L’Europa in stand by

Mario Molteni

Gli stadi di sviluppo della CSR nella strategia aziendale

Salvatore Loddo

Central Banking: Back to the Future

Teresina Torre

Diversity Management and Disability: Indications from a Research on Ligurian Enterprises

Bruno Buzzo

Strategia del mix degli strumenti di comunicazione: una “guide-line” per l’analisi delle variabili di scelta tra gli strumenti

Peter Seele

Curating Corporate Social Responsibility. The MoMA brought to Berlin by Deutsche Bank seen as marketing strategy

Mauro Bini

Il capitale relazionale urbano. Primi spunti di riflessione sul caso genovese

Francesca Querci

L’integrazione delle reti commerciali di banca e assicurazione: il caso Carige SpA

Giovanni Lombardo

La finanza innovativa per le PMI. Un’indagine territoriale

L’organizzazione raccontata: relazioni, poteri e sentimenti nelle imprese
Diversity Management and disability: Indications from a Research on Ligurian Enterprises

Teresina Torre


Abstract

The paper aims to examine disability into the more general question about diversity management and to verify if work inclusion of disabled persons may be considered a practice of diversity management, pursued as a strategic goal, or not. In order to target this goal, the paper first introduces diversity management and disability, then it presents the research activities and its most important conclusions. Disability is considered one of the sources of diversity, but its specificities (first of all, its internal variety) are so relevant – in front of the other more analyzed sources - that it needs specific supports to transform a constriction (indicated by the law n. 68/1999 whose object is the right to work for disabled persons) into a real opportunity to develop inclusive strategies.

The research we present in this paper analyzes the practises of diversity management in a sample of Ligurian enterprises and puts in evidence what concrete operational procedures are used to favourite a good inclusion: in this perspective, we observe that the new law (and the specific services introduced by it) plays an important role to transform a requirement into an opportunity.

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1L’articolo è stato sottoposto a referaggio da parte del Comitato Scientifico della rivista Impresa Progetto.
1. A short introduction

An important role in current competition among enterprises is played by human resource management (Becker and Gerhart, 1996; Hiltrop, 1996): in some way, workers make difference and their care represents one of the most relevant dimensions in the construction of a competitive advantage. Already Barnard (1938) depicted organization as a cooperative system more effective than the single actor in achieving goals, and underlined that the relationship between contributions and incentives has to be in balance according to the different needs, the different expectations and so on. So, a strategic task in organization is managing people. If we define human resource management as the way an organization manages its staff and helps them to develop, we easily understand that – if workforce becomes more and more a diverse labour force – the task becomes more challenging.

Diversity Management is nowadays (and in an increasing measure) one of the most relevant challenges in human resources management field: each organization has to identify its specific strategies and methods, on the one hand, to ensure that all employees (of different race, colour, economic status, sex, physical conditions, etc.) have the opportunity to maximize their potentials and, on the other hand, to enhance workers’ self-development and to enlarge their contribution to the organizational goal (CIPS, 2005; European Commission, 2003).

The theme is debated in academia, either from the theoretic point of view and from the research one (Cox and Blake, 1991; Ellis and Sonnenfeld, 1994; Barabino et alii, 2001; CIPS, 2006) and it continues to be at the attention, because we need more empirical evidence to support ideas and practises.

Many of the studies argue that this practice is the only way for having a successful management about a more over differenced workforce. Some critics point out that there is too little evidence about it from research. So, the question continues to present itself as an interesting field, above all for its structural and intrinsic complexity.

The research we present in this paper focused on one topic, that can be considered an interesting field to analyse the evolution in human resource management: it studies the practices of DM by Italian enterprises compelled by law to employ disabled persons. So, it considers a specific and problematic field for DM, as we succeed in explaining hereafter, where the principles of DM and its potential identity as a new way for HRM, can be verified.

More specifically, if we consider that these organizations are compelled to employ disabled persons - but no obligations are expressed about the management of their diversity (both in terms of “whether” to manage and “how” to

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2A previous version of this article - written together with Sara Campi, whose role in the research activities was determinant - has been accepted for the VI International Workshop on Human Resource Management, University of Cadiz-Jerez de la Frontera (Spain), 17th-18th May 2007.
manage - and probably these aspects are impossible to be defined by law with a real and successful benefit) - the question we try to answer through the paper is whether DM - in its specific dimension about disability, but also more in general – can be considered the new perspective for human resource management, as often it seems.

In order to target this goal, the paper first identifies the scope of the DM, putting in evidence its evolution and its areas of interest, then it clarifies the meaning of disability with reference concept and its specific reference to disabled persons, underlying the important differences which can be observed as regard the other fields of its application. Afterwards, the research is described in order to put in evidence its principal results in terms of enterprise culture about diversity and of concrete operational procedures for the integration of disabled persons.

Finally, on the basis of this empirical evidence, some conclusions are proposed in order to understand if DM can represent a concrete way to manage labour force (it’s the future for HRM) or if real practices are still far form an effective attention to specificities of each worker.

2. Diversity management and disabled people

This paragraph aims at introducing the most interesting aspects, that have to be considered to qualify, on the one hand, Diversity Management, and, on the other hand, disability. Then, some considerations are proposed in order to put in evidence the specific problems and implications of disability in the application of Diversity Management strategies.

2.1 A general mainframe about Diversity Management

Interest of scholars about DM practices and strategies dates back to the ’80s, when the emerging changes in the labour market indicated – especially in the USA – that the workforce of the future will consist largely of “diverse people”, e.g.: racial minorities, women, immigrants, etc. (Ellis and Sonnenfeld, 1994; Kerstern, 2000). At the same time, the international literature on human resource management began to propose theoretical considerations and operative indications on how organizations can manage with success this increasing heterogeneity of workers (Beer et alii, 1985)3. Williams and O’Reilly (1998:120)

3Some scientists prefer to use the expression “Variety Management” vs. Diversity Management (i.e. Costa and Giannecchini, 2005). If it’s true that the lexical question never represents a real problem, in this case the question can be soft. The reason for this proposal is connected to the idea that the expression DM itself gets up from the discrimination approach that it proposes fighting: diversity involves the existence of normality, that can be manage through the definition of standards and of general
concluded “that diversity is most likely to impede how organizations function. In order to reap the benefits of workforce diversity, organizations must actively manage it”. The next question is how to manage diversity in connection with a preliminary cultural idea of diversity. Ivancevich and Gilbert (2000) underline that the organizations have some choices in facing this increasing diversity: exclusion of the diverse; denial or mitigation of differences; assimilation of each difference, suppression of differences; compartmentalisation of differences; tolerance; building relationships; mutual adaptation.

