An Examination of Muslim Religious Practices in the Workplace

and their Implications for Management

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This is my first step into the field of academic research.

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Contents

List of Tables, Figures and Diagrams

List of Appendices

Glossary of Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACIB	Australian Centre for International Business
AHRC	Australian Human Rights Commission
AHRI	Australian Human Resource Institute
CALD	Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
CAIR	Council on American-Islamic Relations
CET	Commissioner's Executive Team
CS1	First Case Study
CS2	Second Case Study
EAB	Ethnic Affairs Bureau
EAPS	Ethnic Affairs Priorities Statement
EEOC	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
EEONA	Equal Employment Opportunity Network of Australasia
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunity
EPS	Edmonton Police Service
HREOC	Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission
HR	Human Resource
HRM	Human Resource Management

ILO	International Labour Organization
PBUH	Peace and Blessing be Upon Him
RDA	Racial Discrimination Act 1975
SI	Social Identity
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SRW	Spirituality, Religion and Work
UJSJC	Uniya Jesuit Social Justice Centre

Originality statement

'I declare that this submission is my own work and, to the best of my knowledge, that it contains no materials that were previously published or written by another person, or substantial proportions of material that have been accepted for the award of any other degree at Macquarie University or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the thesis. Any contributions made to the research by others with whom I have worked at Macquarie University or elsewhere are explicitly acknowledged in the thesis. I also declare that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work.'

Signed
Yousef I. Alnamlah

Date
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Thesis summary

This study aims to identify key Islamic religious practices performed by Muslim employees that may cause conflict in secular workplaces in Sydney, Australia. In addition, it aims to examine how managers in these workplaces respond to religious diversity among employees. As such, diversity management is discussed from the macro-national, meso-organisational, and micro-individual perspectives, and examined closely at the meso and micro levels.

A multi case study design was employed in this study. An online survey of Muslim employees and one-on-one interviews with Muslim employees and non-Muslim managers were the primary data collection methods.

The results of this study show that the number of Muslim employees practising their faith in the workplace varied significantly between the Agency and the University (33% and 89% respectively). Approximately 30% of Muslim employees experienced religion-based conflict in the Agency compared to approximately 10% of University employees. The Agency case study findings revealed that the organisation's diversity policy slightly supported managers to accommodate the religious practices of employees. Opinions varied among Muslim employees regarding the effectiveness of the diversity policy in practice. Most Muslim employees sought to integrate into the organisational culture while maintaining a separate Muslim identity. There was no evidence that Muslim women experienced religion-based workplace conflict to a greater extent than Muslim men.

The University case study findings showed that management pro-actively attempted to accommodate employees' religious needs and that management and staff had a good awareness of religious diversity in this organisation. Most Muslim employees sought to integrate their Muslim identity into the organisational culture.

The findings suggest that workplace diversity management strategies that rely on legislative compliance are largely inadequate in preventing religion-based workplace conflict. Everyday enactments by employees and managers in religiously diverse workplaces that demonstrate acceptance and support are also required.

This study recommends that future research should investigate the factors impacting the development and implementation of effective workplace communication strategies relevant to religion and work.

Introduction

A multicultural workforce is becoming increasingly important in a globalised world to enable organisations to run internal operations, to develop new products and services, and to implement marketing strategies. Both managers and employees understand the importance of multicultural teams working collaboratively to achieve organisational goals. Managing a diverse workforce is not without its challenges, however. Indeed, research has shown that the potential for workforce conflict can increase when employees from different cultural backgrounds work together (Chanlat, Davel, and Dupuis, 2013; Parboteeah, Hoegl, and Cullen, 2009).

Newspapers and internet sites often present stories of conflict between Muslim workers and non-Muslim managers and/or non-Muslim co-workers in various countries. For instance, according to a BBC News report dated 11 October, 2002, an organisation in Australia threatened to dismiss a Muslim employee on the grounds that he took a 10-minute prayer break two or three times each day during working hours (MacDonald, 2002). A complaint was lodged with the Australian Industrial Relations Commission by Kamal El Masri in which he detailed how he was threatened with termination if he continued to take prayer breaks during working hours (MacDonald, 2002). Also, in the United Kingdom (UK), a man named Mohsin Mohmed said that he was 'repeatedly asked by his managers to trim his beard and told not to wear a religious skullcap. He argued that his Islamic faith meant that he could not trim his beard'. An employment tribunal dismissed his claims of discrimination on the grounds of race and religion and also dismissed his claim of unfair dismissal (BBC News, 11 January, 2005). In Colorado, USA, on 11 September, 2008, more than 100 Muslim employees had their employment terminated following their refusal to turn up for work on the previous day in protest against the company's decision not to allow them prayer breaks during working hours (Migoya, 2008).

Muslim women also experience conflict in the workplace as a result of their religious practices. For instance, on 24 August, 2010 the *Daily Pilot* newspaper (Fountain Valley, California, USA) reported that Imane Boudlal, a Muslim woman working at Disney's Grand Californian Hotel, was taken off the roster when she insisted on

wearing her *hijab* to her hostess job rather than wearing the hat provided by the corporation. She subsequently filed a discrimination complaint against her employer with the United States (US) Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) on the grounds that she had the right to a 'religious accommodation' to Disney's dress code and should be permitted to wear the scarf to work (articles.dailypilot.com, 2010). Boudlal also claimed she was subject to religion-based taunts and slurs from fellow workers when she decided to wear her *hijab* to work. As a result of her dismissal and harassment, Boudlal sought punitive damages and an order from the court that Disney provide employees with anti-harassment training about Muslim issues (Richwine, 2012). The matter remains before the US courts and is a further demonstration that the potential for conflict arising from Muslim employees' efforts to engage in their religious practices is a reality in workplace contexts. Appendix 4 contains a listing of these and other cases.

This thesis explicitly examines the Australian context more deeply to identify the key religious practices Muslim employees engage in in the workplace, managers' responses to these practices, and the potential for conflict and management difficulties that may result. In fact, due to globalisation and ongoing immigration, cultural diversity in general, and religious diversity in the workplace in particular, are an increasingly common phenomenon (Aburdene, 2007, p. 4; Cunningham, 2010, p. 63; Dalton and Chrobot-Mason, 2007, p. 169; Dean and Safranski, 2008, p. 364; Hicks, 2003, pp. 2, 3, 16, 26; Parboteeah et al., 2009, p. 64; Rao, 2008, pp. 193, 198). As a corollary to this, people have started to bring their faith to work (Rollins, 2007, p. 3) in many local workplace settings in Australia. Yet, the relationship between business and religion is complex (Mazumdar, 2005) and although there is growing awareness in the US of religious diversity (Bouma et al., 2003, p. 53; Bouma et al., 2010, p. 1053), organisations in the West are viewed largely as 'religion-excluding secular entities' (Mazumdar, 2005, p. 216).

Bouma et al. (2003) looked briefly at Islamic religious practices in Australian workplaces and introduced a standardised version of Islam for managers by focussing on the most common Islamic religious practices. This work placed extensive emphasis on spirituality in the workplace. The aim of this thesis is to extend beyond this focus. The reasons for this are two-fold: first, religious practices are generally not as well

received in workplaces as expressions of spiritualty because they are sometimes undertaken in groups; and second, spirituality is normally self-acting and, therefore, does not require any input from managers (Hicks, 2003, pp. 48-53; Mitchell, 2006, p. 4). In other words, spirituality is normally private and individual, not like religious practices which are performed in groups (like the daily prayers in the Muslim faith), and these religious practices need to be organised and may need some help from management.

Common religious practices by Muslims in the workplace

Different cultural and minority populations have unique experiences at work. Indeed, different religions have their own unique effect on the workplace (Rao, 2008). The Muslim population is one such minority group which brings a different culture, traditions, language and religious dimension to the workplace (Sav, Sebar and Harris 2010). Even though the Muslim community in Australia is relatively small, only 2.2 per cent of the total population (ABS, 2011), it is one of the fastest growing religious communities, as demonstrated in Part Two: Context. Despite this rapid growth, however, Muslim communities have been the focus of only a limited number of studies by researchers (Ata, 2009). Furthermore, to date there has been little empirical research into the workplace experiences of Australian Muslims (Sav et al., 2010).

Because there are both hidden and open rituals associated with religious faith, it is difficult to determine the exact nature of religion-based conflict in Australian workplaces compared to countries with a culture based on acceptance of a single religion (Ball and Haque, 2003; Ghumman and Jackson, 2009). Notwithstanding these difficulties, the need to focus on Muslims and the expression of their Islamic faith is warranted because there is little knowledge in the West about Islam in general and Islamic religious practices in the workplace in particular (Bouma et al., 2003, p. 51).

According to Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi (2010), King, Bell, and Lawrence (2009), Scott and Franzmann (2007), and Syed and Pio (2010), even secular Muslims employed in a secular workplace face discrimination because of their race, ethnicity, or even simply because of their name. This claim is supported in the case study chapters of this thesis, although the majority of the research sample experienced no conflict. In addition, it is increasingly the case in Australia that secular workplaces

continue to attract female Muslim graduates. Indeed, as the number of young professionally qualified Muslim women applying for employment increases, employers are forced to recognise them as a valuable and emerging resource (Scott and Franzmann, 2007).

It is the intention of this research to analyse these issues in a scholarly fashion. A broad definition of Muslim has been adopted, including both practising and non-practising Muslims. While recognising that Muslims are diverse in terms of ethnicity, they generally have common rituals if they are practising. The common rituals or practices examined in this study include daily and Friday prayers, fasting during the month of *Ramadan*, social and gender relationships, and the wearing of religious attire.

Yet, an examination of employees' experiences in the workplace is a complex undertaking because numerous factors act directly and indirectly to affect the working environment and the experiences of the workers within it (Sav et al., 2010). With regard to these experiences in the context of religious expression, one of the challenges associated with freedom of religious expression is that it may lead to a conflict between individuals of different religious (or non-religious) beliefs (Hicks, 2003). Hicks (2003) argues that a person cannot leave his or her faith at home, and Blair (2010) points out that religious practices and expressions in the modern workplace may not be understood by non-Muslim workers.

The Muslim religious practices considered for inclusion in this investigation of the impact of religion in the workplace are identified and explained in Table 1 below.

Table (1): Common Islamic religious practices related to the workplace

No	Islamic religious practice	Definition (in relation to the workplace)
1	Daily prayers (or *Salat*)	Muslims are required to engage in prayer five times a day in accordance with the second pillar of Islam. The designated prayer times are daybreak (*salat al-fajr*), noon (*salat al-duhr*), mid-afternoon (*salat al-asr*), sunset (*salat al-maghreb*), and evening (*salat al-isha*). Prayers may be performed individually or as part of a group (preferable) in any clean and quiet space and should be preceded by ritual purification (*wudu*) (Esposito, 2003). Each prayer session may take from 5 to 15 minutes to complete. Two or three of the designated prayer times generally occur during working hours (Council on American-Islamic Relations [CAIR], 2009).
2	Friday prayer (*Salat Al-Jummah*)	*Salat Al-Jummah* should take place in a mosque or some other place at 12.00 or 1.00 pm for about one hour (Ball and Haque, 2003, p. 315) and is attended by men only (Esposito, 2003). It is performed in groups.
3	Fasting during the month of *Ramadan*	*Ramadan* occurs during the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar and requires Muslims to fast and abstain from sexual activity during daylight hours. According to Islam, it is through fasting and abstinence that Muslims achieve greater awareness of the presence of God and show gratitude for His provisions in their lives (Esposito, 2003).
4	Social activities and relationships	Social activities include religious celebrations (e.g., Eid) and workplace functions. Attending a workplace function is included as a 'religious practice' because of the implications it has for the Muslim employee to observe religious obligations. For example, Muslims are prohibited from attending places where alcohol is provided, and Muslims are also prohibited from eating pork. The Quran mentions food that is permissible for consumption in Islam: *... all foods are halal except for carrion, blood (that flows from the animal during slaughtering), pork (including all pig-based products), that which is sacrificed for other than God, and wine and its equivalents.* (Hassim and Cole-Adam, 2010, p. 105).
5	Gender relationships	For example, shaking hands with the opposite sex. Islam, in general 'prohibits unrelated males and females from having any physical contact. For them, it is a mark of respect to a non-relative of the opposite sex that they do not shake their hands out of 'modesty'' (Hassim and Cole-Adam, 2010, p. 76).
6	Clothes issues	For example, wearing modest attire such as a headscarf (*Hijab*) – for woman only. To Muslims, the *Hijab* signifies modesty and morality and it comes in a variety of styles and colours (Esposito, 2003).
7	Pilgrimage (*Hajj*)	The *Hajj* is a pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia undertaken by able Muslim adults and it is one of the five pillars of Islam (Esposito, 2003).
8	Wearing beards	For some Muslims, growing a beard is done for religious reasons. 'Some Muslims believe that men must keep a beard' (Hassim and Cole-Adam, 2010, p. 75).

Given the difficulty in determining the level of peoples' religiosity, this study focused on two main categories; practising and non-practising. Theoretically, practising Muslim employees may be further categorised according to the following three degrees identified in the Quran (35:32):

- First, 'he or she who wrongs himself' [i.e., does not practise all obligatory behaviours and commits some sins].

- Second, 'and among them is he who is moderate' [i.e., practises all obligatory behaviours and avoids forebodings in Islamic faith at most].

- Third, 'among them is he or she who is foremost in good deeds' [i.e., practises all obligatory behaviours recommended and tries to avoid all forebodings in the Islamic faith].

These categories will be investigated by referring to scholarship on identity and culture.

Responding to the need for further research

There is currently a gap in the research into religious diversity in the workplace (Cunningham, 2010; Moore, 2008). As noted by Hicks (2003, p. 3), a problematic combination is that leadership and management studies have given little focus to religion, and academic religious studies have largely overlooked the workplace. The lack of research into Muslim communities in Australia and Muslim experiences in the workplace is a cause for some concern given religious beliefs are inextricably linked to personal identity (Cunningham, 2010). Yet, as stated by Becker and Hofmeister (2001), studies of religious personal identity have mostly focused on contexts outside the workplace. It may also be argued that more studies into Muslims in the workplace is warranted given the tighter integration of religion and work as a result of the increased amount of time people spend at work (Cunningham, 2010).

While recent research on spiritualty, religion and management does not support the dominant utilitarian paradigm of today's business (Fornaciari and Dean, 2001, p. 336), management literature generally avoids religious and political topics (Rollins, 2007, p. 3). Although there is evidence of developments in the fields of religion and management, and although efforts have been made by some journals to address the relationship between religion and management, such as in the Journal of Management, the Spirituality and Religion journal, the Journal of Organizational Change Management, the Journal of Management Education, and the Journal of Management Inquiry, most of the research in this field is normative rather than empirical (Dean et al., 2003, p. 379; Dean, 2004, p. 11; Fornaciari and Dean, 2004, p.

8; King et al., 2009, p. 43). This problem is considered in Chapter 1 which reviews the scholarship pertinent to this study. In addition to the small number of studies on religious diversity management, there is also a lack of policies at the organisational level on how to manage religious diversity in the workplace (Burke, 2010). A study by Rollins (2007, p. 8) concluded that within organisations 'disagreements about religious expression are usually resolved by the expressing party ceasing their activity or by some type of "truce" whereby the situation is left unresolved'.

Some studies have sought to provide recommendations on how to manage religious diversity in the workplace (e.g., Burke, 2010; Dalton and Chrobot-Mason, 2007). However, the impact of certain cultures or religions in the workplace needs further investigation. In particular, the impact of Muslims in the workplace should be considered given that their practices differ from the rest of the Australian population (Yusuf, 1990, p. 77). Also, their identity may be regarded as different from the mainstream due to historical experiences (Aly, 2010, p. 117; Humphrey, 2010, p. 96), and this 'attitude has impacted upon their access to the labour market' (Kabir, 2005). Such identity issues relevant to Australian Muslims are discussed in the context and case study chapters.

This research adopts a multi-level approach, the focus of which is on Muslim religious practices at the meso (organisational) and micro (individual) levels. Attention to these levels is contextualised by examining the impact of macro (national) factors such as the legal regulatory frameworks within which cultural diversity is managed, and the type of effort that is made to prevent discrimination, particularly in relation to actual religious practices. As a result, the main focus of the investigation in this thesis is on the extent of Muslim religious practices in the case study organisations and how the organisations and their managers respond to the needs of practising Muslim employees.

Specifically, the research addresses the following four questions:

1. What is the extent of Muslim religious practices in the case study organisations?
2. Do the religious practices of Muslim workers cause cultural conflict in the workplace?

3. How do managers respond to the religious practices of Muslims?

4. What are the main issues/problems faced by Muslim workers, and how do managers address these issues/problems?

Aims

The aims of this research are to identify key Islamic religious practices performed by Muslim employees that may cause conflict in secular workplaces and to examine how managers respond to religious diversity among employees. To facilitate the achievement of these aims, Muslim workers and managers were provided with an opportunity to give voice to their experiences in the workplace. These research aims emerged from claims by news broadcasters and some narrative studies (e.g., Chow and Crawford, 2004) which asserted that Muslim employees face ongoing discrimination in the workplace in non-Muslim countries. It is anticipated that achieving these research aims will support managers to increase their awareness of religions at work and to improve their understanding of the issues relevant to the management of Muslim employees (Ball and Haque, 2003; Bouma, et al., 2003).

To contribute to the fields of Managing Diversity and Spiritualty, Religion and Work (SRW) in the Australian context, the following research objectives were established:

- to exam Muslim employees claims of conflict in the workplace between Muslims and non-Muslims
- to identify the causes of the conflict when it is claimed to have occurred
- to identify the reasons why there is no conflict in the workplace if this is the case
- to develop the research understanding of religious identity in the workplace in general and Muslim religious identity in Australian workplaces in particular.

Overview of the thesis structure

Following this introduction, the researcher has divided this thesis into three parts. 'Part One: Religious Practices in Secular Workplaces' presents the theoretical aspects of this study in three chapters – 'Literature Review', 'Conceptual Framework', and

'Methodology'. The four chapters included in 'Part Two: Context' are 'Muslims in Australia', 'Regulatory Context', 'Diversity Management', and 'Case Study Sector Context'. These chapters clarify the context at the macro and meso levels. 'Part Three: Case Studies' details the case studies in four chapters – 'Case Study One', 'Case Study Two', 'Findings and Analysis', and 'Comparison and Discussion'. Finally, the thesis ends with a 'Conclusion' chapter.

The 'Literature Review' aims to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the seven different bodies of knowledge pertaining to the management of religious diversity in the workplace. The seven different bodies of knowledge are diversity management, cross-cultural management, identity, multiple identities, cultural conflict, organisational culture, and spirituality, religion and work. It also aims to identify any gaps in the literature. Studies of diversity management, and to a lesser extent cross-cultural management, acknowledge the place of religion in the workplace. Moreover, studies on identity, cultural conflict and organisational culture proved useful to inform strategies designed to manage religious diversity in the workplace. What is also evident is that the studies on spiritualty, religion and work most closely relate to the topic of managing diversity in the workplace. For this reason, they dominate the literature review. The seven bodies of knowledge are fundamental to research conducted on religious diversity and conflict in the workplace.

The 'Conceptual Framework' chapter provides an outline of the relevant theories and perspectives on the management of religious diversity and also provides an illustration of the key concepts of each theory. The chapter combines the key concepts of each theory and provides details about how each is applied in this study. Also identified in the chapter are the three areas most relevant to the management of religious practices in the workplace. Identifying these three areas is important as they help to facilitate a critical analysis of the phenomenon of religion and work. Furthermore, each one of the three areas is integrated into the discussion of the issues relevant to religion in the workplace and its manifestations. These aspects are explored in a wide and flexible way to allow the researcher to integrate all or most of the relevant concepts into the discussion. This broad-brush approach also provided the researcher with an opportunity to investigate the issue from a range of perspectives including identity, organisational culture and conflict.

The Methodology chapter describes the methodological processes used in the study. This study adopted a multi-method case study approach. The qualitative and quantitative research methods are outlined, and this is followed by a discussion of the usefulness of each method for answering the research questions. An overview was provided of the data collection processes used in the study, including the importance of confidentiality and privacy and the methods used to ensure compliance. Details of the data analysis procedures are then provided, including an outline of the triangulation methods used.

Part Two outlines key dimensions of the meso level context. The chapter on Muslims in Australia provides historical and demographic details that are relevant to Muslim Australians. Issues related to employment practices and challenges, the ramifications of 9/11 and Islamophobia, and Islam in the workplace from a national and global perspective are discussed. This is followed by the Regulatory Context chapter, which begins with an outline and rationale for the areas identified as the focus of investigation for this thesis. The second section of this chapter provides an overview of migration, anti-discrimination, and the industrial laws in Australia. The following Diversity Management chapter presents a brief historical profile of workplace diversity management from an international perspective and also discusses the significant factors influencing Australian diversity management policies. The Case Study Sector Context is the final chapter in Part Two, and it investigates diversity management practices in Australia at the organisational (meso) level.

Part Three of this thesis begins with the 'Case Study One' chapter in which the organisational diversity policy of a law enforcement agency in Australia is examined. This chapter is divided into three parts: organisational context, data, and findings. Following a brief overview of the key concepts to be discussed, the details of the diversity policy and the implications of the policy are discussed. Similarly, the 'Case Study Two' chapter provides an analysis of a leading university in Sydney, Australia using the same subheadings as for the previous chapter. This is followed by the 'Findings and Analysis' chapter in which each case study is discussed independently. Particular focus in the discussion of each workplace is given to matters related to identity, religious practices, techniques and methods used by managers to accommodate (or not accommodate) religious practices, and the nature of the conflict

to emerge for Muslim employees as a direct result of religious diversity. The fourth chapter is entitled 'Comparison and Discussion' and it compares the data and results from the two case studies. The approaches to diversity management taken by each organisation at the meso level, including their diversity policy and organisational culture are discussed. In addition, at the micro level, the way individual managers manage and respond to religious practices in their organisation is examined along with the issue of identity. The impact of conflict and religious practices is also discussed in this chapter.

In the 'Conclusion' to the thesis, the new knowledge discovered and the limitations of the thesis are reviewed. Three main limitations are identified: concepts (there are no particular theories about religion and work, although some scholars have tried); data (it was not easy to find organisations in Sydney willing to be case studies and when access was available, approval was not successful in many cases); and there are gaps in the scholarship in this area. In addition, areas for further development and research are identified and discussed in this chapter.

Areas beyond the scope of this study

As indicated above, this thesis is limited to an investigation of Muslim religious practices within the Australian workplace context. While it is acknowledged that there are many important issues to discuss in relation to this topic, some of these issues are not included in this thesis because they have been examined by Booth et al. (2010). These important issues include the provision of solutions to religion-based workplace conflict, comparisons between Australia and other countries on these issues, comparisons between Muslim employees with other religious groups, and a discussion of employment issues relating to Muslims applying for jobs. Details of other related areas that require further research are presented in the 'Conclusion' chapter.

Challenges

Due to the nature of the research topic and the limited scholarship available, it was necessary to apply theories from a number of disciplines during the research process. Furthermore, due to the lack of theoretical development in the field of spiritualty,

religion and work it was necessary to draw on theories and concepts from other related disciplines such as social identity theory (e.g., Berry, 1997; Tajfel, 1981, 1982), organisational culture (e.g., Martin and Siehl, 1983; Meyerson and Martin, 1987), and some conflict theory (e.g., Pondy, 1967).

There are also issues related to the use of critical language in the literature. In general, four words are often used interchangeably when referring to religion and work: religion, faith, belief, and, most commonly, spiritualty. The terms 'religion' and 'religious practice' are most relevant to this study; however, they are not commonly used in the literature. This is because of the sensitivity surrounding the term 'religion' for some people (Miller, 2007). Also, for some the term implies 'a pejorative sense of being a very narrow-minded framework for discussion', while for others it 'offers a systematic reflection and articulation of a specific belief system, often involving rituals and a code of conduct' (Mitchell, 2006, p. 4). Faith is a 'preferred term [for some] because it is general and inclusive, and it allows for specificity and particularity without the pejorative freight sometimes associated with religion or spirituality' (Mitchell, 2006, p. 4). The terms 'faith' and 'belief' are very broad and these concepts are hard to measure and manage (Dean et al., 2003; Fornaciari and Dean, 2001). Finally, 'spiritualty' is very commonly used in writings on spirituality, religion and work but it is not directly relevant to the scope of this thesis. It took a long time for the researcher to overcome such issues of language and the researcher sometimes had to email authors to clarify the meaning of the words used.

It was also evident that relevant Australian laws, such as those related to anti-discrimination, generally leave religious issues in the workplace to the organisations to manage internally. However, as shown in the 'Regulatory Context' chapter, a small number of organisations have policies to manage cultural diversity rather than religious diversity, and this requires deeper investigation. The sensitivity of this topic was also a challenge and can be linked to two areas. First, in most publications the topic is associated with politics and the desire to demonstrate cultural sensitivity. As a result, writers are generally very careful and often indirect with their choice of expression. Second, many organisations in Sydney would not agree to be a case study for this research. Seventeen organisations were contacted by the researcher with only

three agreeing to participate. One organisation was subsequently excluded due to its small sample size. The remaining two organisations were included in this study.

In summary, this chapter introduced the aims of this thesis and broadly contextualised their importance as areas for research on management diversity practices. In particular, it drew attention to the increasing number of ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse employees in Australian workplaces. While employee diversity can enrich an organisation and its operations, there is also the potential for workplace conflict to emerge as a result of employee differences. This introduction outlined the intention of this thesis to examine diversity management from the macro (national), meso (organisational) and micro (individual) perspectives.

This introduction also included a brief overview of the study design (that is, multi case study) and outlined the researcher's intention to employ this design to examine and describe Muslim employees' experiences of conflict in the workplace, identity negotiation within the context of organisational culture, and managers' attempts to accommodate religious practices in the workplace. Importantly, this introduction identified the challenges associated with this research, particularly the lack of theoretical development in the field of spiritualty, religion and work. Finally, the scope of this research was clearly defined. Moreover, the scope of the research was justified in relation to the gap in the research literature pertaining to diversity issues and diversity management practices related to Muslim employees specifically.

Introduction

A thorough investigation of Islamic religious practices by Muslim employees in Australian workplaces and the relationship between these practices and the emergence of workplace conflict must draw on related research studies and relevant concepts and theories. Part One of this thesis combines the 'Literature Review', 'Conceptual Framework', and 'Methodology' chapters. The aim of this part of the thesis is to establish links between three key elements: the prominent concerns and issues raised in the literature related to religious diversity in the workplace; current and/or dominant theoretical perspectives on social identity, organisational culture and workplace conflict; and the approach undertaken by the researcher to apply these insights and theories to the nominated case study organisations.

It is well established that the dynamics within workplaces around the world – particularly in Western countries – are continually changing in response to globalisation and international migration (e.g., Aburdene, 2007; Cunningham, 2010). It is therefore increasingly important for workplace researchers to understand the implications and potential ramifications of these changes for human resource management (HRM) practices within workplace settings. One key aspect of HRM to be impacted by these changes is the management of diverse employees. Indeed, the successful management of employee diversity related to ethnicity, religious affiliations, gender, cultural backgrounds and age is increasingly identified in the literature as crucial to enhanced productivity and employee relations in the workplace (Parboteeah, Paik and Cullen, 2009).

Part One of this thesis illustrates how the intricacies of diversity management can be best understood through the lenses of three key constructs: social identity, organisational culture, and conflict. Drawing on the theoretical paradigms linked to each of these constructs, it identifies and discusses how notions of individual identity, in-group and out-group dynamics in the workplace, and the emergence of different types of conflict in the workplace are all integral to the principles and practices of diversity management. In turn, the broad overview of workplace diversity

management and its associated concepts and theories included in Part One provides a solid platform from which to examine and discuss the diversity management and workplace conflict issues for Muslim employees in Australian workplaces that are presented in Parts Two and Three of this thesis.

Literature Review

1.1 Introduction

In the twenty-first century, there is an increasing number of challenges for the international business environment and for multicultural workplaces. Successful business relationships depend on how practices and policies are planned, developed and implemented. In this contemporary multicultural context, HRM, which includes diversity management strategies and other functions to address workplace multiculturalism, are important. Continued economic and industrial globalisation requires employees in organisations to cultivate a global mindset. An important element of this mindset is recognising and valuing religious diversity, particularly in response to continued debate surrounding the nature of the tension within some relationships between people of different cultural backgrounds. Indeed, determining which HRM practices and policies to use and which HRM strategies to implement in the workplace is often driven by an understanding of cultural differences among employees (Rima, 2005). Hence, it is vital to understand what shapes the values, behaviours, norms and beliefs of employees from both a national and an international view point (Keeley, 2001).

As a result of the globalised market place, the increase in multinational companies, and increasing multiculturalism within nations (Wibbeke, 2009, p.9), a growing body of literature draws attention to the importance of modern companies implementing workplace strategies to manage cultural and religious diversity (Bouma, et al., 2003, p.53; Chow and Crawford, 2004, p.22; Parboteeah, Paik and Cullen, 2009, p.51; Rollins, 2007, p.1). The purpose of this review is to identify the strengths, weaknesses and gaps in the scholarship in seven different bodies of knowledge relevant to the topic of religious diversity in the workplace. Both the scholarship on diversity management, and to some extent cross-cultural management, are yet to fully engage with the role of religion in the workplace. For this reason, studies on identity, cultural conflict and organisational culture are helpful. The scholarship on spirituality, religion and work was very relevant to this study. The scholarship on multiple identities was

also significant for this study to develop a holistic understanding of immigrant identities and to analyse how individuals negotiate their identity. The seven bodies of knowledge discussed below cannot be ignored when conducting research on religious diversity and conflict in the workplace.

There are very few papers that examine potential cultural conflict in the workplace due to Muslim employees' religious practices and those few are dominated by normative studies. There is also very little research on the main issues and problems faced by Muslim women employees in the workplace and identifying managers' responses to these religious practices and issues. As previously established, the aims of this study are to identify the nature of the relationship between religious practices by Muslims in the workplace and the emergence of workplace conflict as well as to examine how managers respond to religious diversity in their workplace setting. Therefore, this review explores the growing body of literature pertaining to the prevalence of religion in the workplace, particularly Muslim employees in secular workplaces. The focus is on countries of Western culture and customs such as Australia and the implications of this cultural context for the management of difference and diversity. It is evident, however, that a gap exists in the literature and this warrants further research and examination. While there are some very well-known cross-cultural management studies (e.g., Hofstede 1991, 1980; Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998), they have been criticised for been overly simplistic (Javidan, House, Dorfman, Hanges, & De Luque, 2006), particularly in relation to the complex nature of the place of religion in organisations. Also, Hofstede in particular is superficial because 'using statistical indices to describe a culture and to predict its consequences for management is highly contestable' (Dupuis, 2013, p. 46).

The concept of religious dissimilarity in the workplace is identified as a key area of focus in this literature review. However, research examining the effects of religious dissimilarity in the organisational context is scarce (Cunningham, 2010). As Burke (2010) explained, one of the reasons for this paucity of information is the challenge of accessing similar research sites in different countries. Moreover, research on the management of religion in the workplace has its inherent sensitivities which presents some challenges to researchers. Central to these challenges is that the research is often regarded as an intrusion into employees' private lives and deeply personal

experiences. Also important is the need for caution by some managers not to profane that which is sacred to the employee (Lee and Renzetti, 1993). In addition, there is the issue of religious conflict in the workplace. Also rare are reviews on managing potential conflicts involving people from religious cultures or affiliations, particularly conflicts involving Muslim religious practices in the workplace.

Furthermore, although authors such as Dean (2004), Fernando and Jackson (2006), Zinnbauer et al. (1997), Anandarajah and Hight (2002), and Hill et al. (2000) have contributed to our understanding of the distinction between religion and spiritualty in the workplace, it is not the aim in this review to focus on this distinction. This is because the scope of this research includes both concepts and because dealing with the concepts together supports a more comprehensive interpretation of each one (Fernando and Jackson, 2006). Finally, although this review does include a discussion of issues relevant to Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim employees in Western societies, given they are the most vulnerable and least comfortable groups in the workplace (as illustrated below), this is not an inter-faith study.

1.2 Social identity theory and identity theory

Two bodies of knowledge, psychology and sociology, are relevant to this field of study. Great work has been done by theorists and authors such as Tajfel (1978, 1981 and 1982), Berry (1997, 2003), and Roccas and Brewer (2002) to develop our understanding of the notion of social identity theory (SIT). As such, the following paragraphs point to the scholarship on social identity (SI) related to religious diversity in the workplace. We could say that the body of knowledge on SI in the workplace has focused on three main concepts: the notion of in-group versus out-group; how leaders and managers should deal with SI; and the conflict that may develop in the workplace due to differences in SI. Muslim identity in particular is mentioned in the literature on SI, but there is an obvious disregard for how it develops into conflict and no explanation as to the mutable identity that many Muslim workers may experience.

Several studies, such as Preus (1987) and Stark and Bainbridge (1980, cited in Hill et al., 2000), suggest that the central issue in any discussion on SI in the workplace is the notion of in-group and out-group classification and the relationship that exists

between these two groups. The links between religion and in-group versus out-group SI are documented by Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman (2010). According to these authors, some religious groups in organisations may consider themselves as in-groups compared to others who belong to different religions. Furthermore, as pointed out by Hill et al. (2000) in their focus on the psychology of religion and the role of this psychology in the SI construct, a person's religious belief develops across a life-span and is inherently a social-psychological phenomena. As such, it has a group influence or reference point associated with it (Preus, 1987; Stark and Bainbridge, 1980; cited in Hill et al., 2000, p. 53).

The scholarship on SI does not ignore the notion of a workplace SI. For Hill et al. (2000, p. 52), religion and the personal beliefs held by people represent a good counter-balance to the notion of a workplace SI. As a result, they are important elements that need to be considered when trying to examine the role religious diversity plays in SI and how it should be managed in the workplace. In fact, as Ysseldyk et al. (2010, p. 60) pointed out, there can be negative impacts when religious identity itself is not acknowledged or is threatened through intergroup conflict. Importantly, Ysseldyk et al. (2010) highlighted how individuals who identify with a particular religion perceive their group membership in this religion as central to their sense of self. Moreover, the authors argue that individuals gain a sense of personal or collective self-esteem from that membership (Ysseldyk et al., 2010, p. 61).

Authors such as Hargie et al. (2008) and Hogg and Tindale (2005) also considered how SI may manifest as conflict in the workplace. The authors argued that there is potential for conflict when an individual's sense of self is challenged or threatened by others either as a result of negative associations, stereotyping or a lack of understanding. Hargie et al. (2008, p. 792) explored SI by looking at the role of self-disclosure and communication between two subgroups. The authors argued that communication plays a key role in the exchange of information by in-groups and out-groups on matters related to identity (Hogg and Tindale, 2005; cited in Hargie et al., 2008, p. 792). However, it is not apparent in the literature on SI that self-disclosure depends on the level of trust and comfort that a person (e.g. a Muslim employee) has towards out-group members.

In contrast, Greer, Jehn, Thatcher and Mannix (2007, pp. 9-11) emphasised the importance of understanding a co-worker's individual identity, for example, a strong identification with a particular religion. According to the authors, this potentially improves the ability of team members to coordinate actions and communications and to improve workplace outcomes. The authors asserted that when an individual knows that their personal identity is 'comprehended' by others in the workplace they are more likely to feel job satisfaction and embrace the organisational identity, which then leads to greater productivity. Therefore, to Greer et al. (2007, p. 21), acknowledging and accepting religious diversity among employees is important in workplace settings dependent on teamwork, or where there are overlapping dependencies on others' work.

To further explore the paradigms related to how Muslims might represent themselves, and how the literature has approached this issue, Omair (2009, p. 414) argued that dress is an important aspect in the construction of identity. The author emphasised that the clothes that Arab women wear, for instance, can be symbols of their religious identity. To clarify this perspective, Omair (2009, p. 412) asserted that clothes or items of religious attire are mechanisms through which people can communicate their group membership and religious affiliation to others. In turn, the implications for employers or HR managers is that viewing dress within a symbolic framework is crucial to understanding how Muslim employees identify who they are as individuals and as members of a group (Humphreys and Brown, 2002, p. 927; Omair, 2009, p. 413). More relevant concepts of SI theory are discussed in the 'Context' chapter.

1.3 Multiple identities

The term 'multiple identities' refers to the various identities an individual has, including, for example, sexual, racial or religious identities (Duderija, 2010; Dzus and Romsa, 2011; Josselson and Harway, 2012; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Thus, a Muslim in Australia could reasonably state, 'I'm Australian by culture, I'm Muslim by faith, and I'm Lebanese by heritage' (Davey, 2011). Consideration of the concept of multiple identities is important in this study because it supports a more holistic understanding of immigrant identities, particularly in the workplace, given that is does not privilege one aspect of identity over others. However, it must be noted that it is beyond the

scope of this thesis to explore the multiple identity construct directly. Multiple identities theory is generally not included in social identity studies and, although the researcher recognises the importance of identity to issues of diversity management, when dealing with the data it was apparent that this primarily related to the practices of employees. As such, this study focused on the religious practices of employees and their cultural devotions in relation to the concept of identity.

Taksa and Groutsis (2013, p. 5) pointed out that rather than treating identity as a collective construct whereby individuals or groups are understood from the perspective of commonality, it should be considered as a phenomenon that is rife with 'internal inconsistencies, tensions and re-elaboration of various identities'. Similarly, Triandafyllidou and Wodak (2003, p. 215) argued that conceptualisation of identity as something that 'is', or that people 'have' or 'belong to', does not give adequate focus to the role of individual choice in identity formation. In other words, the individual's choice of how to self-express or how to clarify oneself is negated. Thus, the importance of recognising personhood in the multiple identities construct is subsequently emphasised by Triandafyllidou and Wodak (2003). As the authors explained, personhood is a product of social interaction whereby the individual negotiates, affirms or changes the way in which he or she identifies and engages with a particular social group. From this perspective, individual identity and collective identity coexist and intertwine (Triandafyllidou and Wodak, 2003). Triandafyllidou and Wodak (2003, p. 215) argued that, because of this, applying identity constructs to support demographic profiles or gender, age or race classifications is inadequate as it does not give due consideration to the individual's choice of 'whether, when and how identities are used'.

Holvino (2010) explored the implications for the organisation when identity is treated as a static phenomenon. The author explained that identity categorisations and the presumed difference they encompass cannot be treated as inherent, innate or static by an organisation for two main reasons (Holvino 2010, p. 1). First, such representations deny the relational, contextual, situated and socially constructed nature of difference and subsequently promote 'unequal relations of power' (Holvino, 2010, p. 1). Second, individuals invariably align with numerous identity groups and regularly demonstrate multiple and sometimes contradictory identities (Holvino, 2010, p. 2). Therefore,

Holvino (2010) argued that if the organisation is to develop and sustain improvement in performance and equality among employees as part of its diversity management policy then it is important for management to acknowledge the presence of multiple identities. In turn, the author outlined how organisations that acknowledge the multiple identities phenomenon are better equipped to put in place structures and systems that can best exploit the full dynamic scope of its workforce (Holvino, 2010, p. 2).

Similar to Holvino (2010), Tatli and Özbilgin (2012, p. 180) asserted that categories of diversity in the workplace are emergent rather than pre-determined. Therefore, the authors explain, rather than treating diversity in the workplace as static, it should be treated as a dynamic construct which reflects 'contextualised relations of power, privilege, inequality and disadvantage' (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012, p. 180). The dynamic nature of workplace diversity, Tatli and Özbilgin (2012, p. 180) argued, is underpinned by the notion of intersectionality, that is, the interplay between identity differences such as gender, ethnicity, religion and class. Intersectionality thus considers the relational and contextual nature of identity categories instead of regarding them as separate to each other (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012, p. 186). Tatli and Özbilgin (2012, p. 196) also suggested that individuals have multiple identities and the extent to which some of the identities remain latent while others are more prominent depends on the context in which the identities are being expressed. On the basis of this premise, Tatli and Özbilgin (2012) claimed that the value or legitimacy afforded different identities in the workplace changes according to the values and needs of the organisation and broader society (p. 192). In turn, the 'marginalizing and exclusionary effects' of particular identities is related to the time and place in which the identities are given expression (Tatli and Özbilgin, 2012, p. 186).

The idea that individuals have multiple identities or 'multiple dimensions of identity' has particular relevance to social or workplace researchers. Further to the issue of diversity in the workplace, Josselson and Harway (2012, p. 5) suggested the basic premise of multiple identities is that when a person comes into contact with a different group identity there is the potential for an apparent re-formation of sense of belonging (Josselson and Harway, 2012, p. 5) by that person in relation to any one of their identity groups. Thus, Josselson and Harway (2012, p. 5) posited that the challenge

for researchers is not only to identify why some people have multiple identities, but also why one or more of these identities emerge in the way that they do under certain circumstances. For instance, one might consider why some Muslim workers continue to express their religious identity in the workplace despite the presence of conflict, whereas some practising Muslims will not practice in the workplace for fear of such conflict. A possible explanation, according to the concept of multiple identities, is that an employee can chose the identity that he or she thinks is most suitable for the workplace on the basis of organisational or individual reasons.

According to Raggins and Gonzalez (2003, p. 143), the relevance of multiple identities in SIT to diversity management in organisations is also linked to the emergence of the nature of the individual's self-identity as a member of a minority group in the organisation. Of particular interest to the authors is the way in which individuals develop their sense of identity. As Raggins and Gonzalez (2003, p. 143) discussed, it is potentially a result of their distinctiveness (personal characteristics) and because there are fewer people in the minority group. Alternatively, the authors pointed out that the identity to emerge may be more the result of individuals defining themselves through the social environment in which the 'meaningfulness of group distinctions is high' (Raggins and Gonzalez, 2003, p. 143).

1.4 Diversity management

Writers on diversity management, such as Aghazadeh (2004), Bertone and Leahy (2001), Bertone (2002), Bolen and Kleiner (1993), Church (1995), and Syed and Pio (2010), asserted that the concept of diversity from an HRM perspective includes race, gender, physical abilities, fitness, ethnicity and religious orientation. Moreover, in relation to individuals, authors such as Lumadi (2008) added that diversity management includes acceptance, respect, and acknowledging that individuals are unique. In turn, this perspective may help when attempting to manage religious diversity in the workplace.

Much of the literature on diversity management focuses on specific areas such as disability and gender differences. More recently, however, studies such as those conducted by Abramson (2006) and Rollins (2007) have provided some insight into

religious practices in the workplace. Yet, because these studies elected to explore a range of religions and their practices – including Christian, Jewish and Muslim practices – they did not go into sufficient depth on any one religion in their investigation. In contrast, researchers including Metcalfe (2007) and Humphreys and Brown (2002) have contributed greatly to our knowledge of Islamic religious practices and culture in the workplace, but in Muslim countries such as Bahrain and Egypt. Therefore, to gain greater understanding of Muslim religious practices in organisations it is necessary to explore workplace contexts in countries dominated by Western cultural values and practice such as Australia.

Some papers and empirical studies on diversity management, such as Bouma, 1999, Estreicher and Gray (2006) and Stuart, Sarow and Stuart (2007, p. 221), have provided insight into the strategies undertaken by some companies to manage religious (identity) diversity. They included details of a survey by the Society for Human Resource Management representing more than 190,000 members in over 100 countries. The survey showed that the job role of diversity manager was one of the 'hot positions' in 2005. Estreicher and Gray (2006, p. 5) also emphasised how important it is for an employer to deal with each reasonable request for religious accommodation as presumptively legitimate and to ensure that all steps are taken to satisfy the request.

The Western Hospital Group in Australia has shown itself to be an organisation that understands how important it is to manage diversity in the workplace by recruiting a cultural diversity manager (Bouma, 1999, p. 283). However, such studies and others (e.g., the Religion in the Workplace Survey by the Society for Human Resource Management, 2001) focused only on the managers' position. Moreover, they focused on what managers should do which made them generally normative in nature.

Ball and Haque (2003), Dalton and Chrobot-Mason (2007), Dee and Henkin (2002), Rollins (2007), Estreicher and Gray (2006), Chow and Crawford (2004) and others emphasised that cultural diversity – especially religious diversity – is becoming more prevalent in Western societies. In their study, Dee and Henkin (2002, p. 35) argued that attitudes towards culturally diverse settings and an engagement with culturally diverse groups was related to the extent to which a person interacted with people from

different cultures and had experienced other cultures in their own social circumstances. On this basis, Dee and Henkin (2002, p. 36) asserted that cultural diversity is really important in teamwork because positive outcomes for culturally diverse groups can be achieved through the promotion of instructional and training experiences. This is particularly the case where there are opportunities for verbal interaction and social reinforcement with different people with different motives, assumptions and realities.

Furthermore, Parboteeah et al. (2009), Richard (2000) and Thomas (1999) approached the issue of whether cultural diversity adds value to teamwork by conducting studies on the performance of an organisation with a culturally (racially) diverse employee workforce. The authors presented findings that cultural diversity positively contributes to an organisation. Richard (2000), in particular, pointed out that cultural diversity makes a positive contribution in the workplace in three key areas: productivity, return on equity, and market performance (Richard 2000, p. 164). As mentioned above, while it is acknowledged in the literature that managing cultural diversity in the workplace is increasing, it is also acknowledged that it is a real challenge to organisations and their human resource managers (Thomas, 1999, p. 242). Lastly, Richard (2000, p. 174) also argued that the benefits of cultural diversity to an organisation are that they can more easily induct and socialise new employees and gain their loyalty if the employee can identify with a particular culture in the organisation and therefore feel that they have a voice in the organisation.

In contrast to Richard's findings, other studies on diversity management conducted by Thomas (1999) and Kokt (2003) presented evidence that homogenous groups (teams made up of personnel of a similar culture) outperformed heterogeneous groups (culturally diverse personnel) across a range of teamwork tasks. Interestingly, a number of studies present in the literature on cultural diversity, such as Kokt (2003, p. 79), Staples and Zhao (2006, p. 391) and Thomas (1999, p. 258), suggested that the complexity of the teamwork task, the amount of time needed for its accomplishment, and communication are important predictors of performance and reduction in conflict. The main reasons for poorer performances by culturally diverse groups, according to both Thomas (1999, p. 257) and Kokt (2003, p. 79), are 'difficulties in communicating, status between cultures, differing perceptions about how groups

should function, and differing opinions about the substance of the idea generation and decision-making task'.

As noted earlier, the scholarship on diversity management does not ignore the issue of conflict and other negative impacts of diversity. Staples and Zhao (2006, p. 389) and Thomas (1999, p. 391), for example, suggested that negative impacts relate to communication difficulties, misunderstandings, decreased cohesion and increased conflict which leads to poor work performance and low job satisfaction. Staples and Zhao (2006, p. 391) also argued a link to SIT by commenting on the negative impact that the creation of 'in' and 'out' sub-groups can have on their own team identity. The authors suggested that feelings of belonging to and inclusion in subgroups are possible sources of interpersonal and relationship conflict with people of other subgroups (Zhao, 2006).

Moving to diversity in a globalised environment, lack of crossover with different management applications and theories in different regions of the world has become an issue (Denison, Haaland and Goelzer, 2004, p. 98). Literature in this field raises concerns about the problems associated with domestic management approaches and how they are unable to adequately respond to global organisational needs (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2008). Compounding the problem is that in some countries, such as China, India and Indonesia, governments continue to hold a conservative view towards the management of diversity and place a great deal of importance on conformity and unity, especially within the private sector (Patrickson and O'Brien, 2001, pp. 56, 72, 94, 118).

However, not all researchers agree. A study by Denison et al. (2004, pp. 99, 107, 108) examined regions of North America, Asia, Europe, the Middle East and Africa and reported that there was enough similarity between the perspectives on managing diversity to suggest a common approach is possible. Thus, there are two different research perspectives on how to manage diversity: the domestic and the global approaches. However, in both cases the studies failed to highlight differentiation among regions when we look at one element of diversity such as gender difference or race. Also, these studies ignored the fact that there may be common global cultures that need to be investigated and managed regardless of region.

1.4.1 Cross-culture management

Unlike the scholarship on diversity management, the body of knowledge on cross-culture management deals with religious diversity in the workplace the least. Most cross-culture management literature emerges from the international business discipline and focuses on some concepts such as cross-cultural competence (e.g., Johnson et Al., 2006), ethics (e.g., Moon and Woolliams, 2000), communication (e.g., Stuart et al., 2007) and leadership (e.g. Chrobot-Mason et al., 2007; Wibbeke, 2009).

Within the literature on cross-culture management there is a range of strategies presented in regard to the management of cross-cultural issues in the workplace. The classic approach, such as that presented by Hofstede (1980), is based on his five cultural dimensions theory: power distance, individualism versus collectivism, masculinity versus femininity, uncertainty avoidance, and long-term versus short-term orientation. Although Hofstede helped to inform how religious diversity in the work place may be analysed by showing how individualism is somehow linked to the issue of spirituality versus collectivism which is in turn somehow linked to religions and religious practices, it is important to note that Hofstede's theory has been criticised for being too simplistic (Dupuis, 2013, Fontaine, 2007, pp. 125-35). According to Parboteeah et al. (2009), the theory deals insufficiently with subcultures and religions and 'only indirectly acknowledges the importance of religion and its implications for the workplace.' Therefore, deep-level 'religious' diversity in the workplace requires further analysis.

