

**TRANSLATING DIVERSITY INTO CARCO:
AN ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTORS'
INSTITUTIONAL BRICOLAGE**

Patrizia Zanoni
Hasselt University
SEIN
3590 Diepenbeek, Belgium
Phone: 32-11-268672
E-mail: patrizia.zanoni@uhasselt.be
&
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
Research Centre for Organisation Studies

&
Maddy Janssens
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
Research Centre for Organisation Studies
Naamsestraat 69
3000 Leuven, Belgium
Phone: 32-16-326874
Fax: 32-16-326732
E-mail: maddy.janssens@econ.kuleuven.be

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the institutional work of translation from an agent-centered perspective. Based on qualitative data collected in an automobile company, we analyze how nine different types of organizational actors, acting as institutional 'bricoleurs', translate the institution of diversity in distinct ways. We show that their heterogeneous translations derive from the partially different logics they are exposed to from their different organizational positions and the need to construct diversity in ways that are functional to their practical goals. The study generates new insights into agents' micro-work of translation and institutional incorporation and advances new directions for diversity research.

Whereas early neo-institutional literature aimed at explaining isomorphic organizational behavior within fields, more recently, attention has shifted to explaining heterogeneous organizational responses to institutional pressures. Scholars have started to highlight the fragmented nature of fields deriving from the coexistence of multiple, even conflicting institutional logics – or the “cultural beliefs and rules that structure cognition and decision making in a field” (Lounsbury, 2007: 289) – and organizations’ different exposure to them (Haveman & Rao, 1997; Hoffman, 1999; Rao, Monin & Durand, 2003; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Townley, 2002; Zilber, 2002).

Although these studies have drawn renewed attention to the cultural dimension of institutional processes, their analyses have generally focused on the outcomes of conflicting institutional logics over time, examining less the underlying work of sense-making. As a result, there is today a paucity of studies and limited understanding of how institutional logics are interpreted and enacted by individuals in organizations (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; for exceptions, see Doorewaard & Bijsterveld, 2001; Hayes, 2008; Zilber, 2002). Such neglect is particularly surprising given the renewed attention for the foundational role of meaning (Philip, Lawrence & Hardy, 2004; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Zilber, 2008) and the cultural (Lounsbury, 2007; Friedland, 2002) in the working of institutions and institutional processes. If institutions shape organizational behavior by virtue of their embeddedness in systems of culture-specific, shared meanings, rules and norms, much more study should be devoted to understanding how institutions are made sense of by individuals within organizations (Hasselbladh & Kalinnikos, 2000; Stinchcombe, 1997; Zilber, 2008). Already in 1959, Selznick remarked that “[t]he problem is to link the larger view to the more limited one, to see how institutional change

is produced by, and in turn shapes, the interaction of individuals in day-to-day situations” as “no social process can be understood save as it is located in the behavior of individuals, and especially in their perceptions of themselves and each other” (1959: 4; see also Kraatz & Block, 2008).

This study seeks to advance our understanding of the micro-dynamics of organizational actors’ sense-making of an institution. We specifically examine how they translate an institution in distinct ways by virtue of their different positions in the organization. We do so from a theoretical perspective combining translation theory (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Latour, 1986) and bricolage (Lévi-Strauss, 1974). Conceptualizing institutional incorporation as a process of translation, we assume that institutional logics are not simply adopted, but rather undergo a transformation adapting them to specific organizational contexts (cf. Boxenbaum, 2006; Love & Cebon, 2008; Zbaraki, 1998). The notion of bricolage complements translation theory by highlighting organizational actors’ creative institutional work involved in translation and offering methodological tools to analyze how such work occurs (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Campbell, 1997; Douglas 1986). Bricoleurs are agents who develop new solutions, objects and ideas by creatively combining elements from the specific set of finite resources available to them. In this study, we specifically analyze how organizational actors in different organizational positions combine different institutional logics available to them in distinct, creative ways (Campbell, 1997) to make sense of an institution.

Empirically drawing on qualitative data collected at CarCo, the Belgian subsidiary of a U.S. multinational automobile producer, we examine how employees translate the institution of diversity into their organization in distinct ways from their different

organizational positions as operators, team leaders, supervisors, production managers, human resource top management, human resource administrators, human resource administrators in the factory, medics and paramedics, and trade union representatives.

Diversity is particularly suitable to study translation because it is an institution that, originating in the U.S. business world in the late 1980s (Johnston & Packer, 1987; Roosevelt Thomas, 1990), has recently widely spread throughout the western world (Prasad, Pringle & Konrad, 2006). During its early phase of institutionalization, diversity has become institutionalized at least in the sense that socio-demographic characteristics – such as one’s gender, ethnicity, religion, language, age, sexual orientation, etc. – are today widely considered identities that are relevant to organizations and that need to be actively managed by them. However, the meaning of diversity is still contested, and different actors draw on multiple, country-specific, institutional logics to infuse it with meaning (Boxenbaum, 2006; Ferner, Almond & Colling, 2005; Glastra, Meerman, Schedler & de Vries, 2000; Süs & Kleiner, 2008). Such different and potentially contradictory institutional logics around diversity are likely to be particularly visible in the foreign subsidiary of a U.S. multinational, such as CarCo, as local branches of multinationals face institutional logics stemming from headquarters and its institutional context as well as institutional logics stemming in the local context in which local branches themselves are embedded (Gooderham, Nordhaug & Ringdal, 2006; Morgan & Kristensen, 2006; Tempel et al., 2006).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

From Diffusion to Translation

Originally conceptualized by Latour (1986), translation was introduced in institutional theory by Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) in the mid-1990s as a promising perspective to better understand how institutions spread in space and time. Traditionally, neo-institutionalists had examined how institutional frames diffused leading to organizational isomorphism within (Strang & Soule, 1998) and across (Boxenbaum, 2006) fields. The diffusion perspective rested on the assumption that, in travelling, rational myths remained unchanged, and that possible contradictions between them and organizational efficiency would be solved by decoupling formal structure from the underlying organizational practices (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). However, institutional scholars observed that ideas which were supposed to be similar presented themselves “in a great variety of ways” (Sahlin-Andersson, 1996: 70), and that “even if instances of decoupling repeatedly occurred, in many instances the introduced language and models did have clear consequences in terms of how the organizations and practices came to be identified, assessed and presented” (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008: 221).

Translation provided a conceptual framework for explaining the simultaneous homogeneity and heterogeneity as a result of the “transformations of ideational and material objects in the process of their movement and adoption” (Zilber, 2006: 283). Such transformation resulted from the disembedding, or abstraction, of the idea from its original context occurring in its objectification into a text, a picture, a story or a prototype and the subsequent re-embedding of the latter into the new context (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996). Individuals re-embed an objectified idea by interpreting it along with words, images, and values they already know, and by enacting it in concrete actions and structures. This alignment occurs because individuals’ attention is biographically

determined, that is, their personal position in time and space and their ‘purpose at hand’ determine the relative salience of the elements of the objectified idea in a given situation (Schütz, 1973: 9; cited in Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996: 28).

Translators as Embedded Agents

Different from diffusion, translation does not conceptualize individuals as passive carriers of ready-to-wear institutional meaning (Scott, 1995) carrying out ‘programmed practical action’ authorized and constrained by institutional logics (Creed, Scully & Austin, 2002). Rather, it conceives them as purposive agents whose action is necessary for institutional translation to occur:

The spread in time and space of anything – claims, orders, artefacts, goods – is in the hands of people; each of these people may act in many different ways, letting the token drop, or modifying it, or deflecting it, or betraying it, or adding to it, or appropriating it (Latour, 1986: 267; cited in Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996: 23).

At the same time, translators are not completely free agents, they are embedded (Battilana, 2006; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Garud, Hardy & Maguire, 2007; Holm, 1995; Seo & Creed, 2002). Their purposive action is bounded by their position within existing structures and their goals, which shape their point of view and interpretation of objectified ideas (cf. Bourdieu, 1990).

Despite the centrality of agency in translation theory, few studies have to date empirically analyzed how agents translate institutions (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996: 25; Sahlin-Andersson & Engwall, 2002; for exceptions, see Doorewaard & van Bijsterveld, 2001; Morris & Lancaster, 2005). Most studies have rather focused on the *content* of translation, that is, how institutions change as a result of translation (Giroux & Taylor, 2002; Maguire & Hardy, 2009; Zilber, 2006). Studies of powerful actors’ institutional

translation work across societal or institutional spheres and/or time leave the manifestations of agency underexamined (Boxenbaum, 2006; Frenkel, 2005), while analyses of more mundane, day-to-day institutional translation work of ordinary individuals in organizations are lacking (cf. Leblebici, Salancik, Copay & King, 1991; Oliver, 1991; Stinchcombe, 1997).

This omission may partially stem in the absence, within translation theory, of specific conceptual tools to analyze translation texts from an agent-centered perspective. Scholars have used text-centered concepts such as ‘frames’ (Boxenbaum, 2006), ‘connotative meaning’ and ‘denotative meaning’ (Zilber, 2006), ‘editing rules’ (Sahlin-Andersson, 1996; Morris & Lancaster, 2005), and ‘alignment, enrolment and congealment’ (Doorewaard & van Bijsterveld, 2001) to study translation. In this study, we draw on the notion of bricolage to develop an alternative, more agent-centered analytical approach to it.

Translating through Bricolage of Institutional Logics

The metaphor of bricolage has recently been advanced by neo-institutional scholars as a way to better capture the nature of individuals’ institutional work, or the “purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006: 215; Baker & Nelson, 2005; Campbell, 1997; Ciborra, 1996; Djelic & Quack, 2007, Douglas, 1986; Hatton, 1989). The notion was originally developed by French anthropologist Lévi-Strauss to distinguish the practical rationality of human action from the formal logic of science:

The ‘bricoleur’ is adept at performing a large number of diverse tasks; but, unlike the engineer, he does not subordinate each of them to the availability of raw materials

and tools conceived and procured for the purpose of the project. His universe of instruments is closed and the rules of his game are always to make do with ‘whatever is at hand’, that is to say with a set of tools and materials which is always finite and is also heterogeneous because what it contains bears no relation to the current project, or indeed to any particular project, but is the contingent result of all the occasions there have been to renew or enrich the stock or to maintain it with the remains of previous constructions or destructions. The set of the ‘bricoleur’s’ means cannot therefore be defined in terms of a project (which would presuppose besides, that, as in the case of the engineer, there were, at least in theory, as many sets of tools and materials or ‘instrumental sets’, as there are different kinds of projects). It is to be defined only by its potential use or, putting this another way and in the language of the ‘bricoleur’ himself, because the elements are collected or retained on the principle that ‘they may always come in handy’ (Lévi-Strauss, 1974: 19).

