinity-Femininity, a dimension that represents the level in which a society is oriented towards masculine values, such as achievement and competitiveness, or towards values such as care the weak, modesty and consensus.

Later on, inspired by work of some Chinese scholars and Bond's Chinese Value Survey, Hofstede added a fifth dimension which he eventually called Long Term Orientation (Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede and Bond, 1988; Jones, 2007; Wu, 2006). This fifth dimension identifies whether a society focuses its efforts more towards the present and future or the past (Minkov and Hofstede, 2011). The latest modification of the model is based on the finding made by Minkov (2007) using results from Inglehart's World Values Survey. This recent amendment includes the recognition of two new value dimensions, "indulgence versus restraint", which addresses the societal expectations from its members to pursue or suppress gratification, and "monumentalism", which refers to the extent of which a society values personal stability or on the other hand, flexibility and adaptation, (Hofstede, 2011; Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010; Minkov and Hofstede, 2011).

However, despite its popularity, Hofstede's model has received increasing criticism (Jones, 2007; Magnusson et al., 2008; Shaiq et al., 2011). Some of the criticism targets conceptual elements of the model. Other criticism targets the methodology of data collection and analysis. Criticism of the conceptual elements of the model addresses concerns such as the loss of relevance due to cultural

changes over time (Fernandez et al., 1997), the risk of the model being culturally biased (Earley, 2006; Jacob 2005), the possible influence of assessment by political context, (Søndergaard, 1994), the 'single company' approach that was used to generalize the findings (Søndergaard, 1994), and the limitation of a cultural typology constructed by dimensions that are independent of each other (Jacob, 2005). Accordingly, doubts related to the data collection and analysis poses questions regarding the sample size (Dorfman and Howell, 1988), the configuration of the dimensions (Ashkanasy et al., 2004; Dorfman and Howell, 1988; Jacob, 2005; Keough et al., 1999), the use of nations as units of analysis (Straub et al., 2002; Baskerville 2003; Jacob 2005), the validity of the model due to its mix between national and individual levels of analysis (Dorfman and Howell, 1988), and the deficiency of the model construct having identified only 5 dimensions (McSweeney, 2002).

Culture researchers after Hofstede, have drawn on decades of additional research and include more recent data (Magnusson et al., 2008). However, they do not necessarily provide a better response to the questions posed by Hofstede's critics, especially with regard to methodology, sample characteristics, and the use of a national country as the unit of analysis.

The review of the different models suggests that generally speaking, researchers attempt to improve the measurement of the construct by adding more value dimensions for analyzing culture. Trompenaars (1994), for example, has proposed seven dimensions of culture; Schwartz (1994) classifies seven values that fall into a proposed hierarchy (Schwartz, 1999), scholars associated with the GLOBE project expanded the construct of culture to include nine dimensions while intending to separate between ideal values and real and practiced values (House et al., 2004, Magnusson et al, 2008), and more recently, Hofstede has expanded his

model to include seven dimensions (Hofstede et al., 2010; Minkov and Hofstede, 2011). Table 1 provides a summary of some of the most widely referenced cross-cultural models.

This tendency to increase the number of dimensions to explain culture is contradictory to the need for parsimony in social science models. In other words “the principle that the best statistical model among all satisfactory models is that with the fewest parameters” (Scott and Marshall, 2005, p. 477). Accordingly, Eisenhardt (1989, p. 546) claims that Parsimony is the “hallmark of a good theory” and in contrast, when a theory tries to capture everything “the result can be a theory that is very rich in detail, but lacks the simplicity of overall perspective. Hence, more generally, the principle asserts that if it is possible to explain a phenomenon equally adequately in a number of different ways, then the simplest of explanations (in terms of the number of variables or propositions) should be selected. In popular parlance, it is said that when we have too many trees, there is a risk of not seeing the wood, which suggests that increasing the number of dimensions used to describe a culture, ends up damaging the integrated quality of the construct we want to measure. For example, in order to conceptualize the Thai culture using Hofstede model we need to consider a model based on the following components: 64th percentile in Uncertainty Avoidance index, 64th percentile in Power Distance index, 20th Percentile in Individualism index, 34th in Masculinity index and 56th percentile in Long Term Orientation.

Model/year	Data collection	Dimensions	Original sample	Number of countries	Strengths and limitations (literature)
a. Hofstede (1980)	1967-1973	1. Individualism – collectivism 2. Power distance 3. Uncertainty avoidance 4. Masculinity – femininity 5. Long term orientation 6. Indulgence vs restraint 7. Monumentalism	IBM employees	Started with 40 countries, expanded to 75 (116,000 employees)	Strengths Pioneering work Large sample size Stood test of time
b. Hofstede and Bond (1988) Hofstede (2001) c. Hofstede <i>et al.</i> (2010)	1980s 2000s		Students World value survey results	Dimension based on 22 countries (Bond, 1987) Dimension based on 98 countries and regions	Limitations National culture as a research unit Data aging of original study Level of analysis (individual vs country) Sample group – one org Dimensions' validity Risk of political influence due to context Over-simplified bipolar model of independent dimensions Statistical integrity
Trompenaars (1994)	1980-1990	1. Particularism/ universalism 2. Collectivism/ individualism 3. Affective/neutral 4. Diffused/specific 5. Ascriptions/ achievement 6. Relationship to time 7. Relationship to nature	Managers	Started with 28 countries (15,000 respondents), expanded to 74 countries (43,000 respondents)	Strengths Large cross organisation sample Theoretical background Limitations Level of analysis (individual vs country) National culture as a research unit Sample limited to managers Dimensions statistical validity Over-simplified bipolar model of independent dimensions (continued)

Model/year	Data collection	Dimensions	Original sample	Number of countries	Strengths and limitations (literature)
Schwartz (1994)	1988-1992	1. Embeddedness 2. Intellectual autonomy 3. Affective autonomy 4. Hierarchy 5. Egalitarianism 6. Mastery 7. Harmony	University students and elementary teachers	Dimension based on 49 countries (35,000 respondents) Expanded to 75 countries and 43,000 respondents	Strengths Systematic approach that considers how values relate Level of analysis (individual vs country) Empirical and theoretical foundations Limitations National culture as a research unit Level of analysis (indv-nation) Use of different values for each level
GLOBE (2004)	1990s	1. Uncertainty avoidance 2. Power distance 3. Institutional collectivism 4. In-group collectivism 5. Gender egalitarianism 6. Assertiveness 7. Future orientation 8. Performance orientation 9. Humane orientation	Managers	Dimension based on 58 countries (17,000 managers)	Strengths Differentiation between "should be" and "as is" Strong theoretical and research foundations Limitations National culture as unit of analysis Level of analysis (org.-society and individual vs country) Culturally biased Sample group (managers) Validity risks due to the complex approach Dimensions validity

(Source: Capell et al., 2013)

Table 1: Review of the cross-cultural research literature

Moreover, a large number of dimensions proposed by existing models do not represent the dynamic interaction between the values and the holistic nature of the construct; they tend to codify culture based on scores measured on bi-polar dimensions, which are independent of one another (Jacob, 2005). The exception, perhaps, is Schwartz's (1994) proposed model, in which he clearly identifies the systematic nature of values by placing the seven cultural values in relation to three higher-level bi-polar dimensions (Koivula 2008; Schwartz 1999). Yet the hierarchical nature of his model limits the relations among the values and it does not elaborate on the trade-off that may occur when values interact.

Values

Although values play an important role in the study of cultures, the definition of the construct appears to be far from clear (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004, Koivula 2008; Meglino and Ravlin, 1998). In view of the considerable debate, this study follows the mainstream conclusions about what values are: first, values are described as invisible until they manifest themselves in behavior (Hofstede, 2001; Hechter, 1993; Schein 2004). Then, there is general agreement with the definition made by Kluckhohn (1951), that values refer to the interpretation of the "desirable", either as beliefs (Marini, 2000; Schwarz and Bilsky, 1987; Ravlin, 1995; Rokeach 1973), criteria (Williams, 1979; Schwartz, 1992), standards (Kohn and Schooler, 1983), tendencies (Hofstede, 2001), or principles (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961). Another important element of values is that they guide or direct actions or behaviors (Bao et al., 2012; Dolan et al., 2006; Dolan, 2011; Hechter, 1993; Kluckhohn, 1951; Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987).

Additionally, there is agreement among scholars that values operate not only at the individual level, but also at the collective level (Hofstede, 2001; Kluckhohn,

1951; Rokeach 1973; Schwartz 1992, 1994). In fact, the view that values are shared at the collective level lays at the core of many definitions of what a culture is, and is the foundational element of studies and models that we reviewed earlier (Straub, et al. 2002). Finally, values are distinguished from similar constructs. As argued by Hitlin and Piliavin (2004) values are different than norms (as they do not have an “ought” sense), attitudes (values focus on ideals and not on favorable or unfavorable evaluations of objects), traits (which are fixed aspects of personalities) and needs (which connote biological influences). Yet, values are related to these similar constructs as they guide personal norms, which in turn guide attitudes, and therefore intention and eventually behavior (Kristiansen and Hotte, 1996).

Value Measurement(s)

The invisible and abstract construct of values makes the measurement of values a complex and controversial task. This complexity is amplified by the fact that people might not always know their values (Hechter, 1993), which creates a problem of accessibility (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004).

Values are typically measured by a survey using either a ranking or a rating approach (Hofstede, 2001). While both approaches rely on self-description or ideological statements, the two methods take different routes for the identification of values: The ranking approach situates values in competition with one another (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004), and thus the survey asks the respondents to rank each value, forcing them to choose the importance of one over the other: the ranking approach was initially used by Rokeach in his “Work Value Survey” study (Rokeach, 1973). On the other hand, the rating approach measures each value independently and individuals are asked to rate the importance of the different

values using a scale. Different values can be rated as equally important (Meglino & Ravlin, 1998).

The Tri-Axial Model: A Promising Cross-Cultural Analysis for the Future

Model overview and theoretical framework

The tri-axial model (Dolan, et al., 2004,2006; Dolan, 2011) is a framework used to categorize, clarify and prioritize values. The proponents of this model argue that this model is both flexible and simple, and can be applied to individuals, organizations or communities; it also meets the criteria of dynamism and holism.

The tri-axial model was developed on the basis of four main assumptions. The first assumption is that values can be detected in all universes (personal, family, organizations), regardless of their nature, mission, or vision. These values can be classified according to three core axes: economic-pragmatic (EP), ethical-social (ES) and emotional-developmental (ED). The second assumption of the model is that all personal and organizational values can be used as a proxy situated along one of these dimensions, referred to as axes. The third assumption is that the relative importance of each axis and the specific values that it is consisted of, depend on national cultural characteristics, organizational characteristics, and some individual differences. The fourth assumption is a zero-sum notion of the model, which means that the 3 axes combined together represent the 100% of a so-called universe of culture. So each culture represents a specific configuration amongst these three axes. Each axis can be estimated by an algorithm representing a relative percentage of this universe, and the three together total 100%. For example, under this assumption, if a person holds key values connected more with pragmatism, the person in his hierarchy of core values holds

less values connected with the other two axes emotional or ethical. The same applies to other aggregates. If a collective of people values relatively more money than justice or playfulness, their respective culture can be described as more pragmatic economic rather than ethical or emotional (Dolan, 2011).

Description of the 3Es Tri-axial model

The model assumes a universe of three axes. The axes are:

- (1) Economical-Pragmatic
- (2) Ethical-Social; and
- (3) Emotional-Developmental

The EP axis (worth): This axis refers to values in the work context that bring together various organizational offices and departments by guiding work elements such as quality, order, outcome and process standards etc. Are people expected to deliver their projects on time? At what level of quality? How carefully are they expected to follow orders? etc. Specific values associated with this axis are: efficiency, results, order, punctuality, and discipline, to name a few.

The ES axis (preferential choices): This axis includes values that guide the way people behave in a group setting. These values emerge from beliefs held about how people should behave in public, work, and relationships. Are people expected to tell the truth? Be loyal? Support each other? Examples of values associated with this axis are: generosity, honesty, transparency, sharing, to name a few.

The ED axis (personal fulfillment): The values that correspond to this axis are the values that drive an individual to personal fulfillment and creating a life worth living. The idea of happiness varies in every culture, as well as in every individual. These values represent the type of passion that motivates and sustains people who

are seeking to fulfill a dream. Associated values with this axis are: creativity, autonomy, joy, happiness, playfulness, etc.

The overall interaction and combination of the three axes determines the cultural profile. For example, a personal (or organization) tri-axial profile of 60 percent economical-pragmatic, 20 percent ethical-social and 20 percent emotional-developmental values, suggests a significantly different orientation when compared to a profile with dimensions such of 80 percent ethical and 20 percent pragmatic. The first, will be mostly concerned with pragmatic or practical considerations when approaching a task or a challenge, while the second will be more willing to sacrifice economical benefits, while adhering to ethical standards.

The theory also hypothesizes about the relationship between the three axes. It suggests, for example, that an intersection between the ethical and economical values represent for most organizations the concept of long term survival, a notion which has become popular in recent years where the term of responsible leadership (Maak, and Pless, N. M, 2008) or embedded sustainability has emerged (Laszlo and Zhexembayeba, 2011). In the same vein, Dolan and Raich (2013) elaborate on the intersection between the ethical axis and emotional axis which represent the concept of sensitivity, or the intersection between emotional axis and economic-pragmatic axis which represent the fundamental concept of innovation and entrepreneurship.

Empirical Background

The origin of the model lay in findings from qualitative studies that were later validated using traditional empirical methods. The tri-axes were identified and subsequently tested in 100 of workshops and seminars around the world in different countries and sectors where participants were asked to map, assign and

prioritize values based on list of values provided (Dolan et al., 2006; Dolan, 2011). The same was also validated in empirical research by scholars around the world. For example, in 2005 Abbott, White and Charles published findings of values analysis, based on survey of 3,000 respondents, which corresponds to the values tri-axial model. The outcome of the analysis identified a taxonomy of values comprised of three clusters which correspond strongly to the axes of the tri-axial model:

- (1) Humanity values, which are similar to the ES
- (2) Vision values, which are aligned to the ED axis
- (3) Conservatism values, which relate strongly to the EP axis.

Furthermore, the ED and ES axes of the model were found to correspond well with Rokeach's (1973) "personal" and "social" values, or alternatively with Dees and Starr (1992) psychological and ethical value.

The strengths of the proposed tri-axial model

The tri-axial model appears to address some of the important limitations of previous models that were summarized before. To start with, the model has been validated by both content validity (i.e. based on qualitative research) as well as empirical validity. This approach to the model development corresponds to what Glaser and Strauss (1967) call "intimate connection with the reality" thereby facilitating the development of a testable, relevant and valid theory. Second, the model is inherently parsimonious consisting a universe of only three axes. This corresponds well to the principles of a good theory described earlier. Lastly, the model is dynamic and considers the relationships between the different axes and provide for the possibility that the configurations might be changed over time, and might be different at different levels of aggregation.

Measuring values in the organizations using the Tri-axial model

Identifying the tri-axial profile of any unit of analysis (individual, organization, sector, etc.) requires a three steps process. The first step consists of presenting the respondents with a list of values and asking them to relate each one to one of the three axes while at the same time identifying the five values they consider the most important (for themselves or for their collective, depending on the level of analysis). The selection of the most important values is used to identify the core values (Smolicz, 1981) or key values (Van Maanen and Schein,1979) of the person or organization. Once the respondents' input is received, the process proceeds to identifying, using statistics, the dominant axis (EP, ES, ED) for each of the values. In other words, the researcher identifies under which axis each value falls on. The final step is the use an algorithm to map the cultural profile based on the five most important values and the axes they correspond to. The profile can be later presented in a graphical way for illustration and comparison.

The Case for Cross Cultural Research in Context of the Public Sector in Europe

Comparing values in cross cultural studies and especially across countries is not an easy task. Hofstede (1980) reduced the ambiguity by focusing on a single company, IBM. Others claim that comparing a company from one sector to another company from a different sector can lead to erroneous findings. Behind this argument lays the claim that sectors have their own values that are unique to the sector (Hofstede, 2001) and therefore for obtaining valid comparative results it is required to conduct cross-cultural study within the same sector. Hence, comparison of countries using the public sectors respectfully can be more valid.

The commonalities in vision and purpose of public sectors across countries makes unrelated variance less problematic and hence the variances between the values reflect national cultural differences (Kolpakov, 2009). In addition, as described hereafter, the public sector seems to be the point of Achilles in many countries as its respective effectiveness or ineffectiveness can lead to either sustainability or even the destruction of a country (see recent examples in Greece, Spain or Italy).

Cross cultural study of values in the Public Sector - an area of growing relevancy and importance

As a result of the increasing interdependence between markets and governments (Farazmand, 1999) and the need to solve problems on a global scale (problems such as the global financial crisis, terrorism, environmental, health or political issues), there is a greater need for international cooperation between public sector organizations (Kernaghan et al, 2000). This is bear out by the current emphasis on the part of European policy makers on a tightly controlled and coordinated budget strategy between EU countries, which calls for a monumental joint effort across regions and countries.

Such an urgent call for global cooperation, knowledge sharing, and practice in the public sector is without a doubt a mandate to increase the body of knowledge that has the potential to facilitate international collaboration between public sector agencies. Indeed, various scholars recently urged the promotion of a more global approach to public management study, so that the field takes stock of this evolving reality (Farazmand, 1999; Hou et al., 2011). Surprisingly, however, to date there has been very little cross-country comparative research conducted on cultures and values within the context of the public sector, as most of the empirical work focuses on a single country (Jelovac et al., 2011).

The study of values in the public sector appears to be mostly country specific. In a given country, the steadily increasing body of empirical research on values in the public sector is prompted by mounting pressure on the public sector to improve its performance, efficiency, and competitiveness through approaches reminiscent of private business, identified by Hood (1991) as New Public Management or NPM (Kernaghan, 2000; van Thiel and van der Wal, 2010; van der Wal, 2008). A pressure for reforms which has now increased with the current financial crises, leading to significant budgetary restraints that press for greater efficiency (van der Wal, et al., 2008b; Avelaneda and Hardiman, 2010). In turn, the discussion on how the public sector should reform propelled the research, modeling, and critical work of various scholars (e.g Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; Osborne and Hutchinson, 2004; Barzelay, 1992; Brodtrick 1990, Denhardt 1993, Kernaghan et al., 2000)

Academic discussion on values in the public sector revolves around a shift from traditional public management values, such as Accountability, Responsiveness (Kernaghan et al., 2000, Kernaghan, 2000), Responsibility, Sustainability (Kaptein & Wempe, 2002), Lawfulness, Equality and Fairness (Frederickson, 2005), to the NPM business-like values that emphasize Innovation (Kernaghan et al., 2000), Efficiency (Frederickson, 1999, 2005; Pollitt, 1993), Quality (Kernaghan, 2000, Walsh, 1995) Effectiveness and Profit (Lane, 1995), and Entrepreneurship (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992). Various scholars argue that the risk associated with the value shift can endanger values that are important for public interest and democratic governance (Frederickson, 1999; Lane, 1994; Dunleavy and Hood, 1994, deLeon and Denhardt, 2000, Denhardt and Denhardt 2002).

Recent empirical research on values in the public sector attempts to identify a possible shift from the traditional to the new 'business-like' values (van der Wal et

al., 2008b). While results are mixed, studies in some European countries (Denmark and the Netherlands) reveal the overall dominance of traditional values in these countries (Beck Jørgensen, 2007; van Thiel and van der Wal, 2010). Research comparing values in public and private organizations (including quangos) identify congruence among few values and discrepancy among others (van der Wal et al., 2008b; van Thiel and van der Wal, 2010).

Values in the old and new EU members

Considering the very different history of many of the “old” and “new” EU member states, and the current need for integration, a comparison study of the public sector culture of countries from these two groups is undoubtedly an interesting and important research topic. Nevertheless, studies comparing values in the public sector in new EU (NEU) member states and old EU (OEU) member states are scarce. Two particularly relevant studies are those by van der Wal et al. (2008a) and Jelovac et al. (2011). The former compares values in the public sector in the Netherlands, Denmark and Estonia, and the latter compares values in the private and the public sector in Slovenia and the Netherlands. As in studies mentioned earlier in this paper, their main focus was the shift between NPM and traditional public management values. These more recent studies also considered the influence of Corporate Social Responsibility and the Sigma (Support for Improvement in Management and Government) values- the joint initiative for the OECD and the EU that aims to support efforts towards public administration reforms (van der Wal et al., 2008a).

The study by van der Wal et al. (2008a) identified considerable congruence between the EU countries, regardless of their membership histories. Overall, values such as openness, transparency, accountability, efficiency and effectiveness

were considered important by new and old members. Yet, results from the old members show closer alignment with the more 'business-like' NPM values, where particularly in Denmark public employees regard values related to innovation and change as very important. Estonia's results show a more traditional public sector set of values with the dominance of values such as Honesty, Competency, and Lawfulness. The study by Jelovac et al. (2011) found fairly high congruence between the values in the public sector in new (Slovenia) and old (The Netherlands) member states. This study found that six out of the seven most highly ranked values were similar, and the values of Incorruptibility and Honesty were ranked as the top two values in both countries. The main difference was regarding the value of Accountability, which was rated much higher in The Netherlands.

While these two studies offer good initial insights into the differences and similarities between old and new countries, they also have some important limitations. First, they measured values in the various countries at different time frames during these recent and highly turbulent times. Furthermore, the study by van de Wal et al. (2008b) uses different questionnaires with different value lists. Finally, there are some important questions relating to the sample used as the findings are based on input from people holding senior or managerial positions and do not include base line employees.

Aims of this study

The study presented herein aims to address various issues. Firstly, it seeks to offer cross-cultural mapping of old and new EU member states and provide insights into the similarities and differences between the public sector cultures in the two groups of countries. Such mapping and insights are valuable in the current context of a growing need to increase the sector's performance and cross-country

collaboration. Second, the research also serves to introduce the Tri-Axial model (Dolan et al., 2006; Dolan 2011) as a useful tool for analyzing cultural differences. The instrument proposes a response to many of the limitations described above which typify prevailing cultural models.