Indeed, Fontaine (2007) argued that such understandings of cross-cultural issues are out-dated and that a new approach to determining practical management actions is needed. The author stated a new approach is needed to change organisational systems so that they may shape future cross-cultural relations to include managing spirituality and religion in the workplace more deeply (Fontaine, 2007). Evidence of an out-dated perspective on cross-cultural management can be found in the work of Adler (1983). In her literature review of 24 journal articles on the subject from 1971 to 1980, Adler found that 'the majority of the cross-cultural articles were single culture studies; less than 1 per cent (e.g., Doerr, 2009) investigated the interaction between employees of

different cultures' (Adler, 1983, p. 226). This includes Muslim workers in non-Muslim countries (i.e. Australia). Also, there is a lack of investigative research on the potential for conflict to occur among diverse cultures or across cultures, either national cultures or religious cultures.

1.4.2 Organisational culture

According to Pettigrew (1979), the term organisational culture (or corporate culture) was first introduced into management and organisational literature in 1979 (Pettigrew, 1979; cited in Anderson-Wallace and Blantern, 2005, p. 178). In fact, the scholarship on organisational culture is well documented by writers such as Schein (1992), Meyerson and Martin (1987), and Martin and Siehl (1983) who developed models and concepts of organisational cultures, and these concepts will be analysed more in the 'Conceptual Framework' chapter. Moreover, a point almost all authors of organisational culture agree on is that organisational culture, along with the subculture, can be a contributing factor to conflict in the workplace, including conflict based on religious diversity. Authors such as Van den Steen (2005, p. 256) and Martin and Meyerson (1987, pp. 636-641) also pointed out that managers play a crucial role in establishing the culture in an organisation.

Since 1979, organisational culture has been the subject of scholarly books (e.g. Kotter and Heskett, 1992) and journal articles (e.g., Barney 1986; Henri, 2006; Suppiah and Sandhu, 2011; Trice and Beyer, 1991; Wilkins and Dyer, 1988). All seek to provide an up-to-date profile of the dynamics of organisational culture and the most effective way for it to be managed. However, what has not been addressed clearly in the literature on organisational culture and its subcultures is whether or not different religious groups should be described as subcultures or countercultures in an organisation.

Martin (2002) is widely regarded for her insights into and explanations of the complexities of organisational culture. The author framed her discussion of the difficulties of examining culture in relation to organisations and their practices by pointing out the difficulties researchers and theorists have experienced in their attempts to define culture. For instance, she referred to the functionalist definition of

culture and its emphasis on individualist-collectivist or hierarchical-egalitarian correlations and compared it to the interpretivist perspective with its emphasis on symbols and meaning construction (Martin, 2002). Moreover, the author emphasised the problematic of whether culture in the workplace is best understood from an emic (insider) or etic (outsider) view point. According to Martin, these seemingly irreconcilable definitions and potential points of perspective have led to what she refers to as the 'culture wars' in the debate about organisational behaviour.

Significantly, Martin (2002) looked to combine the three dominant but independent theoretical perspectives of organisational culture: integration – cultural manifestations emerging from 'mutually consistent interpretations'; differentiation – cultural manifestations emerging from 'inconsistent interpretations'; and fragmentation – cultural manifestations emerging from 'neither consistent nor non-consistent interpretation' (Martin, 2002, p. 94). In doing so, she advocated the need to accept 'ambiguity, paradox, and contradiction' in our conceptualisation of organisational culture and our understanding of cultural conflict (Martin, 2002, p. 19). This presents a counter-point to the view that culture in an organisation is fundamentally about creating shared meanings (Martin, 2002).

According to Martin (2002), there is an integrative element to culture when there is consistency and consensus in commonly held shared meanings. There may simultaneously be a differentiated element to culture, however, when subcultures exist in a general context of ambiguity (Martin 2002). Indeed, Martin (2002) argued that the notion of ambiguity is important to our understanding of cultural conflict in the organisational context. By reinforcing the importance of acknowledging the subjectively created boundaries that potentially separate culture and collective, Martin (2002) argued, there is an inevitable blurring of the lines between subgroups in an organisation leading to the existence of multiple collectives within the broader organisational culture.

Parker (2000) also contributed to our understanding of the relationship between culture and identity in the context of organisational behaviour with a particular focus on the relationship between collective (i.e. organisational) cultures and individual identities. The author conceptualised culture in general, and culture within an

organisation more specifically, as a process rather than a static phenomenon (Parker, 2000). In doing so, he drew attention to the tensions that emerge between notions of individuality and collectivism, individual agency and organisational structure, and the personal and the social (Parker, 2000). It is through discussion of such tensions that the author examines the complexity of 'us' and 'them' classifications and in-group formulations within the process of culture formation (Parker, 2000). According to Parker (2000), organisations are therefore simultaneously collective (unitary) and divided entities in which cultural meanings are continually contested and shifting.

As Parker (2000) explained, although organisations may be thought of as settings of multiple cultures, the aim is to facilitate their workable co-existence through a system of stabilised meaning (Parker, 2000). In turn, a primary concern for Parker (2000) was how the collective culture is impacted or shaped by managerial practices through an emphasis placed on consensus and conformity in organisations. According to Parker (2000), because the culture of an organisation has the potential to significantly impact its operations, the leadership team will attempt to create a culture that facilitates profit-making and success. Such attempts are generally based upon the pursuit of uniformity of values and practices, but, as Parker (2000) states, it can be difficult to manage such uniformity in complex organisations at the executive level.

Parker (2000) attempted to examine culture in the workplace according to four perspectives: functionalist, radical structuralist, interpretivist and radical humanist. This multiple perspective examination affirms a crucial belief held by the author that organisational culture cannot and should not be considered from one perspective only (Parker, 2000). The author's functionalistic examination – which he argues is best undertaken through survey techniques and hypothesis testing – drew attention to the classifications and typologies of cultures and the functional role that they play in organisations as well as to how they may best be managed (Parker, 2000). The radical structuralist examination of culture focused more intently on the explicit and implicit mechanisms employed in organisations to control culture and to overcome issues of difference and inequality. In the interpretivist examination of culture, Parker (2000) pointed to the social constructionist nature of culture and the importance of qualitative analysis to explain culture in an organisation and how it is practised. Lastly, Parker's (2000, p. 75) examination of culture in the workplace from a radical humanist

perspective drew the conclusion that culture is ultimately 'a struggle for hegemony with competing factions attempting to define the primary purpose of the organization'. As such, Parker (2000) placed emphasis on the relationship between power and meaning and the extent to which all voices are heard and cultural practices or sensitivities are resisted and/or accommodated.

Green (2005) further contributed to the body of knowledge on organisational culture and identity in her research on the relationship between work culture and identity. The author defines work culture as the human process in the organisation that is 'both separate from and intimately related to broader organizational structures and requirements' (Green, 2005, p. 630). As such, work culture is thus to be understood as that which defines workplace 'behavioural expectations' related to such diverse elements as dress codes, interactional boundaries and employee competencies (Green, 2005, p. 632).

As a derivative of culture more broadly, which Green (2005, p. 632) characterised as emergent from social interactions that both impact and are impacted by power dynamics, the author suggests that multiple work cultures most likely operate across different hierarchical levels in an organisation and that both small-group and organisation-wide work cultures may co-exist. Moreover, given the dynamic nature of social interactions, Green (2005, p. 632) suggests that work culture is 'neither neutral nor static'. Rather, it is in a constant state of flux as the ever-emergent conflicts and negotiations within the organisation determine which 'cultural' expectations will dominate (Green, 2005).

On the basis of this characterisation, Green (2005) argues that the notion of work culture is both conceptually and practically relevant to our understanding of discrimination – and by definition, anti-discrimination practices – in the workplace. According to the author, the concept of work culture encompasses discriminatory and exclusionary practices in the workplace as well as the harm resulting from 'devaluation and transformation of identity' (Green, 2005, p. 633). Moreover, the notion of conformity implied in managerial efforts to create a strong work culture has within it a discriminatory potential (Green, 2005).

Schein (1985), a well-known scholar in this field, asserted that if managers and leaders within an organisation are not fully aware of the cultural dynamics embedded in the organisation, then the culture will end up managing them. In light of this, Schein (1985) developed a three-tier model of organisational culture. On the first (surface) tier are 'behaviour and artefacts' (such as dress) which are easy to distinguish; on the second tier are 'espoused values' including the organisation's strategies, goals and philosophies; and on the third (deeper) tier are the basic 'assumptions' existing at the core of the culture which provide the greatest insight into why things happen in the way that they do. However, Schein did not recognise the important impact of the external environment on organisational culture, such as the country in which an organisation is located, and the SI or groups to which people belong or of which they are members in a global sense (e.g. religions).

Other writings on organisational culture, such as that produced by Deal and Kennedy (1982) (see also Morgan, 2006), contributed greatly to our knowledge of the subject. Importantly, the authors broke down the concept of organisational culture into five core elements: (1) the business environment; (2) the organisational values; (3) the corporate heroes; (4) the rites and rituals of the corporation; and (5) the network of the organisation. Moreover, with reference to the dynamic nature of organisational cultures, the literature presents a range of adaptations of Schein's model. For instance, Hatch (1993 p. 657) developed the 'cultural dynamics' model, which combined Schein's theory with symbolic-interpretive perspectives. Through this combination, the author asserted that organisational cultures operate through processes of manifestation, realisation, symbolisation, and interpretation. Moreover, Van den Steen (2005, p. 256) drew particular attention to the role of the manager in establishing the organisational culture. He claimed that if an environment can be created within the workplace where employees share the organisation's beliefs and values they are less likely to feel stressed and more likely to be motivated and productive.

A comprehensive analysis of organisational culture by Meyerson and Martin (1987) identified three core paradigms: integration, differentiation and ambiguity. To clarify, the authors asserted that integration exists when there is cultural consensus within the organisation. That is, the employees shared values are consistent with the formal practices argued within the organisation. In contrast, when there is conflict or

inconsistencies among the group there is a weak or negative organisational culture (Meyerson and Martin, 1987, pp. 624-630; Martin, 2002). The cultural differentiation paradigm refers to the different jobs, employment status and gender subcultures that co-exist within the organisation. The authors argued that these differences could be advantageous and effective within an organisation if management is able to have them operate in harmony, or at least indifferently, towards each other. According to Martin and Meyerson (1987, pp. 636-641), cultural ambiguity exists when there is no clear delineation between integration and differentiation and it is typically the status quo in organisations.

The variety of subcultures is as diverse as the variety of organisational cultures. Since 1967, researchers (e.g., Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967; cited in Boisnier and Chatman, 2002) have discussed the role of sub-groups in organisations. However, as Trice and Beyer (1993) suggested, not all sub-groups can be considered subcultures because groups in a subculture share common characteristic norms or beliefs. Moreover, recognising the variety of subcultures leads to a deeper analysis which asserts that not all subcultures are on the same level.

Within the literature on organisational culture, emphasis is placed on the sharing of beliefs and the notion of communal values. In turn, it is these elements which provide the organisation with a sense of purpose and direction as well as enhance its ability to translate signals from the external environment into internal organisational change (Denison, 1990). Therefore, the literature reinforces the need to balance and manage the mix between communal beliefs, employee participation and the need for organisational change (Denison, Hooijberg and Quinn, 1995).

1.4.3 Cultural conflict

Extensive research has been conducted on cultural conflicts, but primarily from an HRM or HRM-related perspective. The journal articles and scholarly books on this issue, although limited, include Almost (2006), Pondy (1967), Rahim (1983), Shih and Susanto (2009), Thomas (1992) and Yuan (2010). The literature on religious cultural conflict in the workplace is even more limited, except for theoretical analyses.

As illustrated below, the literature on religious cultural conflict has focused largely on three concepts: its causes; the need for managerial attention; and how it may be reduced. What has not been fully investigated in relation to cultural conflict in the workplace, however, are the causes of conflict between groups, such as Muslims and non-Muslims, in Western societies. Such investigations are important because the religious needs and obligations of minority groups in the workplace are heterogeneous.

One of the few concerns to be addressed in the current literature on workplace conflict is the potential for cultural conflict to emerge due to different religious practices. Chrobot-Mason, Ruderman, Weber, Ohlott and Dalton (2007), and Dalton and Chrobot-Mason (2007, p. 169-183) presented their views on the potential for conflict by suggesting that the seriousness of the threat to an organisation arising from diversity in the workplace cannot be underestimated. The potential for conflict was reinforced by Chow and Crawford (2004, p. 27). In addition, Bouma (1999) and Bouma et al. (2003) contributed significantly to our understanding of religious diversity and conflicts. Bouma (1999, p. 283) argued that religious diversity in the workplace or in general is especially problematic because the difference is 'essentialised, politicised, and made a basis for social and economic differentiation'. In addition, Harvey and Allard (2008, p. 198) reported that when it comes to faith and spiritual beliefs, if a person is committed to a particular view based on abstract principles they find it extremely difficult to compromise. Furthermore, people have a tendency to place others who share the same faith into some sort of collective category (Grint, 1998, p. 237).

The relationship between workplace diversity and workplace conflict was further explored by Ward (2013) in response to the results of the '2013 Survey of American Workers and Religion' released by the Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding (2013). The author cites comments from Tanenbaum Chief Executive Officer (CEO) Joyce Dubensky that 'more diversity [means] we can expect to find more conflict' (Ward, 2013, p. 1) to reinforce the point that this is a significant issue for employers and employees alike (Ward, 2013). With regard to specific religions, while the majority of workers indicated their belief that Muslim employees face discrimination at work, it was not only Muslims who experienced marginalisation and

other exclusionary practices. Members of the Christian majority, Evangelical Protestants and also atheists indicated that they had experienced discrimination on the basis of their beliefs (Ward, 2013, p. 1).

Moon and Woolliams (2000, p. 105) and Chow and Crawford (2004, p. 27) also noted that managing minority groups in the workplace and accommodating their religious practices when necessary is a challenge for management. Studies have argued that a positive bias towards one's own cultural group is a phenomenon (Dalton and Mason, 2007, p. 171). Therefore, without the right workplace policies and strategies in place it is easy for certain groups to feel a degree of ethnocentrism towards the majority group (Moon and Woolliams, 2000, p. 105). In turn, the ethnocentrism can be a source of frustration and potential conflict for the minority group. What may confuse the reader in the scholarship on cultural conflict in organisations and other workplaces, however, is the difference in the causal factors attributed to cultural conflict by authors. Thus, given the complexities surrounding cultural conflict it is therefore necessary to examine the causes of culture-related workplace conflict from the perspectives of employees.

1.5 Spirituality, religion and work (SRW)

Historically, literature on SRW began to emerge in the 1930s. Weber (1930) conducted research into religious practices in workplaces, and McClelland (1961) and Hrebiniak and Alutto (1972; cited in Parboteeah et al., 2009) also studied the associations between work and religious practices. According to Parboteeah et al. (2009), scholars have primarily considered SRW from a Christian point of view, with the main focus being placed on the issue of ethics. What is also obvious in the literature on SRW is that culture is defined in a very narrow sense, a point written about extensively by different authors such as Hicks (2003), Miller (2007) and Mitroff and Denton (1999). These authors however present a US-centric perspective of the Christian religion in the workplace. Moreover, what they define as religion in the workplace is more to do with spirituality in the workplace. A gap therefore exists in relation to the need to focus primarily on religious practices in the workplace that are associated with specific religions.

Authors such as Ali (2010, p. 692), Burke (2010), Debrah and Smith (2000, p. 5), Rice (1999), and Moore and Rees (2007, p. 177) all mentioned that developing an understanding of how to manage the demands of different religious cultures and world views is becoming increasingly important for employers and HR managers. Moreover, Mellahi and Budhwar (2010, pp. 685-686) added that central to developments in this area is the willingness to revise traditional understandings of the religion-work dynamic and to shift away from the entrenched view of the workplace as a religion 'neutral zone' whereby religion itself is regarded simply as a subset of culture.

In order to better understand the broad scope the concepts of religion and work encompass, scholars such as Dean, Fornaciari and McGee (2003), Fornaciari and Lund Dean (2004), and Parboteeah, Hoegl and Cullen (2009) have elected to apply the more manageable title of SRW. Moreover, because SRW is a new field in the literature on diversity in the modern workplace, there is a relative lack of empirical studies on the subject (Dean, Fornaciari and McGee, 2003; Fornaciari and Lund Dean, 2004; Parboteeah, Hoegl and Cullen, 2009). This is not to suggest that the association between work and religion as a study discipline has not been considered.

Although the number of management books published on spirituality and religion has increased (Joseph, 2002). Iannaccone (1998), Davie (2007), Fornaciari and Lund Dean (2004), Fornaciari and Lund Dean (2001), Gibbons (2000) and Wilber (1998) outlined some of the reasons for the paucity of empirical studies on SRW. In particular, they highlighted that international management researchers are reluctant to investigate its concepts due to the difficulty in applying traditional managerial models (Iannaccone, 1998). Davie (2007) reinforced this view with the assertion that religion itself is both provocative and a source of unease as a field of study due to the inherent problems encountered when trying to use science to understand it.

Focusing on religion in the workplace from a management perspective, Parboteeah, Hoegl and Cullen (2009, p. 51) asserted that employees practising different religions demonstrate different values and norms which impacts the way they need to be managed. Accordingly, they argued that it is important for contemporary employers and HR managers to understand how employees' religious orientations relate to their

work values and that there must be strategies in place to strike a balance in the workplace to accommodate different religious views and practices (Parboteeah et al., 2009, p. 52). This view is affirmed by Mellahi and Budhwar (2010, p. 686) who proposed that religious beliefs and values have significant direct and indirect effects on workplace behaviours, levels of job satisfaction, leadership styles and effectiveness, legal challenges, and employment practices.

Adding to the somewhat negative discourse on research into SRW, however, is the claim by Fornaciari and Lund Dean (2004) that despite the paradigms underpinning research in SRW remaining unfixed there is a tendency towards the positivist perspective or the existence of studies with non-nomothetic results. Authors such as Mason (1992), Barhem et al. (2009), Sood and Nasu (1995), and Harell (1986) suggested that religion is a major part of some cultures and a sensitive issue that cannot be ignored in the workplace. According to Mason (1992), cultural values can be described as the fundamental beliefs and principles regarded as desirable by individuals or groups. Barhem et al. (2009) agreed and added that religion is an important element of culture which plays a significant role in determining how people behave in certain situations. Sood and Nasu (1995), and Harell (1986) asserted that a person's behaviour is both directly affected by religion as a result of the tenets and taboos it endorses, and indirectly affected as a result of the way it classifies phenomena and endorses priorities in codes of conduct.

Empirical studies conducted on SRW in the US and UK have reported very significant results on the SRW phenomenon. These studies include Religious Bias in the Workplace (Tanenbaum, 1999); Religion in the Workplace Survey (SHRM, 2001); Religion for Corporate America (Gallup, 2002); Labour Market Outlook Survey (cipd, 2008) Focus: Management policies relating to employees' religious beliefs 2006-2007; Labour Market Outlook Survey: Religious Discrimination Survey 2007; Religion and Corporate Culture Accommodating Religious Diversity in the Workplace Survey Report 2008; Religious Practices in the Workplace (Institute of Business Ethics, 2011); and What American Workers Really Think About Religion: Tanenbaum's 2013 Survey of American Workers and Religion. Indeed, all eight studies agree on three main results: requests for religious accommodations and discrimination against religions in the workplace are increasing year by year; there is

a lack of written policies regarding religious diversity in the workplace; and confusion is evident among employers on how to manage this issue.

There are, however, three criticisms of the aforementioned studies. First, none of the studies were conducted in Australia. Second, four of the eight studies investigated the perspective of managers only, two of the eight investigated employees' perspectives, and two of the eight investigated the phenomenon itself. Thus, none of the studies focused on the main religious needs of employees elaborated in the introduction of this thesis and how managers responded to these needs. Furthermore, because the eight empirical studies covered Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam, they could not draw relevant conclusions based on deep analysis for employees of specific religions. For example, Christian holidays and religious decorations were the most frequently mentioned practices by respondents, but they are not so significant to employees of other religions such as Muslims.

In addition, studies such as those conducted by Abramson (2006) and Rollins (2007) provided some insight into religious practices in the workplace. However, because these studies elected to explore a range of religions and their practices – including Christian, Jewish and Muslim practices – they did not go into sufficient depth on any one of them in their investigation. Interestingly, Miller and Ewest (2013) conducted a review of studies of workplace spirituality with the aim to contribute to the development of psychometric scales that may better measure workplace spirituality. Specifically, the authors pointed to the need to give greater focus to the manifestation, development and adherence levels of spirituality in the workplace (Miller and Ewest, 2013, p. 29). The authors argued that such developments are required in order to better understand the level of diversity among religious traditions in workplaces and how 'individual or collective spirituality integrates and manifests itself in the workplace'.

In their review, Miller and Ewest (2013) pointed out the different ways in which workplace spirituality (also referred to as 'Faith at Work') is defined in the literature. For instance, Rego and Pina e Cunha (2008, p. 55; cited in Miller and Ewest, 2013, p. 30) define the phenomenon as the 'recognition that employees have an inner life which nourishes and is nourished by meaningful work taking place in the context of a

community'. In addition, Giacalone and Jurkiewicz (2005, p. 13; cited in Miller and Ewest, 2013, p. 30) constructed their definition around such concepts as focus on transcendence through work processes, sense of being connected to others, and 'feelings of completeness and joy'. As such, Miller and Ewest (2013, p. 48) asserted that the inherent complexity of the spirituality/religion phenomenon makes it very difficult to define and also to measure for research and organisational development purposes. These authors therefore argued that many contemporary workplaces are increasingly in need of a method to accurately measure workplace spirituality in order to implement effective diversity management strategies (Miller and Ewest, 2013). In this regard, they proposed the need to develop psychometric scales for organisations to implement which go beyond simple measures of employee 'personal fulfillment, faith maturity and wellness' (Miller and Ewest, 2013, p. 49) to explore the relationship between employees, organisations and spirituality (Miller and Ewest, 2013, p. 48).

Bouma et al. (2003, p. 52) proposed that the issues most associated with religious diversity in the workplace were the level of religious discussion, the disclosure of religious identities, the wearing of religious attire, the legitimacy of days absent for religious occasions, and the behaviour required for religious observances. Therefore, based on the increasing prevalence of religious diversity in the workplace and the range of issues inherent to this increase, it is consistently implied within the literature that HR managers must give careful consideration to the way in which the expression of one's religion should impact upon management practices and the implementation of organisational strategies (Tayeb, 1997, p. 353).

What has not been fully investigated in these arguments is the challenge for managers to effectively understand and utilise the different approaches associated with different cultures and/or religions. Differences among religious people in the workplace indicate that there is a gap in the literature regarding the management of religious diversity in the workplace. Some literature points to the need to balance an employee's religious needs with the needs of the organisation. According to Fontaine (2007, p. 128), one of the fundamental elements of managing religious diversity in the workplace is recognising that cultural or religious values are fixed, whereas organisational values and the workplace context itself is fluid. It is acknowledged

within the literature on SRW that central to any determination by employees to conduct their religious practices in the workplace is the need for the organisation to achieve the most effective balance between accommodating employer and employee rights and responsibilities, including the right to fulfil the requirements of their religion (Ball and Haque, 2003, p. 317; Cash and Gray, 2000, p. 126; Rollins, 2007, p. 7). On the basis of this premise, Pio's (2010, p. 113) assertion that spirituality, demonstrated through religious beliefs and practices, cannot be easily demarcated between the individual's private and public life requires particular consideration. Moreover, the author's assertion that spirituality finds expression in all aspects of one's life and both impacts and is impacted by the environment in which it is being expressed has clear implications for the workplace context (Pio, 2010, p. 113).

The study of Religious Bias in the Workplace (Tanenbaum, 1999) concluded that 'Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim respondents not only experienced religious bias, but expected it, and also, Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims are the least comfortable and most vulnerable groups within the workplace.' In light of this, the following paragraphs elaborate on these three religions in relation to SRW issues, giving particular focus to Muslim employees and SRW in the workplace. Although most studies of Buddhism in the workplace are descriptive and were conducted as inter-faith studies including other religions, studies by Fernando and Jackson (2006), Hicks (2003), and Parboteeah et Al. (2009) are an exception. Hicks (2003) argued that although the classification of religions in the workplace is possible on the basis of their traditions, Buddhism in the workplace is difficult to categorise. As such, managers may become confused about how to manage Buddhist employees more than employees of other religions (Hicks, 2003, p. 97). Fernando and Jackson (2006, p. 22) added that Buddhist employees can be affected by their faith in a secular workplace in terms of decision making. Fernando and Jackson (2006, p. 16) also pointed out that similar to Muslims, devout Hindu employees demonstrate a strong spirituality in the workplace and pray at least five to six times a day. Similar to Buddhist employees, Hinduism affects its followers in terms of decision making (Fernando and Jackson, 2006, p. 22).

In terms of paying more attention to Muslim workers in non-Muslim countries, there are still some gaps in the literature. It is well recognised that there has been

widespread investigation into the social and demographic situation of Muslim minorities in Western countries including Australia (Akbarzadeh et al., 2009; Ali, 2008; Dunn, 2004; McMichael, 2002; Wise and Yusuf, 1990). However, it is apparent that most specialist studies of Muslim employees and the accommodation of their religious needs in the workplace, such as those conducted by Ball and Haque (2003), Bouma et al. (2003), and Tayeb (1997), are relatively normative and judgemental. This is evident given that the study by Ball and Haque (2003), for example, relied on secondary data to analyse the issue of religion and work.

Studies of the changing workplace setting assert that understanding religious diversity, and Islam in particular, is vital to combat the high level of discrimination against Muslim workers in the modern workplace (Bouma et al., 2003, p. 51). As Ellemers, Gilder and Haslam (2004) suggested, there is an increasing need for companies to make the effort to understand the role of different religions in the workplace. Identifying the similarities and differences among the dominant religions assists managers to reduce the level of conflict in the workplace and develop universal norms. Also, managers might take whatever opportunities are available when scheduling work to take into consideration religious differences by rostering non-Christians employees to work over the Christmas period and non-Muslims employees to work during *Ramadan* (Harvey and Allard, 2008, p. 198). Furthermore, studies by Ali and Al-Owaihan (2008), and Hoffman, Krahnke and Dalpour (2004) have made positive contributions to our understanding of issues relevant to Islam, HRM and discrimination against Muslim workers in the workplace. However, there is yet to be a study that explicitly identifies the key religious practices observed by Muslim employees in the workplace and managers' responses to these practices. Such studies are of interest as these issues have the potential to manifest as conflict in the workplace and may be difficult to manage.

A prevalent notion developed in the literature on SRW pertaining to religious observances and behaviours in the workplace and Muslim employees is the positive impact that support for these observances by employers can have on workplace relations. Both Barhem et al. (2009, p. 132 and 134), and Jamal and Badwadi (1993, p. 145) outlined the way in which managers may be able to increase productivity and manage work-related stress among Muslim employees in particular by drawing

attention to their religion. Jamal and Badwadi (p. 147, p. 149) asserted that people with strong religious convictions are less affected by stress as a result of their relationship with God. Furthermore, if managers can better understand their Muslim employees and perhaps accommodate their religious practices they can bring benefit to the organisation (Jamal and Badwadi, p. 147, p. 150). Moreover, Hashim (2010) asserted that HR managers who accommodate an Islamic approach would improve employee commitment to the organisation (Hashim, 2010, p. 794).

Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi (2010, pp. 778-779) argued the need for employers to make every effort to accommodate Muslim employees according to their beliefs (e.g. a place to pray, flexibility in break times). They also supported both formal (human resource practices) and informal (organisational culture) practices that promote the employees' identification with their organisational group. The benefits of such initiatives, according to the authors, are that they motivate Muslim employees and instil in them an allegiance to the organisation. Furthermore, Cunningham (2010, pp. 12-13) recommended that employers or HR managers should aim to have a workplace setting that can best accommodate religious requests (i.e., observances, behavioural manifestations) so that employees feel valued, irrespective of their religious beliefs. According to the author, an integral element for the attainment of this objective is when the value of diversity is integrated into the organisation's core mission, values, and structure, and is supported by top management and training.

To illustrate this point further, Moore and Rees (2007, p. 182) provided an insightful account of how managers often rely on an inadequate, improvised approach to dealing with Muslim religious expression in the workplace (for instance, a prayer room in one of the supply closets) in a bid to avoid conflict or having to address contentious issues. The authors asserted that such failures by management to adequately acknowledge and support the religious observances and behaviours of Muslim employees often leads to low morale, staff retention problems, and decreased productivity (Moore and Rees, 2007, p. 181).

A growing body of literature relevant to Muslims in the workplace gives particular attention to the circumstances and challenges confronting many Muslim women employees. According to Syed and Pio (2010), Bloul (2008) and Forstenlechner and

Al-Waqfi (2010), there are many preconceived notions and views assigned to Muslim women that have implications for the way they are perceived by colleagues as well as to how they might be managed in the workplace. The argument presented by the authors is that organisations which aim to reflect societal attitudes and expectations are increasingly challenged by the provocative aspect of social stereotypes (Syed and Pio, 2010, p. 121). Furthermore, Chanlat (2013, p.17) pointed to the way in which stereotypes can be based on permanent features of the target group. As a result, a broader account of contemporary research reveals that Muslim women in particular must endure stereotypes based on their religious markers, the externally imposed identity created and/or reinforced by the media and politicians through the perpetuation of such stereotypes, the curiosity of colleagues, and lower-status positions often assigned to them in the organisation (Bloul, 2008, p. 11; Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi, 2010, p. 776; Syed and Pio, 2010, pp. 124-126).

Relevant to this topic is the study by Scott and Franzmann (2007) of the experiences of Muslim women in the workplace. The study focused on issues related to religious observances (such as the availability of prayer space and *Ramadan*), the wearing of religious attire, and social interaction. The study provided an insightful representation of some of the core issues and asserted that Muslim women employed in secular workplaces reported feelings of discomfort, insecurity and some discrimination from others in response to their Muslim identity (Scott and Franzmann, 2007, p. 281).

Muslim female respondents identified the source of the discomfort as essentially related to attitudes of colleagues and employers as a result of being easily identified as Muslim (by wearing the *hijab*), as well as being misrepresented through the perpetuation of stereotypes (Scott and Franzmann, 2007, pp. p. 276, 281). In addition, peripheral issues of not being able to participate in 'ordinary' workplace functions because alcohol was being served, *halal* food was not being served, and because there was social interaction of the sexes were also raised as areas of concern (Scott and Franzmann, 2007, p. 282). In fact, this researcher will draw from studies such as the one conducted by Scott and Franzmann (2007) as they provide a useful foundation for this study.

Confirmed within the SRW literature is the assertions from Omair (2009), Ghumman and Jackson (2009), and Metcalfe (2007) that the significance of religious attire in the workplace and its associated implications are generally more relevant to women. The literature on SRW highlights the importance of examining the likely reasons behind a Muslim woman's choice to wear *hijab* and how this choice is received in the workplace (Ghumman and Jackson, 2009; Metcalfe, 2007; Scott and Franzmann, 2007). As previously mentioned, dress can be a potent object symbol in enabling individuals to express their identity or group affiliation and concept of self (Humphreys and Brown, 2002, p. 927). In turn, for some Muslim women, wearing *hijab* is often the most explicit expression of their Muslim identity (Ghumman and Jackson, 2009, p. 5; Metcalfe, 2007, p. 66; Omair, 2009, p. 420). A study by Scott and Franzmann (2007, p. 278) found that, in the main, Muslim women wore *hijab* because it was a way to be readily identified as a Muslim woman (and, importantly, as an identifier of their affiliation to Islam), and because it gave them a sense of empowerment in being able to challenge people's perceptions and the perpetuation of cultural stereotypes.

In addition, the choice to wear *hijab* is also associated with a demonstration of modest behaviour (Syed, 2010, p. 152), and it is a way to ensure that the Muslim woman is judged by her intelligence and contribution rather than by her physical attributes (Bouma, et al., 2003, p. 56). It is noted, however, that not all Muslim-based cultures promote veiling, so to not wear *hijab* is not necessarily a separation from faith for some Muslim women (Scott and Franzmann, 2007, p. 278).

Ghumman and Ryan (2013) investigated the issue of religious diversity and employment in the context of employee recruitment. In particular, the authors studied the discrimination experienced by Muslim women who wear *hijab* during the recruitment process. The study by Ghumman and Ryan (2013) looked to expand on current understandings of discrimination in the workplace as described in the literature on relational demography. For instance, the authors pointed to EEOC (2011) data that showed a two-fold increase in religious-based discrimination claims in the US from 2003. This was four-times more than any other discrimination category included in the US *Civil Rights Act of 1964* (Ghumman and Ryan, 2013, p. 672). The authors presented findings that formal discrimination was evident towards women

wearing *hijab* compared to women not wearing *hijab* in relation to job call backs and permission to apply, as well as more interpersonal discrimination in the form of perceived negativity and perceived interest. In addition, women wearing *hijab* were less likely to receive call backs in circumstances of low employee diversity at a workplace when compared to high employee diversity workplaces (Ghumman and Ryan, 2013).

Ghumman and Ryan (2013) discussed a number of implications to emerge from their study. The authors pointed to a previously mentioned point that religion-based discrimination in the workplace can diminish employee motivation and productivity levels (Ghumman and Ryan, 2013, p. 673). Furthermore, the authors suggested an increase in interpersonal discrimination (as opposed to formal discrimination) as a result of strict government legislation against formal discrimination. Interpersonal discrimination is described by Ghumman and Ryan (2013, p. 678) as a more covert form of discrimination, for example, reluctance to make eye-contact, greater use of low affirmation body language, and use of personal distance. In turn, experiencing such interpersonal discrimination in the workplace can diminish employees' level of trust in the organisation and increase the likelihood of tension and frustration emerging within the organisational culture (Ghumman and Ryan, 2013, p. 689).

The literature on Muslim woman in the workplace has also recognised the importance of Muslim women taking responsibility to prepare for the secular workplace. In particular, Scott and Franzmann (2007, p. 285) stressed that Muslim women must understand that often they are entering into a workplace setting that is not guided by Muslim laws or beliefs, and that other employees will not always agree with their moral or religious perspective and are under no obligation to do so. In turn, although written specifically in relation to Muslim women, the assertions of these authors are of course also relevant to Muslim male employees working in a secular workplace.

Writers such as Leat and El-Kot (2007), Ali (1988), Ali (2010), and Parboteeah et al. (2009) claimed points of difference between Muslim workers and other religious groups in the workplace in their discussions of the comprehensive nature of the Islamic faith and its impact on the social, spiritual and behavioural aspects of the individual. The authors maintained that faith in Islam would affect the Muslim's

work-related values, expectations of employers, behaviour, and approach to management (Ali, 1988, p. 577; Ali, 2010, p. 693; Leat and El-Kot, 2007, p. 150; Parboteeah et al., 2009, p. 57). However, other authors (e.g. Bouma 1999; Hicks, 2003; Milliman, et al., 2003; Tombaugh, 2011; Parboteeah, Paik and Cullen, 2009) illustrated that all religions have a positive impact on the workplace and encourage their followers to work.

In recognition of the increasing prevalence of religious diversity in Western workplaces in general as well as the increasing number of Muslim workers in secular organisations in particular, Cash and Gray (2000, p. 125), and Rollins (2007, p. 9) placed emphasis on the need for adequate workplace training of supervisors and employees. According to the authors, the training must include how to manage religious diversity and religious expression in a consistent manner that is in accordance with the law. In addition, the authors point to the necessity of having both a workplace policy on religious expression (what, where, when, how), and an effective conflict resolution mechanism to deal with issues based on religious differences. Related to this is the trend within the literature on SRW to reinforce the importance of making available to Muslim employees people (solicitors, counsellors, consultants, etc.) who are aware of Muslim customs and traditions (Barhem et al., 2009, p. 134; Buttar, 1985; Siann and Clark, 1992, p. 22).

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided a review of the literature pertaining to issues of Muslim employees in the workplace and diversity management. To sum up, it is evident that the extent to which the workplace is a site to resolve one's religious obligations has been a matter of contention within the spectrum of workplace relations in countries around the world for decades. Breathing new life into the issue is the changing nature of the workplace due to globalisation, widespread immigration, and transnational economic relations. Contemporary workplaces are increasingly characterised by multiculturalism and religious diversity which has clear implications for the nature of organisational cultures. There is also compelling evidence in recent literature that the number of Muslim employees in the workplace in non-Muslim countries is steadily increasing. It is also evident from the literature that Muslim employees in non-Muslim countries are still subject in some cases to restrictions in their capacity to express their

faith without prejudice in the workplace. In addition, employers and HR managers are increasingly faced with the challenges of how to best understand religious diversity and how to accommodate the need for religious observances and practices by employees at work.

CHAPTER TWO

Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction

A search of the literature on managing diversity including religious and cross-cultural management indicated that there has been little scholarly investigation of the management of religious employees. Although several theories and concepts can be cited related to cultural conflict, the number of theories on religious conflict is limited. According to Lee and Renzetti (1993), this is most-likely due to the fact that researchers are deterred from dealing with religious conflict in the workplace because of the sensitivity of the issues involved. Notwithstanding this apparent deterrence, as stated in the previous chapter, the literature on managing diversity and cross-cultural management demonstrated that intercultural conflict in the workplace has multiple sources. This chapter therefore elaborates on a conceptual framework that draws on concepts and theories from different disciplines.

According to Turton (1991), 'a theory is a statement concerning a set of assumptions about the relationship that exists between observable ... phenomena which is intended to provide an explanation of past or current events and a prediction concerning future events'. Turton (1991) elaborated on this assertion by suggesting utility is the key feature of a theory as it makes it useful for explaining or predicting phenomena effectively and reliably. This study draws on three theoretical frameworks, social identity theory (SIT), organisational culture theory, and conflict management theory and perspectives, to support the research aims to identify Islamic religious practices performed by Muslim employees that may cause conflict in secular workplaces and to examine how managers respond to religious diversity among employees. The rationale for applying these three theoretical frameworks is that they are conceptually connected, and they are useful for an analysis of intercultural conflict in particular as well as for explaining situations where no such conflict exists. This is because they each provide targeted insights into aspects of human behaviour and the potential drivers of conflict in specific organisational contexts.

Primarily, this study draws from the work of Tajfel (1981, 1982), Berry (1990, 1997) and Foster (2008) for its application of SIT to analyse the research data on intercultural conflict. Particular focus is given to how identity groups form and the implications of different identity

group formations during social interactions. However, as the study of identity crosses numerous disciplinary boundaries, this study also draws on other approaches to studying identity where relevant. The works of Meyerson and Martin (1987), and Martin and Siehl (1983) provide the framework for the discussion of organisational culture and its association with workplace conflict. The works of Meyerson and Martin (1987) in particular are used quite extensively due to their applicability to different concepts relevant to this study including individual identity formation and its relationship to culture as an integrative mechanism. Finally, the perspectives and explanations of conflict proposed by Pondy (1967), Thomas (1976) and Morgan (2006) are used to examine the conceptualisations of conflict in general and the manifestation of intercultural conflict in the case study organisations. The concepts and theories put forward by all of the scholars are used to classify the empirical data collected through interviews and online surveys. In so doing, they support an exploration and interpretation of the issues that emerged that were related to religion in the workplace.

2.2 Identity

The central position of personal choice in identity formation was also established by Triandafyllidou and Wodak (2003). The authors asserted that identity formation is part of the individual's attempts to make meaning. As such, the person engages in the process of forming associations and attachments with the individual's groups or organisations (Triandafyllidou and Wodak, 2003, p. 206). According to Triandafyllidou and Wodak (2003, p. 206), the meaning assigned to these associations and the subsequent identity formed is established inter-subjectively as the individual engages in reflexive practices during social interactions within a given context. In addition, Triandafyllidou and Wodak (2003, p. 210) asserted that identity is constructed within seemingly dichotomous concepts; that is, sameness and distinctiveness, and similarity and difference. The meaning of these concepts and how they are to be applied is shaped by the prevailing social discourse and dynamics of the context (Triandafyllidou and Wodak, 2003, p. 210). The authors stated that identity is thus a construct that is in a constant state of becoming, renewal, confirmation or transformation at either the individual or collective level (Triandafyllidou and Wodak, 2003, p. 210).

Brown and Misra (2003, p. 489) pointed out that the conceptualisation of identity (based on the notions of gender identity and race identity etc.) as static or as an inherent quality is also problematic. According to the authors, research on identity constructs now points to race and gender categorisations, for instance, as socially constructed phenomena; that is, as 'fluid,

historical, and situationally contingent' (Brown and Misra, 2003, p. 489). Thus, the authors argued that the ways in which social identities are understood changes according to the particular historical context in which they are embedded as well as according to the local conditions to which they are subject (Brown and Misra, 2003, p. 489). Furthermore, Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2007, p. 100) explained how the notion of constructed, contextualised identity and identity formation as a matter of personal choice has implications for our understanding of belonging. According to the authors, for the individual to acquire feelings of belonging there is generally a desire to develop a sense of attachment to people, places or behavioural practices (Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2007, p. 100).

Identity in this study is to be understood as the individual's conceptualisation and expression of his or her individuality (self-identity) or group affiliations including religious identity and cultural identity. When analysing identity at the micro level, this study draws on the theoretical paradigms of SIT and its relevant concepts. Central to the scope of this thesis is human interactivity and the ways in which this interactivity may be impacted by perceptions of difference, particularly religious difference. In turn, SIT is used to explain difference and its relationship to identity formation and then subsequently to examine the association between identity differences and conflict situations.

The relevant concepts drawn from SIT are acceptance and minority groups. These concepts are used to explain the causes of conflict in the workplace between Muslim workers and their non-Muslim managers and colleagues. The concept of acceptance in SIT is relevant to this study because of the focus it places on the conceptualisation of norms by the individual (Hogg and Reid, 2006, p. 17) and the tolerance demonstrated towards different norms by others. Minority groups as a concept of SIT is included in this study to better understand the role played by minority and majority group boundaries in group identity and membership practices.

Social identity paradigms are relevant to this study because they allow the researcher to analyse how people affiliate in-group or out-group, and whether they are considered marginal or mainstream. Moreover, its value is in its capacity to explain how group membership relates to identity and the implications this has for perceptions of group value and sense of belonging (Haslam, 2004, p. 72). Two theorists who have contributed particularly relevant and critical concepts to the conceptualisation of identity are Tajfel (1978, 1981 and 1982) and Berry

(1988 and 1997). According to Tajfel (1981, p. 255), identity is defined as 'part of an individual's self-concept which derives from the knowledge of his or her membership in a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to that group membership'. On the basis of this definition, it is therefore suggested that the core concerns of SIT are self-perception and self-categorisation in the context of social systems (Tajfel, 1981).

Foster (2008) discussed SIT in terms of the links made between an individual's self-identity and his or her collective identity. According to the author (2008, p.267), there are three 'individual propositions' underpinning SIT. The first is categorisation which is built upon the individual's perceptions of similarities and differences between groups. The second proposition is social comparison which is built upon the comparisons individuals make between their own social situation (e.g., level of wealth, education level, religious beliefs, etc.) and the social situation of others. The third proposition is self-concept, and this is built upon the comparisons individuals make between their own personal characteristics and the personal characteristics of others. Foster (2008) argued that three individual propositions needed to be considered in relation to three 'social principles'. As Foster (2008) pointed out, the first social principle relates to group status hierarchies. This refers to the privileged position or higher 'value' afforded some groups by society. The second social principle relates to group boundaries and status security. This refers to the process of social mobility and the potential for particular groups to improve their social status. The third social principle is legitimacy/illegitimacy, and this refers to the extent to which the group status hierarchies are seen as 'fair, reasonable and just' (Foster, 2008, p. 268). Thus, considering how the association between the three 'individual propositions' and the three 'social principles' underpinning SIT impact self-perceptions and the status of groups in society invites a clearer understanding of the processes which motivate an individual to want to achieve a positive sense of identity (Foster, 2008, p. 269) in a group collective.

In terms of the notion of human choice in identity formulation and this study, Haslam (2004, p. 72) explained that an application of SIT allows the researcher to examine how the perceived flexibility of group boundaries by group members influences the way they express their identity. To clarify, according to SIT, the group members' view of the 'permeability' of the group boundaries and the 'security' the boundaries provide are two key factors influencing group member behaviour (Haslam, 2004, p. 73). As such, this offers the

researcher the opportunity to achieve the research objectives by providing a theoretical base from which to analyse the nature of the religion-based conflict and/or non-conflict behaviours in the workplace reported by Muslims employees and their managers.

2.2.1 Acceptance in SIT

Another conceptual component in SIT is the issue of acceptance among different social identities. Blackburn (2008) suggested that social theories define acceptance as the attitude held by one group in society towards other groups in society who are regarded as different. Blackburn (2008) stated that religion can generate non-acceptance because the social and cultural differences among religions are enough to identify people as 'others' and less tolerable. It is generally agreed that people who demonstrate strong group identification are emotionally invested in preserving the well-being of other group members (Blackburn, 2008; Preus, 1987; Stark and Bainbridge, 1980, cited in Hill et al., 2000, p. 53; Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Members of other groups who differ explicitly in relation to religious beliefs and lifestyle are thus perceived as a threat to their own group. Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi (2010) suggested that this demonstrates how non-acceptance of and discriminatory behaviours towards religious minorities generally targets aspects related to difference including attire, traditions, daily living practices and religious behaviours. A discussion of the 'five types of conflict' developed by Pondy (1967) in relation to discriminatory behaviour is provided further into this chapter. It must be noted, however, that the practice of non-acceptance of minority groups by dominant groups is not necessarily an indication that the minority groups will not be accepted by the dominant culture over time.

Preus (1987) and Stark and Bainbridge (1980, cited in Hill et al., 2000) suggested that the central issue in any discussion of acceptance in the workplace is the notion of in-group and out-group classification and the relationship that exists between these two groups. The links between religion and in-group versus out-group identity are documented by Tajfel and Turner (1986), and Ysseldyk, Matheson and Anisman (2010). Ysseldyk et al. (2010) suggested that a sense of self and well-being along with feelings of group identification (in-group) are common characteristics associated with religion and religious practices. Furthermore, as pointed out by Hill et al. (2000) in their focus on the psychology of religion and the role of this psychology in the identity construct, a person's religious belief develops across a life-span and is inherently a social-psychological phenomena. As such, it has a group influence or

reference point associated with it (Preus, 1987; Stark and Bainbridge, 1980, cited in Hill et al., 2000, p. 53).

As Hogg and Reid (2006, p. 18) explained, the premise underpinning acceptance suggests that within the group dynamic individuals rely on and use the behaviours demonstrated by others to form their understanding of the nature of reality. According to Hogg and Reid (2006, p. 18), through their own behaviour individuals use their understanding of the conceptualised behaviour norms to 'gain social acceptance or avoid social censure'. The importance of this issue to workplace relations and diversity management is the implication it holds for multiple group organisational settings. According to Hogg and Reid (2006, p. 18), the acceptance-driven norm formation and normative behaviours strengthen when individuals identify strongly with the group defined by the norm. In turn, the authors suggested that an outcome of this, which is directly relevant to workplace managers, is the way in which norms formations by majority groups contribute to the domination of minority groups (Hogg and Reid, 2006, p. 18).

Stereotyping is related to acceptance and occurs when individuals or groups identify other individuals or groups on the basis of their membership in a social category only (Australian Government, 2014). In terms of the characteristics of stereotypes, Schneider (2004, p. 8) asserted they are 'rigid and they stamp all they apply to with the same characteristics'. The author further explained that stereotypes rely on the formation and rigid application of social categories including gender, age, race, religion, etc. (Schneider, 2004). In turn, the concept of stereotyping is relevant to this research as it provides one perspective from which to examine and explain human attitudes and behaviours in the context of intercultural workplace relations. Indeed, stereotyping is particularly relevant to an examination of in-group and out-group phenomena in the workplace. Ramirez-Berg (2002, p. 17) explained that stereotyping is typically targeted at out-groups by way of selecting specific 'otherness' traits that accentuate differences and applying judgments about these traits to all group members. According to the author, this assumption of out-group homogeneity in turn ignores or diminishes individual uniqueness and agency (Ramirez-Berg, 2002, p. 17). The concept of stereotyping is applied in this study to the investigation of intercultural relations to determine whether stereotyping can be explicitly identified as having a negative impact on the individual's self-esteem and the way he or she chooses to express religious (and other) identity in the workplace.

In terms of cultural and religious stereotype categorisations, Adonis (2011) proposed that modern workplaces are experiencing an unprecedented level of first and second generation migrant employees. As a result, the author argued, there is the potential for stereotyping of employees who exhibit cultural and religious difference by co-workers to be evident in workplaces (Adonis, 2011). From the perspective of employee relations and management issues, the act of stereotyping leads to an underestimation of the employee's ability or lack of awareness of his or her true contribution to the workplace (Australian Government, 2014).

