BUSINESS IN THE COMMUNITY

The Prince's Responsible Business Network

Santander

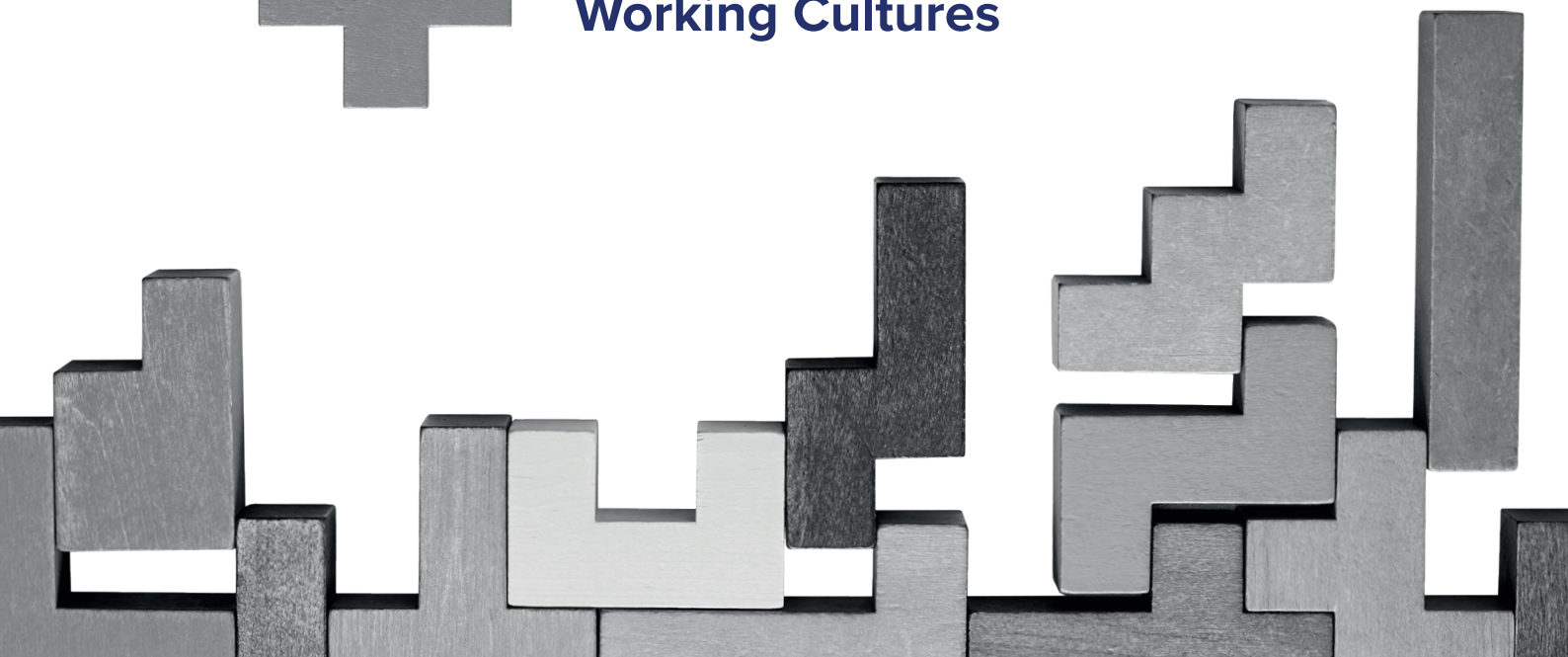
THE GLOBAL INSTITUTE FOR WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP

KING'S College LONDON

Report

WHAT REALLY WORKS?

Ensuring Inclusive Working Cultures



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Our review of the findings of over 60 pieces of academic literature, primarily drawn from 'in workplace' research finds there are a number of evidence based tactics employers can adopt to create working cultures where all employees thrive.

Organisations must consider both prevention and promotion when it comes to fostering welcoming work environments. Not only must organisations avoid downgrading efforts to foster inclusion at a time when wider pressures have come to the fore, they must also ensure such efforts retain a twin track approach; it is not enough to focus solely on highlighting company values and ethos, or alternatively ensuring you have robust systems in place to address poor behaviour. A mixture of the two is required.

Initiatives to foster greater inclusion will not work, and could even be counter-productive, if they do not include a focus on behaviour change, active learning, and promote dialogue between different groups. Formal diversity training or other programmes designed to support inclusion must include supporting trainees to break habits that show unconscious bias. For example 'perspective taking' where they learn about others' lives, should expect proactive participation from attendees, such as group discussions, and do best when they foster 'intergroup dialogue' – interaction between people who might normally not connect.

'Responsibility structures' such as employee networks or inclusion taskforces make other diversity initiatives more effective. Employers should encourage networks and other forums that enable employees to support, champion and crucially hold leadership accountable around programmes aimed at fostering inclusion. Such networks can also play a vital role in supporting staff at a time when many employees may feel an increased sense of isolation and loneliness.

To enable employees to confront non-inclusive behaviour, explain that this is a 'community responsibility' – that as an organisation you believe respect is everybody's business and support your staff to become active bystanders. Individuals face a lower bar when it comes to challenging poor behaviour if they feel the organisation expects the community to stand up. Enable your staff to act on this through providing training in how to 'calmly confront' incidents, highlighting the powerful role allies can play.

Leaders and managers play a crucial role and their interactions especially with wider staff are crucial. Employee perceptions of leaders and managers – their behaviours, values and how they treat others around them – can be make or break for an organisation's wider culture. One piece of research even showed that where leaders are rated as more ethical there was less workplace bullying. Organisations must ensure managers are given support to ensure high quality, fair relationships with their wider colleagues, for example highlighting the risks of having 'favourites.' Many managers are now grappling with leading remote teams for the first time and need support to ensure they do this in a way that does not inadvertently erode inclusion.