In our opinion, all the mentioned alternatives – except the first - can be identified as different DM strategies, because they need of a voluntary decision by the organizations in front of each example of diversity. In addition, all of them are so different from the traditional affirmative actions (AAs) which are, on the contrary, legally driven⁴. It’s also to underscore that the law pressure can be seen and managed as an opportunity to begin in diffusing positive behaviours towards DM and in organizing new human resources policies (so as, in our research, it seems to come out) but more engagement and internal belief are necessary.

Over the years, scientists have proposed several organizational-level model of DM⁵: Cox (1991, 2001) identifies three kinds of organizations, according to their relation with diversity: monolithic one, that essentially doesn’t manage diversity and asks for transformation to its minority members; pluralistic one, that succeeds in engaging in DM practices; multicultural one - that the author consider the model for the future – where diversity simply doesn’t exist because it has been absorbed and interiorized. Moreover, Cox and Blake (1991) specified the activities of DM, in terms of HR systems and policies for equal opportunities for all.

Thomas and Ely (1996) focused on processes by which DM affects the relationship between workforce diversity and organizational outcomes variables and argued for three types of diversity perspectives with specific approaches: the discrimination-and-fairness paradigm; the access-and-legitimacy paradigm and, indications; managing diversity aims, on the contrary, to avoid standards towards management tools able to understand and to evaluate the specificities of each worker. So, variety underlines the existence of many different situations, each of them to be considered in its specific dimensions: not a rule and an exception, but all exceptions.

⁴The opinion of Subeliani and Tsogas (2005) is quite different. In fact, they identify as DM only the most advanced experiences in the field, characterized by not only a voluntary basis but also a strategic approach connected with the goal of maximizing the contribution of all the employees and, consequently, the reference to all workers (and not only the ones belonging to the so called “minority groups” but not even the professed “talents”).

⁵Dietz and Petersen (2006) identifies two approaches to DM: the first is defined organizational-level one and it suggests organizational change processes toward the multicultural organization; the second one favours the comprehension of psychological conditions about discrimination and social relations, proposing interventions to reduce conflicts and maximize cooperation. The strategic relevance of this last approach is evident, but in this paper we restrain the exposition to the first, whose internal coherence with the organizational approach of the presented research is major.
finally, the emerging paradigm. Table 1 summarizes the principal characteristics of their model.

Table 1: Three paradigms for DM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach</th>
<th>Assumptions</th>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Opportunities</th>
<th>Limits</th>
<th>Impacts on organizational culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Discrimination and fairness paradigm</td>
<td>Everyone is equal, differences do not matter</td>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>Promotion of fairness</td>
<td>No attention to workers’ specific needs; conflicts</td>
<td>No changes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Access and legitimacy paradigm</td>
<td>Markets are diverse, so diversity in workforce is not only fair but also convenient.</td>
<td>Differentiation</td>
<td>Diversity as a source of competitive advantage</td>
<td>No integration among workers; demotivation of diverse workers</td>
<td>No interest in evaluating how different cultures can positively affect mainstream organizational culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Emerging paradigm</td>
<td>Differences are important since organization can learn from them.</td>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>Improvement in performance through innovation Fairness (as in 1.) Value form diversity (as in 2.)</td>
<td>More investments needed in commitment and organizational identity construction</td>
<td>Organizational culture changes to include integration values</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: our work on the basis of Thomas and Ely (1996).

These paradigms represent, according to the mentioned scholars, the evolution of managers attitude towards diversity. Traditionally, managers think of DM as a matter of equal opportunity with respect to groups of workers often kept out of the organizations because of prejudices (about race or gender, for example). According to this discrimination-and-fairness paradigm, DM initiatives are successful when fairness is guaranteed in recruitment and retention of workers.

In the competitive climate of the late ‘80s, some managers change attitude towards diversity, beginning to think of it as a strategic asset useful to gain access to differentiated segments of markets. So, for example, racial diversity is welcomed by the organizations when they have (or want) to face with customers belonging to racial minorities who can be easily reached and retained by employees from the same minority group. In this context, DM strategies are winning if diverse workforce makes positive performances in relating to market niches.

In the late ‘90, according to Thomas and Ely (1996), a new paradigm emerges in a little amount of organizations thinking that workers’ value and potential, for organizational performance, lie above all in their differences, not only in terms of
gender, race, physical abilities, etc. but also as their personal culture, their aspirations, their own attitudes towards work, etc. So, the potential success of this emerging paradigm derives just from its structural capability of integration of different values and cultures in the organization, just till each form of diversity.

We can thus notice that the typology proposed by the above mentioned scientists shows how the change of attitudes towards DM can be appreciated also in terms of shift from a “narrow concept” of managing diversity to a “broad concept” (Ivancevich and Gilbert, 2000). In fact, in the past the diversity of workforce was intended only in term of race and gender while, in coherence with the emerging paradigm, now it is usually defined (by most of scholars and by an increasing number of managers) in a broader sense, including differences in soft dimensions (values, personality, attitudes, religion, educational level, job tenure, etc.) (Rijamampianina and Carmichael, 2005).

About this classification, other authors underscore that in the narrow concept are included those elements that can be measured - quite in on objective sense - while in the broader one, changing and developing dimensions have to be put into (Barabino et alii, 2001). The question has direct implication on managerial action and, consequently, on the opportunity of transforming internal climate in the direction of an inclusive one.