2.2.2 Minority groups in SIT

The third issue associated with SI and religion in the workplace is the SI of minority groups. Leonard, Mehra and Katerberg (2008, p. 573) suggested that members of numerically smaller ethnic minority groups (relative to the number of members in the larger ethnic group) 'tend to identify and form friendships within their own ethnic group'. Moreover, Leonard et al. (2008, p. 573) pointed out that one of the main concerns resulting from this dynamic is that the minority group members then struggle to gain access to 'well-connected individuals in the organisational network of relations'.

Indeed, Tajfel (1978) pointed out that if the minority and the majority groups are set apart by boundaries that are impenetrable, members of the minority group identify more strongly with their social group. As discussed by Haslam (2004, p. 73), SIT suggests that the strength of the member's identity attachment to social group has implications for his or her sense of belonging and perceptions of group value. Thus, Tajfel argued that social categorisation naturally occurs as individuals categorise others into predetermined social groups so that they may better understand them (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel et al., 1971). For instance, the religious markers worn by Muslim women in Australia are often used by non-Muslim people to classify the women into an oppressed or subjugated group (Syed and Pio, 2010, p. 121). As Tajfel (1978) discussed, this process, along with people naturally trying to raise their self-esteem, results in them developing positive views of their own group and negative views of other groups. According to Tajfel (1978), this then points to the notion developed in SIT of in-group and out-group constructs in social interactions and the influences these constructs have on member attitudes and behaviours.

To better understand the perceptions of self-identity for members of minority groups it is possible to draw on distinctiveness theory. Leonard et al. (2008, p. 574) pointed out that, according to this theory, a person's concept of self is not fixed and can therefore change with changing social environments. As noted, an influential factor in a person's perception of 'self' is numeric rarity (i.e., minority status). According to Leonard et al. (2008, p. 574), people have a tendency to notice characteristics of others that are most 'peculiar (i.e., numerically rare)' and members of minority groups are aware of this tendency. These scholars also argued that awareness of distinctiveness felt by ethnic or religious minority group members suggests they are significantly more likely to identify and form friendships with similar others. As a result, the relevance of the minority group concept in SIT to this study is found in the implications for the management of diversity in the workplace. Indeed, Leonard et al. (2008 p. 574) explained that associated with the concept of minority groups are exclusionary pressures linked to social group categorisations and the tendency for individuals to preference same-race or same-religion groups. According to the authors, these categorisations contribute to racial minority members being positioned on the margins of the organisational network (Leonard et al., 2008 p. 574). Furthermore, the authors asserted this can adversely impact on minority group members' work performance and access to positions of power (Leonard et al., 2008, p. 574).

Berry's (1988, 1997b) four 'acculturation strategies' help to clarify minority group identities, including Muslim identity, and have been applied in similar studies (i.e. Onishi and Murphy-Shigematsu, 2003). The strategies address issues related to attitudes and actual behaviours, and help to explain the potential for conflict in the workplace related to identity factors. The first strategy is assimilation. According to Berry (1988, 1997b), this is when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity, including both values and practices, and seek daily interaction with other cultures. According to Jackson (2010, p. 166), SIT suggests that strong dominant group attitudes lead to attempts at assimilation by both in-group and out-group members. In relation to intercultural encounters in the workplace, the author explained that SIT suggests that assimilation is attempted by individuals based on their perception of the strength of the dominant cultural identities and the dominant cultural beliefs (Jackson, 2010, p. 166).

Integration is the second strategy and, according to Berry (1988, 1997b), this occurs when attempts are made to both maintain the original culture (e.g. Muslim beliefs and practices)

and to interact with the other culture. Jackson (2010, pp. 387-388) referred to the phenomenon as 'co-integration' and argued that rather than thinking that an individual's 'differences' disappear as he or she integrates into the dominant cultural group, a process of 'cultural fusion' is what actually takes place. Jackson (2010, p. 388) elaborated on this and suggested that in the process of (co)-integration, the individual encounters a number of cultural forms which they adopt by adding their own accent to them rather than completely replacing the previously held cultural form with the new one.

Marginalisation is the third acculturation strategy identified by Berry (2003) which he suggested manifests when an individual's cultural heritage is lost. Kim and Abreau (2001) explained that this type of cultural loss occurs when the individual perceives that there is little possibility of, or he/she has little interest in, maintaining their culture, in combination with having little interest in establishing connections with the new culture. According to Berry (2003), this identity concept is typically linked to feelings of anxiety and uncertainty at both the individual and the group level. The concepts of integration and marginalisation are applied to the data to explore why some conflicts in the workplace are less severe than others, and when a Muslim woman does not wear the headscarf on all occasions for personal reasons or for fear of discrimination, or for other reasons.

According to Berry (1990), the fourth acculturation strategy is separation and this is evident when an individual makes a conscious effort to identify with one culture (i.e., their original culture) over another (i.e., the host culture). This can be the cause of strong conflict in the workplace because, as Oerlemans and Peeters (2010, p. 462) explained, it increases tension with employees whose preference is for other acculturation practices such as integration or even assimilation to underpin employee relations. As stated by Madrigal (2008, p. 31), SIT supports the notion of self-categorisation in social relations and with it the idea that such relations are established upon points of separation or connection, not only at the 'me' and 'you' level but also at the 'us' and 'them' level.

In summary, SIT and its related concepts is applied in this study to investigate the impact of Muslim religious practices on cultural conflict and management. The theory and its concepts provide a way of investigating the impact group or identity has on an individual's sense of self, self-value, and sense of belonging. Haslam and van Dick (2011) argued that this is important as these aspects of the individual have implications for workplace practices and

culture. According to the authors, it is not uncommon for the group dynamic to manifest in a variety of different forms in the workplace such as teams, cultural groups, and authority levels. Furthermore, Haslam and van Dick (2011, p. 17) pointed out that considering the different group manifestations and their impact in the workplace through the lens of SIT can help to demonstrate how the 'norms' that emerge within the group, the 'sense of belonging' a person has with their group, and the status assigned to the group all have an effect on the psychological well-being of the individual within the group and, therefore, their workplace performance.

2.3 Organisational culture theory

Further to the way in which culture is defined in the 'Literature Review' chapter, Meyerson and Martin (1987) provide a useful framework for understanding organisational culture and its impact on the values and practices demonstrated in the workplace. Indeed, organisational culture theory is important to this thesis and the analysis of the research data because it provides a framework to explain human behaviours specific to the workplace context. The 'culture' dimension of the theory assists the researcher to posit explanations as to how the participants determine the meaning of those behaviours in relation to the context (or culture) in which they occurred. Given that the scope of the thesis includes an examination of contextualised human interactions, that is, interactions in the workplace, organisational culture theory is particularly important to the interpretation of the impact that organisations have on the behaviour of their employees. Meyerson and Martin's (1987) three core paradigms, integration, differentiation and ambiguity, are used in this study to analyse the data collected for this study and to provide the researcher on organisational behaviour with a perspective from which to examine multiple aspects of the organisation. Specifically, the integration paradigm is useful for an examination of organisational culture, whereas the differentiated paradigm is applied to examine the similarities and differences in the understanding of the organisational culture by different cultural groups. Furthermore, the ambiguity or fragmented paradigm is useful to examine the strengths and weaknesses of culture as a base for meaning making.

2.3.1 Integration

An important mechanism for the integration of quite diverse or even disparate individuals or groups is culture (Meyerson and Martin, 1987, pp. 624-628). Culture is characterised by Meyerson and Martin (1987, p. 624) as that which is 'shared by and/or unique to a given

organization or group'. In their model, Meyerson and Martin (1987) asserted that integration exists when there is cultural consensus within an organisation; that is, the employees' shared values are consistent with the formal practices or behaviours established within the organisation. As the authors explained, integration represents the strongest form of cultural sharing and, as a result, diversity management strategies based on integration paradigms are increasingly privileged by managers in the workplace. Moreover, the integration construct posited by Meyerson and Martin (1987) emphasised that the focus may be on leadership and the values and practices endorsed by top management and/or on the informal or ritual practices to emerge in the workplace including communication pathways and decision-making processes.

As such, the authors asserted that culture as integration takes on the unitary perspective and homogeneity of the organisation which gives prominence to 'consistency, consensus, and usually leader-centredness' (Meyerson and Martin, 1987, p. 626). To clarify, Meyerson and Martin (1987) explained that an integrative organisational culture gives an impression of consistency because the perspective is focused on cultural manifestations that are generally representative of each other. For instance, when the values and goals of an organisation are reinforced in the rituals practised by employees there will be an impression of consistency. Regarding consensus, Meyerson and Martin (1987) argued that this impression is often formed on the basis of lower-level employees 'sharing' and 'enacting' the values espoused by the leader following an executive level decree. It is important to note that a key component of the group relationship in an integrative organisational culture is consensus about the abstract elements of the organisation such as values, ideas and norms.

Finally, it is worth noting Meyerson and Martin's (1987) assertion that, in addition to the three 'characteristics' discussed, integrative culture is also defined by its denial of the existence of any form of cultural ambiguity (discussed in detail below). According to the authors, notions of consistency and consensus deny ambiguity in the sense that the latter represents what is potentially open to two or more meanings, what is unclear or difficult to explain clearly, inexplicable, and perhaps capable of two or more meanings (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). An important implication raised by the authors is that the consistency, consensus and top-down control inherent to an integrative culture means that the process of cultural change is slow and typically organisation wide (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). To support their assertion, Meyerson and Martin (1987) discussed how change in an integrative

culture is generally identified in research as attitudinal or cognitive in nature. As such, changes to shared meanings and values or to organisational design archetypes generally manifest over time (Meyerson and Martin, 1987).

More recent literature further clarifies the Meyerson and Martin (1987) model of organisational culture. In relation to integration and organisational culture, Hartnell and Walumbwa (2011, p. 227) provided insights in the way into which the culture of an organisation is typically characterised by the sharing of a common culture among its members. In this way, the authors argued, the shared culture not only pervades the whole organisation, it is also deeply held by the members (Hartnell and Walumbwa, 2011, p. 227). Richter and Koch (2004) have also contributed to our understanding of integrative workplace cultures. Similar to Meyerson and Martin (1987), the authors emphasised the lack of variation in the cultural context and the salience of top-down control structures. Moreover, the authors discussed the tendency of integrative culture to give little recognition to multiple cultures in the cultural unit, or simply to assign those other cultures to the ranks of subcultures only (Richter and Koch, 2004). This integration perspective will be applied in this thesis to consider organisational policy and management strategy.

2.3.2 Differentiation

Meyerson and Martin's (1987, pp. 624-630) differentiation paradigm explains circumstances in an organisational setting where cultural consensus exists within subgroups. As such, differentiation is distinct from integration as an organisational culture paradigm as the emphasis is on understanding group relationships and the consensus among members on abstract notions of values, meanings and norms from a sub-group rather than a whole-group perspective (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). In turn, the capacity of subcultures to co-exist harmoniously has implications for diversity management strategies in the workplace. The differentiations being focused upon refer to the different jobs, employment statuses and gender subcultures that co-exist within the organisation. Moreover, the authors explained that the differences can be advantageous and effective within an organisation if management is able to have them operating in harmony with each other. More explanation of the concept of subculture is detailed below under subheading 2.4, 'Organisational subcultures'.

The most apparent distinction between an integrative and a differentiated organisational culture made by Meyerson and Martin (1987) is that the former emphasises homogeneity and

the latter emphasises diversity or heterogeneity. As such, consensus interpretations incongruous with differentiated culture inconsistencies are acknowledged and subunits (individuals and/or groups) are valued (Meyerson and Martin (1987). Indeed, Meyerson and Martin (1987, p. 630) argued the differentiation perspective of culture places importance on the nature of interactions among subunits of groups or individuals and on understanding how 'inconsistencies, lack of consensus, and non-leader-centred sources' operate within an organisation.

Thus, the notion of differentiation within an organisational culture as proposed by Meyerson and Martin (1987, pp. 630-633) is also related to workplace subcultures. The authors further contrasted the differentiated cultural paradigm with culture as integration by suggesting differentiation endorses a view of culture as a collection of potentially contradictory values and manifestations (Meyerson and Martin, 1987, p. 630). In this way, the differentiated culture is an open-system perspective that endorses the view that 'culture is formed by [sometimes contradictory] influences from inside and outside the organization' (Meyerson and Martin, 1987, p. 630). For example, the organisational values may be demonstrated in actual practices or rituals and contradictions may exist between formal rules and informal norms (Meyerson and Martin, 1987, p. 630).

Furthermore, Meyerson and Martin (1987) pointed to the potential for a differentiated culture to prevail in complex organisations in particular given the propensity for subcultures to emerge from multiple sources of diversity related to occupations, hierarchy, and ethnic and gender-based identities. As a result, the process of cultural change within a differentiated culture context generally emerges from more 'diffuse and unintentional sources' (Meyerson and Martin, 1987, p. 634).

More recent scholars have developed these concepts further. Duderija (2010, p. 117) and Levery (2010, p. 44) discussed how differentiation also refers to the way in which people identify themselves from a religious or cultural perspective, or a combination of both. Moreover, Van Laar et al. (2013) have discussed the implications of differentiation in relation to young Muslim women. The authors suggest that the difficulties experienced by this cohort in the work setting are the result of their decision to follow their religious practices. What is highlighted is that young Muslim women more than young Muslim men can face pressures such as prejudice and stereotyping from other differentiated subcultures as they pursue

upward mobility (Van Laar et al., 2013, p. 65). In addition, Muslim females are potentially more sensitive in mixed workplace settings than Muslim males.

Bhattacharyya (2010, p. 83) argued that it is also often the case that managers of workplace diversity cite cultural or religious based differentiation as potential impediments to employee interactions and therefore workplace productivity. However, Mor Barak (2011, p. 222) also pointed to the belief held by some managers of differentiated cultures in the workplace that although the potential for interpersonal conflict resulting from differentiation is not desirable, it is not a foregone conclusion. In fact, according to the author, workplace teams, and their productivity, are not only not restricted by differentiation, they are actually enhanced by differentiation as it can provide 'a source of synergy and remedy to groupthink' (Mor Barak, 2011, p. 222). In turn, the insights from Van Laar (2013) and other writers on differentiation and organisational culture are adopted in this research to guide the data analysis for evidence of gender specific religion-based conflict events in the work place. Lastly, in their discussion of differentiated organisational cultures, Richter and Koch (2004) drew attention to three primary 'divisions' within organisations where a lack of consensus/shared meaning, and leader-centred sources may prevail: the spatial/functional (different buildings and departments); the generational; and the occupational/professional. Moreover, aspects of cultural differentiation may emerge from the different social structures within an organisation or the presence of different cultures and also the dominance of one culture over others may lead to the creation of subcultures (Richter and Koch, 2004).

2.3.3 Ambiguity

According to Meyerson and Martin (1987), the ambiguity paradigm (sometimes referred to as fragmentation) exists in the context of workplace cultures when there is no clear delineation between integration and differentiation for employees (Martin and Meyerson, 1987, pp. 636-641). As a result, the authors asserted that ambiguity dominates within an organisational setting when the values and/or behaviours endorsed within the organisational culture are not held collectively by the employees (Meyerson and Martin, 1987, pp. 636-641). Instead, as Martin (2002, p. 94) explained, values and behaviour preferences are constructed individually and as a result the organisational setting is characterised by a set of 'multiple realities'.

Meyerson and Martin (1987) further explained that ambiguity in an organisation's culture is not typically experienced as a temporary phenomenon. Rather, there exists a type of constant or status quo in which cultural manifestations are neither consistent (integrated culture) nor inconsistent (differentiated culture) or they are not necessarily the desired goals of management (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). As a result, there is an incommensurable and/or irreconcilable aspect to the differences in meanings, practices and values perceived by the subgroups in an organisation (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). According to Meyerson and Martin (1987, p. 637), managers or researchers can thus identify a fragmented organisational culture by the elements of 'confusion, paradox, and perhaps even hypocrisy' that prevail within the group relationships. To clarify, the relationship dynamics are such that individuals or subgroups will share some viewpoints and be in conflict over others, and the boundaries between subgroups will often be blurred (Meyerson and Martin, 1987).

Meyerson and Martin's (1987) notion of ambiguity in an organisation's culture is related to work place sub-cultures. According to the authors, unlike the conceptualisation of culture as integrated or differentiated, which depicts a somewhat dichotomous representation of culture (i.e., as privileging homogeneity or privileging heterogeneity respectively), the ambiguity conceptualisation of culture allows for the coexistence of both. As such, Meyerson and Martin (1987, p. 638) argued that rather than think of culture as a static phenomenon, it should be thought of as organic.

To clarify, the authors explained that cultural identity is continually developing as people move in and out of its sphere. Moreover, they suggested that it is built upon manifestations that are neither clearly consistent nor clearly inconsistent with each other (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). From an organisational perspective, culture conceptualised according to the notion of ambiguity endorses a representation of the work setting as a place where individuals share some points of view and disagree on others; that is, where 'consensus, dissensus, and confusion coexist, making it difficult to draw cultural and subcultural boundaries' (Meyerson and Martin, 1987, p. 638). In turn, it is the ambiguous components in an organisational culture that, according to Meyerson and Martin (1987), make effective cultural change reliant on adjustments made by individuals to their fluctuating environment and their patterns of interpretation.

With regard to additional perspectives on ambiguity and organisational culture, Golembiewski (1995, p. 81) revealed that race, different cultures, religious practices or management styles are just some of the potential reinforcers of fragmentation or ambiguity in the workplace. This concept will be applied to analyse why certain identities become silent at a particular moment, but not at all times. Ambiguity is critical in this conceptual framework because it can be linked to the conceptualisation of multiple-identities and multiple-realties as well as to questions of agency and choice. The decisions by employees which shape their behaviour can therefore be analysed from this perspective to ascertain the degree to which the choices are driven by personal interests. The relevance of ambiguity paradigms to an analysis of the impact of Muslim religious practices is evident in the pressure that ambiguity places on the workplace diversity manager to take affirmative action. As Jonsen, Schneider and Maznevski (2010, p. 31) suggested, the 'negative political dynamic' and the 'low level of coherence' that often results from cultural fragmentation in the workplace can over-ride many of the perceived organisational advantages to be derived from workplace employee diversity.

Richter and Koch (2004) also pointed to elements of the differentiation perspective of organisational culture, such as lack of clarity in cultural norms and values and irreconcilable differences in meanings and interpretations among subgroups, to describe the ambiguity perspective. A particular difference between the two organisational culture paradigms highlighted by the authors, however, is the notion that the ambiguity perspective suggests a continual process of meaning creation and recreation in which members of different subcultures align themselves to different perspectives at different times (Richter and Koch, 2004). Richter and Koch (2004, p. 707) also discussed the notion of 'uncontrollable uncertainties' that pervade both the social structures and social practices of organisational life. To inform this discussion, the authors drew on the work of previous scholars to suggest that ambiguity in an organisational culture can operate in four key domains: 'intentions, understandings, history and organization' (Richter and Koch, 2004, p. 707). With regard to the 'intentions' domain for example, encouraging employee autonomy can facilitate uncontrollable uncertainties in the organisational culture which nonetheless have the potential to improve productivity and efficiency (Richter and Koch, 2004).

Lastly, despite the potential importance of ambiguity to the culture of an organisation, Richter and Koch (2004) also discussed the need for there to be some degree of mutual understanding among the subgroups in the organisation. Mutual understanding is the

foundation of collaboration and is often a vital element in problem solving (Alvesson 2001; cited in Richter and Koch, 2004). In turn, evidence of mutual understanding within a predominantly ambiguous culture is referred to as 'bounded ambiguity' by Alvesson (2001; cited in Richter and Koch, 2004, p. 707) whereby 'guidelines' and 'clues' are located within the lack of clarity and consensus throughout the organisation to legitimise certain ideas and meanings in particular social circumstances.

Thus, integration, differentiation and ambiguity paradigms in organisational culture theory are needed in this study because, as Martin (2002, p. 94) argued, each has implications for the clarity of culture in the workplace. Furthermore, Bhattacharyya (2010, p. 83) argued inconsistent interpretations of organisational culture, emerging from either the perceptions held by employees or the behaviour demonstrated by employees, adversely affects both workplace relations and productivity.

2.4 Organisational subcultures

Attention to the variety of subcultures in the workplace (defined as a relatively small number of employees who share some values and beliefs) can be useful to a deeper analysis of workplace relations. Martin and Siehl (1983) categorised organisational subcultures into three types: enhancing, orthogonal and countercultures. Enhancing subculture is where compatibility exists within the organisational culture. Orthogonal subculture accepts the basic organisational cultural values and holds some unique values. Counter cultures conflict with the culture of the organisation. Therefore, counterculture members see themselves as different and may choose to separate themselves from the rest of the organisation to maintain their beliefs. Counter cultures, in particular, will be detailed more in this chapter because it is the most relevant concept of Martin and Siehl (1983) to this thesis. Rose (1988) partly supported Martin and Siehl and added that a person's tendency to join a subculture is determined by the level of his or her satisfaction with dominant cultural values.

More recently, scholars such as Vandenberghe (2009) built on Martin and Siehl's work to analyse their constructs from a contemporary perspective. Enhancing subcultures, for instance, are recognised as those in which the values and behaviours of its members 'are consistent with and reinforce the organisational culture'. The author then explained that when workers attempt to have *enhancing* subcultures they agree with and care about the

organisational culture's core values and try to act in a way that is in accordance with these core values (Vandenberghe, 2009, p. 122).

Orthogonal subcultures are characterised by Vandenberghe (2009, p. 122) somewhat differently. He explained that workers belonging to *orthogonal* subcultures hold the values of the dominant culture but also hold on to their own values. The author explained that the value differences between the members of an orthogonal subculture and the dominant organisational culture in an organisation are not ones which might significantly impact the operation and identity of the organisation. As such they are not what Boisnier and Chatman (2002, p. 10) refer to as 'pivotal values', and the presence of orthogonal subcultures does not threaten the overall integrity of the organisational culture.

In relation to countercultural groups, Vandenberghe (2009, p. 122) discussed how group members generally hold values that are in direct conflict with the core organisational values. Furthermore, according to Ridha (2004), employees who want to bring aspects of their personal life into the workplace see themselves as different and choose to separate themselves from the rest of the organisation to maintain their beliefs. The relevance of subcultural paradigms and concepts to this study is primarily found in the way in which they combined to analyse the data. Martin (2002) stated that the culture of an organisation is used as a tool to define acceptable behaviour to employees. Thus, organisational culture is a vital management resource which is integral to the achievement of the organisation's objectives (Martin, 2002). As stated by Vandenberghe (2009, p. 122), because of the subculture's potential to be enhancing, orthogonal or countercultural in nature**,** an organisation's operational outcomes rely to some extent on the degree to which the organisational culture can endorse the values promoted in the subculture and the level of conflict that exists between the dominant culture and the subcultures, and also between the subcultures. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1970) asserted that some subcultures conflict with the dominant culture of an organisation while others do not. The authors suggested that one explanation for this is that it is due to different 'acculturation strategies'. In addition, researchers such as Rose (1988) partly support Martin and Siehl and add that a person's tendency to join a subculture is determined by the level of his or her satisfaction with dominant cultural values.

For the purpose of this study, the integration paradigm will be related to the organisation's dominant culture as this is conveyed by the senior leaders and managers through formalised polices and accepted norms and work performance as well as conformity with Australian secular culture. The differentiation perspective will be applied to identify the subculture and in-groups and out-groups in the two case study organisations. This study will also directly link the concepts of counterculture to the Muslim cultural norms and practices under investigation. Ambiguity will be examined in terms of the tensions and anxieties created by limitations imposed on the capacity of employees to engage in Muslim religious practices.

2.5 Conflict perspectives

Applying conflict theories and perspectives during the data analysis process in this study provides a framework for identifying and discussing specific types of conflict. This is important to this thesis as it helps to more accurately explain the reasons for the emergence of particular conflict situations in an organisation. Conflict in general is defined by Putnam and Wilson (1982, p. 633) as 'content-oriented differences of opinion that occur in interdependent relationships and [which] can develop into incompatible goals and interests'. In addition, Putnam and Poole (1987, p. 552) characterised conflict as 'the interaction of interdependent people who perceive opposition of goals, aims, and values, and who see the other party as potentially interfering with the realization of these goals'. Moreover, Thomas (1992, p. 265) contributed to the definition of conflict by asserting that it 'begins when one party perceives that another has frustrated, or is about to frustrate, some concern of his'.

In order to consider whether and to what extent Muslim religious practices at work result in conflict, this study relies on the work of a number of scholars. Cultural conflict, in terms of cultural differences, is defined by Mayer (2000, p. 3) as 'a feeling, a disagreement, a real or perceived incompatibility of interest, inconsistent worldviews, or a set of behaviours'. Although Mayer's (2000) definition appears more relevant to the project field and to conceptual framework perspectives such as the one developed by Pondy (1976), all four definitions are applied when analysing the data in this study.

Theories and perspectives on conflict are widely documented. Brown (1983), Likert and Likert (1976), and Walton (1987) all made significant contributions to our fundamental understanding of the issue. However, most of the studies dealing with organisational conflict are normative in nature and focus on the issue of conflict resolution. Moreover, when

conceptualising conflict in the workplace, some writers, for example, Blake and Mouton (1964), and Rahim (1983), use insufficient models or instruments. Such models cannot be applied when analysing data because these models tell managers and organisations what to do more than explain what is happening. It is noted, however, that Thomas's (1976) framework is useful to the extent that it develops a five-tier framework to determine responses to conflict. Nonetheless, a specific conceptual framework for religious conflict in the workplace has not yet been achieved.

According to Almost (2006), Pondy's (1967) conceptualisation of conflict provides valuable tools for conflict analysis. In particular, Pondy's (1967) broad framework illustrates three key areas of organisational conflict: bargaining conflict (among interest groups); bureaucratic conflict (superior-subordinate relationships); and systems conflict (working relationships). The following five stages of conflict described by Pondy (1967) are used in this study to explain the relationship between Muslim workers and their non-Muslim managers and co-workers.

2.5.1 Pondy's five stages of conflict

Pondy (1967) pointed out that Stage 1 is latent conflict and this appears where conditions for conflict are present but not recognised. Stage 2 is perceived conflict and this emerges when people become aware of a conflict. Stage 3 is felt conflict which is quite problematic to understand because it accounts for the process where conflict becomes personalised and the people involved feel anxious or even hostile and tensions build, but the conflict is still not out in the open (Pondy, 1967). Pondy describes Stage 4 as manifest conflict, where the conflict is enacted through behaviours, and the existence of the conflict becomes obvious to other people not involved. Finally, Stage 5 is conflict aftermath, or the outcome of the conflict episode, whereby the conflict is resolved by some method and new conditions are established. Diagram 1 summarises Pondy's five stages of conflict:
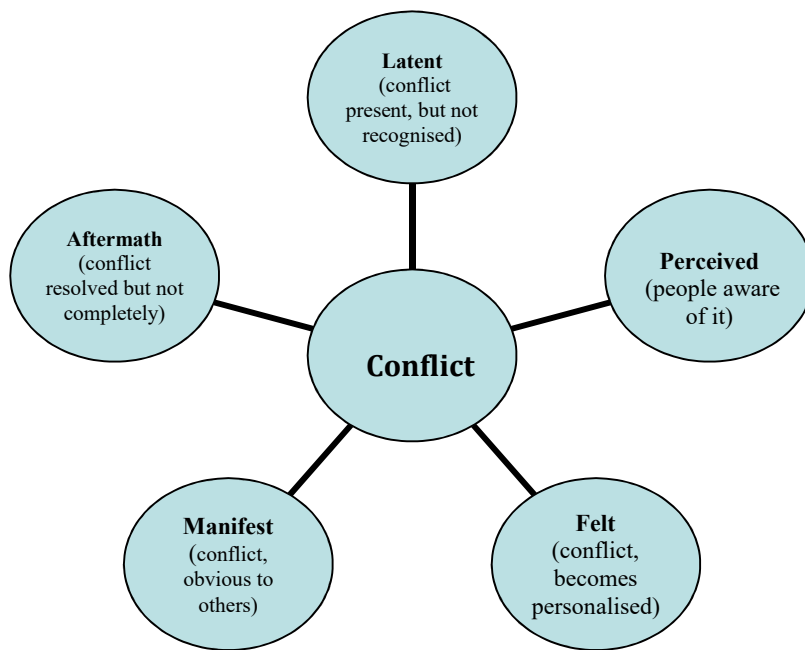
Diagram 1: Summary of Pondy's five stages of conflict

There is some scope for the application of Pondy's (1967) framework to the subject of religious practice in the workplace and its potential to cause conflict. The framework deals comprehensively with conflict issues including the conditions, cognition, effect and behaviours of conflict. In addition, Pondy's framework is relevant to the issues of identity mentioned previously and it can be used to analyse the internal and external factors that cause conflict in general, as well as cultural conflict more specifically, in the workplace. Thus, Pondy's (1967) five stages of conflict are applied in the analysis of the subjective accounts of workplace conflict experienced by the participants in an attempt to determine the accurate nature of the conflict and its causal factors. They are also used to analyse workplace diversity management practices in the two case study organisations.

According to Pondy (1967), latent conflict can be divided into three categories: (1) competition for scarce resources; (2) drive for autonomy; and (3) divergence of subunit goals. To clarify, competition gives rise to conflict when the sum of demands for resources from participants is greater than the resources upon which an organisation can draw. Goal divergence, on the other hand, causes conflict when two parties who need to cooperate in a shared activity cannot agree on joint action. It is worth noting that Habib (1987) added 'bad communication' to Pondy's sources of latent conflict. Within an organisation there is the potential for many conflicts to be at the latency stage simultaneously (Champoux, 2011; Pondy, 1967). Miller (2009) explains that even when there is no latent conflict, perceived

conflict can still emerge. Furthermore, Miller (2009) established an important distinction between perceived conflict and felt conflict. Where perceived conflict refers to an awareness of conflict, felt conflict refers to serious disagreement with another person over a particular matter without the disagreement causing anxiety or affecting positive feelings toward the other party. Thus, Miller (2009) explained, when felt conflict appears and becomes other than dispassionate it becomes personalised and leads to dysfunctional relations. For the purpose of this study, felt conflict is used to analyse how interviewees reflected on their experiences.

According to Pondy (1967), manifest conflict is any one of several types of conflict behaviour, with openly expressed aggression the most conspicuous of them. Pondy described how manifest conflict occurs when the conflict becomes obvious to other workers. Pondy (1967) explained that, when conflicts are not properly resolved, the conditions underlying them can become aggravated and then erupt in a more serious form until they are redressed or until the relationship breaks down. The legacy of such a conflict episode is known as the 'conflict aftermath' (Pondy, 1967).

Pondy's perspective of organisational conflict draws attention to the subjective component of the conflict dynamic and the way in which it is personalised. Other perspectives of conflict, however, focus more specifically on the manager-employee construct and are useful for determining managers' responses. In this regard, studies on conflict across a range of various contexts have sought to apply Thomas' conceptual framework (Yuan, 2010).

2.5.2 Thomas' model of conflict

Similar to the application of Pondy's (1967) five stages of conflict applied in this study, Thomas' model is primarily used to interpret participant responses pertaining to diversity management practices and their impact on the manager-employee construct. Thomas (1976; cited in Morgan, 2006) identified two independent dimensions associated with intentions: cooperation (attempting to satisfy the other's concerns); and assertiveness (attempting to satisfy one's own concerns). Moreover, he conceptualised five conflict styles within these two dimensions to account for the differences in the way managers respond to conflict. Figure 1 below summarises Thomas-Kilmann model (Northouse, 2011, p. 194).
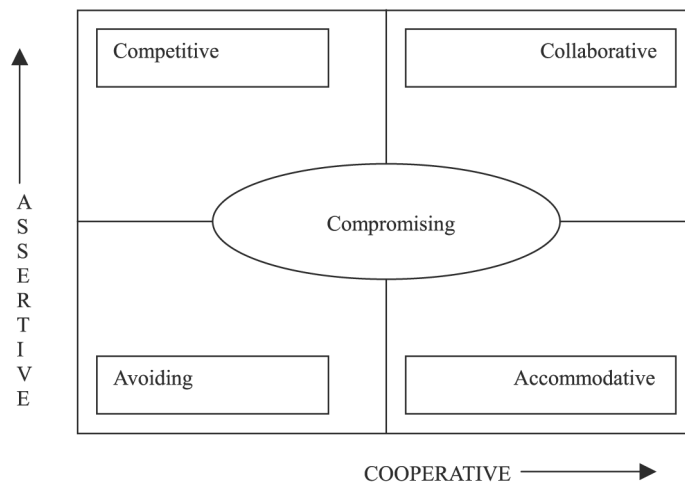
Figure (1): Summary of Thomas' five conflict styles

- Competing (low cooperativeness/high assertiveness) is described by Thomas as an attempt made to fulfil one's own desires at the expense of others. The author explained that managers sometimes try to work for atheist workers' or customers' interests instead of other religious workers, or accommodate religious workers at the expense of the other employees (Thomas, 1976; cited in Morgan, 2006). According to Morgan (2006), in such circumstances managers create win-lose situations using rivalry and power-plays to achieve goals and to force submission. This behaviour can result in aftermath conflict.

- Accommodating (high cooperativeness/low assertiveness) is described by Thomas as the situation where one sacrifices one's own concerns in favour of others (Thomas, 1976; cited in Morgan, 2006). According to Morgan (2006), managers also respond in this way to build social credit for later issues.

- Avoiding (low cooperativeness/low assertiveness) is where both parties' concerns are neglected by sidestepping or postponing a conflict issue (Thomas, 1976; cited in Morgan, 2006). Morgan (2006) provided examples of managers using the avoidance method by putting issues on hold, invoking slow procedures to stifle interest, using secrecy to avoid confrontation, and appealing to bureaucratic rules.

- Collaborating (high cooperativeness/high assertiveness) is described by Thomas as an attempt to find a cooperative or win/win solution that fully satisfies both parties' concerns (Thomas, 1976; cited in Morgan, 2006). Morgan (2006) elaborated on this explanation by stating that collaboration means confronting difference and sharing

ideas and information as well as regarding the conflict as a challenge to which a solution must be found where all can win.

- Compromising (between cooperativeness and assertiveness) is described as an attempt to find a middle-ground settlement that only partially satisfies each party's concerns (Thomas, 1976; cited in Morgan, 2006).

2.5.3 Applying conflict models to organisational contexts

While the profile on each conflict style above implies a distinct approach to conflict resolution which favours one style over the others, Northouse (2011, p. 195) is quick to point out that it is usually a combination of styles which managers resort to when trying to resolve conflict. Yet, whatever the favoured conflict style or combination mix, of particular importance to managers is their awareness of the advantages and disadvantages inherent in each style. For instance, Northouse (2011, p. 195) explained that while 'avoidance' is both the least assertive and least cooperative conflict style, and is therefore most often a counterproductive choice for a manager seeking conflict resolution, it can in fact provide a helpful 'cooling off period' during which the conflict dissipates naturally. Similarly, the author pointed out that 'collaboration' presents itself as a win-win approach to conflict resolution, but achieving such an outcome drains organisational resources and draws out the period of conflict (Northouse, 2011, p. 198).

Importantly, the relevance of Thomas' conflict styles to this study on the management of religious diversity in the workplace lies in the implications they hold for workplace diversity managers. Given the advantages and disadvantages of each style and the shifting balance between assertion and collaboration, there is increasing pressure on the manager to take into consideration the contextual factors and contingencies when applying these styles to the process of religious-based conflict management. Morgan (2006) alluded to these implications for managers of diversity in the workplace in the link he established between Thomas' five-styles framework and pluralism. The link is based on the premise that the 'pluralist manager is faced with a choice of styles which hinges on the context to which he or she wishes to engage in assertive or cooperative behaviour' (Mabey and Mayon-White, 1993, p. 216). Thus, although some managers have a preferred style, all of the different styles are likely to be used at one time or another, so contingency theory has a role to play (Morgan, 2006).

Yet, effective conflict resolution is made more difficult due to differences in the expected approach to conflict management embedded in different cultures. As stated by Samovar, Porter and McDaniel (2010, p. 322), 'not all cultures deal with conflict in the same manner'. For instance, avoidance and compromise are favoured by some cultural groups while assertiveness is favoured by others. In turn, given the close ties that can exist between cultural values and religious practices, the assertion that different religious groups also have different expectations as to the most appropriate pathway towards conflict resolution is reasonable. Therefore, as Northouse (2011) explained, effective management of religious diversity in the workplace must utilise conflict styles that allow for the religious needs and values of the employees to be properly balanced with the demands of the organisation.

2.6 Conclusion

The research phenomenon of interest in this study, comprising the interrelated elements of religious-based conflict and the management of religious diversity in the workplace, is inherently complex and multifaceted. As a result, a hybrid theoretical approach, that is, a combination of identity theory, organisational culture theory, and perspectives on conflict, has been applied to frame and explain the research findings. It was established in the Literature Review chapter that contemporary Australia workplaces are increasingly sites where the interrelationship between employees' religious identity, work practices, and organisational objectives must be effectively balanced and maintained. It was also shown that exerting influence on how this balance is established and maintained by managers are both external and internal forces such as state and national legislation, organisational policies, and social and geo-political events. Furthermore, the desire and/or determination of employees for self-expression – particularly religious employees and their desire to practice religious behaviours in the workplace – adds a crucial subjective dynamic for consideration.

A hybrid theoretical framework has thus been adopted in this research to address the wide scope of constructs pertaining to the management of religious diversity in Australian workplaces. The complexities and insights apparent in the various theories discussed in this chapter provide a theoretical framework that facilitates a rich and multidimensional understanding of the research results and thus provides a strong basis from which to answer the research questions in this study.

However, the conceptualisation of the research does not necessarily end there. Equally important theories emerge during subsequent reading. As Scott and Sherson (1999) suggested, 'in the real world, culture, and our membership in cultures, is a more complex matter than most empirical research and theory-building has allowed it to be. Where researchers have taken this into account, it has been at the cost of coherence and theoretical power.' Moreover, as stated by Miller (2007), this framework is 'the first step towards the development of a scholarly framework ... [and it] helps to theorise, analyse and discuss' the issue of religious practices in the workplace and the potential conflict arising from this issue.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Research methods are improving day by day (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, pp. 13, 14), and deciding on the methods to use is an ongoing process, especially in qualitative research (Bogdan and Biklen, 2006, and Lincoln and Guba, 1985) as is demonstrated later in this chapter. This chapter describes the methodology of the thesis. It starts with a description of mixed methods research which includes qualitative and quantitative methods (including triangulation), the approach used in this study. Following this, the case study approach – the main technique used in this research – is described along with relevant concepts from ethnography. Such concepts are vital as this research is explicitly related to cultural community constructs, or minority constructs more precisely. The study sample size and sample population are discussed and documented in this chapter. This research is built on both secondary and primary data obtained through an online survey and face-to-face interviews. This chapter outlines how these measures were conducted, taking into consideration significant issues such as confidentiality and privacy.

Analysing the data using the researcher's own model was a long process and included intensive concentration on the secondary data collected in the literature review, the conceptual framework, and the context, along with analysis of the primary data collected through an online survey and interviews. In addition to the coding, the data analysis employed a microanalysis model, especially for the interviews.

3.2 Case study research design

In the academic social sciences, there are a number of forms of research and it is no exaggeration to say that most management research is about cases. A case study is defined by Yin (2003) as a highly flexible research design that supports researchers to investigate empirical events within the context of holistic real-life events. The case study approach to research typically involves an empirical inquiry of a 'contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context' using 'multiple sources of evidence' (Yin, 2003, p. 23). In fact, the case study approach is 'about real people and real situations' (Willis, 2007, p. 239) and it allows the researcher to concentrate on specific issues (Stake, 2005, p. 444). Moreover, Willis (2007)

and North-Samardzic and Taksa (2011) identified how features of the case study approach allow those conducting a project to gather detailed primary data, to gain a close understanding of the phenomenon, and to explain why things may have happened, regardless of the previous assumptions or hypotheses.

According to Yin (2003, p. 23), the case study design is generally chosen when the 'boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident'. This view is supported by Aaltio and Heilmann (2009) who suggest case study methodology is particularly useful for investigating the many and varied structures that sustain organisational life. According to the authors, the researcher is able to access the viewpoints of key stakeholders throughout the research process to gain a detailed and nuanced understanding of the phenomena under investigation (Aaltio and Heilmann, 2009). As such, the case study design is best suited to answering 'how' and 'why' research questions (Schell, 1992). Studies of management practices within an organisation, or organisational theory more broadly, often utilise the case study design for their data collection. This is because it provides the researcher with the platform to focus on a particular research question within a setting encompassing a wide array of contextual variables (Schell, 1992).

A case study often relies on a range of methods such as observation, surveys, interviews, experiments, and archiving secondary information for the collection of quantitative and/or qualitative data (Schell, 1992). Both the data collection and analysis processes often progress in an iterative way; namely, the data are evaluated and theoretical constructions are applied during the process (Aaltio and Heilmann, 2009). Moreover, initial data analysis processes generally include the creation of themes or questions which are then later used to frame a more thorough examination (Yin, 2003). In addition, figures, tables and statistics are often used to summarise the data (Yin, 2003).

The case study design is not without its challenges and limitations, however. As Aaltio and Heilmann (2009) point out, applying a theoretical framework and developing concepts from the empirical findings can be challenging at times. This alludes to issues related to the capacity of the case study design to support generalisations to a nominated cohort or population. However, as Yin (2003, p. 10) explains, a case study design should be employed 'to expand and generalise theories' rather than to facilitate generalisations to populations. Gerring (2007) also expresses validity concerns, suggesting that while case study research is

generally regarded as demonstrating strong internal validity, its external validity is generally weaker when compared to statistical research methods. Lastly, Schell (1992) pointed to the likely emergence of incorrect or inconsistent findings when the elements of the case study design are misapplied.

As mentioned above, case study research is common in studies of business and management. According to Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008), case studies undertaken in this discipline typically examine issues related to the interrelationship between industry and economy in the contexts of human interaction, organisational processes or specific events. A good case study should have more than one source of information (Bryman, 1989, p. 92). Keeping in mind that there are several forms of case study, a case study is fundamentally a mindset; that is, it is a way of thinking about and exploring data in a particular way (Bryman, 1989, p. 92). As such, it has to include descriptive evidence to validate the findings being presented (Bryman, 2010). Moreover, the purpose of such an examination is primarily to generate new knowledge and understanding of the case itself or the theoretical constructs surrounding the case (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008).

The research philosophy and the subsequent goals to be achieved can vary in case study research in business and management. As Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008) explain, the philosophical position underpinning the case study research may be essentially positivist, interpretivist or constructionist. Moreover, the underlying goal(s) may be to describe, interpret, explore or explain the phenomenon being investigated (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). In addition, the researcher may select from a broad range of perspectives from which to conduct the study, for example, the employees, managers, clients/customers or policy makers (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). Lastly, case study research in business and management may employ a single, multiple or comparative design and may aim to collect qualitative and quantitative data from multiple sources including interviews, observations, statistics, annual reports, promotional materials and minutes of meetings (Yin, 2003). As Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008) explain, the overriding aim, however, is to analyse the contextually rich empirical data that has been collected to produce in-depth and holistic knowledge of the research phenomenon.

Moore (2009) also outlines the usefulness of case study design for anthropological research. According to the author, case studies, or ethnographies, have a central role in the discipline of anthropology and its endeavours to describe interrelationships in the daily lives of groups or

the complexities of cultures (Moore, 2009). Data collection in anthropological case studies is typically achieved through unstructured though systematic interviews, and observations involving a small number of real-life cases in natural (as opposed to artificial) settings (Moore, 2009). Importantly, it is 'expected' in an anthropological case study that a balance is achieved between the insider's (emic) and the outsider's (etic) perspectives on the culture being studied (Moore, 2009).

In terms of the research philosophy underpinning this study, the choice to apply the diverse research principles inherent to a mixed-method research design arose by contemplating a number of key assumptions. With regard to the qualitative research paradigms applied in this study, the ontological assumption being applied is that social actors (e.g., Muslim employees and non-Muslim managers) construct the realities of their social world (Haynes 2012). Importantly, no one reality construction is no more or less true than alternative constructions, but all may equally contribute to the construction of an overall reality. This implies the epistemological assumption that human action is at once meaningful and context-based, and the meaning one assigns to a particular event is ultimately a constructed phenomenon (Haynes 2012). The methodological assumption in the application of qualitative research paradigms in this research is thus that the meanings assigned by social actors to particular events (e.g., conflict in the workplace) are best revealed via researcher and participant interaction. As such, this research applies an interpretivist lens to the research data which privileges constructivist paradigms.

In terms of the research philosophy underpinning the quantitative research paradigms applied in this study, the ontological assumption is that the reality constructed by human actors has the potential for bias (Castellan, 2010). As such, the application of positivist research principles via quantitative data collection injects objectivity into the research process. This objectivity then provides a counter balance to the subjectivity implied in qualitative methods and adds to the validity and integrity of the conclusions drawn from the research results (Castellan, 2010).

3.3 Multiple case studies design

This study adopted a mixed-method multiple case study design. A multiple case study approach was selected as it supported this researcher's choice to investigate Muslim employees and their non-Muslim managers from two disparate public sector organisations.

The rationale for selecting a multiple case study methodology emerged from the primary research aims: to investigate Muslim employees' experiences of religion-based workplace conflict; and the practices employed by managers in response to religious diversity among employees. Specifically, this design and the application of some concepts related to ethnographic research supported the researcher's objective to investigate and explain the causal links between both religious practices and workplace conflict and religious diversity and management practices in real-life contexts. 'Ethnography literally means "a portrait of a people"' which includes customs, beliefs and behaviours, and, given that it is one qualitative research form that aims to explore cultural phenomena in general or the integration of one culture with a particular community or other cultures (Meriam, 2009; and Genzuk, 2003), it can be used to discover the effects of Muslims culture in the workplace. Moreover, ethnography uses the personal experience of a certain group of people (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989, p. 256). Therefore, to examine the reality of the phenomenon the researcher needs to evaluate actual practices based primarily on the case rather than relying on the literature or written policies to develop an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon (Knights and McCabe, 1997, cited in Bryman and Bell, 2007 pp. 62-63). A multiple case study design using qualitative and quantitative methods is therefore appropriate as it allows the personal meanings and interpretations of participants to be combined with statistical data to develop an explanation of the interrelationship between religion, conflict and diversity management in the workplace.

Further information about the context of the case study organisations is given in the case study chapters. Moreover, examining the similarities and differences in outcomes related to a particular phenomenon strengthens the research findings.

'Field study' is the main tool in ethnography, and methods to collect data from the field include online survey and interviews. These methods have been used in this study, especially to discover the less tangible aspects of Muslim employee culture in the workplace. Hence, the ethnographic approach was beneficial in terms of enhancing the data collected from the case studies. Diagram 2 shows the relationships between three elements - the Australian workforce context, the Muslim community in Australia, and the case study organisations.
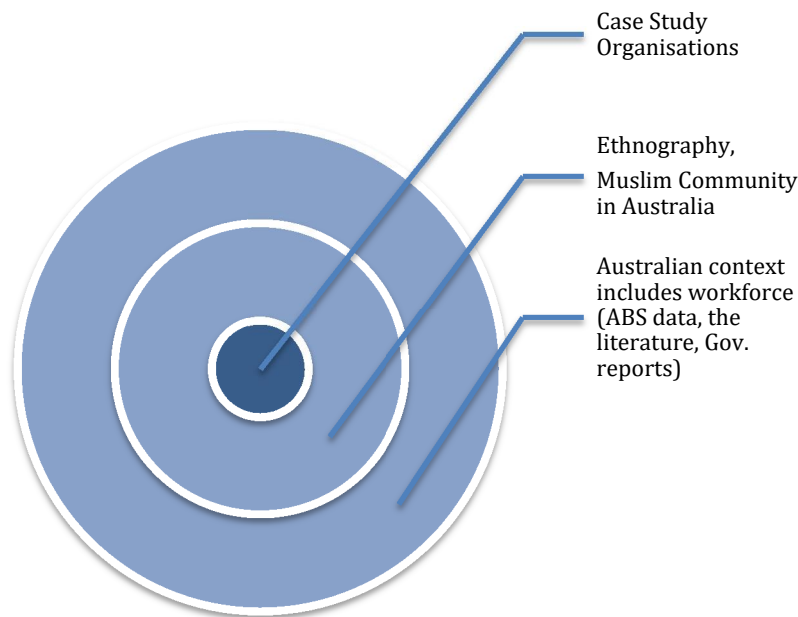
Diagram 2: Australian workforce context; the Muslim community in Australia context; and the case study organisations context

3.4 Case study settings

The organisations that were the settings for this case study research included a law enforcement agency (CS1) and a university (CS2). Both are public sector organisations located in Sydney, NSW. The researcher obtained clearance from CS1 on the condition that the organisation was not to be named directly. This condition was agreed to and an alternative name – Law Enforcement Agency – was suggested by the organisation. With regard to CS2, the University agreed to support the project and all information was conveyed to staff by the Director of Equity and Diversity. The Director said she would be amenable to this process on the condition that she had input into any emails that were sent to staff. The researcher was happy to meet this condition and, accordingly, the Director of Equity and Diversity invited staff via email to participate in the study.