Corporate communications matter, they should celebrate difference. Choosing to take an 'identity conscious' approach to how you portray and discuss your organisation's values is proven to be more effective than an 'identity blind' model which does not highlight and embrace difference.

Ensure wider systems are fair and bias free. Everyday interactions play a vital role in shaping employees' perceptions of their working environment, but work to support this will fail if organisations do not ensure wider systems and processes take a fair, non-biased approach – for example, policies around promotion and pay. This is of especial relevance at a time when many organisations are necessarily downsizing; taking a responsible and transparent approach to cost cutting, ensuring some demographics e.g. gender, race, age, disability, are not worse affected than others (which often happens) is crucial to ensuring you don't undermine your wider attempts to maintain and further enhance employee's feelings of inclusion.

The accompanying BITC '*Briefing paper: Everyday Inclusion*' translates the above findings into a summary of actions businesses can take. It combines the research with knowledge and experience gained through many years of work in this area, particularly around race and gender and the insight our members, grappling with the new normal of a COVID-19 world, have shared with us as they strive to build back responsibly, with employee wellbeing at their core.

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At the heart of our inclusive culture at Santander is an ambition to create a thriving workplace that promotes diversity and inclusion, prioritises wellbeing and develops our people's skills. This report, with its findings and summary actions, will further support our focus and approach in promoting a culture of respect and everyday inclusion – to enable everybody to feel valued and to be their true selves.

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INTRODUCTION

The events of 2020 have thrown a stark light on the divisions that exist between us. From the health inequalities of COVID-19 and the way in which the economic crisis is impacting more heavily on some than others to the anti-racist protests highlighting ongoing racism, many are asking how to create a fairer, more equal world.

At Business in the Community (BITC), we believe business has a powerful role to play.

Prior to the pandemic, BITC research showed that, despite organisation's best efforts, many employees felt excluded at work. Women, younger workers and employees from black, Asian and ethnic minority communities were more likely to face 'non-inclusive behaviours' at work – from seemingly benign, low level slights such as inappropriate jokes and other micro-aggressions to deliberate harassment and discrimination.[i] The impact of COVID-19 on workers' experiences is still being understood, but early research suggests there is a risk widespread financial pressures, the rise of mental health problems and the rapid shift to remote working for many could amplify non-inclusive dynamics.[ii] At the same time, there is a concerning overlap between those most likely to experience poor treatment at work, and those set to bear the brunt of economic measures adopted as business and others adapt to changed working environments. For example, survey data has found more mothers than fathers have lost jobs in the past six months.[iii] Many are also warning that organisations which struggled to mainstream diversity and inclusion during normal times could lose sight of these efforts in the 'new normal' as other issues push them down the agenda.[iv]

At Business in the Community we believe business has a powerful role to play

Against this backdrop, BITC's work to support employers to create truly inclusive working cultures where everyone feels included – they feel like they belong, have a voice, are valued and can be their true selves, every day – has never been more important. Our landmark 'Everyday Inclusion' campaign brings together our work, often focussed on supporting individual groups, such as women and older employees at work, under one umbrella.

Background

There is growing recognition that workplace equality and wellbeing will not be achieved without creating a workplace culture where every employee feels safe and valued – an inclusive workplace culture. There is also growing awareness of micro-aggressions, workplace bullying, intimidation and harassment, which are enabled by non-inclusive cultures.[1] In addition to building diversity, many employers now have targets for making their workplace culture more inclusive in recognition of the 'business case'[2] as well as its role in employee wellbeing.[3,4] Inclusion appears to be particularly important for the outcomes of employees from minority groups.[5] However, there is no one-size-fits-all solution when it comes to inclusion. Moreover, in light of the COVID-19 pandemic, employers need effective actions to build inclusion back into their workplaces and ensure that progress they have made to date does not reverse.

Defining inclusive workplace culture

Diversity and inclusion go hand-in-hand.[6] However, although some studies suggest that improving the representation of ethnic minority groups will somehow automatically lead to a more inclusive culture through increased awareness of difference and the incorporation of diverse perspectives,[7] others[8,9] suggest that improving representation is not enough on its own; businesses need to develop specific policies and practices to boost inclusion and to ensure that the many potential benefits of workforce diversity – including increased creativity, job satisfaction and retention – are realised.[10] Nonetheless, diversity within leadership teams can boost the effectiveness of inclusion efforts.[11,12]

While the definition of inclusion is often elusive and there are numerous related terms, at its core, inclusion is about the satisfaction of two fundamental human needs – one for belonging and safety, another for uniqueness.[13-15] People derive self-esteem and feelings of safety from belonging to groups, including workplaces. Individuals who feel they don't belong in the workplace may feel unsafe or threatened. At the same time, individuals also crave a distinctive sense of self and the sense that their voice matters. Workplace inclusion, therefore, represents a fine balance between employees feeling that they belong and that their differences are acknowledged and accepted.[4,16]