The evidence of the emergence of this new paradigm of DM makes many scholars focusing their researches on its implications for organizational competitiveness. Always, Cox and Blake (1991), for example, justify – on the basis of the results of a great number of previous researches - the benefits of managing diversity in terms of: costs due to absenteeism and turnover; success in attracting talents; marketing; creativity and problem solving (because of the variety of perspectives); flexibility; etc.

In short, we can conclude that nowadays researches on DM assume two different perspectives. The first (i.e. Ivancevich and Gilbert, 2000; Subelliani and Tsogas, 2005) presupposes that diversity in the workforce is a value for organizations which have thus to look for diverse workers. In coherence with this, DM can be defined as “a systematic and planned commitment by organizations to recruit, retain, reward and promote an heterogeneous mix of employees” (Ivancevich and Gilbert, 2000: p. 85). The second perspective, indeed, identifies DM as a “diversified approach to management of human resources, whose aim is to create an inclusive working environment, to favour the expression of individual potential and to use it as strategy to reach the strategic objectives (Barabino et alii, 2001, p. 14: our translation). In other words, in this perspective, diversity is a reality to face and manage through effective and suitable strategies and actions rather than a value to pursue (Flood and Romm, 1996: p. 154).

In this paper, we assume this second point of view, since we think that DM often emerges when organizations, even if not committed to gain heterogeneity of the workforce, voluntary decide not simply to accept diversity but to manage it, finding and experimenting effective strategies and managerial tools. Moreover, according to our opinion and the results of this research, this is the situation of the great majority of organizations employing disabled people.
Finally, it is important to underline that, even if the two perspectives arise from different strategic paths, both of them have implications on human resource management, because they both need a coherent adaptation of all the tools in the different phases of the managerial process. In fact, organizations, that have traditionally used homogeneity as basis criterion, find now themselves to compare with an increasing attention towards the multidimensionality of its most important asset, people. Anyway, the evident different emphasis in the two approaches has consequences on the strategic level of choices and in the daily practices.

2.2 Definition of disability and its use in Italian context

The analysis of international literature about disability shows how there is quite a wide variety of definitions of the phenomenon, connected to many diversified cultural approaches. In order to properly introduce the research presented in the paper, we find convenient to refer briefly to this variety so to make clear the perspective we have assumed in dealing the research activities during our project.

At the international level, two major conceptual models of disability have been proposed. The medical model views disability as a feature of the person, directly caused by disease, trauma or other health conditions, which requires medical care provided in the form of individual treatment by professionals. Disability, on this model, calls for medical or other treatment or intervention, to "correct" the problem with the individual. The social model of disability, on the other hand, sees disability as a socially-created problem and not at all as an attribute of the individual. On the social model, disability demands a political response since the problem is created by an unaccommodating physical environment brought about by attitudes and other features of the social environment.

In the opinion of experts in the field (WHO, 2001), neither model is on its own adequate, although both are partially valid. Disability, in fact, presents various characteristics: it’s either a problem at the level of each individual or a complex and primarily social phenomenon. In other words, disability is always an interaction between features of the person and features of the overall context, in which the person lives; some aspects of disability are almost completely internal.

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6The needed change in human resource management is considered so important by scholars that someone – i.e. Kossek and Lobel (1996) and Cox and Blake (1991) - suggests to provide a framework to put into and connect strategic choices, human resource policy areas and the dimension of diversity, which is moreover present into and out the organizational environment. By the way, also managers and operatives are engaged in developing new practises in this field, as we can argue looking to recent conferences document by Aidp-Italian Association of Human Resource Managers (see http://aidp.it).
to the person, while other aspects are almost entirely external.

A better model of disability, in short, is the biopsychosocial one, that synthesizes what is appropriate in the medical one and in the social one, without making the mistake each of them makes in reducing the whole and complex notion of disability to one of its aspects.

At the international level, the evolution from a medical approach to a biopsychosocial one is represented by the passage, within the World Health Organization (WHO), from the International Classification of Impairments, Disabilities and Handicaps (ICIDH) to the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF) one.

The previous taxonomy (WHO, 1980), in fact, was based on the distinction among: impairments (defined as limitations in the presence or performance of organs or organ systems), disabilities (defined as limitations in the performance of activities of daily living at the person level), and handicaps (defined as limitations in the performance of social roles as members of a society). In the ICIDH scheme, moreover, these three outcomes are related each other according to a specific sequence (table 2): the impairment can be the cause of one or more types of disability, which can generate one or more handicaps. So, according to this approach, disability is the specific condition of persons whose capabilities and functions are limited in respect to “normal” persons.

Table 2: ICIDH, reference scheme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMPAIRMENT</th>
<th>DISABILITY</th>
<th>HANDICAP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It concerns an organ or a functional apparatus</td>
<td>It appears at person’s level</td>
<td>It’s a disadvantage that limits or prevents to reach a normal social condition (in connection with age, sex, social and cultural factors)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each structural, functional, physical and psychical liability</td>
<td>Each reduction in the development of an activity according to the normal-considered benchmark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: our work on the basis of Istat, www.disabilitaincifre.it.

It can be opportune to state that the European level is not particularly relevant in the field of the definition of disability: the pragmatic efforts within European Community have been mainly concentrated till now on the topic of politics and actions for the promotion of the rights of disabled people and their integration into the labour market and society as a whole, rather than on deepening the concept, using the proposed taxonomy.
During the last decades, the model has been criticized not only for the conceptual distinction among impairment, disability and handicap but also for its excessive reliance on the medical model, its failure to adequately recognize the importance of the environment in determining disablement outcomes, and its use of the term “handicap” (often used pejoratively in America) to describe limitations in the performance of social roles.

The revision process by WHO led to the ICF (WHO, 2001) whose aim is to provide no more a classification of the consequences of impairments but an instrument to evaluate the health condition of all the people, being or not impaired. In coherence with this, ICF provides, by the synthesis of medical and social approach to disability, a coherent view of different perspectives of health - biological, individual and social one - through the substitution of the terms impairment, disability and handicap with the more neutral ones: body structures and functions, activity and participation. So, according to ICF, disability is no more the consequence of an impairment, but it’s a particular social and individual condition coming from a complex interaction between person’s health conditions and personal and environmental aspects: table 3, down here, puts in evidence the relationships all together.

