

Managing diversity and diversity management

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper¹ is to contribute to the understanding of how ethical practices are developed in small enterprises. The ethical practices are researched with special attention to the owner-managers inclusion and positioning of employees with migrant backgrounds and its preconditions. The analyses show how diverse constructions of the migrant as labour is related to the owner-managers different modes of management that all reflect and depend on particular structural conditions in the Danish society. The article argues that the management of diversity is not results of conscious strategies for diversity management. Rather analyses of data from three small enterprises reveal a strong linkage between the owner-managers different perceptions of being owner-managers and their management of diversity. Further materials from a competition for a “diversity in work life” prize show that when owner-managers actually do identify with diversity management, they do so in profoundly different ways and for different reasons.

Keywords

Diversity management, migrant background, management practices and changes, qualitative analyses

Introduction

Theories of management like The Learning Organizations, Lean, CSR and Diversity Management are highly valued among today’s managers and consultancies have developed extensively to support

public and private businesses to implement these and other new theories of labour management. The employees have become a resource to invest in, and good labour management is expected to be conducted through the lens of modern human resource management theories. Parallel to this researchers investigate the so called best practice cases to further develop management theories and an increasing critical attention is developed towards companies, where management is not based on formal management strategies (Perrini, Russo and Tencati 2007). Researchers thus support the tendencies within management practice through the development of management theories and further through management education and the teaching of managers. This increasing institutionalization of management education has brought golden days to theories of management. Diversity Management is one such modern management theory that several Danish especially larger companies ascribe to. It is also a mode of management that has drawn attention from researchers and institutions aiming to develop best practice strategies (and prevent limitations) for conducting Diversity Management (Brandi and Hildebrandt 2003; Nour and Nellemann 2005).

As with other theories of modern management, Diversity Management has been subjected to more critical research traditions. It is here argued that Diversity Management involves an instrumental perception of ethnicity which allows for the employment of labour from a migrant background² *because* their ethnic background is expected to contribute with something particular to the business (Wrench 2003) – and in close relation to this – that diversity management risks to essentialise the employees in terms of ethnicity which allows for a continued differentiation among employees along lines of ethnicity (Staunæs 2005; Søndergaard 2005).

The critical voices highlight the risks of new ways of legitimising the exclusion and subordination of the migrant labour at the labour market and on the workplaces. This is an important knowledge about Diversity Management. However as some critical researchers also mentions, it is important to acknowledge that management of business and thereby categories of differentiations of employees is not identical with management theories and their conceptualisations of employees. If researchers' attention is limited to Diversity Management theory and to diversity management in practice it fails to reckon, that management of employees is often a result of much more complex perceptions, practices and relations of management. Further, if research on migrant employees is limited to research in organisations ascribing to Diversity Management then the inclusion and positioning of migrants in businesses subscribing to other theories of management or not subscribing to formal

management theories at all – but still employing employees with migrant backgrounds, are excluded from research. The small and medium sized enterprise, making up about 50% of the European labour market, have often been pointed out on basis of their frequent ‘lack’ of and even sometimes ‘reluctances’ towards HRM strategies (de Kok, Ublaner and Thurik, 2006; Hutchinson and Quintas, 2008; Helfen and Schuessler 2009) and thus risks to be eliminated from this kind of research.

This is not to say that management theories are out of interest – rather it is to say management theories are important to understand management of employees, but so are also other social and organisational aspects. Thus describing and understanding management, its demands on and differentiation among employees and here especially the inclusion and positioning of migrant employees on the labour market and in organisations thus calls for a view upon management that transgresses and expands the limitations of researching management practices as more or less successful or problematic realisations of management theories.

This paper illustrates, how management practice and their different constructions of employees can be analysed and understood both as particular modes of management and as more general expressions of the organising of the Danish society. Thus although SMEs are a world wide phenomenon it is here argued that modes of management in SMEs are strongly related to their immediate societal context. To do this, I will mainly draw on conclusions and examples from my research in employee management in small enterprises (SMEs) but also draw on other research in management and the welfare state. To start with, though, I will shortly introduce to the key concepts and theoretical construction of management and society that guides the ways in which I question and analyse management practice in a specific societal context.