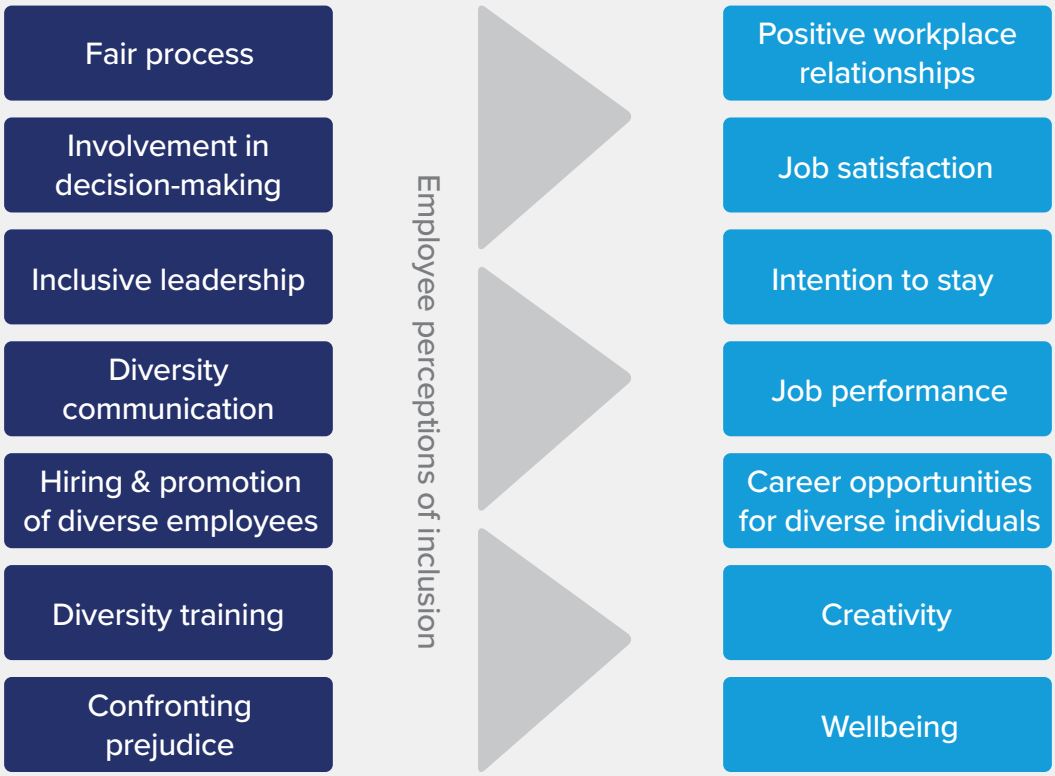
Without an inclusive culture, implicit and explicit bias, micro-aggressions, incivility, and bullying and harassment can thrive. Incivility includes rudeness, slights, sarcasm, mocking, disparaging remarks and the belittling or exclusion of others.[1] A newer concept in the literature is diversity climate, which refers to an organisation's approach to diversity and how that is perceived by employees, with a particular emphasis on the fairness of HR practices and the treatment of employees belonging to minority groups.[5,6,17,18]

Workplace inclusion... represents a fine balance between employees feeling that they belong and that their differences are acknowledged and accepted

WHAT FACTORS PROMOTE INCLUSIVE WORKPLACE CULTURE?

The research suggests that feelings of inclusion among employees are driven by 'contextual antecedents' which may be features of a particular workplace or specific actions taken within that workplace. These feelings of inclusion drive employees' individual outcomes, including job satisfaction, performance, and intentions to stay (see *Figure 1*). There is unlikely to be a single solution for improving inclusion; rather, a mixture of strategies will be needed. Importantly, this mixture of actions needs to address both prevention and promotion. In other words, organisations need to focus both on preventing discriminatory or non-inclusive behaviour and on promoting inclusion.[13,15]

Figure 1 *Theoretical framework – contextual antecedents and outcomes of employee inclusion (based on Shore et al 2011, 2018).*



ACTIVITIES THAT PROMOTE INCLUSION

SUMMARY

- Diversity training is a common diversity management strategy. However, in its usual form, it is rarely effective and may even be counter-productive.
- However, diversity training can be effective at promoting inclusion, especially if it focuses on behaviour change, uses active learning strategies, and promotes meaningful contact between diverse employees. These strategies may also be effective outside of diversity training.

One of the most common and best-studied diversity-related activities in organisations is diversity training. The overall conclusion from over 40 years of research is that the generic diversity training that many companies engage in does not have a positive impact and in some instances can promote backlash and even activate bias.[19-21] Nonetheless, certain features of diversity training make it more effective for changing behaviour. Coercive approaches based on rules or blaming individuals, and short-term approaches rarely work.[21] Instead, training should be positive, long-term, and:

1	2	3
Focus on behaviour change	Take an active approach	Promote inter-group contact

Moreover, 'responsibility structures' (such as diversity committees or taskforces) make other actions such as diversity training more effective[12] by ensuring accountability and ownership over the organisation's diversity and inclusion outcomes.

Focus on behaviour change

Recent workplace diversity interventions are based on the premise that the biased behaviours that contribute to a non-inclusive culture are partly habits that individuals may not be fully aware of. These habits need to be interrupted so that individuals acknowledge their own biases and resolve to behave differently. This type of 'habit-breaking' approach can reduce implicit bias[22-25, v] and there is some evidence that it can lead to long-term reductions in discriminatory behaviour,[26] although this may be more likely among participants who already hold gender-egalitarian attitudes.[24] Crucially, these interventions give people concrete strategies to help them practice non-biased behaviour, and ways to associate these new behaviours with positive outcomes.[22] These strategies can be used in the context of diversity training or more broadly within organisations. For example:

Stereotype replacement: This strategy involves recognising that a response is based on stereotypes, labelling the response as stereotypical, and reflecting on why the response occurred. Next, one considers how the biased response could be avoided in the future and replaces it with an unbiased response.

Counter-stereotype imaging: This involves imagining positive examples to replace a negative stereotype.