Without entering more in deep into the debate – which comes out of the goal of this paper - we think that the evolution from ICIDH to ICF is important also for its cultural meaning since it gives a contribution to limit the social exclusion of disabled people – identified by ICIDH as persons with limitations – and proposes a scheme of inclusion, by the identification of disabled people as persons with particular health conditions. Anyway, the new model suggests some precautions since, avoiding to emphasize the “difference” of these persons, it exposes to the risk of an under-consideration of their specific needs (related, for example, to their specific social and health conditions).

In other words, in our opinion, a correct way to approach disability with the aim of inclusion has to start from the identification of the diversity that disability produces as a premise to acknowledgement of specific needs it involves and, consequently, the definition of suitable diversity management tools. As described in the following sections, this is the approach we chose in dealing with the research activities within our project.
Table 3: ICF, reference scheme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health conditions (trouble/illness)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Functioning and body structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental factors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: our work on the basis of WHO (2001).

2.3 Disability: one of the different aims of Diversity Management

Disability has been only in the '90s widely included into the list of the sources of diversity: the first approach to diversity in USA, indeed, and the connected studies didn’t consider this dimension, that became relevant just after 1990, year of the American Disability Act. The European situation is differently characterised: from the beginning of the interest for this issue – that goes back to the last '90s - disability represents one of the most important aspect and integration of disabled persons is one of the declared objectives to pursue in Community work policies, being considered work for disable people an occasion for them to participate in social and economic life (EC, 2003).

Obviously, we can explain this difference focusing on the specific cultural and historical situation: in USA, the emerging problems came from race, ethnicity and gender forms of diversity (Kossek and Lobel, 1996) and American enterprises must manage these differences and the connected integration problems. In Europe, other emergencies got up: first of all, the participation of women to the labour market, but contemporary disability – because public opinion became more aware to this kind of problems - later race and ethnicity.8

8As before mentioned, Rijamampianina and Carmichael (2005) propose a classification about the sources of diversity composed by three clusters, whose visibility is decreasing and whose management opportunity is rising; the first includes race, ethnicity, gender, age, disability; the second collects religion, culture, sexual orientation, thinking style, economics status, political orientation, education and so on; the last puts together beliefs, assumptions, perceptions, attitudes, felling, values, characteristics that deeply influenced
In general, the approach to diversity has been developed in accordance to the idea of group. In a context where are present many people - for example, coming from different countries - we can observe the natural line up of groups, one or more minority (but homogeneous) groups in front of a majority (homogeneous, too) one, both clearly identified (from outside and inside the enterprise) in compliance with the criterion of membership (Cox and Blake, 1991), whose primary role is to permit each person to recognise each other and to wish to assert his affiliation to that group.

The basic idea of DM, indeed, consists in this: diversity gets up when we want (or have) to put together people coming from different identified groups. From the managerial point of view, the problem is how to find, see, accept the minority characteristics and how to respect and evaluate them in accordance to the goals of the organizations.

In our thought with specific attention to disabled persons, it’s interesting this Roberts’ conclusion (1996). She remarks that disability, which is without doubt a dimension of diversity, cannot be considered as the other sources of diversity, either from a structural point of view or also from an intrinsic perspective. About the first dimension, she underlines for example the evolutionary nature of disability, that makes situation changing during the time; about the second, the scholar observes that the causes are so many and so various, that it’s quite impossible to put them together, without a forced and useless simplification, whose consequences for person and also for organization are negative.

However, she observes that the mistakenly generalizing idea that individuals with disabilities constitute a group is diffused: the reasons are complex and difficult to find, but Roberts asserts that this is one of the principal causes of unsuccessful use of DM tools in disability field.

In fact, the particular nature of disability (first of all, the difficult to find a common dimension among many disabled people) poses unique challenges to human resources management, more over than a simple DM strategy, if we can consider simple to develop a so defined strategy. A disabled person cannot be considered a member of an internal homogeneous group, but each disability requires individual consideration and individual solution. Paradoxically, this is the principal reason for DM; its essence is to promote and encourage the value of individual and his talents. This can become a valid approach for disability, too. This is true especially in the direction of transforming the approach to the problem of disability in organizations: not only a law pressure, but a potential opportunity (i.e. as an example of social corporate responsibility).

In this perspective, a long way has still to be gone: Cipd last report (2006) puts in evidence that the first key driver for diversity is the legal pressure and that the most important category covered by diversity policy and practice is disability, just for the same reason. Around disability, it’s easy to meet with approval: the idea of normal persons (those who aren’t characterized by one of the many individual behaviour and his participation to organizational mission and goals. It can be interesting to remark that disability is positioned at the same level of other fixed dimensions, as it were an unchangeable fact.
manifestations of disability) is that it’s right to create something of particular for disabled people and, in many situations, this first pitiful approach has favoured the beginning of a changing process, first of all in an inclusive perspective and then in an increasingly evaluating one: for example, services for people with physical difficulties became useful for other employers, in particular and temporary situation, trough their situation, they understood better difficulties and this first step introduced a different way in looking at the same condition (Barabino et alii, 2001).

So DM has become an increasingly interesting perspective, above all more recently, when it has begun to be imagined as a process of cultural and organizational change managed from inside the organization, without any stupid simplification and without transforming differences in inequalities. This last delicate question, as we’ll see in the presentation of the research results, makes up one of the most diffused risks in handling disability. We cannot consider as similar situations that are undoubtedly different, because so doing we create a different - but not less relevant - source of diversity. Diversity exists, also and more in disability that in other more studied dimensions - and the first important action is to dialogue with disabled people as disabled people and to build together solutions: they can participate to production activities in a productive way with particular conditions. So we are at the same time able to do something useful for them, for organizations and for society: this is the specific support of the research in the project, that now we’ll describe.