Current studies on values in the public sector are mostly directed towards identifying specific trends and differences regarding traditional vs. new public service/business management values, and not towards understanding a culture in a more neutral way. The studies tend to survey managers or top officials, rather than employees at all levels, which creates a risk of identifying the espoused values and not the real ones (Kernaghan et al., 2000). Research in the public sector is mainly at the country level and does not cover a broad range of countries. A survey covering a broad range of countries conducted by the OECD (2000) assessed values based on the organizations' published set of core values, which increases another risk of only discussing espoused values. Thus, the ultimate aim of this research is to display value mapping of the respective countries without necessarily explaining any pre-hypothesis, which is normally characteristic of an exploratory research.

Sample and Data Collection

The data was collected by means of a pre-validated questionnaire, which was translated and back-translated in 12 languages and countries. It was part of a larger study aiming to understand the meaning of values in different cultures with an exclusive focus on the public sectors. The secondary objective of the larger study was to understand the roots leading to the way people in different cultures attribute meaning to values, and the relationship of values to some key individual differences (i.e. age, gender, family status, religiousness, and more). The third

objective was to map the differences in the sub-cultures in each country within the public sector (by region, by ministry, by institutional level, etc.). The data used in this paper is partly drawn from OEU (The Netherlands and Germany) and NEU member states (Lithuania and Estonia), enabling a comparative analysis.

Samples were drawn randomly based on partner contacts in the respective countries. It is not claimed that the sample is or has been representative, which is naturally a limitation, but it has been proven correct for an exploratory studies (Sandelowski, 1995). We have no reason to believe that non-respondents would have classified the values differently from the respondents to this questionnaire. Given the fact that the survey was conducted online, we have no data as to the population size that it really reached, and thus response rate cannot be reported.

- The Lithuanian sample consists of 276 respondents, comprising 66.7 percent females and 74.6 percent married employees. 57.2 percent are at the intermediate hierarchical level in their organization, and 50 percent work in the central public administration offices.
- The Estonian sample consists of 167 respondents, comprising of 70 percent females and 73.7 percent married employees. 69 percent are at the intermediate level and 47.9 percent work in the central offices of their respective ministry.

The sample in the older EU countries consists of a total of 266 public sector employees.

- For Germany, the sample consists of 152 employees, of whom 67.1 percent are male and 52.6 percent are single; only 3.9 percent are at the senior level, while the remainders are almost equally distributed (44.7 and 51.3 percent) between entry and intermediate levels.

- The Dutch sample size is of 114 respondents, for which 71.1 percent are male and 91.2 percent are committed to a relationship. Most (83.3 percent) are at the senior level and 71.9 percent work in the main administration offices.

Questionnaire design and psychometric considerations

The initial process to select the relevant values for the study involved a semi-Delphi process. The Delphi method was originally developed in the early 1950s at the RAND Corporation by Olaf Helmer and Norman Dalkey to systematically solicit the view of experts related to national defense and later on to controversial sociopolitical areas of discourse (Custer et al., 1999). The method has been widely used in the management field ever since attempts are made to find better solutions to complex problems by reaching consensus using brainstorming and refinement of alternatives (Dolan and Lingham, 2008; Raich and Dolan, 2008).

Based on an exhaustive review of the literature, a list of 280 values was drawn up. This list was reduced to a total of 60 following a semi-Delphi process with experts from different cultural backgrounds. The semi-Delphi process was based on multiple iterations by members of the team and, to reach a conclusion, a face-to-face discussions were held. The final list of 60 values consisted of 20 values corresponding to each of the three axes of the tri-axial model.

In addition to the value related items, the questionnaire gathered demographic data and measured constructs such as passion and ethics in the organization using a 5-point Likert Scale. The questionnaire was translated and back-translated (Brislin, 1970) into local languages and was pre-tested by each research partner in their respective country. After completing the demographic section, respondents received an introduction about the definition of the model and were asked to

classify the 60 values on the 3 axes and to select 5 most important values in their organization.

The mapping of the tri-axial model for each group of countries consists of three stages. Firstly, we determined the relevant axes under which each group assigned the values; secondly, we identified the 5 “most dominant” values for each group of respondents; and lastly, based on the above, we constructed the tri-axial configuration for each of the countries.

Results

Classifying Values

The first stage in the analysis was to identify the dominant values in old and new EU member states with reference to the three axes (EP; ES; and ED). The classification of the values was achieved by using independently qualitative and quantitative criteria. The qualitative part consisted of selecting only the values which at least 50 percent of all respondents identified as belonging to a distinct axis, and that the difference between the frequency of respondents classifying the same value under another axis was no less than 15 percent. This criterion was agreed upon by the VAC partners who consider it to be a valid standard. For the quantitative portion, identifying the dominant axis for each value was done using analysis to test whether the differences between the distribution of the same value under the different axes was significant. For this analysis we performed a two-proportion z-test at a significance level is 0.05 (Stat Treck, 2012). The null hypothesis was that the proportions were equal to each other. We conducted the two-proportion z-test to compute the proportional differences among the 3-axes, comparing if the number of times a certain value was coded under a certain axis is statistically different than the number of times it was coded under a different axis.

This statistical technique allowed us to identify, at a high confidence level, the most dominant axis for each value. The values that which their relevant axes could not be concluded at the 0.05 significant level were classified as “*undecided*” and were excluded from the subsequent stages of the analysis.

The final configuration of the tri-axial model cultural profile is therefore based on the axes of top 5 values of each respective culture and their differentiation based on the proportion analysis.

Analysis of the top 5 values in the public sector in old and new States

The second stage in the analysis was to identify the 5 most important values in the public sector in each group of states based on the reply to the question “pick the 5 values that are the most important values in your public sector organization” (Table 2).

The values identified as the most important in OEU member states were: expertise (pragmatic); professionalism (pragmatic); integrity (ethical); trust (ethical); and teamwork (pragmatic). While the most important values in the NEU member states were: Professionalism (pragmatic.); Expertise (pragmatic); Teamwork (pragmatic); Knowledge (pragmatic); and Commitment (pragmatic.).

The public sector in NEU member states appears to be more pragmatically oriented in comparison with the public sector in OEU member states, which holds ethical-social values in addition to the pragmatic values.

	Ethical (%)	Pragmatic (%)	Emotional (%)
<i>Values OEU</i>			
Expertise (40%)	6.76	83.45	9.39
Professionalism (40%)	9.02	82.33	8.27
Integrity (25%)	50.03	34.58	15.03
Teamwork (18%)	33.83	57.14	9.02
Trust (19%)	63.15	9.02	27.81
<i>Values NEU</i>			
Professionalism (41%)	19.41	72.00	8.57
Expertise (37%)	17.60	69.07	13.31
Teamwork (23%)	22.79	69.75	7.40
Knowledge (22%)	16.70	67.26	16.02
Commitment (15%)	31.15	58.91	9.93

(Source: Capell et al., 2013)

Table 2: The results of top five values in the OEU and NEU states

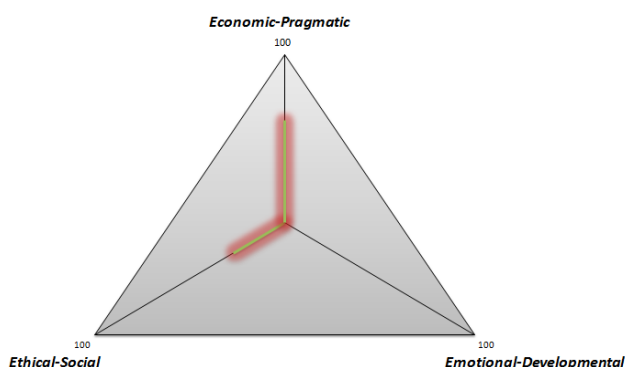
In both groups, three values out of the top 5 were categorized as pragmatic (Professionalism, Expertise and Teamwork), while Expertise and Professionalism are the top two in both groups. On the other hand, the OEU member states also identified ethical values such as Integrity and Trust, while in the NEU member states, the remaining two important values are also pragmatic (Commitment and Knowledge).

Mapping old and new EU countries using the Tri-Axial Model

The overall mapping of the two groups using the configurations proposed by the tri-axial model is displayed in Figures 1 & 2.

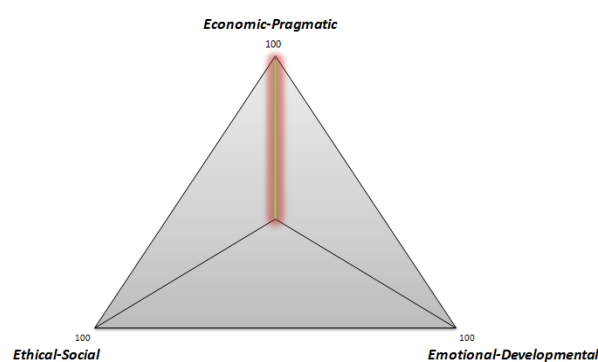
Figure 1 shows that the culture in the public sector in the OEU countries has a combination of EP and ES. While the pragmatic axis of the model is the most dominant (60 percent), there is also a strong ethical component (40 percent) embedded in the culture of this public sector.

The results for the NEU countries, presented in Figure 2, portray a very different culture. It shows that in relative terms the public sector in the NEU is totally dominated by core values connected with the EP axis. 100 percent of the culture is characterized by pragmatism, and there are no values within this core that are part of the ethical or the emotional axes.



Source: Capell et al., 2013

Figure 1. Tri-axial model of OEU states



(Source: Capell et al., 2013)

Figure 2. Tri-axial model of NEU states

The second level cultural mapping covered three personal parameters: the hierarchical level (senior, intermediate and junior) of the respondent in her or his organization, generational group, and gender.

In the old member states, senior and intermediate level employees appear to perceive their sector as more pragmatic and less ethical than junior employees (80 percent/20 percent and 60percent/40 percent respectively). On the other hand, in new member states, all employees – regardless of their level – appear to perceive their working environment as completely (100 percent) pragmatic. Furthermore, there are differences in the values that constitute what is “pragmatic”.

Analysis by gender reveals that in the OEU member states, males perceive the sector as more ethical (60 percent) and less pragmatic (40 percent) compared

with females (40 percent and 60 percent respectively). In contrast, both genders in NEU member states appear to be in agreement that their sector culture is 100 percent pragmatic.

The next stage of analysis was based on generational groups. Scholars (Kupperschmidt, 2000; Jurkiewicz and Brown, 1998) point out that generational cohorts or generation groups are identified based on their year of birth and the impactful social or historical life experiences that occurred in critical stages of their development. In accordance with the classification suggested by Kupperschmidt (2000) and Smola and Sutton (2002), the current analysis considers the Baby Boomers cohort as respondents who were born between 1946 and 1964. The last birth year for the following generation, Generation X, is much less clear. Various scholars have proposed a year around the late 1970's or the early 1980's (Adams, 2000). Our analysis considers the final year of birth for this generation to be 1980. The youngest generation in the workplace, Generation Y, includes respondents born after 1980.

This mapping by generational groups reveals that in the OEU member states both Baby Boomers and Generation X-ers view the organization as mostly pragmatic (80 percent pragmatic and 20 percent ethical), whereas Generation Y-ers perceive it to be more ethical (60 percent ethical and 40 percent pragmatic). In the NEU member states, all groups perceive it to be 100 percent pragmatic. Indeed, western-based research on the Y generation suggests that it has a stronger preference for values such as collectivism and contribution to society (Glass, 2007; Shih and Allen, 2007), and in comparison with earlier generations, members of this generational group are more respectful of rules, structure and values (Howe and Strauss, 2003).

Our final analysis compared the results of respondents who joined the public sector before and after EU membership of Lithuania and Estonia (2004). For this purpose, we used the information gathered by means of the question “how many years have you worked for the public sector?” As the time frame brackets in the survey were in spans of 5 years, we took a conservative approach and included those who had worked for the public sector for less than 5 years in the “after” groups. All others were included in the “before” group. We found no differences in the way the respondents perceived the value orientation of the sector.

Discussion

Albeit exploratory in its nature, the results of this cultural mapping are very interesting. On one hand, the relative congruence between old and new European Union countries in the top 5 values, as well as their classification in terms of the tri-axial model, confirm similar suggestions made earlier (Jelovc et al., 2011) which found quite high degree of similarity in the most important values in OEU and NEU countries. On the other hand, contrary to the findings of Van der Wal et al. (2008a) and Jelovac et al. (2011), which reported a strong presence of ethically related values in both old and new EU member states, the current research finds that in OEU member states the public sector culture has a stronger ES culture with reference to the tri-axial mode (Dolan et al. , 2006; Dolan, 2011) than in NEU member states, where the culture is completely dominated by pragmatic values. This difference between the results could be due to the fact that the ethical values in the previous studies referred more to the relationship between the public sector and society (incorruptibility, honesty, lawfulness, etc.), whereas the ethical values in this current study are more focused on the intra-sector relationships between the employees (trust, integrity, etc.).

Another interesting finding is the difference in the congruence of organizational values between the two groups of nations. All respondent groups (regardless of age, gender, seniority or even time in the organization) in the NEU member states express greater agreement with respect to the value orientation of their sector (100 percent pragmatic). This contrasts sharply with the variety of ways in which the different groups in old member states see the dominant values of their sector. In the study by Jelovac et al. (2011), the authors found fairly similar results. In Slovenia, there was much greater congruence between the dominant values in the public and private sector, in comparison with values in The Netherlands. The authors suggested that this homogeneity in values of the NEU state is due to its history of having been under a totalitarian state, which “resulted in a one-dimensional mode of thinking and decision making within organisations, and, as a consequence, substantial value convergence between the sectors.” (pp. 136).

The finding that employees at a lower level in the organization consider it to be more ethical and less pragmatic is interesting and merits further research. At present, there are relatively few findings relating to how employees at different hierarchical levels perceive their organization’s values. Some suggest that employees at higher levels are more concerned with ethical practices (Harris, 1990; Callan, 1992; Lusch and Laczniak, 1987). Both McClelland (1985) and Callan (1992) argue that operating from a position of authority may imply power orientation for safeguarding the organization’s welfare and reputation by disapproving unethical practices. However, these findings are not conclusive. Izraeli (1988) found no significant relationship between hierarchical level and ethical behavior in management, while Ravlin and Meglino (1987) report that supervisors are less likely to help others, and Marz, Powers and Queisser (2003) found that junior managers possess higher social orientation than senior ones.

Thus, the findings of this study might suggest a relationship between values of organization and hierarchy, providing a venue to explore further in this topic.

As suggested by various authors (e.g. Schminke and Ambrose, 1997; Dawson, 1997), there is an ongoing debate about the relationship between gender and ethics. Various researches found that women and men operate under different moral frameworks and mindsets (Gilligan, 1977; Carnes and Keithley, 1992; Schminke & Ambrose, 1997), others found that women might operate according to higher ethical standards than men (Ferrell and Skinner, 1988). However, some researchers reported similarities between the ethical evaluation or conduct of men and women (Fritzsche, 1988). Our findings confined to the public sector environment suggest that women in OEU member states consider their organization to be less ethical than the way men see it. Another interesting finding is that only women in the OEU states identified the value "Care" as dominant. This finding may be very significant to the unfolding debate around gender roles in organizations.

Conclusions and limitations

The conclusions of this paper are two fold. The starting point of this empirical work was the assumption that as the public sector has its own unique culture and values a comparative international study of values in this same sector will serve to identify national cultural differences. The results of the study confirm our assumption as the analysis of survey replies based on the tri-axial model (Dolan, 2011) have resulted in different cultural profiles that cannot be attributed to variances between sector. These analyses, and other studies published in this special edition of this journal, serve to map cultures using a new promising model for international comparison of values. The model methodology was able to detect

cultural differences, capture the dynamics between different values axes and present them in a parsimonious fashion that overcome some of the limitation of dominant cultural models presented in this paper. This exploratory study proposes the tri-axial model as a promising methodology for increasing our understanding of differences across cultures.

In addition to the general contribution to the field of cross-cultural studies, the conclusions derived from this exploratory cultural mapping suggest practical implications relevant to the current urgency for collaboration between public sector organizations in the EU. It is advisable for members of OEU states to consider the strong orientation towards pragmatism in new states when partnering together. By the same token, members in NEU states should adjust their approach to consider the Ethical-Social axis of the public sector in old states. Moreover, employees in the public sector in OEU member states should be flexible in the way that they collaborate across generations, hierarchical levels and gender, as there are significant differences in the orientation of each of these cohorts. For their part, employees in the NEU member states should take advantage of the similarity in values across all groups, while remaining aware of the limitations that can arise due to strong homogeneity of approaches.

This research has several limitations. Firstly, while we aim to compare old and new member states, it is important to underline the fact that this research involves only two countries from each group of countries, and therefore care should be taken when generalizing from this study to the rest of the OEU and NEU states. Furthermore, in this research we studied cultural differences across the same sector. The benefit of studying values in the same sector is that the results are not biased by possible value differences between sectors, what suggests a more valid

comparison. Nevertheless, research in the future should strive to expand the research unit to additional sectors.

We would also like to point out to an additional promising area of research. Our review identified a that there is only scant research available on differences and similarities between genders, generational groups and hierarchical level at work in former socialist countries compared with the wide range of knowledge about Western societies. This knowledge gap calls for some interesting research.

In the current climate of economic crisis, the European Union is going through a challenging time that questions some of its core elements. States are reforming their economic systems and their public management, while they are required to increase cross-national collaboration between their public institutions. It is our aim that this research on the similarities and differences in values in the public sector between new and old member states will make a contribution to this international effort.

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3. Article 2

Explaining The Disclosure Of Concealable Stigmas: Analysis Anchored in Trust Embedded in Legal and HRM Practice Configuration

Ben Capell, Shay S. Tafrir, Simon L. Dolan

Abstract

Prior research on disclosure decisions of concealable stigmas at work has mostly overlooked the moderating and mediating role of employees' trust in their supervisor and organization at large. The absence of trust from this field of study limits organizational efforts to foster inclusion at work. Thus, this paper presents a framework for examining the multiple linkages between employees' trust in their direct supervisors and their organization, and the disclosure decision. Trust is proposed to be embedded in work and non-work context both in terms of the legal framework and the HR policies and practices. On the basis of synthesis the literature, the article extends previous research and reviews of diversity by providing systematic review and recommendations that can help promote diversity management efforts and ultimately contribute to employees' well-being as well as positive organizational outcomes.

Key words: Trust, Concealable Stigmas, LGBT, Disclosure, HR Management

The primary purpose of this paper is to explore the role of trust in the disclosure decisions of employees with concealable stigmas at work, and to propose a new

framework for understanding this role. Employees living with concealable stigmas constitute a large portion of the workforce; among other groups of employees they include Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender individuals (LGBT), employees with invisible medical conditions, members of minority religions, people who experienced stigmatizing life experiences (such as rape), those suffering from a mental illness, and so on. Although precise figures on the total number of employees with concealable stigmatized identities are hard to obtain, conservative estimates using US census data suggest that LGBT individuals alone make up approximately 4.1% of the workforce (Sears, Hunter & Mallory, 2009), which translates to roughly 6.5 million employees in the US and 9.5 million in the EU (CIA World Factbook, 2014). Whereas people suffering from chronic medical conditions with varying degrees of severity form close to a third of the population, translating to 125 million individuals in the US, among whom nearly half have more than one condition (Anderson, 2002).

Research indicates that learning how to create a supportive environment where employees do not have to worry about concealing their stigma can benefit both the employees and their organization (Clair, Beatty & MacLean, 2005; American Psychological Association, 2002; Jones and King, 2014; King & Cortina, 2010). The underlying assumption is that when employees do not need to hide who they are, they feel more free, comfortable, and empowered, and as a consequence, their positive state of well-being also affects the organization as they become more engaged and productive (Clair, Beatty & MacLean, 2005; Colgan, Creegan, McKearney & Wright, 2006; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Jones & King, 2014). Furthermore, it has been suggested that a climate of openness fosters the psychological safety needed for self-disclosure, which generates positive individual and interpersonal psychological mechanisms that ultimately result in

higher group performance (Druskat & Wolff, 2001; Murphy, Steele & Gross, 2007; Roberge & Van Dick, 2010).

Over the years, multiple studies have attempted to identify the conditions that make employees with concealable stigmas feel comfortable enough to disclose this aspect of their identity at work. Efforts aimed at providing insights into their disclosure decision have focused mainly on antecedents, such as a person's identity centrality or their level of outness in their private life; their company's HR diversity and inclusion practices; and the social climate or legal environment (Button, 2001; Day & Schoenrade, 2000; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Law, Martinez, Ruggs, Hebl & Akers, 2011; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001; Pennington, 2010; Ragins, 2008). This line of study has largely overlooked the relevance of employees' trust in their supervisors and their organization, and how they are embedded in and interact with both work and non-work factors. This is surprising since trust in these two referents was found to facilitate the disclosure of other types of sensitive information, including feelings, opinions, concerns, mistakes, and wrongdoing (for example, Dietz & Den Hartog, 2006; Gillespie, 2003; Holtzhausen, 2009; Mayer & Gavin, 2005; Milliken, Morrison & Hewlin, 2003). For instance, in her study, Gillespie (2003) found that employees who trusted their managers were more likely to discuss their original ideas with them and how they felt about their work.

Shifting the perspective from studying the impact of systems such as HRM practice and/or individual differences such as identity centrality to how these variables simultaneously interact with trust may well be significant for both theory and practice. Using this perspective can help to deal with questions such as: How does HRM policies influence trust in the organization and trust in the supervisors? How do external antidiscrimination laws impact on this relationship?