3.5 Study sample

The first stage of the data gathering process required the researcher and organisations to enlist people who met the selection criteria and who were willing to consent to participate in the study. The sample group is a key element in any study as it is from this group that the researcher hopes to 'gain information and draw conclusions' (Tuckman, 1999, p. 259). The ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics, data available on request) recorded that in 2011 there

were 150,165 Muslim workers in Australia (ABS Census, 2011). Given that this number indicated a large Muslim worker demographic in Australian workplaces, the researcher selected a sample which he believed would yield insightful and relevant information for the study (Gay, 1996). In general, a researcher relying on quantitative data seeks to utilise a large study sample in order to generate research results that are generalisable to the broader population. In contrast, the researcher relying on qualitative data seeks to utilise a relatively smaller study sample in order to generate research results that reflect the subjective aspect of the issue under investigation (Denscombe, 2010).

The sample size in a qualitative study is determined by the purpose of the research and in order to obtain information-rich data rather than reflecting an established set of rules (Patton, 1990; Gay, 1996). As stated by Van Wyk (1996), the size of the sample depends on such variables as participant availability and saturation of the data because 'purposive sample … size will typically depend on the 'saturation' point where no new information or themes are observed' (Guest et al., 2006, p. 59). In other words, the sample is the right size when the researcher is able to obtain enough information and details to answer the research questions (Hatch, 2002), to discuss unusual cases or situations, and to pull out hidden concepts from the participants.

To achieve purposive sampling in this study, the selection of the interviewee sample was dependent on two factors: (1) demography; and (2) the case studies selected. First, the sample was selected from the Muslim population of Australia. Because the majority of Australian Muslims live in New South Wales (168,788; 49.6 per cent) (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007), the sample for this research was selected from two public sector organisations in Sydney, New South Wales, based on availability and approval. Given that the size of the Muslim employee population is quite small compared to the general workforce in Australia (ABS, 2012), and knowing that the data collected for this study was based on self-reported details from participants, as it is not compulsory in Australia for employees to reveal their identity, the sample size of this study was not very big. In total, 179 Muslim employees completed the online survey and 36 agreed to be interviewed. Also, five non-Muslim managers agreed to be interviewed. Further details of the sample population are described in the case study chapters. Finally, the sample utilised by the researcher was adequate for analysis and to answer the research question as the targeted cohort for this study,

Muslim employees in NSW, is small and because both case study organisations do not maintain records of how many Muslims are employed in the workplace.

3.6 Data collection

3.6.1 Mixed method research

As previously mentioned, the multiple case studies design of this research relied on exploratory mixed-method research paradigms. The core aim of mixed-method research aims to utilise more than one investigative perspective to investigate the research topic (Johnson & Christensen, 2010). Both qualitative and quantitative research paradigms have been employed by the researcher to answer the research question(s) from independent but complementary perspectives. To clarify, quantitative research paradigms posit real knowledge is generated by way of the collection and analysis of facts. Identifying what the facts are is in turn achieved by collecting quantitative data such as measurements, statistics, ratios and the like (Collins, 2010). In contrast, qualitative research paradigms posit that real knowledge of social world phenomena is achieved through the interpretation of personal experience. As such, qualitative research is guided by the understanding that the most effective method for understanding human behaviour in social contexts is to gather data on peoples' beliefs, ideas, values and interpretations of their experiences (Collins, 2010). The researcher then induces meaning from the data to create an academic understanding (i.e. knowledge) of the experiences (Collins, 2010).

Use of a mixed-method research design is common among contemporary researchers in the fields of Business, Sociology and Education in particular (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007). In terms of this study, a mixed-method design is most suitable as it facilitates an understanding of the research topic from both objective and subjective perspectives (Collins, 2010).

In addition, a mixed-method research study design was employed in this study due to its potential to enhance the reliability and validity of the research findings by minimising the likelihood of researcher bias during the data collection and analysis processes (Johnson & Christensen, 2010). Furthermore, the mixed-method approach provided the researcher with a wider range of instruments to use for the collection and analysis of data (Johnson & Christensen, 2010). This improves the integrity of the research process by supporting the

researcher to utilise the right tool to deliver rich and relevant research data. Furthermore, the collection of data via multiple methods facilitates data triangulation to identify similarities and contrasts embedded in the data (Johnson & Christensen, 2010).

Lastly, the research questions determined the methodology and the complex nature of this study called for the use of different research methods. Therefore, the collection of data for analysis involved some quantitative, but mostly qualitative, research methods such as online surveys and in-depth interviews. This was in addition to the examination of government reports and a review of the literature. Reviewing the literature revealed that most previous studies in SRW were quantitative, fewer were qualitative, and, according to Fornaciari and Dean (2004, pp. 17, 22), only about 4 per cent employed both.

The study also relied on an evaluation of Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) data and other national statistics. The main reason for using both quantitative and qualitative methods in a study exploring workplace relations from a cultural, legal and managerial context is that using both methods allows the researcher to obtain in-depth information about deep level diversity. To explain further, the researcher had to investigate what religious employees need, how managers respond to the religious needs of Muslim employees, the impact these needs have, and also the main religious issues/problems arising from these needs in the workplaces (Matveev, 2002).

3.6.2 Qualitative research methods

Taylor and Bogdan (1984, p. 3) argued that qualitative research using participant observation was first conducted by Frederick LePlay in 1855 as part of his study of European families and communities. Described as a naturalistic method of study, qualitative research is characterised by the researcher's investigation of a complex phenomenon (e.g., religious diversity in the workplace) that occurs within a clearly definable context (e.g., an Australian workplace) (Borg et al., 1993 p. 198). Interviews and observation are means of data collection in qualitative research, and the meaning assigned to the data is then shaped by the phenomenologist researcher through the process of common sense interpretation (Denscombe, 2010). Furthermore, Sprinthall et al. (1991) drew attention to the holistic and humanistic aspects of qualitative research. Specifically, the authors suggested that the humanistic aspect of the research method is demonstrated in the way the researcher is motivated to better understand the nominated issue by exploring the perspectives held by

other people, whereas the method is holistic in the sense that it is open to all demonstrations of human behaviour (Sprinthall et al., 1991). In other words, qualitative research means interpretation of a phenomenon by linking data after looking at it from different angles (Corbin and Strauss, 2008) to gain a deeper understanding.

3.6.3 Researcher identity

One of the more unique characteristics of qualitative research is the personal involvement of the researcher in the research. Arguably, this involvement is most clearly demonstrated in the way qualitative research relies on connections, rather than distance, between the subject and the researcher. For this reason, the researcher identity has implications for the qualitative research process. Researcher identity in qualitative research may be defined as the identity of the researcher to emerge from the nature of the research being undertaken as well as the process of conducting the research (Hamilton, Dunnett & Downey 2012). In turn, Lavis (2010) explains that the researcher's identity in qualitative research may be a key factor in 'gaining entry into the research environment and developing and maintaining relationships with informative actors within that environment' (p. 316).

With this in mind, the researcher acknowledges that his ethnic (Saudi Arabian) and religious (Muslim) identity will have affected the research process. For instance, at the process level, his religious identity affected the research process positively in terms of receiving quick responses from Muslim employees for the online survey and in terms of participation in the interviews. In contrast, the researcher's religious identity also seemingly hindered the research process in that it was not easy to recruit a large number of non-Muslim managers for interview or to obtain approval from organisations to participate in the study as indicated in the thesis. A non-team academic faculty member suggested to the researcher to hire a white male or female to conduct the interviews with the non-Muslim managers. However, the work team regarded such an action as unnecessary and argued the researcher should perform these tasks on his own in order to learn and to obtain the data needed for the project. However, the researcher's ethnic and religious identity was arguably of most relevance during the qualitative interview with participants. It is here that the 'identity' and the 'role' of the researcher merged most clearly in that the researcher was both a research 'tool' to collect relevant data as well as a 'being' within the data collection process who influenced the nature of the participative interaction (Lavis, 2010).

3.6.4 Quantitative research methods

Quantitative research methods may include the use of large-scale surveys or experiments that involve various types of measurements (Denscombe, 2010). The quantitative approach is primarily an attempt to study social life using a scientific investigation model. As such, the researcher attempts to explain and predict social behaviour and this involves developing and testing a hypothesis using data gathered in a situation where the aim is to control all of the variables (Denscombe, 2010, p. 241). Throughout the quantitative research process, the researcher takes an objective position when gathering and analysing the data to confirm, refute or modify the stated hypothesis (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). Thus, one of the main differences between quantitative and qualitative research methods is that qualitative data gathering generally allows the researcher to 'connect' with the participants in the study and focus on the issue at a deeper level compared to quantitative data gathering methods (Fouche and De Vos, 1998, p. 57).

3.6.5 Triangulation

Unlike the approach of some qualitative researchers who claim that 'data speak for themselves' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p. 713), in this research data were analysed using triangulation. Because this study utilised an online survey tool, participant interviews, and other sources to gather information, data triangulation strengthened the confirmability of the research findings (Shenton, 2004). In addition, the researcher chose to triangulate the data sources to reach a deeper understanding of the case studies in their context (Punch, 2000). This was necessary due to the lack of theories and models in the literature on SRW which made it difficult to determine an appropriate method for collecting the primary data (Dean et al., 2003, p. 121; Fornaciari and Dean, 2001, p. 348). Moreover, most previous doctoral work in the SRW field has measured developments in the US context (Fornaciari and Dean, 2004, pp. 10, 12).

Triangulation is one of about 40 available research methods (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007), and it involves 'cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data' (O'Donoghue and Punch, 2003). The main aim behind undertaking a 'cross-examination' of the research data is to test the data's validity and reliability and to control bias (Golafshani, 2003). This allows the researcher to have greater confidence in the

results, especially when conducting cultural qualitative research (Bogdan and Biklen, 2006; Denzin, and Lincoln, 2005).

Researchers such as Duffy (1987) and Denzin (1978; cited in Mathison, 1988, p. 13) identified four different types of triangulation: data triangulation (analysing data in more than one way); investigator triangulation (using interviews, observers and analysts in the one study); theory triangulation (using more than one sampling strategy); and methodological triangulation (using more than one methodology to gather data). This study applied two of these types: data triangulation including, for example, ABS data and the literature review; and methodological triangulation, which included the online survey and interview responses.

This study gathered qualitative and quantitative data using one online survey and interviews. A brief overview of each method is as follows:

1. After obtaining ethics approval from both case study organisations, the organisations invited their Muslim employees to undertake the online survey. At the end of the online survey the participants were asked to indicate whether they would be willing to participate in a follow-up interview.
2. The interviews were conducted with a random selection of practising and non-practising Muslim respondents from those who indicated their willingness to be interviewed.
3. The case study organisations were also asked to invite managers to participate in the interviews.
4. Interviews were conducted with two managers in CS1 and three managers in CS2. The number of managers interviewed in this study was dependant on whether the managers were managing Muslim staff and whether they were willing to be interviewed.

3.6.6 Online survey

A survey instrument is useful for the collection of qualitative and/or quantitative primary research data (Groves et al., 2009, p. 4). As Groves et al. (2009) explains, surveys provide the researcher with a data collection tool to access a large sample population's knowledge of, attitude towards, or behaviour in relation to the phenomenon under investigation.

The online survey utilised in this study was adapted from the instrument used by Pyke (2008). The survey was divided into three parts: Part A consisted of questions to collect personal (demographic) details; Part B consisted of questions related to the participants' employment; and Part C consisted of questions pertaining to participants' religious practices in the workplace (including questions about workplace conflicts). Eight religious practices in particular were given focus in the online survey: daily prayers (or *Salat*) performed individually or as part of a group at different times throughout the day; Friday prayer (*Salat Al-Jummah*), performed by Muslim males for one hour (12-1 pm) in a mosque; fasting during the month of *Ramadan*; participation in religious celebrations (e.g., *Eid*) or other social activities with religious implications (including work social functions where issues of alcohol being served or the availability of *halal* food are relevant); gender relationships where members of the opposite sex are required to interact in ways that challenge Islamic values; wearing religious attire such as *hijab*; participation in religious pilgrimage (e.g., Hajj); and wearing a beard to signify one's faith.

In total, the online survey included 45 items (see Appendix 1) designed to collect data on and to provide insight into the diversity management practices of the case study organisations. The survey items thus focused on such aspects as the culture within the organisation, religious practices by Muslim employees, and participants' perceptions of attempts to accommodate their religious practices and the management of religious diversity in the workplace in general.

In terms of the rationale for the use of an online survey, this instrument was regarded by the researcher as an effective and time-efficient process to get an overview of the key religious behaviours practised by Muslim employees that cause conflict in the workplace. In addition, the online survey enabled the collection of vital data for analysis to properly answer the research questions. The responses to the online survey are presented and analysed in Part Three of this thesis (i.e. 'Case Studies'). Specifically, the outcomes are presented in the 'Case Study One' and 'Case Study Two' chapters; analysed in the 'Findings and Analysis' chapter; and discussed in the 'Comparison and Discussion' chapter.

For this study, the researcher contacted the relevant managers in each organisation and provided him or her with information about, and a copy of, the online survey. Each manager then used *Qualtrics* to distribute relevant information about the online survey to their Muslim

employees along with an invitation to participate. The relevant information included a consent form and an explanation of the purpose of the study. The information also included researcher and supervisor contact details (i.e. contact numbers and email address), according to the requirements of the University ethics procedures. Participants were informed that, should they decide to participate in the online survey, all information would be treated as confidential. The survey took around 10 minutes to complete and 179 surveys were fully completed by Muslim employees from both case study organisations. The survey also included a tick box for the participants to indicate their willingness to be interviewed.

3.6.7 Interviews

A typical data gathering method used in qualitative research is in-depth face-to-face interview with participants. This method allows the researcher to understand the research focus areas through the details revealed by the participants (Hatch, 2002). In addition, the interviews can be structured or semi-structured allowing the process to be flexible and dynamic, making it a unique way to gather data (Gay, 1996). Also, 'the most common form of interviewing involves individual, face-to-face verbal interchange' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p. 698). Qualitative research interview styles vary considerably within the informal to formal spectrum (Best and Kahn, 1993). For instance, the use of open-ended questions during informal interviews allows the researcher to be more receptive to any change in the direction of the interview on the basis of the responses provided. Alternatively, the structured questioning technique used during formal interviews keeps the information gathering process locked into a particular format.

When using interviews for qualitative research, however, the researcher must take into consideration several factors. Open-ended questions, that is, questions that cannot be answered with a simple 'yes' or 'no', provide the interviewee with a chance to answer questions in their own terms (Van Wyk, 1996). In addition, narrative interviews that rely on self-report responses from interviewees may often be incomplete or contain inconsistencies (Borg et al., 1993). This becomes evident when interviewees fear giving an open and honest response, or when they know that they do not fully understand the question. Moreover, Best and Kahn (1993) stated that it is often the case during interviews that the interviewee answers a question in a way that he or she feels pleases the researcher rather than answering truthfully. On the basis of these issues, the researcher must be careful when gathering data using interview techniques to avoid gathering misleading data.

A combined total of 41 participants were interviewed. The interviews were semi-structured and open-ended in style. After signing the consent forms, the participants' responses were recorded to ensure the accuracy of the information and to assist with future analysis. The audio recording equipment was positioned on the desk in front of the participants. Because the recording equipment was in clear view of the participants they were aware of its presence.

3.6.8 Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis is broad and it depends on the analytical intellect and style of the analyst (Patton 2001, p. 436). Unlike some authors in qualitative research (e.g., Attride-Stirling, 2001) who utilise models during the data analysis period which shape and limit the way the data is analysed, the data analysis in this study was initially undertaken to identify the key issues to emerge from the transcripts. The issues were then tracked based on the conceptual framework and the literature as detailed in the conceptual framework and review chapters.

To support high level thinking in this analysis, a microanalysis model developed by Corbin and Strauss (2008) was used. The model included five areas: asking what, why, when, where and how questions; comparing the answers and looking at differences and similarities among the interviewees; paying attention to the various meanings of words, especially 'conflict', 'religious identity', and 'looking at the other side'; using the Flip-Flop technique such as in cases where employees did not ask for religious accommodation in order to determine whether it was because they appreciated the secular atmosphere of their workplace; and analysis of the language used by the interviewees. Words such as 'always', 'never', and 'everyone' were 'red flagged' by the researcher and regarded as a sign not to accept the words for their literal meaning. Diagram 3 shows the five areas of the microanalysis model based on Corbin and Strauss (2008).
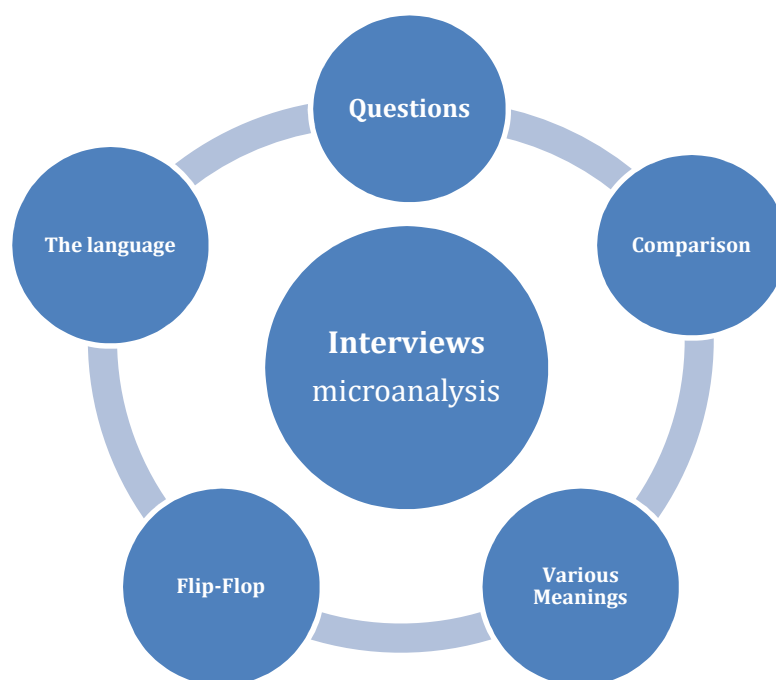
Diagram 3: The five areas of the Microanalysis Model

3.6.9.1 Narrative analysis

A narrative is an account of one's 'personal experience, or the experience of others' (Smith, 2000, p. 328). According to Rhodes and Brown (2005 pp. 170-172), narratives are an effective way to clarify meaning. As such, 'narrative analysis' is recognised as a legitimate research method which typically looks to combine the study participant's 'story' and the researcher's 'story' in the presentation of the research results (Abdulkareem, 2010, p. 38). The incorporation and use of narrative analysis in an interpretive research design has a number of research benefits. With regard to the study participants (interviewees), the narratives provided by them during the interview process are an expression of their perspective and/or understanding of events and situations (Smith, 2000, p. 328). This process is significant as it not only 'gives a voice' (Dahl and Thor, 2009, p. 1) to participants, allowing them to tell their story and be heard, it is also an opportunity for them to 'make sense of what happened' (Bryman, 2012, p. 582; Smith, 2000, p. 328).

Personal and self-selected narratives about situations and events reflect the meaning the individual makes of his or her life (Abdulkareem, 2010, p. 38; Riessman, 1993, p. 19; Smith, 2000, p. 328). When this premise is applied to a study of organisational contexts, the

'creative re-description of the world [through which] hitherto unexplored meanings can unfold' (Rhodes and Brown, 2005 p. 167) can provide the researcher with insights into 'what the organisation means to the manager' (Rhodes and Brown, 2005 p. 169) and also the employee in terms of their understanding of workplace culture and practices.

In addition, an analysis of participant narratives can provide the researcher with an effective way to discover organisational norms and values and also 'how identities are continuously constructed' in the workplace (Gabriel, 1999, p. 196; cited in Rhodes and Brown, 2005, p. 176). To clarify this idea, Rhodes and Brown (2005, pp. 176-177) pointed to the way in which conceptualisations of both individual and group identity (including those based on ethnicity and gender) are often implied in employee narratives. As a result, it is possible for the researcher to gain an insight into the way in which the employee positions him/herself in the organisation (Rhodes and Brown, 2005, p. 176). Indeed, research suggests that because 'participants express understanding and commitment to organisations through stories, [their] degree of familiarity with dominant organisational stories may indicate their level of adaptation to the organisation' (Brown, 1982; McWhinney, 1984, cited in Rhodes and Brown, 2005 p. 176).

It is through the researcher's willingness to favour understanding over control, accept ambiguity over certainty, and actively engage the lived experience of the participants that he or she will acquire the type of empirical data not available to traditional positivist research (Rhodes and Brown, 2005, p. 179). Therefore, the two key questions the researcher must ask when undertaking a narrative analysis are: (1) what is to be discovered in this story?; and (2) what is the best process of narrative analysis to improve our understanding of the issue/s? (Abdulkareem, 2010, p. 38) With regard to the research analysis process, the emphasis is on analysing (not describing) not only *what* the participant has said, but also *how* the participant has said it (Dahl and Thor, 2009, p. 3; Smith, 2000, p. 328). Specifically, the researcher's focus is on identifying the key issues that emerge from the language devices and patterns used by the narrator (Dahl and Thor, 2009, p. 10).

Towards this objective, it is important for the research to locate the correlations between the events described in the narrative as well as the links between the events and the organisational context (Bryman, 2012, p. 584; Smith, 2000, p. 327). Significant contextual factors may be internal or external to the organisation and generally include time, place,

situations and the people involved. Moreover, the researcher's focus must not only be on each narrated story as an entity in itself but also on the plurality of stories and what the multiple perspectives and understandings reveal about the issue being studied (Rhodes and Brown, 2005, p. 177). Within the plurality of stories, it is also important for the researcher to consider what each narrator has neglected to mention or has mentioned only briefly, as the detail may have been excluded or minimised for a reason (Dahl and Thor, 2009, pp. 10, 15).

3.6.9.2 Coding

As commonly done by qualitative researchers (Strauss and Corbin, 1990), the data in this study was categorised and developed by themes. According to Schurink (1998), qualitative inquiry promotes the emergence of new avenues of research and the insights and interpretations can be recorded by the researcher when gathering the narrative data. Moreover, during the analysis of the qualitative data in this study, the focus was on identifying broad themes and patterns rather than narrow, precisely defined variables as is the case in quantitative research (Borg et al., 1993). If there is clear evidence of the emergence of particular topics during an interview, the researcher may then try to verify them at this stage of the research.

Relevant statements were highlighted and the themes were identified and written in the margin. Following this process, the themes identified in the transcripts were again reviewed and colour-coded, for example:

- SI issues were highlighted in pink
- main religious practices were highlighted in green
- conflict was highlighted in orange
- managers' responses were highlighted in yellow.

Important techniques and tips in terms of coding the data that were taken into consideration (some of them adopted from Bryman, 2012, pp. 576-582) included:

- Taking notes during the interviews and writing down any thoughts that came to mind
- 'Walk listening' during the interviews to listen to interviewee responses and to write down thoughts and connections between the interviews in relation to the main ideas
- Reading the transcripts early and repeatedly

- Coding as soon as possible to better understand the data and to avoid swimming in a sea of data later on

- Re-reading the transcripts and coding the main themes with a focus on the key words and thoughts

- Reviewing codes to focus again on the main themes, the key words and thoughts, other phrases that may have been missed in the first reading, and connections between the codes

- Supporting the main themes separately or joining them when needed, and creating sub-themes

- Ensuring all concepts and thoughts were included, even the odd or negatives ones

- Considering coding to be part of the analysis, not the whole of the analysis.

Finally, the researcher learnt that topics involving complex issues, such as managing diversity in the workplace, especially religious diversity, needed more work in terms of data collection, coding and analysing.

3.7 Confidentiality and privacy

As indicated in the 'Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research, 2007', a study participant's right to personal privacy must be protected. The core elements underpinning a participant's right to privacy are a guarantee of confidentiality and anonymity. Confidentiality encompasses the way in which information is handled during the research process, whereas anonymity in research is an assurance that the participant's identity remains unknown at all times (Strydom, 1998).

In this study, a number of procedures were followed by the researcher to protect the participant's right to privacy, confidentiality and anonymity. The data gathering process began by gaining informed consent from the participants (see Appendices 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). The statement of consent provided the participants with details of the purpose of the study. Specifically, the participants were informed that the online survey and interviews were being conducted to assist in a research project being undertaken for a PhD degree offered by Macquarie University. Finally, the participants were also informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time or choose not to answer any question if they so preferred. All organisations and participants were de-identified, and all data collected were treated with confidentiality. All participants were given a code number (e.g., Interviewee 1, 2, 3 and Manager 1, 2). During the data analysis process, the participants' responses were stored in a

locked cabinet in the research office at Macquarie University. The electronic data were password protected.

3.8 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to explore the Muslim community and culture in Australia, and the needs of Muslim workers in the workplace. The complex nature of the study called for the use of different research methods. Therefore, the collection of data for analysis involved some quantitative, but mostly qualitative research methods including online surveys, in-depth open-ended interviews of Muslim workers and their non-Muslim managers, and generating field notes in addition to an examination of government reports and a review of the literature. The main reason for utilising both quantitative and qualitative methods in this study to explore workplace relations from cultural, legal and managerial viewpoints is that using both methods allowed the researcher to obtain in-depth information about deep level diversity.

This study used a case study design along with relevant concepts from ethnography. The case study design was chosen because religious diversity is externally and internally managed and may be different from case to case. Therefore, the researcher needed to evaluate actual practices in each case rather than simply rely on the literature or written policies. Using a case study approach allowed the researcher to gather detailed primary data, to gain a close understanding of the phenomenon, and to explain why things may have happened, regardless of the assumptions or hypotheses.

The use of narrative analysis in this research enabled the participants to give their perspectives on, and their understandings of, their experiences of diversity management and conflict in the workplace. The data obtained was categorised and developed by themes which included SI issues, main religious practices, and conflict caused by religious issues. Importantly, the researcher was not seeking to find universals in these case studies. Rather, the aim was to gain a full, rich understanding of the context and the case study organisations that were studied (Willis, 2007).

PART TWO: CONTEXT

Introduction

The aim of Part Two of this thesis is to present an overview of four key elements pertaining to the experiences and management of Muslim employees in Australian workplaces: Muslims in Australia, regulatory context, diversity management and organisation contexts. As such, it is a socio-historical approach to understanding Australian Muslims' experiences in which the various contexts have been divided into discrete chapters that focus on each element separately to enable a deeper understanding of the impact of each. This approach not only addresses macro and meso level factors, but also foreshadows the connection between them. As Henry Ford once said; 'nothing is particularly hard if you divide it into small parts' (Dunleavy, 2003, p.76).

Focusing on the interconnections between the four nominated elements helps to contextualise the experiences of Muslim employees in Australian workplaces as well as provides a foundation upon which to explore the factors impacting the management of their religious needs.

The federal and state laws which regulate Australian workplace relations and which also address discrimination in the workplace provide the contextual framework within which an in-depth discussion of approaches to the management of religious practices in both global and domestic organisations can take place. The regulatory frameworks that shape what employees, managers, and employers can or cannot do within the parameters of workplace relations are highly complicated due to the lack of unity between legislation and diversity management practices (Strachan et al., 2010, p. 60). There are 'more than 12 Federal and State Acts that specifically deal with issues of discrimination, equity and diversity' in the workplace (French, Strachan and Burgess 2010, p. 42).

Finally, when read in conjunction with Chapters One and Two of the Conceptual Framework and Literature Review, the purpose of this chapter is to outline and account for general regulations, managerial and employee practices in the workplace relating to religious diversity, and to provide an insight into the significant factors influencing religious diversity management practices in the case study organisations.

CHAPTER FOUR

Muslims in Australia

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a socio-historical context to the discussion, primarily in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, on the links between Australian workplace relations laws, Muslim identity, and diversity management in organisations. Towards this aim, a broad overview of relevant social demographic, employment and religious aspects which have contributed to the emergence of contemporary workplace conditions for Muslim employees in Australia is provided. More specifically, this chapter includes an overview of the history of immigration by Muslims to Australia, a profile of Muslim employees in the workforce with data from ABS, a review of the literature pertaining to religion and Islam in the Australian workplace context, and a discussion of the implications of 9/11 and Islamophobia for Muslim employees. Muslims constitute a significant proportion of the Australia's immigrant population. By providing an insight into the different life situations of Muslims in Australia based on relevant literature, the issues and challenges facing Muslims in the workplace, particularly Muslim women, can be better understood. In addition, by drawing attention to the diversity of Muslim culture and the social ignorance that remains in Australia towards this culture, this chapter goes some way to developing the current discussion on where Muslims fit into the Australian social and workforce context.

4.2 Historical background

According to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2009), shortly after the transportation of convicts from Britain to Australia in the 1780s, immigrants also started to arrive in Australia. The wool industry during the 1820s demanded a huge workforce and this sparked an immigration influx, especially from Britain. In addition, the Gold Rush era from 1851 to 1860 also saw around 50,000 immigrants each year come to work in Australia, with the Chinese being the largest non-British cohort. At this time, the Australian immigration policy reflected both the economic and social imperatives of the day. Details of the immigration numbers and the backgrounds of the migrants reveal that Muslim immigrants share a place in this early period of Australia's history.

Australian scholars have suggested that Afghan camel drivers were among the earliest people to practice Islam in Australia and this occurred in South Australia in the 1830s (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2009; Hassim, and Cole-Adam, 2010, and Kabir, 2004). In 1861, the first mosque was built in Marree, South Australia (or Hergott Springs as it was then known). South Australia was also home to Australia's first large mosque, built in the capital city of Adelaide in 1890 (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2009). Other accounts of history from authors such as Akbarzadeh and Saeed (2001); Chelebi (2008); Omar and Allen (1996); Sullivan and Kazi (1993); Haveric (2006, 2012); and Cleland (2001) suggest the Muslim presence in Australia predates even the arrival of the First Fleet to Australia from Britain. The founding of European Australian was driven by the many British convicts who arrived in Australia at Botany Bay on 24 January and at Sydney Cove on 26 January in 1788 (The NSW Migration Heritage Centre, 2015). Aboriginal cave drawings in northern Australia of distinctive Macassan vessels provide evidence to suggest that in the 17th century Muslim Macassans from eastern Indonesia would fish for sea-slugs off the northern shores of Australia. Moreover, Malay Muslims worked as pearl divers in Western Australia and the Northern Territory in the 1870s. There were as many as 1800 Malay divers in Western Australia by the mid-1870s. However, after the White Australia Policy was introduced in 1901, most Malaysian workers and many Afghans who had come to Australia during that period eventually returned to their home countries (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2009; Hassim, and Cole-Adam, 2010). Those who chose to stay faced discrimination and economic hardship (Kabir, 2004).

Relatively few Muslims came to Australia in the early twentieth century because of the restrictions imposed by the White Australia policy. Notwithstanding these restrictions, during the 1920s and 1930s some Albanian Muslims were able to migrate to Australia because of their lighter European complexion (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2009; Hassim and Cole-Adam, 2010). However, when Australia's immigration policy was broadened after World War II to address problems with skills shortages and to assist with population growth and economic development, it was possible for Muslims who had been displaced as a consequence of the war to come to Australia (Kabir, 2005). Since the 1950s the countries of origin of those migrating to Australia has continued to shift from Europe to Asia (Burgess et al., 2010). During the years 1967 to 1971, approximately 10,000 Turks migrated to Melbourne and Sydney as part of an Australia-Turkey agreement (Hassim and Cole-Adam, 2010). Moreover, because of the civil war in Lebanon in 1975, Lebanese Muslims, who

constituted only 40 per cent of the Australian Lebanese population, were nonetheless the largest Muslim community in Australia during the 1970s (Armstrong, 2000 cited in Wise and Ali, 2008). Indeed, as a result of the civil war more than 20,000 refugees arrived in Australia, pushing the total number of Lebanese people in Australia at that time to 33,424. The 2006 Census of Population and Housing in Australia (hereafter Census) recorded 74,850 Lebanon-born people in Australia. After 1973 the Multiculturalism Policy formulated by the Australian government resulted in a large increase in the number of Muslim immigrants to Australia in search of a better life. Presently in Australia the Muslim population derives from more than 60 countries including Lebanon, Turkey, Indonesia, Bosnia, Iran, Fiji, Albania, Sudan, Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (Bouma, 1994; Hassim and Cole-Adam, 2010; Haveric, 2006).

According to a 2009 global demographic study, Islam has 1.57 billion adherents making up 23 per cent of the world's population (Miller, 2009). The UK is home to two million Muslims, about three per cent of the total population (Miller, 2009). In the US there are about eight million Muslims (Kettani, 2010). In Australia in 2011, there were 476,300 Muslims or 2.2 per cent of the Australian population. Of these, 53 per cent were males and 47 per cent were females. Most of the Muslim population live in Sydney and Melbourne, and nearly 38 per cent were born in Australia (ABS, 2012). Table (2) shows the total number and proportion of Muslims in Australia from 1947 to 2011.

Table (2): Total number and proportion of those who identified with the Muslim religion in Australia in the 1947, 1971, 1996, 2001 and 2012 censuses

1947		1971		1996		2001		2006		2011	
000s	%	000s	%	000s	%	000s	%	000s	%	000s	%
0	0	22	0.2	210	1.1	282	1.5	340	1.7	476,300	2.2

There were Muslims before 1947 according to some sources (ABS Census, 2012; cited in Bouma et al. 2011, p. 15)

The 2011 Census shows Islam is the fourth largest religion in Australia and the second largest among people of non-Christian faith. The two fastest growing non-Christian religions in Australia since 2001 were Hinduism followed by Islam (the latter showing an increase of 69 per cent). Furthermore, there was a 25 per cent increase in the number of Muslims in Australia between 2006 and 2011. The Muslim population in Australia is predicted to

increase by 78.9 per cent up to 2030. Table 3 provides a snap-shot of the diverse countries of origin of Australia's Muslim population. The difference in the number of migrant Muslims compared to Australian born Muslims is given further clarity in the 2006 Census in Australia. It was here demonstrated that Australia's Muslim population in 2006 included 199,070 overseas born people, 111,560 second generation Australians, and 11,373 third or fourth generation Australians.

Table (3): Country of origin of Muslims living in Australia in 2006

Australia	37.9 %
Lebanon	8.9 %
Turkey	6.8 %
Afghanistan	4.7 %
Bangladesh	3.9 %
Iraq	2.9 %
Indonesia	2.5 %
Bosnia and Herzegovina	2.1 %
Others	30.3 %

Source: ABS Census, 2006

Australian Muslims represent more than 60 different ethnic groups and multiple races making Islam the most ethnically and racially diverse religion in Australia. It may therefore be argued that Islam functions as a unifying force among Muslims of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds (ABS, 2011). It is estimated that over 80 per cent of Australian Muslims speak English proficiently and that 86 per cent of Australian Muslims speak a language other than English at home. Approximately 35 per cent of Australian Muslims speak Arabic, 13.8 per cent speak Turkish, and 5.3 per cent speak Urdu. (ABS Census, 2006). More than 58.6 per cent of the total Muslim population in Australia is aged 29 years and under compared to 39.9 per cent for non-Muslim citizens. As such, Islam may be regarded as a 'young' faith. Second generation Australian Muslims comprise 81.8 per cent of the population aged 25 years and under. First-generation Muslims in Australia primarily comprise the 25-44 years age bracket (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2006).

The reason for this is that the majority of Australian-born Muslims are second generation Australians (81.8 per cent are under the age of 25) and most (45.6 per cent) overseas-born

Muslims are aged 25 to 44 years. These figures are consistent with their recent arrival to Australia. Lastly, according to the 2006 Census in Australia, the largest (49.6 per cent) Muslim population in Australia is located in New South Wales, the second largest is located in Victoria (32.1 per cent), and Western Australia has the third largest Muslim population at 7.1 per cent (ABS Census, 2006).

It is predicted that by 2026, Muslims in Australia will account for 4.0 per cent of the older culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) population. It is also reported that more recent arrivals to Australia indicated an affiliation to Islam than was indicated by long-settled migrants (8.4 per cent and 4.7 percent, respectively). In addition, 61.5 per cent of the people born overseas living in Australia are Muslims. Similar to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders who are reluctant to reveal their heritage, it is also likely, however, that many Muslims have not revealed their heritage in official surveys (e.g., Censuses) for fear of persecution. Thus, the actual number of Muslims in Australia may be higher than official figures. As one ABS official suggested, some groups within the community are reluctant to reveal their heritage (Guest, 2011).

The Australian Social Inclusion Board's (2012) publication titled 'Social Inclusion in Australia: How Australia is Faring' cites the Scanlon Foundation Survey 2011 data which reveals that less than one-third (30 per cent) of Australians had a positive attitude towards Muslims. Furthermore, a research study of 134 participants representing mainstream Australians reported findings that almost 50 per cent of respondents rarely or never interact with Muslims. Only 20 per cent of respondents reported they engaged in regular interactions with Muslims. Interestingly, the study revealed that a staggering 94 per cent of respondents blame the media for contributing to the deterioration of relations between Muslims and non-Muslims (Deliberation Australia/America 2007). Indeed, Pe-Pua, Gendera, Katz and O'Connor (2010, p. 15) claimed that 'the stereotyping (or 'racialisation') of Islam is perhaps the most significant factor impacting on the ability of Australian Muslims to fully participate in Australian society'. As the authors also pointed out, 'within public opinion, stereotypes and constructions of Islam are constantly reproduced through negative media coverage' Notwithstanding the issues of stereotyping and media bias, research from the Centre for Muslim Minorities and Islam Policy Studies (2009, p. 1) found devout Muslims regard themselves to be good Muslims and good Australians. Authors also indicated that Muslims'

religious practices made a positive contribution to Australian society. Furthermore, although respondents regard their religious identity to be of most importance, they also placed a high value on their ethnic and Australian identities.

4.3 Muslim employees in Australia

Although there are few studies of Muslim workers in Australia, data from the ABS, along with government reports and a few published articles, help to provide a suitable profile. As previously mentioned, Afghan camel drivers who arrived in 1860 were the first Muslims to work as labourers in Australia (Chisholm, 1965; cited in Yusuf, 1990). Because of their expertise with camels and experience in trekking through the desert they were employed by the European explorers, including Burke and Wills (Hassim and Cole-Adam, 2010). Later, the Afghans and their camels helped to transport goods to Australia's interior when state boundaries were being marked out and when the Overland Telegraph Line was established between 1870 and 1873 to connect inland towns throughout Australia (Chisholm, 1965, cited in Yusuf, 1990). Afghan Muslim immigrants also worked during the 1894 Coolgardie gold rush to transport food and water. Their expertise saved the lives of many Europeans who were not used to the desert conditions (Hassim and Cole-Adam, 2010).

Later, from 1920 to 1930, Albanian migrants arrived in North Queensland to work sugar cane plantations as well as in Victorian to work on the fruit farms. Then, during the 1960s, Bosnian and Kosovar Muslims arrived in Australia to find employment as construction workers on the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2009). Thus, Muslim workers employed in Australia from settlement through to the 21st century have, according to authors such as Haveric (2006), made contributions to the Australian workforce, with their numbers steadily increasing during this time. In more recent times, however, a high proportion of Muslims, particularly Muslim men, remain unemployed, with unemployment among this group in 2006 at twice the national average (ABS Census, 2006).

In 2006, only one-in-three Muslims were engaged in white-collar occupations compared to the national figure of more than 46 per cent (see Table 4). Muslims were over-represented in blue-collar occupations such as machine operators, labourers and drivers. Nationally, more women than men were employed in the community and personal service fields, and in sales occupations. Yet, among Muslims, even these occupations were dominated by men. Only in

clerical and administrative occupations were there more Muslim women than Muslim men employed (ABS Census, 2006).

Table (4): Muslims in the Australian workforce

Labour force status / occupation	Australia		Muslims	
	Percent	Sex ratio	Percent	Sex ratio
Employed	57.1	117.6	43.7	203.9
Unemployed	3.2	119.9	7.2	223.5
Not in labour force	33.1	64.6	46.6	59.0
Not stated	6.6	103.8	2.5	87.1
Managers	7.5	190.0	3.0	233.3
Professionals	11.2	90.2	7.8	150.7
Technicians & trade workers	8.2	577.6	6.5	782.4
Community & personal service workers	5.1	44.1	3.7	110.0
Clerical & administrative workers	8.6	30.5	4.6	63.1
Sales workers	5.7	63.3	4.9	115.4
Machinery operators & drivers	3.8	924.7	5.3	1,642.9
Labourers	6.0	174.4	6.1	225.6
Inadequately described / not stated	1.1	149.3	1.8	192.9
Not applicable	42.9	73.0	56.3	71.3

Source: Yusuf, 2009, The Future of the Global Muslim Population, pewforum.org

About 40 per cent of Muslim males are employed, compared to about 31 per cent of Muslim women. Some studies, such as Akbarzadeh et al. (2009, pp.14 and 17), indicated that Muslims in Australia are educated which means they possess a bachelor's degree or higher. Table 5 illustrates the exact number of Muslim workers in Australia and NSW by gender in 2006 and 2011.

Table (5): The number of Muslim workers in Australia and NSW by gender

	2001			2006			2011		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Muslim Employees in Australia	78,768	52,803	25,965	104,239	69,928	34,311	150,165	99,552	50,613
Muslim Employees in NSW	39,826	27,012	12,814	51,053	34,695	16,358	67,616	45,256	22,360

Source: 2001, 2006 and 2011 census, ABS (data available on request)

Indeed, the number of Muslims employed in the Australian labour market has steadily increased from 78,768 in 2001, up to 104,239 in 2006, and to 150,165 in 2011 (ABS Census, 2001, 2006, 2011 – ABS Census, data available on request).

According to reports from the Department of Immigration and Citizenship and other institutions, despite the majority of Muslim youths in Australia being born in the country and fluent in the English language, many have reported being subject to discrimination or a lack of accommodation (Khan and Ahmad, 2013; Saeed, 2003), and have had to overcome barriers to employment as a result of their Muslim identity (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007, p. 10). The Muslim youths felt the discrimination directed towards them from the general community was primarily a response to their religious beliefs and because they were seen as different from the 'norm' (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007, p. 10). Of particular concern is that, in the workplace setting, many Muslim youths felt that their employers did not offer them adequate protection against discrimination from co-workers or clients (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007, p. 10).

With regard to barriers to employment in particular, many Muslim youths reported that some employers were hesitant to employ them for fear that their Islamic religious requirements would potentially diminish their level of productivity, unsettle or upset co-workers or clients, and that their religious attire may be a concern in relation to Occupational Health and Safety regulations (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007, p. 10). In addition, a lack of appropriate facilities for religious observances in the workplace presented a barrier to employment, along with a sense of discomfort at being the recipient of negative attention for exercising their choice to wear the *hijab* or other religious attire. Also Khan and Ahmad (2013) pointed out that aged care institutions have an obvious lack of facilities for older Muslims to practise their faith.

Muslim women also identified issues of overt racism in the workplace as an employment issue. Muslim women are represented in all sectors of the Australian workforce (McCue, 2008, p. 54). According to the ABS, the percentage of Muslim women participating in the workforce in Australia in 2006 was 31 per cent (up from 26.3 per cent in 1991). However, 85 per cent of these Muslim women were employees rather than employers, and the overwhelming majority of Muslim women – over 85 per cent – fell within the lower socio-economic bracket in relation to their income (McCue, 2008, p. 53). Muslim women in

Australia identify a range of motivations for seeking employment, including a desire to participate in the non-Muslim community as well as to affirm their Muslim identity and to improve their self-esteem (McCue, 2008, p. 54). However, an issue raised by many Muslim women is that the discrimination in the workplace is unsettling, and in many cases, it occurs as a result of some actions such as their choice to wear the *hijab* (Bouma et al., 2011, p. 69).

Thus, Muslim employees often perceive themselves as subject to exclusion, discrimination and harassment as a result of being a member of a particular group (Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi, 2010, p. 769; Ysseldyk et al., 2010, p. 63). The consequences of discrimination at work against Muslims on religious or cultural grounds are examined in some available research conducted in Austria and Germany by Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi (2010, p. 768). The authors concluded that such discrimination is problematic from a human capital perspective in that it ultimately generates disaffection and feelings of alienation in the employees, reduces career aspirations and expectations, and decreases motivation.

In terms of Australian workplaces, Kabir and Evans (2002) conducted research on Muslims and the Australian labour market from 1980 to 2001. The researchers concluded that Muslim employees are significantly disadvantaged in Australia on the basis of their ethnicity and religion. Syed and Pio (2010, p. 13) made a similar claim that although direct discrimination has been reduced recently, indirect discrimination, such as ignoring Muslim cultural needs, and acts of exclusion are still evident.

4.4 Islam in the workplace

When drawing comparisons among the numerous Muslim countries of the world there are clear differences in the way they manage workplace settings (Tayeb, 1997). For example, Saudi Arabia applies *Sharia* law in many spheres of business practice while Turkey uses secular laws for the administration of its economy and affairs. The challenge for HR managers dealing with Muslim employees in Western or more secular cultural contexts is to acknowledge and support this interconnection while still attending to the needs of the organisation.

Bennington and Habir (2003) presented a country specific analysis of organisations. In Indonesia, they suggest, HR managers needed to recognise the importance of making sure the workplace meets the religious needs of the workers. For example, the authors pointed out that

'although a prayer room is not compulsory, many employers provide a suitable venue and employees are provided with time – not more than 10 minutes five times a day – for the purpose of prayer' (Bennington and Habir, 2003). Also, in Malaysia where Muslim employees are in the majority, the Malaysian government implemented Islamic processes in the whole country (Hashim, 2009). Finally, in many organisations in the Middle East, decision-making and managing 'employee relationships are characterized by a process of consultation, rooted in their Islamic traditions and emphasized in the Koran' (Tayeb, 1997). This tells us that having the right to practise one's religion in the workplace is common in Muslim countries and that Muslim workers expect these facilities in non-Muslim dominated countries.

One of the outcomes of Australia's migration schemes throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is that the country experienced greater religious diversity and the emergence of new traditions (Bouma et al., 2011). In response to the increasing prevalence of religious diversity in Australia, in July 2006 the 'Freedom of Religion and Belief in the 21st Century' research report was written as part of the Australian government's National Action Plan to Build Social Cohesion, Harmony and Security (NAP). The aim of the research report was to broaden the scope of understanding of religion in general and religious groups in Australia, including the 'connections and understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims' (Bouma et al., 2011, p. 2). It is worth noting, however, that Muslims choose to practise their religion in the workplace in their own way. As indicated by Interviewee 11, to some extent their choices may depend on their Muslim denomination. Globally, the 'overwhelming majority of Muslims are Sunnis, while an estimated 10-13 per cent are Shias' (Pew Forum, 2009, p. 8). This percentage difference is similar for Australia (Pew Forum, 2009). Sunnis can be further grouped into four main schools of thought: Hanafi, Shafi, Maliki, and Hanbali (Pew Forum, 2009, p. 9) with only minor differences evident in the religious practices of each group.

Notwithstanding individual differences, the expression of Islamic religious rituals and behaviours in the workplace are important to some practising Muslims. Ball and Haque (2003) pointed to the fact that a practising Muslim in the workplace has a dual role – fulfilling employee responsibilities and fulfilling religious responsibilities. Participation in prayer provides a good example of the importance to Muslims of performing their religious duties. Muslim men are encouraged to partake in *Salat Al-Jummah* (Friday prayer), which takes about one hour and normally starts at 1.15 pm (Ball and Haque, 2003). In addition, both

Muslim men and Muslim women are encouraged to carry out daily prayer five times a day for between 5 to 15 minutes each time (Council on American–Islamic Relations (CAIR), 2009).

Also of particular note is the period of *Ramadan*. During the ninth month of the Muslim year, Muslims are required to consume no food or drink during the day. More than this, however, *Ramadan* represents a time of spiritual growth for Muslims in that they are supported to pray more and engage in charitable acts and reconciliation so that they may become closer to God (Uniya Jesuit Social Justice Centre [UJSJC], 2003). This can mean that Muslims participate in additional prayers during the night, which can lead to increased tiredness during the day (Kwintessential, 2007). In addition to formal religious practices, certain social conventions are also important for Muslims. For instance, in general Islam requires that Muslims refrain from shaking the hand of the opposite sex. This can appear to be an affront to some people in the workplace who are used to this custom although some Muslims in Australia may adjust or negotiate such issues to reduce conflict (Saeed, 2003). In addition, both men and women are encouraged to refrain from meeting in pubs, bars or restaurants where alcohol is served, and to refrain from handling pork products.