3. The research within PERSONE project

This paragraph will present the characteristics and some specific results of the research we carried out in Ligurian region - within an European project with operative scopes and as preliminary introduction to them – in order to analyse the situation of disabled people (searching for a job or just working) in the labour market, studying the habits and attitudes of enterprises towards this particular kind of workers, trying to answer some questions: for example, if there are DM practices or if enterprises promote or embrace specific integration practices.

3.1 Introduction

The research has been run by a research group in the University of Genoa between September 2005 and June 2006 as the first phase of an Equal funded
project\textsuperscript{9}, named PER.SO.N.E. (that is the Italian acronym of paths of occupational sustain in the new economy).

The project, managed by a broad partnership composed by subjects with different competencies and interests\textsuperscript{10}, aims at experimenting innovative forms\textsuperscript{11} of services for both workers and enterprises. On the one hand, the project supports people with occupational disadvantages in order to make them access the labour market and/or to remain in it. On the other hand, the project activities have been realized in order to help enterprises - both from a cultural and an operational point of view - employing these workers (or willing to) in managing the diversity in their workforce, coming from the assumption that recent economic evolution toward the so called new economy can offer opportunities for disabled people, but it can also create new barriers.

The research we realized supported the achievement of the above mentioned macro-objectives developing an analysis of the state of the art in the relationship between enterprises and disabled workers through in-field research involving either enterprises or disabled people.

In short, the study developed into six phases:

1. \textit{Definition of boundaries of the field of analysis} through a bibliographical study and 37 interviews to qualified testimonials (working for public institutions, trade unions, business associations, non profit sector, etc.) in order to increase researchers knowledge on: the different cultural and operational approaches to disability at the international level, Italian laws in the field of employment of disabled people, European situation with respect to the relation between work and persons with disabilities, previous researches and project on the topic.

2. \textit{Quantitative study of disability and work} on the basis of institutional data at the Italian level, using information of the Italian Institute for Statistics (Istat, 2001; 2003; 2005), and at the European one (Grammenos, 2003) in order to define a quantitative background of the investigated phenomenon.

3. \textit{Definition of the research hypothesis} on the basis of the context analysis (phase 1) in order to precisely define the methodology for the study of the disabled persons work experiences and the ones of the enterprises employing them (see the following paragraph).

\textsuperscript{9}European References: Equal – second phase, N. IT-G2-LIG-029.

\textsuperscript{10}The partnership is composed by: University, that developed the introductive research and the explorative one; Cisl, one of the most important trade unions in Italy; two non profit organizations, Lanza del Vasto and L’altro Sole, both Italian social cooperatives with relevant experience with disabled people, and Cesos, a national research centre, whose role in the project consists in coordinating its four phases and the international relationship with other similar experiences.

\textsuperscript{11}From the autumn 2006, after the research phase and the design one, Clubs PERSONE opened their doors to meet disabled people and enterprises helping them to find appropriate solutions for working integration. The project provides for five Clubs - two in Genoa (the most largest town, whose logistic problems make useful due different points easily achievable by the target) and one for each other province - where competent staff develop their action supporting the involved subjects in a personalized way.
4. **Analysis of the experiences of disabled workers** by the way of eight focus groups (Bloor et alii, 2002) - with a total of 53 disabled persons involved with quite an equal distribution in terms of age, sex and educational level: four with persons with disability employed at the moment of the analysis and the other four with persons unemployed at the moment of the research, but with previous working experiences just in situation of disability. The persons participating in the focus groups have been selected with the support of public agencies in charge of occupational policies for disadvantaged persons and non profit organizations working in the field of work integration. This selection process, whose characteristics can be defined a not probabilistic sample (Palumbo and Garbarino, 2006) allowed to run successfully the focus groups because of the helpfulness of these persons, implication that the research group considered very important.

The topics discussed during the focus groups were, for example: the level of motivation of the workers, their difficulties in finding work, relationships with colleagues, perception of the attitude of the managers towards disability, their opportunities of career.

5. **Analysis of the enterprises attitude and experiences towards disabled workers** by the way of 34 semi-structured interviews to human resources managers of private enterprises (selected with the help of public authorities in charge of work integration policies, business associations and trade unions) bound by law to employ persons with disability and, consequently, employing them at the moment of the research.

6. **Cross analysis of the results and discussion of the hypothesis.** This final part of the research aims at considering the results coming form phases 4 and 5 in order to discuss the proposed hypothesis (in the phase 3) and obtain some conclusions about the management of diversity of enterprises compelled by law to employ disabled persons.

For the purposes of this paper, the most relevant outcomes of the research come from the above described phases 5 and 6, whose results are then discussed in order to support our conclusions about DM practices and culture in Italian enterprises employing disabled workers. We thus present in the following pages: first, the scope and the objective of the analysis, then the hypothesis and the methodology and, finally, the concrete experiences of integration in the enterprises of our sample.

### 3.2 The context of the analysis: scope, objectives

Italian situation about disabled people is guided by a specific law, titled “Regulations for right to work of disabled people”, n. 68/99, that replaced a previous one, dated 1968. The new law introduced a different system for helping disabled to enter job market: not more (as before legislation imposed) enterprises
obliged to insert someone from a list of disabled persons, without any specific attention to their real capabilities, on the hand of the person, and to real productive need, on the hand of the enterprise; but a targeted intervention whose main intention is a good and durable solution for both the involved subjects. So, the great innovation introduced by this law – and that we want to put in evidence here, in coherence with the interest of this analysis – is first of all a cultural one, whose operative implications have changed the approach to the relationship between disabled people, work and organization.

The conversion from the imposition way to the specific employment for disabled people is inspired by the philosophy “right man to right job”: that means to succeed in bringing on capacities and competencies of a worker, whose situation from the health point of view is problematic. In summary, the most important innovations can be so summarized (Isfol, 2003):

- the prevision of evaluation proceedings about impairment and the analysis of the compatibility between job and disability for each situation;
- the overcoming of numerical employment and the introduction of a nominative demand; then, and the formulation of a new tool, the convention, that can be used according to specific rules and in certain situations, just to favour a good relationship and to create positive climate;
- a new territorial organization of publics services for work, where also those for targeted employment have found location.