Individuation: Prevent stereotyping by obtaining specific information about group members for whom the stereotype exists. This helps people evaluate members of the target group based on their individual attributes rather than group-based stereotypes.

Perspective-taking: Taking the perspective of a member of a stereotyped group.

Increasing opportunities for contact: Seeking opportunities for meaningful interaction with members of the stereotyped group.

Take an active approach

Active, task-oriented approaches, in contrast to more passive activities based on conveying knowledge and rules, are more likely to be successful.[20] The CREW (Civility, Respect and Engagement at Work) intervention is one example of an active learning intervention

designed to improve inclusion-related outcomes, which has been shown to be effective at increasing workplace civility[27,28] in the healthcare sector. CREW consists of regular group meetings to discuss workplace interpersonal interactions, led by a facilitator. At the first meeting, baseline data on civility are first shared and discussed within groups. The second stage consists of the group clarifying areas of strength and opportunities for improvement. The group then develops ideas of how to increase the civility of workplace interactions and implementation and monitoring strategies. They also have the opportunity to practice new ways of relating to one another in a safe environment. This intervention is designed to give employees a sense of ownership over improving their workplace social interactions. While CREW is not focused on diversity and inclusion per se, it is designed to tackle incivility, which is a type of non-inclusive workplace behaviour. CREW's features, such as its long-term nature, emphasis on active learning, and employee ownership of the process, could be adapted to centre on diversity, for example, through the 'taskforce' approach mentioned earlier.

When it comes to tackling non-inclusive behaviours relating to gender, game-like simulation activities such as the Workshop Activity for Gender Equity Simulation (WAGES) intervention (see *box below*) have improved participants' knowledge of gender inequality and increased their levels of self-efficacy to address it, as well as reducing endorsement of sexist beliefs, compared to more passive alternatives.[29-31] WAGES participants are more able to identify subtle gender bias in hiring and promotions decisions,[32] recognise sexism as harmful, as well as expressing intentions to be more engaged in issues of gender

Workshop Activity for Gender Equity Simulation (WAGES)

This intervention was originally developed to tackle gender bias within academia but was subsequently adapted for use in the workplace.[34] WAGES is grounded in experiential learning theory, which suggests that learning is enhanced when people construct knowledge through active learning.

WAGES uses a game-like simulation to represent an individual's career. Participants are divided into two teams, one of which has small advantages which make it easy for its members to out-perform the other team's members. However, players initially lack knowledge of these advantages/disadvantages. In the dissonance created between players' divergent experiences and their need to conceptualise fully what has happened, a game facilitator invites individual players to think about their feelings and observations. Then the facilitator leads a group discussion about fairness and generalisations about advantages and disadvantages. It gradually becomes clear that the two teams symbolically represent different genders. The facilitator ends the discussion by asking participants to think about what they can do to address bias.[30]

inequality.[33] WAGES has also been shown to be more effective for improving participants' knowledge about gender inequalities than a more generic diversity training developed by Google.[34] WAGES also seemed to have longer term impacts compared to Google's training. This suggests that incorporating active learning and game-like activities may be a critical tool in improving diversity training. However, it should be noted that all these studies trialled the intervention on undergraduate students, rather than in the workplace.

Promote inter-group contact

Research suggests that promoting social interaction among diverse employees makes diversity training more effective.[19,20] Contact between members of diverse social groups can reduce prejudice by *increasing knowledge* about people who are different from oneself (known as an 'out-group' member), revealing negative stereotypes to be false, *reducing anxiety* about encounters with those who are different from oneself, and *increasing empathy and perspective-taking*.[35]

Indeed, though this research is not specific to the workplace context, meaningful contact between diverse groups, including sharing stories and encouraging perspective taking, is associated with lower levels of explicit bias.[36] For example, US voters who were encouraged to exchange narratives with canvassers showed long-term reductions in negative attitudes towards refugees and transgender people.[37] A large-scale experiment conducted with 5,400 Americans found that those exposed to a perspective-taking intervention, which encouraged them to imagine themselves as a refugee,[vi] showed more inclusionary behaviour towards refugees.[38] Exposure to media content

Meaningful contact between diverse groups, including sharing stories and encouraging perspective taking, is associated with lower levels of explicit bias

that enacts or promotes such perspective taking can also change group attitudes and social norms over time, even in social settings with high conflict.[39] Similarly, university students who undertook an intergroup dialogue course exhibited greater motivation to bridge intergroup differences, a better understanding of racial inequality and a long-term commitment to address inequality[40] (see *box on the next page*). An earlier study among college students showed that intergroup dialogue is related to an increased ability to take the perspective of others, comfort in communicating across differences, and interest in bridging differences.[41] Similar approaches could be built into workplace diversity training.

One study in the workplace context suggests that exposure to members from a particular group has beneficial impacts on implicit and explicit bias over time. The study measured the quality and quantity of 3,134 non-black doctors' self-reported interactions with black people over a six year period as they passed through medical school and into residency.[42] Quality of contact with black people predicted non-black doctors' more positive attitudes and less bias against black people two years later. This personal contact was more influential in shaping long-term attitudes than other factors, such as diversity training.

Research on an educational programme in a religiously segregated setting in Nigeria showed that undertaking tasks within a mixed group of students led to less prejudiced attitudes and behaviour against those of other religions; moreover, those who undertook the training in a religiously homogenous group exhibited high levels of discriminatory behaviour subsequently, suggesting that in-group bonding can lead to more prejudice.[43] Though not conducted in a workplace setting, this study suggests that providing opportunities for diverse groups to mix and proactively breaking the tendency for similar individuals to segregate themselves may be effective at reducing prejudiced behaviours and thus building inclusion.