Conceptualising management

To describe and understand the different modes of employee-management practice in relation to the organisation of society my primary theoretical inspiration is the ethnological state- and life-mode analyses. This theory includes a number of concepts and analytical perspectives that I will introduce continuously. As an introduction though, it is important to say that a core issue of the state- and life-mode analyses is to understand the viability of different modes of existence; peoples everyday life, organisation and businesses, societies, states - and the preconditions for their viability. In close relation to this is also the interest in changes and discontinuities in modes of existence. The concept

of praxis plays a key role in the analyses of different modes of existence. Life-modes, modes of production and state modes are all different conceptualisations of viable modes of existence based on the concept of praxis (Højrup 1989). Further the viability of these modes of existence are conceptualised as their capability to reproduce themselves through continuously exchanges with and mutual dependency to other praxis's. The ambition to understand conditions of reproduction and change for different modes of existence has made both the constituent elements of praxis and the preconditions for the reproduction of this praxis a focal point in research process. The analyses thus aim to distinguish constituting elements and relations of a mode of existence from non constituent elements and relations. As such research is claimed not to reach a higher understanding of a social phenomenon like management by adding yet another intersecting category like gender to the analyses but through an investigating that develops from the constituting aspects of the management praxis (Nielsen 2002). Further the concept of reproduction forces the analytical view to expand out of business and internal management to look for the societal preconditions allowing for these particular modes of management. In this way, the management practice and the construction of the labour force is not only a reflection of management thinking, but also a more general reflection of society. The interest for modes of existence and conditions for reproduction leads to an analytical bottom-up perspective from analysis of management practice to its preconditions.

Together with other theoretical and empirical reflections this perspective has led to an understanding of state and society not as two opposite positions but rather as two sides of the very same coin. Society – structures and different modes of existence that constitute society - are basically understood as a reflection of and developed through the states continuously fight to maintain its recognition and sovereignty in relation to other states (Højrup 1995; Kaspersen 2008). Society is the internal organisation of the state. In this state- and life-mode perspective it becomes possible to investigate the present modes of management and the construction of the labour force as historic specific expressions of the state of the state. Management and the construction of labour is viewed as part of the state, not something different from or separated from the state. It is analysed as expressions of the historical and present coping with challenges to maintain the sovereignty of the state in relation to other states (Christensen 2009; Nielsen 2004). In this paper, management of employees is thereby both investigated as aspects of different viable modes of management and constructions of the migrant as labour that call for particular preconditions in society to reproduce

themselves while at the same time these viable modes, their preconditions and challenges are also discussed as reflecting core elements of the organization of the Danish society.

The paper is based on ongoing research. It departs from my present research, where I analyse the relation between different modes of management in small enterprises and formations of labour with particular attention to labour with a migrant background. From there it develops into the discussion of how management and the construction of the migrant as labour relates to and reflects the particular organisation of the Danish society.

SME and different perceptions of the migrant as an employee

Managing migrants without diversity management

The first example relates to employment of migrants without strategies of diversity management. The example illustrates the rationalities of managers who hire migrant employees with no particular attention to their migrant background.

The analyses, which are based upon in-depth qualitative data, compare two very different small enterprises. The first is CP Concrete, a construction company owned and managed by two former workmates with ethnic majority backgrounds. CP Concrete has 18 employees, including two employees with migrant backgrounds. The other company, TK Production, is a manufacturing company owned by a Danish manager and a German sleeping partner. It has 38 employees, including the wife of the owner-manager, and two employees with migrant backgrounds.

The analyses have continually followed two interwoven tracks. The owner-managers' practices as owner-managers are explained through an analysis in which their practices as owner-managers are emphasised and related to other dimensions of their lives. This grip calls attention to the categories and perceptions through which the owner-managers regulate their involvement in their businesses in relation to other parts of their lives. This life-mode perspective is developed in conjunction with the analyses of the business histories, production processes, division of labour, and hiring and management of employees, structured by the concept of mode of production. The owner-managers' daily practices and statements are hereby also analysed in terms of providing particular positions for the employees, while at the same time reflecting managers' perceptions of management and

employees. The following concentrates on conceptualising similarities and differences among the owner-managers' perceptions of being owner-managers and how this relates to particular modes of managing employees and thus conditions the inclusion and positioning of employees in general and migrant employees in particular.