4.5 9/11 and Islamophobia

One of the more salient factors affecting Muslim employees in the workplace is the events of September 11, 2001 and the resulting global socio-political ramifications. The events of '9/11' and other terrorist attacks around the world have unquestionably resulted in a clear and explicit shift in the nature of engagement with Muslim people and communities (Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi, 2010; Spalek and Imtoual, 2007; Syed and Pio, 2010). The US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), for instance, reported in 2002 that religious discrimination against Muslims in the workplace had increased by 153 per cent (cited in Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi, 2010, p. 772). Similarly, an Australian study by Poynting and Noble (2004, cited in Dunn et al., 2009, p. 2) found that 75 per cent of the Muslim and Arab respondents surveyed reported higher rates of racist abuse or violence since 9/11 and the Bali terror attacks in 2002.

Moreover, the September 11, 2001 attacks were significant in defining the relationship between Islam and HRM, mainly in terms of employing Muslim workers and the role of religion in the workplace. For instance, following the 9/11 attacks it was easy for some people to stereotype religious differences and make judgements based on this stereotype,

arguing that the workplace must be free from religious expression (Estreicher and Gray, 2006). Furthermore, a study conducted by Kondrasuk (2004) on the broader HRM implications in modern globalised businesses and industrial marketplaces linked the new perspective towards religious beliefs and HRM to issues of crisis management and employment. Other studies by Ali and Al-Owaihan (2008), Leat and El-kot (2007), Metcalfe (2007), Rizk (2008) and Tayeb (1997) touched on the topic of Islam and HRM and illustrated that the expression of Islamic practices is still important to Muslim workers. These studies, however, failed to investigate which of these practices cause conflict between Muslim and non-Muslim workers in the workplace.

Muslim minorities are increasingly confronted by adverse stereotypes and misconceptions based on their religious/ethnic identity (Syed and Pio, 2010). It is important to consider that the media is often cited as one of the main contributors to the perpetuation of stereotypical and narrow representations of Muslim identity. Bloul (2003) went further and claimed that the national media in Australia adopted Islamophobia as one of their core topics. Indeed, one of the factors exacerbating the issue of discrimination in the workplace for Muslims, in particular, is the level of mistrust that surrounds this faith as a result of the negative portrayal of Islam in the media (Bouma et al., 2011). According to Bouma et al. (2011), the role played by the media contributes to the division between Muslims and non-Muslims by drawing links between certain global events and fanatical Islam which can contribute to public hatred.

Hence, the Muslim identity externally imposed by media groups manifests as pressure exerted by others on Muslims to be less disciplined with their religious practices (i.e. they observe their religious practices less frequently in order to be more socially integrated), or to explain and justify their beliefs (Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi, 2010). Recognising the role that Muslims must play in countering the media-driven stereotypes and misconceptions that shape people's understanding of Muslims as a result of Islamic fundamentalism and extremism (Spalek and Imtoual, 2007) is important. Of greater importance, however, is how the sources on Muslims and employment uses these events to substantiate the view that Muslim employees are different to other religious groups in the workplace.

Failure by employers to challenge the identity externally imposed on Muslim employees and the subsequent stereotyping and stigmatising of individuals in the workplace can have very real adverse effects on an organisation. A study by Ghumman and Jackson (2009) revealed

that individuals with a strong sense of group identification who are highly motivated to maintain positive valence to their group identity experience greater distress and poor work performance when their group identity is stigmatised. According to researchers, the primary reason for the poor work performance is that there is a type of self-fulfilling prophesy at play in that employees develop expectations about the consequences of the stigmatisation in relation to their interactions with others which then leads them to behave in such a way that confirms their expectations (Ghumman and Jackson, 2009).

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter contextualised relevant demographic, employment and religious aspects which have contributed to the emergence of contemporary workplace conditions for Muslim employees in Australia. Particular focus was given to historical trends in Muslim immigration, Muslim employment data, and contemporary challenges facing religion and Islam in the Australian workplace context based on the literature, reports and previous studies.

Unquestionably, Muslims have a long history of immigration to Australia and of participating in its social and economic development. Indeed, highlighted in this chapter were the two main factors shaping the immigration of Muslims to Australia; namely, Australian Government policies on immigration and trade that reflected the social and economic imperatives of the times, including the impacts of political persecution and economic hardship that led Muslims to leave their homelands. It was established that these factors have combined over the years to culminate in the Muslim population of Australia representing as many as 60 different counties from around the world. Thus, made explicit throughout this chapter is the diverse nature of the Muslim population in Australia both in terms of culture and ethnicity. Also made explicit is the notion that there remains in Australia a high degree of social ignorance towards Muslim culture and its diversity.

With increased migration comes increased workforce participation and of particular interest to this thesis are, of course, the experiences of Muslim employees in Australian workplaces. The figures presented in this chapter showed the number of Muslims employed in the Australian labour market consistently increased throughout the latter decades of the twentieth century, and almost doubled from 2001 to 2011. As a result, it alluded to the need for policy frameworks at both the government and organisational level to adequately respond to issues

of religious diversity in Australian workplaces and to strengthen the integrity of employee relations.

Indeed, the discussion of Muslim workplace participation and the broader issue of employee relations in contemporary Australia were contextualised around the state of relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. Using research evidence and social commentary sources, this discussion brought to the fore details and examples of such issues as prejudice and discrimination, global terrorism and its impact on the Australian psyche, media bias and its role in Islamophobia, and the expression of religious identity in the workplace

With regard to religious identity and its expression in particular, it was well established throughout this chapter that Muslims experience disadvantage in Australian workplaces on the basis of their ethnicity and religion. Such disadvantage has clear implications for workplace productivity and employee relations. So it is an important aspect of workplace relations for the Australian Government and workplace managers to address in order to meet equity and social justice issues as well as to maximise productivity in the workplace.

CHAPTER FIVE

Regulatory Context

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the links between the phenomenon of immigration to Australia and the emergence of employment related laws to accommodate the subsequent changes to Australia's work force. It begins with an overview of the emergent government policies and legal frameworks which have contributed to the regulation of Australian workplace relations with regard to such issues as equality of opportunity and discrimination. This overview of the macro level regulatory framework in Australia establishes the international context from which the frameworks have emerged, and introduces some of the complexities inherent in positioning religion within the formulation of IR laws. Moreover, comparisons are drawn between the type of recognition given to religion in Australia's regulatory frameworks and those of the United States (US), United Kingdom (UK) and New Zealand (NZ). Following this comparative profile is a review of specific legal cases involving issues of discrimination in the workplace (see Appendix 4 for the list of cases). The aim of this chapter is not to analyse the relative laws from a legal point of view. Rather the discussion developed in this chapter is important for a better understanding of the issues currently prevailing in diversity management in the Australian setting and those issues confronting the organisational context.

5.2 Workplace relations laws: Australia and the global context

International labour migration has impacted the emergence of workplace relations legislation and organisational policy formulation in Australia. Legislation for specific protective mechanisms for workers employed outside their country of origin has its antecedents in both the Treaty of Versailles and the Preamble to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Constitution. Indeed, protecting human rights in relation to equal opportunities without fear of discrimination on the basis of national or cultural origins was made explicit in the First Session of the International Labour Conference in 1919 through the dual aims of ensuring migrant workers equality of treatment with nationals, and policy coordination between States, and between governments, employers and workers' organisations (Taksa and Groutsis, 2010). Within the broader international context of workplace relations, the two United Nations conventions particularly relevant to the protection of migrant workers are the International

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (ICMW). Australia became a signatory to the ICERD after it was opened to signatories in 1966, and subsequently ratified in Australia in 1975 when it became part of the *Commonwealth Racial Discrimination Act, 1975* (Taksa and Groutsis, 2010).

Laws are a top-down approach to the management of workplace relations and therefore may not directly engage with diversity issues or the tensions that may emerge between different cultural groups (Taksa and Groutsis, 2013, p. 189). This is especially applicable to the issue of religion, because there is scope for a wide degree of diversity. For instance, civil rights laws are inherently designed to eradicate discrimination, but despite this explicit intention they do not provide a panacea for minorities and other disenfranchised groups. Indeed, a number of obstacles to the achievement of civil rights for these groups remain (Edelman, Fuller and Mara-Drita, 2001, p. 1632), including barriers to mobilisation (Bumiller 1987, 1988; cited in Edelman et al., 2001), a lack of application from organisational complaint handlers (Edelman et al. 1993), and conservative interpretations of the laws (Crenshaw 1988; Freeman 1990; Schultz 1990). All of which serve as important obstacles to the realisation of civil rights.

In the European context, legislators have recognised that religious diversity in the workplace may lead to conflict. Court rulings however are made based on previous cases and different courts within separate European countries may arrive at different judgements. In France for example an employer is not required to accommodate religious requests by employees, and employers are not required to justify their decision. As such, freedom to contract is given precedence over the right to religious freedom (Ringelheim, 2012, p. 350). What is evident in most European countries however is that in the majority of cases the religion of employees is implicitly taken into account in the way workplaces are regulated (Ringelheim, 2012, p. 351). Nonetheless, it is still the view of some legislators that there needs to be a better regulatory balance achieved in relation to the management of diversity in the workplace (Ringelheim, 2012, p. 352).

Mandla v Dowell Lee 1983 was a landmark case in where the UK House of Lords handed down a decision that redefined how the term ethnic origin was to be understood. Specifically,

the decision identified two of the seven criteria used to determine ethic origin to be 'essential'; whereas the remaining five criteria were deemed to be 'relevant'. When applying the seven criteria the UK courts determined Muslims should not be categorised as an ethnic group, unlike Jews and Sikhs. The Courts in Australian have followed suit by embracing the Mandla criteria as the way to identify ethnic origin. Thus the question emerges: Are Muslims an ethnic group or a religious group? There have been no cases through the Australian Courts to date to set a legal precedent on this question (Khan, and Ahmad, 2013).

5.3 Anti-discrimination laws in Australia

According to Jupp (1996), during the early 1970s the Whitlam government's multicultural policy was purposeful in its intent to recognise people from cultures other than white British Australian as having an equal and compatible position within Australia's mainstream culture. As a result, within the context of Australian workplace relations and its significance to the migrant worker, issues relating to equality and discrimination in the workplace on the basis of race, sex or religion have traditionally fallen within the domain of Commonwealth anti-discrimination laws. Moreover, there continued to be progress in relation to migrant workers' rights and protection throughout the 1980s in Australia as the country sought to ensure that it remained internationally competitive in response to the changing global markets (Taksa and Groutsis, 2010). As such, the past 30 years have seen various forms of legislation introduced to address the needs and rights of disadvantaged groups in the Australian workplaces, as well as to protect the diversity of the Australian workforce (French, 2010). Yet, notwithstanding the creation of regulatory parameters, managing diversity at the macro or the meso level remains complicated. This is because some workers' rights are protected in law, while others are addressed in moral codes, organisational culture and organisational practices and this can make it difficult to determine the exact nature of the actions required to address the issue (French et al., 2010).

Commonwealth legislation such as the *Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act 1986* and the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (RDA) provide (albeit limited) protection, to citizens against religion- or creed-based discrimination. According to the RDA, discrimination and vilification may pertain to a person's race, national or ethnic origin, and immigrant status. Importantly, there is no specific referral to discrimination or vilification pertaining to religion. Thus, while religious discrimination is not specifically identified as unlawful by the RDA, discrimination based on 'ethnic origin' is prohibited in the Act. The

problem in trying to safeguard Muslims against discrimination or vilification under this Act is related to the interpretation of the term 'ethnic origin' (Austlii, 2006; Human Rights and EEOC, 2008).

The States and Territories in Australia have all legislated against race discrimination. Moreover, they define race according to ethnicity or ethnic origin and characterise discrimination as the less favourable treatment of a person on the basis of race or religious conviction compared to a person of a different race or religion. Australian States and Territories also offer legislative protection to citizens from discrimination in the workplace; education institutions; when accessing accommodation, public facilities, trade unions and/or membership to a club (apart from some private clubs), and goods and services. There is not however a common definition of vilification across all States and Territories in Australia. NSW, South Australia, the ACT, Queensland, Tasmania and Victoria share a common definition; that is, inciting racial hatred. Serious vilification is defined as incitement accompanied by threats of physical violence and is a criminal offence in all States and Territories except Tasmania (Khan and Ahmad, 2013).

In contemporary Australian workplace relations, although the effects of macro-level laws to address cultural needs, particularly religion in the workplace, can be discussed, the influence of macro-national (law) and social policy – including human rights laws, anti-discrimination laws and government migration policy – on organisational operations and policy formulation is both real and significant to prevent discrimination (Syed and Pio, 2010). This is evident in the *Fair Work Act 2009 (Cth)*, when established as a new regime to manage issues of protection against workplace discrimination. However, to place the new regime and its relevance to discrimination in the workplace in its historical context, it is worthwhile going back to 1993 when the Australian Labour Party raised the profile of employee protection through the introduction of section 170DF(1)(f) of the *Industrial Relations Reform Act 1993 (Cth)*. This change effectively prohibited the termination of an employee on the basis of a prescribed attribute (Rice and Roles, 2010). The introduction of section 170DF(1)(f) reflected the terms already established in Article 5 of the Termination of Employment Convention 1982 (No 158; C.158) and effectively ratified Australia's obligation under the International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions. Moreover, they were enacted pursuant to the external affairs power in section 51(xxix) of the Constitution, and remained in operation until the introduction of the *Fair Work Act* 2009 (Rice and Roles, 2010).

Another important stage in employment related law in Australia was the Coalition government's *Workplace Relations Act 1996* (Cth). Among other things, the *Act* offered rights protection to employees by making anti-union victimisation (Part 16) and attribute-based dismissal from employment illegal (section 659[2[[f]) (Rice and Roles, 2010). As a generalisation, laws governing the workplace in Australia were mainly relevant to employment terms and conditions, and the rights and responsibilities of employers with regard to termination of employment (Rice and Roles, 2010).

Although the establishment of national anti-discrimination legislation was designed to protect marginalised and disadvantaged groups in a range of social contexts, the employment context remains the area in which most complaints of discrimination occur (Thornton and Luker, 2010). While the majority of these complaints are related to sexual discrimination, complaints of race discrimination and religion-based discrimination are also prevalent and continue to present challenges to the effective management of racially and culturally diverse workplace populations and workplace relations policies (Thornton and Luker, 2010). Proving race discrimination in the workplace is especially difficult because of the onus placed upon the complainant to prove the discrimination (Allen, 2009).

While human rights issues are global, the approach undertaken to protect employees and to manage diversity is different between countries depending on their population demographics and government policies (Strachan et al., 2010). With regard to anti-discrimination law in Australia in particular, there is a lack of regulation relating to religions in general, and very little relating to religion in the work place. This is in contrast to anti-discrimination laws in the US, UK and NZ. In the US, Title VII of the *Civil Rights Act of l964* ('Title VII') protects individuals by making it illegal for an employer to discriminate against a person on the basis of their religion when hiring, firing, or when establishing the terms and conditions of employment. Under Title VII employers are also required to support the religious practices of a current or future employee unless to do so would result in unreasonable hardship upon the employer (US EEOC, 2012).

In 2000, both the UK and the European Union (EU) adopted the Framework Equality Directive which outlawed discrimination based on religion or belief, sexual orientation, disability and age in employment and vocational training. When entering the Directive into UK law the government also introduced the Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation)

Regulations (to commence 1 December, 2003) and the Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations (to commence 2 December, 2003). Similar legislation that outlawed discrimination on the basis of age was implemented in 2006 and legislation prohibiting discrimination on the basis of disability was extended in October 2004 (Department for Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform, and EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2010). In NZ, the policy related to religious diversity includes tolerance for religious diversity in the workplace (Human Rights Commission, NZ, December, 2011). Thus, given the inclusion of religion in the anti-discrimination policy directives of other developed Western countries, it is fair to raise the question: Why aren't religions clearly identified in the anti-discrimination regulations in Australia, or even in the secondary literary sources such as Strachan et al. (2010) that offer analysis of anti-discrimination regulations in Australia? It is probable that contributing factors included:

1. The historical precedence of religious conflict between the Catholics and Protestants in Australia, especially in the 1950s and 1960s (Knightley, 2001; Rickard, 1988).

2. In addition the period between 1966 and 1996 saw fundamental changes in the patterns of religious affiliation in the movement away from Christian affiliation to no religious affiliation *(*Armstrong, 2001).

3. Consideration of Religion to be a private matter (Thornton, 1990). As such, it may not be seen as socially fair to regulate individual differences (Poiner and Wills, 1991).

Although there are some similarities between the anti-discrimination Acts at the national and the state level in Australia, there are nonetheless many differences between them in terms of the way in which they address the issue of religion. For instance, the term 'religion' is rarely mentioned in the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*. Moreover, there is not a particular law preventing discrimination based on religion within the scope of federal law. The way in which federal law deals with religion is thus not readily apparent (Syed and Kramar, 2008). Furthermore, in terms of preventing religious discrimination, federal law does not even necessarily act upon recommendations from the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC). For example, in 1998 'HREOC recommended to the federal government that religious discrimination be made unlawful in all areas of public life, but this recommendation was never acted upon' (Morris, 2003). The implications of this lack of explicit reference to religion in anti-discrimination legislation at a federal level for Muslims in particular were made clear by William Jonas, the acting Race Discrimination Commissioner in Australia. In 1998, HREOC reported Jonas' claim that the federal Act

included Jews and Sikhs because they could both be identified as an ethnic group and a religious group. In Australia however the courts are still to determine whether Muslims share an 'ethnic origin in addition to a religion (Thornton and Luker, 2009).

State law in NSW relies extensively on the *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977* (NSW) and its objective to render unlawful racial, sex and other types of discrimination in certain circumstances and to promote equality of opportunity between all persons' (austlii.edu). According to Gaze (2002), despite the intention of the *Act* to bring about these outcomes, there are still many concerns about the capacity of the laws to provide the platform to appropriately protect disadvantaged groups from discrimination. In both workplace and other social contexts, the *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977* (NSW) was intended to be a mechanism for change by requiring adequate and deliberate response to social change to reduce or eliminate discriminatory practices from the workplaces (Creighton, 1977). However, contributing to the difficulties of protecting these groups is the changing social context in which workplace relations are embedded. In protecting the rights of all individuals there is the need for the instruments of legislation to balance the exercise of rights by one group against the preservation of rights for others groups (Foster, 2011).

As such, while removal of formal discrimination and the recognition of discriminatory harm on the basis of harassment have been important changes secured through legislation, actually reducing the incidence of marginalisation and responding to disadvantage remains a significant challenge. One of the reasons for the continuation of these difficulties is that establishing a legal case and proving discrimination in the workplace rests solely with the complainant (Gaze, 2002). Due to the probability that religious employees, including Muslims, do not raise discrimination issues as a point of conflict because of the sensitivity surrounding such issues, in addition to their preference for compromise (Croucher, 2009), the *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977* (NSW) must be considered in relation to the extent to which it can effectively prevent incidences of harassment and discrimination in the workplace, as well as respond to circumstances of inequality and disadvantage. Yet, it is in regard to this second aspect that most concerns about the *Act* are raised (Gaze, 2002).

Although the NSW *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977* does touch upon some religious issues – such as Parts 6/56 (General Exceptions) and the NSW Anti-Discrimination Board under race discrimination – discrimination against religions in general and in the workplace in particular

have not been fully developed. Therefore, although studies have concluded 'there is a strong link between the religious visible markers such as wearing the *hijab* or a turban and experiences of prejudice and assault' (Dreher, 2006), anti-discrimination law remains broad and does not interpret the full meaning of religion and its relative issues (Thornton, 1990). All States and Territories in Australia except for the Northern Territory have laws against the publication of hate speech, but again the way that hate speech based on religion is dealt with within these jurisdictions varies.

With regard to Muslim employees, Bloul (2003) and Morris (2003) assert that some previous cases relating to anti-discrimination law in NSW shows that 'it is difficult for a Muslim to obtain reparation for discrimination on the grounds of religion ... Islam covers different cultures, ethnicities, races, nationalities and so could not be defined as an ethno-religion' (Bloul, 2003, pp. 15-16). For example, in October 2002 the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported under title 'Muslim IT worker's case still unresolved' that an information technology (IT) worker was threatened with dismissal for praying at work. The Courts dismissed the case stating that it was not covered by the *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977* (NSW) because Islam covers different cultures, ethnicities, races, and nationalities. Table (6) shows some relevant federal and state Acts that deal with religious culture in Australia and provides a brief explanation of each Act. The items chosen in table 6 were drawn from http://www.austlii.edu.au/ and from Evan, 2009.

Table (6): List and brief explanation of the most relevant federal and state Acts that deal with religions and the workplace

	Act	Comments
Federal	*Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act 1986*	Discrimination on the basis of religion is not made unlawful but discrimination is unlawful on the basis of other factors such as race and sex.
	Workplace Relations Act 1996	Termination of employment based on religion is prohibited.
	Fair Work Act	Similar to the *Workplace Relations Act 1996*, but includes a new provision that goes beyond the illegality of employment termination based on religion to include the notion of 'adverse action' against a possible employer or employee. Adverse action includes employee dismissal or the refusal to employ a prospective employee based on race, colour, or gender, etc. (Evan,

		2009).
	Racial discrimination Act 1975	Has a broader protection that applies to all human rights, but fails to address religion-based discrimination or vilification specifically. In can be the case that legislation against racial or ethnic discrimination gives members of some religious groups an element of protection. (Evan, 2009).
State	*Anti-Discrimination Act 1977 (NSW) Community Relations Commission and Principles of Multiculturalism Act 2000* *New Law Against Religious Discrimination and Vilification (2002) (SA)*	Discrimination on the basis of religion is not deemed unlawful. The *Act* concerns CRCPM, although it refers to religion and religious freedom clearly and separate from race, it does not either define religions nor mention the accommodation like other state Acts (i.e., *Discrimination Act 1991* (ACT) *Anti-Discrimination Act* (NT) *Anti-Discrimination Act 1991* (Qld) *Anti-Discrimination Act 1998* (Tas), *Equal Opportunity Act 1995* (Vic) and *Equal Opportunity Act 1984* (WA). Anti-Discrimination Board of NSW
	Discrimination Act 1991 (ACT) *Anti-Discrimination Act* (NT) *Anti-Discrimination Act 1991* (Qld) *Anti-Discrimination Act 1998* (Tas) *Equal Opportunity Act 1995* (Vic) *Equal Opportunity Act 1984* (WA) *Anti-Discrimination Amendment Bill 2001* (Qld)	While the exact details of the legislation varies between the Acts, religion-based discrimination is prohibited in relation to: employment, goods and services, accommodation, education, club memberships and sporting participation, and government services (Evan, 2009). Within the *Anti-Discrimination Act 1991* (Qld) in particular there is legislation for religious vilification.

5.4 Anti-discrimination legal cases in Australia

An example of workplace discrimination and the need for an employee to seek remedy through anti-discrimination law can be seen in the dismissal of two storemen who worked at

the Coles Group Supply Chain Pty. Ltd.'s Eastern Creek distribution centre in Sydney in 2007. Case details in *Brown v Coles Group Supply Chain Pty Ltd, Fatialofa v Coles Group Supply Chain Pty Ltd* PR982461 (24/07/08*)* reveal Mr Brown had his employment terminated for making racial slurs against a Catholic man (who he believed to be Muslim) in the workplace, calling him such names as 'camel fucker', 'wog' and 'hairy arms'. The second defendant, Mr Fatialofa, had his employment terminated for laughing at the racial slurs (austlii.edu).

Under the provisions of the *Workplace Relations Act 2006*, both of the men claimed unfair dismissal. Termination of the employment of both men was made by the Coles Group on the grounds that both men had contravened the company's Code of Conduct policy in relation to the Equal Employment Policy and discrimination. The code of conduct expressly states that it is unacceptable to the company for employees to discriminate against or harass another employee on the basis of personal characteristics such as race, ethnic origin, social origin, national extraction, religious beliefs or activity. Furthermore, the harassment of another is defined as 'unwelcome or uninvited behaviour or conduct that is reasonably likely to offend, humiliate or intimidate another person'. What is explicitly stated in the workplace Code of Conduct policy is that an 'intention to offend does not have to be proven and racially oriented verbal abuse is included as an example of harassment'. Both Mr Brown and Mr Fatialofa attended the company induction and orientation programs and were made aware of the Company Code of Conduct policy and agreed that they had read and understood it. Both men lost their claims for unfair dismissal (austlii.edu).

Similarly, in the case of *Toll Pty Limited trading as Toll Express v Abdulrahman [2007] NSWADTAP 70* (22 November 2007), the appellant lost an appeal against a tribunal ruling that it pay $25,000 in damages for racial discrimination slurs made by employees of the company against a former Muslim employee, calling him 'bomb-chucker' and 'Osama Bin Laden'. Toll was appealing against the original decision of the Tribunal that the verbal insults were to be regarded as ethno-religious slurs causing hurt and humiliation. The Appeals Tribunal however upheld the original decision on the grounds that section 8(2)(c) of the *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977* determines that an employer is vicariously liable for the acts of its employees in certain circumstances including actions by an employee or employees that are to the detriment of another employee or employees. Section 53 of the *Act* states that detriment

is to include being under a substantial disadvantage as a result of being subjected to racist comments (austlii.edu).

However, the many provisions protecting the rights of employees against a raft of coercive and discriminatory actions in the *Workplace Relations Act 2006,* and those that preceded it, were placed within the workplace regulations in a largely unstructured and incoherent way (Bray and Underhill, 2009). By consolidating the various regulations pertaining to the prohibitions against employer conduct into Part 3-1 of the redrafted *Fair Work Act 2009*, the Australian Labor Government was able to provide a clear and discernible outline of what is now collectively referred to as 'adverse action' in Section 342 (Chapman, 2009). Importantly, positioning the prohibitions against anti-union victimisation and attribute-based termination under the concept of 'adverse action' had the effect of making employees' personal attributes grounds for a much wider range of conduct issues – having previously only been grounds for unlawful termination. What this meant was that an employee no longer had to seek remedy through anti-discrimination law when making a claim against an employer's discriminatory conduct on the basis of employee attributes (Rice and Roles, 2010). Rather, the employee could seek remedy though Section 351 of the *Fair Work Act 2009* under a claim of adverse action.

As stated in section 351 (1) of the *Fair Work Act* 2009, the reasons for which 'adverse action' as described in section 342 is unlawful are:

> *An employer must not take adverse action against a person who is an employee, or prospective employee, of the employer because of the person's race, colour, sex, sexual preference, age, physical or mental disability, marital status, family or carer's responsibilities, pregnancy, religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin.*

> *In short, the conduct which is adverse action in s 342 is any of dismissal, causing injury, prejudicially altering an employee's position, and discrimination.*
> (Rice and Roles, 2010)

Thus, the new regime introduced on 1 July 2009 for protection against workplace discrimination informed by Commonwealth anti-discrimination laws and the discrimination provisions in employment law within the *Fair Work Act 2009* represents a substantial shift in

Australian labour law (Chapman, 2009). Essentially, this shift is characterised by merging the employee protection concepts of anti-union victimisation and unlawful termination to provide protection from attribute-based discrimination in employment (Rice and Roles, 2010). As a result, the attribute-based *Fair Work Act 2009* protection simplifies legal application of the anti-discrimination laws, but at the same time, it also fails to explicitly define discrimination and provide coherent guidance in relation to the exceptions and exemptions (Chapman, 2009).

Finally, it seems that such cases relied on internal policies and thus do not reflect on the state of the legal protections provided by the law because in Australia, the term 'managing diversity' is commonly used to refer to a non-legislated approach for managing differences in the workplace, although it has been used more broadly to include some legislated processes (Strachan et al., 2010, p. 42). Moreover, because 'managing diversity' has not been included in the legal framework and legislation (Strachan et al., 2010, p. 42), it is illustrated separately below as 'diversity management' and how it has influenced the origins of policies and practices.

5.5 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, an overview of anti-discrimination legislation in Australia and a discussion of relevant cases have been provided. What has been established is that although anti-discrimination legislation has improved in Australia in terms of addressing issues relating to some disadvantaged group (particularly women) (French, 2010, p. 45), it is still the case that more needs to be done to adequately accommodate issues relating to religious diversity. In fact, this chapter has shown that it is the case in many countries including Australia that legislation can be limited in its capacity to protect employees from discrimination. What is evident is that macro level attempts to prevent discrimination have not guided people to resolve intercultural conflict and tension 'within and between different migrant groupings in the workplace' (Taksa, and Groutsis, 2010, p. 181). This gap has led to a growing reliance on non-legislated methods such as diversity management policies to address limitations of employment and discrimination laws to appropriately deal with differences in the workplace (Edelman, 1992, French, 2010, Thomas, 1996). Such initiatives are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

Diversity Management

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the current concepts and principles of diversity management. Managing diversity is not just complying with legislation, providing anti-discrimination and promoting EEO in the workplace. It is also about recognising the challenge of having a diverse workforce and the implications of diversity for the community (Burgess et al., 2010, p. 19). This chapter begins by focusing on diversity management within the global context, particularly the US, and the perceived need by organisations to respond to demographic changes in the workforce as well as to react to enacted legislations (Strachan et al., 2010). Following this, diversity management in the Australian context is discussed and the effectiveness of the system of workplace relations to deal with multiple identities (Strachan, et al, 2010). The importance that the Australian government has placed on diversity management as reflected in relevant legislature is discussed, along with how diversity management policies apply to those already employed in the Australian labour market (Burgess et al., 2010). Throughout this chapter, two motivations are explored: valuing and managing diversity to respect human rights issues and anti-discrimination legislation; and valuing and managing diversity at the organisational level to derive benefit (increased productivity) from having diversity in the workplace (Strachan et al., 2010). Also explored is the way in which diversity management programs may be based on altruistic ideals and/or utilitarian outcomes (French et al., 2010).

6.2 Brief history of diversity management: an international perspective

There are a number of definitions of diversity in the literature (e.g., Canas and Sondak, 2011; Harvey and Allard, 2008; Strachan et al., 2010; Thomas, 1992). For the purpose of this thesis, diversity is defined as 'all characteristics and experiences that define each of us as individuals' (Diversity Task Force, 2001, p. 7). This definition, although broad, includes a broader range of diversity elements such as religion.

Diversity management as a concept and an academic discipline is relatively new and has become popular in countries such as US, UK, Canada and Australia where high levels of immigration have resulted in populations comprised of people from different backgrounds. With specific reference to the US, the term 'diversity' entered into the management field in 1987 in the US Supreme Court Case; *Regents of University of California* v. *Bakke*, when Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell wrote:

> *[…] the attainment of a diverse student body was a compelling state interest because a diverse student body would promote the "vigorous exchange of ideas" and therefore, using race as a basis for university admission is a special concern of the First Amendment and important to the state* (Peterson, 1999, p. 19; cited in Strachan et al., 2010, p. 1).

Moreover, the Hudson Institute Report, 'Workforce 2000', stated that 85 per cent of new job seekers in the US in the late 20th century were made up of women, blacks, Hispanics and immigrants (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000). This is somewhat reflected in the fact that during the 1990s a number of diversity management programs in the US, UK and elsewhere were introduced with the primary objective to:

> *[…] increase the rates of participation of women and ethnic minorities, improving career prospects for these people, incorporating wider perspectives into the decision-making processes and helping organizations reach new, and formerly untapped, markets* (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000).

Stewart (2000) contributed to the discussion on the trend of diversity management in the US by suggesting that it occurred in 'three waves':

1. Originating in the social protest, civil rights and liberation movements during the 1960s and 1970s which took place in the USA as attention was drawn to the social inequities endured by some social groups, particularly African Americans (further details to be provided below).
2. The emergence of anti-discrimination and equal opportunity legislation, which forced employers to ensure equity and diversity so as to avoid possible litigation and social embarrassment.

3. Changes to the social and economic demographics during the 1980s and 1990s, which brought about greater recognition of the business practices to accommodate workforce diversity (Burgess et al., 2010; Stewart 2000; cited in O'Leary, 2010).

6.3 Diversity management: Australian context

Australia is recognised internationally as a highly multicultural nation and this is borne out in statistics. For instance, the ABS reported in 2011 that approximately 26 per cent (5.3 million people) of the population in Australia was born overseas and approximately 20 per cent (4.1 million people) had at least one overseas-born parent (Ozdowski, 2012). Of course, these statistics translate into multicultural Australian workplaces and the ways in which employees view their cultural identity. Moreover, as Bertone (2002, p. 1) points out, one of the key challenges for Australian business and industry is to successfully develop and implement policies that encourage 'productive diversity practices' to achieve 'economic efficiency and equal opportunity at work'.

'Fundamentally, multiculturalism is about the rights of the individual— the right to equality of treatment; to be able to express one's identity; to be accepted as an Australian without having to assimilate to some stereotyped model of behaviour' (Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989). In turn, Australia's multiculturalism has become woven into the very fabric of the nation's identity. As stated by the Commonwealth Government, the following three dimensions form the core of the nation's multicultural policy:

1. 'Cultural identity: the right of all Australians, within carefully defined limits, to express and share their individual cultural heritage, including their language and religion

2. Social justice: the right of all Australians to equality of treatment and opportunity, and the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, gender, or place of birth

3. Economic efficiency: the need to maintain, develop, and utilise effectively the skills and talents of all Australians, regardless of background'

Despite the importance placed here on ensuring the right balance is achieved between meeting economic imperatives and respecting individual difference while upholding the principles of social justice, Australian governments of the past have provided little real guidance to workplaces on how to achieve this balance (Bertone, 2002).

According to Syed and Pio (2010, pp. 119 and 130), Australian work values in general are inclined to Western norms, and this may marginalise some individuals or groups who are affiliated to a particular religion. Moreover, the primary focus in diversity management is on the design and implementation of organisational policies that give salience to skills development and economic outcomes. As such, there is less focus on the 'broader socio-cultural and structural challenges migrant workers might face in Australian society and the labour market' (Syed and Pio, 2010, p. 119). As Edelman et al. (2001, p. 1590) explained, the concept of diversity has been expanded through current rhetoric to include a range of characteristics not covered directly by legislation. Furthermore, although it may be argued that religious affiliation is an important diversity marker, the implications of this diversity category are generally not reflected in government policies and management. This may be due to the secular nature of Australian society. When one considers the cultural diversity among older CALD communities in relation to the receipt of social services however the absence of any reference to religion is striking (Khan and Ahmad, 2013).

According to ABS data, up to 400 different languages are spoken in Australian homes throughout the country. Moreover, 79 per cent of Australians account for affiliation to more than 16 religions. The Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (2010) argues: 'This diversity is a defining feature of Australian life and has and continues to contribute to defining what it means to be an Australian'. Furthermore, Megalogenis (2012) argued in an opinion piece for *The Australian* that the level of engagement in religious practices by Australians is relatively low compared to other developed countries such as the US. This is reflected in data from the ABS (2011) that between 2001 and 2011, there was a significant increase (from 15 per cent to 22 per cent) in the number of Australian's indicating an affiliation to 'No religion'.

A number of factors have, in fact, contributed to the shift towards a focus on diversity management in Australia. These include the need to ensure against a labour shortage during 'the long economic boom between 1991 and 2008' (Burgess et al., 2010, p. 271), and increasing pressure for domestic businesses to become more internationally competitive by embracing and taking advantage of a diverse workforce. In response to these pressures the federal government played a significant role in identifying the need for the improved management of (gender and cultural) diversity by Australian business leaders (O'Leary, 2010). This was one of the key challenges confronting Australian businesses and was thought

to adversely impact their performance, development and effectiveness (O'Leary, 2010).

While it is acknowledged in the literature that the types of diversity management issues which predominate in the workplace are generally unique to each country, it is evident that multiculturalism is the most salient dimension of diversity in Western countries such as Australia (Shen, Chanda, D'Netto and Monga, 2009). As a result, during the early 2000s the Australian governments introduced its productive diversity initiative as part of its broader multiculturalism policy.

Productive diversity is a phenomenon which began in the 1990s and is based upon the idea that a culturally and ethnically diverse workforce would benefit organisations economically through their increased capacity to successfully market to domestic and international consumers (Reynolds, Eggins and Haslam, 2010). Thus, government initiative contributed to the need for action in this area by drawing attention to the economic benefits to Australian businesses derived from embracing a multicultural and broad linguistic skills base within the Australian workforce. Indeed, Australia organisations are recognised for the explicit attempts to reap 'diversity dividends' from their diversity management programs (Watson, Spoonley and Fitzgerald, 2009). Specifically, organisations in Australia look to use multiculturalism in such innovative ways as to establish it as a foundation for productive diversity and competitive advantage (Watson et al., 2009).

Thus in the business sector, multiculturalism as a social phenomenon was framed within economic arguments – rather than a moral or ethical focus of inquiry (Reynolds et al., 2010, p. 46). As a result, the importance given to valuing employee diversity as a mechanism for competitive advantage has been, to some extent, at the expense of diversity management practices that demonstrate greater tolerance for individuality and the creation of a more inclusive organisational culture (Shen et al., 2009, p. 236). Indeed, as Bertone (2002) explained productive diversity must not only be conceptualised around CALD employees. As she explains, while recognising and utilising the 'unique abilities and talents' of CALD employees is important, the best diversity management policies espousing productive diversity principles are those that effectively recognise and utilise the talents of all employees in the workplace (Bertone, 2002, p. 2).

It is perhaps worth noting that Burgess et al. (2010, pp. 273- 274) claimed a general distinction can be drawn between the private and public business sectors in Australia in

relation to diversity management. According to the authors, the former gives priority to the lead set by legislation in their diversity management initiatives; and the latter places a higher priority on being a 'model employer' in the way that they address equity and diversity issues. To support these claims, the authors made reference to a review of the websites of private sector employers which stated a commitment to valuing diversity, but with little information on the programs which demonstrate this commitment. In contrast, articulation of the diversity management perspective by public sector organisations is more readily available (Burgess et al., 2010).

Evidence of the propensity of Australian organisations to view diversity action from a productivity and compliance perspective rather than from a social justice perspective is demonstrated in the way that HR action related to diversity management in Australian organisations is primarily undertaken in order to comply with anti-discrimination and EEO legislation (Charlesworth, Hall and Probert, 2012). For a vast number of organisations, 'business case' arguments related to industry pressures, legislative edicts, and government policies form the impetus for diversity action as expectations of social and community responsibility are afforded a secondary role (Charlesworth et al., 2012). Such motives for organisations to adopt diversity management as a business imperative is aptly summed up in the assertion by Sinclair (2006, p. 512) that diversity management 'converts diversity into an economic good'. Thus, it was the 'business case' rather than the 'social justice case' that was primarily used to secure CEO or board agreement for diversity action in the workplace (EEONA, 2010). As a result, many organisations designed policies to ensure that they are in strict accordance with the law (Burgess et al., 2010) whilst also maximising the effectiveness of a diverse workforce and maximising their profits (Strachan et al., 2010).

Certainly at the meso level in Australia there are sections within the business community comprised of well-established and dedicated diversity practitioners and HRM staff who understand the importance of diversity within the key portfolio of business responsibilities. These examples include IBM"s Manager Workforce Diversity, Commonwealth Bank's Diversity Manager and National Australia Bank's Head of Diversity and Culture (O'Leary, 2010). Yet, while these organisations may recognise that multiculturalism amounted to 'a multitude of beliefs, understandings, values, and ways of viewing the world', the management strategies employed to respond to such diversity are primarily designed to bring benefit through 'bottom-line returns' (Shen et al., 2009, p. 236). As such, a potential downside to the use of multiculturalism to achieve diversity dividends is that it can be

disempowering or marginalise minority groups, leading to higher staff turnover and diminished staff cohesiveness (Watson et al., 2009).

In light of this, Charlesworth et al. (2012) asserted that arguments which focus on social justice issues or 'the right thing to do' need to be given greater encouragement. The reason given is because research conducted by the Australian Centre for International Business (ACIB, 2000) suggests diversity in the workplace can improve the quality of managerial decision making, provide the impetus for more innovative ideas, and provide solutions to organisational problems. Moreover, the research concluded that in the contemporary context of rapid internationalisation and globalisation, culturally diverse organisations are more likely to produce managers with a greater sensibility of international business practice and expectations (ACIB, 2000). However, in order to support all managers to best respond to diversity in the workplace it is vital for all industries to develop strong diversity management policies which are supported by a wide range of labour market training programs (Bertone, 2002).

6.4 Conclusion

It is clearly the case that the 21st century has seen a number of Western societies become more culturally and religiously diverse (Bouma, 1999). Importantly, this chapter has sought to highlight the way in which valuing diversity and ensuring against discrimination in the workplace is both a matter of ensuring human rights and enhancing the potential to derive a profit benefit from having diversity in the workplace. What is evident however is that it is currently up to the organisation to decide how to manage employee diversity within the established (albeit very broad) legal framework. Moreover, it might also be the case that approaches to the management of diversity varies – even within the one organisation if it is big enough – because the way in which diversity in the workplace is to be managed is contingent upon the specifics of each business case (Strachan et al., 2010), and the analysis of the chosen case studies of this thesis have supported this claim as illustrated in the case study chapters. These issues and complexities in relation to programs in Australian workplaces to manage diversity are explored more in the following chapter, and also relevant concepts of diversity were highlighted in the literature review chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Case Study Sector Context

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of diversity management policies and practices at the meso level. In particular, the impact of Australia's regulatory framework on public sector diversity management is explored. In the discussion of the Australian context in particular, this chapter establishes that religious diversity in the workplace has increased because of the steady rate of immigration and the country's acceptance of people from different religious backgrounds (Bouma, 1999). In response to this phenomenon, this chapter explores the challenges confronting Australian organisations in relation to the management of religious diversity. Furthermore, the limitations in the organisational diversity management policies currently in place to accommodate religious diversity in the workplace are highlighted.

7.2 Multicultural governance in NSW

In response to growing multiculturalism throughout NSW during the 1980s, the state government established the Ethnic Affairs Bureau (EAB) with a mandate to focus on the management of ethnic affairs. The EAB soon became the Ethnic Affairs Commission and introduced the Ethnic Affairs Priorities Statement (EAPS) Program. The first inception of the EAPS in NSW occurred in December 1983 in the form of a state-wide multicultural policy. In essence, the EAPSs were to function as a system for performance accountability, which operates alongside multicultural governance and policy structures. As stated in the Multicultural NSW White Paper, 'Cultural Harmony: The Next Decade 2002-2012' (2004, p. 66), EAPS are to be regarded as: 'a measure of agency performance where the needs of culturally diverse clients are fully integrated into the core business, which in turn results in quality service delivery within the framework of the principles of multiculturalism and social justice obligations'.

7.3 Organisational culture and diversity management

Although a detailed diversity framework is not included in Australian legislation, it has nonetheless influenced organisational policies and practices (French and Simpson, 2010) in

terms of preventing discrimination. There is a general consciousness that the cultural environment of the organisation may determine its diversity management policies and practices (Strachan et al., 2010). Authors such as De Cieri et al. (2003) have used the phrase 'managing for diversity' to imply a process which includes policies that 'facilitate organisational and cultural change'. Yet, it is mostly still the case that diversity management policies implemented by organisations are rarely designed to promote substantive cultural change or the potential for cultural exchange (French et al., 2010).

In Australia, a survey of 1,500 organisations conducted by the Australian Human Resource Institute in 2001 found that more than 51 per cent of the organisations did not have a written policy on diversity management (AHRI, 2001), and even fewer had a policy to address religious matters. Moreover, organisations kept little if any information pertaining to the ethnic backgrounds and language skills of their employees (Nicholas, 2000). As stated by Tayeb (1997, p. 354), HRM policies are generally adopted and implemented with reference to some aspects of the national context within which the organisations operate. These aspects include the national culture, economic conditions, political ideology of prevailing government, legal system, and the trade unions.

From an international perspective, a 2001 survey conducted in the US found that less than 30 per cent of employers have a policy in operation to manage religious diversity (Dean and Safranski, 2008, p. 363). These figures can be contrasted against a survey conducted in the US in 2013 by the Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding which collected responses from over 2000 employees. Results from the survey revealed 40 per cent of employees indicated their organisations have policies to manage religious diversity. Moreover, 14 per cent of the respondents indicated their employer had programs in place to improve workplace understanding of religious diversity (Tanenbaum, 2013).

Few organisations in Australia have undertaken to design and implement an organisational policy that responds to the needs of its multicultural workforce beyond its commitment to legal compliance (Bertone and Leahy, 2001). However, management professionals are increasingly pointing out to HR managers the need to embrace diversity if the organisation is to thrive in the modern world. A corollary to this however is the need for a more contemporary style of management that recognises and respects cultural diversity and the

diverse range of abilities and attitudes within the modern workforce (Edelman et al., 2001, p. 1590).

What was recognised from an institutional perspective in some organisations is that the organisation tended to adopt legal structures. It created and implemented institutionalised rules, normative ideas and practices (Edelman et al., 2001, p. 1595) to have control over religious diversity and prevent discrimination. In doing so, however, they are limited in their capacity to achieve cultural inclusiveness (Syed and Kramar, 2008). This was meant to serve a political purpose to meet government requirements in relation to the prevention of discrimination and the promotion of equity in the workplace (Burgess, French and Strachan, 2010; van Ewijk, 2011). The diversity policy in case study one (CS1) organisation (Agency) primarily focuses on uniformity and therefore aims to minimise the impact of the cultural differences among employees. However, minimising subtle differences brought about by religious affiliations in particular caused conflict, which emerged in the workplace as shown in CS1 chapter. Moreover, such conflicts (particularly covert conflicts) remained unresolved over a long period of time. This was primarily because religious employees understood that the organisational culture has to be homogenised and that making a complaint on the basis of difference does not contribute to this outcome as illustrated in CS1 chapter.

At the practical level, the data in this study revealed evidence of avoidance (low cooperativeness/low assertiveness) as a response strategy by Muslim employees to potential discrimination in the workplace. This was evident when the organisational culture shied away from supporting the religious practices of employees and when some concerns were neglected (Thomas, 1976; cited in Morgan, 2006). Avoidance can be a strategy to avoid conflict (Morgan, 2006) and may look to justify slow procedures by appealing to bureaucratic rules in order to smother interest. Female officers wearing the headscarf is the best example of this as it forced the practice to be subject to bureaucratic rules before it was approved. According to interviewees, the proactive organisational culture at the Agency is a productive culture and the management of religious diversity was implemented carefully when dealing with Muslim communities such as in the Auburn and Bankstown areas. In addition, the NSW Agency has attempted to accommodate religious practices in social events through the exclusion of pork and alcohol. Also, the NSW Agency sends a yearly email reminding all employees of *Ramadan* and what it means to the Muslim community.

Similar has been discussed by Bennett (2009, p. 50) and Edelman et al., (2001, p. 1596) in reference to the American context. It is generally the case that employers in Australian workplaces however rely on legal professionals for their understanding of the broad and ambiguous aspects of workplace related laws and for information about their legal requirements as employers. The communication of legal matters among professionals is impacted however by their different backgrounds, training, and areas of special interest (Edelman et al., 2001, p. 1596). As a result, there exists a limited degree of uniformity and coherence in relation to how diversity management is understood from the legal perspective (Edelman et al., 2001, p. 1616). Indeed, there is less emphasis on the manager's conceptualisation of diversity in relation to discrimination, injustice, and historical disenfranchisement but greater emphasis is placed upon the conceptualisation of diversity in relation to organisational success (Edelman et al., 2001, p. 1632).

Furthermore, not only has anti-discrimination legislation been weakened by decentralised IR (Waring, Ruyter and Burgess, 2006), there is evidence from other relevant contexts such as the UK and France to suggest that only a small percentage of HR managers and middle managers (12 per cent and two per cent, respectively) believe that stricter laws would help to resolve workplace relations problems (Heneghan, 2013). As a result, it is often the case that only after a workplace related incident does an organisation focus on what is required by law (Bennett, 2009, p. 47). Nonetheless, employers are still required to contribute to the elimination of indirect barriers to the integration of minority religious groups in the workplace (Ringelheim, 2012, p. 357). Yet it remains the case that Australian legislation has given little attention to the issue of cultural and religious identity in multiculturalism, particularly the issue of multiple-identity (Taksa and Groutsis, 2013). Indeed, there is enough evidence to suggest that 'diversity itself remains an unclear concept' (Burgess et al., 2010) in relation to organisational policy implementation. The outcome of this uncertainty appears to be that the policies for managing diversity in Australian workplaces mainly focus on issues relating to race, religion and ethnicity to be given relatively little recognition (De Cieri et al., 2003; Strachan et al., 2010; Syed and Ali, 2005; Yasmeen, 2010).