INTERGROUP DIALOGUE

Intergroup dialogue is an approach pioneered within higher education, designed to facilitate face-to-face encounters between individuals from different identity groups who are typically socially segregated. These encounters are structured around personal testimony of individuals' life experiences and linking this to broader structures of inequality. Such activities can be successful in promoting anti-racist and more inclusive behaviour. The intergroup dialogue approach could be adapted to similar ends within a workplace context.

Groups meet on a regular basis and practice a four-stage curriculum:

1. Learn about personal and social identity by reading about identity theory and narratives and by completing identity worksheets that help them reflect on and discuss both their individual qualities and social group memberships, including race and ethnicity.
2. Participants reflect on, compose, and share personal stories about their racial and ethnic socialisation as well as the personal meaning of their racial and ethnic identities.
3. Participants engage in dialogues on controversial issues such as racial profiling, immigration, interracial relationships, or reparations. They critically analyse multiple perspectives on how these issues benefit and harm different groups of people and what is assumed, known and not known about the issues.
4. Small, racially, and ethnically diverse sub-groups carry out a project in which they identify, plan, and carry out activities designed to redress inequalities on campus.

Rodríguez, J., Nagda, B. (Ratnesh) A., Sorensen, N. & Gurin, P. Engaging race and racism for socially just intergroup relations: The impact of intergroup dialogue on college campuses in the United States. Multicult. Educ. Rev. 10, 224–245 (2018) (p. 228)

CONFRONTING NON-INCLUSIVE BEHAVIOUR

SUMMARY

- Laboratory studies show that confrontation can reduce prejudiced behaviours.
- Research into the style and tone of confrontations shows that calm confrontations may be effective at reducing prejudiced behaviour and may even have spill over effects, creating a more inclusive workplace environment.
- Confrontations by allies (for example, men on behalf of women, white people on behalf of black people) are likely to be particularly effective.
- More research is needed to establish the effects of different styles of confrontation for different types of non-inclusive behaviour within a workplace setting.

Inclusion is partly created in the course of everyday interactions between employees.[10] Therefore, individual employees also have a role to play in preventing and pro-actively responding to instances of non-inclusive behaviour. The concept of an 'active bystander' is increasingly discussed to describe individuals' responsibility to respond to instances of prejudiced, non-inclusive or even abusive behaviour. However, it is not always straightforward for employees to intervene, especially in the case of more subtle interactions.

There are a number of barriers individuals face when deciding whether to confront non-inclusive workplace behaviour:

1. Interpreting the incident as discrimination;
2. Deciding whether it is bad enough to warrant confrontation;
3. Taking responsibility for confrontation;
4. Deciding how to confront, and finally;
5. Taking action.[44]

These barriers mean that confrontation is surprisingly rare. Moreover, at present there are few empirical studies examining the impact of confrontation in a workplace setting. Specifically in the case of racist behaviour, there is a lack of research on the types of actions that can be used to effectively combat racial microaggressions.[45] More broadly, we know little about the effects of incidents of bias and how they are dealt with during everyday workplace interactions.[46]

Despite the lack of workplace-based research, there are numerous studies that demonstrate the impact of confrontation on inclusion-related outcomes in a laboratory setting. First, a series of experiments[47] induced white participants to behave in ways that were racially biased. Participants who were confronted for this behaviour exhibited less prejudiced attitudes a follow-up questionnaire. Further studies[48,49] show that confrontation of racist and sexist behaviour can reduce the occurrence of such behaviour in the longer term. Moreover, there may be spillover effects whereby an individual confronted for one form of bias may be less likely to exhibit prejudice towards a wide range of minority groups in the future[50] and confrontations can also serve as 'safety cues' for other minority individuals.[51] Researchers suggest that confrontation inhibits habitual biased responses in future by stimulating guilt and self-reflection, which are central to the self-regulation of prejudiced behaviours.[52]

We know little about the effects of incidents of bias and how they are dealt with during everyday workplace interactions

Confrontation must take place in a way that is likely both to be effective and to minimise the cost to the person confronting. Communication style is key to effectiveness. A calm confrontation style (as opposed to hostility) has been shown to reduce negative perceptions of the person confronting. Observers who witness such confrontations may be emboldened to engage in confrontation in the future.[53] Confrontation can be public ('calling out') or private, taking someone aside for a private conversation about their behaviour ('calling

in'). Both can be effective, but in different ways – 'call outs' may be effective due to public exposure of wrongdoing, which threatens the individual's self-image, while 'call ins' operate through the perception that the confronter has a genuine motive.[54] The identity of the confronter also matters – in the case of women, one case study found that confronters from a different group as the victim are often seen as more legitimate and persuasive.[55] Nonetheless, women and minorities who confront prejudice have reported greater workplace belonging, improved relations with co-workers who had displayed bias, and greater workplace satisfaction.[46]

Studies have also shown that confrontations are more effective when they provide a framing rather than simply pointing out the bias.[56,57] Positive framing, whereby the positive aspects of individuals' stereotypes are pointed out, may have more impact than negative framings,[56] while providing a motivational framing (either appealing to justice and fairness or to rules and regulations) may increase the impact of a confrontation.[57] The use of evidence to bolster confrontations can also be an effective strategy in the case of gender bias.[58]

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Though there is a lack of workplace-based research on racial micro-aggressions, researchers have highlighted a number of confrontation strategies that may be used by both targets of micro-aggressions and bystanders (see *box on the next page*).[45] These are termed 'micro-intervention' strategies since they consist of relatively simple actions individuals can take but which may accumulate to create an overall more inclusive environment by discouraging negative behaviour and reinforcing respectful norms.