Starting with Chris, one of the owners of CP Construct, there is a strong link between his own involvement in the business and his management of employees. He consequently distinguishes between the business and his private life and thus reveals that his perception of and practice as an owner-manager is based on a profoundly distinction between work hours and spare time. This is also reflected in his management and perceptions of the employees: they are for an agreed amount of work hours and wages hired to do the work that he as a manager orders them to do. Further for Chris, the main issue is to have the work done professionally and this call for qualified labour and his own right to manage. It is on the basis of his perception of labour as qualified wage-earners that Chris hires and manages employees. The inclusion and positioning of migrants is not related to their migrant backgrounds, but to Chris expectations to them, just like other employees, to be qualified wage-earners. The distinction between work hours and spare time not only for himself but also for the employees and his perception of employees as qualified wage-earners makes it relevant to understand Chris perception of being an owner-manager and his whole approach to management as a particular expression of the wage-earner life mode.

This mode of management is contrasted by that of Peter, the other owner of CP Construct, Torben and Karin, owner-manager and wife of TK Production, who all expect that employees, just like themselves, are responsible in relation to their jobs, the business and life in general. Peter, Torben and Karin's own responsibilities are first and foremost expressed in the way they organise their own everyday lives; the integration of private life and business. But this is also expressed when they hire their own friends, friends and family of employees or people from the neighbourhood, not necessarily because they are qualified, but because they are in need of jobs. In contrast to Chris and his focus on professionalism, the three other owner-managers find it natural to adjust jobs to fit the people, and thereby include employees of very different personal, social and skilled capabilities, including migrants. The integration of privacy and business makes responsibility a necessity and truism that not only counts for owner-managers themselves but also forms the basic of the owner-managers modes of hiring and managing employees. These owner-managers all seem to realise the

basic principles of the self-employed life mode. Anyhow their very different positions in the businesses seem to fill in different meanings in the idea of responsibility. To Karin responsibility relates to employees being eg sweet or grateful where as Torben applies categories like serious working or do his best. Thus, not only the decisive differences among owner-managers' life modes, but also the particular positions and conditions for the reproduction of these life modes in the businesses provide different management practices and thus mark the positions provided for employees with different expectations.

Applying the theoretical concepts of mode of production and life mode in the analyses has made it possible to accentuate and distinguish between owner-managers profoundly different management practices as either a separate or an integrated aspect of their whole daily lives. Conceptualised as different life modes – wage-earner life mode against the self-employed life mode – this difference is both reflected in the owner-managers different perceptions of being owner-managers and make up fundamental different positions from where their management practices in general and their inclusion and positioning of migrant employees in particular develops. To the wage-earner life mode management of employees develops from a perception of the employee as a wage-earner to instruct whereas to the self-employed life mode management develops from the expectation of the employee to be a person that takes responsibility for the job he has been given. Further differences in particular modes of management among owner-managers of identical life modes is observed and explained in relation to the particular positions and situations of the managers in the businesses. The analyses also show that owner-management might consist of more managers whose different practices create more complex modes of management and complex positions for employees. In the businesses included in this text migrant employees are positioned on equal terms with other employees.

Further, the inclusion and positioning of migrants are in none of the businesses related to prominent management theories, such as diversity management or corporate social responsibility. The migrant background is not in itself expected to qualify or disqualify the employees in relation to their participation in the production processes or social relations. Nor is the management associated with particular attention to migrants as different from other kinds of employees. Rather the privately owned SMEs seem as a particular mode of production to make room for modes of management strongly influenced by the owner-managers particular life modes, perceptions of and position in the

business. The inclusion and positions provided for migrant employees as well as for other employees is thereby directly related to the owner-managers particular perceptions of employees; here categorised as qualified wage-earners respectively responsible persons.

Managing migrants with diversity management

The next example illustrates other small enterprises that identify themselves with a Diversity Management strategy. The empirical data consists of different companies' contribution to a contest on The Diversity in Worklife Prize of the Year launched by The Danish Centre for Human Rights since 2003. This empirical data is not yet throughout analysed, but it is included to indicate other ways of reasoning among SME owner-managers, when including migrant employees – and thus other ways of categorising the employees with a migrant background than we saw in the first examples.

The contributions to the contest is by The Danish Center for Human Rights organised on the basis of the size of the business, measured by the number of employees and by their status as public or private business. All participants have responded to a questionnaire and have in very different degree enclosed further information about their management practice. The questionnaire leaves room for qualitative descriptions of different aspects related to diversity management as defined by The Centre. At a general level the contributions reflects a difference between larger and smaller companies in relation to the formalisation and documentation of the Diversity Management strategy. Where larger companies often have written strategies for Diversity Management, smaller companies mostly do not.