How are individual difference variables related to these relationships? For instance, several studies have found that inclusive HRM policies and practice do not necessarily produce the intended outcomes such as promoting disclosure or generating a better workplace environment for the employees they intend to protect (Botsford & King, 2008; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Tejada, 2006; Waldo, 1999). Yet these studies failed to incorporate the important mediating mechanism that trust can have on the impact of HRM practice on employees' workplace attitudes (Ayree, Budwar & Chen, 2002; Deery, Iverson & Walsh, 2006; Gould-Williams 2003; Tan & Lim, 2009; Tzafrir, 2005). For management, learning how trust impacts on disclosure and a positive climate can provide them with additional tools that should result in a more satisfied and productive workforce (for example, Bijlsma & Van de Bunt, 2003; Hurley; 2012; Walumbwa, Luthans, Avey & Oke, 2011; Webber, Bishop & O'Neill, 2012).

Accordingly, this article intends to provide a better understanding of the disclosure decision by incorporating trust into this field of study. The model proposes that the interaction of trust with different personal and environmental variables will eventually affect the extent to which employees with concealable stigmas will feel comfortable when taking the risk associated with coming out. The model developed here draws on findings and theories from the fields of identity-verification (Swann, 1983, 1996; Ragins, 2008); trust (Mishra 1992, 1996; Dirk & Ferrin, 2001); psychological contracts (Robinson, 1996); and the disclosure of various types of sensitive information. Based on our discussion, we also make recommendations that can guide organizations in fostering this type of trust and in creating a better social environment for their employees.

To facilitate our discussion, this paper is divided into four main sections. The first section provides an introduction to the disclosure dilemma, and the second

discusses the relevant literature on trust and information sharing. The third section is where we develop our theoretical propositions, and the fourth and final section comprises our conclusions and limitations.

The disclosure dilemma: Antecedents and the consequences of coming out

"I haven't come out because I fear some homophobia. I have encountered some homophobia among colleagues from other countries, and I suspect that one of the senior managers at my company may be homophobic. I don't feel great about my decision not to come out. I may decide to come out on a very limited basis in the future."

– Lesbian Employee (Silvia & Warren, 2009: p. 12)

Unlike employees whose diversity characteristics are visible such as racial minorities, employees with concealable stigmas must decide whether to disclose or conceal their differentness ("come out" or "pass"/"stay closeted") – and then to manage their identity appropriately (Bergart, 2004; Goffman, 1963; Hill, 2009; Munir, Leka & Griffiths, 2005; Ward & Winstanely, 2005; Chung, 2001). The decision whether or not to come out is a very difficult one in the lives of these employees due to the potential consequences of their disclosure and the invisible nature of the stigmatized identity (Clair, Beatty and MacLean, 2005; Ragins, 2008; Jones & King, 2014; Quinn & Chaudoir, 2011). This difficult decision is typically referred to as the "disclosure dilemma:" On one hand, concealing one's identity has been found to produce high levels of stress and anxiety, mainly resulting from the fear of being outed involuntary, and the constant need to conceal their stigma from co-workers (Corrigan & Matthwes, 2003; Flett, 2012; Goffman, 1963; Hill, 2009; Smart & Wegner, 2000; Ward & Winstanley, 2005). On the other hand, coming out involves the risk of discrimination, harassment, social hostility, and even physical

harm (Chung, Williams & Dispenza, 2009; FRA, 2009; Jones, 2011; Sears & Malroy, 2011; Ragins, 2008; Quinn & Chaudoir, 2011; Rocco, 2004).

The complexity of this decision results not only from its potential consequences, but also from its very nature. With the objective of avoiding potential discrimination at their workplace, individuals can be selective in disclosing their stigma, meaning they can be out to everyone, to some people, or to no one (Clair, Beatty & MacLean 2005; Munir, Leka & Griffiths, 2005; Ragins, 2004; Rodkjaer, Sodemann, Ostergaard & Lomborg, 2011), and to manage how much real information they share about their private lives (Bergart, 2004; Chung, 2001; Griffin, 1992; Chung, Williams, Dispenza, 2009; Goffman, 1963; Munir, Leka & Griffiths, 2005). When individuals experience ambiguity concerning the anticipated acceptance of their stigma, they initiate a “signalling” process intended to determine the risk involved in disclosure (Jones & King, 2014; Jones, 2013; Ragins, 2008).

The level of comfort that individuals feel about how much they can share about themselves has consequences not only for their personal wellbeing but also for their organization. Decades of studies have indicated that the outcome of the disclosure decision has significant effects on employees’ work attitudes and contributions. Employees who are out in a supportive environment establish better relationships with their colleagues, and are more committed, productive, and participative than employees who are passing or are out in a negative environment (American Psychological Association, 2002; Clair, Beatty & McLean, 2005; Gignac & Cao, 2009; Fesko, 2001; Day & Schoenrade, 2000; Colgan et al., 2006; Jones & King, 2014; Ragins, Singh & Cornwell, 2007; Waldo, 1999).

The importance of promoting inclusion has prompted research and practical efforts aimed at creating a more welcoming environment for employees with

diverse backgrounds. For instance, increasing numbers of organizations have implemented HRM LGBT inclusion policies and practices with the intention of promoting a more supportive working environment for sexual minorities, and to comply with anti-discrimination legislation (Day & Greene, 2008). Nevertheless, research on the impact of these policies has produced mixed results. While some studies indicate that HRM policies and practice do promote disclosure and inclusiveness (Button, 2001; Ragins & Cornwell, 2011; Law et al., 2011), others have found that they may have either no or very limited effects on employees' openness and workplace attitudes and wellbeing (Day & Schoenrade, 2000; Griffith & Hebl, 2002). Additionally, some scholars have found that non-discrimination policies are at times actually associated with increased hostility toward the employees they are trying to protect. Numerous studies on gender, race, and sexual orientation have already demonstrated that the introduction of diversity initiatives can promote a counter reaction and backlash from the dominant majority (Linnehan & Konard, 1999; Bond & Pyle, 1988; Hill, 2009; Kalev, Dobin & Kelly, 2006; Tejeda, 2006; Thomas & Plaut, 2008).

Clair et al. (2005) suggested that it is not the existence of these policies, but rather the employees' confidence in their superiors' support for them that ultimately determines how comfortable they feel in coming out. Studies on the disclosure of invisible disabilities indeed underscore the importance of trust in management. As Pennington (2010) explained, even in places where employers are required by law to accommodate for employees with disabilities, many employees will be hesitant to formally "coming out" about their disability and will base their decision on the perceived reaction for their disclosure. Therefore, their level of trust in the way their organization and supervisors will use the

information about their medical condition is critical for disclosure (Cunningham & James, 2001).

Studies on the disclosure of sexual orientation point in to the same direction. In one of the earliest studies on the disclosure of concealable stigmas, Waldo (1999) found that HRM practices had no impact on reducing hostility towards gays and lesbians unless the organization took these issues seriously. Similarly, later studies showed that while HRM policies and practice had little or no impact on an LGBT employee's disclosure, or on workplace attitudes, the perceived degree of management supportiveness of inclusion was an important determinant (Day & Schoenrade, 2000; Griffith & Hebl, 2002).

Trust and the disclosure of sensitive personal information

Defining trust and the disclosure of sensitive information

The proper definition of trust is still being debated in the academic literature, and various scholars have produced different classifications for this conceptual construct (for example, Lewis & Weigert, 1985; Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995; Tzafrir & Dolan, 2004). Nevertheless, Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt and Camerer (1998) concluded that, despite some areas of disagreement, there appeared to be a convergence around various key elements that comprise the construct of trust: (1) confident expectations of others, and (2) the willingness to become vulnerable or to rely on another person. Consequently, the authors proposed a definition that suggests that "trust is a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behavior of another" (p. 395). Trust, as suggested by Das and Teng (2004), reduces the perceived risk associated with the vulnerability present in the situation; the more a person trusts another to take action favourable to them, the less they perceive

putting their faith in the other as being risky, and the more likely they are to take this course of action. A conscious disclosure of potentially damaging information by one party is therefore seen as risk-taking behavior, indicating trust for the other party (Dietz & Den Hartog, 2006; Gillespie, 2003).

Indeed, ongoing research indicates an established relationship between employees' trust in their organizational members and their openness about information of a sensitive nature, including views, opinions, mistakes, problems, feelings, knowledge, medical conditions, and wrongdoing (Arthur & Kim, 2005; Gillespie, 2003; Lee, Gillespie, Mann & Wearing, 2010; Mäkelä & Brewster, 2009; Milliken, Morrison & Hewlin, 2003; Muthusamy & White, 2005; Zand, 1972). For instance, studies on disability show that the readiness of employees to disclose to their management their medical condition depends on the employees' track record in the company, the perception that the managers have positive attitudes towards disability, and the legal context (Ellison, Russinova, MacDonald-Wilson & Lyass, 2003; Stanley, Ridely, Manthorpe, Harris & Hurst, 2007). A simple illustration of how trust affects disclosure is an individual who takes a risk and shares with his supervisor that he feels underqualified for that task. The employee knows that sharing this information with a superior could make him vulnerable and hurt his career. Nevertheless, because he perceives his supervisor to be trustworthy and expects her to guide and support him, he decides to take the risk and to discuss his concerns.

Studies on the relationship between trust and concealable stigmas have so far been mostly restricted to the domain of intimate interpersonal relationships, and not to more formal workplace contexts (Ragins, 2008). Trust, as in close relationships, has been found to facilitate the disclosure of various types of stigmas, including sexual orientation (Boon & Miller, 1999; Miller & Boon, 2000;

Cain, 1991; Herek, 1996), HIV (Derlega, Lovejoy & Winstead, 1998; Obermeyer, Baijal & Pegurri, 2011; Derlega, Winstead, Greene, Serovich & Elwood, 2004), multiple sclerosis (Vickers, 2012), and rape (Ahrens, Campbell, Ternier-Thames, Wasco & Sefl, 2007).

Trust in the supervisor and trust in the organization

Employees develop different forms of trust in relation to proximity, the nature of the interaction, and the power relationship between themselves and the target of trust. Research on trust typically distinguishes between three levels of foci an employee trusts: (1) proximate supervisors (2); the organization; and (3) colleagues or team (Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012). This distinction is significant as there are important differences in form of trust at each of these levels.

The form of trust employees develop in both their direct supervisor and their co-workers is considered interpersonal (Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012) and is formed based on dyadic relationships (McKnight, Cummings & Chervany, 1998). Nevertheless, trust in the supervisor and trust in colleagues is not the same due to the important power differential between supervisor and employee, which does not exist in the more horizontal relationships between colleagues (Schoorman, Mayer & Davis, 2007; Tan & Tan, 2000). By contrast, trust in the organization is institutional and impersonal (Costigan, Insinga, Kranas, Kureshov & Ilter, 2004; Mayer & Davis, 1999; Mayer & Gavin, 2005), and it addresses more general targets such as the employer (Deery, Iverson & Walsh, 2006; Robinson & Rousseau 1994) or the top management team (Costigan et al., 2004; Mayer & Davis, 1999; Tzafrir, 2009). This form of trust is based on the perception of the institution's norms and procedures, rather than on direct one-on-one experiences with others (Gillespie, Hurley & Dietz, 2012), and can be referred to as "system trust" (Luhmann, 1997)

or “institutional-based trust” (Zucker, 1986). Organizational arrangements (HRM, for example) therefore function not only as coordination mechanisms, but also as a source of organizational reputation by influencing their employees’ expectation, intentions, and attributions of the organization’s trustworthiness. The institution’s norms and procedures serve to channel social behaviors into predictable patterns; they can consequently influence the formation of interpersonal trust, yet cannot guarantee that individuals will always follow the rules and norms (Bachmann, 2011; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Giddens, 1984).

While recognizing the importance of trust in co-workers, our discussion will focus on employees’ trust in their supervisors and the organization (institution) simultaneously. There are two main reasons for doing so. The first is that our intention is to focus on disclosure at the more formal level, and not the interpersonal one. As discussed previously, the relationship between trust and the disclosure of stigma in the context of intimate personal relationships has already been established in the literature (Boon & Miller, 1999; Cain, 1991; Derlega, Lovejoy & Winstead, 1998; Obermeyer, Baijal & Pegurri, 2011). Second, both the organization and its direct supervisors hold formal roles of responsibility and power over their employees; they are the ones who signal the desired role behaviors in the organization, and are considered critical for the implementation of diversity programs and the creation of psychosocial safety (Cox, 1994; Guillaume, Dawson, Priola, Sacramento & Woods, 2013; Dollard & Bakker, 2010; Roberge, Lewicki, Hietapelto & Abdyldaeva, 2011; Zohar & Luria, 2005). As explained by Guillaume et al. (2013), the signals employees receive from senior leaders, HRM policies, and management are critical for the successful implementation of a climate for inclusion. Also, as found by Dollard & Bakker (2010), the importance senior leaders give to their employees’ psychological

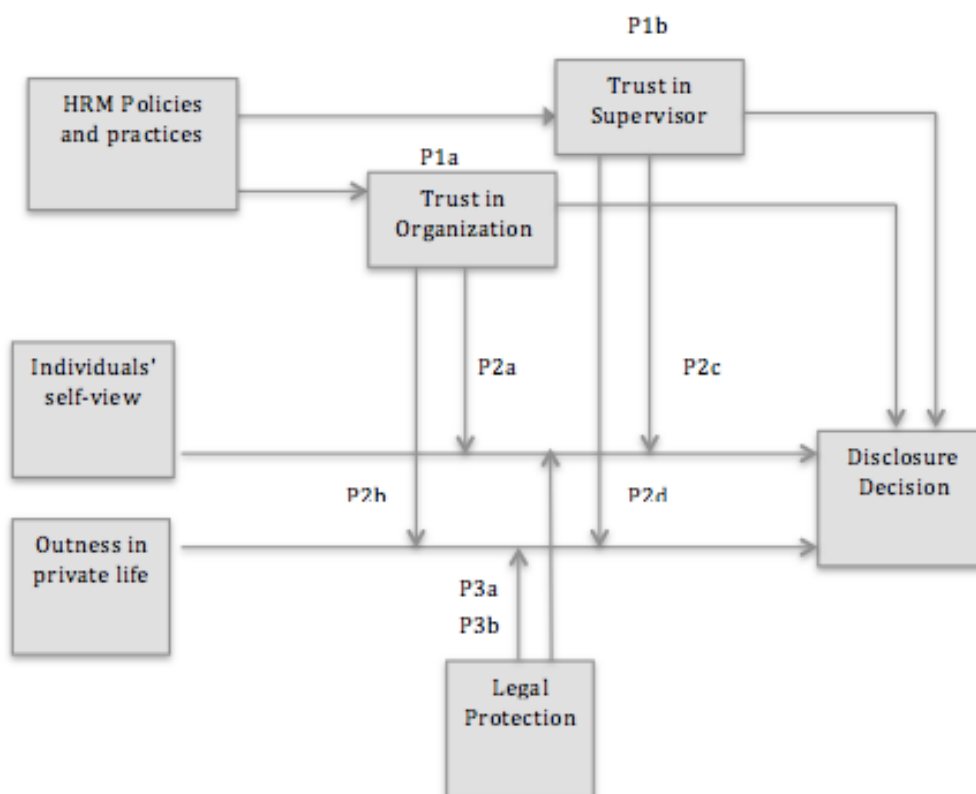
wellbeing help create a psychological safety climate, which in turn affects employees' psychological working conditions, health, and engagement. Furthermore, evidence implies that managers have an important role in providing emotional and practical support for those disclosing and making themselves vulnerable at work (Cignac & Cao, 2009; Huffman, Watrous-Rodriguez & King, 2008; King & Botsford, 2009; Munir, Pryce, Haslam, Leka & Griffiths, 2006; Munir, Randall, Yarker & Nielsen, 2009). For instance, Cignac & Cao (2009) found that managerial support helps to reduce the stress employees with arthritis experience following the disclosure of their medical conditions. Accordingly, Munir, Leka & Griffith (2005) found that employees with chronic illnesses are likely to disclose their full condition to their line managers if they consider receiving support from their supervisor in relation to their chronic illness as important. Along similar lines, studies have found that the support supervisors can provide women who decide to disclose intimate partner abuse, helps buffer the effects these negative experiences may have on the victim's employment (Perrin, Yargui, Hansson & Glass, 2011; Swanberg, Macke & Logan, 2007).

Disclosure: Trust and its interaction with work and non-work factors

Coming out at work is a voluntary act of sharing information that increases one's vulnerability. Accordingly, the purpose of this section is to discuss how trust is embedded in work and non-work contexts, and to determine the expected outcome of the interactions between trust and the other critical antecedents of disclosure.

Figure 1 summarizes the framework that we have developed. We begin by developing research propositions and discussing the interaction between trust and

HRM policies and practices, then the interaction of trust with individual-level variables, and finally its interaction with the legal context.



(Source: Capell et al., unpublished)

Figure 1 – Conceptual Model of Disclosure Decision

HRM policies, trust and disclosure

A valuable starting point for understanding disclosure in an organizational context is to consider the ways in which protective HRM policies and practices impact on employees' willingness to take the risk associated with coming out. As disclosure of stigma involves risk, employees are likely to look for ways to assess whether or not they can make themselves vulnerable. The implementation of inclusive HRM policies can provide employees with some indication as to the degree they can trust their organizations and managers. HRM policies and practices can be

classified into the following three main roles: Motivation, Support, and Symbols. The motivation role focuses on stimulating, directing, and maintaining employees toward attaining a specific goal (Greenberg & Baron, 2008), such as an open and fair environment. The support role pertains to the efforts made by organizations to help employees to do their jobs by reducing obstacles and supplying resources such as employee assistance programs. Finally, symbols in the workplace makes up the third role and looks at the existence of formal and informal attitudes, behaviors, and procedures for resolving difficulties, predicaments, and dilemmas in the workplace, such as discrimination. Not surprisingly, Delany and Lundy (1996) suggested that one of the hallmarks of equitable HRM systems is their enactment of objective standards that remove bias and subjectivity in the implementation of HRM practices. With these objectives in mind, different organizations have, over the years, implemented a variety of HR policies and practices that are intended to create a more inclusive, fair, and safe working environment for their employees. These practices include non-discrimination policies, Employee Resource Groups, guidelines for inclusive communication, and diversity awareness training (Chrobot-Mason, 2003; Day & Greene, 2008; Johnston & Malina, 2008; King and Botsford, 2009). Obviously, HRM policies and practices, as well as anti-discrimination laws, do not cover all sources of stigma and bases for discrimination. These mechanisms tend to address specific groups or categories of individuals (sexual minorities, employees with disabilities, and so on), and so leave unprotected others who may be stigmatized due to more individualized attributes, such as due to the devaluation personal experiences (for example, victims of rape) or their association with others who are stigmatized others (Kulik, Bainbridge & Cregan, 2008; Paetzold, Dipboye & Elsbach, 2008).

Although these HRM policies and practices can build, develop, and maintain trust in an organization and its supervisors, they do not operate in a vacuum. Employees tend to interpret these policies and practices together with their attributions and the perceptions of their managers' behavior (Searle, 2013; Skinner et al., 2004; Tzafrir, 2005; Weibel et al., 2009; Whitener, 2001). As noted by Clair, Beatty & Maclean (2005) it is not the existence of policies or practices that will promote disclosure; rather it is the reassurance that their management provides them with. For instance, research on the impact of LGBT inclusion and HRM systems appears to imply that the existence of managerial support for LGBT employees is a necessary condition for their success in reducing heterosexism and facilitating disclosure (Day & Schoenrade, 2000; Waldo, 1999). Similar conclusions were reached when considering the way family-friendly policies can make pregnant workers feel more comfortable when taking the risks associated with the disclosure of early-stage pregnancy. King and Botsford (2009) pointed out that as managers can override organizational family-friendly policies in both supportive and destructive ways, managerial support for these policies is important to ease the fears associated with disclosure. Similarly, Lewis (2011) argued that while organizations can encourage employees to report wrongdoing by introducing policies and procedures, much more important is the employees' experience of what happens when concerns are raised. Finally, research has shown that when organizations were auditing disability, some employees were reluctant to disclose their disability, apparently due to not trusting how this information would be used (Cunningham & James, 2001).

A large body of data propose that employees' trust in their organization and/or their supervisors acts as a mediator between HRM practices and employees' workplace behaviors and attitudes (Aryee, Budwar & Chen, 2002; Chen, Aryee &

Lee, 2005; Lee, Gillespie, Mann & Wearing, 2010; More & Tzafrir, 2009; Searle & Dietz, 2012). For instance, a study by Chen, Aryee & Lee (2005) found that perceived organizational support influenced employees' level of trust in their organization, which in turn impacted their role performance and commitment. In an earlier study by Gould-Williams (2003), HRM practices related to selection, training and job design were found to predict organizational trust and interpersonal trust. This high level of trust consequently contributed to the employees' level of satisfaction, commitment and overall organizational performance. Finally, a recent study by Seifert, Stammerjohan, & Martin (2014), suggests that trust in the supervisor and organization mediates between various forms of organizational justice and employees' readiness to disclose wrongdoing.

Research shows that HRM policies and practices have the potential to generate trust in both the organization and the supervisors (Tan & Tan, 2000; Searle, Den Hartog, Weibel, Gillespie, Six, Hatzakis & Skinner, 2011; Whitener, Brodt, Korsgaard & Werner, 1998). The ways these organizational systems generate trust in these two areas of trust are related, yet distinct. HRM policies and practices can foster organizational trust by signaling a message of support and commitment to all employees, by creating a sense of certainty and security, and through a sense of fairness and inclusion of professionalism (Mayer & Davis, 1999; Tzafrir, Harel, Baruch & Dolan, 2004; Vanhala & Ahteela, 2011). In that sense, the time and effort HR personnel and senior leaders invest in developing well-crafted policies and practices can signal to those employees who are at risk of discrimination that they can trust their organization.