By the law, targeted employment is described as “all those technical and support instruments that permit an appropriate evaluation of the disabled person, with regard to his labour capacity, and to employ him in the right job, through deep analysis of the job itself, with specific supports, positive actions and interpersonal relationships on the workplace” (our translation from art. 2 and 3, law text).

The law has been positively evaluated either from the disabled point of view or from the enterprise one. About the first subject, we note that it considers his attitudes and competencies as departing point, giving less relevance to his health problems: not necessary a physical deficiency reduces working capabilities. So the logic is: what is he able to do? Not more: what is he unable to do? We note a positive approach in place of limitative one.

About the point of view of the enterprises, many are the interesting elements. Also small enterprises (with 15-35 employees) are obliged to employ disabled people even if they have more time to perform this duty; the percent of the total workforce used to calculate the number of disabled persons to take in charge has been reduced. Another notable aspect concerns employment formalities: in substitution of the so called numeric call, law proposes the nominative demand – that means that enterprise can choose each person – but it is one of the offered solutions. It introduces other innovative opportunities: conventions, territorial compensation and partial exemption.

Convention consists in a specific agreement with which enterprise and employment services define personalized program, whose aim is an effective and definitive integration of the worker having at disposition support such as training,
apprenticeship for example. Territorial compensation (which offer the possibility to manage the number of disabled people with reference to all the offices) and partial exemption have been introduced to favour a positive attitude by the enterprise, in the evidence that past duty produced few results: disabled people parked and easily unsatisfied of their activity and usually unproductive for organization.

The new approach opens important opportunities, but demands also significant resource to find the appropriate settlement. In the described situation, employment services play an important role, because they have to put themselves as specific connection between a potential worker and a potential employer, using all kinds of support for a match between professional skills of disabled people and professional needs of enterprises. Only this perspective assures contemporary the respect of ethics and economics principles.

Table 4: A synthetic representation of the role of employment services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential worker</th>
<th>Enterprise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature and degree of impairment</td>
<td>Characteristics of the free jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working capabilities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abilities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competencies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Employment services
Match between: Job analysis and Workers characteristics

Operative ways of working inclusion
Professional qualification
training stages working star-up conventions

Source: our work on the basis of ISFOL (2003).
Into the just described context and in order to give PERSONE project inputs for the subsequent operational activities\textsuperscript{12}, the analysis aimed at pursuing two general objectives:

- studying the characteristics of the relationship between organizations and disabled persons with particular reference to the diversity management strategies and methods used by enterprises with reference to: strategies developed in order to comply the mentioned law (n. 68/1999, imposing the employment of disabled persons, even if with an innovative approach, the so called “employment aimed”) and, at the same time, pursuing organizational goals; selection criteria used for disabled persons; use of public or private services for the recruitment of disabled persons or for sustaining in difficult situations occurring during the working time; the professional opportunities given to these workers; their relationships with colleagues; the existence of training activities (both organized by the enterprise or by other external organizations) specifically designed for disabled workers or for their colleagues with them; the existence of an enterprise tutor for these workers; etc.

- analysing the problems in the relation between disabled persons and enterprises in order to identify their needs of support services (for example, training, recruitment, transport and tutorship ones) able to make the relation more fruitful. This goal is strictly connected with the core activities of PERSONE project since the innovative services it want to develop aims at solving problems (of both the subjects, enterprises and workers) which find no answer in existing public and private services.

3.3 The hypothesis and the methodology of the research

The research is based on eleven hypothesis considered by researchers, on the tradition of popperian approach, as simple propositions to discuss about in order to increase the knowledge on the topic rather than hypothesis to be verified with the aim to come to universally valid results\textsuperscript{13}. Anyway, in order to avoid any form of “relativism of knowledge”, the research activities have been designed applying rigorous criteria allowing to get to relevant results.

\textsuperscript{12}We have just put in evidence that the project has its most important dimension in the constitution of Clubs, meeting and services points for helping disabled people and enterprises.

\textsuperscript{13}As known, “hypothesis are provisional statements, presented as relationships among two or more concepts that have to be verified empirically” (Popper, 1970, p. 75, our translation). So hypothesis are necessary as heuristic tolls and not as value judgements: the research activities are engaged in falsifying the beginning hypothesis to coming to relevant (till a new falsifying process) ideas about the studied phenomenon.
In order to achieve this ambitious goal, the eleven hypothesis used during research activities are put together into four groups so to enlighten the different dimensions of the complex phenomenon of disability: disabled person, disabled worker, enterprise and organizations offering services to disadvantaged workers and enterprises aiming at making their relation easier. For the purposes of this paper, the hypotheses on enterprises are the most relevant ones, since they allow to discuss about DM topics and we limited the exposition to them.

HP1: enterprises are usually wary of disabled persons and so the application of law 68/99 derives from the need to respect legal obligations rather than from the will to take an opportunity.

HP2: if supported and stimulated, enterprises easily evolve from an “obligation culture” to an “opportunity culture”.

HP3: enterprises think that the availability of persons with tutorship roles for disabled workers is particularly relevant for the successful integration of these persons.

These hypothesis have been constructed on the basis of some theoretical assumptions and of the results of various researches on the specific topic of work integration of disabled persons.

From the theoretical point of view, we considered the relevant part of economic and managerial literature stating that enterprises do not pursue profit objective only since they are committed to the achievement of a complex mix of economic and social goals (Onida, 1960; Barnard, 1938). Anyway, in a context of growing quality-based competition, we think that the integration of disabled workers is seen by enterprises mainly as a legal obligation to respect (HP1).

Moreover, in dealing with our research we assumed that the evolution from an “obligation culture” to an “opportunity culture” is possible only if enterprises are stimulated to do this not only by legal obligations and connected facilities (i.e. the tax relieves introduced by law 68/99) but also by operational support in dealing with the problems connected to the selection of the right disabled worker for the open position, its daily interaction with colleagues within the enterprise, etc. (HP2 and HP3).