The bricoleur is a distinct type of agent who follows a logic of action, of ‘making do’ (Baker & Nelson, 1997), to solve the problem s/he faces (Sahlin-Andersson, 1996). S/he is embedded in a specific spatial-temporal context, determining the set of available resources, ‘tools at hand’, that can be drawn from for action (Lévi-Strauss, 1974; Hatton, 1989). Bricolage can occur on a technical or a speculative plane. In the first case, it is about dealing with material manipulations and applications, in the latter about sense-making, ordering and explaining by drawing on a limited set of ‘explanatory categories’ (Hatton, 1989).

The finiteness of the bricoleur’s universe is constraining, yet, on the positive side, it stimulates his or her ability to draw and combine resources in unexpected, creative and even ‘unorthodox’ ways to respond to events. For Baker and Nelson (2005), bricolage rests on individuals’ questioning of the taken-for-granted nature of resources, resulting in their ability to ‘make something out of nothing’. Specifically, they argue that value is generated by perceiving available tools as potential resources in function of a specific goal, even if they were useless or worse, liabilities, in the past. This ability originates in bricoleurs’ disregard for “the limitations of commonly accepted definitions of material

inputs, practices, and definitions and standards, insisting instead on trying out solutions, observing, and dealing with the results” (Baker & Nelson, 2005: 334).

Applying the notion of bricolage to institutional theory, we conceptualize institutional bricolage as agents’ creative recombination of institutional logics available to them (cf. Campbell, 1997) to translate an institution. We argue that organizational actors strive to translate an institution in ways that are functional to achieving their specific practical goals deriving from their different positions within the organization. Our analysis is structured along three research questions. 1) Which distinct set of institutional logics ‘at hand’ do different types of organizational actors draw from to translate the institution of diversity? 2) How do these actors combine institutional logics to produce translations of diversity functional to their distinct practical goals? And, as a result, 3) What meanings does the institution of diversity acquire in the process of its translation into the organization?

The Institution of Diversity

The notion of diversity is generally traced back to the publication, in 1987, of the *Workforce 2000* Report by the U. S. Department of Labor (Johnston & Packer, 1987), which projected that in the 21st century white men would become a minority of the active population. These (largely overestimated) figures triggered managerial interest in how to deal with an increasingly demographically diverse workforce (Nkomo & Cox, 1996) in order to minimize its possible negative effects on organizational functioning and performance and to maximize its potential advantages. The institutionalization of diversity in the U.S. was favored by the increasing attacks, under the Reagan

administration, to the equal opportunity/affirmative action legislation of the 1960s in the form of reverse-discrimination lawsuits, criticism from the administration, the so-called ‘white male backlash’, and anti-affirmative action movements at the state level (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998; Ferner, Almond & Colling, 2005; Linnehan & Konrad, 1999). Diversity offered companies an appealing alternative, constructing socio-demographic differences as potential resources rather than as grounds for employees’ rights, shifting the focus from a legal rationale of combating discrimination to a business rationale of optimal use of human resources (Edelman, Riggs Fuller & Mara-Drita, 2001).

The ‘business case’ of diversity is generally made by referring to three types of potential contributions diversity can make to the bottom line: attracting and retaining skilled workers on an increasingly diverse labor market, servicing increasingly diverse markets by matching diverse customers with a more diverse workforce, and improving organizational learning and creativity through employees’ exposure to a wider range of perspectives (Cox and Blake, 1991; Ely & Thomas, 2001; Kochan et al., 2003). The argument is that the potential competitive advantage deriving from diversity can be achieved if diversity is strategically managed to get the best out of every employee, independent of his or her profile (Boxenbaum, 2006; Kelly & Dobbin, 1998).

Organizations are typically expected to increase diversity of their personnel also at the higher organizational levels, ensure fair management processes – i.e. bias-free human resource management (HRM) –, and introduce specifically designed diversity practices (i.e. diversity training, a diversity council, mentoring programs, affinity groups, etc.) (Cox & Blake, 1991).

Differently from the U.S., where diversity and diversity management are today largely institutionalized, the notion of diversity only entered the Belgian public discourse in the second half of the 1990s (own reference). As most European countries, Belgium does not have strong equal opportunities/affirmative action legislation comparable to the U.S. In the past, labor market policies singled out ‘groups at risk’, such as the low educated and long-term unemployed (Lamberts et al., 2005), which were over-represented among the beneficiaries of unemployment benefits and were seen as in need of specific support to re-enter the labor market. However, the shortage of labor during the positive economic cycle around the turn of the century stimulated the emergence of a public discourse of diversity, which re-framed unemployed individuals as untapped labor potential that needed to be ‘activated’ to contribute to the economy.

In the last decade, the federal and regional governments have stimulated the employment of women, ethnic minorities, disabled and older workers through a number of diversity initiatives. Flanders, the Northern region of Belgium, has launched awareness-raising and information campaigns for employers, subsidized diversity action plans in organizations, and funded studies of best diversity management practices and tailor-made programs to increase minorities’ qualifications (Doyen, Lambert & Janssens, 2002). A series of initiatives has also been taken to facilitate work-family balance (short-time parental leave, increase in public day-care facilities, etc.) and senior employees are entitled to part-time work to stimulate them to remain longer economically active. Next to these support initiatives, under E.U. impulse, Belgium passed stricter anti-discrimination laws in 2003 and later in 2007¹.

¹ These laws have had to date little impact on the practice of diversity management in Belgium. The law of 25 February 2003 was partially declared null by the Belgian Constitutional Court in 2004 because it too

Private actors have also facilitated the institutionalization of diversity. (U.S.) multinational companies have played a pioneer role in diversity management by increasingly requiring their Belgian branches to set up diversity programs, create diversity officer positions, and meet demographic composition objectives set up at the European and international level. For instance, companies such as Hewlett Packard, Johnson & Johnson, Ford, Volvo Cars, IBM, Conrad Hotels are renowned for their highly developed diversity policies. Local (smaller) companies, on the contrary, have generally started managing diversity out of a business need, such as lack of majority workers, more diverse customers, or both. In these cases, diversity management has tended to be more directly related to making work accessible to a wider group of possible employees, including initiatives such as language training, work schedule flexibility measures, work process streamlining, and adapted newcomers' programs (own reference).

In Belgium, diversity is still in an early phase of institutionalization. There is wide consensus on the relevance of socio-demographic differences among labor and the need to actively 'manage' such differences, both at the societal and organizational levels. However, the meaning of the institution is still fragmented and even contested, as different actors discursively construct diversity by drawing from multiple institutional logics including a business logic of responding to a changing socio-demographic composition of the labor or the consumer markets, a public logic of maximal

vaguely formulated what acts were to be considered discriminatory. Three new anti-discrimination laws, implementing the European Directives 2004/113/EC, 2000/78/EC and 2000/43/EC of the Council of the European Union, were passed only on 10 May, 2007, and today still little jurisprudence exists on their grounds. A first law concerns the equality of treatment between men and women. A second law, the 'anti-discrimination law', bans all forms of distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on sex, age, sexual orientation, civil status, birth, property, religious or philosophical belief, political persuasion, language, current or future health status, disability, physical or genetic features, or social background in employment relations. A third law, the 'anti-racism law', forbids discrimination on the nationality, alleged race, skin colour, ancestry or national or ethnic origin.

employment, and an emerging legal logic banning discrimination.

METHOD

CarCo, a ‘Best Case’ of Diversity Management in a Historical Migration Region

We selected CarCo in the first place because of its pioneer role in Belgium in diversity management. The selection of an ‘extreme case’ (Eisenhardt, 1989) maximized the likelihood that different organizational actors had sufficiently been exposed to diversity – which is in an early phase of institutionalization in Belgium – and had translated it into the organizations on their own terms. Furthermore, being the Belgian branch of a U.S. multinational, CarCo actors were likely to have been exposed to a wider variety of institutional logics originating in the headquarters and the specific context in which they are embedded.

CarCo was founded in the early 1960s in a historical coal-mining area with abundance of labor, characterized by successive migration waves from Italy (between the mid-1940s and the mid-1950s), Greece, Spain and Portugal (second half of the 1950s), and Turkey and Morocco (1960s till 1973). Today, it is estimated that about 8.3% of the population of the region has a foreign background. The largest ethnic minority communities are Turkish (30,000), Italian (21,000-25,000), Moroccan (7,000), Spanish (3,500) and Greek (2,700).

Because of its location, CarCo has had from its origins ethnically diverse personnel and a long tradition of adjustments to specific needs such as translations of company procedures into other languages. In the late 1990s, however, the U.S. headquarters asked the company to develop a formal diversity policy and to report about diversity initiatives

to the world-wide diversity manager. Important goals of this policy were to employ female supervisors and setting up community services. Other requirements were gathering statistics on the workforce composition on a regular basis, reporting on diversity actions taken on its own initiative, and yearly monitoring of line managers' initiatives and perceptions on diversity. In this frame, CarCo implemented activities to recruit more young female engineers, set up a local diversity council, started a printed diversity newsletter in various languages and e-mail diversity news, and organized a yearly 'diversity week'.

In application of the national law of 1996 protecting employees' well-being at work, CarCo added an anti-discrimination clause to the company bylaws. And in 1999, it developed a 'diversity plan' to be eligible for regional subsidies to companies working on diversity. The plan included actions to promote the employment of people with a foreign cultural background, to screen with the help of a consultant the selection procedures for biases, an 'action plan' to develop best diversity management practices, and diversity training for line managers, HR personnel, and trade union delegates. Next to all these initiatives, CarCo strongly invested in disseminating its knowledge on diversity at the regional and national level. It organized and participated in several conferences on diversity management and gave advice to other companies. A number of community service projects were also integrated into the company's diversity management: a community project involving supervisors and youngsters with a foreign background, integration projects for young migrants and migrants with a higher education, and employees' volunteer activities for the elderly.