The way in which HRM systems influence trust in the supervisors may follow a different route. An HRM philosophy (Welbourne & Andrews, 1996) and the existence of HRM policies and practices can promote an environment and

conditions that engender trust between employees and their supervisors (Tzafrir et al., 2004; Whitener et al., 1998). For instance, managers trained in inclusion, and who follow anti-discrimination policies and fair procedures are likely to act in a way that will increase their employees' sense of confidence in them. It is then that these organizational practices and policies have the potential to create a positive employee social environment (Tzafrir, Gur & Blumen, 2014) where employees feel comfortable about "taking the leap of faith" (Möllering, 2006) involved in trust (Searle, Den Hartog, Weibel, Gillespie, Six, Hatzakis and & Skinner, 2011). More specifically, In the case of employees with stigmatized identities, the integration between HRM practices and policies with trust enable one to take the risks associated with disclosure.

One way to explain the way these HRM policies and practices influence employees' trust and their consequent disclosure is by viewing them through the lens of psychological contracts (Rousseau, 1989). The usefulness of the theory for our context is that they can explain the inconsistent way HRM policies and practices influence disclosure. All in all, HRM policies and practices build and develop employees' expectations, as well as creating more reciprocation in terms of their interaction with their organization and managers (Tzafrir, 2005).

A psychological contract is an individual's beliefs about the terms and conditions of a reciprocal exchange agreement between that person and another party (Rousseau, 1989). Studies show that employees' trust and commitment depend on their perception of how their employer has met their obligations to them (Robinson & Rousseau, 1994 Deery, Iverson & Walsh, 2006). The explanation for this process lies in the essence of trust, which is one's expectations concerning the treatment he or she receives from the other party (Robinson, 1996). The enactment of HRM policies, in terms of content and implementation, is likely to

affect employees' perceptions concerning the extent that their organization adheres to their implicit and explicit contract and can be trusted (Searle & Skinner, 2011). A study by Chrobot-Mason (2003) on racially diverse employees helps illustrating this point. The research showed that when organizations set up diversity initiatives ("diversity promises") they create expectation concerning equal treatment. When these expectations are not met they generate a psychological contract breach that produces cynicism and lowers employees' commitment and job satisfaction. The strength of these negative consequences depends on the level of trust and perception of justice. The more the minority employees perceive their organization to be trustworthy or fair, the more disillusioned they are with any unfulfilled expectations.

The way HRM policies and practices are implemented can offer the employees tangible evidence of the extent to which the organization and its supervisors' intentions are genuine and can be trusted (Searle and Skinner, 2011). It is therefore expected that when an organization introduces diversity policies and practices it creates expectations concerning organizational and managerial behavior. The perceived success of HRM programs to promote a more inclusive environment will therefore impact the level of trust in the organization and management, and consequently employees' readiness to come out. Employees who believe that their employer meets their obligations will feel the organization can be trusted (Skinner et al., 2004; Searle & Skinner, 2011), what will increase the likelihood for disclosure. On the other hand, if an employee perceives their employer as not having fulfilled their obligations, trust decreases, and so does the employee's readiness to take the risk associated with making their stigma known. Furthermore, employees who distrust their managers' motives are unlikely to be

convinced solely by legalistic and control mechanisms that their managers and organization can be trusted (Sitkin & Roth, 1993).

Taking the Lewicki and Bunker model (1996) one may say that the perceived success of the stated HRM policies serve as a knowledge base for employees' trust based decisions. The theory of managerial decision-making underscores that the complexity of the decision process increases with uncertainty (eg. Eisenhardt & Zbaracki 1992). To arrive at an optimal decision, individuals need to examine thoroughly all the alternatives. Increased uncertainty enhances the complexity of each of the alternatives to a point that individuals may not be able to efficiently explore the trade-offs between the costs and benefits (Bingham, Eisenhardt & Furr, 2007; Busenits & Barrny, 1997). Thus, trust may serve as a cognitive mechanism reducing the uncertainty and facilitating disclosure decision. Taking all of the above into consideration, trust reflects employees' decisions to make themselves vulnerable at work based on their assessment of their organization's and managers' commitment to inclusion (Clark and Payne, 1997; Dietz and Den Hartog, 2006). Accordingly, it is assumed that when HRM systems serve to promote the inclusion of employees they are meant to protect, they foster a trust that will eventually promote disclosure. However, when they fail to do so, for example, when employees notice that the management does not curb anti-gay talk, or when employees who disclose their disability end up experiencing unfair treatment, trust will decrease and so will their willingness to take the risks associated with coming out.

Proposition 1a: Trust in the organization will mediate the relationship between HRM inclusion policies and practices and the stigma disclosure of the protected employees.

Proposition 1b: Trust in the supervisors will mediate the relationship between HRM inclusion policies and practices and the stigma disclosure of the protected employees

Trust and individual differences

In addition to the mediating role that trust can play in the disclosure decision, it can also play an important moderating role on individual differences when predicting disclosure. Studies on different types of disclosure (whistleblowing, work-related information, minority religions, etc.) have suggested that trust can be expected to moderate the relationship between individual variables that predict disclosure, such as the centrality of ones identity, motivation to cooperate, or level of self-esteem, to the disclosure itself (Dirks and Ferrin, 2001; Fleig-Palmer & Schoorman, 2011; Hecht & Faulkner, 2000; LePine & Dyne, 1998). Findings from over two decades of scholarly work have demonstrated two important individual-level antecedents of disclosure: (1) An individual's self-view, which refers to the level of identification and comfort with their stigma; and (2) outness, which is the degree to which people are open about their stigma in their private lives (Clair, Beatty & MacLean, 2005; Corrigan & Matthews, 2003; Griffith, & Hebl, 2002; Friskopp & Silverstein, 1996; Huffman, Watrous-Rodriguez & King, 2008; King, Reilly & Hebl, 2008; Law et al., 2011; Ragins, 2008). These two individual variables are closely linked, and show people's motivation to affirm their identity and achieve congruence or harmony across different areas of life (Friskopp &

Silverstein, 1996; Kwang & Swann, 2010; Ragins, 2008; Swann, 1983, 1996). Simply put, what identity theory implies is that people who feel positive and strong about who they are, and who are open about it to their family and friends, will have a stronger need to be out at work than those who do not. On the other hand, people who experience their stigmatized identity as less important or positive, and who are in the closet in their private lives, have less inclination to come out at work.

The importance of individual variables such as identity has been repeatedly validated in studies on various concealable stigmas. For instance, an important precursor phase to a person's readiness to disclose that they are HIV-positive is their ability to construct a new personal identity as "a person living with HIV" (Rodkjaer, Sodemann, Ostergaard & Lomborg, 2011). Similar findings have even been found in research exploring people's readiness to disclose medical conditions of a lesser severity, such as asthma (Adams & Jones, 1997). The literature on whistleblowing also provides ample support for the relevance of psychological antecedents in deciding whether to take the risks associated with disclosing wrongdoing. As the essence of whistleblowing is the reporting of illegal, immoral, or illegitimate practices, scholars point out that one's level of moral identity predicts the decision to blow the whistle (Liyanarachchi & Newdick, 2009; Micelli, Near & Schwenk, 1991; Valera, Aguilera & Brianna, 2005). These individual propensity variables were even found to have higher association with the act of whistleblowing than did organizational propensity variables (Cassemetis & Wortley, 2013). Hence, unsurprisingly, people who see standing up for morality as something important in their lives will be more inclined to take the risks associated with retaliation for reporting wrongdoing. The question therefore revolves around whether and how these individual variables or motivators

interact with an employee's trust in the decision to come out.

Dirks (1999) and Dirks & Ferrin (2001) conclude that trust impacts individual outcomes and behaviors at work by moderating the effects of motivational constructs. This line of thought implies in our context that trust is supposed to alter the relationship between the independent motivational variables, that is, identity, outness and disclosure (Hayes, 2012). One explanation is provided by Fleig-Palmer & Schoorman (2011) in their study on trust and knowledge transfer in mentoring relations. The authors propose that, although for mentors who are highly motivated to participate in the transfer of knowledge, trust is hardly needed to prompt them to action, for mentors with little motivation to transfer their knowledge, having a trusting relationship with the mentee is vital in determining their level of collaboration in the knowledge transfer process. These claims are supported by studies on other forms of disclosure such as religious identity. A study by Hecht and Faulkner (2000) on the disclosure of Jewish identity among Jewish-Americans leads to similar conclusions. They mention that for some of the people they interviewed, their Jewish identity was so strong that they simply could not conceal it, and even made it clearly visible to others by wearing Jewish symbols such as the Star of David. For others, for whom their religious identity played a minor role, disclosing their Jewish faith depended to a large degree on their level of comfort with the target of disclosure.

What these studies suggested is that the way individual variables impact disclosure is not necessary linear; instead, trust may moderate these patterns of relationship. Accordingly, it is expected that the two foci of trust will moderate the way central individual variables, outness in private life and self-view, predict employees' readiness to come out at work. For employees whose stigma does not form an important part of their identity, or who are not completely open about this

aspect of who they are in their private lives, trust in their line managers and organization may make an important difference as to whether or not they are out at work, and may even prompt them to come out. On the other hand, the more a person views their identity as important and positive, or the more he or she is out in their private lives, trust in their organization and trust in their managers will be less significant. A recent clear example of the latter may be the public coming out (and immediate dismissal) of the gay Russian TV host Anton Krasovsky. Mr. Krasovsky, who was out in his private life and who was angered by the latest Kremlin anti-gay laws, decided, as an act of protest, to disclose his sexual orientation on television, clearly understanding that he was putting his career at risk (Reily, 2013). Therefore, we propose the following:

Proposition 2a: Trust moderates the relationship between self-view and disclosure, such that a stronger trust in their organization reduces the impact of employees' self-views on disclosure.

Proposition 2b: Trust moderates the relationship between outness and disclosure, such that a stronger trust in their organization reduces the impact of employees' outness in their private lives on disclosure.

Proposition 2c: Trust moderates the relationship between self-view and disclosure, such that a stronger trust in their supervisor reduces the impact of employees' self-view on disclosure.

Proposition 2b: Trust moderates the relationship between outness and disclosure, such that a stronger trust in their supervisor reduces the impact of employees' outness in their private lives on disclosure.

Legal protection and trust

Legislative bodies are one of the most important and visible fronts in the efforts to achieve greater inclusion and equality at work. Overall, the trend in many Western developed countries suggests increasing legal protection for groups vulnerable to discrimination, such as members of minority religions or races, women, employees with a disability, LGBT individuals, and older employees (Barron & Hebl, 2014). Unsurprisingly, the available research has shown that legal protection has a positive impact on employees, who are thus more likely to come out (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). The enactment of anti-discrimination laws adds an additional dimension as these laws are “imposed” on the organization by the external legal system (King & Botsford, 2009).

Nevertheless, although there is some overlap between legal requirements and HRM policies and practices, the two are not the same (Linnehan & Konard, 1999). For instance, in places where there is protective legislation, organizations can take a passive compliance approach that centers on statutory requirements and policy mandates, which implies acting in accordance with the letter (but not the spirit) of the laws or standards (Miller, 1994; Rocco, Landorf & Delgado, 2008). The organization in this case merely upholds the law in a passive way that does not signal a true commitment to inclusion. In fact, in organizations that only express passive compliance with the law, employees are still at risk of being discriminated against, and are recommended to carefully consider whether they should make a disclosure (Rocco, Landorf & Delgado, 2008).

While anti-discrimination laws have been found to contribute to an individual's willingness to come out at work, legislation alone is not likely to satisfy all of the conditions necessary to make employees feel comfortable about coming out, as employees can still remain vulnerable (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001; Beatty & Kirby, 2006; Searle, 2013). Studies on the disclosure of disabilities show that while protective legislation appears to give employees more confidence in disclosing their condition, many will still hesitate from doing so, even at the expense of receiving accommodation (Cunnigham & James, 2001; Pennington, 2010; Vickers, 1997). Indeed, research has shown that discrimination can be still present even in places where protective legislation does exist (FRA, 2013; Drydakis, 2009; Sears & Mallory, 2011), resulting in a negative employee social environment (Tzafrir et al., 2014). Nevertheless, both scholars and experts predict that over time, the enforcement of anti-discrimination laws will create a more equal and safe environment (Barron & Hebl, 2014; Beatty & Kirby, 2006; Budgett, Ramos & Sears, 2008).

What makes the discussion on anti-discrimination laws interesting in our context is that they are meant to offer protection, which is not at the discretion of an organization's management. This means that both the foci of trust, even if not intrinsically supportive of inclusion, may be required by law to offer equal treatment to their protected employees. Employees, although not fully protected from discrimination, benefit from both an expected lower probability of experiencing discrimination and from protective legal mechanisms if needed. Recent court decisions ordering compensation on the basis of discrimination are likely to reassure employees about the protection available to them and to deter management from tolerating discrimination against others (Diamond, 2008; EEOC, 2013; Stacy, 2013). Furthermore, anti-discrimination legislation is suggested to

serve as both an indicator of already more acceptance of broader social norms toward a given group, and as a symbolic and instrumental mechanism for further reducing prejudice and discrimination (Barron & Hebl, 2014).

From the employee's point of view, anti-discrimination legislation offers protection and reassurance, thus reducing the risks associated with disclosure. Because trust and risk are interdependent (Gambetta, 1988; Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998), the reduced risk is expected to make employees' trust in their superiors and organization less relevant in their disclosure decision. Therefore, we propose that:

Proposition 3a: Anti-discrimination laws and trust in the organization have an independent moderating effect on the individual antecedents for disclosure: The more employees feel protected by anti-discrimination laws, the less their level of trust in the organization impacts their disclosure decision.

Proposition 3b: Anti-discrimination laws and trust in their supervisors have an independent moderating effect on the individual antecedents for disclosure: The more employees feel protected by anti-discrimination laws, the less their level of trust in their supervisors impacts their disclosure decision.

Implications for research and practice

The main contribution of this article is a theoretical framework that helps us to understand the role that employees' levels of trust in their organizations and supervisors plays in their disclosure decisions. Although individual differences and

HRM policies and practices are important variables in predicting employees' disclosure, the way they impact disclosure is suggested to depend mainly on the level of trust that the organization and its managers develop with their employees. Our framework also suggests that the level of trust interacts with the macro-level legal context that exists outside of the organization.

Future research could help us to test and expand our understanding of the effects of trust in various ways. First, we can learn more about the construct of trust by examining how trust in one's superiors relates to information sharing, not just in the domain of work-related information, but also through interactions that are relevant to employees' willingness to share sensitive, potentially stigmatizing personal information. One way this can be done is by adapting generic scales and modifying them to the specific situation (for example generic trust in the supervisor's ability versus trust in his ability to support diverse employees) and by testing how this trust interacts with personal and environmental variables.

Current research models that seek to explain how employees decide whether to come out at work typically measure the impact of individual and situational antecedents on disclosure in a relatively linear and direct way (for example, Day & Schoenrade, 2000; Law et al., 2011). Our model suggests that these factors do not have such a direct effect; instead they influence disclosure following their interaction with trust. Future research could examine the moderating and mediating role trust is expected to play between the individual and system-level variables and the decision to come out in this complex decision-making process. This research could help create the necessary knowledge to drive changes in organizations.

Third, similar recommendations could be made for the growing research on the disclosure at work of stigmas in general, and sexual minority identity specifically.

Future research could look into the way trust in leadership impacts the success of HR diversity programs targeting different groups of employees. The researchers Cox (1994), Guillaume, Dawson, Priola, Sacramento, Woods, Higson, Budhwar & West (2014), Miller (1994), Rocco, Landorf & Delgado (2008) all agree that the commitment of senior management to diversity is a key factor for making real progress in this area. A key reason is the fact that the positive benefits of diversity programs depends on fostering cultural change which is conducive to an inclusive work environment (Avery & McKay, 2010; Guillaume, Dawson, Woods, Sacramento & West, 2013; Guillaume, Dawson, Priola, Sacramento et al., 2014). Failure to foster this cultural change can result in immense human and economic damage (Gonzalez, 2010). These conclusions should be absolutely critical in the case of many employees in terms of living with concealable stigmas as a key premise to the success of diversity programs, which is their ability to create a climate in which they feel comfortable enough to come out and to be safe once they do. In the future, studies could then examine the element of trust in the context of a diversity climate, and how it impacts the success of HRM inclusion programs that target employees with concealable stigmas.

The relationships presented in this paper could be examined by analyzing the data obtained from different groups of employees (LGBTs, employees with invisible disabilities, and so on). Due to the sensitive nature and the concealable nature of this research area, reaching a diverse pool of individuals who are working in different organizational settings could be done, for instance, by sending out an invitation to the study via different community networks. Scales measuring the different variables, such as outness in private, identity, HRM programs and policies, and disclosure at work, could be obtained from previous studies (Day & Greene, 2008; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Huffman, Watrous-Rodriguez & King, 2008;

Waldo, 1999). With regard to trust, it will be important to adapt a generic trust scale (see, for example, Mishra, 1996) to the specific context of the study. The researchers must of course guarantee anonymity.

Finally, the research could also examine the way trust develops, or fails to develop, over time in this specific context. Trust is dynamic and evolving. In this paper, we discussed how it develops by using the lenses of psychological contract theory and knowledge based trust (Lewicki and Bunker, 1996; Robinson, 1996). Whether we use this specific lens or other ones, such as those that divide trust into different forms or phases (Jones & George, 1998; Lewicki & Bunker, 1995), the conclusions are the same: Trusting relationships seem to develop over time based on personal experience as the target of trust. In the case of concealable stigmas, there is one critical phase, which is the disclosure of identity. Once disclosed, it is impossible to undisclosed. Further studies could therefore examine how this process of the creation of trust happens in this specific context.

From a practical perspective, it is argued that a greater understanding of how trust affects coming out at work can help foster an inclusive environment in which employees with concealable stigmatized identities are more healthy, comfortable, and productive.

The discussion in this paper highlighted the motives for management to increase the level of trust that employees have in their organization and supervisors. Insights from the extensive body of literature on trust have served to guide these efforts. As trust is formed based on various dimensions (Dietz & Den Hartog, 2006), organizations are advised to focus their efforts on strengthening these relevant areas. One framework that appears very pertinent to our discussion is Mishra's (1992; 1996) four-dimensional model, which suggests that trust is formed based on the dimensions of care, competence, openness, and reliability.

Through using this framework, organizations are urged to improve their level of trust by making progress in each of these dimensions. For example, the dimension of competence can be enhanced by managers demonstrating knowledge and professionalism in the way they address issues such as disability and sexual or religious diversity. The dimension of care can be advanced by stating that support is not conditional on one's diversity attributes, for instance by showing interest in the well-being of their employees while clearly signaling their acceptance of who they are, and by taking concrete action to protect them against any form of hostility and discrimination. Progress can be made in the dimension of openness by being transparent about the criteria for selection and promotion, and even by discussing one's own vulnerabilities. Finally, reliability can be strengthened by maintaining consistency in applying all of the above. These indications of trustworthiness should be made clearly visible in order to reduce the level of ambiguity concerning the possible consequences of disclosure. At the same time, managers should be sensitive to possible signaling cues by employees, who might be "testing the water" in a subtle way before deciding to come out. When this signaling behavior is detected, managers should respond in a way that leaves no ambiguity concerning their level of support.

Conclusion and future research

A promising avenue for future research would be to further investigate the differentiation between general trust and the dimension of trust (or antecedents to trust), thus conceptualizing trust in a more comprehensive manner.

In our article we have looked at the effects of general trust by the organization and supervisors on the decision to disclose by the employee. However, studies have revealed several conditions/antecedents/dimensions for

trust (for example, see Mayer et al., 1995), and these dimensions may have various impacts on employees' disclosure behaviors. For instance, Mishra's four-dimensional model suggests four factors that affect judgments on the trustworthiness of an organization. Thus, a call to incorporate a contextual (Johns, 2006) as well as a dimensional (Mayer et al., 1995) manner into this line of research is highly important. From this perspective, would trust in an organization based on the perceived openness of the management have a different effect on disclosure than trust based on the perceptions of competence? In fact, we need to better understand how the various dimensions of trust shape the employees' behavior in greater detail, especially if they may suggest different relationships.

This article contributes to the research on trust by broadening our understanding of how trust influences the willingness of employees to become vulnerable by sharing sensitive personal information, and how this decision and its outcomes affect both the employees and the organization. We extended the notion by Tzafrir et al. (2014) about the employment social arena as a "microfoundation (Barney & Felin, 2013) representing individuals' characteristics, various forms of social interactions, and the process dynamics involved (Ferris et al., 1998) in different levels of organizational analysis." Integrating the growing evidence supporting the views that environmental (the legal system) and organizational (the HRM system) variables have on disclosure decisions, we demonstrated the important role of the two foci of trust when making these decisions. These new insights can promote future research and provide organizations with useful practical information on how to improve their management and HR practices. Research and theory suggest that the outcome of these changes can contribute to both the well-being of the employees and to the performance and competitiveness of the organizations in which they work.

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4. Article 3

Explaining Sexual and Gender Minorities' Disclosure: The Role of Trust Embedded in Organisational Practices

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Abstract

This empirical paper discusses the impact of organisational inclusion practices and employees' trust in their organisation and supervisors regarding their willingness to share personal information that could potentially lead to discrimination against them at work. The findings are based on a data obtained from 431 sexual and gender minority employees using an anonymous online survey. The results reveal that trust in the organization and trust in the supervisor fully mediates the relationship between organisational policies and practices and disclosure. In other words, in organisations where policies and practices fail to generate trust, such programs have no impact on employees' willingness to disclose their minority

identity. Also, the analysis reveals how trust in the organisation and supervisor interacts with psychological variables in the disclosure decision.