Focussing on the arguments stressed by the smaller companies for hiring employees with a migrant background three arguments seem to dominate. The first points to the migrant labour as part of the more general labour force and thereby part of the required employees, while the two others argue, that today's composition of the labour force makes it necessary to employ people with a migrant background within these particular branches if any employees at all or that the marked and composition of customers makes it profitable to have employees reflecting the ethnic composition of the customers. Thus within companies identifying with Diversity Management several categorisations of the migrant occur. Sometimes the migrant background is mainly perceived as an objective fact of employees background not ascribed certain business valuable or challenging aspects, sometimes the migrant background is ascribed certain cultural needs and practices that

requires certain management initiatives to create a well working staff and sometimes the migrant background is expected to represent a certain resource, that requires more or less management to become useful for the business. The different ways of categorising migrant employees thus seem to construct different kinds of challenges to and ways of management. Thus what we can learn from these examples is that even among small businesses identifying with Diversity Management, the migrant is categorised in several different ways that either highlight or dissolve the importance of the migrant background. The significance ascribed to employee's migrant background is thereby not fixed but highly diverse and flexible. The last examples have not yet been analysed in relation to the owner-managers different life modes but the different categories and management of labour with a migrant background might, as in the preceding examples, usefully be analysed as life mode specific responses to branch and business specific challenges.

Anyhow, what the examples do tell us is that owner-managers identification with Diversity Management neither involves identical perceptions of the migrant as labour nor identical management practices. Further – linking to the first examples – managing employees with a migrant background, does not necessarily involve Diversity Management strategies. Thus within SME's it is possible to observe several different modes constructing and managing employees with a migrant background.

External relations and preconditions of recruitment

In the following sections I open for the discussion of how to analyse and understand the coexistence and reproduction of all these different categorisations and positions of the migrant and modes of management. To do this I change the analytical perspective from the internal organisation of the businesses to their external relations and preconditions.

Looking at the external relations of the businesses, it is obvious that particular relations with the labour market are important in terms of the potential for migrant inclusion. All owner-managers draw on their particular networks when recruiting employees. To become an employee in these businesses is not a question of responding to advertisements in different kinds of media. Rather, it is about access to and participation in the networks from which employees are recruited. In general, due to segregation in Danish society, ethnic majority employers have less access to migrant

employees and migrants will mostly be disadvantaged when ethnic majority employers seek new employees.

What also seems to be common is the recruitment of employees through the local employment office. This relation of recruitment is present in most companies and does involve employees with a migrant background. The procedures seem to be that the employees are at first hired with partly financial support from the local authorities and only thereafter (maybe) fully employed and paid by the employer. From the perspective of the owner-manager this is potentially a financial benefit for the business. But the relation can also be regarded as a societal condition brought about by politicians to facilitate the inclusion of migrant labour on the labour market. The organising of the unemployment system can thus be seen as the precondition that makes this dimension of recruitment in the businesses possible, while at the same time the initial public contribution to the wages, can be seen as a political strategy to meet and overcome potential resistance among employers against hiring of employees from a migrant background. This way of recruitment thus strongly anchors the management of the businesses in the very particular organisation of the Danish welfare society.

What I aim to point to here is this close relation between the unemployment system in Denmark and the procedures of recruitment on the labour market. This link – which I will not develop further in this paper – is one of the state-mode specific conditions that make possible (part of) the recruitment on the labour market and as such also interacts with or even disciplines managers and the functioning of the labour market. In this perspective particular ways of recruitment reflects more general aspects of the structure and functioning of the state.

External relations and preconditions of management

In this section I will elaborate further on the relations between particular business practices and more general aspects of the state through a focus on yet another relation and precondition; namely the relations and preconditions, that makes the reproduction or change in the ideas of good management and formations of employees possible. Why do some owner-managers identify with Diversity Management while others do not? Did the knowledge of Diversity Management lead to the hiring of migrant employees among firms participating in the competition for the “diversity in work life” prize? Or was hiring of migrants an already existing practice that the owner managers

suddenly found possible to redefine as Diversity Management - and refine through ideas of Diversity Management? The preliminary analyses of the cases from the competition seems to support the last assumption and thus indicates a dialectical relation between changes in management practice and management theory. As this part of my data is not yet fully analysed, I will question the reproduction and potentials of changes between management practices and new ideas of management by returning to an example from one of the first mentioned companies; TK Production.

When we first arrived at the company to do our fieldwork the youngest son, Bo, had just been hired as a consultant to implement Lean as a new strategy for efficient management of that part of the production process that has to do with the fabrication of the products. The following reflect Torben, the owner manager and father, and Bo, the consultant and son, different reflections upon the Lean management strategy and its implementation.