14As we underline in the final report, the first two groups of hypothesis have been studied together in the research development - being quite impossible to distinguish person and worker, in labour situation and to forget human dimension in labour activities, but we consider this preliminary choice necessary to emphasize human dignity and person’s hopes, that we consider so important not to be put behind productive and efficiencies needs. Each of us is person and then worker and nobody can be considered worker without respect for his status.

15For each further deepening, the complete report (with its statistical and documental enclosures) is available in: http://www.equalpersone.it/prodotti/ricerca.
In order to discuss the above described hypothesis, the research has been run mainly according to qualitative methodology, considered by researchers more suitable than quantitative one in analysing such a delicate and complex topic.

Thus, the enterprises have been involved in the research with semi-structured interviews with persons working in the human resource management area. The panel of enterprises involved is a non-probabilistic one, made up of organizations willing to give their contribution to the research. This methodological choice is considered satisfactory by the researchers since, on the one hand, statistic representativeness is not pursued by the project and, on the other, since the discussion about such a delicate topic as disabled persons integration can be effectively realised only if interviewees are committed to contribute to the research.

Anyway, the interviewed enterprises are quite equally distributed in terms of: sector (industry and services), size (small and medium enterprises but also big corporations), scope of their activity (regional, national, international).

Table 5: Enterprises in the sample for number of workers (total= 34 enterprises)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Workers</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 51</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 - 50</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 35</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: our work.

The interviews with managers were based on a scheme previously sent to the interviewees, and dealt with the following topics: the selection criteria used for disabled persons, the specific managerial instruments used to manage these workers, the eventual changes in the organizational climate caused by the presence of disabled employed persons, etc. We think important to notice that the interviews were managed as semi-structured ones and so, even if all of them were based on the same scheme, the emerged discussions and the collected information are not standardized but quite heterogeneous one from another.

It's important to specify that the hypothesis on enterprises have been expressed also on the basis of some interviews with qualified witnesses, operators with specific experience in work integration of disabled persons in different kinds of organizations. During the research, indeed, 37 persons of different professional and ideological status have been involved because of their
experience of work and disability in different fields: education, work integration, services to enterprises, etc. (table 5).

Table 6: Institutional belonging of involved qualified witnesses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution Type</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public Institutions</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonprofit Sector</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Associations</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Structures</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers Associations</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: our work.

Finally, the interpretation of the results coming from the interviews have been done relying on the human resource management theory (first of all Beer et alii, 1985, but - especially on its motivational deepenings, - Hertzberg, 1966; Maslow, 1954; Hersey and Blanchard, 1977), with particular reference to the authors studying the diversity management topics (Barabino et alii, 2001; Cox and Blake, 1991; Belfrey and Schmidt, 1989).

3.4 The experiences of integration of disabled persons

In conclusion of the presentation of the research activities, we will put in evidence the most important acquisitions.

First of all, the research shows that all the enterprises of the sample respect legal obligations compelling the integration of disabled workers in their organizations and have a significant know how about the requirements of law 68/99.
Another significant result is that enterprises spend a lot of resources (above all non-monetary ones: time, dedicated human resources, etc.) to manage the respect of law 68/99, whose compliance is probably considered a moral duty, so important in this period when corporate social responsibility plays an important role in company communicational strategies.

The interviews realized with human resources managers explain that this tendency is due first of all to the fact that they are wary of disabled people since they think an effective integration process is a result hard to achieve. As a consequence, the great majority of the enterprises we involved in the project invest a great amount of resources in the selection of the “right” disabled worker. In fact, only a little part of the organizations of the sample find the persons to hire into the list got ready by the Province offices – considered nowadays “exhausted” by many of the interviewees – and so have to find different sources – more time-consuming channels. In some cases (above all large companies) organizations can rely on self-candidature of disabled people who sent their curriculum vitae or participated in public selections. On the contrary, many small and medium enterprises need to use the services of selection agencies, education organizations or personal contacts of the entrepreneur or other workers.

This evidence can be interpreted in two contrasting ways. From the one hand, we can focus the attention on the pretended “promotion culture” of the organizations spending their resources to find the disabled person whose integration path in the enterprise can be fruitful (obviously for both the worker and the organization itself). In other words, in this perspective, the managers decide to invest resources in the selection process in order to hire a disabled person whose characteristics and aspirations can be valued, thus avoiding to make the integration process a frustrating experience for the disabled worker.

From the other hand, we can notice that the resources invested in the selection process very often lead organizations to hire “strong” disabled persons whose disability, although really existent and certified by law, is quite not relevant for the enterprise (persons who suffered transplants, others using wheelchairs, etc.). It is evident that this is not in violation of law but we think it is a partial interpretation of it, since these “strong” disabled people probably are not the weak workers the law wants to support in the labour market.

The research shows that enterprises invest their resources also in finding out the way to exploit all the opportunities offered by law 68/99 to avoid the obligation to integrate disabled persons (or, more often, to limit the number of

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16 The great majority of managers involved in the project explained that nowadays (after some years from the promulgation of the law 68/99) the list is made up of “difficult” disabled persons, whose clinical and/or personal situation make an effective work integration process hard to realize.

17 This is possible, for example, in case of enterprises carrying out dangerous activities or acting in dangerous environments (i.e. chemical or building sectors) or for public organizations recently transformed in private ones, etc.
disadvantaged workers they have to hire) or to postpone it, for example using the so called “conventions” proposed and provided by law 68/99.

In this second case, in our opinion two are the possible interpretations. In some cases, the spirit of the law is respected by the enterprises which choose the “conventions” as an instrument to “create candidatures” that is to carefully prepare the integration (with the support of Province services) transferring to the disabled person they selected some abilities and competences (both professional and relational ones) necessary for a successful integration in the organization and/or creating in the enterprise a suitable role for this worker. In other cases, on the contrary, the “conventions” are seen by the enterprises only as a mean to avoid the problem of the integration of disabled people, delaying it to the future without the definition of a project on the person and/or on the organization in order to prepare for a fruitful future real integration path.