At the time of the study, Carco ran two lines producing about 400,000 vehicles a year with a total of 9,000 people. It had 17% of personnel with a foreign nationality and – according to an estimation of the HR manager – a total of about 40% with foreign origins. Different from other automobile factories, it had no reputation for inter-ethnic conflict. 10% of its personnel were women (mostly in administrative functions, only 8% of blue-collar workers and 5% of factory supervisors). The workforce averaged 40 years of age for blue-collar jobs and 45 years for white-collar ones, reflecting the company's origins in the 1960s and low personnel turn over. 2% of the employees had a state-certified disability; however, the HR department estimated about 7% work-specific and temporary physical impairments.

Data Sources

Semi-structured interviews. The analysis is based on a total of 59 semi-structured interviews collected in 2001 and 2003 with 1 production manager, 10 supervisors, 5 team leaders, 27 operators, 2 top HR managers, 5 HR administrative staff, 3 HR administrative staff in the factory, 2 medical staff, and 4 trade union representatives. A first interview with the HR manager was conducted by the first author in the frame of a study of Flemish HR managers' discursive constructions of diversity in 2001. Another 19 interviews were conducted later the same year by a senior researcher in the framework of a study of best diversity cases commissioned by the Flemish regional government to the university. Both authors were part of the four-member research team and participated in the theoretical and methodological set-up of the study and the analysis of the findings.

To gain access to multiple perspectives on diversity, interviewees were theoretically sampled to maximize their socio-demographic heterogeneity along gender, ethnicity, religion, and (dis)ability across hierarchical levels, line and staff functions, and including trade union representatives. The HR department provided the researcher a list of 75 employees with requested heterogeneous socio-demographic profiles, from which 19 respondents were randomly selected. The interview topics included respondents' current job, their relations with colleagues and superiors with a different socio-demographic profile, their career opportunities, the company's diversity policy, and their opinion about the company's diversity management rationale.

The remaining 39 interviews were conducted by the first author during fieldwork from April to June 2003. Further building on the first study, the project aimed at investigating context-specific understandings of diversity within the company through an ethnographic method. The HR manager introduced her as a researcher of diversity to a superintendent of the assembly hall and his supervisors. Of these latter, she interviewed five. To ensure that interviewed team leaders and operators were sufficiently exposed to diversity, she further autonomously selected six work teams under different supervisors because of their heterogeneity in terms of gender and ethnic background. All interviewed operators and team leaders belonged to these six teams. As the 2001 interviews included many employees of the central HR department but only one member of the HR unit in the factory, which deals with every-day personnel issues on the shop floor, two additional members of the HR unit in the factory were interviewed. Finally, as many interviewees associated diversity with the high number of physical impairments in the factory and mentioned the key role of the medical staff in certifying impairments, the company

doctor and a nurse were included. All sampling decisions were discussed and agreed upon by the two authors.

The interview topics were broad in scope, starting with respondents' personal background, professional experience, current job, relations with peers and superiors, and general questions about working at CarCo. To avoid probing, questions on diversity and diversity management were posed in the second half of the interview.

Participant observation. During her fieldwork, the first author spent three to four days a week in the factory, following the work schedule of the personnel of the assembly hall working one of the two day shifts Monday to Friday, from 6 am to 2 pm or from 2 pm to 10 pm on the shop floor on alternate weeks. Having free access to the factory premises, she could make lots of informal contacts, and become relatively familiar with the workers and team leaders of various teams and all supervisors. She regularly attended supervisors' meetings and spent all breaks with employees. Observations and impressions were regularly recorded in a log book. Direct observation of organizational actors' distinct work practices was crucial to gain insight in their every-day practical goals as well as the institutional logics most accessible to them. This data collection method helped us take an emic perspective in our analysis (cf. Zilber, 2002).

Internal documentation. During fieldwork, internal documents on the company and its history, HRM and diversity management, training programs, and the production system were also collected. This type of material allowed us to better contextualize our interview data, as it provided information on the overall history, structure and culture of CarCo, as well as of specific aspects of the company, such as the production system and the diversity activities.

Data Analysis

In a first phase, we identified 636 textual passages about one or more socio-demographic characteristics in the interview transcripts. Each passage on one or more socio-demographic characteristics could be understood in itself, independent of previous and following passages. We then inductively identified one or more institutional logic through which diversity was constructed in each passage, themes within logics and positive or negative evaluations of themes. We proceeded by jointly going through 180 passages of texts by different interviewees across all nine types of actors. Comparing and discussing the content of the excerpts, we initially identified eight logics, with one to seven themes in each, some themes with positive or negative evaluation. We then split the remaining 456 passages and individually coded them according to the eight institutional logics, their corresponding themes and evaluations. In this process, we identified two additional logics with themes and evaluations – the institutional logic of bureaucracy and the institutional logic of ethics – and added them to our coding tree. Once all our passages were coded, the first author went through all excerpts again to verify if the coding was in line with the last version of the coding tree. When in doubt, she discussed the coding with the second author till agreement was reached. Table 1 hereunder reports our three-level coding tree, providing examples of text out of the excerpts.

Insert Table 1 about here

Our interviewees' translations of diversity drew from the following 10 institutional logics or 'cultural beliefs and rules structuring cognition and decision making'

(Lounsbury, 2007: 289):

- 1) the logic of essential identity of socio-demographic groups and group members, whereby diversity is translated in terms of attitude, competences, and behaviors of the members of a specific socio-demographic groups by virtue of their essence;
- 2) the logic of production, whereby diversity is translated in terms of matching work-related competences of specific socio-demographic groups with production needs;
- 3) the logic of human resource management, whereby diversity is translated by linking it to the optimal use of human resources, including keeping track of the socio-demographic composition of personnel, criteria for the recruitment, training, promotion and dismissal of employees, adjustments for specific groups (work-life balance, language, religion, vacations, and ergonomics), and diversity training and communication;
- 4) the bureaucratic logic, whereby diversity is translated by referring to the establishment of formal rules;
- 5) the logic of authority, whereby diversity is translated as the imposition of powerful actors within the multinational;
- 6) the logic of stakeholder management, whereby diversity is translated as a strategy to build positive relations with other actors in the field;
- 7) the legal logic, whereby diversity is translated as compliance to the law;
- 8) the logic of ethics, whereby diversity is translated in terms of fairness, respect, care and equality;

9) the medical logic, whereby diversity is translated as compliance to ergonomics and work health standards; and

10) the logic of regional community identity, whereby diversity is translated as the ‘natural’ ethnic heterogeneity deriving from the migration history of the region.

Extant neo-institutional literature has shown that individuals’ understandings of an institution are strongly influenced by their profession (Delmestri, 2006; Edelman, Riggs Fuller & Mara-Drita, 2001). In a second phase of the data analysis, building on this theoretical insight and drawing on the metaphor of the bricoleur, we therefore identified the main institutional logics interviewees in the same type of job drew from (first research question). An overview of the frequencies of references to the 10 institutional logics by organizational actor is presented in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 about here

To understand how different types of actors combined institutional logics to produce translations functional to their own distinct practical goals from their organizational positions (second research question), we reconstructed their main responsibilities from our data and counted how many excerpts presented diversity in a problematic way (see Figure 2).

Insert Figure 2 about here

In a third and final phase, we compared the different combinations of logics used by the different types of actors as well as the percentages of ‘problematic’ excerpts and attempted to identify patterns of these different translations shaping the meaning of diversity within the organization (third research question).

RESULTS

Organizational Actors' Bricolage of Institutional Logics

Production manager. In his interview with us, the production manager translated diversity by drawing mainly from the institutional logics of essential identity and production, yet also referred to the logics of HRM, ethics, company hierarchy, and stakeholder management (see Figure 1). A main group of excerpts drawing on the institutional logic of essential identities reported problems regarding inter-group relations and specific socio-demographic groups' behaviors and competences. For instance, he mentioned ethnic minority workers talking in their mother-tongue among themselves, high absenteeism the first and last day of Ramadan, and women's physical inability to do heavy work:

We actually have relatively many female workers compared to two or three years ago. I think that we have reached a bit our limit because we are not a women-friendly environment. We have many heavy jobs, where you have to lift weight. We cannot say 100%: every job is for anybody, not even for men. I think we have about 20% women, some departments 30%, those which are more suitable.

Yet, not all accounts drawing from the logic of essential identity were negative. He told us that women worked accurately and softened the company's culture, and that interethnic relations on the shop floor were good. If the construction of socio-demographic characteristics drawing from the logic of essential identity was negative, the production manager often drew from the logics of production and HRM to downplay problems. For instance, he mentioned that women prefer to work part-time but that this can be solved by "puzzling a bit more when organizing production". Or he referred to HRM solutions such as a rotation system allowing ethnic minority workers to take longer vacations every three years to travel to their country of origin, or an intense on-the-job

training for women wanting to wield but lacking the qualifications. In some of these excerpts, the production manager additionally drew on the institutional logic of ethics, stressing the need to avoid unequal treatment when making production or HRM adjustments to solve particular problems.

Finally, in some excerpts, diversity was constructed by drawing on the institutional logic of the company's hierarchy. The production manager elaborated on Carco's vision on diversity, subscribing to top management's belief in diversity and commitment to change:

I think it is especially the mindset of top management that gives direction to the company. It needs of course to be supported by initiatives. But of all initiatives, the most important is that we say: 'We support this, we believe in it.' On the short term, you can't to expect major changes. This is something we have been working on for many years and that you constantly need to support and feed. So that people on the shop floor also start thinking that diversity is indeed fun, useful. That it works and that is has no disadvantages.... And if you hold on to this effort for many years, then there will be a change in people's mindset. We have already made a lot of progress, this is what we need to keep doing.

As an institutional bricoleur, the production manager combined most often the logic of essential identity with those of production, HRM and ethics to translate diversity in a nuanced, rather positive way. Responsible for managing production yet, as a high-ranking member of the organization, also expected to promote diversity, the production manager carefully balanced the production problems caused by a diverse workforce with the (expected) advantages of diversity.