Keywords: LGBT, Disclosure, Trust, Organisational practices

Understanding the way organisations and managers can generate a working environment where employees feel comfortable and safe sharing sensitive personal information is important for both employees and their leaders. For instance, when Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender or Queer employees (i.e. LGBTQ) are afraid of disclosing their identity with their organisational members they need to devote considerable attention away from their tasks at work in trying to conceal it (Clair, Beatty & Maclean, 2005). Moreover, these fears and the constant effort that is required to keep one's true identity hidden from colleagues and managers have been found to have a negative effect on employees' well-being, commitment to work, and job satisfaction (Law, Martinez, Rugg, Hebl & Akers 2011; Ragins, Singh & Cornwell, 2007; Waldo, 1999). Accordingly, as concluded by the American Psychological Association (2002) and King and Cortina (2010), when organisations provide their LGBTQ staff with a supportive environment where

they feel safe being open about their sexual identity, they get employees who are not only more satisfied and healthy but also more dedicated and productive.

Research on the antecedents that impact the disclosure decision has focused on the individual, the legal environment, and the organisations policies and practices (Day & Schoenrade, 2000; Law et al., 2011; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). To improve employees' work attitudes, productivity, and the company's image in the eyes of potential employees and customers, an increasing number of organisations have implemented organisational LGBTQ inclusion initiatives such as non-discrimination policies or domestic partner benefit programs (Day & Greene, 2008). A key assumption underlying the implementation of such policies and practices at the organisation level is that they help LGBTQ employees feel more comfortable being open about their sexual orientation and gender identity at work, or "coming out." Academic studies however suggest that the impact of such programs is not so clear. Although various scholars (Law et al, 2011; Ragins, 2008) tend to agree that there organisational HR systems have a positive impact on disclosure, others found only a weak or insignificant relationship between such programs and employees' related workplace attitudes and well-being (Day & Schoenrade, 2000; Griffith & Hebl, 2002). Non academic data appears to imply to similar conclusions, while 91 percent of fortune 500 companies include sexual

orientation in their anti-discrimination policies, was not even a single CEO, out of the large 500 companies listed in Standards and Poor's index, that was 'out' publically (Miller, 2014; Stewart, 2014).

Likewise, some research suggests that it is not the organisational inclusion practices themselves that predict disclosure, but employees' confidence in organisations that adhere to such practices (Clair, Beatty & Maclean 2005; Day & Schoenrade, 2000; Waldo, 1999). In an effort to understand the relationship between these two constructs, organisational practices and disclosure at work, researchers have looked at factors that mediate between organisational activities and employee behaviours; one factor that was found to play a critical role in this intersection is trust (Chen, Aryee & Lee, 2005; Gould-Williams, 2003; Tzafrir, & Gur, 2007).

Researchers point to a positive relationship between employee trust in their management and their readiness to share sensitive information (Dietz & Den Hartog, 2006; Gillespie, 2003; Seifert, Stammerjohan, & Martin, 2014). For instance, Mayer & Gavin (2005) found that employees who trust their managers spend less effort on trying to conceal mistakes they made and were therefore able to focus more on their tasks at work. However, current organisational research focusing primarily on sharing professionally related information, such as mistakes

or feelings towards management decisions, disregards conditions related to the disclosure of personal information, such as sexual-minority identities, making it unclear how trust will impact the disclosure of this type of information. On the one hand, the additional social and even physical risks that an individual may face by sharing such potentially stigmatizing information (FRA 2013; Sears & Mallroy, 2011) suggest that trust in one's organisational authorities (Kramer, 1999) might play an even more important role in this type of disclosure than has so far been found in studies on work-related information. On the other hand, disclosure of such personal information involves outside work factors that may reduce the impact of trust in the decision-making process. For instance, Ragins (2008) concluded that individuals' motivation to achieve harmony in their identities across life domains strongly predicts disclosure, regardless of their level of trust in their management. Consequently, the role of trust in the disclosure decision is more opaque than initially appears.

In this study we attempt to broaden our understanding of the complex disclosure decision-making process of LGBTQ employees in organisational settings by focusing on the role of trust in their supervisors and organisations. This study suggests that employees' trust in their organisation in general, and in supervisors in particular, plays a key role in the dynamics of disclosure decisions through

mediating and moderating interactions with primary variables such as organisational practices, workplace experiences, and personal factors. The findings of this study broaden our knowledge of how organisational inclusion practices and trust impact employees' workplace attitudes and readiness to disclose sensitive personal information, such as concealable stigmas, with their colleagues and managers. Moreover, it helps clarify what leaders at different levels can do to create a working environment that is inclusive of their LGBTQ employees.

Conceptual Framework

Disclosure Decision

Many employees face the difficult decision of whether to disclose potentially stigmatizing information at work. Estimates using a common 4-7% ration suggest that approximately eight million of the American workforce and 1.7 of the U.K one are LGBTQ (Department for International Development, 2011; Sears, Hunter & Mallory, 2009). Other groups of employees also must reckon with the risks of disclosure; for example, those suffering from invisible medical conditions or mental disorders, employees who have experienced potentially stigmatizing life experiences (such as victims of sexual assaults), and employees of minority

religions (Ragins, 2008). A broader and contemporary approach argues that at some degree all people end up concealing parts of their authentic self in order to fit into the norm, whether it is their political ideas, hobbies, friendships and so forth (Parker, 2002; Yoshino, 2006).

What determines how difficult it is for LGBTQ employees to decide whether to disclose their sexual or gender minority identity (to come out) are the possible counterproductive consequences associated with the disclosure (Clair, Beatty & Maclean 2005); this decision is typically referred to as the “disclosure dilemma”: On the one hand, concealing one’s identity generates high levels of stress and anxiety, mainly resulting from the need to constantly monitor the information one shares and the fears of being outed involuntarily (Ragins, Singh & Cornwell, 2007; Waldo, 1999). On the other hand, coming out involves the risk of discrimination, harassment, and even physical harm. A recent study, surveying over 90,000 individuals in EU member states, reveals that despite legal advancements, over a year course, 47% of respondents felt discriminated or harassed against, and 59% experienced threat or violence on the basis of their gender identity or sexual orientation (FRA, 2013). Experiential studies reveal a similar picture. For instance, a study on hiring practices (Drydakis, 2009), showed that applicants

who signalled being gay on their CV, had significantly lower chances of being called to an interview, compares to "straight" candidates with identical background.

As legal protection is not always available or reliable, the risks associated with coming out will undoubtedly vary pending on the organisation practices, management and culture. The story of Browne, the former CEO of British Petroleum, helps make vivid the way these different factors interplay in forming organisational heteronormative norms (Parker, 2002; Skidmore, 2004). In his book, Browne (2014), explains how the lack of executive LGBT role models, the demanding corporate engineering culture, and the nature of industry, which involves business in many conservative countries, all contributed to his fears of making his sexual orientation visible at work. Nevertheless, when employees do come out, and the reaction to disclosure is positive, the results can be very satisfying to both the individuals and their organisations; studies show that LGBTQ employees who are out and enjoy a work environment that is supportive of them report higher levels of well-being, commitment, intention to stay, job satisfaction, involvement and productivity (APA, 2002; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Huffman, Watrous-Rodriguez & King, 2008; Ragins, Singh, & Cornwell, 2007).¹

¹ Interestingly, some studies show that coming out in and of itself, even setting aside

Trust and Sharing Sensitive Information

Studies have concluded that trust relates to one's willingness to become vulnerable to another (Mayer, Davis & Schoorman, 1995; Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt & Camarero, 1998). A conscious disclosure of potentially damaging information by one party is therefore a risk-taking behaviour indicating trust in the other party. For instance, Gillespie (2003) found that employees who trusted their leaders were more likely to be honest with them concerning negative feelings about work. Similar studies support these findings and show that trusting others at work is related to disclosure of various types of work-related information, including opinions, mistakes, problems, feelings, and knowledge (Arthur & Kim, 2005; Lee, Gillespie, Mann & Wearing, 2010; Muthusamy & White, 2005; Zand, 1972). Trust in that sense helps to define the boundaries within which organisational members feel comfortable sharing their "secrets" (Costas & Grey, 2014).

These studies focused mainly on work-related information, excluding the kind with the potential to render individuals highly vulnerable, such as concerning an LGBTQ identity. Research suggests that LGBTQ employees may be exposed to severe risks, for example, discrimination, social hostility, and physical aggression (FRA, 2013; Sears & Mallroy, 2011). These types of risks go beyond the ones employees might face when disclosing sensitive information that is strictly work

related, for instance expressing unwelcome opinions, as they devalue the employee as a person (Quinn & Chaudoir, 2009).

Considering the high risks involved in disclosing one's LGBTQ identity, it seems intuitive to suggest that employees' trust in their organisation's key referents, such as its managers, will play an important, if not decisive role, in the disclosure decision. Furthermore, feeling secure and confident about the reactions of one's organisational superiors to disclosure was found to be positively correlated with the disclosure of information that could be potentially used for work discrimination, such as psychiatric conditions (Ellison, Russinova, MacDonald-Wilson, & Lyass, 2003) or moral or legal wrongdoing (Lewis, 2011; Miceli & Near, 1984). Nevertheless, both research and theory suggest that at least two categories of factors may diminish the predictive role of trust; the first, are personal factors that serve as antecedents for disclosure and the second are environmental antecedents.

Two psychological motivators appear to influence one's readiness to be out at the workplace: the person's need for self-verification and the motivation for achieving identity congruence between their identities outside and inside the organisation. According to the theory of self-verification, (Swann, 1983) people are motivated to have others see them as they see themselves. Thus, employees who

identify strongly with their sexual identity will be more motivated to have others see them as such, in comparison to employees for whom their LGBTQ orientation is not an important element of their identity or who do not feel comfortable with their sexual orientation and gender identity (Clair, Beatty & Maclean., 2005; Law et al., 2011; Ragins, 2008). The second psychological motivator is the need for identity congruence across the different life domains, implying that when people are open about their sexual orientation or gender identity in their private lives, they will be more inclined to also come out at work (Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Ragins, 2008).

Another factor that might undermine the role of trust in one's superiors with respect to the disclosure decision are different environmental elements that co-impact disclosure, such as anti-discrimination laws, inclusive organisational policies and practices, and the nature of one's interaction with one's colleagues (Huffman-Watrouns-Rodriguez & King, 2008; Law et al., 2011; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). For instance, as reported by Day and Greene (2008), an increasing number of organisations specifically mention LGBTQ as a protected class in their nondiscrimination policies or include domestic partners in their benefit programs. Employees whose organisations enact such policies might feel safe enough to come out at work regardless of the degree of trust they place in their managers. The

complex relation between such formal mechanisms to trust forms part of the study of organisations beyond the specific context of stigma disclosure (Shamir & Lapidot, 2003; Woolthuis, 2005). Some studies (Child & Möllering, 2003) showed that confidence at the institution and its mechanisms was a determinant for developing more personal trust in working relationships. Others (Lui, 2009) point out to an additive value that formal mechanisms, such as contract, and informal trust, have on knowledge exchange.

The role of trust is therefore ambiguous. Whereas it is expected to impact disclosure, it is not clear how it does so considering the complex relationship among all the variables involved. Gaining better understanding of how trust operates in this context seems critical to helping leaders improve the inclusion of sexual and gender minority employees. As deeply rooted prejudices against LGBTQ are socially and historically grown they cannot be easily eliminated, even with the existence of antidiscrimination legislation, it is of utmost importance to address interorganisational practices. After all, as trust in the organisation and in managers can be improved (Webber, Bishop & O'Neill, 2012), learning more about the relationship between trust and disclosure can therefore provide guidance to organisations that want to better integrate their LGBTQ staff.

Following earlier categorisations of different targets of trust in the organisation (Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012), this research focuses specifically on trust in supervisors (interpersonal) and the organisation (impersonal-institutional). Trust in these two referents was shown in the past to facilitate the readiness of employees to share sensitive information (Gillespie, 2003; Mayer & Gavin, 2005); furthermore, both referents are accountable for the well-being and productivity of their employees, and in contrast to peers, have a greater role in implementing organisational people-strategies.

The effect of trust in organisational authorities and psychological motivators on disclosure

As coming out at work involves risk, it is expected that the impact of psychological motivators for disclosure will interact with the degree of trust an employee has in its management and organisation. In line with previous studies (Dirks & Ferrin, 2001; Fleig-Palmer & Schoorman, 2011), the strength of the relationship between trust and disclosure at work is expected to be influenced, or moderated, by the psychological motivators for identity verification: employee's degree of self-identification as LGBTQ and their level of outness or openness outside the workplace (Jones & King, 2014; Ragins, 2008; Swann, 1983).

Accordingly, we expect employee's identity strength as LGBTQ and degree of

outness outside the workplace to affect the relationship between trust (in the manager and the organisation) and disclosure at work. We also expect that employees who have a strong LGBTQ identity, and have disclosed it outside their organisation will be more prone to do so at their workplace, regardless of their level of trust in the organisation and managers. Employees for whom their LGBTQ identity is weaker, and are less open about it outside of work, are expected to tend to disclose their identity at work only when they have a high level of trust in their managers and the organisation as a whole.

A study by Hecht and Faulkner (2000) on disclosure of religious identity can provide a helpful description of how identity can moderate the impact of trust on disclosure of a potentially stigmatised identity. In a study among Jewish Americans the researchers found that for some, religious identity can be so central that they simply will not consider hiding it and prefer to make it explicitly known; for instance, they may wear visible symbols such as a Star of David. For those whose religious identity is more peripheral, potential consequences such as the negative reaction to the disclosure of their Jewishness play a significant role in their decision of whether to reveal their religious identity. In other words, when trust is very high, even employees with relatively little psychological need to come out might decide to do so. Conversely, when trust is low and disclosure is perceived as

more risky, only the highly motivated will decide to come out. Consequently, we hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 1a: Self-identification will moderate the relationship between trust in the *organisation* and disclosure at work. Specifically, higher levels of self-identification will result in a weaker relationship between trust in the organisation and disclosure.

Hypothesis 1b: Self-identification will moderate the relationship between trust in the manager and disclosure at work. Specifically, higher levels of self-identification will result in a weaker relationship between trust in the *manager* and disclosure.

Hypothesis 2a: Outness will moderate the relationship between trust in the organisation and disclosure at work. Specifically, higher levels of outness will result in a weaker relationship between trust in the *organisation* and disclosure.

Hypothesis 2b: Outness will moderate the relationship between trust in the *manager* and disclosure at work. Specifically, higher levels of outness will result in a weaker relationship between trust in the manager and disclosure.

Trust as a mediator between inclusive organisational practices and disclosure

Organisational policies and practices have a strong impact on individual and organisational outcomes (Tzafrir, 2005), and employees' perceptions of the organisations practices have a strong impact on their negative and positive behaviour in the organisation (Gould-Williams, 2003). Thus, a supportive organisational system of policies and practices may lead LGBTQ employees to feel comfortable coming out. While some studies show that such organisational inclusion practices as anti-discrimination policies or LGBTQ Employee Resource Groups (ERGs), predict disclosure (Law et al., 2001; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001), others show that they have no or very little effect on disclosure or employees' well-being and workplace attitudes (Day & Schoenrade, 2000; Griffith & Hebl, 2002). This discrepancy can be explained by understanding the disclosure process, which follows a pattern similar to that found in the relationship between organisational HR practices, trust, and employee attitudes and behaviours. Organisational practices and policies impact trust, which in turn impacts the decision to take the risk to disclose sensitive information. In line with this assertion, studies on different organisational practices show that trust in both the organisation and the supervisors mediates between the perception of justice (e.g., fair treatment) and various workplace outcomes, including whistleblowing (Chen,

Aryee & Lee, 2005; Lee, Gillespie, Mann & Wearing, 2010; Seifert, Stammerjohan, & Martin, 2014). Accordingly, we hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 3a: Trust in the *organisation* will mediate the relationship between the organisation's inclusion practices and LGBTQ identity disclosure at work.

Hypothesis 3b: Trust in the *manager* will mediate the relationship between the organisation's inclusion practices and LGBTQ identity disclosure at work.

Trust as mediator between workplace experiences and disclosure

LGBTQ employees, whether they are out or not, can perceive their organisational environment to be supportive or hostile to sexual and gender minorities (heterosexist) based on their experiences at work. Positive experiences can include, for instance, seeing a gay couple warmly welcomed at a company event, while negative experiences may include being the object of derogatory name calling or losing a promotion opportunity for not being straight.

Undoubtedly the perception of the level of openness towards LGBTQ individuals appears to have an important impact on the readiness of individuals to disclose their sexual orientation or gender identity. As expected, the more an employee experiences their organisation as prejudiced and discriminatory, the less likely that employee will come out at work (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001; Waldo, 1999). As an example, a lesbian employee who hears her colleagues tell anti-gay jokes might

decide to keep her sexual orientation to herself in order not to become a target of hostility in the future.

Numerous studies suggest that trust in ones superiors is expected to mediate between negative experiences and employees' disclosure behaviour. For instance, Deery and colleagues (2006) found that employees' perception of a breach of the psychological contract had a negative impact on their level of trust in the organisation, which consequently triggered a higher level of absenteeism.

Hypothesis 4a: Trust in the *organisation* will mediate the relationship between workplace experiences and LGBTQ identity disclosure.

Hypothesis 4b: Trust in the *manager* will mediate the relationship between workplace experiences and LGBTQ identity disclosure.

Method

Participants

All survey respondents were self-identified LGBTQ employees who were at least 18 years old. Of the 431 people who responded to the survey, 58% ($n = 250$) self-identified as gay; 32% ($n = 139$), lesbian; 7% ($n = 31$), bisexual; 1% ($n = 6$), queer; and another 1% ($n = 5$), transgender. The largest group came from the EU ($n = 242$), followed by Israel ($n = 116$). As for workplace characteristics, 64% work

for the private sector; 30%, for the public sector; and 6%, for NGOs. As for organisational size, 48% work for organisations with over 1,000 employees, 19% work for organisations ranging from 100 to 1,000 employees, and 33% for organisations with less than 100 employees. Finally, the age distribution is as follows: 10%, 18-24; 45%, 25-34; 24%, 35-44; 17%, 45-54; and 6%, 55-64.

Materials and Procedures

Research participants learned about the opportunity to participate in the study through posts advertised in LGBTQ community online forums and via emails that network leaders sent to friends and group members. The invitation note provided basic information about the study, on how confidentiality will be protected and included a link to the online survey. The participants were asked to complete an anonymous online survey that was submitted for evaluation and fine-tuning to community members with expertise in issues of LGBTQ workplace inclusion. The survey encompassed several issues: level of disclosure, various antecedents to disclosure, and demographic control variables. Prior to beginning the survey respondents were informed concerning the confidentiality policy of the study and the way their data will be treated and used. They were also offered a way to contact the research team whether they have any specific doubts.

Dependent variable.

Disclosure at work. Disclosure at work was measured using four items from the Self-Disclosure of Sexual Orientation in the Workplace scale (Day & Schoenrade, 1997). We measured the degree of disclosure by asking the respondents how hard they try to keep their sexual orientation or gender identity secret from four targets of workplace disclosure: their direct supervisor, senior leaders, colleagues, and HR personnel. The reliability coefficient we calculated is $\alpha = 0.91$.

Independent variables.

Private life outness. Employees' level of disclosing their LGBTQ identity in their private life was measured by the Outness Inventory (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000) to address four disclosure targets in the individual's private life: close family, remote family, new straight friends, and main hobby/religious/social group, . The response scale ranged from 1 (*I try very hard to keep it secret*) to 4 (*I actively talk about it to others*). The reliability coefficient we calculated is $\alpha = 0.78$.

Self-identification. The scale measures the extent of one's level of comfort and identification with being LGBTQ and integrates three previously used scales (the Importance to Identity subscale [Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992], the Self identity Distress Scale [Wright, Dye, Jiles, & Marcello, 1999], and Lesbian Identity Questionnaire [Fassinger, 2001]) to capture the different stages of LGBTQ identity

formation (Clair, Beatty & Maclean., 2005). Five Leaders of organisations dedicated to LGBTQ workplace inclusion (three men and two women), evaluating the instruments independently one of the other, were asked to identify key items. The raters were not familiar with the literature on LGBTQ identity and had different educational backgrounds and occupations. Based on the judgments of those field experts, four items were selected. A high scale score indicates that the respondent strongly identifies and feels very comfortable with being LGBTQ. Sample items included “I have a positive attitude about being LGBTQ” and “Being lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer is an important reflection of who I am.” The reliability coefficient we calculated is $\alpha = .77$.

Organisational Practices. We measured organisational policies and practices by using three items from Griffith and Hebl’s (2002) scale. The respondents were asked about the existence of various organisational practices and policies: non-discrimination policies, inclusion programs such as ERGs and diversity training, and domestic partner benefits. Respondents could answer “yes,” “no,” or “don’t know.” The measure was calculated by totalling all the “yes” replies. The reliability coefficient we calculated is $\alpha = 0.70$.

Trust. We measured trust using two distinct foci, trust in the direct supervisor and organisational trust. We used a modified version of Mishra and Mishra’s (1994)

scale, by applying it to the specific LGBTQ context. The items were repeated twice in two different sections, addressing trust in the direct supervisor and trust in the organisation. We calculated reliability coefficients for the supervisor trust and the organisational trust of $\alpha = 0.97$ and $\alpha = 0.96$, respectively.

Workplace experiences. We measured negative experiences at work by using an adapted version of Waldo's (1999) Workplace Heterosexist Experiences questionnaire, focusing on the frequency in which employees faced different instances of anti-LGBTQ manifestations. We omitted from the original scale, which included 22 possible types of incidents, those that included descriptions suggesting disclosure had already occurred; for example, items asking respondents if they had been exposed to derogatory name calling or if they had been discriminated against because of their LGBT identity. Our final scale included 5 items: for example, "During the past two years, have you ever been in a situation or heard of a situation in which any of your co-workers or managers/supervisors made rude or offensive sexual remarks about LGBTQ people in your workplace? Responses ranged from 1 (*never happened*) to 5 (*happens most of the time*). We calculated a reliability coefficient of $\alpha = 0.86$.

Control variables. As control variables, we used three ecological levels that have been found to have an impact on employees' disclosure processes at work (Day &

Greene, 2008; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001), the environment (legal protection), the organisation (size), and the individual (age).