Bo tells that a core element in Lean is the board meetings. It is like the cream. It is the place where progress takes place. The idea of the board meeting is that employees during the fabrication process continuously write their upcoming ideas to changes on the board and then the ideas are to be discussed on the board meetings where also Torben and other employees from the development section participates. But unfortunately, Bo tells, they (Torben etc.) often fail to turn up at the meetings and the meetings are therefore often cancelled. Bo complains that his father has not yet understood what culture and management is. Management is to make people work; to make people do the piece of work, that you as a manager defines, Bo says. So, as Torben is the manager he should, according to Bo, frame the work more precisely and manage to make sure that people want to do the work in that particular way. As a manager it is his task, but Bo thinks Torben leaves the employees to themselves. People must be nursed and people are different, Bo says. Bo explains that his whole attitude towards Lean and how to run the business is based on his theoretical education and especially a particular book – and that this book focuses much upon values; on culture, which his father does not yet understand.

As already indicated Bo's approach to management is conflicting with Torben's. About the implementing of Lean Torben says that the former fabrication process was working well but based upon some more old fashioned principles that took too much space and store capacity. It was not

based on “smart theories” but developed through what he and other employees from time to time had found the most appropriate and easiest. He says that Bo has entered the business with knowledge about some new theories that he now uses in practice – and when Bo explains their way of working, Torben finds the ideas quite reasonable. The most important reason for Torben to implement Lean is the demands on the market for access to control of fabrication processes and Lean seems to be a very qualified tool to secure this access. Further the management of employees that Bo places in the centre of Lean, does not have Torben’s interest. He very explicit claims that he does not meet the demands of modern ideas of management and that he does not intend to meet them as they do not have his interest. What he is concerned about is the costumers and the development of the products based on his knowledge about the costumers new and redefined needs. That is where he concentrates his management and most other tasks are delegated to other employees in the business. Based on experiences when he was formerly an employee himself, he ‘knows’ that a manager has to delegate and he believes that people are able to manage the tasks delegated to them.

What is interesting here is both that Torben accepts the implementation of Lean in TK production, but the implementation that he recognise is not identical with Bo’s broader version of Lean but only the parts supporting Torben’s already existing way of thinking management. He does not turn up at the board meetings. He does not want to be a “modern” employee manager, but leaves responsibility to those he trusts. Torben recognises the new ideas of Lean but in a way that fits into his already being practice as a manager. This exemplifies, like the former example of Diversity Management, that new theories of management might be implemented in businesses but also that the mode of implementation reflects the already existing mode of management. At the same time the presence of Bo and his eager not only to change the fabrication processes but also the management of employees might in the longer run change or replace Torbens mode of employee management. Also for the case of diversity management it is possible to imagine, that the theory in the longer run leads to further changes in practice.

Further interesting is the very different societal preconditions for Bo and Torbens different ideas of management. Where Torbens management practice is based on knowledge, he has attained through personal experiences from former jobs, his role as an owner manager and market demands then Bo’s management practice is first and foremost based on ideas from management theories. It is a

contrast between knowledge based on experiences and theoretically based knowledge. So where Torben's ideas and practice presupposes his own personal experiences at the marked and the marked itself, then Bo's practice presupposes management theories and the institutionalization of management learning. As such their very opposing but co-existing access to management anchor them in two different preconditions in the Danish society.

State sanctioned ideas of management

The preceding analyses have shown that different life modes of SME owner-managers are profoundly reflected in their different modes of management and constructions of labour. Further the analyses show that it is not the life mode it self that determines the particular mode of management and construction of labour but rather owner-managers the life mode specific perceptions of and solutions to their own, others and the business situations. The different categories of the migrant employee therefore not only reflect different life modes but rather life mode specific perceptions of e.g. the possibilities to recruit employees or to satisfy demands at the marked, in order to in the very end maintain a well run business; to reproduce their life mode specific way of living.

The analyses do not elaborate on why different life modes seem to appear within small enterprises and co-exist in society. As this very important question is discussed in other research (Højrup 1989, 1995; Buus 2001; Bernild 2003), I have chosen to follow another analytical track, in order to keep the attention on management and the different constructions of the migrant. The analyses show that the employees with a migrant background are constructed in several different ways. Even managers identifying with the same management theory – Diversity Management – do construct the migrant labour differently. This is not to say that management theories are without influence on management practice, but to say that the theories are understood and implemented into the businesses in accordance with the owner-managers life mode specific perceptions and use of this theory.