Supervisors. The interviewed supervisors translated diversity most often by drawing on the institutional logic of essential identities and production, yet also referred to all other logics (see Figure 1). A main group of excerpts draws on the institutional logic of essential identities to elaborate on particular socio-demographic groups' attitudes and

skills as well as on inter-and intra-group relationships. Typically, supervisors portrayed young workers consistently as unmotivated, disabled workers as too inflexible, ethnic minority workers as having insufficient language knowledge, and female workers as lacking physical skills. Yet, not all accounts were negative. Supervisors referred in several instances to positive experiences, such as for instance, very motivated Russian workers in training, Turkish workers' openness and willingness to help others, and women's capacity to better control operators by leading in a 'softer' way. Talking about interpersonal dynamics, most interviewees stated that interethnic relationships were good, but also mentioned Moroccan and Turkish workers being less integrated than Italian, Greek and Spanish ones, and the need to avoid specific combinations of ethnic minority operators in teams.

An important group of excerpts constructed diversity by combining the logic of essential identity with the one of production. In these instances, supervisors related the particular socio-demographic groups' attitudes and (lack of) skills to problems they created for production. For instance, a supervisor told us how Turkish and Moroccan cultural values clash with production needs:

For Turks and Moroccans, when family comes over, it is very important to go pick them up at the airport personally. To welcome them. So they come ask for a day off on Friday afternoon. We say: 'We can only give a day off to four people, I can't'. And they don't understand how we can be so inhuman not to give them a day off to get their family. In their place, we would say: 'I have to work', we would send an aunt or an uncle, you see? They say: 'How can you be so inhuman... not to give us a day off' but we cannot, we have to keep the factory running, and they don't understand.

Another supervisor stressed that women posed multiple problems to production, as they "physically... have the disadvantage that they cannot do all jobs", and some male operators and supervisors do not want them as "they are more sick, they menstruate every

month, they have to go to the toilet...”. These problems were sometimes reinforced by drawing on the medical logic of medicine.

Supervisors further combined the logic of essential identity with other logics, such as the logic of history of the regional community to explain positive interethnic relations on the shop floor. They argued that the lack of discriminatory behavior at CarCo derived from the positive immigration history of the region.

Another group of excerpts translated diversity by drawing on the logic of HRM. Supervisors talked about the company’s policy to recruit diverse personnel, its recent attempts to increase the number of female supervisors, and the communication around the different diversity initiatives. In these excerpts, the logic of HRM was sometimes combined with the logic of company’s hierarchy and bureaucracy as supervisors elaborated on how initiatives were implemented or practices formalized under pressure of U.S. headquarters. Finally, some excerpts translated diversity by drawing on the logic of ethics, arguing the existence of ‘real’ equal opportunities for ethnic minorities and women at CarCo.

Acting as institutional bricoleurs, supervisors drew on a wide variety of institutional logics but above all on the logic of essential identity. Specifically, they focused on minority workers’ specific behaviors and skills as well as their interpersonal relationships and elaborated especially on how these (generally negatively) affected production. The result is a quite linear and coherent, often negative, translation of diversity. This translation is functional to meeting supervisors’ goal of daily allocating workers in a way that vehicles are produced meeting established quality standards. The reliance on a wide variety of logics reflects supervisors’ exposure, from their position as middle-

management, to CarCo's HRM practices, headquarters' policies, and the regional history.

Team leaders. The team leaders who spoke with us translated diversity overwhelmingly by drawing on the institutional logic of essential identities (see Figure 1). They elaborated on inter- and intra-group relationships as well as on the attitudes and skills of members of specific socio-demographic groups. Typically, they talked about female operators' negative attitudes, lack of physical skills and highly problematic relations with other women. One interviewee was adamant about how women's capricious nature made managing an all-female team particularly challenging. The team leaders we interviewed generally presented relations between men and across ethnic groups as less problematic, although one mentioned how the male teasing culture in the factory could come across as particularly hard for ethnic minority workers:

Of course, they [other operators on the team] make fun of [their Moroccan colleague] 'Four children, child benefits, are you going to buy a Mercedes?' You know how it goes... But it's only a joke, to have fun. They don't mean it, really they don't... Also the ones who ride a bike. They will say: 'I can ride better than you, and you can't'. You know what I mean. But they don't mean it, it's just teasing.

In a few cases, team leaders translated diversity by combining the logics of essential identity, production and medicine to explain the difficulties of finding suitable production jobs for women and disabled individuals. Hereunder, an interviewee additionally draws on the ethical logic of care to justify his refusal to let a woman on his team:

Here in my team, I could set a woman only to build in the headlamps. But then that woman would not rotate, she would always stay on that job. And that is the lightest job, headlamps. And the four men [on the team] would like to do it every four hours... *I want to let my men to do an 'easy' job.* If we had four 'easy' jobs, it would be different, then the women could rotate, too. Women have weak wrists, you need to use your wrist [to do the jobs], that's why (young team leader with Spanish background, stress added).

When acting as institutional bricoleurs, team leaders drew from within a very limited

set of logics. Specifically, they elaborated on the essence of individuals belonging to certain socio-demographic groups and on how their behavior in the factory caused problems to relations and production. The result is a quite linear and coherent, often negative, translation of diversity. This translation is functional to team leaders' responsibility to match people with jobs and manage relations with and between individuals in their team.

Operators. Operators translated diversity by drawing overwhelmingly on the institutional logic of essential identities (see Figure 1). In some instances, their arguments were further made by combining this logic with the logics of production, ethics and medicine. Only in few instances, operators drew from the institutional logics of bureaucracy, HRM, legal, and stakeholder management. Within the excerpts drawing on the logic of essential identity, operators mainly elaborated on the negative effects of particular socio-demographic groups on interpersonal dynamics on the shop floor. Typically, both men and women talked about the highly problematic relations of women working together:

When many women work together, I think there are many problems. All these years, I have worked together with maximum five women. Here. Women gossip all the time. If you look at the 'door street' on [the other line]. They constantly fight.

Or, Belgian operators referred to some ethnic minority operators' unwillingness to learn Dutch and their tendency to speak their native language among themselves.

Yet, not all accounts were negative. Positive instances concerned mainly the good inter-ethnic relations in the factory, referring to the quite relaxed atmosphere in the factory and colleagues talking about their everyday life and joking with each other. However, minority operators themselves more often mentioned problems. For instance,

some female operators, even if they were positive about interpersonal relations in general, mentioned the typical problems women experience in male-dominated work environments. A female operator recounted:

Relations are OK. In the beginning they [men] are a bit obnoxious to be funny. But after a while they behave normally. Like the men from repair: ‘When are you going to wear a mini skirt?’ You know how it is, they test you right away. Not my colleagues here, others. I set my limits. [One of them] always came to sit next to me in the car [while she was working]. I didn’t like it. And I just told him. He was angry for half a day, but now he talks again, he acts normal. He asked me if somebody was courting me. And then I got comments [from other people]...

Or ethnic minority operators told us that they actually spoke little about their private life as they risked to be made fun of or insulted, and to get into conflicts with colleagues.

A second group of excerpts constructed diversity by combining the logic of essential identity with the one of production. Typically, operators talked about differences such as gender, age, or even height as problematic because they negatively affected a person’s physical ability to carry out particular types of job. Only in a few instances, accounts were positive, referring to how good interpersonal relations addressed production problems deriving from socio-demographic differences. For example, an operator recalled how his team proposed to an older colleague to become team leader, a job with lower physical requirements, so that he could stay in the team.

Finally, in a third group of excerpts, operators combined the logic of essential identity and ethics, especially to express the importance of equality and care when attending to specific socio-demographic groups’ behaviors and competences. For instance, an operator mentioned how superiors’ willingness to take into account Muslims’ religious practices was against the principle of equal treatment:

If I were a Muslim, I would still need to do my job, wouldn’t I? With all respect, but they need to do their work. They get extra breaks so they can eat. I disapprove. We

don't get that. They also get time off to go praying. I even saw that. That, I really don't agree with, sorry but that I don't understand. I also don't get that. If I want to pray, I have to do that at home, not while I am working.

In some cases, the logic of medicine was added to the logic of essential identity and the ethical logic of care. For instance, a male Belgian operator expressed his disappointment about the company's lack of care when he became temporarily disabled:

At the time, I had worked here for 23 years and had always been a good worker. But if you then have an accident, then they treat you just like a number, like anybody else. That [the long tenure and commitment] is no longer appreciated. I'm very sorry that it's like that. I think that if somebody gets hurt, they need to take care of him. That person needs to get a lighter job, something he is capable of doing.

Yet, not all accounts were negative. A few operators told us how the company looked for a more suitable job for (temporarily) disabled individuals.

When acting as institutional bricoleurs, operators drew overwhelmingly from the institutional logic of essential identity to translate diversity in terms of the daily experiences of working with and relating to colleagues with different socio-demographic profiles. The result is a coherent, mostly negative translation, in several cases reinforced by the logics of production and ethics. This translation derives from operators' exposure to a limited set of institutional logics due to their lower position in the organizational hierarchy and their extremely narrowly defined work goals as line workers. Operators are not only the most confronted with employees belonging to other socio-demographic groups, but also experience most directly the problems deriving from such diversity in terms of relations and production. As subordinates, they further expect to be treated equally and with care by the company.

Top HR management. Top HR managers' translation of diversity drew most often to the HRM, essential identity, and stakeholder management logics, yet also referred to all

other logics at least once (see Figure 1). A first group of excerpts constructed diversity within an HRM perspective, elaborating on the socio-demographic composition of personnel, the principle of non-discrimination, the criteria used for hiring, promoting, and dismissing individuals, the company's adjustments to specific needs, and its communication and training around diversity. For instance, interviewees mentioned that CarCo had too many older employees in clerical jobs, that the company gave preference to female candidates for supervisory jobs "only if two candidates [had] equal competences", and a tradition of translating safety policies into the main minority languages.

A second group of excerpts drew on the institutional logic of essential identity, reporting specific socio-demographic groups' attitudes and competences, as well as inter-group relations. For instance, the HR manager told us that ethnic minorities' 'social' style improved the atmosphere in the factory, and that female supervisors tempered male behavior and facilitated the introduction of teamwork:

We see that bringing people with different ideas has its advantages. If I look at motivation, to give a concrete example... To support teamwork, starting in October every two weeks we are drawing a prize – tickets for the soccer competition, for the movies, or a bottle of Champagne – for two teams that made a suggestion. Teams' participation is voluntary. Right now we have 9 female supervisors out of 185, take 5%. What are we seeing? 30% of the teams that have participated come out of the departments of those 5% female supervisors. They just follow up better, also about housekeeping, and taking care of their people. We don't need women all over, but they can serve as an example of course.