Results

Table 1 gives the means, standard deviations, intercorrelations, and alpha coefficients for the research variables. As can be seen, disclosure at work is statistically related to all the study's variables. The results suggest that disclosure at work is highly sensitive to the individual's outness in private life ($r = .57$, $p < .01$). Table one also shows a strong relationship between disclosure at work and trust in the organisation ($r = .45$, $p < .01$), as well as between disclosure at work and trust in the manager ($r = .44$, $p < .01$). Another interesting result is the relationship between disclosure at work and organisational practices ($r = .20$, $p < .01$). As would be expected, previous experiences of anti-LGBTQ manifestations were negatively related to disclosure ($r = -.43$, $p < .01$), organisational trust ($r = -.49$, $p < .01$), trust in manager ($r = -.44$, $p < .01$), and legal protection ($r = -.45$, $p < .01$). Finally, disclosure at work is related to age ($r = -.17$, $p < .01$), whereas it is not significantly related to differences in organisational size.

Variables	Means	Std	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Org Trust	3.47	.89	(.96)								
2. Man Trust	3.64	.94	.75**	(.97)							
3. Identity	4.15	.77	.16**	.11*	(.77)						
4. Disclosure	3.05	.82	.45**	.44**	.33**	(.91)					
5. Outness	3.31	.62	.22**	.23**	.29**	.57**	(.78)				
6. Org Pract	2.11	2.2	.32**	.22**	.07	.20**	.13**	(.70)			
7. Ng. Exp	1.64	.85	-.49**	-.44**	-.03	-.43**	-.25**	-.15**	(.86)		
8. Legal Prot	0.71	.49	.26**	.29**	-.02	.36**	.22**	.26**	-.45**		
9. Age	34	10	.21**	.04	.24**	-.17**	-.15**	-.35**	.13*	-.41**	
10. Org size	3.5	1.5	-.09	-.03	-.04	-.03	-.04	.43**	.02	.19**	-.07

N= 431; internal consistency reliability coefficients (alphas) appear on the diagonal.

^=500-1000 employees

*p<0.05 **p<0.01

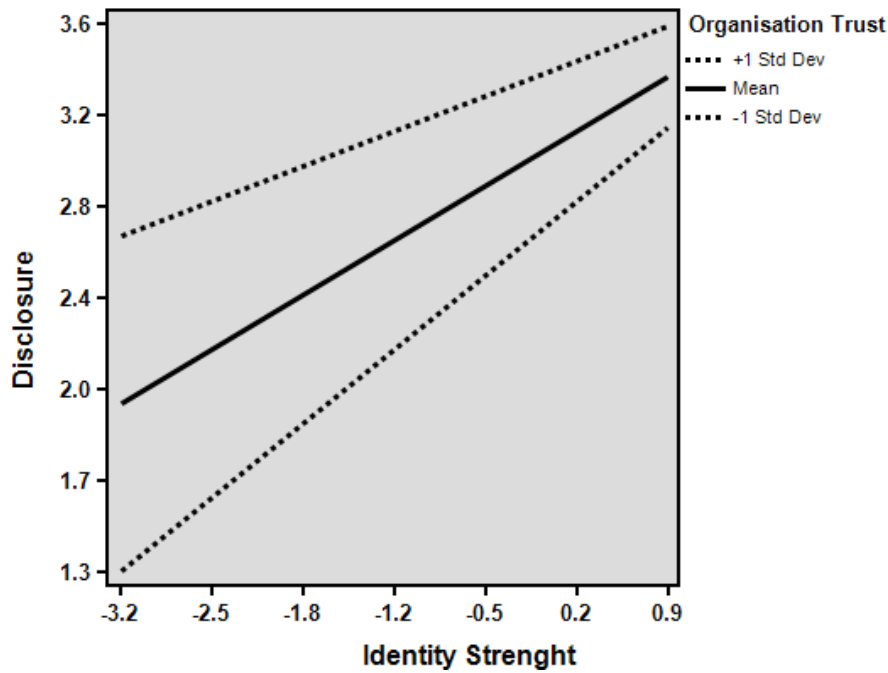
(Source: Capell et al., unpublished)

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics and Intercorrelations

Due to high levels of multicollinearity between trust in organisation and trust in managers ($r = 0.75, p < 0.01$), in the subsequent analyses we did not calculate the impact of trust in the organisation and in the manager simultaneously, treating each one of them separately, instead. The moderation effect of outness and LGBTQ identity on the relationships between trust and disclosure was tested using the moderation analysis approach (Hayes, 2012), a process that estimates a moderating model based on the interaction of centred predicting variables. The interaction effects are presented in Figures 1–4. The findings reveal that outness

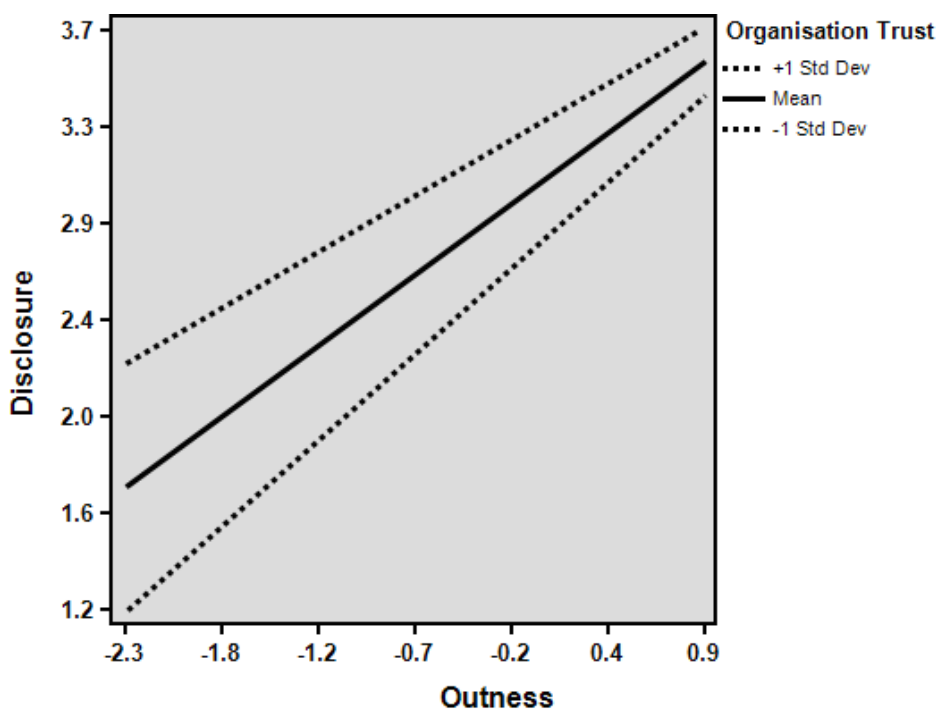
serves as a significant moderator of the relationships between both types of trust and disclosure.

LGBTQ identity and outness (outside the workplace) both have significant moderating effects on the relationships between trust in the organisation and disclosure at work ($\beta = -.13, p < 0.01$; $\beta = -.14, p < 0.01$). At high levels of LGBTQ identity and outness, disclosure at work is high, regardless of the level of trust. However, at low levels of LGBTQ identity and outness, the role that trust plays in the propensity for disclosure becomes critical—the higher the level of trust, the higher the disclosure. Similar results were found regarding LGBTQ identity and outness vis-à-vis the relationships between trust in the manager and disclosure ($\beta = -.10, p < 0.01$; $\beta = -.13, p < 0.05$). Overall, the above results are in line with our first and second hypotheses.



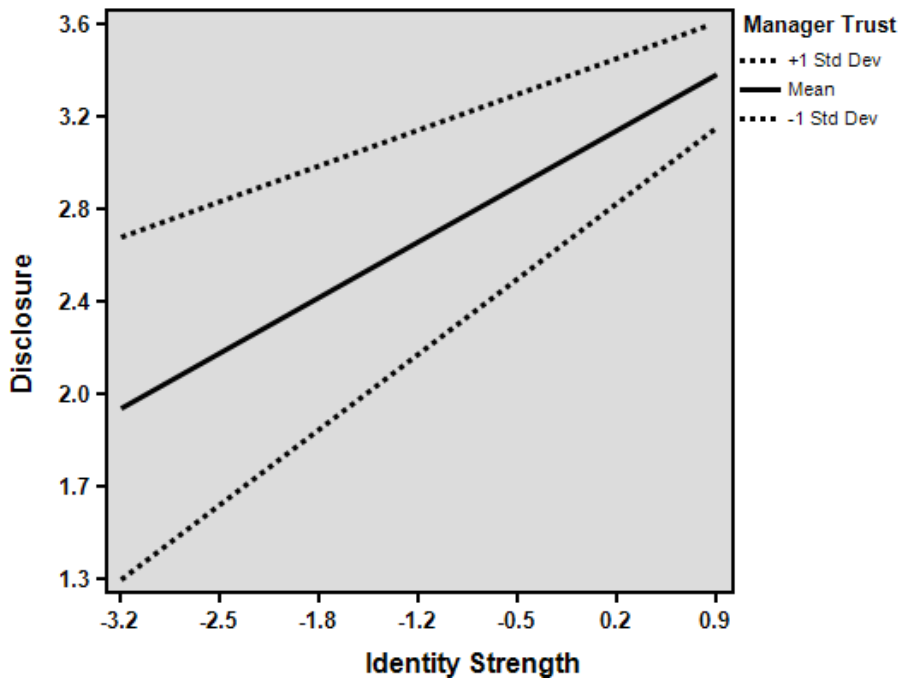
(Source: Capell et al., unpublished)

Figure 1. LGBTQ identity moderating the relationship between trust in the organisation and disclosure



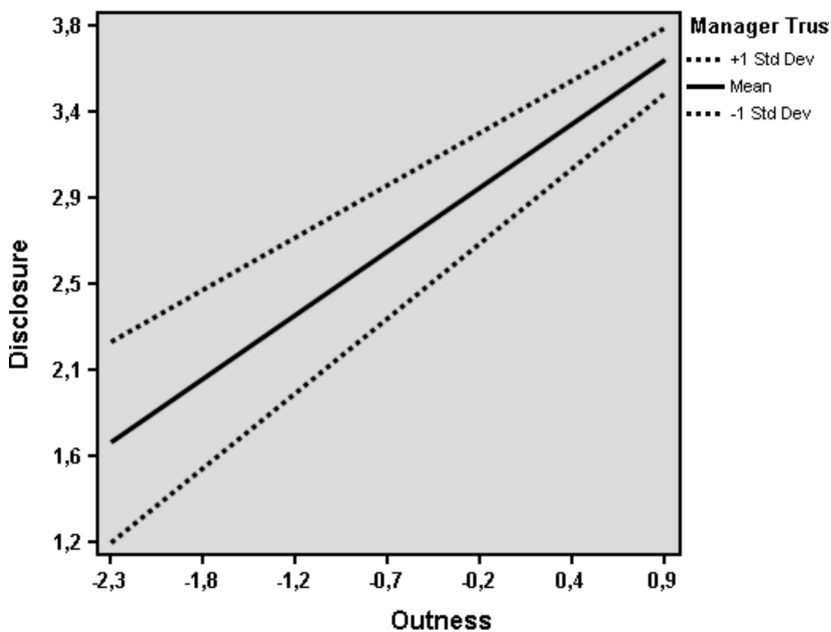
(Source: Capell et al., unpublished)

Figure 2. Outness moderating the relationship between trust in the organisation and disclosure



(Source: Capell et al., unpublished)

Figure 3. LGBTQ identity moderating the relationship between trust in the manager and disclosure

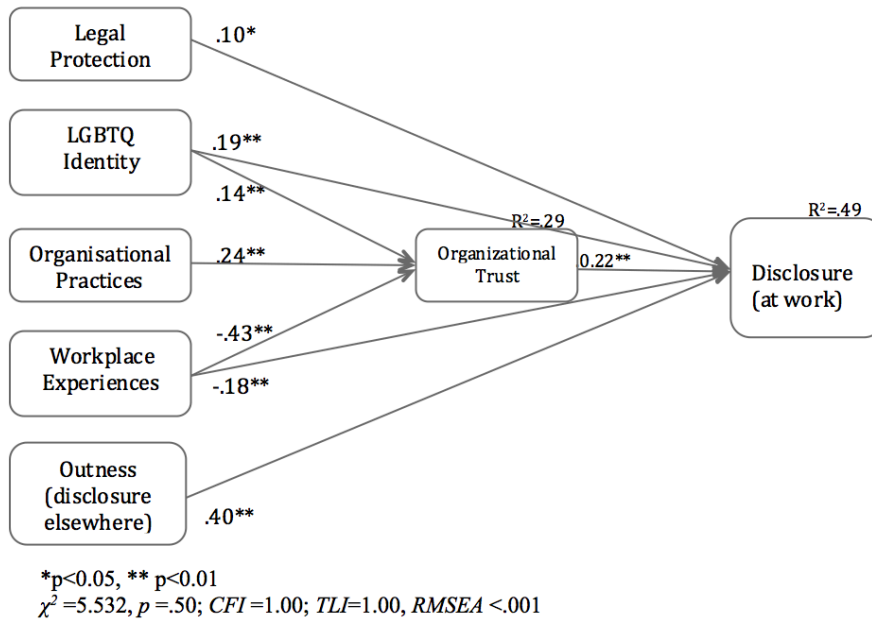


(Source: Capell et al., unpublished)

Figure 4: Outness moderating the relationship between trust in the manager and disclosure

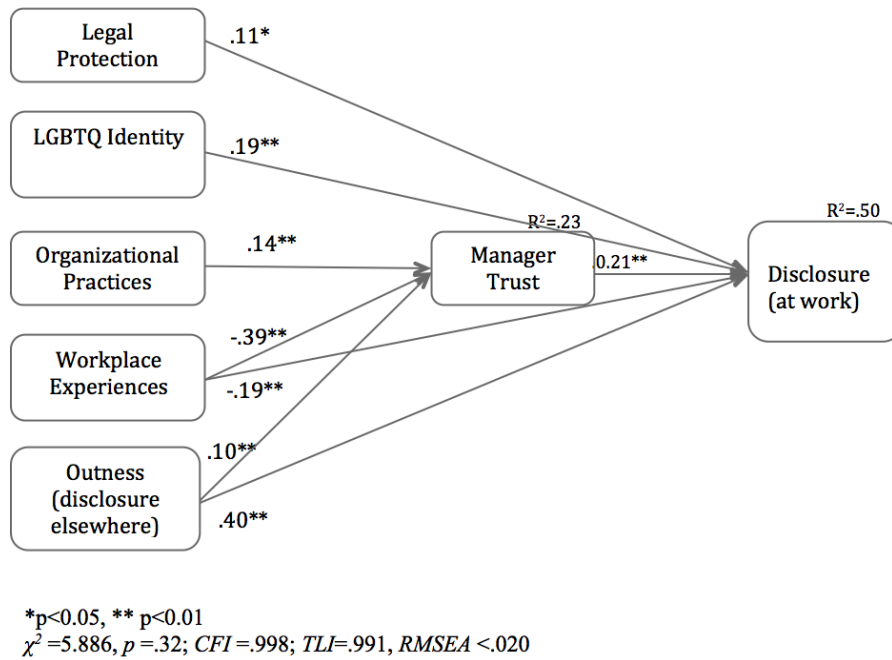
The model and the hypotheses suggest that both types of trust play an intermediate role between the antecedent variables (legal protection, LGBTQ identity, organisational practices, negative workplace experiences, and outness) and disclosure. In order to test our mediation hypotheses (H3a-b and H4a-b), we constructed two structural equation models using the AMOS software (Arbuckle & Wothke, 2001). According to the structural equation analysis, the models measuring disclosure fit the data adequately. Model A (Organisational Trust as mediator) yielded an insignificant $\chi^2 = 5.532$, $p = .50$, *Comparison Fit Index (CFI) = 1.00*, *Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) = 1.00*, and *Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) < .001*. Model B (Manager Trust as mediator) yielded an insignificant $\chi^2 = 5.886$, $p = .32$, *Comparison Fit Index (CFI) = .998*, *Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) = .991*, and *Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) < .020*. Specifically, statistically significant parameters estimates were found for the paths between the antecedent variables and the mediation variables (trust in manager and trust in organisation) and for the path between both types of trust and disclosure ($\beta = .22$, $p < .01$; $\beta = .21$, $p < .01$, respectively). Legal protection, LGBTQ identity, organisational practices, negative workplace experiences, outness, and trust in organisation together explain 49 percent of the variance of disclosure at

work ($R^2 = .49$). Similar results were found for the same set of variables, with organisational trust as a mediator ($R^2 = .50$).



(Source: Capell et al., unpublished)

Figure 5. The mediating role of trust in the organization



Source: Capell et al., unpublished)

Figure 6. The mediating role of trust in the manager

Discussion

Overall, the results of the study demonstrate how contextual variables interact with organisational behaviour of individuals. Stone et al. (2013) demonstrated the importance of the social environment for employees' actions within the organisation. Along similar lines, Tzafrir et al. (2013) presented a codifying framework of organisational research, suggesting that "the external environment interacts with the internal one through various mechanisms, including communication, observation, diffusion, interaction, friction, and yearning" (p. 39). For instance, because openness to sexual and gender minorities varies across organisational cultures (Crary, 2012; Human Rights Campaign, 2013), it seems possible that organisations that are less tolerant to LGBTQ issues recruit and invest in managers who reflect their cultural norms and vice versa. Another perspective for this high correlation lies in social-psychological literature, which suggests that as formal leaders stand in the interaction between systematic and interpersonal consideration, trust levels in the organisation and the managers are likely to affect each other (Grey and Garsten 2001). Furthermore, adding a social-constructivism approach (Shamir & Lapidot, 2003), it is likely that due to various group and social information processes LGBTQ might develop a collective assessment of trust in their organisational authorities. Hence, managerial actions

directed towards a gay individual could influence trust levels of the collective LGBTQ group.

Accordingly, our findings reveal that the external environment interacts with the internal one, such that the level of outness, or disclosure outside the organisation, and the level of identification with being LGBTQ determine to a major degree employees' willingness to disclose their identity within the organisation. This type of relationship is consistent with theories concerning people's need for identity verification and congruency (Jones & King, 2014; Ragins, 2008; Swann, 1983) and previous research findings (Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Law et al. 2011; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). Yet, the choice to disclose sensitive information is impacted by other mechanisms as well, including trust in the organisation, trust in the manager, and exposure to negative experiences within the organisation.

As hypothesized, our findings reveal that the impact of trust in the organisation and manager is moderated by these external and internal variables. Specifically, outness and clear LGBTQ identity both moderate the relationship between trust and disclosure, such that trust comes to play a critical role only when the employee faces ambiguous internal and external pressures. At high levels of LGBTQ identity and outness, an employee does not face any ambiguity;

thus, the employee will find it easier to disclose his or her identity at work, regardless of the level of trust. Conversely, at low levels of LGBTQ identity and outness, the employee, when the personal drive for disclosure are lower, if the role that trust plays becomes critical—the higher the level of trust, the higher the level of disclosure.

As suggested, trust fully mediates the relationship between organisational practices and disclosure. These results are consistent with other studies of the relationship of organisational HR systems and trust with workplace behaviours and attitudes (Chen, Aryee & Lee, 2005; Gould-Williams, 2003). Our findings help explain why previous studies showed that organisational policies and practices can sometimes have no or very limited impact on disclosure or inclusiveness (Day & Schoenrade, 2000; Griffith, & Hebl, 2002; Waldo, 1999). Similarly, Clair, Beatty & Maclean (2005) have suggested that when organisational inclusion policies are not taken seriously, they will fail to make positive impact employees readiness to come out at work.

Our findings open the path for further research on trust in organisations, which has grown considerably (Dietz & Den Hartog, 2006; Fulmer & Gelfand, 2012), and disclosure; yet the impact of trust on the exposure of highly personal sensitive information such as stigmatized identities, has not received attention. To date,

most research involving the disclosure of sensitive information has focused on information peripheral to one's self (e.g., voicing opinions or work-related problems), which seems to pose lower level of risks. Future research might also explore the relationship between employees' trust in their superiors and their willingness to expose themselves to the serious risks that could result from their stigmatisation at work.

Implications

This study has important practical implications. Our findings reveal the benefits organisations can gain by practicing inclusive policies toward their LGBTQ employees. In order to profit from the positive outcomes of inclusive policies, organisations must create a working environment where employees feel comfortable and safe being true to themselves. What makes these conclusions especially interesting to managers, is that because the LGBTQ identity is concealable, it is likely that most large organisations do employ sexual and gender minority staff, whether they are visible or not. Hence, while for some managers managing a more diverse workforce might signify an additional challenge, learning how to encourage their employees' engagement and contribution appears to bring value to their organisation.

Top management teams should work to increase the perceived (and actual) trustworthiness of their organisation and line managers in the eyes of the LGBTQ staff. This task can be accomplished by making visible progress in all the relevant dimensions of trustworthiness: competence, concern, openness, and reliability (Mishra & Mishra, 1996). Specifically, the dimension of *competence* can be enhanced by ensuring that managers demonstrate professionalism in the way they handle issues concerning sexual diversity; the dimension of *concern* by expressing supportiveness to LGBTQ employees and by taking concrete steps to eradicate heterosexism. Furthering *openness* by being transparent about the criteria for selection and promotion and by openly discussing areas for improvement. Finally, strengthening *reliability* by maintaining consistency in applying all of the above and by continuously communicating the concrete steps the organisation is taking to become more inclusive.

Limitations

There are several limitations to our study as result of the sensitive nature of this research topic. As described, our data came from a single source and collected via a single instrument. While restricted in our ability to collect data from employees' organizational members we took various steps to overcome these two limitations.