7.3.1 Diversity management and migrant employees

The failure by organisations to take a holistic approach to diversity management has clear implications for the migrant workforce in Australia. To some extent, managing diversity in Australia (particularly with regard to women) has improved in the employment field

(Strachan and Burgess, 2001). Progress on cultural diversity regulation including anti-discrimination initiatives has been slow (Strachan et al., 2010) and as a result they have not kept up with the rapid growth of CALD cultural demands (Syed and Kramar, 2008). What is apparent is that there are still some gaps in terms of fulfilling the needs of CALD workers. According to Syed and Ali (2005), and Syed and Pio (2010), diversity policies, especially relating to women, have been made to be compatible with the mainstream culture which primarily suits Anglo-Saxons/Anglo-Celtic and Europeans. Moreover, diversity policies in Australia, particular at the meso-social level, appear to be less about protecting employees from discrimination and including them culturally and socially, and more about achieving productivity (Syed and Kramar, 2008). As Bertone and Leahy (2001) pointed out, these policies have been implemented to protect the employer's legal position and to improve productivity without showing initiatives for employees of CALD. This claim is supported in an AHRI (2001) study which concluded that workplace polices have focused on leave and working hours flexibility instead of addressing the cultural needs of employees of NESB. Moreover, according to Muir (2006; cited in Syed and Kramar, 2008) the policies ignore the multiple identity of most CALD workers.

In addition, the AHRI (2001) survey pointed to the fact that there is a lack of coordination between diversity management policies and HRM strategies, as well as a lack of training in diversity management in organisations. In fact, most organisations did not have detailed information on the ethnic backgrounds of employees (AHRI, 2001). Taksa and Groutsis (2010, p. 171) argued that in many cases there has been a failure to adequately consider 'intra-group and inter-group relations and tensions in organisations among migrants from different cultural backgrounds'. Significantly, Sammartino et al., (2004) showed that out of 229 large organisations in Australia who participated in the survey less than 20 per cent had a diversity management policy. Moreover, a 2005 Equal Employment Opportunity Network of Australasia (EEONA) survey documented that diversity programs were more about issues related to workplace harassment (91 per cent), sexism towards women (75 per cent), caring duties (69 per cent) and disability (59 per cent) than matters related to religion (22 per cent) and national origin (25 per cent). Of course, along with the necessary legal frameworks for protecting employees against discrimination in the workplace, diversity management strategies employed by organisations are of great importance to the effective management of employees and the protection of their rights. What has become evident over time is that managing diversity according to single-level conceptualisations within legal or organisational

policy is largely inadequate, and broader conceptualisations that give greater consideration to the employment contexts of migrant workers at macro, meso and micro levels is required (Syed, 2008).

Understanding the organisational challenges confronting migrant workers in Australian workplaces and the implications these challenges present for diversity management at the macro, meso and micro levels is integral to the formulation of effective diversity management policies at both a social and organisational level (Syed, 2008). As a result, it is necessary for diversity management policies that seek to promote an equitable distribution of power for all employees within the employment context to be informed by a multilevel perspective that recognises the individual, organisational processes, and macro-level structures (Syed and Pio, 2010). The Analysis chapter discusses these points in more detail based on the findings from the data. However, a multilevel framework for diversity management cannot be expected to provide a panacea for all concerns regarding the eradication of unfair employment practices in relation to migrant workers in host countries (Syed, 2008). Nonetheless, the focus on the limited scope of the diversity management practices in organisations has made it easier in some circumstances to identify forms of organisational prejudice in relation to such aspects as recruitment behaviour, training and development, and promotions (Reynolds et al., 2010, p. 46).

According to ILO studies, in many Western developed countries, up to 35 per cent of qualified migrant applicants are unfairly excluded from recruitment procedures on the basis of their actual or perceived colour, religion or place of origin (ILO, 2004; cited in Syed, 2008, p. 30). Moreover, in relation to Australia's labour market, research shows that skilled migrants from CALD source countries are consistently likely to experience poorer market outcomes in relation to employment than their English speaking counterparts (Hawthorne, 2005; Junankar, Paul and Yasmeen, 2004; cited in Syed, 2008, p. 30). In addition, research suggests a number of companies that employ a diverse workforce implement diversity training programs that simply reinforce the mainstream or dominant norms, values and perspectives within the organisational culture (Tung 1993; cited in Shen et al., 2009). As a result, there are fewer ethnic minority employees promoted to senior positions and the organisations often commit to lower rates of pay and experience higher employee turnover (Shen et al., 2009).

7.3.2 Managing religious diversity

Literature on diversity (e.g., Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2008) raises concerns about the problems associated with domestic management approaches and how they are unable to adequately respond to global organisational needs. The studies have however ignored the fact that there may be common global cultures that need to be investigated and managed regardless of region. Accounting for the lack of explicit recognition of religion in Australian diversity management policies at the meso level has been difficult for researchers. According to French, Strachan and Burgess (2008) this may be the result of a tension that exists between diversity as an organisational element that results in exclusion and inferior productivity, and diversity as an organisational element that results in improving organisational performance. Furthermore, Skalsky and McCarthy (2009) purported HR policies on diversity management in Australian organisations tended to focus on legislation-centric diversity training and the promotion of the business case for diversity. As such, the 'more subtle, non-legislative issues' relating to religion and ethnicity in the scope of diversity action are left to managers to respond to in a more informal manner (Skalsky and McCarthy, 2009, p. 3).

Evidence that the management of religious differences in the workplace as part of the diversity action program is of secondary importance to Australia organisations is available in the surveys conducted by the EEONA. Diversity management practices and policy implementation at the meso level are certainly informed by the religious and cultural factors which dominate the social landscape (Kramar, 2012). Results from four surveys conducted by the EEONA from 2003 to 2010 however continued to highlight that religion, sexual orientation and nationality are targeted the least in diversity action by organisations compared to their preference to address gender issues and equal opportunity for women (Kramar, 2012). According to Kramar (2012) this lack of importance placed on implementing action to manage religious diversity by Australian organisations can be attributed to Western industrialised countries being far less influenced by religious dimensions and social arrangements compared to many other countries around the world. Nonetheless, in response to this lack of importance given to religion and nationality, EEONA (2010, p. 45) asserts that diversity action at the meso level is 'an inconsistent story' and a marked shift in diversity management paradigms must take place if they are to represent cultural norms.

The significance of the need to appropriately manage religious diversity in the workplace is demonstrated in the growing pressure from organisations within the Australian community

such as the NSW Young Lawyers Human Rights Committee and the Uniting Church National Assembly, which advocate legislative measures for dealing with freedom of religion and belief in Australia (Bouma et al., 2011). Driving their advocacy is the desire to ensure that the protection of human rights in relation to freedom of religion and belief is specific to protection against religious discrimination in contrast to racial discrimination. Moreover, their aim is to ensure that religious discrimination is not neglected as a specific protection in the broader legislation on the protection of human rights in general (Bouma et al., 2011).

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter identified and discussed the issues and complexities surrounding how best to develop and implement diversity management policies to balance the needs and rights of individuals with organisational objectives. Compelling evidence was provided that such diversity presents real and significant challenges to modern organisations as they strive to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of operations in a globalised market utilising employees from increasingly diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

At the forefront of the discussion throughout this chapter was the issue of managing religious diversity among employees in the workplace. Religious diversity as a phenomenon presents many challenges to HR managers in terms of developing, monitoring and assessing diversity management programs for effectiveness. Indeed, the management of religious diversity was identified as one of four key challenges for diversity management in Australian workplaces (the other three are developing programs for an ageing workforce, developing programs to overcome skills shortages, and work hours).

Notably, organisations in Australia are required to comply with legislative frameworks developed and enacted by successive Australian governments to eradicate discrimination against individuals or groups based on race, religion, or culture etc.; inequity in employment opportunities; and mistreatment of employees in the workplace. However, critical to the discussion of the macro-level legislative frameworks in this chapter was the examination of how they are combined with (or not combined with) diversity management policies developed and implemented at the organisational level (i.e., meso-level diversity management policies).

The main finding to emerge from this examination is that diversity management policies at the meso level generally do not explicitly recognise religious diversity among Australian workers and thus do not include strategies to effectively manage such diversity. Instead, most organisations in Australia tend to rely on legislative frameworks set down by the government to shape their response to employee diversity issues. Hence, it was established that there remains a significant way to go in developing metrics for evaluating and demonstrating the effectiveness of diversity management programs, particularly in relation to the management of religious diversity, and in developing suitable formats for reporting on these programs.

PART THREE: CASE STUDIES

Introduction

Part Three of this thesis includes four chapters: Case Study One; Case Study Two; Findings and Analysis; and Comparison and Discussion. The aim of this part is to provide a discussion and comparative analysis of the relationships between each case study organisation's structure and culture, the religious practices of Muslim employees, and the employees' and managers' experiences and perceptions of religious diversity management in the workplace. The first two chapters of Part Three identify and discuss key aspects of each case study organisation including the organisation's structure, culture, and approaches to diversity management. The third chapter then draws heavily on the survey and interview responses from Muslim employees and managers in each organisation to analyse their experiences and perceptions of identity, accommodations for their religious practices, and workplace conflict. The specific religious practices engaged in (or not engaged in) by Muslim employees in each workplace are identified and a detailed examination of the reasons provided by the employees for their level of engagement in religious behaviours is provided. Similarly, the diversity management practices and techniques engaged in (or not engaged in) by managers in each workplace to accommodate the needs of Muslim employees are identified and examined in detail. The findings from each case study organisation are then compared in the final chapter in Part Three. This provides a platform from which to explore the implications and outcomes of the different policies and approaches to diversity management in each case study organisation. In particular, it allows for conclusions to be drawn about the potential benefits or detractions of emphasising legal compliance or everyday enactments in diversity management policies.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Case Study One

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents details of Case Study One (CS1) organisation, a law enforcement agency in Australia. The Agency has a workforce of more than 16,000 employees and a jurisdiction of more than 800,000 square kilometres. Within this jurisdiction the Agency serves a population of more than seven million people of diverse ethnic, social, economic and cultural backgrounds. The primary objective of the Agency is to meet the unique security and protection needs of each community. This chapter is divided into two sections: organisational context and data. The organisational context section presents details on the background, culture, and staff demographics at the Agency. In addition, the diversity policy at the Agency and its implications are discussed. Focus in the discussion in this section is also given to the long-standing Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) protocols in place relating to recruitment and diversity management. The data section discusses the online survey and face-to-face interview methods including details of the relevant outcomes.

8.1.1 Law enforcement in NSW: a brief overview

The first law enforcement agency in Australia was a civilian organisation created by Governor Arthur Phillip in 1789. By the 1860s, in accordance with the *Regulation Act 1862,* the Agency was established. As a result, the NSW law enforcement agency is Australia's oldest and largest law enforcement organisation and is recognised as one of the biggest law enforcement agencies among English speaking countries throughout the world (Agency, 2012b). Presently, the Agency in NSW is essentially the responsibility of two government bodies: the NSW law enforcement agency (operations) and the NSW Agency Department (policy and administrative support). In 1987, the two bodies amalgamated and are currently governed by the *Act 1990* No. 47 (NSW Agency, 2012). Under [the *Agency] Act 1990* all members of the NSW law enforcement agency are employed by a Commissioner of the Agency who reports directly to the NSW Minister (Agency, 2012b).

The jurisdiction of the Agency covers more than 800,000 square kilometres and includes more than 500 offices spread across six jurisdictional regions: Central Metropolitan: North

West Metropolitan: South West Metropolitan: Northern Region: Southern Region: and Western Region (Agency, 2012b). The Agency provides law enforcement to more than seven million people. Its main responsibilities are: to prevent, detect and/or investigate crime; promote and regulate road safety rules; maintain social order; and carry out emergency and rescue tasks. The Agency is also responsible for traffic control, analysis of criminal intelligence, and anti-terrorism work (Agency, 2012b). As of October 2012, there were more than 16,000 active employees in the NSW law enforcement agency (Agency, 2012a, p. 5).

The Agency operates under the two key laws: the *Police Act 1990* and the *Police Regulation 2008.* In 2012 it had a budget from the State Government of $3.2 billion (Annual Report, 2013). The Agency is charged with protecting citizens within its jurisdiction and maintaining law and order. To achieve these objectives there are 80 Local Areas commands across the State and from these commands officers work with communities 'to deliver local solutions to local issues' (Agency website, 2014). The Agency employs 16,371 officers and 3,915 civilians (Agency Annual Report, 2013). Table (7) provides an overview of the number of officer employees at the Agency between 2009 and 2013. What is evident is that there has been an increase of 651 actual employees.

Table (7) Agency Officer numbers over the previous five years

Years	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Actual positions	15,720	15,633	15,943	15,976	16,371
Allocated positions	15,306	15,556	15,806	15,956	16,176

8.1.2 NSW law enforcement in the context of cultural diversity

A state or nationally controlled law enforcement agency in any country plays a vital role in the maintenance of a just and fair society (Wong, 2012, p. 319). Therefore, it is important that the Agency is able to connect with the people in the community, which it serves so that it may earn the community's respect and support for its initiatives. The implications of this important connection are especially pertinent to the Agency being discussed as it serves the most CALD population in Australia. Indeed, the extent to which Australia is one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world is illustrated in its demographic figures. Over a quarter (26 per cent) of Australia's population were born overseas (ABS, 2011).

Approximately 'half (49 per cent) of longer-standing migrants and 67 per cent of recent arrivals speak a language other than English at home' (ABS, 2011). With regard to NSW in particular, more than 1,300,000 people are identified as being from diverse backgrounds, representing the largest number of residents originating from non-English speaking countries throughout the whole of Australia. Moreover, it is estimated that up to 67 per cent of residents living in the suburbs of western Sydney speak a language other than English (NSW Government, 2011, p. 8).

According to ABS Census data (2011), the number of people born overseas in NSW was 2,170,196 or 31 per cent of the population. Furthermore, the three largest groups by language spoken at home were: Arabic, Mandarin and Cantonese (ABS, 2011). According to the Agency, the provision of effective policing to CALD communities requires consideration of how to: overcome language barriers; improve community awareness and understanding of the law; engage communities in initiatives to keep them safe, and develop in employees within the Agency a better appreciation of how diversity (including religious affiliations) functions within the community (NSW Government, 2011, p. 10). In addition, religious diversity is widely apparent throughout NSW. While Christianity remains the predominant religion in the state – with the Catholic faith being the largest religious affiliation, followed by Anglican and then the Uniting Church – Islam is currently the sixth largest religious affiliation, with a 19 per cent increase in recent years (NSW Government, 2011, p. 8). Thus, it is in response to the breadth and the unique nature of the CALD communities throughout NSW that the NSW law enforcement agency is presented with many demands and challenges.

8.1.3 Diversity management in law enforcement: Global context

At present, law enforcement agencies in countries around the world demonstrate varying responses to religious diversity among their employees. For instance, a proactive approach to accommodate religious diversity among employees has been undertaken by authorities in Edmonton, Alberta Canada. The law enforcement agency introduced a *hijab*-style headscarf, which covers the hair and neck as part of the uniform for Muslim women police officers (Allemandou, 2013). According to the Edmonton Police Service (EPS), the new headscarf is designed to 'reflect the changing diversity in the community, and to facilitate the growing interest in policing careers from Edmonton's Muslim community' (Allemandou, 2013).

In Alberta, approximately 45,000 people in a population of 700,000 identify themselves as Muslims (Canada's third biggest Muslim community). In turn, the 'gesture of inclusion' towards the Muslim community represented through the introduction of the *hijab*-style headscarf is regarded as a way to establish a 'diverse police service that reflects the diversity and multicultural aspects' of the region (Allemandou, 2013). It is of some note that the police force in the Canadian province of Ontario has allowed women police officers to wear *hijab*s since 2011. Similarly, the law enforcement agency in Victoria, Australia, introduced the *hijab* as part of its uniform for women officers in 2004 (Edwards, 2004). One of the objectives underpinning the introduction of the *hijab* was to attract more women recruits from culturally diverse backgrounds so that the force may more accurately reflect the broader Victorian community (Edwards, 2004). As stated by the then Victorian Chief Commissioner, Christine Nixon: 'I think this is Victoria Police showing that we are very welcoming of people from a whole range of backgrounds and nationalities who want to join us' (Edwards, 2004).

In contrast, there has been resistance in regions or countries around the world to initiating social or workplace change to accommodate religious diversity. Indeed, the complexity and potential divisiveness of the issue of accommodating religious diversity is evident in Canada. The French-speaking province of Quebec for instance is expressly determined to maintain secular ideals and not allow the *hijab* to be worn by female officers (Allemandou, 2013). Similarly, the police force in Norway is refusing to allow its female officers to wear the *hijab* (Ryland, 2013). According to news reports, the Minister of Culture in Norway, Hadia Tajik, has declared the *hijab* will not become part of the Norwegian police uniform or be used in the court system (Ryland, 2013). What is perhaps most interesting about this decision is that the Norwegian Faith and Ethics Policy Committee recommended with a majority of 12 out of 15 votes that the *hijab* should become legal for female police officers and judges to wear while at work (Ryland, 2013). Moreover, in 2012, the Ministry of Defense in Norway passed legislation allowing soldiers in the armed forces to wear *hijab*s, turbans or skullcaps while in uniform (Ryland, 2012).

8.2 Agency organisational structure

CS1 operates within a formal hierarchical structure. Figure 2 below identifies Commissioner as the most senior position. Supporting the Commissioner at the executive level is the Commissioner's Executive Team (CET), which comprises three operational domains: field operations, specialist operations and corporate services (Annual Report, 2013).
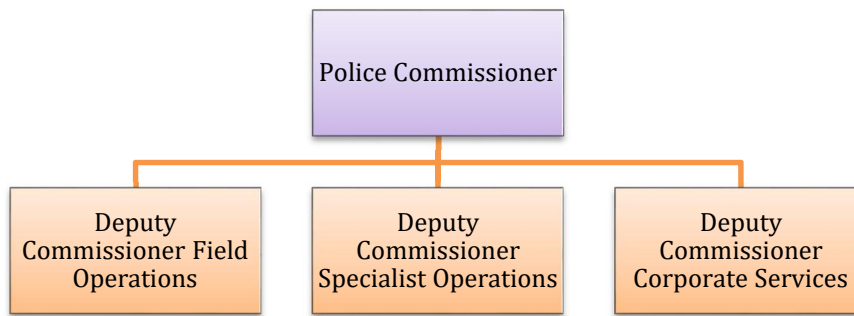
Figure (2): Senior executive positions at the Agency (Source: Agency Annual Report, 2012-2013)

Figure 3 below provides a graphic illustration of the four sub-sections of the hierarchical structure in the organisation. The Agency employees at these levels include executive officers, commissioned officers, sergeants and constables of various ranks.
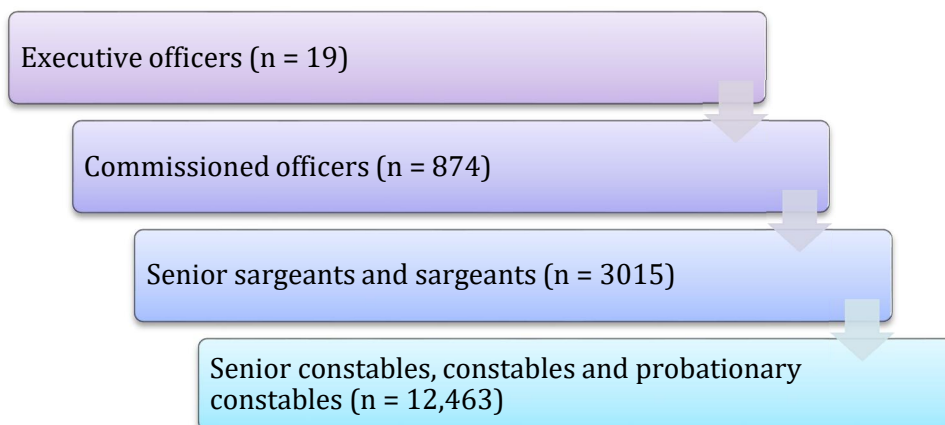
Figure (3): Non-senior executive employees - rank and number (Source: Agency Annual Report, 2012-2013)

In relation to the gender of the employees at the Agency, Figure 4 reveals there is close to twice as many male employees (65 per cent) as female employees (35 percent). Moreover, in terms of broad group classifications of employees at the Agency, Figure 5 reveals among other things a relatively small percentage (8 per cent) of CALD employees at the Agency.
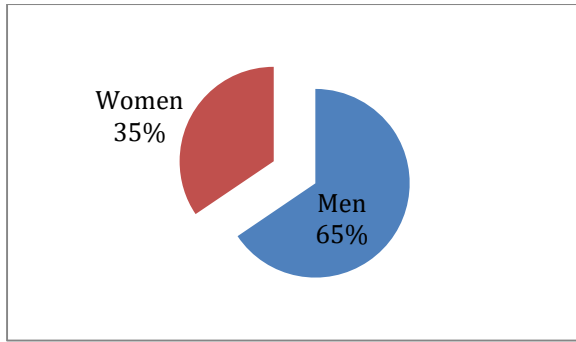
Figure (4): Gender of Agency employees (Source: Agency Annual Report, 2012-2013)
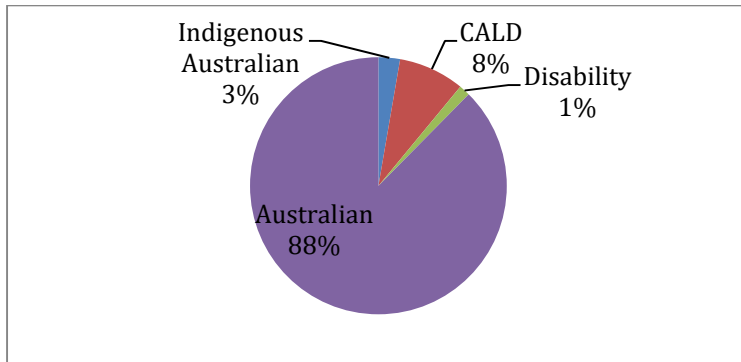
Figure (5): Four Agency employee groups (Source: Agency Annual Report, 2012-2013)

Finally, Table (8) below provides a snap-shot profile of the number of Muslims employed in the Agency from 2001 to 2011. The Tabled data clearly shows the total number of Muslims employed at the Agency reflects the state-wide and nation-wide upward trend in Muslim employees.

Table (8): Number of Muslims employed in Australia, NSW, and the Agency. Source: ABS Censuses 2001, 2006 and 2011 (data available on request)

	2001			2006			2011		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Muslim Employees in Aus.	52,803	25,965	78,768	69,928	34,311	104,239	99,552	50,613	150,165
Muslim Employees in NSW	27,012	12,814	39,826	34,695	16,358	51,053	45,256	22,360	67,616
Agency Muslim Employees in NSW	43	19	62	81	35	116	136	56	192

8.3 Agency organisational culture

The cultural practices at the Agency are shaped by the way in which the socio-political aspects of the Agency both impact and are impacted by the structures and systems within the organisation (Chan, 1996, p. 110). As Manning (1989, p. 360) explained, the culture of a policing agency includes the practices, rules, and codes of conduct that are accepted and applied within the organisation along with the set of general rationales and beliefs. A Unitarist approach to culture (Meyerson and Martin, 1987), is typically characterised as placing an emphasis on the establishment of integrated teams that operate with a common purpose (Dwivedi, 2007, p. 14). As presented in the Annual Reports and related promotion material, the general philosophy in the Agency is to achieve a harmonious workplace whereby employees work towards a common objective.

Prenzler (1997) pointed out that culture in a policing agency is about the achievement of unity and relies on peer pressures to achieve conformity and entrenched practices (Prenzler, 1997, p. 54). These elements are seen to be embedded in the structure and the culture of the Agency and contribute to the consolidation of systematic law enforcement practices (Prenzler, 1997, p. 54). As Mutsaers (2014) explained, the structural elements of an organisation are the mechanisms through which employees and employers become aligned in their expectations and desires. Evidence of such alignment as revealed in the study findings is that an expectation exists within the daily practices in the organisation that employees culturally assimilate. As a result, there is a bureaucratic culture within the Agency in terms of dealing with religious diversity and its contemporary aspects such as Muslim women wearing the religious headscarf (*hijab*) in the workplace. As such, managers and employees typically appeal to formalised rules within the organisation to understand and manage diversity issues.

8.4 Agency and diversity management

According to the Agency (2012b), its organisational culture is based upon the principles of integrity, equality, fairness and professionalism. Indeed, the Agency's integrity is seen as closely linked to its capacity to establish itself as a well-respected organisation, both at a state and national level. Commitment to equality is evident through compliance with EEO protocols relating to the potential recruitment of male and female officers, as well as individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds. Furthermore, to support professionalism and best practice in the organisation, the law enforcement agency provides ongoing education and training to its officers (NSW Government, 2011, p. 47). This demonstrates a commitment to

ensuring the skills of employees are up-to-date, and that all employees are provided with the opportunity to realise professional and personal development ambitions (Agency, 2012b).

Further to the issue of diversity management, a stated objective is to create 'a respectful, equitable and diverse workforce reflective of our community' (Agency Annual Report, 2012-2013, p. 16). To achieve this objective, the Agency is committed to the promotion of a respectful, harassment free workplace that actively encourages workforce diversity (Agency Annual Report, 2012-2013). In terms of harassment or discrimination in the workplace, in 2012-2013 there were 427 specific incidents reported (Agency Annual Report, 2013-14). The types of incidents include failure to obtain promotion due to asthma during childhood and not taking all reasonable steps to prevent harassment (Lawlink, 2013). The number of reported cases represents an increase from the 331 reported incidents in 2011-12 (Agency Annual Report, 2013-14). The Workforce Equity & Diversity Strategic Plan 2012-2016 outlines the Agency's commitment to 'fair, safe and diverse workplaces' and to the acknowledgment and accommodation (Agency Annual Report, 2012-2013 p. 88).

8.4.1 Agency and community diversity management

The NSW law enforcement agency is required to provide high quality customer service to diverse communities (Agency, 2011). Towards this objective, its current policy entitled 'NSW law enforcement agency: Priorities for Working in a Culturally, Linguistically and Religiously Diverse Society' is designed to promote safe and harmonious relations among culturally diverse groups across the broader community. The policy covers a range of different diversity issues including religious diversity in NSW and an outline of the Agency's commitments and responsibilities towards effective diversity management as stated in its Multicultural Policies and Services Program Forward Plan 2011-14 (hereafter Forward Plan 2011-2014). This policy is used to guide the law enforcement agency operations throughout NSW and to enhance the confidence of NSW residents and community groups in the services provided by the organisation (Agency, 2011).

The Forward Plan 2011-14 complies with the NSW *Community Relations Commission and Principles of Multiculturalism Act 2000* and looks to address how 'working with culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse backgrounds' impacts the 'core business' of the Agency (Agency Annual Report 2013-2014, p. 89 and p. 82). The six priority areas contained in the Forward Plan include: targeted crime prevention programs; working with victims, offenders

and communities from culturally diverse backgrounds; community consultation and participation; employee capacity building and support; the integration of Multicultural Policy goals into operational planning and capacity; and the implementation of the Principles of Multiculturalism in the leadership and accountability structures (Agency Annual Report, 2013-14). In addition, local multicultural community liaison officers (MCLOs) are employed to support employees at the Agency to strengthen community relations as well as assist with the creation of partnerships with agencies within the local community (Agency Annual Report, 2013-14). Lastly, the Forward Plan 2011-14 also looks to address the unique needs of trans-cultural mental illness sufferers and international students in NSW communities within the service delivery of the Agency (Agency Annual Report, 2013-14).

There are many challenges recognised by the Agency in relation to 'operating in a culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse society'. Central to these challenges is the capacity of the Agency to earn the respect of community members and to establish partnerships based on trust (NSW Government, 2011, p. 62). The Agency performs its civic duties and undertakes its responsibilities for a 'wide range of ethnic communities' represented by more than 30 language speaking groups. To strive to serve such a multicultural constituency and to meet community expectations the workforce of the NSW Agency is necessarily large and diverse (Agency, 2012b). Indeed, the Agency readily acknowledges that it is vital for the Agency to encourage individuals from 'culturally diverse communities' to choose to have a career as a NSW Agency officer so that the organisation can truly reflect the communities it serves (Agency, 2012a, p. 14).

In fact, the recruitment of staff from culturally diverse backgrounds is seen as integral to the overall effectiveness of its operations in NSW (Agency, 2012). A culturally diverse agency can help to improve service delivery and the culture of the organisation as 'staff from culturally diverse backgrounds brings specialised skills to the force such as language skills and cultural understanding' (Agency, 2012). A stated Agency objective is to have equal to or greater than '20 per cent of staff from culturally, linguistically and religiously diverse backgrounds' by 2016 (Agency Annual Report 2012-2013, p. 17). The recruitment of officers from the multitude of culturally diverse groups in Australia is also regarded by the Agency as a way to further improve cultural understanding and awareness. It is on the basis of these perceived benefits that the promotion and development of diversity in the NSW law enforcement agency is regarded as both 'intelligent management practice' and that which can

enhance the capacity of the law enforcement agency to meet 'current and future challenges' (Agency, 2012b).

In addition to recruitment initiatives, to maintain social order and to support social justice in NSW a primary objective of the NSW Government is to develop the 'capacity, confidence and capabilities' of the Agency to work effectively in a 'diverse cultural, linguistic and religious environment' (NSW Government, 2011, p. 5). This ethos is summed up by the Local Area Commander, Hurstville Local Area Command (2010: cited in NSW Government, 2011, p. 96):

> *Not only is it our moral resolve to serve all members of the community equally, the Principles of Multiculturalism in NSW are legislated and provide a framework for government service delivery in achieving access and equity. As a key government agency, the [Agency] has an important role to play in promoting and maintaining community harmony as well as community justice outcomes.*

To support the implementation of the Forward Plan 2011-2014, a range of specific diversity management initiatives have also been put in place. These include Agency recruitment campaigns that specifically target individuals from CALD communities, CALD career days coordinated by officers from local area commands, and forums in nominated regional areas which are designed to support better communication and collaboration between the law enforcement agency and the multicultural communities they serve (Agency, 2012a, p. 9). In addition, the NSW law enforcement agency has placed a high priority on being proactive in its efforts to engage young people from CALD communities. The specific aim of the engagement strategies is to reduce anti-social behaviour and to foster positive relationships between young people, the community and the law enforcement agency (Agency, 2012a, p. 9). For instance, to support the victims of crime from CALD communities the NSW law enforcement agency produces information on a range of crimes including domestic and family violence in a range of different languages. Importantly, these program initiatives have been extended in areas where there has been an identifiable increase in population diversity.

8.4.2 Muslims in NSW and the Agency's diversity management strategies

To facilitate an awareness of Islamic cultural issues in particular among officers in the Agency (particularly in Sydney's South West Metropolitan region where there is a high concentration of Muslim residents), in 2012 the NSW law enforcement agency provided its

officers with the 'South West Sydney Islamic Information Guide'. The aim of the guide – which is written by Muslim members of the NSW law enforcement agency and vetted by Islamic leaders – is to provide officers with a better understanding of specific and prominent issues relating to Islamic practices and customs. It is anticipated that with an improved understanding of Muslim customs and beliefs the law enforcement agency officers may demonstrate greater cultural competence when fulfilling their roles as keepers of the peace and maintainers of law and order (Agency, 2012, p. 1). In addition to providing officers with a detailed introduction to Islam including, but not limited to such aspects of the 'fundamental beliefs of Islam', an outline of the main tenets of the Quran, and information regarding the 'five pillars of Islam', the guide also provides officers with an insight into the general interaction and communication behaviours typical of Muslim community members. Moreover, Muslim 'rituals and traditions' are also discussed in the guide including *Ramadan*, *Halal*, clothing, and rituals surrounding death (Agency, 2012).

It is important to note that the NSW law enforcement agency recognises that it is impossible to expect its Agency officers 'to know all aspects of practice in all traditions' of the Islamic faith (Agency, 2012, p. 15). What is requested of the Agency officers however is that they use the resource as a guide to better serve members of the Muslim community (Agency, 2012, p. 4). What this means in practical terms is that the officers of the NSW law enforcement agency look to improve community relations with Muslims by improving their knowledge of local Islamic communities (Agency, 2012, p. 4). The information kit is designed to equip the law enforcement agency's staff to deal effectively with Muslim individuals in custody, the execution of search warrants, interactions on the street, and to negotiate with detainees 'safe and reasonable' accommodations of religious practices and beliefs (Agency, 2012, p. 29).

8.5 Data

This section presents details of the online survey and interview responses from the Muslim staff at the Agency as well as their non-Muslim managers who agreed to participate in the research. For both data collection instruments the number of participants involved and brief demographic details are provided. Because the research focus is on intercultural conflict between Muslim employees and their non-Muslim managers or colleagues in the workplace, the online survey and interview responses that did not pertain to this area of focus were not included in this study. The data collected for analysis in both case study organisations are

based on voluntary self-reported details from participants. It was not compulsory for the employees to reveal their identity and, as a result, the full extent of the cultural diversity in the workplace may not be represented in the analysis. Moreover, the obtained data resulted in saturation because, as mentioned in the methodology chapter, the size of the purposive sample will typically depend on the 'saturation' point where no new information or themes are observed (Guest et. al., 2006, p. 59). Thus, the researcher gained access to the information required to answer the research question (Hatch, 2002).

8.5.1 Online survey

The 45 questions included in the online survey (see Appendix 1) provided insights into the actual practices of the organisational culture. A total of 393 employees participated in the online survey, of which 143 completed it in full. The age range of the surveyed participants was from 21 to 58 years. Twenty-six per cent of the participants were female. Sixty-Six per cent of the participants were born in Australia, with the remaining 34 per cent born in 22 different countries as outlined in Appendix (5). The participants represented a range of educational levels obtained as outlined in Table (9), and 86 per cent of the respondents were educated in Australia, and the rest obtained their education from Bangladesh, Pakistan, Kuwait, Turkey, Indonesia Jordan and Fiji. In terms of employment, 91 per cent of the respondents indicated they were employed on a full-time basis, in various positions such as policing, administrative, computing, special Constable, clerk, IT specialist, language, client support officer, injury management Advisor, technical officer, detective, multicultural community liaison officer, forensic biologist, HR, solicitor, general duties and personal assistant, with the remaining 9 per cent employed on a part time, casual or contractor basis. The survey identified that 57 per cent spoke English as their first language, and a combined 43 per cent spoke Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Bangla, Bosnian, Hindi, Dari, Punjabi, Urdu and Pashto.

Table (9): Summary of participant answers to the online survey question: *What is the highest level of education that you have attained?*

#	Answers	%
1	High school	19%
2	Diploma	27%
3	Bachelor's degree	28%
4	Master's degree	11%
5	PhD	5%
6	Other, such as associate degrees	11%

Regarding the nexus between the respondents' religious identity and religious practices, 62.45 per cent described themselves as practising Muslims, and 39 per cent have religious appearance. Moreover, 36 per cent indicated they engaged in daily religious practices at work, while 17 per cent indicated that they 'sometimes' engaged in religious practices at work. Tables (10), (11) and (12) below present the online survey response data pertaining to the importance of engaging in religious practices at work. In Table (10), the majority of participants (56 per cent) regarded the right to engage in religious practices in the workplace to be either 'Important' or 'Very Important'. In addition, Table (11) shows an even larger over half of participants (66 per cent) believed it was either 'Important' or 'Very Important' for their workplace to understand the types of religious practices in which they engaged. This is similarly reflected in the online survey responses related to management practices with Table (12) showing 66 per cent of participants indicating it was either 'Important' or 'Very Important' for managers in the workplace to understand the types of religious practices being engaged in by employees.

Table (10): Summary of participant answers to the online survey question: *How important is it to you to have the ability to engage in religious practices in the workplace?*

#	Answer		%
1	Not at all Important		14%
2	Unimportant		5%
3	Moderate		29%
4	Important		23%
5	Very Important		33%

Table (11): Summary of participant answers to the online survey question: *How important is it to you that the organisation understands religious practices?*

#	Answer		%
1	Not at all important		14%
2	Unimportant		4%
3	Moderate		15%
4	Important		35%
5	Very Important		31%
	Total		100%

150

Table (12): Summary of participant answers to the online survey question: *How important is it to you that the manager understands religious practices?*

#	Answer		%
1	Not at all Important		14%
2	Unimportant		7%
3	Moderate		23%
4	Important		27%
5	Very Important		29%
	Total		100%

The online survey responses showed 29 per cent of respondents experienced conflict in the workplace on occasions related to religious identity or religious practices. For instance, conflict related to identity was evident in the answers of the open-ended questions such as: 'I have experienced discrimination about my religion within the workplace even though I try not to disclose my religious views and practices from non-Muslims'. Similarly, evidence of conflict related to religious practices emerged from comments such as: 'Inability to pray each prayer on time and unable to pray at all at times.' These issues are discussed in further detail in the findings chapter. Table (13) below presents a percentage figure on whether the surveyed participants believed their manager addressed religion-based conflict issues in the workplace. The overwhelming majority of participants (90 per cent) indicated their belief that the manager did not directly address such workplace conflict issues.

Table (13): Summary of participant answers to the online survey question: *Did the manager directly address conflicts related to religious identity and/or practices?*

#	Answer		%
1	Yes		10%
2	No		90%
	Total		100%

The analysis of these issues is illustrated in the finding and analysis chapter.

Face-to-face interviews were needed to enable follow-up questions to clarify crucial points. In particular, attention was focused on issues related to religious identity, intercultural conflict at work, and the practices engaged in by managers to respond to religious needs of employees. The following section presents details of the interview process and its outcomes.

8.5.2 Interviews

Twenty face-to-face interviews, and one email interview were conducted at the Agency with 19 Muslim employees and two non-Muslim managers (see Appendix 2 for the managers' interview questions). Nineteen employees (six of them females) discussed their experiences of workplace intercultural relations during the interviews. All employees who participated in the interviews were employed on a full-time basis, except for one employee who was an IT contractor. Table (14) presents the occupations and gender of the interviewed employees and the managers.

Table (14): Interviewed employees and managers by gender and occupation

Employees		
Interviewees	Gender	Occupations
Interviewee 1	Male	IT
Interviewee 2	Male	IT
Interviewee 3	Male	Sworn officer
Interviewee 4	Female	Sworn officer
Interviewee 5	Male	Multicultural community liaison officer
Interviewee 6	Female	HR
Interviewee 7	Female	Client support officer
Interviewee 8	Female	Multicultural community liaison officer
Interviewee 9	Male	Sworn officer
Interviewee 10	Male	Sworn officer
Interviewee 11	Male	Sworn officer
Interviewee 12	Male	Translator
Interviewee 13	Female	Senior Constable
Interviewee 14	Female	Sworn officer
Interviewee 15	Female	Multicultural community liaison officer
Interviewee 16	Male	Senior Constable
Interviewee 17	Male	Sworn officer
Interviewee 18	Male	Communication operator
Interviewee 19	Female	IT a systems analyst
Managers		
Manager 1	Male	Sergeant
Manager 2	Male	Detective

CHAPTER NINE

Case Study Two

9.1 Introduction

This chapter provides details of case study organisation two (CS2), a leading university in Sydney, Australia. The University was established in 1964 and has a population of almost 30,000 students. This places the University among the top four universities in Sydney for enrolments. As with similar universities and within the higher education sector more broadly, the University demonstrates a long-standing commitment to the provision of tertiary education to both domestic and international students within an interdisciplinary teaching and research framework. The focus in the case study is on the management of diversity at the University. Although 'diversity' refers to a wide range of demographic elements including age, gender and religion, throughout this case study diversity is to be understood as referring to cultural and religious difference. As such, particular focus and analysis is given to data related to students and staff from CALD backgrounds.

The case study is presented in two parts: organisational context and data. Regarding organisational context, information for this part is drawn from a range of print and electronic publications including University Annual Reports (2008-2012), University webpages and publications, and enterprise agreements. Although all sources were used to access data on student and teacher numbers, cultural backgrounds, and diversity management agendas, the 2012 Annual Report features most prominently as it contains the most up-to-date information, and repeats much of the information contained in the previous reports. This section also highlights and discusses the point that only minimal focus is given to the management of religious diversity in both University publications and Enterprise Agreements. Instead, the University addresses issues related to diversity under the broader umbrella of equal opportunity and anti-discrimination initiatives. The data section briefly introduces the two data collection instruments – online survey and interviews – before tabling relevant details of the online survey and interview participants. The Findings and Analysis section discusses the results from the participants' online survey and interview responses.

9.2. Organisational context

9.2.1 Higher education reform initiatives in Australia

In 2009 the Rudd Labour government released the higher education initiative – 'Transforming Australia's Higher Education System'. The publication points to the key role Australia's higher education institutions play in achieving a 'stronger and fairer Australia' (Australian Government, 2009, p. 5). In particular, the higher education sector in Australia is regarded as integral to economic strength, productivity increases, and skilled employment in Australia (Australian Government, 2009, p. 5). Thus, the higher education sector is inextricably linked to notions of long-term nation-building (Marginson, 2013). As a result, theories on economic rationalism and concepts related to productivity growth, social fairness and education service delivery competitiveness are applied to inform the operations of universities in the higher education sector in Australia (Bradley, Noonan, Nugent and Scales, 2008).

In Australia, both major political parties have declared their commitment to achieving productivity increases to the sector (Marginson, 2013). In turn, access to funding is obviously a crucial component in a university's capacity to contribute to economic and social objectives. The international student market in Australia is particularly relevant to funding issues. Government cuts to public funding are not being offset by increases in private funding (Marginson, 2013). Moreover, the sector relies on the international student market for approximately 20 per cent of its funding (Marginson 2013). One of the strategic approaches implemented by successive Australian governments is to support the higher education reform initiative. Towards this outcome the higher education sector targeted increases in participation among 25 to 34 year-olds, individuals from low socio-economic backgrounds, and international students (Australian Government, 2009, p. 12). The initiative by the Australian government to continue to grow and strengthen the international student market points to the global dimension of higher education. According to Marginson (2013, p. 12), this dimension consists of 'world or part-world systems of knowledge and information flow, networks and people movement between institutions and systems'. Furthermore, Marginson (2013) explained that the global aspect of higher education emerges in four distinct ways. First, it manifests as a notion of one-world, whereby the world is represented as one space in which knowledge is gained and shared. Second, it manifests as global systems connected through digital technology and other telecommunications systems. Third, it manifests as a

national effect in which national and international competitiveness and participation are evident. Fourth, it manifests as a local effect through the development of infrastructures and policy initiatives (Marginson, 2013).

9.2.2 Higher education sector

There are 37 public universities and two private universities in Australia's higher education sector. All of the universities are self-accrediting in that they are each authorised by the federal government to accredit awards (Williams and Pillai, 2011). Australia spends close to two per cent of its gross domestic product (GDP) on funding for the higher education sector – approximately $AUD 23 billion per year (Norton, 2012). Importantly, over the last two decades the numbers of international and domestic students attending higher education institutions in Australia has doubled, with the highest growth categories being international students, distance education students, and female students (Norton, 2012).

The case study University is a self-accrediting public university located in Sydney, Australia. It was established in 1964 by Prime Minister Robert Menzies during a period of great growth in the nation's education sectors. At the time of its opening, the University was described by the federal government as 'Australia's most radical and unconventional university' (Mansfield and Hutchison, 1992). Today, the University represents itself as 'Australia's Innovative University' which is 'renowned for its interdisciplinary research and teaching, highly skilled graduates and first-class facilities' (University, 2013). Indeed, the University recently benefitted from more than $AUD 1 billion invested in infrastructure development. As a result, the facilities at the University include a technologically advanced private hospital, a state-of-the-art library, a swimming and sports complex, and industry leading organisations such as Australian Hearing Hub and Cochlear Ltd (University, 2013h).

9.3 University structure

In terms of the organisational structure at the University, there is a formal hierarchical structure in place, headed by the Vice Chancellor. Below the Vice Chancellor, but also at the senior executive level, are four Deputy Vice Chancellors, one Chief Operating Officer, one Chief Financial Officer, and four Executive Deans. See Figure 6 below for details.
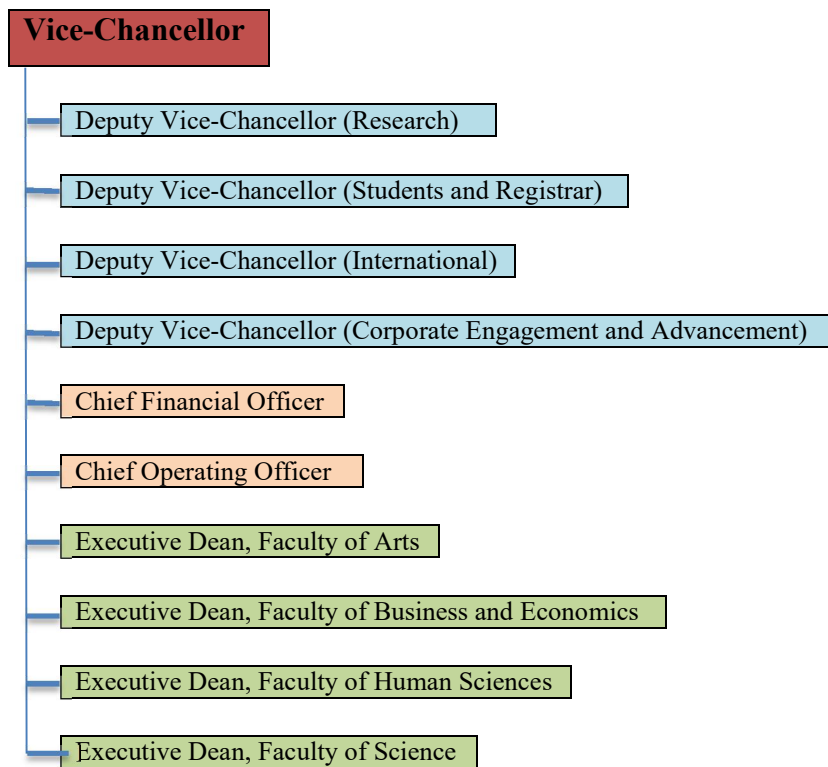
Figure (6): Organisational structure of executive leadership at the Case Study University (adapted from University Annual Report, 2013, p. 32)

At the second third tier of the organisational structure are the various Faculties (e.g., Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Business, Faculty of Science) as well as the Pro-Vice Chancellor Social Inclusion position until October 2013. The position was introduced in the University in 2008, the first of its kind in any university in Australia, and it followed the strategic initiative of the University to include details on progress and issues related to diversity in its annual reports form 2007 (North-Samardzic, 2010). Moreover, Key Performance Indicators related to equity and diversity were included in diversity profiles for each of the faculties to guide strategic planning on the University's social inclusion agenda (North-Samardzic, 2010). Social inclusion as a concept then emerged as an integral aspect of the Equity and Diversity Unit with greater recognition also going to CALD staff and students (North-Samardzic, 2010). Other diversity issues managed by the Equity and Diversity unit include 'Indigenous Advancement', the 'Outreach' program to support language skills development in international students, and 'Participation and Community Engagement'.

9.4 University and diversity management

This case study of the University focuses on the issue of diversity management at the institutional level. Diversity in any social or institutional context implies a reference to a range of elements including age, gender, culture, ethnicity, sexuality and religion. For the purposes of this case study analysis however the focus is on diversity in relation to culture and religion. As such, the extent to which there is diversity among the student and staff populations at the University is established. Following this is a discussion of the mechanisms and protocols in place at the University to manage diversity issues. Four key sources are used to inform the discussion of diversity management at the University: the University website, the 2011 University Enterprise Agreement with staff (both academic and professionals), the University's Annual Reports 2008-2012, and the University Equity and Diversity Plan 2011-2015.

9.4.1 Student and staff diversity at the University

In 2012 there were 38,747 students enrolled at the University. This represented a 2.2 per cent (826) increase in student enrolments from 2011 (University, 2013a). As of March 2012, there was 2768 professional or academic staff employed at the university, 2159 on a full-time or part-time basis and 599 on a casual basis (University, 2013a).