Yet, on the negative side, he also mentioned the problems deriving from female, older and disabled operators' limited physical capacities and men's resistance to more women in the factory.

Finally, a third group of excerpts translated diversity by drawing on the institutional

logic of managing multiple stakeholders including the (ethnically diverse) local community, the trade unions, and the state. On this latter, the HR director stated:

We try to anticipate the state so that they don't impose quotas or intervene in other ways. We try to be an exemplary company so that they don't impose things on us. In that sense, they do drive our actions.

The interviewees also referred a number of times to the institutional logic of authority, pointing to the requirement by the U.S. headquarters that the company develop formal diversity policies. In one instance, this logic was combined with the logic of the regional community history:

Those who live here [name of the city] already know [diversity]. One year in school we were with only three Belgians [in my class]. There already was a lot of diversity. The first time I heard the term was at the end of the '80s. Back then we saw it a bit as something American, as the effect of the many law suits concerning sexual harassment and racism (HR manager).

As institutional bricoleurs, top HR management drew on a wide variety of institutional logics to translate diversity in a manifold, positive way. This complex translation was functional to gain legitimacy in the multiple fields in which top HR managers were embedded. Aware of his interface role between the company's internal and external constituencies, local and global actors, the HR director told us that diversity policy "is often a joint effect of external factors and what happens on the shop floor" and that HR management was "always somewhere between those two poles". The positive tone of these respondents' translation derives from their high position in the company hierarchy, which allows them to translate diversity in more abstract terms, disconnecting it from every-day problems. We further speculate that the positive tone might be an attempt to relate to us, in the interview situation, as yet another stakeholder towards whom to advocate the company's diversity policy.

HR staff in administration. HR employees at the central administration translated diversity by drawing mainly from the institutional logics of HRM, stakeholder management and essential identity, yet also referred throughout the interviews to all other logics at least once (see Figure 1). A first group of excerpts constructed diversity within an HRM logic, elaborating on the company's diversity policies. Typically, HR staff mentioned the company's policy to recruit more ethnic minorities and more female engineers as supervisors, the policy of assigning jobs matching workers' physical capacities, and standard language requirements. For instance, an interviewee told us:

When we make a selection and we have candidates with a foreign background or of another sex, for instance a woman for a job as industrial engineer... from the moment that the candidates have similar qualifications, then we give preference... The last years, we give preference to minorities because our white-collar population is not diverse enough.

Within this group of excerpts, the logic of HRM was often combined with the logic of bureaucracy and the company's hierarchy, stressing the tensions between them. The HR staff presented the company's diversity policies as the result of the bureaucratization of already existing values and practices into formal HRM systems due to the authority of U.S. headquarters. For instance, a HR administrator sharply translated diversity policies as the result of a specific U.S. perspective inappropriate to the Belgian situation:

Diversity in this company started from a different perspective. In America, if you are a woman and they grab your bottom or whatever, you go to court, sue your boss and get so many millions on top. It goes further than man/woman, it's equality for hetero- and homosexuals, people with other convictions, and ethnic minorities, etc. It's about avoiding lawsuits. And Americans cannot really understand European cultures. They think that the whole world is like America.

In other instances, the logic of HRM was combined with the logic of bureaucracy and essential identity. For instance, when talking about the anti-discrimination clause adopted by CarCo in 1996, these interviewees pointed to its negative effect on the existing good

relationships, creating a sphere of mistrust:

Imagine, you have a production line. There are four people on a station. One had red hair, one is blond, one comes out the most southern point of Sicily, and is completely black, and one is in-between. Then they say: 'Hey, red-hair, give me those pincers'. And he says: 'Yea right, black, get it yourself'. It's perhaps not the finest way of behaving, but it's a certain code that exists between people to be with each other in a friendly manner. [...] And then, all of a sudden the anti-discrimination clause is introduced. They say: 'We have always called each other like that, everything was fine. We spent New Year's Eve together and we buy presents for each other's children for Christmas. And now I can't call him like that any more, 'cause he is going to say: 'I have to watch out'.'

In yet other instances, HR staff in administration opposed the formalized diversity policies imposed by the U.S. headquarters (logic of company's hierarchy) to the 'natural' diversity of the company due to its location in a historical region of migration (historical logic of the regional community):

The States have a very clear policy, while we, as Belgians, do it in a less conscious way. Most people of my generation, in their mid-forties, we have grown up with ethnic minorities. We never knew the difference, like 'that is a guest worker'. We grew up with siblings of other nationalities.

HR staff in administration further drew from the logic of stakeholder management to extensively talk about the numerous collaborations with local schools and other associations in disadvantaged neighborhoods as part of the company's diversity policy. In this group of excerpts, the logic of the company's hierarchy was also drawn on. In contrast with the other diversity initiatives, HR staff presented the collaboration with external stakeholders as something that CarCo had long been engaged with and that was in line with the demands from the U.S. headquarters to implement community service projects.

Finally, a group of excerpts constructed diversity by drawing on the logic of essential identity. Here, HR staff typically reflected on the specific behaviors and competences of

different socio-demographic groups. Often, these accounts were negatively constructed, pointing, for instance, to ethnic minorities' inability to speak Dutch or the lack of competences of people from eastern European countries. In some instances, the logic of essential identity was combined with the logic of production, pointing to the need to match differences in behaviors and competences to the job.

When acting as institutional bricoleurs, the HR staff in administration combined a wide variety of different institutional logics to evaluate the compatibility, or lack of compatibility of CarCo's various diversity initiatives. Specifically, they presented the initiatives taken under pressure from the U.S. and European headquarters to adopt a formal diversity policy as either clashing against the 'natural' diversity deriving from the history of the regional community or in line with it. Half of the excerpts by this group of respondents are negative. Their complex, clearly problematic translation derives from the exposure of the HR staff in administration to many logics, and the practical difficulties of implementing a multi-faceted company's diversity policy.

HR staff in the factory. The interviewed HR staff in the factory drew in approximately half of their accounts from the institutional logic of essential identity, yet also referred to the logic of bureaucracy, ethics, production, HRM, medicine, the company's hierarchy and the law (see Figure 1). The main group of excerpts constructed diversity within the logic of essential identity. Typically, the respondents talked about specific socio-demographic groups as representing a problem due to their lack of skills or work attitude. For instance, one told us:

Personally, I don't like women with children at all. I think, that's how I see it, it's too heavy for them. Younger women in general, no problem, unmarried women. And then you have unplanned days. Before it was a sick day, now it's family leave. An extra unplanned absence, not one of those you can catch them on. Also, they are

sometimes elsewhere with their thoughts. And when they are here with their thoughts, there is always the work at home... The children, sometimes they have had to take them somewhere, the children are not at home. They sleep maybe the whole week at their grandparents or so. And if they get up in the morning and their child is ill, if they come to work, they think the whole day: 'How is my child doing?'

Within this group of excerpts, HR staff in the factory sometimes added the logic of HRM, indicating that HRM practices were put in place to overcome the difficulties of employing particular socio-demographic groups. For instance, they talked about the translation of safety policies into a number of languages or the language courses offered to recently immigrated workers.

A second group of excerpts drew on the logic of bureaucracy. Diversity was translated as policies resulting from the formalization of informal practices dealing with diversity that had long existed. In a few instances, they combined this logic with the logic of the company's hierarchy and the logic of the law, arguing that formalization resulted from the pressures from European and U.S. headquarters as well as increasingly strict anti-discrimination legislation. In their view, more formalization also led, however, to problems. Often, victims withdrew their grievances as the consequences of their formal complaints went beyond their intentions.

HR staff in the factory further constructed diversity using the logic of ethics. They talked positively about CarCo's diversity policy, mentioning the goals of fairness, respect, care and equality. For instance, they recounted how it is the policy to take care of people who become disabled by giving them a suitable job or how it is the overall aim of CarCo to "treat everybody with respect".

A last group of excerpts constructed diversity within the logic of production, stressing the problems caused by differences to a production system based on teams of

interchangeable operators:

I would like to express it in negative terms: [the challenge is] to organize your teamwork despite your diversity. Despite the hindrances cause by diversity: language problems, man/woman, ethnic minorities, physical disabilities, things like that...

In other excerpts, the HR staff in the factory constructed diversity by combining the logics of production and medicine:

This afternoon somebody came along who has been sick for some weeks. He says: 'I have pain in my shoulder and elbow'. I say: 'As long as you don't have a certificate from the medical unit, we cannot do anything [put him on a lighter job]'. I know that he has something, but he has to do his job. If we gave him another job, the one who takes his over comes along and says: 'I've got pain in my shoulder'. Where is it going to end?

As institutional bricoleurs, HR staff in the factory drew on a variety of institutional logics to translate diversity in a two-fold way. On the one hand, they stressed the problems caused by certain socio-demographic groups to production and the tension between formalized procedures and inter-personal relations on the shop floor. On the other hand, they also elaborated on the compatibility between the institutional logics of the company's hierarchy, the law, and ethics, subscribing to the need to explicitly attend to diversity through company policies. This double translation derives from these respondents' position at the interface between HRM and production. As part of the HRM unit, they are exposed to multiple logics, which they need to combine. However, in their everyday work in the factory, they are confronted with concrete relational and work allocation problems they have to solve.

Medical staff. The doctor and the nurse we interviewed translated diversity by drawing mainly to institutional logics of essential identity, production, HRM and medicine, but mentioning almost all other logics as well (see Figure 1). They most often combined the logics of essential identity, production, and medicine to explain that

production jobs on the line required physical skills which were typically held by some socio-demographic groups and not by others, and that individuals and jobs need to be correctly matched. For instance, the doctor told us:

There are a number of jobs that are too heavy for women. That's something we look into. It is actually ergonomics; you can't put a small man on those jobs, either. So, I always look, it's not that if a woman can't do a job, we can put a 1m50-tall man. We can't put him, either. So, it doesn't matter that a woman cannot do it, you have to put a big, heavily built man, on some jobs, by matter of speaking.