As Podsakoff, MacKenzie and Podsakoff (2012) recommended, we eliminated item ambiguity and guarantee response anonymity. Moreover, we calculated a confirmatory factor analysis in order to address the mono-method bias and compared means and correlation of early vs. late replies to identify risks related to the cross-sectional study approach. Another possible limitation pertains to the generalizability of our study results to the LGBTQ population at large: The profiles of LGBTQ individuals who are members of LGBTQ Employee Resource Groups or are readers of LGBTQ media may differ from those of LGBTQ individuals who are not. Similar to previous studies, and due to privacy issues, our sample therefore is based on respondents that at some degree made some disclosure (Day & Schoenrade, 2000; Law et al., 2011; Ragins, Singh & Cornwell, 2007). To reduce this potential sampling bias we purposely used different types of online media to reach out to respondents (e.g., company Employee Resource Groups, LGBTQ rights media, commercial sites, advocacy groups, and so forth). Still, if possible, it will be worthwhile for future researchers to select a random sampling approach within the LGBTQ population.

One more limitation is the high correlation between both types of trust, which previous studies have also shown (e.g., Ambrose & Schminke, 2003; Tan & Tan, 2000).

In spite of the limitations, the research findings presented here provide new insights into the relationship of organisational trust, organisational policies and practices, and negative workplace manifestations with disclosure and emphasize the importance of the external and internal social environments in understanding employees' attitudes and behaviours in the organisation.

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5. Article 4

Public Sector Values: Between the Real and the Ideal

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Abstract

Purpose: The purpose of this research is to identify and analyze the core values of the Peruvian public sector in the particular context of recent public management reforms.

Design/methodology/approach: After distinguishing between traditional private and public sector values, we compared the presence of each of these types of values in two very different sources of data: input from employees' values survey and formal values statements of Peruvian public sector organizations. The analysis includes both a comparison of the presence of traditional public and private sector values in the two sources of data and the identification of the cultural profile of the public sector of Peru using the tri-axial mode.

Findings: Our findings indicate a large gap between values at the theoretical level and values at the practical level. While values statements of public organizations in

Peru clearly reflect traditional public sector values, in practice, public sector employees appear to follow a mixture of public and private sector values. Strengthening this conclusion is the finding that the cultural tri-axial profile of the sector is purely Economic-Pragmatic, which suggests that ethical and emotional values are positioned lower on the values hierarchy.

Originality/value: This paper provides the first evidence of two important cultural phenomena in the Peruvian public sector: a broad adoption of private sector values and a gap between the values that are proposed as ethical guidelines (ideal) and the values that are followed in practice (real). The combination of these two phenomena suggests a potential risk to the ethical functioning of the public administration. This risk is especially significant in a developing country like Peru, where many of its poor citizens depend on government support. We discuss both the research and practical implications of this study.

Keywords: New Public Management, NPN, Peru, Values, Public Sector, Ethics, Developing Countries,

Introduction

Both executives and researchers acknowledge the crucial role of values in public organizations. For one thing, to the extent that their *raison d'être* as organizations is serving society, values are their “soul” and integral to their mission. In addition, values establish standards of behavior and action that enable the organization to carry out its mission effectively (e.g., Cooper, 2001; Kernaghan 2003; Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman, 2007; van Der Wal et al., 2008; van Thiel and van der Wal, 2010; Vrangbæk 2006).

In spite of the importance of values in public organizations, many authors have stressed the complexity of studying these values within this context (Malone, 2004; Rutgers, 2008). The literature enumerates more than a hundred (100) values related to the public sector and multiple definitions, typologies, orders, and priorities regarding values in a variety of administrative and organizational contexts (Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman, 2007; Rutgers, 2008; van Der Wal et al., 2008).

With the introduction of the new administrative reforms in public management over four decades ago, the conceptualization, meaning, and classification of values have become more salient; in fact, the question of values is now front and center in debates about public administration. The new reforms known as New Public Management (NPM), as distinguished from Traditional Public Management (TPM), aimed at integrating approaches and models of private entrepreneurial management that sought to efficiently and effectively administer the common assets and interests of governments and societies, which at the same time contributes to the economic success and development of a country (e.g., Brewer

and Lam, 2009; Hood, 1991; Malone, 2004).

In this context, authors argue that due to the particularities of public organizations, NPM reforms, may contradict the core values of public management, and represent an ethical threat to the core principles and values that are needed to protect the public interest in a democratic society (e.g., Frederickson, 2005; Ramio, 2001). These concerns are amplified given the vulnerabilities and contexts associated with the developing countries (Haque, 2001; 2004; Hughes, 2003; 2008).

As a result of this debate, many authors have stressed the need to examine how values are identified, classified, and prioritized by public servants in their work in public organizations and within different contexts of administration, using multiple sources of data (e.g., Beck Jørgensen and Bozeman, 2007; Rutgers, 2008).

Along the same lines, this study aims to contribute to the research on already existent values in the public sector, taking into consideration various aspects. First, it examined theoretically the recent tri-axial model (Dolan et al, 2006; Dolan, 2011), which integrates and broadens the classification, categorization, and prioritization of values along three main axes: 1. Ethical-Social; 2. Economic-Pragmatic, and 3. Emotional-Developmental. In this regard, recent empirical studies have provided evidence of this model's validity for public organizations in different countries and cultural systems (Bao et al., 2012; Capell et al., 2013).

Second, and as far as we know, there is scarce empirical studies on values in Latin American public organizations in general, and Peruvian public organizations in particular, especially within the context of NPM reforms that this sector has undergone since the beginning of the 1990s. This study therefore offers needed

data and a broader view of the identification, classification, and prioritization of values in Peruvian public organizations. Specifically, this study aims to identify and analyze how upper-intermediate public officials perceive the most important or prevalent values in the public sector.

Third, an additional analysis was carried out to identify differences in the values perceived as the most prevalent by public officials and those formally stated by public organizations. In that sense, this study seeks to identify the convergence—or lack of convergence—between values at the philosophical-conceptual level and values at the practical-operational level, and to analyze potential consequences arising from these differences.

Therefore, the study aims at identifying and describing how prevalent different values are perceived in the particular context of reform in Peruvian public management.

New Public Management Reforms

Brief History and Principles

Since the late 1970s, many public sectors across the world have gone through a series of broadly similar administrative reforms that have aimed to replace the traditional model of public sector management by making it more private and market-oriented (Barzelay, 2000; Larbi, 1999, Lapsley, 2010; Pollitt, 1993; Ridley, 1996). Pioneering work by political scientists have named this emerging approach to public sector administration New Public Management (NPM), clearly distinguishing it from Traditional Public Management (TPM) (Hood, 1991; Hood and Jackson, 1991). These reforms were not just specific operational changes or a “dietary supplement”; rather, they were in fact doctrinal and relied on

philosophical arguments. They represented a completely new paradigm of public administration (Hughes, 2003; Hood Jackson, 1991; Manning, 2001).

Overall, NPM takes many of its ideas from economics theory and shifts the focus from public administration to public management (Arellano-Gault, and Gil-Garcia, 2004; Hughes, 2003; Lane, 1994; Pollitt, 1993). This reform movement represents the adoption of private sector management techniques and principles by public sector organizations so that they will become more output-driven and efficient (van der Wal et al., 2006). To achieve those output goals, the traditional model of organization and the delivery of public services is seen as departing from public administration principles such as bureaucratic hierarchy, planning, centralization, direct control, and self-sufficiency, and towards a market- and performance-based public service management (Flynn, 1993; Walsh, 1995; Larbi 1999; Samaratunge and Wijewardena, 2009; Stewart and Walsh, 1992).

NPM reforms in Latin America and Peru

From its origins in Western developed countries, NPM reforms have expanding in various forms to developing ones, including those in Latin America (Larbi, 1999; Barzelay, 2000; Manning, 2001; McCourt, 2008). Up until 30 years ago, these reforms appeared to center around bureaucratic changes and not public management in the broader sense (Bresser-Pereira, 2001). But during the late 1980 and mid 1990s, many developing and Latin American countries started implementing more budget-driven type reforms as result of pressure coming from international donor institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Bangura and Larbi, 2006; Haque 2004; McCourt, 2008; Samaratunge and Wijewardena, 2009).

These reforms followed the so-called Washington consensus (Williamson, 1990), which refers to 10 policies that Washington-based institutions believed that in-debt developing countries in Latin America should adopt to recover economically (Williamson, 2004). The initial set of reforms, typically referred to as *first generation*, focused mainly on economic parameters and did not include other aspects of public administration (Hughes, 2003). Later on, in the mid 1990s, following disappointment with the results of the first waves of reforms on the part of both governments and donor agencies, and as consequence of the surge in impetus to reduce poverty as part of the international agenda, Latin American countries adopted new set of reforms (Hughes, 2003; McCourt, 2008). This new set of reforms, which included initiatives to improve the quality of public management, are typically referred to as the *second generation* (Ramírez, 2009).

A review of the implementation of the first generation of reforms in developing countries, and specifically in Latin America, points to two unique characteristics that distinguish them from the enactment of NPM reforms in developing nations. These are (1) a neo-classical approach to economic growth, which implies the development of a “smaller state” rather than a “better state,” and (2) selectivity in choosing what aspects of NPM to adopt, which produced a set of isolated and discontinuous initiatives that in some cases ran contrary to the formal NPM agenda (Polidano, 1999; Sheperd, 2001; Ramírez 2009).

The second generation of reforms, which came later, appear to take a broader approach as, along with economic growth, it aims to facilitate the development of well-managed government institutions and a political agenda that includes elements such as the rule of law, control of corruption, accountability, reduction of violence (McCourt, 2008), and investment in basic social services (Hughes, 2003).

The incorporation of these elements make these reform much more similar to the NPM reforms in developed countries.

Nevertheless, a review of the recent literature highlights various points of controversy concerning transferability issues associated with the exportation of NPM doctrine from the context of developing countries to the political, institutional, and social climate of developing countries (Bresser-Pereira, 2001; Manning, 2001; Samaratunge and Wijewardena, 2009).

Various authors have raised concerns that governments in many developing countries lack the capacity, expertise, and system infrastructure required to develop the control mechanisms and market structures that form the basis for NPM reforms (Hughes, 2003; Nunberg, 1995; Manning, 2001). In addition, some have suggested that potential cultural and sociopolitical issues that are more common in developing countries (e.g., corruption and nepotism, a breach between formal and informal guidelines, low collective citizen demand for change), can also pose barriers to the successful implementation of NPM reforms (Hughes, 2003; Manning, 2001; Nickson, 2002; Polidano, 2001; Polidano and Hulme, 1999; Samaratunge and Nilupama, 2009; Schick, 1998).

Administrative reforms in Peru

Since the 1990s, and as part of the transformations taking place in developed Latin American countries, the an government has also promoted organizational and functional reform processes in the public sector (e.g., Echebarría and Cortázar, 2007; Torres, 2008). These reforms were conceived as disciplinary and professional proposals aimed at facing several serious crises that the country had

undergone, such as a critical financial and economic vulnerability, terrorism, serious corruption, and hyperinflation problems (e.g., Blume, 2010).

In line with the history of reforms in other Latin American countries, the first stage or wave of reforms in Peru focused on the economic and political changes and only later included other areas of public management. In spite of the success of economic reforms within the fiscal, taxation, and commercial fields, and of privatization initiatives, this success has not been echoed in public management (e.g., Alfaro and Saavedra, 2008; Blume, 2010; Echebarría and Cortázar, 2007; Ugarte, 2010).

The initiative for launching a profound, integral, and high-impact reform in public management between 1995 and 1997 was never carried out. However, over the last two decades, some labor reforms have been implemented, such as the creation of a private pension system for workers as well as the development of simple public policies aimed at improving the livelihoods of average citizens, at promoting transparency, and at making information available to anyone interested. An example is the use of the Internet to carry out different types of paperwork, and to access a number of public services (Blume, 2010; Echebarría and Cortázar, 2007). Nevertheless, most of the implemented reforms are instrumental and have not fostered integral and deep change in all components of public management (e.g., Ugarte 2010). In other words, their effect is marginal in terms of their impact on different transverse components of public management. Even in those components most affected, the changes are mainly cosmetic. Most Latin American countries are familiar with this situation. (e.g., Echebarría and Cortázar, 2007).

In effect, public management in Peru requires continuous organizational-managerial change and reform in fields such as results-based management, strategic planning, public and periodic accountability as well as transparency to guaranteeing channels that facilitate the control of actions by the state (e.g., del Castillo and Vargas, 2008). This is needed to counterbalance the effects of other reforms, to respond to citizens' demands for public services that work efficiently and effectively and that have the ability to serve them accordingly.

Current structure and size of public sector in Peru:

As of now, a total of 987,214 persons work in the public sector, representing 6.5 percent of the total Peruvian workforce (Encuesta Nacional de Hogares (ENAHO), 2010). Employees in the public sector can be classified into three types: (1) government officials (mayors and councilors); (2) trust personnel (municipal managers, public attorneys, general secretaries, managers, and sub-managers); and (3) public officials (ENAHO, 2010). This study focuses in the last group, public officials, which is hierarchically classified as follows: (1) chief director, who is in charge of the managerial duties related to the direction of programs, employee supervision, policy design, and collaboration when designing state policies; (2) executives, who are in charge of carrying out administrative duties that require objectivity, impartiality, and independence; (3) specialists (professional and technical), who are in charge of carrying out characteristic duties of public services and may belong to the professional or technical group; and (4) support staff, who perform auxiliary duties (ENAHO, 2010).

The main characteristic of employment in Peru's public sector is its high heterogeneity regarding systems and types of employment or labor regulations

(where three types of contracts coexist, each with its own principles, criteria, and contracting identities); remuneration and incentives regulations, including more than 200 pay scales and a broad variety of payment methods; and productivity and performance criteria with a variation of analysis standards and units (e.g., Del Castillo and Vargas; 2009; García and Valencia-Dongo, 2010; Vidalón, 2003).

In this regard, some authors argue that the high heterogeneity of the Peruvian public sector may have significant consequences, negative or positive, on productivity levels and the behavior of public officials. Therefore, they recommend examining and analyzing aspects related to organizational and individual values, people management practices and individual and organizational productivity within a specific context of the country's public sector (e.g., Prialé, 2007; Solano-Silva, 2011).

The research on changes in the public sector values

Academic interest in the construct of values is not new and can be traced to the mid 1960s (Hechter, 1992). This field of study is still contested, and despite advances in the study of values from different disciplines (e.g., sociology, psychology, etc.) there is still little agreement on what values really are and how to distinguish values from similar concepts such as traits, norms, and attitudes (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004).

While the debate about the essence of values continues, there seems to be some convergence regarding at least one element that is very relevant to our discussion, namely the function of values as an “internal moral compass,” or as a guiding principal for the selection or evaluation of behaviors (Hitlin and Pilavin 2004; Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987). As NPM is a doctrine closely

associated with the private sector philosophy, it is said to promote public sector values that are different than the TPM ones and that therefore represent an ethical risk to the democratic values of public service (e.g., deLeon and Denhardt, 2000; Greenaway 1995; Frederickson, 1999).

Keeping in mind this brief introduction to the construct of values as it relates to our context, we will now discuss the study of values in the public sector. We will first explain the differences between public and NPM or business-like values, and we will later expand on the debate concerning the potential ethical risk associated with the NPM doctrine. We will then review values measurement in the public sector, and finally we will present findings about values in the public sector in different national settings.

Distinguishing between public and private sector values

Over the years, various scholars have contributed to our ongoing understanding of the core values of the private or public sector (e.g., Beck Jorgense, and Bozeman 2007; Bowman, 1990; Kaptein and Wempe 2002; Van der Heuvel et al., 2002). In general, traditional public sector, or TPM, values are said to focus more on processes and on principles important for democratic citizenship (equality, social justice, accountability, etc.) while private sector, or NPM, values are seen as more results-oriented, driven by financial gain and focused on individual and team performance.

A review of previous works points to various intents to clarify which values belong to each sector. Synthesizing conclusions from previous research and literature, van der Wal and colleagues (2006) allocated public- and private sector values along a continuum. At one end of the continuum are values considered

clearly public, at the other end are values considered private, and in middle of the continuum values that are assumed to belong at some degree to both sectors (table 1).

Public		Private
Social justice	Honesty	Effectiveness
Sustainability	Accountability	Self-fulfillment
Impartiality	Expertise	Innovativeness
Transparency	Reliability	Collegiality
Obedience		Self-fulfillment
Efficiency		Profitability
Lawfulness		
Dedication		
Serviceability		
Responsiveness		

Source: van der Wal *et al.* (2006)

Table 1: Public and Private sector values along a continuum

Graven and Paris (1995) proposed another approach for distinguishing between the two sets of values, this time using a dichotomy distinguishing between MPN and TPM values (Table 2).

TPM values	NPM values
Bureaucratic	Innovative
Procedure oriented	Client oriented
Cost conscious	Results oriented
Control oriented	Action oriented
Conservative	Risk taking
Passive/reactive	Open/communicative
Authoritarian	People oriented
Risk adverse	Teamwork oriented
Activities oriented	Taxpayer focused
	Participative

Source: Graven and Paris (1995)

Table 2: A dichotomous classification of TPM and NPM values

Such frameworks that distinguish between traditional public- and private sector values are helpful when trying to identify possible trends in the values of

public sector employees. Overall, relevant studies from the past two decades, using employees' input and reviews of values statements, suggest that while the dominant values of public sector organizations, at least in Western developed countries, are mainly traditional public sector values, there is also some adoption of private sector values (Beck Jorgensen, 2006; Gavern and Paris, 1995; Kernaghan, 2000). Additionally, research tells us that values in public and private sectors will be more similar in countries with a limited tradition of independent private sector than in ones that have longer experience with democratic institutions and an open economy (Jelovac et al, 2011;van der Wal, et al., 2008).

NPM values an ethical risk to democratic public sector ethics?

The proliferation of NPM doctrine to many public sector organizations has prompted a debate about the significance of adopting such a business-oriented approach by public institutions (Maesschalck ,2004). Various scholars believe that the business values advocated by NPM run counter to TPM values and pose an ethical threat to the public service in a democratic society (Bellone and Goer, 1992; DeLeon and Denhardt, 2000). In this view, the NPM philosophy promotes the pursuit of private interest rather than of the public interest and therefore undermines the traditional role of government as a caretaker of its citizens, challenges the long-term survival and the well-being of the public, and jeopardizes ethics, integrity and democratic values (Appleby, 1945; DeLeon and Denhardt, 2000; Frederickson 2005; Bozeman 2007; Kernaghan, 2000; Kolthoff , Huberts, Van den Heuvel, 2007).

At the heart of the debate is the perceived risks to democratic society from the abandonment, by the public administration, of TPM management values such as

impartiality, fairness, neutrality, accountability, responsiveness, responsibility, sustainability, and lawfulness (Frederickson, 1999, 2005; Kaptein and Wempe 2002; Kernaghan et al., 2000; Kernaghan 2000; Kolthoff et al., 2007), and the adoption of business-oriented values such as innovation, effectiveness, profit, competence, quality, and entrepreneurship (Lane 1994, 1995; Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; Kernaghan et al., 2000; Tait, 1997). Such concerns are amplified in the context of developing nations, where there is an even greater tension between the critical need to provide basic services to a large portion of the population and the economic discipline that is advocated by NPM doctrine (Haque, 2001, 2007).

The main concern is the possible negative implications of the NPM reforms in countries where large proportions of the citizens are poor and have limited access to power. Scholars claim that the adoption of economical principles to justify government decisions poses a risk to this large population due to its dependency on government support and subsidies (Haque, 2008; Hughes, 2003). Indeed, some of these assertions are supported by socio-economic data that show that levels of social spending, unemployment, and poverty rates in Latin America are contingent on government reforms and the adoption of economic discipline (Ball, et al., 2011; Clements et al. 2007; Leech, 2006; McLeod and Lustig, 2010; Ortiz and Cummins, 2011; United Nations, 2005, World Bank, 2001).

In response to the ethical concerns associated with NPM values, some scholars and reform advocates have tried to reconcile the TMP and NPM approaches by proposing models that strive to balance these approaches, or to moderate the impact of the latter and to promote a more effective way to manage the public sector, while at the same time cherishing key public service principles (e.g., Hood and Peters 2004; Bozeman, 2007; Denhardt and Denhardt, 2000; Noordegraaf and

Abma, 2003;).

In addition, governments in different countries have taken action to protect TPM values by formally articulating values critical to the public interest in their codes of conduct and formal statements (Kernaghan, 2000). Specifically discussing the situation in developing countries, scholars and public management experts advocate for models expected to facilitate economic development while recognizing the local reality and needs of the citizens and public administration (Bresser-Pereira, 2001; Hughes, 2003; Lopez-Calix and Melo, 2004; McCourt, 2002).

Methodology

In order to capture the current range of values in the Peruvian public sector we have combined various data sources and analysis methodologies.

Sample: In total, 338 public sector employees in upper-intermediate positions in the Peruvian public sector answered the survey. In this regard, we must clarify that the study sample does not intend to be statistically representative of the entire Peruvian public sector. That is why we must bear in mind that the employees comprising the sample are the most educated and hold the positions of highest responsibility. In that sense, the study captures a population especially responsible for designing, implementing, and monitoring public policies in Peru. In the study, 197 males (58.3 %) and 141 (41.7 %) females participated. Of the total, 206 (50.9 %) respondents were senior public service officials and 128 (37.8 %) were at the intermediate level. The largest group in terms of years of service (107, or 31.6 %) was employees with 5 to 10 years in the public sector, while the most

experienced group of employees, the ones with over 20 years in administration, included 84 respondents and represented 24.8%. Regarding hierarchical levels within the institutions, 60.7% hold managerial positions, 37.6 %, chief positions at an intermediate level, and 1.8%, supervisory positions. In relation to the type of public organizations in which these employees work, 26% of the respondents work in supervisory-regulatory organizations, followed by two main groups, each representing 24% of the study participants. The first is comprised of people who work for national public organization, and the second of public sector employees working in a regional-municipal public organization. The remaining survey respondents come from three different offices: 12% work for the judiciary system; 10% for the central interior security organization; and the last 5% in specialized technical public organizations.