In terms of student diversity at the University more specifically, Figure 7 below shows the yearly percentage totals of international students enrolled at the University during the period 2008 to 2012. Within these percentages were students representing a large number of countries around the world. For instance, in 2012, the full degree international student population at the University was 10,176 students representing 107 countries (University, 2013a). In 2009, there were more than 11,000 full degree international student representing 117 countries (University, 2010a).
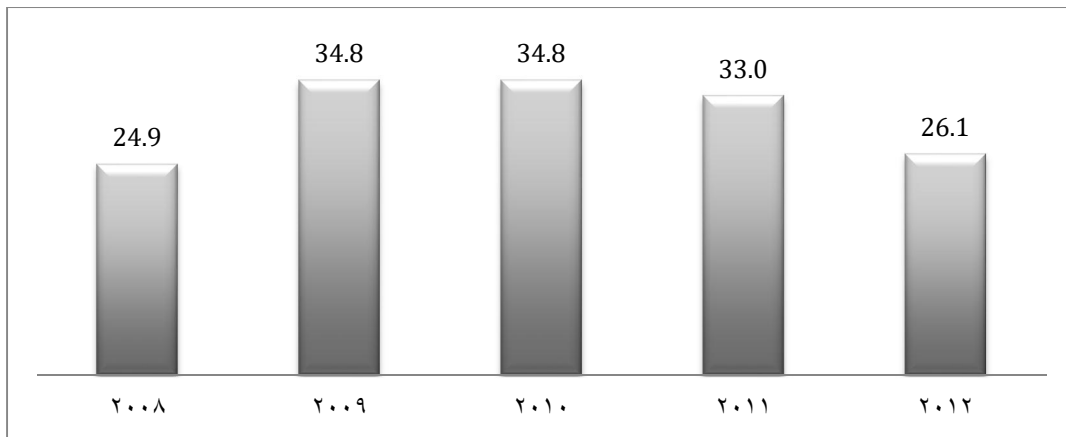
Figure (7): Full degree international student population as percentage of total student population at the University 2008-2010 (Source: University Annual Reports, 2008-2012)

With regard to staff diversity at the University, Figure 8 shows the yearly percentage of staff at the University from CALD backgrounds during the period 2008-2012.
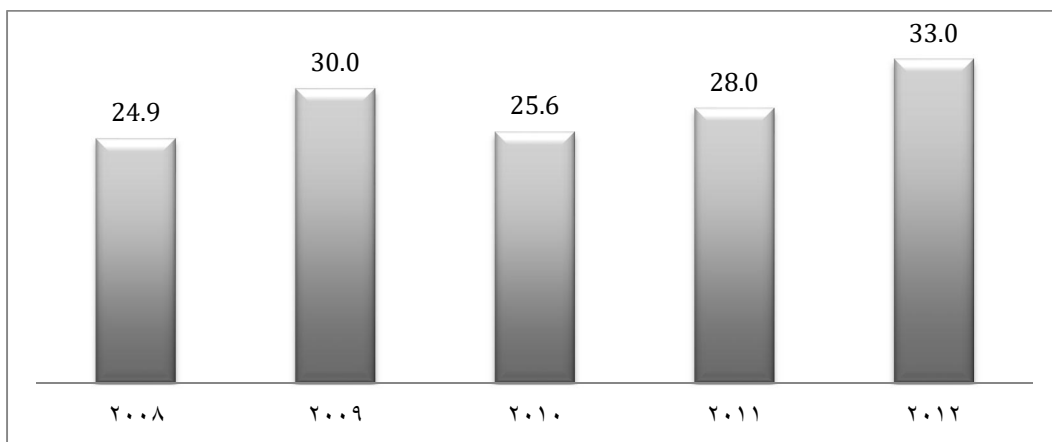
Figure (8): Percentage of the University staff from CALD backgrounds 2008-2010 (Source: University Annual Reports, 2008-2012)

In terms of Muslims employed in tertiary institutions in NSW and across Australia, Table (15) below demonstrates there has been a steady upward trend in the number of Muslims employed which is consistent with state-wide and nation-wide trends.

Table (15): Number of Muslims employed in Australia, NSW, and in tertiary institutions at the state and federal level; Source: ABS Censuses 2001, 2006 and 2011 (data available on request)

	2001			2006			2011		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Muslim Employees in Aus	52,803	25,965	78,768	69,928	34,311	104,239	99,552	50,613	150,165
Muslim Employees in NSW	27,012	12,814	39,826	34,695	16,358	51,053	45,256	22,360	67,616
Muslim Employees in Tertiary Education In Aus	825	457	1,282	1,228	707	1,935	2,016	1,192	3,208
Muslim Employees in Tertiary Education In NSW	317	176	493	428	246	674	679	425	1,104

The University's 2012 Annual Report (2013a) states that staff members at the University comprised people from 71 countries, and that up to 57 different languages including English were spoken across the total staff cohort. Furthermore, CALD staff represented 28.8 per cent and 35.8 per cent of the academic and professional workforce respectively (University, 2013a). According to the University, the percentage of CALD staff has 'been steadily increasing … since 2008' and the percentage for both academic and professional staff remains 'significantly higher than the NSW government benchmark of 19 per cent (University, 2013a, p. 28). Of all CALD academic staff, 74.7 per cent held continuing positions; whereas 25.2 per cent were employed on a fixed-term basis. Regarding all CALD professional staff, 90.9 per cent were employed in continuing positions and 9.1 per cent were employed on a fixed-term basis (University, 2013a).

9.4.2 University and social inclusion

Being inclusive is defined by the University as being a fair institution which aims to provide 'access to everyone, no matter what their background' (University, 2013d). Indeed, the concept of social inclusion appears to underpin the University's approach to diversity management. As stated by the University, social inclusion is fundamentally about 'creating an accessible and fair university that recognises, values, and celebrates the diversity of students and staff' (University, 2013a, p. 16). To meet this policy the University incorporated into its Academic Plan, 2012 a Social Inclusion Plan which outlines the initiatives,

collaborations and equity principles evident in the day-to-day operations of the University (University, 2013a).

In addition, the University also seeks to acknowledge and address staff and student diversity on campus through its espoused core values. For instance, the University states that one of the values it upholds is 'discovery, learning and participation in a borderless world' (University, 2013d). In addition, to uphold the core values the University suggests that a central aim is to remain committed to 'excellence in research, teaching and global citizenship' (University, 2013d). Thus, it is through the use of such language as 'borderless world' and 'global citizenship' that The University seeks to represent itself as an inclusive and progressive institution with regard to diversity matters.

9.4.3 University and equity principles

Further to the issue of the management of diversity at the University, a stated specific employment equity goal for 2013 is to continuously improve staff and student understanding of legislation, rights and responsibilities around discrimination, with a focus on inclusive leadership and the prevention of bullying and harassment (University, 2013a). With regard to staff in particular, the University declares its ongoing commitment to improving its human resources policy, processes and professional development to ensure that 'equity and diversity principles are embedded in strategic and operational responses' (University, 2013a). In addition, a further response to diverse cultural and linguistic representation at the University was the redrafting of the Multicultural Services and Programs Plan under the new University guidelines by the Equity and Diversity Unit at the University (University, 2013a).

As such, the list of goals for 2013 related to the University's Multicultural policies and services program represent a commitment to strengthening the mechanisms which support CALD staff and students to participate fully in academic and campus life, providing CALD staff and students with a stronger voice in decision making, and ensuring that CALD staff and students' needs are identified and addressed (University, 2013a). With regard to staff in particular, the University's 'Multicultural Policies and Services Program' also aims to further support career advancement and professional development opportunities for CALD employees. The program is committed to the implementation of equity and diversity related policy and procedures that 'support, respect and value CALD staff and students' (University, 2013a). As such, one pathway towards the achievement of this outcome is to ensure that

equity considerations are inherent in the design of the various cultural events and celebrations are promoted throughout the year at the university (University, 2013a).

9.4.4 University and managing religious differences

A key aspect of the diversity among staff and students at the University is religious difference. In terms of religious diversity among the students, the University website includes a webpage to directly address the issue of religion (University, 2013f). On this webpage the following declaration is made: 'As a [University] student, your faith will be supported'. Moreover, the University acknowledges that most of the world religions are represented in Sydney, along with their own places of worship (University, 2013f). To reflect its position to support the faith of students the University has in place a number of initiatives to accommodate different religious needs. For instance, the University Chaplain Service supports students of both Christian and non-Christian faith. In addition, the University endorses the establishment of religious clubs on campus to cater to an array of religious affiliations and has a multi-faith room available to all students (University, 2013f).

The webpage also makes specific reference to the large Muslim community in Sydney and declares that the University both welcomes and accommodates Muslim students on campus. These accommodations include a *Musallah* [Prayer Room] located on campus grounds, which is managed by the University Muslim Students Association (MUMSA). In addition, MUMSA ensures the provision of *halal* foods on campus and convenes lectures and social events throughout the year to support Muslim community engagement (University, 2013e). Furthermore, with regard to staff and students in general, a second webpage titled 'Religion', which includes a link to 'Inclusive Language Tips (University, 2013f), confirms the University's commitment to providing 'equal opportunity for all persons regardless of religious belief'. Here the University makes explicit reference to its awareness of the illegality of discriminating against people because of their religious beliefs mentioned under 'race' in the *NSW Anti-Discrimination Act 1977* (University, 2013f). Moreover, the University declares its commitment to 'respect the right of staff and students from diverse religious backgrounds and faith traditions to practice their beliefs without discrimination and harassment' (University, 2013f).

Another challenge cited by the University on its webpage is 'Inaccurate portrayals of religious practices and belief systems' (University, 2013f). Here the university emphasises

the importance of using factual and parallel terms to those used by the writer or speaker when referring to religious practices and belief systems in lectures (University, 2013f). This is to avoid the implication that one religion is inferior to another. A third challenge posed by religion to teaching and learning delivery as cited by the University relates to the management of tensions between secularism and religious belief. The University draws attention to the impact that the 'war on terrorism' declared by the US Government in 2001 has had on religious tolerance (University, 2013f). According to the University, there has been an increase in prejudice and discrimination towards Muslims in many Western countries, including Australia, with many people making ill-informed links between Islam and terrorism (University, 2013f).

In light of these challenges, The University reaffirms its alignment to the secular and liberal model of education in Australian universities and its determination to respect the individuals' right to religious freedom (University, 2013f). As a result, the University declares it will not tolerate behaviour that runs contrary to the university's EEO principles and anti-discrimination policies based on religious beliefs or any other circumstance (University, 2013f).

9.4.5 The University Academic Staff Enterprise Agreement 2011

The University's response to diversity is also apparent in its Enterprise Agreements with professional and academic staff albeit to a far less degree than what is apparent on its website for students. With regard to the management of religious diversity and the accommodation of employees' religious needs in particular, the 2011 Enterprise Agreement (University, 2011b) makes mention of this only in the section on leave entitlements. Under section 4.1.29 of the Enterprise Agreement titled 'Religious, Cultural & Ceremonial Leave', supervisors are advised to assist staff to observe holy days or attend 'essential religious, cultural or ceremonial duties' related to the staff member's faith or culture by approving the appropriate form of leave (University, 2011b, p. 28). While considerable and specific mention is made of the need to accommodate the religious needs of Indigenous staff and students, there is no specific reference to other religious groups however or mention of how their specific religious obligations should be accommodated.

A review of the University's Annual Reports from 2008 to 2012 reveals only limited specific reference to religion or religious differences among staff and students. For instance, the 2009

and 2010 Annual Reports make a single reference to religion in the statement: 'the Department of English continued to engage with staff and students from CALD backgrounds with regard to issues such as diaspora, race, ethnicity, globalisation, religion, law, and refugee policy (p. 43 and p. 30 respectively). Also, there is no specific mention of religion in the 2012 Annual Report (apart from the Religious Studies course available to students), Thus, rather than directly stating its support or position on different religious practices among staff at the University in its Enterprise Agreements, it appears the University relies much more heavily on the implementation of government legislation and internal multicultural policies to promote equal opportunity and anti-discrimination on campus.

It should be noted however that while sections of the Enterprise Agreement 2011 (see section 2.7 'Employment Equity and Diversity' for instance) do seek to address the issue of discrimination in the workplace, a specific definition of discrimination is not provided (University, 2011b). Rather, the issue is addressed in more generalised terms. Notwithstanding the lack of clear definition of discrimination, section 2.7.2 of the 2011 Enterprise Agreement does nonetheless make explicit reference to the right of a staff member or the University to pursue 'a matter of discrimination in any State or Federal jurisdiction, including any application to the NSW Anti-Discrimination Board or the Australian Human Rights Commission' (University, 2011b, p. 7). Other federal laws related to discrimination that the University is obligated to meet include the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*, the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984*, and the *Disability Discrimination Act 1992* (University, 2013g). In the case where a staff member at the University does feel that he or she is being subjected to discrimination, the 2011 Enterprise Agreement states the first attempt to resolve the matter should be through internal mediation. If the grievance cannot be resolved at this level the complainant may request that the Human Resources Director, in consultation with the Director of Equity & Diversity seeks to resolve the matter or refer the matter to an external mediator such as the NSW Anti-Discrimination Board (University, 2011b).

9.4.6 The University Equity and Diversity Plan 2011-2015

The University (2010b) 'Equity and Diversity Plan 2011-2015' lists as one of its goals to provide; 'professional development and collaborations which raise awareness of equal employment and educational opportunity, anti-discrimination and equity' and diversity at the University (University, 2010b, p. 1). To support professional development and communications on diversity related matters such as anti-discrimination, grievance
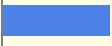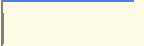
management, bullying and harassment. The University has undertaken to strengthen staff and student capacity by providing both cohorts with training modules on equity and diversity related professional development. In addition, anti-discrimination information on rights and responsibilities is available in targeted promotional materials and workshops (University, 2010b). Lastly, to ensure the integrity of this aspect of the plan, grievance policy, procedures and guidelines are also to be strengthened over the period 2011-2015 (University, 2010b).

9.5 Data

9.5.1 Online survey

The same online survey instrument was utilised to collect data from participants from both case study organisations (see Appendix 1). Sixty-two respondents started the online survey with thirty-six completed and returned to the researcher. All participants were staff members at the University; their ages ranged from 21 to 62 years and 24 per cent were female. The majority of the participants (73 per cent) were born overseas in different parts of the world including Saudi Arabia, India, Bangladesh, Iran, Italy, Turkey, South Africa, Tunisia, Jordan, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan. However, 71 per cent of the participants were educated in Australia. Table (16) below reveals 90 per cent of the surveyed participants had a university level qualification.

Table (16): Participants' levels of education obtained

1	High school		10%
2	Diploma		0%
3	Bachelor's degree		22%
4	Master's degree		40%
5	PhD		28%
6	Other		0%
	Total		100%

With regard to the nature of the participants' employment, 74 per cent were full-time employees, 20 per cent were employed as casuals with no guaranteed work hours or irregular work hours, and the remaining were part-time employees who work less than 38 hours per week (Fairwork.gov.au). Moreover, the participants represented diverse workplace roles and responsibilities across the University such as marketing, teaching, research, administration, crime prevention, software engineering and developments, accounting, services assistants, tutors and cafe attendants. Generally, around 67 per cent of participants were professionals

such as accountants and web engineers, and 33 per cent worked as professors, lecturers or researchers.

In terms of the language spoken by the surveyed participants, Table (17) demonstrates that English was the first language for only 30 per cent of the participants. The first languages spoken by the remaining 70 per cent of participants included Arabic, Hindi, Bengali, Persian, Urdu, Malay, Turkish and Tamil.

Table (17): Participant answers as a percentage to the online survey question: *Is English your second language?*

#	Answer		%
1	Yes		70%
2	No, English is my first language		30%

In relation to the religious practices of the participants, 85 per cent described themselves as practising Muslims, and 42 per cent have religious appearance. Moreover, 55 per cent indicated they engaged in daily religious practices at work: while 26 per cent indicated that they 'sometimes' engaged in religious practises at work.

Similar to CS1 participants, the participants in CS2 were surveyed on the importance to them of the ability to engage in religious behaviours in the workplace and to have the practices acknowledged and understood within the workplace. Tables (18), (19) and (20) below present the online survey response data. Table (18) shows the majority of participants (61 per cent) regarded the right to engage in religious practices in the workplace to be either 'Important' or 'Very Important'. Table (19) reveals 70 per cent in the CS2 workplace believed it was either 'Important' or 'Very Important' for their workplace to understand the types of religious practices in which they engaged. Table (20) shows the majority (52 per cent) of the University surveyed participants indicated it was either 'Important' or 'Very Important' for managers to understand the types of religious practices being engaged in by employees.

Table (18): Participant answers as a percentage to the online survey question: *How important to you is the ability to engage in religious practices in the workplace?*

#	Answer		%
1	Not at all Important		13%
2	Unimportant		0%
3	Moderate		26%
4	Important		19%
5	very Important		42%

Table (19): Participant answers as a percentage to the online survey question: *How important is it to you that the organisation understands religious practices?*

#	Answer		%
1	Not at all important		13%
2	Unimportant		3%
3	Moderate		13%
4	Important		35%
5	Very Important		35%
	Total		100%

Table (20): Participant answers as a percentage to the online survey question: *How important is it to you that the manager understands religious practices?*

#	Answer		%
1	Not at all Important		13%
2	Unimportant		6%
3	Moderate		29%
4	Important		23%
5	Very Important		29%
	Total		100%

The online survey responses showed 11 per cent of respondents experienced conflict in the workplace related to religious identity or religious practices. Some explained the conflict by saying: 'I'm from the Middle East and Muslim that itself is enough for many people to criticise me.' and 'Prayer break don't exist'. The analysis of these issues is illustrated in the Findings and Analysis chapter.

9.5.2 Interviews

Twenty interviews were conducted by the researcher: 17 with employees to clarify issues such as intercultural conflict: and three interviews with managers to collect data on their attitudes towards, and support for, the accommodation of religious practices in the workplace. Tables (21 and 22) provide a profile of the employees and managers interviewed including their job description and status, gender, and total years of employment at the University.

Table (21): Employees' information

#	Occupations	Gender	Years at the University
1	Sessional academic, casual	Male	3
2	Technical manager, full time	Male	10
3	Casual academic teacher	Male	3
4	Casual café attendant	Male	2.5
5	Casual café attendant	Male	2
6	Software developer, full time	Male	4
7	Casual employee in the international office	Male	7 months
8	Employee in the Learning and Teaching Centre, full time	Male	6
9	Business development manager, full time	Male	3
10	Admission officer, full time	Male	3
11	Library employee, full time	Male	12
12	Lecturer, full time	Male	6
13	General Manager, full time	Male	Under 2
14	Crime Prevention and Training Co-ordinator, full time	Female	10
15	A researcher in the Australian School of Advanced Medicine	Female	10 months
16	Casual teacher and tutor	Female	2
17	Financial Manager, full time	Female	14

Table (22): Managers' information

#	Occupational role	Gender	Years at the University
1	Resource manager	Female	About 1
2	IT manager	Male	24
3	Faculty manager	Male	22

Findings and Analysis

10.1 Introduction

The primary aims of this study are to identify key Islamic religious practices performed by Muslim employees that may cause conflict in secular workplaces and to examine how managers respond to religious diversity among employees. This chapter presents the findings from the two case studies pertaining to such religion-based conflict and diversity management issues. Specifically, this chapter discusses the findings for each case study related to Muslim employees' experiences of identity negotiation, accommodation of their religious practices, and workplace conflict while working in their respective public organisations.

As described in the Methods chapter, data on Muslim employees' experiences and opinions were collected via online survey and face to face interview. This chapter begins with CS1 (Agency). It presents the identification and detailed discussion of key findings to emerge from the data pertaining to issues of identity, religious accommodations and conflict in the workplace for Muslim employees. This is followed by a discussion of CS2 (University). The findings related to identity, religious accommodations, and conflicts in the workplace for Muslim employees are also discussed in detail. Unlike for the CS1, the issue of promotion is discussed in relation to CS2 as this was a topic that was discussed openly by the participants. The discussion of the key findings to emerge for each case study is informed by the theories and concepts outlined in the Conceptual Framework chapter as well as the details presented in each of the Case Study chapters.

10.2 Findings: Case Study One (Agency)

10.2.1 Identity

Reference to the participants' 'identity' included their national identity (Australian citizens) as well as their religious (Muslim) identity. The interviews revealed most Muslim employee participants were both proud of, and willing to talk about their identities. However, they also revealed many participants felt the need to conceal their religious identity and practices in the workplace.

All interviewees except one revealed they experienced difficulties when trying to understand the concept of multiple identities as well as when trying to describe their multiple identities. The only exception was interviewee 15 who described her identity in the following way: 'I'm a Muslim Australian Egyptian. That's what I see myself as'. Practising Muslim employees in the Agency clearly indicated they had a strong sense of national belonging to Australia as citizens and as well as a strong religious affiliation to Islam. This aligns with Davey's (2011) assertion that Muslims in Australia may embrace Australian culture, practise Islamic faith: and report Lebanese or other heritage. However, the Agency interviewees remained silent in relation to their heritage identity during the interviews.

Although some Muslim employees such as interviewees 3 and 9 held their faith deeply they accepted the shared culture within the organisation dictated that individual faith should be kept a private matter. As such, it emerged in the interview responses that there are generally three possible reasons why Muslim employees try to hide their faith in the workplace: First, Muslims may see themselves as a minority (others). According to some reports (e.g., United Nations, 2010), Muslims in Australia suffer discrimination and have fewer opportunities for employment. Indeed, not only are Muslims often 'viewed as 'other' by employers, fellow workers or customers resulting in discrimination, they are more likely to be unemployed compared to jobseekers of other faiths' (Lovat et al., 2011, p. 9). The data provided evidence of how some managers viewed their Muslims employees as 'others', unless these employees conformed to the norms and the culture of the organisation.

Being a part of a minority group in the workplaces was mentioned in the interviews. Interviewees 1, 8 and 9 indicated clearly they hide their religious identity as they did not want to be seen as socially different. This is especially the case if the individual is the only Muslim in the specific unit as revealed in the response from interviewee 6. When questioned about whether she had asked her manager to provide a prayer room she stated: 'No I didn't. Because I'm the only Muslim there I don't know if – I don't feel comfortable about asking'. Also, Interviewee 18 did not ask, stating: 'I don't expect them to do too much because of that. I don't expect them to designate a room only for praying, given that I'm a minority.'

Second, Muslim employees believe it is more practical to hide their identity. For example, Interviewee (18) stated: 'I would say I don't want to be seen as being treated differently'. This is also reflected in the appreciation expressed by some participants that there is no time to

pray and/or that there is no place to pray due to the size of the workplace. Interviewee 10 for example reported he did not ask to be accommodated to perform his religious practices even though he was performing a variety of religious practices including daily prayers, Friday prayers, fasting during *Ramadan*, not socialising, and so on.

Third, besides being concern about their minority or marginal status, one interviewee (3) stressed: 'I don't want to be seen as favoured'. 'Not surprisingly, making exceptions to accommodate religious beliefs can result in misunderstandings among co-workers and questions as to why a co-worker is receiving special treatment' (Evans, 2013). As stated by Interviewee 11:

> *I think with most of us, most of the Muslims in the [law enforcement agency], we like to keep a low profile. They - wouldn't need the workplace to go - bend over backwards to accommodate us because it's worse for the other officers to think that they've got special treatment because of their faith.*

In addition, Interviewee 10 commented:

> *I've spoken to a lot of friends of mine where I've said do you pray at your work and he says no, I don't. I haven't asked my boss. I say why not? He goes, well I don't feel comfortable, or they may look at me differently.*

Interviewee 17 also did not ask for religious accommodations, justifying his reluctance by saying:

> *Because people's general perception obviously in the workplace are pretty negative anyway, so when you say that, it's like a big joke that they - I know what's going to happen in the long run anyway, so I just don't say anything.*

As scholars Blackburn, (2008); Preus, (1987); Stark and Bainbridge, (1980; cited in Hill et al., 2000, p. 53); Ysseldyk et al. (2010) have shown, religious identity may divide people into in-groups or out-groups. The interview responses revealed eight of 18 respondents felt they were socially different as a result of their religious identity. Moreover, the respondents reported they experienced a lack of acceptance because of their religious identity and that they saw themselves as an out-group, even though they were committed to upholding

Australian values. For example, Interviewee 7 stated: 'Because I don't look like I'm Muslim they behave normally around me and when they find out I am Muslim they overreact because I don't fit into that identity that they've got in their head.' Also, Interviewee 18 remarked: 'When I first started I'd say that people were a little bit wary of me and given the fact that I'm from a Muslim background.'

The wariness from non-Muslim employees referred to by Interviewee 18 is also alluded to in the following comment from a surveyed respondent: 'I had issues with people who had minimal integration with Muslims and it took a while for them to realise I was just like everyone else.' This comment reveals that the lack of acceptance changed. Interviewee 3 supports this conclusion: 'I think we've moved a long way in the workplace to accommodate different cultures. I think even the organisation has changed a lot to accommodate different faiths and people from ethnic backgrounds. I think 10 years ago was probably a start as well.'

Overall, during the interviews it emerged some Muslim employees were trying to create an orthogonal culture (Martin and Siehl, 1983); that is, to integrate and accept some responsibility for trying to achieve a balance between endorsing the organisational culture and meeting the needs of their individual faith. In this way, the Agency data reflected the argument from Rust and Gabriels (2011) that Muslim employees in the modern workplace often integrate their religious values and align with the values of the organisation to ensure positive outcomes.

The findings show Muslim employees in the Agency uphold the values of the dominant organisational culture such as equality. They also look to uphold their own religious values and generally hold orthogonal subcultural values with one notable exception; on the matter of socialising with work colleagues both formally and informally. To clarify, Muslim workers in the Agency considered it their religious and ethical obligation to do their best to fulfil the job requirements regardless of cultural differences. It is also worth noting however the way in which the organisational culture of the Agency at times does not accommodate the religious needs of its employees. For instance, a stated objective of the diversity policy in the Agency is to accommodate reasonable requests from employees to fulfil dietary, prayer and other religious needs (Agency, 2011, p. 50). In addition, it states that a valued practice within the organisation should be to recognise and reward employees who demonstrate cultural competence (Agency, 2011, p. 50). However, there is ample evidence to suggest that some

employees believe these objectives are not always put into practice. Indeed, the online survey and interview findings highlight that two key issues repeatedly emerged during the participant interviews: the need felt by some Muslim employees to conceal their identity and details about their religious practices: and the presence of stereotyping in the workplace on the basis of cultural difference.

In addition to the impact of aspects of organisational culture and workplace responsibilities on the attitudes and actions of Muslim men and women, there were also workplace relations and the implications of participating in social activities that emerged as an issue of counterculture. The issue of counterculture is illustrated in detail in the practices and conflict sections below.

10.2.2 Practices

Participants were asked in the online survey whether they were practising or non-practising Muslims. Over 66 per cent of the participants described themselves as practising Muslims. However, they were not necessarily practising in the workplace. Only 33 per cent of the practising Muslim employees stated that they engaged in religious behaviours at work, with 15 per cent indicating they 'sometimes' engaged in religious behaviours. Moreover, interview data highlighted three different categories of practising: fully practising (e.g., prays five times a day on time, 13 interviewees); moderately practising (e.g., prays at some time on most days, two interviewees); and rarely practising (e.g., occasionally prays on Fridays and may attend religious festivals such as *Eid*, three interviewees). The practising Muslim employees who participated in the interviews also expressed how they felt uncomfortable to some degree when talking in detail about their personal religiosity. For instance, Interviewee 4 commented: 'I'm not comfortable talking about this, but you know, I try and practise Islam to the best that I can.'

Table (23) presents online survey data related to the level of importance assigned to religious practices by Muslim employees in the Agency. The data show prayer based practices (48.08 per cent for daily prayers and 41.03 per cent for *Salat Al-Jummah* prayer), maintaining appropriate social practices (*Halal* food; abstention from alcohol 55.77 per cent) and wearing religious attire (17.65 per cent) to be the most important to the Muslim employees surveyed.

Notwithstanding the importance placed on maintaining some religious practices in the workplace as revealed in Table (4), the interview data clearly shows the practising Muslims considered themselves as a minority group and that they tried not to be different in the workplace. As discussed in the Conceptual Frameworks chapter, the group to which a person perceives they belong influences their sense of identity (Raggins and Gonzalez, 2003, p. 143). In turn, when the group is a numerically smaller minority group it is not uncommon for the minority group members to identify more strongly with each other's struggle to gain access into the majority group (Leonard et al., 2008, p. 573). According to Tajfel (1978), the ability of the minority group members to form friendships and networks with the majority group depends on the impenetrability of the boundaries each group has set (Tajfel, 1978).

Table (23): The importance of maintaining workplace related religious practices

#	Practices	Not at all Important	Unimportant	Neither Important nor Unimportant	Important	Extremely Important
1	Daily prayers	7.69%	0.00%	11.54%	32.69%	48.08%
2	Fasting during *Ramadan*	5.77%	0.00%	9.62%	25.00%	59.62%
3	To be away from forbidden actions, food (e.g., pork) or drink (e.g., alcohol)	9.62%	1.92%	9.62%	23.08%	55.77%
4	To decorate your place with religious markers	48.08%	23.08%	25.00%	3.85%	0.00%
5	To avoid working closely with the other gender	42.31%	26.92%	15.38%	9.62%	5.77%
6	To wear modest attire	17.65%	15.69%	21.57%	29.41%	15.69%
7	To wear *Hijab* (headscarf)	23.53%	0.00%	35.29%	23.53%	17.65%
8	*Salat Al-Jummah* (Friday) prayer	10.26%	2.56%	17.95%	28.21%	41.03%
9	To wear a beard	36.84%	13.16%	31.58%	7.89%	10.53%
10	To wear a hat or skullcap	46.15%	17.95%	33.33%	0.00%	2.56%

During the interviews it also emerged that almost all participants were of the view that whether or not to practise religion in the workplace was the choice of the individual. In addition, similar to the online survey responses (see Table 4), the interview responses revealed consensus among the participants that prayers and fasting during *Ramadan*, along with other factors such as manners, should be considered as important religious practices. The following comment from Interviewee 9 illustrates this view: 'To me, practising is not

just about praying your five times … it's about developing your character, being a good person as well.'

Thus, the online survey and interview data demonstrated a somewhat ambiguous position about the relationship between religious practices and their workplace role. Ambiguity is a state of mind and exists for minority group employees in the workplace when there is no clear distinction for them between integration and differentiation in the values and/or behaviours supported in the organisational culture (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). As a result, the employees perceive they are caught in the middle of a workplace dynamic whereby they feel neither fully included nor fully excluded. Participant responses reveal their desire to bring aspects of their personal lives into the workplace not common to the dominant culture. As such, a counterculture is created by the Muslim employees as they endeavour to hold on to values and practices to the point where they are prepared to separate themselves from the dominant cultural values and practices in the workplace (Vandenberghe (2009, p. 122). This counterculture sub-group formation is in turn reflective of Meyerson and Martin's (1987) conceptualisation of differentiation. What is evident is the existence of potentially contradictory values and practices in the Agency workplace within the interactions of the majority and minority groups (Meyerson and Martin, 1987, p. 630).

Interestingly, both the online survey and interview responses differed to what is asserted in the literature on SRW (Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi, 2010; Ghumman and Ryan, 2013; Kabir and Evans, 2002; Lovat et al., 2011; McCue, 2008; Reeves, McKinney and Azam, 2012; Scott and Franzmann, 2007; Syed and Pio, 2010) and Barhem, Younies and Muhamad (2009). In particular, the responses presented an alternative view to what is said about the potential for Muslim women employees to experience difficulties in the workplace made by managers or co-workers 'as a result of Muslim women's decisions to follow their religious practices' (Van Laar, 2013, p. 65). The online survey responses indicated that Muslim women in the Agency faced conflict to the same extent as Muslim men (31 per cent of women experienced conflict compared to 30 per cent of men). However, as illustrated below, six of eight Muslim females felt that they received greater sympathy from managers than their male colleagues, especially during *Ramadan.*

Interviewee 4 was of the opinion that being a female sworn officer with general duties is not suitable for a practising Muslim woman and believed the situation only gets harder when the

woman becomes more devout. She mentioned several aspects of work that she would not get involved in because she is a practising Muslim. She commented: 'I don't think a Muslim female should be [an Agency] officer and this is the dilemma I faced for a couple of years'. Interviewee 6 raised a similar point concerning the issues particular to Muslim women when she said: 'When you are wearing a scarf, that's like a flag to say yes, you're Muslim. So it automatically attracts attention. So you have to act according to that.' Socialising with men, being close to a man in the patrol car for up to twelve hours and touching suspicious men on the street were all causes for personal (felt) internal conflict according to Interviewee 4.

Ramadan

The strong cultural awareness of, and sensitivity towards *Ramadan* by managers and non-Muslim workers in the Agency meant none of the participants mentioned *Ramadan* as an issue. The interview data in particular made evident that religious practices related to *Ramadan* were accommodated and there was no conflict as a result. The principles of high cooperativeness and low assertiveness (Morgan, 2006) were supported as managers accommodated their employees to ensure religious issues were seen to be important. Interviewee 11 stated: 'With the fasting and that kind of stuff, my work - my colleagues respect it.' Interviewee 6 also commented: 'They fully understand that. They know when the *Ramadan* is coming and they know when I'm going to leave early and they don't have any problem with it.' Interviewee 8 held the same sentiment, stating:

> *In terms of practising our fast, fasting Ramadan, I never had any issue at the workplace. On the contrary, they are very sensitive with me that they hide their food away from me. If I'm tired or exhausted, they give me time off.*

Moreover, the Muslim community in Australia celebrates the beginning and the end of *Ramadan* publicly every year, and some Muslim organisations conduct the '*Ramadan* Awareness Campaigns' which includes sending '*Ramadan* bags' to public schools. The bags contain information about *Ramadan* and also invitations to people such as CEOs, academics and Agency officers to share *Iftar* (breakfast) (ramadan.com.au).

Daily prayer

With regard to the provision of prayer rooms in workplaces, evidence in the literature shows there is a 'lack of facilities for prayers' in Australian workplaces (DIAC, 2008a). Muslim employees who participated in the interviews expressed some anxiety about this issue. Interviewees 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 18 practise their religion privately and felt conflict with disagreement with managers because of the lack accommodation for daily prayers.

Approximately 80 per cent of the surveyed respondents found daily prayer to be 'important' or 'extremely important'. Based on the total participants' responses, the average amount of time required to pray was eight minutes. For example, Interviewee 1 stated: 'Unfortunately, during my last 20 years there was hardly a dedicated room for prayer.' Interviewee 8 provided a more detailed response, declaring:

> *In terms of praying, unfortunately in … [the Agency], we do not have a designated prayer area. Unfortunately the place is not designed in a way that it offers a private room … Therefore, there's absolutely no place for a female to, a place that might be appropriate to pray. The only place that's closed off is the lockers room.*

Interviewee 11 provided a similar insight, stating:

> *The room that I use is the room that I use to interview children at - because it's carpeted and there's - it's private, I can close the door, I can use blinds. So it's appropriate for me, it's clean. … You'd have to ask, you basically have to ask.*

According to Jouili (2009), temporary prayer rooms do have their disadvantages. From a practical perspective, there is the uncertainty that comes with the temporary nature of the arrangement and the low-level privacy that the Muslim employee can generally expect during its use. However, of a somewhat more serious nature, Jouili (2009) mentioned that some Muslims have also spoken of how a temporary prayer room becomes a subset of contention or a source of conflict, leading non-Muslims to be openly hostile towards Muslims over their permission to use the common space. For instance, some Muslims told of situations in which colleagues deliberately leave the room untidy prior to its use for temporary prayer, or times when the door has been deliberately locked to prevent entry (Jouili, 2009). Although Jouili's (2009) study was done in French and German, it is so relevant to this study and very useful for an analysis of the issue of temporary prayer rooms.

Friday prayers

As shown previously in Table (4), around 70 per cent of the surveyed employees considered Friday prayers conducted in mosques every Friday at noon as either 'important' or 'extremely important'. However, a number of respondents acknowledged there were sometimes conflict situations with the job duties and that it was not always easy to ask permission every Friday given it may cause conflict with non-Muslim colleagues. Only 40 per cent of the practising Muslims surveyed engaged in Friday prayers. The reason most often stated for not engaging

in Friday prayers was workload. Only one surveyed participant indicated specifically he was not allowed to attend prayer. According to the surveyed sample, an average of 47 minutes was needed for Friday prayer as it is normally performed outside the workplace at a mosque or other location. There were two issues associated with asking permission to attend Friday prayers every week: conflict with the job requirements; and felt (personal) conflict. Having to continually ask the manager for permission every week to attend Friday prayers may cause embarrassment.

Interviewee 10 also provided an interesting insight on this issue:

> *Very rarely do I get the Friday day off, like such as today, which I'm able to go to the mosque. But I need this day off more often, like almost on a permanent basis. Or if they can't give it to me off permanently, they should accommodate me to be able to take my one hour break time at a specific time, where I can go to the local mosque and perform my prayer.*

Religious appearance and decorations

According to some schools of thought in Islam growing a beard is recommended or obligatory (Al-Jazairy, 2001). However, meeting this 'obligation' was not a significant concern to the Muslim employees surveyed or interviewed. Despite it being a source of conflict in the workplace in some societies (Greenwald, 2013), only Interviewees 9 and 11 made mention of growing a beard in relation to religious appearance. None of the other surveyed and interviewed employees raised it as an issue. Furthermore, even less interest was expressed in relation to the use of religious decorations or markers, with only 6 per cent of the surveyed participants indicating they had religious decorations in their offices.

Although these percentages seem small, studying the issue of religions in the workplace from a broad perspective led to results which align with the opinions of the majority of the study sample. For example, the Society for Human Resource Management's (2001) 'Religion in the Workplace' survey found religious decorations in the office were the most common religious accommodation offered by organisations. Perhaps this is because the majority of the targeted sample (81 per cent) was of the Christian faith and it was common to decorate workplaces with a Christmas tree or other festive religious decorations.

Minor concerns – mostly related to workplace performance – were raised by the manager of Interviewee 8 who expressed concerns when she decided to wear a *hijab*. Also, there was real personal conflict for sworn female officers. The percentage of practising Muslim women was higher than the percentage for their male counterparts (78 per cent and 68 per cent, respectively). Practising Muslim women (Interviewees 8 and 6) indicated they experienced some difficulties when practising their faith at work, not necessarily because they were wearing the *hijab*, but because they required more privacy than their male counterparts. Muslim men for example can pray in an open place such as a park, but this does not necessarily suit Muslim women.

This can be explained by the greater amount of time required by women to prepare themselves for prayers when they may need to take the headscarf off, wash their face, and put the headscarf back on again. The online survey data also made evident that female employees took longer than male employees to practise their faith. For example, according to Islam, women are not obliged like men to attend Friday prayers outside of their workplace. However, they reported the average amount of time needed for each daily prayer was 11.6 minutes compared to men who reported they needed 8.2 minutes on average to pray. As stated by female Interviewee 8: 'It's a lot easier for a male'.

10.2.3 Social activities

Counterculture (Martin and Siehl, 1983) was evident in regard to social activities. Most employees identified strongly with their religion and saw themselves as different. In fact the employees separate themselves when possible from social activities organised by the organisation to maintain their beliefs (Ridha, 2004; Vandenberghe, 2009). Around 77 per cent of the surveyed employees stated they preferred to keep themselves away from forbidden actions, food (e.g., pork) or drink (e.g., alcohol). Almost all interviewees stated they attended organisational functions and events if there was *Halal* food being served, unless the function or event was held at a bar or at a location where alcohol is served. Interviewee 9 offered the following insight into how a Muslim employee might feel about certain work-related social activities: 'I know that they're going to have alcohol there and a lot of people are going to be drinking, so it's not really my scene'.

However, interviewee 18 mentioned he unwillingly attended functions on occasions to maintain his position. As he stated:

With the alcohol, I prefer not to be around people drinking alcohol. However, there are times where there are social occasions at work where people will be drinking and it would disadvantage me not to participate, so I have attended.

Also Interviewee 11 stated: 'For many years I did not attend one function, and that's 14 years' worth. I've never attended a Christmas party. Because I won't, it's a very strong alcohol environment, and I won't, I don't believe in that.'

Interviewee 12 commented:

I don't go there simply for one reason, because they engage in alcohol. They consume alcohol and so it's not our environment. ... Alcohol is completely forbidden in Islam, forbidden, forbidden, completely forbidden. Allah said: avoid it. To avoid something, not to come close to it.

Finally, Interviewee 8 stated: 'I have never ever been there and I will never go.'

Identity separation (Berry, 1990) was evident when individual employees made a conscious decision to identify himself or herself as a practising Muslim. This caused 'felt conflict' in the first stage however due to cultural awareness issues (similar to *Ramadan*) and also due to direct communication between Muslim employees and their non-Muslim managers, and between Muslim employees and their non-Muslim co-workers. It is worth noting that for some Muslim employees, as the following comment from Interviewee 12 highlights, this felt conflict was reduced over time:

They used to ask me if I wanted to participate [in parties]. Now they still send me an invitation but I don't participate, but they know that I don't participate because of alcohol and non-Islamic values that are being practised there. So they respect me, that they don't want to offend me and that's why they don't say anything if I don't get involved in it.

One of the issues to emerge during the interviews was that the need for Muslims to engage in religious practices was not always recognised by managers, even though the Agency provided an 'Islamic Information Guide'. Interviewees in fact indicated that managers understand elements of Muslim identity such as Muslim names, but such elements do not necessarily include religious practices performed by Muslim employees in the workplace. This is because of the variety of religious practices and because of a lack of communication about them. On the one hand, it appears the Agency did not follow through and make sure the

managers looked at the 'Islamic Information Guide'. On the other hand, it is more likely managers considered the 'Islamic Information Guide' to be made for the Muslim community. As such, they believed the employees need to look over it to understand the Muslim community culture in general, not necessarily the religious practices in the workplace for employees in particular. However, a close reading of this document illustrates that it is designed to assist the Agency staff in dealing with Muslim members community, and neglects assisting Muslim staff in the Agency.

10.2.4 Accommodation of religious practices

Only 27 per cent of the surveyed practising Muslim employees indicated they had been asked by their managers or supervisors about their religious practices and needs in the workplace. However, all interviewed employees stated their managers were very cooperative when they asked to be accommodated. For instance, Interviewee 3 stated: 'They're very, very understanding … I haven't asked. I'm pretty sure if I did ask, they'd probably accommodate for me.' The same view was expressed by Interviewee 13 in the comment: 'Whatever I need to do they facilitate me.' Lastly, Interviewee 2 remarked: 'If I need any help or any assistance for anything then I can raise it and they will make it.'

It is interesting to contrast these views with those expressed by the managers. Manager 1 described himself as an atheist and regarded his employees' faith to be of secondary importance to their work duty. He emphasised:

> *So for many of them I believe they hold their duty to the [Agency] above their religious practice … from my experience and it is across all religions, that the duty whilst they're at work to the [Agency] comes before any of their religious needs … you join the [Agency] to offer that service knowing that you have to sacrifice certain things … People may sacrifice other things. Maybe some of the enthusiasm towards their religious beliefs may have to be sacrificed somewhat.*

It is also evident that the location of the workplace influences the extent to which the workplace culture supports Muslim employees and their capacity to conduct their religious practices. For example, there was greater understanding and respect for Muslim subgroups in the Bankstown and Auburn regions where there is a greater number of Muslims compared to other regions. As stated by Interviewee 3 who works in a region highly populated with Muslims: 'I think everyone is understanding in my workplace. They respect who I am. They

respect my religion. The unit I work in, they have a good understanding about Islam.' Similarly, Interviewee 12, who also works in this region, commented: 'All my fellow colleagues, they know that I'm Muslim and they respect that.'

Only 37 per cent of the surveyed practising Muslim employees reported that they asked to be accommodated to conduct religious practices in the workplace. Interviewees clarified that it was mostly to take leave for religious reasons when needed. For example, Interviewee 16 asked accommodation only for religious leave. In fact, granting leave for religious reasons was the most common religious based accommodation by Agency managers and supervisors. Indeed, according to Skalsky and McCarthy (2009), managers in Australia understood the need for religious leave and were prepared to give it priority.

Based on the online survey and interview data, Table (24) outlines the three most common approaches used by Agency managers and supervisors to respond to the religious practices of Muslim employees. With regard to individual managers and supervisors, it was often the case that a compromise was reached. Finding the middle-ground which satisfied each party's concerns such as not providing a prayer room for Muslim employees but ensuring that time is made available for prayer when requested by employees was generally achieved through negotiation.

Table (24): Examples of the three most common manager responses to Muslim religious practices in the workplace

#	Response	Examples
1	Avoidance or rejection (rare)	Not allowing Muslim employee to have a one-hour break every Friday to attend Friday prayers (only one case in the online survey).
2	Accommodation (all cases when employees ask)	Allowing 5 female employees to wear *hijab*.
3	Compromise (most cases)	Not designating a place for daily prayers but offering the conference room or meeting room whenever it is available. Asking employees to bring *Halal* food to organisation parties.

In fact, the extent to which employees' religious needs were valued within the workplace varied among managers as each had a different understanding of religious values and

awareness of the 'multiple realties' of their workplace (Martin, 2002). This finding was supported in the interviews with managers 1 and 2. Some employees were aware that accommodating religious needs was not a priority to the managers, as illustrated in the following comment from Interviewee 8: 'I don't think it's common practice that they ask anyone about their religious needs … My work is not accommodating that but they expect me to perform 100 per cent.'

10.2.5 Conflict

In terms of experienced conflict as a result of external social-based factors, Muslim employees indicated they experienced conflict at work as a result of internal workplace factors. Moreover, participants' understanding of conflict generally fell into two categories: restrictions on practising religion in the workplace; and being forced to attend events that go against their faith (which happened only rarely to some participants in the case study).

Interviewee 3 for example provided examples of religious conflict in the workplace, stating: 'For instance, I wanted to go to *Jum'ah* prayers and they were to say, no you can't. Or to restrict me, or for instance I want a day off during *Eid*, or go celebrate with my family and say, no, no bad luck, you can have Christmas off but you can't have'. In addition, one employee responding to the online survey questions (i.e., Have you experienced any conflicts in your organisation regarding your religious identity or practices?) explained that his understanding and experience of conflict in the workplace was: 'an inability to pray each prayer on time and unable to pray at all at times'; 'being around alcohol is considered a sin however my duties ask for me to enter pubs'; and lack of 'availability to pray'. Only Interviewee 18 recounted an example of being pressured to attend events that were contrary to his faith in order to avoid being treated as out-group member. He said: 'There are times where there are social occasions at work where people will be drinking and it would disadvantage me not to participate, so I have attended'.

In terms of intercultural conflict, some Muslim employees reported negative comments relating to religious practices by mostly non-Muslim co-workers and some non-Muslim supervisors. Events such as 9/11 and the 2002 Bali bombing in particular are identified to have led to the emergence of some racial comments. As a result, there were marked differences in the way the Muslim participants in the study practised their faith and the level

of comfort they felt in seeking accommodation to practise their faith. This issue points to the internal culture at the Agency and the findings show the diversity management is undertaken to meet legislative requirement, to enhance operational effectiveness and to serve the needs of the communities. With regard to the community in particular, the management of religious diversity by the Agency appears primarily to serve a political outcome. That is, the Agency has succeeded in implementing diversity management strategies to prevent religious discrimination in the workplace, but it appears to have failed to implement strategies to fulfil the religious needs of its employees in terms of providing a culture which accepts religious differences and which accommodates religious practices. In other words, the diversity management has been developed at the meso (i.e., organisational) level, but it has not been implemented effectively at the micro (i.e., individual) level. Possible reasons for this are the organisational culture and the nature of the work which prioritise the inherent job requirements.

10.2.5.1 Stereotyping

One of the main expressions of conflict in the workplace as experienced by Muslim participants related to stereotyping by non-Muslim employees. The following excerpts from the participant interviews reveal the forms of stereotyping to which Muslim employees were subjected. Interviewee 1 was asked by his co-worker about fasting during the month of *Ramadan*. After providing an explanation the non-Muslim co-worker said: 'That's a good reason for me if I am Muslim to become non-Muslim.' In relation to another incident, Interviewee 7 revealed: 'One lady went crazy because she found out I was Muslim and she was so - the words she used, calling me a turban-head, Muslim terrorist - she just went on and on and on.' Finally, Interviewee 15 reported that her colleague asked her: 'In Islam, it's okay to smell?' I said, 'What do you mean?' The person said to me; 'Well, you know; poo. People smell of poo.'

In many ways, such uses of stereotypes by non-Muslim employees at the Agency are reflective of Pondy's (1976) conceptualisation of workplace conflict which includes openly aggressive behaviour when a complete breakdown of the relationship emerges if issues are not properly redressed. Moreover, this form of conflict affects employee relations as revealed in the following comment from Interviewee 1: 'We were avoiding each other' when referring to one of the outcomes of his experience of conflict about identity. Interviewee 7 voiced a similar outcome.

10.2.5.2 Racial comments

Four out of 18 interviewees reported they experienced racial comments in the workplace regardless of whether or not they were a practising Muslim. As a result, workplace harmony was impacted. Table (25) presents the negative comments relating to religious practices.

Table (25): List of negative comments relating to religious practices heard or overheard by participants in the workplace

Interviewee 6	A co-worker: 'Did your husband make you wear a scarf?'
Interviewee 8	Her colleagues and supervisors commented: 'Did your family force you to wear the scarf?' Also, 'Did your husband force you?'
Interviewee 17	'I have seen Sergeants, I've seen Inspectors make racial comments not at - about Lebanese or whatever background, but also about Muslims, when they don't realise I'm Muslim. I've walked into offices before where people are making fun of *Ramadan*. The sun goes down, they all run off, oh you're praying to *Allah*, *Allah*, *Allah*, you know, it turns into a joke for them. They make fun of praying, they make fun of the *hijab*. They call it the post box. They make fun of it. They've called it a towel: they slander all these offences to it.' 'I was watching - the football was on and Sonny Bill Williams, there was a guy named Sonny Bill Williams for the Roosters, he became Muslim - he's a Muslim now - and he was praying at the end and people were going, oh he's praying to *Allah*, and they're making fun, they think the whole culture is bad, dirty.'
Interviewee 18	His supervisor commented: 'Those bloody Muslims are taking over the world.'