This translation of diversity highlights the need to medically measure job requirements on the one hand and individual bodily skills on the other, de-emphasizing the difficulties of fitting certain socio-demographic groups lacking the physical skills to optimally function in the lean production system. Along this line, the doctor minimized the problem posed by the physically disabled:

Actually, they [supervisors] exaggerate the problem [of the disabled]. I really think so. 'cause actually the ones that cannot be put on any job are a very small group. Before, there were 70 out of 16,000. That's almost nothing, very, very few. But of course, if, as a supervisor, you happen to have one, you fix yourself on him and complain. You don't talk about the 99 others that do their jobs. You talk about the one that you can't put anywhere. That's so typical, so are human beings.

She also once drew on the logic of ethics, reporting that supervisors tried to be fair by giving lighter jobs to older operators who had spent many years working on the line.

Further, the nurse stressed female operators' specific skills, such as precision jobs "fitting in small parts, which men would break", and both interviewees drew on the regional community logic to construct diversity as 'natural'.

As institutional bricoleurs, the medical staff constructed diversity largely in function of their every-day practical goal of measuring individuals' physical skills in order to assign jobs that are suitable to their physical built. Individuals' (physical) diversity is, from this perspective, a natural fact that simply needed to be measured in order to be

managed. The positive tone of this translation derives in the first place from these employees' expert power in the company deriving from their professional role and supported by worker health protection legislation. It is further supported by the lack of direct confrontation with the negative effects on production of applying medical norms.

Trade union representatives. Trade union representatives, our last type of actor, drew on a wide variety of institutional logics to translate diversity in a very negative way (see Figure 1). In the main group of excerpts, diversity was constructed based on the logic of essential identity. Trade union representatives mainly talked about the relations between employees with different socio-demographic profiles. Whereas they stressed the positive interethnic relations in the company, they recounted episodes of sexual harassment and portrayed the relations between men and women as difficult.

Trade union representatives further constructed diversity within the logic of HRM. Many of these accounts were negative, mainly pointing to the shortcomings of CarCo's diversity practices. For instance, they questioned the company's commitment to diversity, arguing that the diversity policy was only an imitation of other companies, and pointed to specific problems such as the absence of infrastructure for disabled workers. Further, they reported agreements between the trade unions and the company concerning the elderly and the disabled:

The company will probably introduce a voluntary pre-retirement scheme for people from 52 years of age. The average age here is 45 and that is too high. If not enough people leave, they will probably give a bonus. It could be that, with the consent of the trade unions, they offer those people [the disabled] a bonus to leave the company. Although the last restructuring they didn't do it. The big advantage is that there are no sackings, those who leave, leave voluntarily. [...] The trade union is pushing the company to take back the jobs that have been outsourced, like the maintenance of the yards outside, or to make an inventory of the existing jobs, so that the suitable jobs for the disabled are actually given to them. The medical department is now making the inventory.

In a third group of excerpts, diversity was constructed within the logic of ethics. Interestingly, trade union representatives agreed that CarCo employees gave equal opportunities to employees, independent of their color or ethnic background. However, they stressed problems caused by adjusting breaks during Ramadan as this interfered with equality of all employees, or by giving lighter jobs to female workers which was not fair towards men. Finally, also when constructing diversity based on the logic of production, these interviewees tended to stress problems. They mainly talked about the difficulties of disabled individuals, arguing that there was a lack of suitable jobs in the company and that team leaders and management wanted to get rid of them.

When acting as institutional bricoleurs, trade union representatives' translated diversity by drawing from multiple logics. This translation appears particularly fragmented, with a problematic view of diversity as the only clear common line. This translation is functional to trade union representatives' exposure to multiple logics and their work practice as trade union representatives, which is centered on solving conflicts at various organizational levels, from the shop floor to the work council.

Translating Diversity into CarCo: A Common Core and Multiple Variants

In the process of incorporation into CarCo, the institution of diversity is translated in multiple ways. The comparison of the translations shows that only three of the ten identified institutional logic were used by all actors to translate the institution: the logic of essential identities, the logic of production, and the logic of ethics. The logic of essential identities, which is the most often used across actors, ascribes specific attitudes, competences and behaviors to the members of specific socio-demographic groups. It is

used to make sense of socio-demographic differences in the organizational context. The logic of production, which is less used yet still present in all translations, refers to the matching of work-related competences of specific socio-demographic groups with production needs. It is used by interviewees to elaborate on the implications of essential identities for production. Finally, the logic of ethics, which is only sporadically drawn from yet also present in all translations, draws on rationales of fairness, respect, care and equality. It is used to either provide or question the moral legitimacy of the own of others' translations of diversity. Taken together, these logics point to a minimal common understanding of diversity at CarCo as socio-demographic differences which reflect attitudes, competences and behaviors, have an impact on production processes, and raise ethical questions.

Despite this minimal core common to all translation, the comparison also reveals important differences across them. First, actors in line functions draw overwhelmingly on the two logics of essential identities and production, while actors in staff functions draw on a broader variety of institutional logics in a more balanced way. This difference derives from the position of line personnel in production and their main practical goal to keep production going by assigning suitable jobs to individuals and ensuring that they work adequately and cooperate with peers and superiors. Staff personnel, on the other hand, are, in their various administrative positions, exposed to a broader variety of logics and have other practical goals. HR personnel's translation of diversity derives from their every-day activities related to the design and application of HRM systems, the management of stakeholder relations, the alignment of company regulation to the law, etc. Second, actors in higher hierarchical positions translate diversity drawing on a wider

variety of institutional logics and in more positive terms than actors in lower positions. This finding reflects the fact that employees in higher positions are exposed to more logics and it is part of their professional goal to combine such logics in positive ways to legitimize the institution in multiple fields. In order to do so, they have more discretion than actors in higher positions. They have the room to combine more institutional logics in creative ways, adapting to the growing importance of a certain logic over the others as, for example, when new legislation is passed or when headquarters impose certain policies.

The combined effect of the position of actors in line versus staff positions and along the organizational ladder is well illustrated by two extremes. On the one hand, top HR management, who is responsible for establishing HRM and diversity policies in line with global company policy, national legislation, and in function of local stakeholders' management, draws on a wide variety of institutional logics, combining them in a way that produces an overwhelmingly positive translation of diversity. On the other hand, operators and team leaders translate diversity almost solely drawing on the logics of essential identities and production, crafting overwhelmingly negative translations of diversity.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this article, we examined the institutional micro-work of organizational actors to translate the institution of diversity into their organization. Agents' translation work is acknowledged by the theoretical literature on translation (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008), yet it is largely understudied in the extant empirical literature, which has mostly analyzed the way shared meaning changes as a result of translation

(Frenkel, 2005; Zilber, 2006). This study advances translation theory by highlighting the institutional micro-work of embedded agents translating an institution into their organization. Located in different organizational positions, as bricoleurs (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Hatton, 1989), they draw on finite sets of institutional logics available to them and combine them in function of their specific practical goals. More institutional research is warranted that examines the micro-dynamics of translation, at the interface between actor and structure on the one hand and meaning-making and social practices on the other (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Our agent-centered approach to translation echoes the neo-institutional literature that has recently drawn attention to the every-day, mundane institutional work of ordinary individuals necessary to create, maintain and disrupt institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

By connecting translation to organizational actors' distinct goals and roles (cf. Hasselbladh & Kalinnikos, 2000), this study provides a finer-grain understanding of the relationship between actors' institutional sense-making and their social practices (cf. Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy, 2004; Zilber, 2002). The stress on the finiteness of actors' resources at hand and the practical goals they strive to achieve when combining these finite resources explains how translations create new meanings yet also emphasizes that those meanings necessarily emerge in relation to what "is already there, already in place" (Wetherell & Potter, 1992: 86), embodied in objects, spaces and routine behaviours (cf. Newton, 1998; Fairclough, 1998) or in other words, institutionalized. Until now, the relationship between meanings and practices has been theorized as a double phased process in which virtual ideas "floating in the translocal organizational world" (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996: 16), are first interpreted from a

local meaning system, aligning them with existing words, images and values, and then materialized, that is, re-embedded into local practices and institutionalized (see also Creed et al., 2002). Yet our study suggests that translation should not be understood sequentially, with meaning prior to practices, but rather dialectically. Job-related practices shape the translation by providing access only to a specific repertoire of institutional logics as well as by providing specific practical goals that constrain the translation. Conversely, translations indeed legitimize such practices, making sense of them both retrospectively (cf. Weick, 1995) and in the future. Future research on sense-making of institutions should therefore explicitly take into account the social and material practices in which actors are engaged (cf. Zilber, 2008).

Connecting translation to organizational actors' distinct goals and roles further allows highlighting the heterogeneous meaning an institution is given when it is incorporated into an organization. Whereas neo-institutional theory has increasingly recognized the heterogeneous institutional logics organizations are exposed to due to their embeddedness in multiple fields (Clemens & Cook, 1999; Lounsbury & Crumley, 2007; Schneiberg, 2007), intra-organizational heterogeneity has largely been neglected (cf. Morris & Lancaster 2005). Organizations are largely conceptualized as homogeneous, undifferentiated entities in order to investigate inter-organizational differences at the field level. Yet, our study indicates that the homogeneity assumption is problematic as different types of organizational actors are exposed to partially different institutional logics and have distinct practical goals. Other various established bodies of literature have pointed to intra-organizational heterogeneity, such as the literature on organizations' cultural pluralism (Sackman, 1997) and fragmented cultures (Martin, 1992), as well as on

communities of practice (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002) and professions (Di Maggio & Powell, 1991) crossing organizational boundaries. Future neo-institutional research should make use of their insights to better understand institutional dynamics at the sub-organizational level.