Instrument: The survey included three sections: Section 1, demographic and organizational data, such as gender, age, marital status, education, level of position in the organization, and type of organization; Section 2: included the tri-axial values model questionnaire (Dolan, 2011) in which participants received a brief introduction to the workplace values to the three axes of the model. The values questions referred to a list of 62 values that were selected by three experts, using a Delphi method, out of a total 280 values from literature. The 62 values were presented to the participants, who were asked to select the axis that best relates to each of the values. In section 3, we asked respondents to identify the five “most important” values of their public organization.

Procedures

In January 2010, we contacted human resources representatives of public

organizations to explain the study's objectives and the fact that the survey was part of a large international data collection project titled Values Across Cultures led by the Future of Work chair at ESADE University in Barcelona, Spain. Those who accepted the invitation to participate distributed the anonymous questionnaires to potential participants. Each questionnaire included a brief letter presenting relevant information about the survey's objectives, assuring confidentiality, and guaranteeing anonymity as well as the academic nature of the study. The questionnaires were picked up by the responsible person of each area and handed to the researchers.

Data Analyses

We used the data from the survey to produce two distinct types of analysis. First, we compared the dominance of NPM and TPM values in the public sector in Peru by analyzing, based on a classification from the literature, the share of each group of values in participants' input regarding the most important values in their organization. We then did an analysis of the cultural profile of the sector using the Dolan, Garcia, and Richley (2006) tri-axial model. This second analysis was based on two stages. The first identified the dominant values with reference to the three axes (Economic-Pragmatic; Ethical-Social; and Emotional-Developmental). This was achieved using qualitative and quantitative criteria independently. The qualitative criteria consisted of selecting only the values which at least 50% of all respondents identified as corresponding to a defined axis, and that the difference between the frequency of respondents classifying the same values along another axis was at least 15%. The second and quantitative criterion was used to identify the dominant axis for each value. This was done by using a two-proportions z-test analysis to test whether the differences between the distribution of each value

under the different axes was significant at the 0.05 level (see Stat Treck, 2012). The null hypothesis was that the proportions were equal to each other. We then classified values that did not meet any of the criteria as *undecided* and excluded them from the subsequent stages of the analysis.

Our third analysis was based on a separate source and included data from formal values statements (“valores institucionales”) of public sector organizations in Peru. Similarly to the first analysis, we used the information extracted from the formal statements to compare the presence of NPM and TPM values in the sector, based on the classification of the values in the literature. This second data source allowed us to study the values that public organizations formulated themselves in contrast to the selection of values from a list elaborated by the research team.

Results

The first analysis was based on the survey input. Each respondent selected out of a list of 62 values the five values s/he considered the most dominant in the public sector in Peru. We ordered the values based on the overall total number of respondents ranking them as “most important.” The ten most dominant values in Peru appeared to be professionalism, commitment, teamwork, expertise, knowledge, adaptability, completion, structure, respect, and growth. In the final step we classified, based on the literature, which values are considered as TPM and which are considered private sector/NPM values.

Table 3 summarizes the results of the analysis. The values are ordered based on their relevant dominance. The left column indicates whether the value is considered in the literature to be public or private sector value.

Value (in order of their dominance)	Number of respondents ranked as most dominant	Traditional or new public service value
1. Professionalism	123 (39.3%)	Mixed
2. Commitment	118 (34.9%)	Traditional
3. Teamwork	99 (22.9%)	New
4. Expertise	78 (23%)	Mixed
5. Knowledge	68 (20.1%)	Mixed
6. Adaptability	58 (17.1%)	New
7. Completion	57 (16.8%)	New
8. Structure	56 (16.5%)	Traditional
9. Respect	50 (14.7%)	Traditional
10. Growth	49 (14.4%)	New

(Source: Gabel & Capell, 2013)

Table 3: List of 10 'most dominant values' in the public sector in Peru

Overall, the values orientation in the public sector in Peru appears to be highly influenced by NPM or private sector doctrine. In fact, we could not find any parallel to this strong private sector orientation in any of the research we examined. Four out of the top ten values (teamwork, adaptability, completion and growth) are considered business/NPM values (the values completion was interpreted as reaching objectives). Only 3 of the top 10 values (commitment, structure and respect) are traditional public sector values, while the remaining 3 values (professionalism, expertise, knowledge) are considered to be part of both sectors. Strengthening this conclusion is the fact that some of the values strongly associated with the ethos of traditional public administration such as integrity, discipline, honesty, care, trust, credibility, self-control, and support were ranked relatively low, while some values associated with the ethos of the private sector such as creativity, achievement, challenge, freedom, and wealth were ranked relatively high.

Value (in order of their dominance)	Number of respondents ranked as most dominate	Traditional or new public service value
11. Creativity	46 (13.6%)	New
11. Efficiency	46 (13.6%)	Traditional
14. Integrity	41 (12.1%)	Traditional
16. Discipline	36 (10.3%)	Traditional
17. Achievement	35 (10.3%)	New
17. Challenge	35 (10.3%)	New
17. Honesty	35 (10.3%)	Traditional
21. Contribution	26 (7.69%)	Traditional
23. Freedom	22 (6.6%)	New
23. Care	22 (6.6%)	Traditional
23. Trust	22 (6.6%)	Traditional
25. Wealth	24 (5.0%)	New
28. Credibility	14 (4.1%)	Traditional
30. Passion	13 (3.8%)	New
31. Adventure	12 (3.5%)	New
34. Support	9 (2.6%)	Traditional
36. Self-control	7 (2.0%)	Traditional
36. Playfulness	7 (2.0%)	New
38. Compassion	4 (1.1%)	Traditional

(Source: Gabel & Capell, 2013)

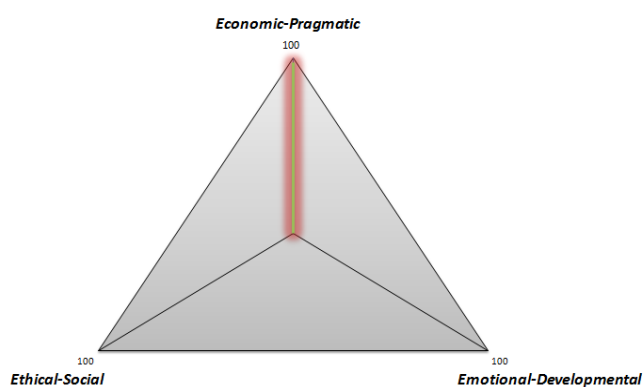
Table 4: Sample of public and private sector values

The second type of analysis was based on the tri-axial model (Dolan et al., 2006; Dolan, 2011). The tri-axial model distinguishes between organizational cultures based on the composition of three values axes: Economic-Pragmatic (EP), Emotional-Developmental (ED), and Ethical-Social (ES).² In order to perform the tri-axial analysis, we asked the respondents to identify the five most important values of their organization, and to select the relevant axes (EP, ED, or ES) for each of the values. In accordance with the tri-axial methodology, we performed a two steps analysis. First, we identified the five most dominant values in the sector and then, as a second step, we executed a two-proportion z-test analysis to compare the number of times each value was coded as either EP, ED, or ES. This methodology allowed us to identify the dominant axis for each of the top values at

² For more information please refer to the paper by Capell, Canhilal, Alas et al. (2013)

a 0.05 significance level. Values whose axis could not be distinguished at this significance level were coded as “undecided” and we replaced them with values that preceded them in order.

Overall, the survey replies suggest that the five most dominant values in the Peruvian public sector are professionalism, commitment, teamwork, expertise, and knowledge. Based on the proportion analysis we found that the axis of three out of these five values (professionalism, teamwork and expertise) is the EP axis, while the axes of the other two values (commitment and adaptability) cannot be differentiated at the 0.05 significance. We replaced these values with the two values that followed them in order of dominance (adaptability and completion). Our final analysis found the axis of these two values is also Economic-Pragmatic.



(Source: Gabel & Capell, 2013)

Figure 1: Tri-axial profile of the public sector of Peru

The profile of the public sector in Peru is therefore 100% Economic-Pragmatic with no values that fall under the Social-Ethical or Emotional-Developmental axes. These results strengthen our insights from the first analysis that indicates that the culture of the Peruvian public sector is strongly influenced by NPM or private sector values and is mostly oriented toward economic considerations.

The analysis of the survey replies added some significant insights into what values public sector employees consider the most important. As the replies of the survey were based on a list of values provided by the researcher, we decided to enrich the findings by analyzing values statements of public organizations. This allowed us to use a data source that is independent to any researcher intervention. Using a web search, we were able to collect 20 distinct values statements of public sector organizations in Peru. This list represents a diverse set of organizations, including the Office of the Prime Minister, the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the fire department, tax authorities, regional governments, health service providers, educational institutes, and more. This analysis consisted of mapping out and clustering the different values listed in the statements, identifying the values that were more prominent in these formal values statements and, finally, classifying these values as either NPM or TMP, using the same parameters we used in our first analysis of the survey results.

The final values list that was the outcome of the initial mapping and clustering phase included a total of 43 different values. The analysis of the values from the formal statements yields a very different values landscape from the results of the survey. As most values were mentioned only once or twice, we considered the dominant values to be the ones that were mentioned at least five times. There are 12 values in this category, including ethical conduct, public service mentality, national identity and loyalty, responsibility, transparency, solidarity with other institutional organs, solidarity with the society, commitment, legality, social awareness, justice and tolerance and respect. In a striking contrast to the findings

from the survey, which suggested a mix of private and public sector values, the formal statements clearly point to a very traditional public management ethos. New public sector values such as excellence, competitiveness, and effectiveness were hardly mentioned, and some values that appeared very prominently in survey replies such as achievement, challenge, or wealth were not mentioned at all. This is why the second analysis resulted in a very different portrait of the “important” values in the Peruvian public sector. Seen in this light, the culture of the public sector in Peru is highly traditional and strongly oriented toward the national and public interest.

Discussion

Administrative values are present at two levels, the theoretical or philosophical one, which is supposed to represent the ethos of democracy, and the operational one, which represents practical values (Haque, 2004). Even though values at the operational level are expected to be in congruence with the philosophical framework, in reality this is not always the case, and public administration employees may in fact follow operational principles that do not represent the ethos of democracy (Haque, 2004). Similarly, our study found that values in the public administration in Peru seem to vary significantly depending on the source of the data being analyzed. When reviewing formal guiding documents that state the desired values, we find that these values indeed correspond strongly to the classical public sector ethos, while differing significantly from the values in practice. In similar findings from Denmark (Beck Jorgensen, 2006), new values appear to overlay fragments of old values, and while old values are still present in the formal values statement, they seem to have lost their guiding function.

One important difference between our findings and the framework presented by Haque (2004) is related to the role of codes of conducts. Whereas Haque (2004) has suggested that documents such as constitutions, laws, and official codes of conduct guide operational values, we found that, at least in Peru, the codes of conduct mirror the philosophical administrative values and not the operational values that employees practice at work. The values from the mission statements appear to represent what Schein (1992) classifies as “espoused values,” which he distinguishes from the “shared basic assumptions” that are the more deeply embedded behaviors that represent the real organizational culture.

This is why we can identify two layers of values in Peru. At the formal level, public sector employees are expected to adhere to the traditional ethics of public administration and comply with values that are intended to guarantee loyalty to the country, ethical conduct, equitable attention to all citizens, solidarity with the community, transparency, justice, and respect, yet in practice employees follow values which are closer to the ethos of the private sector, such as professionalism, teamwork, adaptability, completion, and growth, and operate predominantly based on economic-pragmatic considerations. The vision of NPM and the current reform context of the Peruvian public sector seem to be reflected in the values of its public. Therefore, when evaluating and assessing their success in terms of productivity and performance, the most significant values of Peruvian public servants correspond to the Economic-Programmatic axis.

This result is consistent with those of authors who argue that in the Peruvian case the development and implementation of instruments and activities in administrative management respond to a preoccupation with efficiency, accountability, performance, and effectiveness indicators at the level of public

officials and at the organizational levels (e.g., del Castillo and Vargas, 2009; Villoria, 2001).

Where does this leave us then?

Since the introduction of NPM and the principles of managerialism and market mechanisms in the public sector, scholars warned about the ethical risks to democracy associated with the adoption of private sector values by the public sector (Bozeman, 2007; deLeon and Denhardt, 2000; Frederickson, 1999, 2005). Such risks are considered even greater in developing countries as their unique context leaves their citizens more vulnerable to the negative consequences of such changes in values (Haque 2008; Hughes, 2008). Based on our survey results, such a change in values has already happened in Peru, which suggests that a potential ethical risk must be monitored. An additional threat is the split between the espoused and assumed values. Such a split might imply a troubling disconnect between different hierarchical levels in the administration and the absence of clear guidance for public service employees as to how to make decisions that affect the citizens.

At the immediate practical level, such conclusions demand the attention of senior officials in public administration. Our findings indicate that this important governmental arm may be operating in a way that runs sharply counter to the intentions and interests of its leaders and the population it serves. While our research is exploratory, its conclusions should prompt public sector officials to take various steps to address the issue. The first step is to identify the values that 'should' and the ones that 'do' guide the day-to-day work of public sector employees. Identifying the 'do' values can be done by doing thorough research

across the different public sector offices, including interviews with employees, citizens, and service providers. Clarifying the 'should' values is a more strategic process as it includes discussions concerning the path forward for the organization.

Findings that indicate a wide discrepancy between 'should' and 'do' values suggest that the organization is following erroneous operating principles. As a consequence, a second step might be to find ways to create greater alignment between these discrepant values at different levels by promoting a values shift through discussions with employees, communication campaigns, training and incentives schemes, and by establishing mechanisms to better guide and monitor the actions of the different agencies.

The results of this study may also have implications for the public sector at a more comprehensive level. While this study is limited to Peru, it highlights the risk of discrepancy between values at different levels in the administration and the adoption of private sector values by public sector employees. This demands greater oversight by senior officials to ensure that the employees in their organizations follow the ethical principles that are expected of public servants in democratic societies.

Our findings also open a path for future research. Values studies in the public sector tend either to collect input from employees, or to review documents such as values statements—rarely combining the two approaches.³ Our research findings point to the importance of combining methods and data sources to identify changes in values and dynamics in the organizations. Such a combination of methods can help detect misalignments and elucidate potential risks to the public

³ One exception is Beck Jørgensen, T. (2006)

interest. As pointed out by Lawton (1998) and Kolthoff et al. (2006), the discussion of the ethical risks associated with the adoption of NPM doctrine has been mostly theoretical and lacks substantial empirical findings. That is why this evidence about the significant adoption of private sector values by Peruvian public sector employees suggests that Peru is a promising research ground for verifying or refuting the connection between ethical risks and NPM. In addition, future research can help answer additional questions about the risk associated with NPM reforms in developing countries by expanding the research to cover elements relating to citizens' access to social services and to budget decisions.

While our study has made some important progress in our understanding of the values landscape in the Peruvian public sector, it has some limitations that we would like to address. First, because it lacks longitudinal data, it is impossible for us to answer questions about whether values shift in both direction; when (if at all) values changed to be more private sector oriented; and, any reverse trends that we failed to capture. Being able to address such issues is important, especially considering the latest elections in Latin America (and in Peru specifically), which indicate that citizens are open to more left wing governments as a reaction against neo-liberalism and state downsizing (Stokes, 2009). Our research could also benefit from the collection of qualitative data to clarify what each value means to public sector employees (e.g., Beck Jorgensen, 2006). We have tried to address this concern in part by using the tri-axial method, asking our respondents not only to select the most important values, but also to identify whether they consider these values to be more economically, ethically, or emotionally oriented. Although this input captured the cultural profile of the public administration in Peru, qualitative data are crucial to our understanding this phenomenon.

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6. General Conclusions and Avenues for Future Research

Based on the 4 papers presented, one can conclude that diversity and its management is a rich and multi-faceted concept and can be explored as an important research topic. Albeit significant growth in both research and practice, the concept requires further studies and approaches from different angles, in order to be better understood and practiced in our evolving global village.

Although diversity was recognized in the modern academic literature as early as the middle of the last century, the frontiers and the importance of this concept appear to continue to grow. Studies, including the ones presented in this thesis, can help provide insight into the complex and multidimensional nature of our society. Starting from the more obvious and visible diversity dimensions such as race or gender, research is continuously expanding to address an ever-growing spectrum of attributes, be they medical conditions, status, religion, sexual orientation, life stages, and so on.

It appears that collectives at any size, whether there are working groups, organizations, sectors and of course countries, pose almost unlimited source of richness in terms of their differences. Exploring multiples collectives through different diversity lenses, permits to "lower the water line", and to reveal how units of society, which appear homogenous from the surface level, are in fact much more special and fascinating than perceived initially. Similarly to when observing an apparently static organic material with a naked eye and then again with the power of a microscope, this diversity research proves that under our societal surface exists a wide span of values, opinions, demographics and life experience that impacts the way we, feel, think and act.

Naturally, recognizing how diverse we are can feel overwhelming. In fact, it might prompt us to quickly shift our eyes away from the diversity research lenses

to revert looking at our society with only a naked eye, pretending we are all quite similar. Nevertheless, as researchers, practitioners, family members, colleagues and simply fellow citizens stick to the comfort zone, they fail to truly know and appreciate each other and therefore limiting the potential contribution of the uniqueness to the greater good. Taking the more complicated route, being curious and willing to explore our differences, is undoubtedly more challenging; it means reflecting, debating, questioning, implying conscious effort to respect the other, negotiating and accommodating. Not a path for the faint of heart. At the same time, it allows us to establish authentic relationships, benefit from the exquisite experience that value differences brings, and have more engaged employees who contribute not only their time and skills, but also their spirit, perspectives and experiences.

Going beyond general conclusions, a synthesis of the four independent papers provides some interesting insights into the various aspects of diversity. The first study, addressing values in new and old EU states, suggests that employees in countries with a long tradition of democracy and civic society are concerned more with ethical and social issues, compared to the situation in countries with a recent totalitarian past, where employees are quite inclusively concerned with pragmatism. Albeit an exploratory study, these results coincide with evidence addressing the higher degrees of inclusion towards sexual and gender minority employees in old/Western EU countries, in comparison to new EU/ East Central EU countries (FRA, 2013). Specifically, it is interesting to note that the value of trust, a central part of the discussion concerning disclosure of stigma at work, was present only in replies from employees from old EU member states.

In a similar vein, there are also some interesting insights when co-analyzing studies 1 and 4. Public sector employees in Peru, a developing country with

relatively recent exposure to democracy, show somewhat similar patterns in their value orientation to the ones of employees in new EU states. The survey replies suggest that, the same as in new EU states, the values most important to the Peruvian public sector employees pertain to the Pragmatic-Economic axis. In addition, values such as trust and integrity, which were found to be important to employees in old EU member states, were not highlighted by the Peruvian respondents. Taken all together, these findings reinforce the assumptions that ethical considerations are in some way tied to democratic tradition and the history of active citizenship.

Finally, there is another interesting insight when comparing the results from studies 1 and 4. Study 1 found differences in the way senior and lower employees perceive the values of their organization. Study 4 now adds another dimension, pointing out that values appear to differ not only between hierarchical levels in the same organization, but also between formally stated values and the values in practice. In a way, this finding also ties well to the discussion in paper 2 and 3 concerning the difference between stated HRM policies and practices, and the actual level of inclusion in an organization.

Clearly, there are various practical implications driven from this thesis. First, practitioners, whether they are managers, colleagues or consultants, should make a conscious effort to truly learn about the people they work with. Showing interest in the other and fostering open and positive relationships can help not only discover new ideas and fresh point of views, but also deal with doubts and overcome resistances, that unless openly addressed might limit participation and progress. Leaders and managers should also remember that their role is to create a working environment that is safe for all their employees, including the ones with invisible stigmas, unknown to them and colleagues. As such, by prompting a

culture of respect and trust managers can improve not only their employee's contribution, but also their well-being. Lastly, the research presented in this thesis, reinforces a clear message for which an effective management should go beyond reliance on existing policies and value statements. The latter are required to engage in proactive work in embedding the values the organization cherishes, role modeling, dialoguing with employees at different organizational levels, advocating, and when needed, taking actions against hostile workplace behaviors.

The arguments developed in this thesis provide an initial outline for future research. The thesis discusses various types of diversity, yet mostly tends to address each one separately. As people differ from one another in many ways, one avenue for future studies should be the exploration of the different intersection of multiple diversity attributes. For instance disability and race, or religion and sexual orientation. Various existing studies point to the possible contribution of such work. For example, a study by Proudford and Smith (2003) shows how conflicts at work can "move" and transform between heterogenous groups. A model by Kulik, Roberson and Peery (2007) suggests that situational and individual-difference variables influence which diversity category of a job candidate, for instance race or disability, will dominate the perception of the interviewer. Another relevant study showed that gay black men are less likely than their white counterparts to disclose their sexual orientation at work, probably due to their already perceived vulnerability for being a racial minority (Ragins, Cornwell & Miller, 2003). Relying on the outcome of these studies, following this line of research is likely to provide meaningful insights into the study of people in an organization.

Another possible future avenue for research is on how to create the right context so that diversity will benefit an organization and its people. Three papers

in this thesis address the way context (HR policies and practices, trust or public management philosophy) impact an employee's workplace attitudes and behaviors. These findings are in line with a growing body of knowledge suggesting that context and interactions have a significant impact on the outcome of diversity for an organization and its people (Avery & McKay, 2010; Chung, Liao, Jackson et al., 2015; Guillaume, Dawson, Woods et al., 2013; Mannix & Neale, 2005). What still appears unclear is what organizations and managers can do to foster these positive conditions. Generating trust, as previously discussed, appears to be one potential key factor.

Thus, as the workplace environment and client base becomes more diverse, organizations, managers, and governments are in need of new ways to adapt effectively to these changes. Undoubtedly, research on how to be successful in this new reality would be of immense theoretical and practical value.

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