While individuals can use these insights to improve the effectiveness of their confrontations, bystander training interventions may be a key way for organisations to promote active bystander behaviour in the workplace and guide employees in how to confront.[46] Such programmes – typically focused on sexual harassment and violence – have been shown to be effective in the context of universities and the US military.[59] Bystander training aims to improve participants' ability to confront by modelling how to intervene, tackling stereotypes and framing bystander intervention as a community (rather than an individualised) responsibility.[60] Evidence shows such training reduces the barriers to confrontation.[61] However, while more and more organisations are engaging in active bystander training, there is little evidence at present to demonstrate its effectiveness in a workplace setting.

‘MICRO-INTERVENTION’ STRATEGIES FOR CONFRONTING RACIAL MICRO-AGGRESSIONS

Make the invisible visible:

- Make the stereotype explicit (e.g. “You assume I am dangerous because of the way I look.”)
- Challenge the stereotype.
- Ask for clarification (e.g. “Do you realise what you just did when I walked in?”)

Disarm the micro-aggression:

- Express disagreement (e.g. “I don’t agree with what you just said.”)
- State values and set limits (e.g. “You know that respect and tolerance are important values in my life and, while I understand that you have a right to say what you want, I’m asking you to show a little more respect for me by not making offensive comments.”)
- Use non-verbal communication (e.g. Shaking your head, looking down or away.)
- Interrupt and redirect (e.g. “Whoa, let’s not go there. Maybe we should focus on the task at hand.”)

Educate the perpetrator:

- Appeal to the offender’s values and principles (e.g. “I know you really care about representing everyone… acting in this way really undermines your intentions to be inclusive.”)
- Promote empathy (How would you feel if someone assumed something about you because of your race?”)

Seek external reinforcement or support:

- Alert leadership: Ask to speak to a manager or someone who is in authority.
- Report to an external authority: Report the incident in person or use anonymous online portalsor share on social media.
- Buddy system: Choose a friend with whom you can always check in and process discrinatory experiences.

Sue, D. W. et al. Disarming racial microaggressions: Microintervention strategies for targets, white allies, and bystanders. Am. Psychol. 74, 128–142 (2019). (p. 136-138)

LEADERSHIP FOR INCLUSION

SUMMARY

- Leaders' personal qualities and behaviours are likely to be an important element of building inclusive workplace culture.
- While senior leaders are critical, line managers should also take responsibility for promoting inclusive culture.
- Qualities found to be associated with perceptions of an inclusive workplace include authenticity, versatility and ethics. Individuals with these qualities should be promoted to management positions and those in management positions could be trained to improve on these qualities.
- Improving relationships between managers and all their supervisees should be central to inclusion efforts.
- More research is needed on the effectiveness of interventions to promote high quality relationships between managers and supervisees and on interventions designed to improve managers' interpersonal skills.

In addition to policies and practices, the actions of leaders are central to creating a culture of inclusion.[13,15,62-64] While the behaviour and qualities of senior leaders are critical, the role of direct managers is also central, especially when teams are diverse or when managers and employees belong to different identity groups.[13]

While there are few studies examining the impact of specific actions to change or improve leadership on inclusion outcomes, studies have highlighted links between certain leadership styles and inclusion-related outcomes. Managers' interpersonal skills are particularly important:[65] Managers who demonstrate assertiveness (influencing behaviour on a continuum from "asking" to "telling"), responsiveness (display of emotion on a continuum from "controlling" to "emoting"), and versatility (a composite measure of managers' image, presentation, competence, and feedback) have been rated as more supportive of diversity and inclusion by their subordinates. Self-awareness, openness and integrity have also been associated with inclusion.[3] Managers' beliefs and principles and how they enact these may also be central to building inclusion,[3] especially when it comes to preventing non-inclusive behaviours. For example, one study[66] showed that where leaders were rated by employees as more ethical, there was less workplace bullying. This suggests that one way for organisations to enhance inclusion is through increasing their leaders' skills in these areas.[65]

While leaders' individual characteristics may be important for inclusive culture, 'leader-member exchange', or LMX, captures the quality of interactions between a supervisor and a supervisee.[67] The quality of LMX is captured on a continuum ranging from high-quality, in which the leader treats the follower as a member of the in-group (trust and respect are equally shared), to low-quality, in which the leader treats the follower as a member of the out-group (indicating a lack of mutual trust).[67]

Not only are high quality relationships with leaders beneficial for individual employees, a good relationship with a leader is a marker of status and acceptance, suggesting that an employee is part of the 'in group'.[68] This can exert a strong influence on fellow employees. Where employees are accepted and validated by a leader, they are more likely to be accepted by their fellow employees too, affecting perceptions of inclusion. However, when employees don't have this good relationship with their manager, this can lead to feelings of exclusion. This suggests that to boost inclusion, managers should build positive relationships with all employees and apply their attention to these employees equally, rather than selecting 'favourites'.[64] Pronounced status differences and power imbalances are thought to be harmful for employees' feelings of psychological safety; by disrupting these status differences through their inclusive leadership practices – including seeking employees' views and opinions – leaders can enhance employees' feelings of psychological safety.[69] Further findings from a study on the healthcare workforce in Australia[70] suggest that leader inclusiveness reduces perceived status differences and, through this, enhances team performance. Inclusive leaders are also thought to promote more helping behaviours, especially among employees from minority groups, which can contribute positively to the overall work culture.[71]