Our empirical analysis of how organizational members “put the detail into institutions” (Stinchcombe, 1997: 6) is further conducive to a better understanding of how institutions affect organizational meaning and behavior. Specifically, our study points to the complexity of institutional incorporation deriving from actors’ distinct organizational positions. Institutional incorporation has not been the object of much empirical investigation, although an increasing number of studies have examined the process of decoupling. Decoupling refers to the disconnection of formal structures from underlying informal structures in order to adapt the former to institutional pressures to gain legitimacy and to leave the latter organized in function of technical, efficiency demands (Boxenbaum and Jonsson, 2008; DiMaggio and Powell, 1991). Decoupling has been seen as a strategy organizations adopt to fulfill multiple, even conflicting institutional demands and/or solve conflicts between institutional and efficiency demands (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Seo & Creed, 2002). Yet our study suggests that institutional incorporation is more complex than this ‘substance versus appearance’ account makes of it (cf. Lounsbury, 2001). Actors’ translations do not just espouse or reject meaning (see Shalin & Wedlin, 2008: 220) but rather transform it in multiple ways, providing legitimacy for only partially overlapping behaviors within the organization. The ambiguity of institutional incorporation is well argued by Edelman (1992) in her study of the managerial reappropriation of civil rights law in the US. She shows that, while such

reappropriation potentially undermined equal opportunities envisaged by the law, it also potentially aligned organizations with the law “by reframing the law in ways that make it appear more consistent with traditional managerial prerogatives” (1992: 1592).

Finally, our study has important implications for diversity research and diversity management. By investigating the translation of the institution of diversity, we show that the institution of diversity is given different meanings in an organization. The current diversity research has conceptualized diversity simply as employees’ socio-demographic traits such as sex, race/ethnicity, age, disability, etc., leaving its meaning largely unattended (Litvin, 1997; Nkomo & Cox, 1996; Zanoni & Janssens, 2004). Studies either investigate the relation between socio-demographic traits and individuals’ work-related outcomes such as career advancement (i.e. Nkomo & Cox, 1990; Powell & Butterfield, 1997), integration in social networks (i.e. Ibarra, 1995; Mollica, Gray & Trevino, 2003), mentoring relationships (i.e. Ragins & Scandura, 1994; Thomas, 1993), or the effects of group socio-demographic heterogeneity on group functioning (i.e. Cox, Lobel & McLeod, 1991; Harrison, Price, Gavin & Florey, 2002). As they rely on psychological theories such as social identity theory and the similarity attraction paradigm, these studies tend to focus on the negative cognitive and behavioral inter-group dynamics that are caused by individuals’ perception of being different from one another. A focus on difference as such – independent of the content of difference and the context in which it is embedded – obscures the fact that differences produce social effects not only by virtue of social categorizations based upon them, but also of their association to a variety of institutional logics. This neglect partially explains why empirical studies of diversity have often produced contradicting results (Milliken & Martins, 1996; Williams & O’Reilly,

1998). In the light of our insight that diversity is given different meanings by different organizational actors because they draw from specific sets of institutional logics and have to achieve distinct practical goals, future diversity research should attend more to the meanings socio-demographic traits are given to better understand the effects of diversity on organizations. This suggestion echoes other diversity scholars' call to move away from an essentialized towards a contextual approach to diversity (Litvin, 1997; Nkomo & Cox, 1996; Prasad, Pringle & Konrad, 2006).

In terms of diversity management, our study points to the importance of embedding diversity into multiple logics to facilitate its incorporation into organizations. To date, diversity management initiatives are primarily conceived in a HRM logic. They aim at setting up bias-free recruitment and promotion systems, training programs to increase awareness and build cross-cultural skills, and mentoring and networking activities that counter minority workers' social isolation (Cox, 1991; Cox and Blake, 1991). Not only is their efficacy in promoting minorities' position within organizations at best limited (Kalev, Dobbin & Kelly, 2006), but they even cause adverse reactions among majority workers who feel threatened by them (Linnehan & Konrad, 1999). The insights of this study suggest two possible pathways to design more effective and widely acceptable diversity management initiatives.

First, diversity management should better take into account that organizational actors' sense-making of diversity involves multiple institutional logics and not solely HRM. Diversity initiatives should be based on a more widely shared understanding of diversity in the organization, drawing on a wider range of institutional logics various organizational constituencies are exposed to and draw from to make sense of the notion.

In the CarCo case, it would entail drawing more explicitly on the logics of essential identities, production, and ethics when designing diversity initiatives, especially in order to address instances when these logics or specific combinations are used to translate diversity negatively.

Second, diversity management should better take into account that different constituencies of employees make sense of diversity by drawing on different sets of institutional logics and in function of their own practical goals. Specifically, considering our finding that organizational actors translate diversity in more problematic ways if they are exposed to less logics and if they have a narrower defined practical goal, diversity management should favor organizational actors' exposure to a wider variety of logics and promote more broadly defined practical goals. This might however be a particularly challenging endeavor as individuals' exposure to logics and goals depend from their position in the organizational structure. Changing them would involve re-designing the organization in a way that empowers (lower-rank) employees, giving them access to more logics and broader defined practical goals.

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TABLE 1
Coding Tree Leading to the Ten Institutional Logics Used to Translate Diversity at CarCo

Examples	Valuation	Themes	Institutional logics
<p>“People in their late 40s are easier to manage than the youngsters. I would say: ‘They will follow the production, their quality is better. They still live thinking that you need to work to live... They still come and ask me: ‘Boss, can I talk to you?’” (middle aged male supervisor, Belgian background).</p>	Positive	Behavior and attitudes of members of a socio-demographic group	Logic of essential identity of socio-demographic group and group members
<p>“The youth of now does not care. We had interns and after a couple of hours they told me: ‘I’m going home’. ‘How do you mean you’re going home?... What are you going to do?’ ‘I’ll see’. It’s another mentality, no worries (middle aged male supervisor, Belgian background).</p>	Negative		
<p>“Women are often handier at finer jobs than men are. Men are rougher in the way they work” (male nurse, Belgian background).</p>	Possession of specific competences	Work-related competences of members of a socio-demographic group	
<p>“You have to think fast in the beginning [of a new job on the line]. And I think that the older you get the more difficult it gets to learn. You think more slowly... I know people that could not deal with the stress, the pace here” (female operator, Belgian background).</p>	Lack of specific competences		
<p>“You get old, but you stay a child. For sure men among themselves. And then you do crazy things. You play, shout, tell jokes. If you are there, eight hours long, with a long face, it doesn’t work...” (male team leader, middle age, Italian background).</p>	Positive	Behavior of individuals belonging to a certain socio-demographic category when relating to individuals belonging to the same category	

<p>“If I see upstairs in the lockers rooms, when there are women with lots of women, there are problems... The women gossip all the time, they hate each other. If you see the door street on the other line, they fight all the time” (older female operator, Belgian background).</p>	Negative		
<p>“I’ve never had problems with men. You always have a couple that try, you know what I mean? But the atmosphere was pleasant. Here, too. No problems, I can adapt to everybody” (older female operator, Belgian background).</p>	Positive	Behavior of individuals belonging to a certain socio-demographic category when relating to individuals belonging to other categories	
<p>“The first female supervisor who started here, seven or eight years ago, everybody came to see, a woman supervisor. It was the beginning... People need time to accept to see that women can do it. CarCo is a rather old factory” (middle aged male supervisor, Belgian background).</p>	Negative		
<p>“Before there were few women, mostly in pre-assembly. Or small jobs, like setting clips” (older male supervisor, Belgian background).</p>		Division of labor along socio-demographic traits	Logic of production
<p>“Normally you have to have a healthy mix in terms of age, from young and a bit wild to old and experienced, calmer. The better your mix, the better your group. If you have people that are all specialized in something else and can work together, then you’ve reached the top” (male production manager, Belgian background).</p>	Difference enhances fit	Fitting members of different socio-demographic groups into production	
<p>“In the paint hall, you have jobs where you can sit, where you don’t have to do much more than check a card with your pen. But that’s bad for the eyes, nothing for me” (male disabled operator, Belgian background).</p>	Difference hampers fit		
<p>“18% of our employees have a foreign nationality and about 25% have foreign roots. The number of Belgian is slightly diminishing. We have about 10% women and 2% with a serious disability. People for whom we have to</p>		Socio-demographic composition of personnel	Logic of human resource management

look for an adapted job or for whom we have to adapt norms (older male HR manager, Belgian background).

“In essence, we think that without making the best of all of people’s competences we cannot function. Everything becomes more complex and people-oriented. If you can use all talents, it’s good for the people and it’s good for the companies” (older male HR manager, Belgian background).

“We have launched two new cars and had to hire a lot of temporary workers. Due to the shortage of labor we have had to lower our criteria in terms of language knowledge and educational level” (older male HR director, Belgian background).

“Women who weld learn it generally here. We get few women with a technical diploma. We only have a female mechanic. Female welders, it has to grow a bit” (male production manager, Belgian background).

“Sara was hired as a secretary. And she showed that she could defend herself... She participated in the selections for supervisor and was one of the best. At that point, you have also to look at personality, not only technical knowledge” (older male HR manager, Belgian background).

“For instance the criteria for pre-retirement. In the past, CarCo used pre-retirement to get rid of people, the negative elements. Then we said: ‘Think about what you are doing. You want positive people to become negative... Make a clear rule, a simple one, the older go first...’” (male trade union representative, Belgian background).

“The diversity council discusses issues like flexible working hours and the creation of facilities such as day-care for employees’ children” (middle aged, female HR administrator, Belgian background).

“Before we had translations of the safety norms into other languages... In 1964 en 1965, when people came from the mine and they didn’t know Dutch very well. They got a translation of the norms” (older HR manager, Belgian background).