The interviews realized during the research show that the resources invested by enterprise in the two mentioned areas (selection process and conventions) give important results: the majority of organizations of the sample have little problems with disabled workers since they can realize the tasks assigned, they often have good relations with colleagues and they have no negative influence on organizational climate. Anyway, we cannot avoid remarking these results are less optimistic if we consider that the positive integration experiences are mainly the ones involving workers whose disability is compatible with organizational activity leaving the “diversity” of other disabled persons still unaccepted by enterprises.

In conclusion, the interviews with human resources managers confirm some but not all the hypothesis proposed. The first seems to well represent the state of the art since the research clearly shows that investment made by enterprises for the integration of disabled people does not come from the idea that disabled workers have a special value for organizations, but simply from the will to respect law.

Even if legally driven, the investment in work integration in many cases leads enterprises to a careful diversity management aiming at transforming the obligation into an opportunity to hire a valid worker benefiting, in the same time, of tax relieves. As suggested by our second hypothesis, specific support is needed in order to do this. The research shows that, on the one hand, Province offices’ new role is considered satisfactory by many enterprises of our sample appreciating above all their attempt to create a trust relationship with enterprises through considering their specific situations and needs. Anyway, on the other hand, enterprises need more support from public institution above all in dealing with the process of selection of the “right” disabled worker.

On the contrary, the sustain in managing the process of integration after the selection of the worker (i.e. tutorship) is not equally demanded by enterprises which prefer – as already pointed out – to invest in the selection of the disabled persons whose characteristics are so suitable for the organization and their role to make tutorship quite un-useful. Our third hypothesis is thus not coherent with the reality we analysed in the research.

At the end of the description of the research activities and of its major acquisitions, it seems important to succeed in organizing some considerations about recent evolution in disability-based DM, both because it has been our survey field and as it continues to be relevant in Italian context, where attention to disability is high. Moreover, the evolving practices in Human Resource Management shows an increasing attention for a wide-ranging workforce, whose appreciation builds competitive advantages.

Undoubtedly, we observe increasing DM practices; but the analysed enterprises seem to pursue the objective of reducing the diversity to be managed, rather than experimenting processes of DM first as cultural change and then as specific tools to use in some of the phase of the human resource management.

The new law has deeply changed the system of working inclusion of disabled people (duty which before enterprises succeeded in escaping and that now they accept fairly using their energy to manage better the engagement\(^1\)): so, the enterprises of our sample are more and more conscious not only of the need to respect law but also that an “evident” diversity (in terms of capacities and not only in physical terms) cannot be unmanaged. As a consequence, they can choose between two different paths: as Galbraith (1974) explained with reference to uncertainty, the alternatives are to accept and manage diversity or to avoid it thus reducing the DM needs. In other words, on the one hand, enterprises can integrate “strong” disabled persons - characterized by being “diverse” – and invest in finding effective DM tools in order to manage their diversity and realize a fruitful experience for both the enterprise and the workers. On the other hand, enterprise can decide to avoid investment in DM by reducing at the minimum the diversity in their workforce, for example selecting “weak” disabled persons whose disability is not influential for the organization.

The results coming from the interviews - realized by the research group – showed that second path is the one chosen by most of the enterprises. In other words, we found that enterprises currently have developed DM strategies and methods mainly based on the selection of the “right” disabled person to employ, “right” obviously according to their idea of minimizing impact problems and offering the same level of productivity of the other employees. The implication is that most of disabled persons working in enterprises have equal opportunities as other colleagues, but it doesn’t often depend on a specific organizational investment in developing their potential; on the contrary it is due to the careful selection process leading enterprises to employ persons whose disability is, for

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\(^1\)Some interviewed managers declared their personal favour toward a law whose aim is to promote and guarantee work right for disabled people.
its nature and evident characteristics, not relevant for the position they have to cover\textsuperscript{19}.

The conclusion we can draw out is that enterprise wants to consider a disabled worker not as a diverse worker (just he/she really is), but as a person with whom it creates a contribution-incentive balance, according the barnardian\textsuperscript{20} approach and in total similarity to the relationship with each other worker. In other terms, dominant culture in interviewed enterprises considers "not satisfying" a relation with disable person, based on less contribution in front of less incentive. The investment that organization does in disable worker is, consequently, heavier only during the selection phase, which becomes the most important one, as we before wrote. From the organizational point of view, this situation can be explained according to the transition cost analysis (Williamson, 1975): indeed, this sort of costs – that is the various costs to be paid to arrive the exchange and to evaluate its equity – are considered weighty and excessive as regard the purpose.

This last aspect puts in evidence the important role that can be played by specific services suppliers\textsuperscript{21}, mainly concentrated in the preparatory phase of the meeting, where it’s possible to create conditions of best coherence between organizational expectations and personal ones; but the services demand can grow if enterprises develop their attention to this specific dimension and begin in using more and more supports, cultivating inside an inclusive and evaluative culture.

In conclusion, if we assume that DM means a voluntary effort in evaluating diversity, as we indicated in the second paragraph, we are inclined to think that it isn’t, nowadays, a real commitment and an effective practice in the enterprises of the sample of our research. So, there is still a lot of work to do in this direction.

\textsuperscript{19}For example, we found very few psychical disabled persons in organizations belonging to our sample: it’s easy to think that the difficulties connected with the relationships with this kind of problems dishearten. We have also to remark that often enterprises aren’t ready to accept external professional support, that could favour comprehension and resolve inconveniences.

\textsuperscript{20}As known, Barnard (1938) defines organization as a cooperative system founded on balance between contributions given by each worker and incentives he receives (both materials and not material). According to this approach, the balance point has to be constructed on the two sides, on the basis of the evaluation that each does of his specific convenience.

\textsuperscript{21}It’s opportune to remember that the aim of PERSONE project was exactly to focus the attention to the services topic and to their characteristics, just to favour opportune DM attitudes.
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