Research on US child welfare workers showed that employee perceptions of inclusion were significantly influenced by leader member exchange over time.[72] In turn, this sense of inclusion led to higher job satisfaction.[63] Using resources to improve the quality of relationships between managers and employees should therefore be a priority if organisations are serious about inclusion. Moreover, some research suggests that the leadership behaviours that are associated with positive management of diversity and inclusion overlap with those that create high quality relationships. For example, manager qualities illustrative of high quality relationships as well as promoting inclusion include: making an attempt to personally get to know each of one's employees, attempting to remove barriers for all employees, and refraining from using language that will exclude some employees but not others.[73]

Relationships within leadership teams are also important. While focusing on organisational effectiveness rather than inclusion, a recent study showed that diverse leadership teams who socialise together and proactively discuss their differences are more effective.[74]

Using resources to improve the quality of relationships between managers and employees should therefore be a priority if organisations are serious about inclusion. Moreover, some research suggests that the leadership behaviours that are associated with positive management of diversity and inclusion overlap with those that create high quality relationships

DIVERSITY COMMUNICATION

SUMMARY

- Language and imagery used by organisations are important for inclusion.
- Identity-conscious approaches to diversity communication tend to work best.
- Social marketing approaches may be effective at creating social norms around inclusion and thus improving perceptions of inclusion.

An organisation's style of communication about diversity and inclusion may be all-important for feelings of inclusion, particularly among minority employees. When it comes to race issues in particular, an organisation's diversity ethos exists on a continuum from an approach where identity-based differences are minimised and/or ignored, to one that values differences and deals openly with diversity issues.[80] This ethos may be communicated through language and imagery used by a company to describe its diversity approach, as well as 'diversity cues' or more subtle markers within the workplace environment which cumulatively contribute to employees' sense of inclusion or exclusion.[81] These cues operate as signals through which employees develop a perception of what behaviours and identities are valued, supported and rewarded within the organisation.[78]

Recent research emphasises the benefits of an 'identity-conscious' approach to diversity communication. A US study[81] compared the impact of 'colour blind' diversity communication materials from a hypothetical organisation with those that explicitly valued diversity, in terms of their impact on the concerns African American professionals would expect to face relating to race in the work setting, as well as their anticipated trust and comfort towards the work setting. Trust and comfort were lowest where the company had both low minority representation and a 'colour blind' diversity philosophy. By contrast, the highest trust and comfort were found when a company combined high minority representation and identity conscious communications. Not only is an identity-conscious approach important, a mismatch between an organisation's diversity communications and the representation of minorities within the organisation leads to mistrust. In particular, if minorities perceive that an organisation is falsely inflating its diversity credentials, this has a negative impact.[82]

However, the impact of diversity communication and diversity cues may land differently depending on the audience, and organisations need to be mindful that their approach does not provoke scepticism and backlash.[83] The impact of diversity messaging may also depend on employees' pre-existing attitudes.[84] In addition, the presentation of imagery without policy and practice can be perceived as just window dressing.

When it comes to race issues in particular, an organisation's diversity ethos exists on a continuum from an approach where identity-based differences are minimized and/or ignored, to one that values differences and deals openly with diversity issues

A promising approach from the recent literature is the use of communication as a way to create and maintain social norms around diversity and inclusion. A recent study in a university[85] tested the impact of a series of posters and video content designed to target individuals' perceptions of social norms by communicating to them that their peers hold pro-diversity attitudes and engage in inclusive behaviours. Participants who were exposed to information

about their peers' pro-diversity attitudes and inclusive behaviours endorsed fewer racist beliefs and were more likely to reject discrimination. They also rated the university climate as more inclusive. In one of the experiments, participants from minority groups reported a greater sense of belonging and that their peers treated them with more respect.

The design of the study was informed by the behavioural science ideas of 'social marketing' and 'social norms messaging'.[86] This approach consists of communicating to people that most of their peers hold certain pro-social attitudes or tend to engage in certain pro-social behaviours. This often involves using data based on real attitude surveys. This influences people's perceptions of what is common or socially acceptable which in turn influences their behaviour. This type of social norm framing shown to be more effective than messages that present inclusive behaviours as a set of rules that people must comply with. It is also in contrast to interventions that focus on improving awareness and knowledge. A social marketing approach could easily be used in a workplace setting, though since the research was undertaken within a university, it is unclear how such an approach would play out in social settings where there is more prejudice and a less inclusive climate to start with.

FAIR PROCESS

SUMMARY

- Fairness is central to inclusion, but fairness alone does not guarantee inclusion.
- Typical approaches to fairness may not boost inclusion since they do not necessarily affirm employees' identity, nor ensure feelings of belonging and safety.
- Employers should take proactive approach to fairness that takes employees' identity into account.

Fairness is closely related to inclusion, but the links between them are complex. For example, some definitions of inclusion explicitly refer to 'equitable employment practices'.[4] While there is scarce empirical evidence linking specific fairness-related actions and inclusion, several studies show links between employees' perceptions of fairness and inclusion-related outcomes. For example, fair decision-making processes are an important factor determining employees' feelings of security[8], which is likely to be particularly true for women and ethnic minorities.

Other studies suggest that fairness and inclusion are distinct: employees may perceive that they are treated fairly, in that key HR decisions such as hiring and promotions are based on merit, while simultaneously feeling that their social identity is not valued and socially integrated within the organisation. Therefore, fairness and inclusion may sometimes be in conflict.[75]

Further theoretical work,[76,77] draws attention to different forms of justice that may be relevant within a workplace environment to promote inclusion:

Procedural justice: Fairness in the design of formal human resource decision-making processes, policies and practices that are used to determine outcomes such as performance and pay.