Thus the analyses also points to the meeting of different ideas of management as a potential relation of change and thus as a place to study change and resistance (Taylor 1981). As a consultant and a manager, Bo and Torbens competing perceptions of management call for two different preconditions in society that they are not themselves in charge of but rather mutually dependent on;

the marked and the institutionalising of management learning. Their ideas of management thus presupposes a society, where the economy is organised in a marked that is both able to reproduce it self while at the same time develops in close relation to other institutions in society; the educational system and as also mentioned the unemployment system. Managers' identification with Diversity Management and the recruitment of labour through the public unemployment system also anchor the management and constructions of the migrant firmly in the societal context. Researching for preconditions for management thus calls attention to the organisation of society and potential competing ideas and practices.

But how do we understand the way society is organised, the constructions of the migrant as different kind of labour, and that some perceptions of management become more powerful than others. According to Lorbiecki (2001) Diversity Management reflects a change in organisational response to workforce heterogeneity from resistance and discrimination towards access and legitimacy to today's learning. This is to some degree true, but Diversity Management is not succeeding a period, where all migrant labour was excluded from employment, it does not erase other ways of including migrant labour and it does not prevent ongoing discrimination. In other words Diversity Management is a theory of management coexisting with other theories, ideas and practices of management. As we have seen employment of migrant labour relates to several different modes of management and the employee with a migrant background is subjected to categorisation flavoured and not flavoured by the category of ethnicity. In other words the migrant labour is subjected to multiple and changing categories.

The above mentioned examples show the co-existence of different perceptions of good management as well as different perceptions of the right source to management knowledge. Lean and Diversity Management are theories developed later but now seem to challenge than the existing and experienced based management practices. But how come that these new theories of management can challenge elder and well established ways of managing and thereby enlarge or change the categorisations of migrant employees?

My theoretically based thesis, that needs further empirical investigation, is that the power of these new management theories reflects the very specific way that the Danish state tries to combat what it conceptualises as globalization (Kaspersen 2005). The knowledge society and the innovation

economy have been developed as strategies to combat the challenges of globalization (Christensen 2009; Korsgaard 2004). These challenge both calls for businesses to become knowable and innovative and for employers to be knowable and innovative. Lean and Diversity Management are both theories that, at a theoretical level, offer a (re)definition of the unskilled worker and the excluded migrant. From being a too wage-intensive labour force, labour in fabrication become innovators. From being excluded from employment due to lack of language skills and different cultural needs, the culture of the migrant labour is now constructed as a potential to innovation. The new management theories thus create a new way to categorise the migrant labour, making the flexible ways of employing the migrant even boarder. Coexisting with the other categories of the migrant, Diversity Management becomes a category that facilitates the inclusion (and exclusion³) of migrant labour as the need for labour changes. Further the political organisation of the unemployment system can be seen as a state mode specific way to support and speed up not only the flexible inclusion of the migrant but also to construct and broaden the managers' perceptions of the migrant as labour. Also the political claim on applied science, the restructuring of research institutions and their finances that has taken place within the last 10 years in Denmark can be seen as a political recognition of certain modes knowledge as true knowledge. It is in this context that the power of management theories develops to combat experience based knowledge.

The bottom-up perspective can thus be turned round and the same relations and processes seen from a state-perspective as a state internal strategy to combat what it sees as challenges of the global market. Taken even further this means that changes in the state to state internal competitions for sovereignty give rise to state internal changes in the definition of the appropriate economy, management and labour force. The enlargement in the conception of the migrant from a "problem" to a "potential resource" reflects this change. In this top-down perspective modern management, new ideas of management and conceptualisations of labour is seen as particular practices recognised by the state as universal means to maintain a competitive workforce and economy.

The perspective turns the bottom-up analytical perspective round, and investigates the different modes of management as sanctioned by the state; the sanctions of the state becomes a way to subject and form managers and labour to the kind of good management and good work force, that the present challenges of interstate relations demand.

¹ Working paper for USE 2009 - Understanding Small Entreprises. International conference, 20-23 October 2009 in Helsingør.

² The term migrant is chosen to refer in general to people from a migrant background; 1st, 2nd, or 3rd generation immigrants.

³ See John Wrench (2003) for a critical discussion of the social consequences when inclusion of migrant labour on the labour market is left to the businesses.

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