Efficient use of human resources through meritocracy and non-discrimination

Recruitment
Basis for HR decisions regarding members of specific socio-demographic groups

Training

Promotion

Dismissal

Work-life balance

Formal adjustments to specific groups

Language

<p>“We don’t take [Ramandan] into account. But we don’t take into account special holidays of the Catholics, either” (older male HR manager, Belgian background).</p>	Religion		
<p>“They never make problems when I have to go to the hospital. I have to take the Monday and the Tuesday off. I’ve never had problems” (disabled male operator, Italian background).</p>	Vacations		
<p>“In coaching you have to take differences into account, like leadership style and so. We pay attention to this, also in our coaching and train-the-trainer programs. We talk about diversity. I think that it helps to get a broader view on the issue” (older HR manager, Belgian background).</p>		Diversity training and communication	
<p>“Before it was worse. Since they have introduced the new rule [anti-discrimination clause] there is less discrimination. Before there was a lot of ‘Brown here, brown there’ to annoy you. It was allowed. Now, with the new rule, they know that they can’t do it twice or they are laid off” (middle aged male operator, Moroccan background).</p>	Positive	Formalization of diversity-related rules and procedures	Bureaucratic logic
<p>“When you formalize, you need to set up procedures. If you don’t have procedures and something happens, you talk with the people and say: ‘Look, this and that...’. But now we are bound by the procedures. We need to follow them. And then some people say: ‘It goes too far...’. They have no idea of the consequences of filing a grievance” (older male HR administrator in the factory, Belgian background).</p>	Negative		
<p>“For minorities and women/men, we have to report numbers to headquarters. We often say that these are the most important indicators. Other groups are less visible yet as important for us, and for them [headquarters], too, if I understand their philosophy well” (older male HR manager, Belgian background).</p>	Positive	Of US headquarters over company	Logic of company hierarchy
<p>“I find it a bit exaggerated all the attention to diversity... from our American headquarters. I think sometimes: ‘Just do your job...’. It’s a bit too much... You have to pass on so many statistics, how many ethnic minorities you have in the company. But what happens with those numbers?” (female HR</p>	Negative		

administrator, Belgian background).

“The diversity policies are not only at CarCo. They are also in other European companies of the group. Probably there was a problem, and the European direction drafted a policy to implement everywhere” (female doctor, Belgian background).

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“The anti-discrimination clause, I think it comes from above. It’s usually like that. We see it from below, some things go wrong and they have seen above that they needed to intervene. They informed us all, through waterfall meetings, etc. I think that it worked” (male supervisor, Belgian background).

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“CarCo could say: ‘We do it for our interest, to get a better image, sell more cars.’ The negative people will see it like that” (male HR administrator, Belgian background).

“We also want to be an employer of choice, an environment where people like to work and where they are accepted as they are. It’s a bit for the image, but we believe in it” (older male HR director, Belgian background).

“We have here a poor neighborhood. With the neighborhood committee, we have tried to expose the local youth to the company life. Because they tried to get a job through the temporary work agencies, but it didn’t go well. They didn’t listen to their superiors and were not called again to work. That’s why we have put together some young guys with supervisors” (male HR administrator, Belgian background).

“We try to involve the trade unions [in the diversity policy], and it works out well. Six months ago we have set up a new communication structure so that both the direction and the middle management have daily contracts with the trade unions” (older male HR director, Belgian background).

“About diversity, we have a good reputation. Although there is still a lot to do. But if I see how many requests to go give a presentation we get... I know that Mr. [name of the Flemish Minister of Employment and Tourism] knows

Positive

Of European headquarters over company

Negative

Positive

Of company over employees

Negative

Overall company image

Stakeholder management logic

Possible employees (employer of choice)

Local community

Trade unions

State

for sure what we are doing on diversity” (older male HR director, Belgian background).

“There are, strictly speaking, no men’s jobs and women’s jobs. We shouldn’t say it. The law says that all jobs are for men and women. If you advertise a vacancy, you cannot say that it’s for a man or a woman. You get a fine. You have to keep everything open for men and women (older male supervisor, Belgian background).

Anti-discrimination law Legal logic

“The rules about diversity from the US are caused by the law suits... There, it’s extreme, when somebody misses a promotion, they go to court to show that they have been discriminated” (male HR administrator, Belgian background).

Law suits

“Before at night there were no women, and now we have different places where we have women and it works well... Before I was a poolman in the night shift and women couldn’t work at night, it was forbidden” (middle aged male team leader, Belgian background).

Special women's
employment terms

“Everybody has to get a chance. If we have to select a team leader, we don’t think like: ‘OK, we have here six Belgians and we need a foreigner.’ We look at who is the best... I think that they have just to give everybody equal opportunities” (female supervisor, Belgian background).

Presence

Fairness/ equal
opportunities/ merit

Logic of ethics

“There are many jobs that can be easily done by an older person, like in the picking areas. Older people could ride the vehicles. But what do you see sometimes? Old people working on the line and twenty-year-old guys riding” (older male supervisor, Belgian background).

Lack

“Diversity is that people deal with each other with understanding and respect, despite their differences. That’s the most important thing for me” (young female trade union representative, Moroccan background).

Presence

Respect for everybody

“I am of that party and you are of the other, or you are of that party and I am a foreigner. It can give problems. Like I said: ‘Stupid Belgian’ ‘Brown’, that kind of stuff (older male HR administrator in the factory, Belgian background).

Lack

<p>“CarCo has done a lot for the disabled. Even people that had an accident outside work, lost one hand, who got here a job as internal postman or in the administration. This has always been done in the past” (older male HR administrator in the factory, Belgian background).</p>	Presence	Care	
<p>“Heavily disabled people, they are trash for CarCo. You don’t know what I have to do to get those people a job. Nobody takes into consideration that some people have to go to the hospital twice a week to get an injection to bear the pain” (male trade union representative, Belgian background).</p>	Lack		
<p>“In the summer we close for three weeks. Many people want of course to take a week extra off. People with Turkish and Moroccan origins would like five weeks off travel to Turkey and Morocco... We have a rotating system that everybody can take five weeks every third year. But Belgians also want days off in the summer. To avoid a preferential treatment, we have a rotating system. Five weeks is an exception, but they do get four” (male production manager, Belgian background).</p>	Presence	Equality	
<p>“You have sections where they cuddle the women, they get the better jobs, it starts like that. The supervisor gives the better jobs to women and the men get angry. If I have been doing a job for ten years and then a woman comes and I have to let her have it, of course... In the beginning it happened a lot” (male trade union representative, Belgian background).</p>	Lack		
<p>“If somebody comes here for a medical check, to be hired, and it’s a frail little man. Then we say right away: ‘Look, you can’t hire this person for a job where you need a big guy” (male nurse, Belgian background).</p>			Medical logic of ergonomics
<p>“[Diversity] has grown spontaneously in our company. We have always been a reflection of society. We give attention and respect everybody. It doesn’t mean that in such a big company there are never problems in the relations between Belgians and non-Belgians, but they are not fundamental. You can’t forget that many people come from the mines. The mines have no history of racism. I think it plays a role” (older male HR director, Belgian background).</p>			Historical logic of regional community

FIGURE 1
Frequencies of Institutional Logics per Type of Organizational Actor

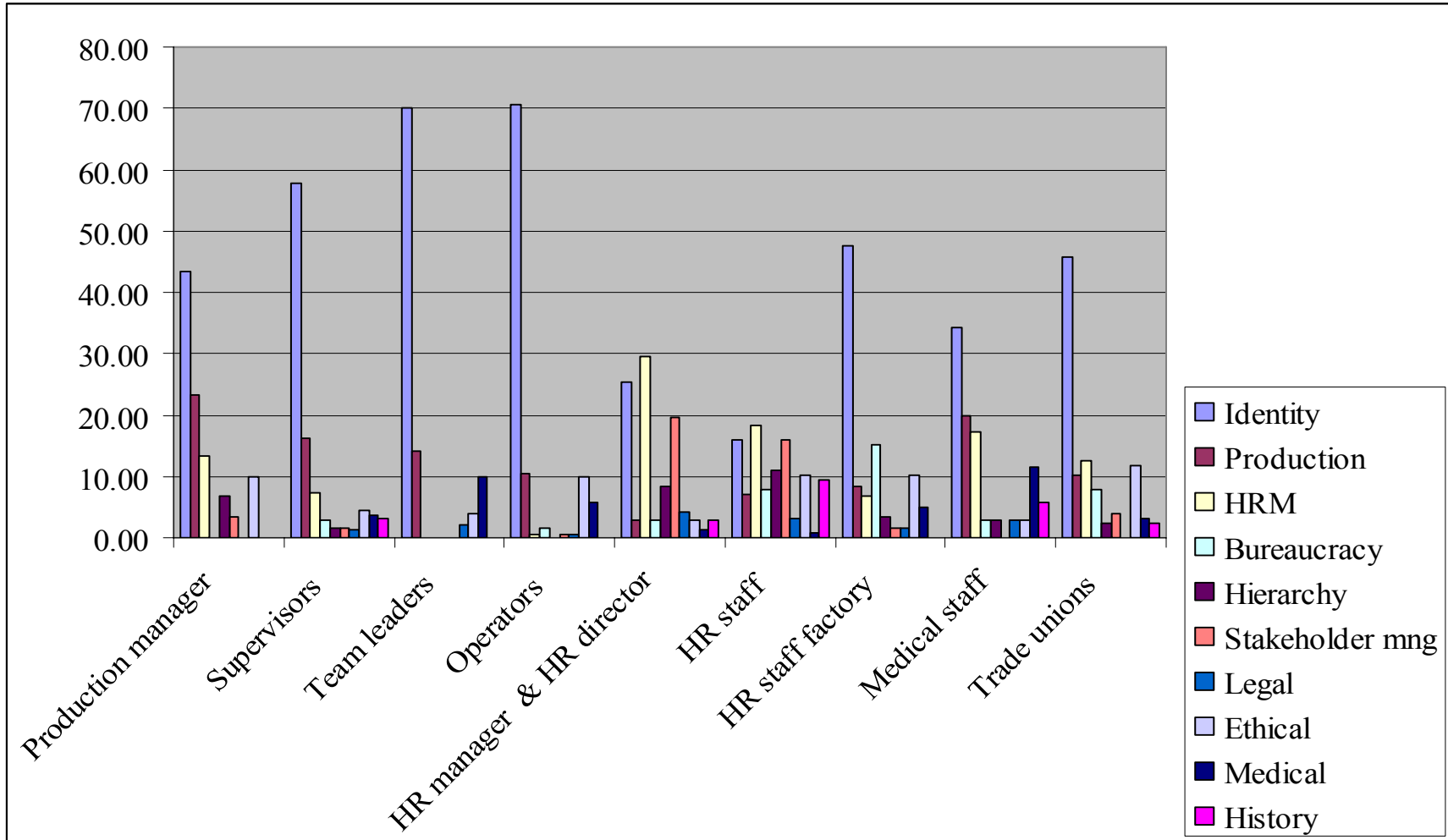


FIGURE 2
Percentage of Excerpts Translating Diversity as Problematic per Type of Organizational Actor