Distributive justice: Fairness in employees' work outcomes (such as pay, benefits) against their work contributions.

Interactional justice: Fairness in the quality of interaction that people receive from authorities and third parties.

Interpersonal justice: Treating people with courtesy, dignity and respect by authorities/ third parties.

Informational justice: Fair explanations provided to employees about why certain practices were used or why outcomes were distributed in a certain way.

Equal opportunities legislation led to many organisations focusing on procedural justice: promoting equal opportunities in hiring and promotions based on merit, disregarding individuals' social identities. This approach may not boost inclusion since it does not necessarily satisfy employees' 'need for uniqueness' and affirm their identity, nor ensure feelings of belonging and safety. For this, organisations may need to look beyond procedural justice and focus additionally on the forms of justice highlighted above,[78] focusing not just on individuals but also on historically disadvantaged groups.[79]

Practices focused on fairness that take an identity-conscious approach – for example, setting goals for the demographic composition of the workforce, monitoring the achievement of these goals, and including diversity goals in line managers' performance indicators – are associated with greater feelings of inclusion among minority employees, built on the perception that the organisation is fulfilling its commitments to diversity.[78] This type of proactive approach to fairness goes beyond fulfilling legal obligations and solving perceived problems associated with diversity.

APPENDIX 1: REVIEW METHODOLOGY

Our review focused on peer-reviewed academic studies, written in English, that:

- Outline interventions/activities designed to promote inclusive behaviours, competencies or organisational cultures or prevent non-inclusive workplace behaviours such as bullying, harassment and intimidation.
- Report on studies designed to evaluate the effectiveness of these interventions/activities or association between these interventions/activities with inclusion and related outcomes.

We generally focused on studies published since 2000, but referred to some earlier studies where they were clearly important to the field, for example where they proposed theoretical concepts that were subsequently influential.

To identify these studies, we used the following databases:

- Web of Science.
- Proquest's Social Science premium collection.
- EBSCOhost's Business source complete.
- Google Scholar.

We identified search terms using the PICO framework, which breaks down searches into the population of interest, phenomena of interest, and context, and develops search terms related to these.

Figure 2

PICO	Scope	Indicative search terms
Population	Employees	staff or personnel or work* or employee*
Phenomena of Interest	Inclusive culture (promotion of)	bullying OR bully OR bullies* OR harassment* OR intimidate* OR aggression* AND prevent* OR mitigate*
	Harassment and bullying (prevention of)	inclusi* (inclusion, inclusivity, inclusive) OR belonging AND culture* OR environment OR "diversity climate" OR "inclusive culture*" AND promote* OR improve*
Context	Workplaces	Work* (workplace, workforce, work) OR organisation* (organisation, organisational)

Once we had selected relevant studies from our search results, we further prioritised these based on considerations of quality and research methods as well as relevance to the workplace context. In the context of the guiding question of this review – 'What can employees do to promote inclusive workplace cultures' (ultimately a 'what works?' question) – the highest quality and most relevant study would be an evaluation study undertaken within an organisation which tested the impact of an intervention designed to improve inclusion. To provide the most robust evidence, this intervention would need to be allocated on a randomised basis, with some individuals receiving the intervention and others being part of the control group, and differences in outcomes between the two groups measured at a later stage, ideally with a time lag to show that the intervention had a durable impact.

Unfortunately, there is a severe lack of this type of randomised evaluation research in workplace settings looking at the effectiveness of interventions to reduce bias and discrimination (including the more specific topics addressed by this review – inclusive workplace culture and preventing non-inclusive behaviours).

There are now many field-based studies adopting randomisation methods to document the prevalence of discrimination but far fewer aimed at identifying effective methods to combat it.[88] This is partly owing to the many challenging practical and design issues involved in conducting robust evaluation studies in workplace settings.[89,90] Organisations rarely conduct evaluation studies of their diversity management strategies themselves.[20] It is much more common to find studies based on survey data or conducted within a laboratory setting. Therefore, we supplemented the few evaluation studies we found with survey and lab studies, which provide less robust evidence, but are far more abundant. We also reviewed meta-analyses and systematic reviews, which attempt to combine and synthesise the entire body of knowledge around a particular topic, and are more robust since they combine the insights of many different studies. In addition, there are many theoretical studies in this area. We have reviewed these where they propose a significant theory or framework, but largely we have focused on studies highlighting specific interventions or actions.

END NOTES

i. BITC and Deloitte (2019) YouGov Survey Findings, Workplace Discrimination, October. Polling undertaken of 2,000 UK employees.

ii. Mckinsey has warned that teams newly working in separate locations can feel confused and isolated with 'uncertainty about whom to talk with on specific issues and how and when to approach colleagues, leading to hold-ups and delays. In such a climate, there is a risk of amplifying non-inclusive dynamics.' See https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/diversity-and-inclusion/diversity-still-matter

iii. See 'Parents, especially mothers, paying heavy price for lockdown' available here https://www.ifs.org.uk/publications/14861

iv. Some have warned that companies slow to make progress on diversity and inclusion sometimes called 'laggards' may fall further behind as COVID-19 and ensuing economic challenges put additional pressure on companies e.g See https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/diversity-and-inclusion/diversity-still-matters

v. Two of these studies took place in the context of academic institutions (among undergraduate students 22 or academic staff 23). The extent to which these results would transfer to a typical workplace context is debateable.

vi. The intervention consisted of participants answering open ended questions (the questions were: "Imagine that you are a refugee fleeing persecution in a war-torn country. What would you take with you, limited only to what you can carry yourself, on your journey? Where would you flee to or would you stay in your home country? What do you feel would be the biggest challenge for you?").

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