10.2.5.3 Felt conflict

The Conceptual Frameworks chapter identifies felt conflict as the state when conflict becomes personalised and the people involved feel anxious or even hostile (Pondy, 1967). In terms of this conflict construct, practising interviewees described its internal manifestation as feeling uncomfortable because of the lack of accommodation for them to express their religious identity. For instance, there was often no place or time made available to pray, but they nonetheless felt they had to accept the situation in order to keep their job. As such, 'felt conflict' occurred when Muslim employees experienced a degree of tension with their managers over their requests to have their need to practise their religion in the workplace accommodated. The outcome of this type of disagreement can be anxiety and a diminished

capacity to generate positive feelings toward some managers (Pondy, 1976). The following comment from Interviewee 10 provides an insight into the nature of felt conflict:

> *Once you get the job you pass your probationary period, you tell the person, look can I have a word with you? This is just something it's been on my mind. I require these times because I'm a practising Muslim and the person looks at your like oh, okay well yeah we can accommodate that no problem. But deep down you really know that - you can read their body language, it comes as quite a surprise. After that people do tend to look at you a little bit strange and it goes around the office. You know, he's the Muslim, he practises and so forth.*

10.2.5.4 Manifest conflict

Manifest conflict is when the conflict is enacted through behaviours obvious to other people not involved (Pondy, 1967). Notwithstanding the issue of stereotyping and racial comments predominately about religious identity, the interview responses from Muslim employees in the Agency revealed no evidence of their experiencing manifest conflict in relation to their religious practices. This is due to two reasons: improved awareness of religious differences and religious diversity in the organisation (mainly *Ramadan*); and the way in which Muslim employees managed their religious identity. Regarding reason one, there was no evidence of conflict when Muslim workers were fasting during the month of *Ramadan* as a result of managers' and co-workers' cultural awareness (e.g., Interviewees 6, 8, 9 and 11). Interviewee 11 for example was given all Fridays off during *Ramadan* in 2011.

With regard to the second reason, the interview results revealed most of the practising Muslim employees typically did not ask to be accommodated to perform their religious practices. Only three of 13 practising employees asked to be accommodated. The reason for this is most likely that the organisational culture sought to 'homogenise identity differences' (Taksa and Groutsis, 2013, p. 183). Indeed, an emphasis was placed on a perception of equality and uniformity among employees and as a result the Muslim employees often hid their religious identity to avoid being seen as different. Further to this, the Muslim employees in general felt a sense of conflict when the workplace lacked the facilities for them to practise their faith. Interestingly, these employees did not ask their managers to accommodate their needs, but instead they tried to adapt to the dominant Australian culture. Interviewees 1, 9 and 11 for example explained that this approach was often due to their perception of

themselves as a minority group, stating: 'We do live in a non-Muslim country so we also have to try and adapt to it I guess … if I miss out on *Jum'ah* (Friday) prayers then that's just a sacrifice' (Interviewee 9).

10.2.5.6 Negotiating the conflict

On the issue of conflict, the online survey and interview data revealed the majority of Muslim employees tried to negotiate their way around conflict in the workplace. Indeed, for many of the interview respondents, the effort to avoid conflict in the workplace often involved the negotiation between protecting the distinctiveness of their Muslim identity and religious practices, and striving towards integration into the dominant culture; that is, 'Australian Culture' (Hirst, 2007), and also the organisational formal culture.

As such, the negotiation process took on different forms such as delaying prayer times and not going to Friday prayers in order to do their job or to attend meetings. This is evident in the following remarks from Interviewees 3, 4 and 10, respectively:

> *Sometimes we've got meetings, things we've got to attend that restrict us from being able to consistently - so doing the prayers. So I'll do Fajr prayer at home before, and I'll do some prayers after - like at home but not being able to practise in the workplace.* (Interviewee 3)

> *While I was in general duties, I wasn't praying at work. It's harder. You've got to listen to the radio, respond to emergencies.* (Interviewee 4)

> *Very rarely do I get the Friday day off, like such as today, which I'm able to go to the mosque. But I need this day off more often, like almost on a permanent basis. Or if they can't give it to me off permanently, they should accommodate me to be able to take my one hour break time at a specific time, where I can go to the local mosque and perform my prayer.* (Interviewee 10)

Even in relation to workplace functions, six of the practising Muslims who were interviewed indicated that they would go, but would not engage in the festivities and generally leave early. Interviewee 3 for example stated: 'You go to show your face.' However, what also appears to be the case is that Muslim employees tend to think that the best way to manage non-acceptance or intolerance in the workplace is to not respond at all. This form of non-

response may manifest as excusing the other for their behaviour, as seen in the comment by Interviewee 5: 'So yes, just because somebody will say a negative comment, doesn't mean that person is bad or that person hates Muslims. All it means is because of their experience.'

Similarly, as the following statement from Interviewee 7 (non-scarfed woman) shows, it may also emerge from a sense of pity for the person. In response to experiencing negative comments by her co-workers, Interviewee 7 said:

> *It was very hard to stay calm, and everyone was saying, "you should file a case against her and get her fired for being a racist and so on". But I didn't, I did the opposite. I looked at her like I felt sorry for her and she stopped talking to me because I was Muslim.*

Furthermore, some of the interviewees indicated their motivation to avoid contributing to conflict situations in the workplace is out of consideration for the Muslim community as a whole. On this point, Interviewee 12 stated: 'I think we Muslims we need to show the Australian community what Islam is, the pure Islam. … If you are a Muslim, as the prophet said that you're a Muslim; that means that you have to be the best' (Interviewee 12). It may be suggested that such reasoning is reflective of the idea developed by Tajfel (1978) that individuals in minority groups try to build their self-esteem by developing positive opinions of their own category.

Finally, a number of participants (e.g., Interviewees 3, 5, 6, 8 and 11, and Manager 2) expressed the view that awareness of religious diversity and respect towards people of different religious cultures in the Agency is improving over time. As a result, they expect there will be fewer incidents of religious conflict within the Agency in the future. The reduction in culture-based conflicts can be put down to both organisational efforts and natural changes. For instance, attempts by the growing number of Muslim employees who integrate into and redefine the nature of the organisational culture in the Agency are reinforced through ongoing education and training initiatives. Manager 2 for example indicated that:

> *I joined in 1977. I was not aware of any Muslims or Sikhs or Hindus or - you know what I mean. It was all very, very much white bred: all Christian, all white. There was no real understanding and consideration that there was anything else. Certainly, times are changing now. We have [the Agency] officers with varying degrees of religious background.*

As mentioned in the discussion of organisational context, a recent internal publication by the Agency attempted to clarify aspects of the Muslim culture for all staff and provide a platform for open discussion. Titled, the 'South West Sydney Islamic Information Guide' (October, 2012), the publication promotes growing awareness of Muslim cultural practices and beliefs, and enhances awareness of the implicit and explicit assumptions that people bring to their interactions. In addition, Muslim employees continue to apply to have accommodations for the performance of religious practices in the workplace made official, particularly to wear the *Hijab* and to attend Friday prayer. According to interviewee 14 (a female officer):

> *There are no previous sworn serving members of the NSW law enforcement agency that wear or have worn a headscarf, so the incorporation of this into part of the uniform has proved to be a challenging and drawn out process. However, it is now part of the uniform and can be ordered, but the wait time is approx. 6 weeks. This is not outside the normal guidelines for other uniform.*

Interviewee 10 (a male officer) also commented:

> *Recently I submitted a report, which I'm waiting on the outcome, which is to allow me to perform Friday Juma'ah prayer, which I do not get breaks. At my work I don't have what's called a break, we just take breaks whenever we want, there's no specific time. So I've requested - because I'm a shift worker - either to have a break or to have the day permanently off for my religious practice.*

Finally, within the Agency units in 2012, the transport unit was the first to provide a designated prayer room. As a result, Interviewee 3 commented: 'Things are changing, things are improving. My understanding is they're introducing Muslim women in the Agency. They're introducing a *hijab* as part of the uniform. They're introducing a lot of positive changes, acceptance of different cultures.'

10.3 Findings: Case Study Two (University)

The main findings to emerge from the University case study show ninety per cent of participants experienced no conflict, and of the 10 per cent who did experience conflict, the matters related to prayer times (two male employees) because of the inherent job

requirements and feeling accepted in the workplace (one female employee). Some light issues relating to daily and Friday prayer obligations, the social events, and *Halal* foods however emerged from the data.

As such, the findings for this case study run contrary to claims in the literature (e.g., Moon and Woolliams, 2000: Chow and Crawford, 2004) suggesting workplace management of minority groups and the accommodation of religious practices is a challenge for management. What is revealed is the management of Muslim employees' religious needs at the University was effective and mostly without incident. Moreover, although the University focuses little attention on religious diversity in its publications it clearly makes some effort to accommodate the religious needs of staff and students.

10.3.1 Practices

Eighty six per cent of the participants in the online survey described themselves as practising Muslims (100 per cent of females and 88 per cent of males), and 89 per cent of the participants engaged in religious practices at work. A 'practising Muslim' was understood by interviewees to mean two things. First, following the *Quran*, *Sunnah* [what the prophet Muhammad peace and blessing be upon him (PBUH) in terms of explaining the Quran and the faith in general], and applying Islamic manners. This understanding is reflected for example in the comment from Interviewee 6: 'It's basically following obviously the Quran and also the Sunnah'. Second, participating in certain practices such as prayer and fasting during the month of *Ramadan*. This is reflected in all interviewees' answers, for example Interviewee 12 commented: 'We have some obligation which is compulsory to do like our five time prayer which has to be on time.'

Prayer

A small number of participants (5.5 per cent in the online survey) pointed to concerns about their capacity to engage in prayer at appropriate times throughout the day as well as an extended prayer on Fridays. Other religious practices mentioned included avoiding alcohol and non-*halal* food. In the literature on SRW (e.g., Ball and Haque, 2003; Hoffman, Krahnke and Dalpour, 2004) one of the important practices raised was wearing a beard in the workplace, which was supported by 33.3 per cent of surveyed employees. Analysis of the online survey data also revealed the time required by male Muslim employees to participate

in Friday prayers was from 30 to 60 minutes (noting the prayer room is on campus), and from 5 to 30 minutes for each daily prayer.

Interestingly, a number of assumptions were made by male Muslim participants regarding the gender implications for engaging in prayer-based religious practices. For instance, Interviewee 1 stated the assumption:

> *I think Muslim women have got more difficulties compared to most of the men. First of all like Muslim men they can pray anywhere in this world except … But like Muslim women they cannot pray in a public place and at the same time in Australia it is really difficult to find a prayer room at every office. So I think they are struggling more.*

> *Religious attire*

Assertions have been made by some authors such as Reeves, McKinney and Azam (2012), and Syed and Pio (2010) that Muslim women workers are confronted with social stereotypes and greater challenges because of their choice to wear *hijab*. Contrary to these assertions, the results from the data analysis in this study show most female participants (86 per cent) experienced no conflict in the workplace in relation to these aspects. The remaining 14 per cent experienced some conflict in the workplace related to identity acceptance (e.g., being from the Middle East). For instance, as one of the surveyed females who experienced conflict indicated: 'I am from the Middle East and Muslim that itself is enough for many people to criticise me.'

The claim that workplace conflict may be more of an issue for Muslim women was supported by only one woman (Interviewee 14) who recounted that she experienced conflict with her female co-worker related to some religious issues such as wearing the headscarf. As she elaborated:

> *The tension between her and I was unbelievable and I think she just couldn't hack it anymore and she just left. But, by that stage, our arguments did end up being at HR, with Human Resources, because she took me down as I was doing double standards apparently. It was more of a concerning behaviour issue where my manager was involved and the HR department were involved, and there was ongoing consultations and meetings with us.*

Celebration of Eid al-Fitr

Another religious practice to feature frequently in the participants' responses is the Celebration of *Eid al-Fitr*. The majority of Muslims commence *Ramadan* and also celebrate its conclusion (*Eid*) according to the cycle of the moon; that is, the moon of *Ramadan* and the moon of *Shawwal* (the month of *Ramadan*) based on the Muslim Calendar. This affirms the prophet Muhammad PBUH who stated: 'When you see the crescent moon (of *Ramadan*) start fasting and when you see the crescent moon (of the month *Shawwal*) stop fasting' (Al-Jazairy, 2001, p. 88). In turn, because *Ramadan* and the Celebration of *Eid* are based on the moon cycle it is not possible for Muslim employees to be sure about the exact date of *Eid*. Although it follows immediately after *Ramadan*, they must still wait for the Grand Mufti of Australia for example to announce that the *Eid* moon had been sighted (the night before the *Eid*).

The findings show the managers at the University were aware of the changing date for the commencement of *Eid* and were flexible in their efforts to accommodate Muslim employees. For example, Interviewee 6 revealed: 'Beforehand I tell my manager that I can take either this day or that day. She [his manager] says it's okay, just let me know which day you want.' Interviewee 10 also experienced managers who were flexible in their approach to the handling of this issue, and stated:

> *I do mention to the higher management in my email always because what happen is like Eid al-Fitr is different because the moon sighting, so I always mention them two dates, maybe either this day or that day as depends on moon sighting. So maybe I'll come that day or that day. So most of the time managers go yes that's fine, just let us know which day you now take off, or you're not come in ... Not only me, I saw most of the colleagues ... we have around four or five Muslims, everybody has the same thing.*

10.3.1.1 Accommodation of religious practices

The data findings suggest management at the University made an effort to accommodate Muslim employees' religious needs. Interviewee 10 recalled: 'I noticed that the higher management, they changed their meeting time because of the praying time in *Ramadan* because they know the Muslim guys we like to pray together especially in *Ramadan*.' Interviewee 11 affirmed the supportive approach from management, stating: 'Until now I have worked under six or seven managers and all of them understood my beliefs. So until now I haven't got any problem … When you mention the word religious everybody is understanding.' Moreover, Interviewee 14 tried to

account for the efforts by management to accommodate employees' religious needs by suggesting modern managers have a more well-rounded understanding of organisational culture. He stated:

> *I think management back then was too closed-minded and it was more just about operational all the time. It wasn't about more the individual, what we asked for. It was what more had to be done. I find that now we've got a balance of both.*

In addition, the interview data revealed some participants were initially fearful about asking managers to accommodate their religious needs. However, these same participants cited the friendly atmosphere at the University as the thing which encouraged them the most to be open about their religious identity and to ask for some accommodations. Interviewee 3 recalled:

> *Because I thought that there might have been a prejudice against me. I didn't want them to think - I was a lot younger at that time. If it happens to me now I would clearly mention it at first.'*

Also, as stated by Interviewee 13:

> *When I was young in my career I felt it was a barrier ... Whereas now if I have something on - if it's Jum'ah time Friday and if someone sets a meeting up I'll just say I can't attend, and so be it, they have to move the meeting. If it's something else that happens and I simply can't make it I just won't make it. Sometimes it does get difficult, like when you're in a particular meeting or venue and something goes over time and you're one of the key people who need to be there.*

Evidence of collaborative practices (Thomas, 1976; cited in Morgan, 2006) to confront diversity issues were also found in manager responses. Findings from the online survey and interview data analysis suggest managers at the workplace generally left it to individual employees to manage their religious needs, but generally supported their employees to do so. For example, Manager 1 stated:

> *I think he's worked out that if he's on shift he might swap with someone and go in the returns room, rather than on a service zone. I think he manages also to work out what's best for everyone so that say if he can swap with someone, or he'll speak to the rosterers to see where he's got to be at certain times, so we work the rosters around*

that. If it's night time when we're doing a night shift, it's obviously a lot quieter so it doesn't really matter.

In addition, the views and practices of managers demonstrate a number of similarities to the views expressed by employees. Indeed, the Managers who were interviewed were not of the view that workplaces have to be secular. While it was certainly the view of the managers that employees had a responsibility to act professionally while at work, engaging in religious practices was not considered to be unprofessional practice. Manager 1 commented:

I think you can't separate it. As much as we'd like to say everything's secular, I don't think you can separate it, so I just think you have to manage ... people have certain beliefs, and you can't just stop them doing it during work hours ... I think Australia's become a lot more multicultural, and we just have to accept that.

Manager 2 explored the issue more deeply, commenting:

To me religion is a personal thing and it's part of a person and you just deal with it as somebody's make up ... That's my personal view on that so if people have got needs, as long as I know about them we can plan around them.

As the discussion above also revealed, workplace flexibility is very important for the capacity of employees to practice their religions. Numerous participants (Interviewees 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 13, 16 and 17) raised the topic as an important element in the demonstration of their faith in the workplace. In the online survey also a participant wrote: 'I enjoy working in my current employment due to the flexibility available for religious practices, not only Islam but to all religions.'

The interview responses reflected this sentiment. For instance, Interviewee 3 stated:

Basically, my work from what I have seen from my previous job and this job is that they have always been quite flexible and they've always been accepting so I don't think that they would cause any problem so I'm pretty hopeful of their conduct in the future.

Similarly, Interviewee 8 spoke about the way in which the flexible nature of the workplace can be demonstrated in relation to a range of workplace behaviours:

> *[The University] is, in general, a flexible organisation ... For that flexibility, I think in [the University] the chances of conflict is less because anyone can any time go out for a coffee, no one will stop. So anyone can also go for a cigarette, no one will stop. Then anyone can also go for 10 minutes' prayer, no one will stop.*

Finally, Interviewee 13 also experienced a flexible approach from managers, stating:

> *I'll say to them I'm going to take a day off - it might be a Wednesday, it might be Tuesday, they don't really ask me any further details on it - and then I'll just take one of those days off.*

Interestingly, the data revealed that the type or level of accommodation demonstrated by the organisation was closely scrutinised by employees. With regard to the provision of the prayer room at the University, a number of participants (interviewees 2, 7 and 9) held the view that it was not big enough. Interviewee 2 stated: 'It's a bit tight. I wish it was bigger than that to accommodate everyone in one go [on Fridays], especially in *Ramadan* when everyone is practising it gets more crowded.' Interviewee 7 expressed a similar sentiment: 'The room only fits for 150 people and I believe there are more than 500 Muslims around the Uni … students the only issue we face sometimes.' Interviewee 11 – who volunteers to look after the prayer room – agreed with this estimation, stating: 'Now we have over 500 Muslims.'

10.3.2 Conflict

Data from the online survey highlights that conflict related to matters of religious identity or religious practices was not an issue in CS2. Ninety per cent of the respondents indicated that they had not experienced workplace conflict of this type: although 10 per cent of the participants indicated that they had experienced some conflict, related to identity and to inherent job requirements mainly prayers time.

Interviewees 5 and 8 also indicated that some participants assumed their non-Muslim colleagues regarded them as different. For instance, Interviewee 5 expressed the opinion: 'They view Muslims to be someone else.' Similarly, Interviewee 8 stated:

> *The whole system is designed around Christianity and if a Muslim family migrates here, there will be some conflicts. That's why - how we do is, we don't participate in anything what Australians do ... we don't really participate in everything because we are fearful that we can't deal with conflict. So we restrict ourselves.*

It was revealed however that some participants (Interviewees 10 and 13) feared they would face some conflict in the workplace because they had read about such conflict in media reports. Interviewee 10 recalled: 'When I first arrived - that was around 2003 - that time I wasn't even in Australia - I read in newspaper some employees was having difficulty to pray during the working time.' Notwithstanding these concerns, the data results also demonstrated that when participants commenced work in Australia they realised some of their fears were unfounded. For instance, Interviewee 1 remarked: 'In Australia this is really appreciative that they respect other people if they know about a specific issue.' Interviewees who had not experienced conflict explained the lack of conflict with reference to flexible management, religious accommodation, managers' initiatives and general awareness about Islamic culture, as well as being alert to avoid religious argument.

10.3.2.1 Negotiating the conflict

The data presents findings related to the strategies or techniques used by Muslim employees to avoid religious-based conflict in the workplace. For employees such as Interviewee 2 and 13, the approach they felt comfortable with was to avoid discussion of religious matters all together unless through respectful discussion. As Interviewee 2 indicated:

> *The reason what I see is not to interfere in others' religious matters, which Islam says, and that who shall practise what you leave them, what they do. That's what I don't interfere, I don't discuss that matter with them.*

Alternatively, some Muslim employees held the opinion that respectful discussions of religion were more beneficial to workplace relations, as stated by Interviewee 13: 'We have the discussions in the best way so no one's attacking anyone's view personally.'

10.3.2.2 Religious identity and workplace acceptance

The organisational culture and the tolerance shown towards religious diversity at the University may account for the low level of religious-based conflict reported by the participants. It has been established in the conceptual framework chapter that acceptance primarily relates to the attitudes or perceptions of one social group towards another (different) group (Blackburn, 2008).

As such, it is on the basis of the perceptions of difference that 'in-group' and 'out-group' dynamics may emerge (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Importantly, religion is often identified as a marker of difference and may therefore become the basis for acceptance or non-acceptance behaviours by others (Blackburn 2008). However, it was not evident in the University workplace that religious markers were enough for employees to consider people of another faith as others or as an out-group. This is because cultural awareness and the inclusive office culture helped to overcome perceptions of differences. Also, the data exposed that Muslims were treated with respect in the workplace, which further supports the notion of acceptance. Finally, what was evident in this study is that non-acceptance towards Muslims on the basis of different religious traditions (e.g., Humphrey, 2010; Levery, 2010) or different religious attire (e.g., Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi, 2010) was not reflected in the workplace due to the close relationships among employees, which perhaps resulted in enhanced understanding of difference.

Evidence of the close association between religious identity and workplace acceptance emerged in the data, particularly in relation to workplace functions. Interviewee 1 stated:

> *Most of the times they ask by themselves, they take the initiative and they ask me are you coming [to some social events]. Okay for catering purpose we need this one. Sometimes they also put this is vegetarian and halal. So it means they are aware about this issue.*

Interviewee 6 also alluded to this association in the comment:

> *Sometimes when I go to the city, say any kind of meeting or anything, they ask that - whether I have any problem with this restaurant or that kind of food, they provide me the menu. If I have any issue, I tell them directly and they organise different food which is halal.*

The topic of *Halal* food and the effort made by colleagues and managers to demonstrate awareness on this religious practice emerged a number of times in the data. Interviewee 9 reflected a very positive attempt by colleagues to accommodate this religious need by stating:

> *I remember a Christmas party that Access [the University] had in 2012 and they invited to me and I was unable to attend and they said look please come and we have Halal food for you. They had one employee travel to Lakemba to a butcher shop and*

buy Halal meat ... they had two grills so they were cooking my food on one grill and the other for separate and the other food, the pork and the other food on the other grill.

Manager 3 confirmed this effort, stating: 'I would have checked the place myself out first. Then I make sure that the place does offer *Halal* food.'

Acceptance was also evident in relation to *Ramadan*. According to Interviewee 4:

Ramadan, there is no problem at all, 100 per cent support is given, even sometimes they ask us if you want to do something easy ... Like sometimes he [his manager] tells me look, if you're tired, you're fasting, you can go and make coffees, you can do this. The one which requires less movement, do what you're comfortable with, so things like that ... during Ramadan, usually they don't give us any sort of pressure.

Interviewee 9 affirmed this opinion in the comment: 'During *Ramadan* they send me a greeting letter, and during *Eid* they send me a greeting letter.'

Furthermore, participation in religious practices such as prayer and the celebration of religious events were also established as indicators of religious needs and were tied to the notion of workplace acceptance by participants. Interviewee 7 indicated that:

They are actually very cooperative in that case. If I have to go to a prayer they will allow me to go. Actually I didn't need to talk to anyone sometimes. If I have Friday prayer they understand. They know that, on Fridays for example they don't give any - much work ... if we have event or anything they will ask me if I'm okay with eating vegetarian food or seafood to make sure that the food they bring is suitable for me, even if I'm the only Muslim in the event.

Interviewee 8 had a similar experience in relation to *Eid*, stating: 'When *Eid* is already close, my supervisor himself asked that, what are you planning on *Eid* day? … I never had to request. Because it was already well known and he was excited about it too.'

It is also interesting to note the benefit to workplace relations identified by the participants as a result of their feeling that their religious practices were accepted in the workplace. The data presents evidence to show that acceptance from others encouraged employees to be open

about their needs, as indicated in the following online survey response: 'I love my workplace because my work never prevented me from my religious practices. I have the opportunity to talk with my manager if there is a conflict in work and fulfilling my religious duties.' Manager (1) supported this claim when referring to one of her Muslim employees stating: 'He's always been very open about it and explained it.'

There are a range of benefits to both the employee and the workplace to emerge from acceptance of religious difference. As discussed in the Conceptual Framework chapter, accepting individual identity positively impacts employees by increasing their level of motivation to engage in workplace roles and responsibilities (Foster, 2008). When employees feel that a clearer understanding of their practices is developed in the workplace they are motivated to want to achieve a positive sense of belonging (Foster, 2008). The interviewees indicated they felt they worked in a setting that respected cultural differences, and none of them reported that there was a need to conceal their religious identity. In fifty-five per cent of the online survey responses the respondent indicated that he or she explained their religious needs to their manager. As one surveyed respondent explained: 'I am satisfied with my workplace culture. I get every single support from my management. For example, taking leave on *Eid* day or going out for prayer.'

10.3.3 Multiculturalism and cultural awareness in the workplace

There may be a number of reasons to account for the managers' proactive approaches to accommodate the religious needs of the employees. However, based on interviewees' views it is reasonable to suggest that one of the key reasons is that the University students' religious needs have contributed to greater cultural awareness in managers. Interviewee 6 indicated: 'they deal with many Muslim students, so they know what is *Halal* and what is not. Most of the time when we have meetings for any kind of function they have different food for the Muslim people.' Also, some interviewees who participated in this study were international students. Interviewee 3 for example indicated: 'In an open meeting with everyone she [his manager] asked me and some other people who were international students as to what our religious identity was and whether there were certain things that were in conflict when we brought those religious identities or religious practices at work.'

Interviewees 11, 13, 14 and 15 argued that multiculturalism in the work environment contributes to increased cultural awareness and respect for differences. This helps to explain

why a subgroup culture was not really demonstrated by the Muslim employees in the University case study. As the Conceptual Framework outlined in the discussion of SIT, in-group and out-group formations are established when there is a lack of team identity. These subgroup formations can then adversely impact team collaboration and lead to feelings of exclusion and non-belonging: both possible sources of interpersonal and relationship conflict.

The following insight from Interviewee 14 provides evidence of the positive effects of multiculturalism in this workplace:

> *I think the mixture has made the department more pleasant. We've got Asians, we've got Australians, we've got Europeans, we've got Americans, we've got Lebanese, we've got people from all around the world, which is - I think that's why it's made it a lot easier. There's no us against you. I think what that creates is teams. There's no let's be your friend, because we're from the same race. No, we need to work as a team too.*

Similarly, Interviewee 15 revealed:

> *I don't think I have experienced anything [conflict]. It's partly because the research environment is quite multicultural, so you have people working from different nationalities, different cultures, different religions. So we have Iranians, we have Saudis, Iraqis, Pakistanis, Bengalis and all sorts. So I think people are very aware of different cultural practices, like what happens during Ramadan or if you want to pray, what facility would you require.*

Importantly, evidence from the data points to the efforts made by Muslim employees to support the organisational culture. As such, this may be a key contributing factor to the tolerance towards difference that is evident in the workplace. As detailed below, social events at the organisation draw particular attention to the cultural and religious differences among employees, particularly when alcohol is being served. However, the deliberate effort demonstrated by nine interviewees to integrate into the organisational culture appears to promote acceptance. Although Interviewee 14 made it clear that he does not consume alcohol, when he is invited to social events he explained:

> *I will go and the reason why I go - I'm not making up an excuse here, we need to regardless, just so we can be seen that we're open, that we're flexible. Yeah, I will interact with you regardlessnof what faith you have.*

This approach to integration is representative of Meyerson and Martin's (1987) notion of cultural consensus. In particular, it points to the effort by employees to acknowledge the values and formal practices that comprise the culture of the organisation.

The data shows, however, that not all Muslim employees submitted to cultural consensus. Indeed, eight interviewees placed greater value on maintaining cultural differentiation (Meyerson and Martin, 1987) by choosing not to participate in some social events. As one online survey response shows, the decision was not necessarily just based on whether or not alcohol was being served; another important factor being considered was the availability of *halal* food. 'We should get *halal* food in a different corner during a party'. Table (26) shows insights into attitudes towards social events.

Table (26): Comments from Muslim participants regarding the attitudes underpinning their decision not to participate in social events

Interviewees	Attitudes
Interviewee 1	'But whenever there's a Christmas party, as a Muslim I don't go because like the faith is against our belief so I don't go there.'
Interviewee 2	'I don't go to other parties, like all those parties outside that thing where it conflicts with my faith.'
Interviewee 3	'I would avoid it simply because *halal* wasn't accommodated for. I didn't have *halal* food there.'
Interviewee 4	Because of religious purposes, and I don't like the environment, to be quite honest … they drink a lot.'
Interviewee 5	'If I wouldn't have non-*Halal* food and if there's alcohol consumption I would try to avoid it by leaving early … Yeah so probably I'll just go to the party, say hi to everyone, make sure that everyone sees that I am there and then come home soon before they start consuming alcohol … I wouldn't be in an environment where it goes against my religion.'
Interviewee 7	After attending once he said: 'Everyone was drinking and I'm not used to that. I try to avoid it always because of the religious obligation to be like in a distance.'
Interviewee 11	'I gave them the reason number one, there is no *halal* food. Number two, is I should according to my belief I should not go to a place and eat where there is alcoholic served.'
Interviewee 13	'It's best to even not be around it [alcohol]. So I do my best to avoid those situations. One thing I also do is I have to generally sign off for purchases of things, so if people want to buy stuff I have to generally sign off on it. So if they're buying a whole lot of things for - a lot of alcohol for a Christmas party I won't sign it. I won't sign it. I'll get someone else to sign it. I'll either tell my boss I'm not comfortable signing this and they're good with it, they'll sign it.'

However, the findings from the data clearly demonstrate that such issues did not develop into workplace conflict situations. On the contrary, the finding from the data is that the interviewees appreciated that it was not possible for the organisation to fully accommodate the religious needs of employees. Interviewee 8 put it: 'So obviously, minorities will not be facilitated enough, they will be accommodated as much as possible … and this is not discrimination.' As highlighted in the outline of the conceptual framework applied in this study, differences in the workplace can bring advantages to workplace operations (e.g., Bhattacharyya, 2010). In relation to the University, the differences were advantageous because management was able to ensure they worked in harmony. In fact, the inconsistencies

among the different groups of employees were not a sign of a weak or negative organisational culture (Meyerson and Martin, 1987, pp. 624-630). Rather, it was, as Mor Barak (2011, p. 222) pointed out, differentiation which may be enhanced by differences and can provide 'a source of synergy and remedy to groupthink'.

10.3.4 Promotion issues

Despite discussion in the literature on diversity management (e.g., Ball and Haque, 2003; Chow and Crawford, 2004; Kabir and Evans, 2002; Syed and Kramar, 2008) to suggest Muslim and CALD employees in the workplace have fewer opportunities for promotion, professional training and job development, only one example emerged in this case. Interviewee 12 indicated that he had experienced such issues in relation to promotion. He talked about the selection criteria for promotion and indicated that 'the selection criteria means that the way to select the applicant but I sometimes feel that it is the selection criteria to just - to ditch the person, to get rid of the person.' This finding is consistent with aim in the organisational policy that states 'to further support career advancement and professional development opportunities for CALD employees' (University, 2013a). Interviewee 3 confirmed this policy, stating: 'I would say that in [the University] I have seen instances where there are Muslims who are at the top level so they are Associate Deans.' In addition, Interviewee 2 recounted his own promotion experience stating:

> *I think it was a fair decision made by the department and HR, because I have proven that I deserve that they have given me. When I requested, when I applied, I got the promotion. So I moved from level four to level seven, which my other colleagues have not done.*

One possible explanation for the unbiased or supportive promotion process and professional development initiatives at CS2 is that management is aware of the ramifications when such practices are not in place. Thomas (1999) and Staples and Zhao (2006), point to breakdowns in communication, employee tension, diminished workplace cohesion, and increased employee conflict as a result of biased promotion practices. Such outcomes in turn lead to reduced productivity from employees and low-level job satisfaction.

Interviewee 10 acknowledges issues separate from religious identity, such as limited communication skills, as more likely the reason for being passed over for promotion. Interviewee 10 pointed out that: 'Not about religion, about the communication skills and

other sorts of things. That's what I notice. … I saw some of the Muslims they are really in very good position but their communication skill is not very good.' This statement aligns with findings presented in the study by Ogbonna and Harris (2006) that poor English language was the major cause for workplace conflict.

10.4 Conclusion

The case study of the Agency aimed to examine its organisational diversity policy and to discuss the implications for Muslim employees. Data to inform the examination and discussion was collected via online survey and face to face interviews. The main findings from the case study revealed Muslim employees at the Agency held a range of opinions about the diversity policy and views regarding its effectiveness. This was reflected in the experiences or non-experiences of religious-based conflict in the workplace and the low percentage (33 per cent) of practising Muslims who sought to actively practice their faith in the workplace. Findings from the Agency case study also revealed most Muslim employees sought to actively integrate into the organisational culture while still maintaining their Muslim identity. Moreover, it was revealed the diversity policy at the Agency was implemented in such a way as to support managers to accommodate the religious practices of employees. The case study of the University sought to demonstrate the diversity among the student and staff populations at the University and to profile the rhetoric and strategies employed at the institutional level to manage diversity issues among staff. In addition, a significant majority of Muslim employees (90 per cent) reported no experience of workplace conflict related to issues of religious identity, with a small number (10 per cent) experiencing issues related to prayer times or feelings of not being accepted in the workplace.

Thus, evidence was provided throughout this chapter of the attempts by management in both case study organisations to accommodate the religious needs of employees. However, when the analysis of the outcomes of each organisation's attempt is considered holistically, important findings emerged. Specifically, it was evident that the differences in the way each diversity management policy was developed and implemented, in combination with the nature of the culture within each organisation, impacted the Muslim employees' experiences of conflict in the workplace. In particular, the explicit initiatives by University management to complement macro-level regulatory frameworks with organisation-specific initiatives that support freedom of religious expression and the accommodation of employees' religious

practices reduced the extent to which religious identity was a source of conflict among employees in the workplace.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Comparison and Discussion

11.1 Introduction

Two of the objectives underpinning the overarching aims of this study are to identify the reasons why there was or was not religion-based conflict in the workplace and to develop the research understanding of religious practices in the workplace in general. This chapter compares the way managers and employers in the two case study organisations deal with religious diversity in the workplace. Its primary focus is on factors that impact diversity management practices in the two case study Australian organisations. Initial focus is given to the macro level legislative context in which the organisations operate. This is followed by a discussion of the implementation of diversity policies at the meso level. The aim of this discussion is to examine the frameworks for accommodating employees' religious needs in the workplace as well as managers' and employees' attitudes towards diversity related issues. The implications of managers' awareness of religious diversity issues are also examined from both the managers' and employees' perspectives. The discussion then explores how everyday enactments at the micro level, particularly manager initiatives, impact Muslim employees' experiences and perceptions of conflict in the workplace. The discussion throughout this chapter is informed by references to the cultural perspectives elaborated on in the Conceptual Framework chapter. This chapter then concludes with a discussion of the potential benefits to an organisation that may be derived from the creation of an organisational culture that openly acknowledges and attempts to accommodate the religious practices of employees.

11.2 Macro, meso and micro factors impacting diversity management

11.2.1 Macro level factors

The Regulatory Context chapter discussed how Australian laws governing workplace religious diversity are broad in scope compared to US law (Ringelheim, 2012, p. 356). It was also established that Australian laws focus primarily on discrimination. A number of laws relevant to diversity management and anti-discrimination practice exist in Australia. For example, at the federal level are the *Racial Discrimination Act, 1975* and the *Fair Work Act*, and also the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) mandate to investigate and seek to resolve workplace conflicts by conciliation, case hearings and other forms of mediation (Stewart, 2011). At the state level are the *New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Act 1977* and

its amendments, the Anti-Discrimination Board of NSW, and the *Principles of Multiculturalism Act 2000*. As the Regulatory Context chapter illustrated, diversity issues at the macro level are impacted by principles endorsed by the Human Rights Commission and New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board as well as by relevant state legislation.

The Regulatory Context chapter indicated that various macro level industrial relations and anti-discrimination laws together with the NSW *Principles of Multiculturalism Act 2000* and the orientation towards productive diversity frame the development and adaption of diversity related polices and management strategies in the two case study organisations. However, as Dean and Safranski (2008) pointed out, relying only on legal compliance or on an organisation's internal official diversity policy is largely inadequate in preventing conflict caused by religious practices. In fact, managing religious identity and practices cannot be done through a one-dimensional approach. The study of the two organisations demonstrated that the macro level factors cited above certainly framed the diversity polices. The study also demonstrated however that the everyday enactments by managers and staff, and the inherent job requirements also played a critical role in how religious practices and identity were managed.

Thus, it can be reasonably concluded that the development of laws at the macro level, policies at the meso level, and everyday enactments at the micro level all had varying impact on both the prevention of conflict and the degree of religious accommodation in the workplace.

11.2.2 Meso level factors

An organisation's diversity policy is the articulation of its organisational strategy to manage diversity (van Ewijk, 2011). It is the official written policy used within an organisation to manage differences and to prevent discrimination against individual workers on the basis of gender, race, age, culture, physical disability, religion and other characteristics. Martins and Terblanche (2003, p. 65) explained that organisational culture manifests as the 'values and beliefs shared by personnel in an organisation'. From this perspective, the dominant espoused organisational culture shapes the way religious differences in the workplace are managed as articulated in the diversity policy. An organisation's culture thus influences how the managers and employees respond to differences, and how Muslim employees may articulate their religious identity and engage in religious practices.

With regard to CS1 and CS2, the diversity policies and management strategies at the meso level were shaped by a number of factors. First and foremost, the culture of the organisation played a critical role in each case. A second influential factor was the inherent requirements of the job performed by the Muslim employees in each of the organisations. Third, the number of Muslims employed in each organisation was a factor of influence. These meso level factors thus combined with the macro level factors to fundamentally influence the way that religious practices were perceived and accommodated by managers, and therefore the way that Muslim employees were able to engage in religious practices at the micro level.

Legislative requirements clearly impacted the internal diversity policies in each of the case study organisations as illustrated in the case study chapters. This is despite most employees and managers not having a comprehensive understanding of all aspects of their organisation's diversity policy or its inherent legal obligations (a point which is explored later in this chapter). Moreover, it was obvious that the broader 'norms' of Australian culture impacted the organisational culture and workplace practices, especially in CS1 where a secular integration culture was more obvious. An examination of the effect of the diversity policy and organisational culture on everyday enactments and on managers' and employees' interpretations of and attitudes towards religion in the workplace revealed the extent of the impact was limited. This is evidenced by the differences in the managers' responses to the religious needs of employees, and by the fact that the conflict occurred in some departments only, rather than all departments in CS1.

Furthermore, the approaches to diversity management in each case study organisation should be considered in relation to the total number of Muslims employed in each organisation. Tables (8) and (15) highlighted that a significantly higher number of Muslims were employed in tertiary institutions in NSW than in law enforcement agencies in 2011 (1104 and 192, respectively). The data showed however that three particular elements were attractive to, and appreciated by, Muslim employees in CS2 compared to Muslim employees in CS1: more flexible working conditions to accommodate religious practices such as prayer times and availability of prayer rooms in CS2 compared to CS1; differences in the inherent job requirements in CS2 compared to CS1; and the explicit effort by managers in CS2 to demonstrate an understanding of religious diversity. These findings then point to the different experiences of employees as a result of working in what they perceive to be an integrative rather than differentiated organisational culture.

11.2.3 Micro level factors

Everyday enactments in the workplace represent the general interactions among employees of all levels and can be judged for positive or negative effect in relation to the overarching macro and meso level policies and regulations. With regard to religiously diverse workplaces in particular, the everyday enactments by individual managers and staff members emerge from their interpretation of, and attitude towards, religion in the workplace. Both CS1 and CS2 demonstrated that the way in which Muslim employees articulated their religious identity and practices were the main elements influencing the accommodation of religious practices by managers and the responses to religious practices by non-Muslim employees in the workplace. More details about micro level are discussed later in this chapter.

Diagram 4 (below) illustrates the different ways each of the macro, meso and micro levels impact the management of religious diversity in the workplace:
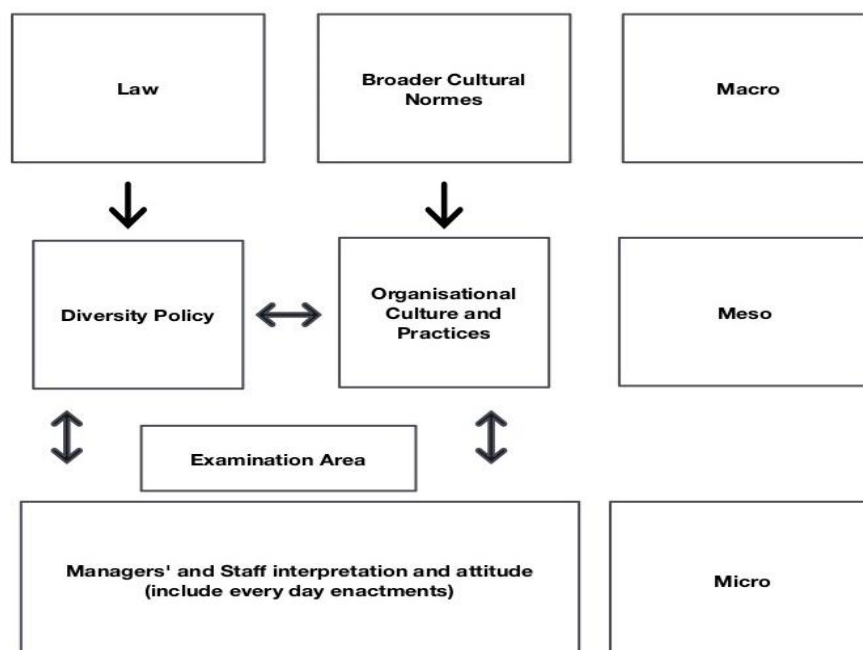
In relation to organisational practices, anti-discrimination laws in Australia mostly focus on matters relating to the hiring and firing of employees (Stewart, 2011, p. 255). Within these broad parameters the laws are primarily designed to prevent and respond to workplace discrimination. In the main however anti-discrimination laws have only a limited influence over cultural and attitudinal change in the workplace (Pyke, 2005, p. 15). A number of participant interview responses in this study confirmed this perception of the limitations of Australia's anti-discrimination laws. For instance, interviewee 12/CS1 explained:

The law in Australia is very strict on that topic [discrimination] because we live in a multicultural society and that multicultural society clearly explains that all people are included equally regardless of their colour, background, or religious point of view.

When this interviewee referred to his ability to practise his faith in the workplace, he acknowledged that he experienced no conflict because of the support provided by his immediate manager. The majority of interviewees also mentioned this type of support.

People typically identify sources of diversity with gender, age and disability, and as a result organisations mostly focus their data collection on these variables. By contrast, disclosure of cultural and religious identities is often avoided by employees, and data on these sources of diversity is rarely collected by organisations. Moreover, the nature of the relationship between workplace and religious beliefs and practices varies among the many different religious and spiritual traditions (Bennett, 2009, p. 49). Secular organisational cultures often do not support the unique religious needs of employees. Furthermore, even though the culture within an organisation may not prevent employees from asking for religious accommodations, managers directly or indirectly may nonetheless refuse to provide the requested accommodations (Dean and Safranski, 2008, p. 365).

11.3 Managers' understanding of religious diversity and its implications for diversity management

Authors who have written on issues related to SRW such as Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi (2010) noted that managers who openly affiliate with a particular religion have a better understanding of religious diversity in the workplace. This premise was addressed in this study and the results of the data analysis found that managers' understanding of employees' religious needs differed in each organisation. This illustrates the importance of the subjective component to the management of religious-based conflict in the workplace. Indeed, Greer et al. (2007) pointed out the importance of both managers and co-workers understanding their colleague's individual identity. For instance, they argued that co-workers should try to understand their colleague's strong religious identification as this may help to improve teamwork practices and organisational outcomes (Greer et al., 2007). In addition, Greer et al. (2007) concluded that when employees feel their colleagues 'comprehend' their practices they feel more accepted and can be more productive, more supportive of the organisational identity, and feel more satisfied with their job. This is suggestive of orthogonal subcultural

paradigms in that the Muslim employees value the dominant culture in the organisation whilst also holding true to their Islamic values.

The response data from participants at CS2 supported Greer et al.'s (2007) interpretations and also alluded to the importance of everyday enactments to the reduction of workplace conflict. Indeed, despite the complex nature of religious diversity markers among employees in both case study workplaces, the managers at CS2 were able to develop their understanding of the unique religious needs of their employees and to manage religion at work more effectively than their CS1 counterparts. In fact, during the interviews CS2 managers indicated they had moved beyond the simple assumption that all employees are 'the same' to a recognition of employees' diverse needs. The managers there regarded religion as part of the person and as something that should therefore be accommodated. For example, Manager 2 (CS2) stated:

> *To me, religion is a personal thing and it's part of a person and you just deal with it as somebody's make up. That's my personal view on that so if people have got needs, as long as I know about them we can plan.*

In somewhat of a contrast, Manager 1 (CS1), who reported being an atheist, expected his religious employees to sacrifice their faith during work hours. As he stated: 'You join the [Agency] to offer that service knowing that you have to sacrifice certain things. … People may sacrifice other things. Maybe some of the enthusiasm towards their religious beliefs may have to be sacrificed somewhat.'

11.4 Muslim employees' responses to managers' understanding of religious diversity

The following comments from a practising Bangladeshi employee at CS2 who works as a service assistant shows that the level of understanding demonstrated by the manager resulted in higher levels of employee satisfaction:

> *I love my workplace because my work has never prevented me from my religious practices. I have the opportunity to talk with my manager if there is a conflict in work and fulfilling my religious duties.*

> *I am satisfied with my workplace culture. I get every single support from my management. For example, taking leave on Eid day or going out for prayer.*

> *I enjoy working in my current employment due to the flexibility available for religious practices, not only Islam, but to all religions.*

Interviewees at CS2 also expressed positive feelings in response to their religious identity being acknowledged by the manager in the workplace. Interviewee 1 (CS2) for example revealed:

> *I can tell you they appreciate it a lot. They always say okay, that is your prayer time. Don't worry, we're not going to bother you, and they'll encourage and they'll accept this sort of perception in a positive manner.*

Interviewee 4 (CS2) also reported: 'My manager sees how much I work, so he tries to accommodate me the best.'

Similar levels of workplace satisfaction were not evident among employees at CS1 however as they did not expect their organisation to accommodate their religious needs. Interviewee 8 (CS1) stated; 'I can't expect them to respect it.' As shown in the Case Study One chapter, one employee from CS1 even planned to quit her job because of the problems it presented to her religious identity and practices. Interviewee 4 (CS1) told the researcher during a follow up call that she had left her job a few months after the interview, stating: 'I don't think a Muslim female should be [an Agency] officer and this is the dilemma I faced for a couple of years.' Online survey responses also affirmed this view and showed practising CS2 employees were more willing to practise their faith than employees at CS1. Indeed, 87 per cent of employees at CS2 engaged in religious practices in the workplace; whereas only 54 per cent of employees at CS1 indicated a similar engagement.

11.5 Managers' diversity awareness and organisational culture

Analysis of the data showed the more pluralistic organisational culture at CS2 provided a context in which managers were able to be more accommodating of Muslim religious practices. In turn, this supported the emergence of more orthogonal subcultures compared to CS1. As previously mentioned, a more integrationist secular organisational culture was evident at CS1, which had the effect of creating greater ambiguity among Muslim employees and increased their tendency to affiliate more strongly to the Muslim counterculture. This is because, on the one hand, the Muslim employees feel they want to conform to the Agency organisational culture and to the Australian secular culture more broadly; but, on the other hand, they are also open to the creation of a counterculture in the organisation given their affiliation to the Muslim culture.

Ambiguity in this sense can be related back to the concept of out-groups introduced and discussed in the Conceptual Frameworks chapter. Ramirez-Berg (2002, p. 17) reminded us that out-groups are typically formed or defined on the basis of specific 'otherness' traits. What is implied in the formulation of the out-group is a judgment applied to all members of the group in relation to the different traits. This implies homogeneity within the out-group which in turn reduces the group members' sense of individual uniqueness and agency, leaving them ambiguous about their affiliations (Ramirez-Berg, 2002, p. 17). Furthermore, this impacts employees' sense of identity and their ability to cope within the organisational culture. This was notable in CS1 where some employees felt the need to negotiate their Muslim identity (or, indeed, their multiple identities) manifest in their decision about what religious practices to undertake in order to present as non-religious in the workplace. Thus, unlike in CS2 where differentiation was the primary approach adopted by Muslim employees – resulting in reduced ambiguity and increased tolerance of diversity – out-groups and in-groups were more prominent in CS1 in terms of social identity.

11.5.1 Managers and diversity management initiatives

Management initiatives are actions enacted by immediate managers that are self-directed in nature. In the context of this study, the initiatives in the organisations being considered are from immediate managers who have the power to accommodate religious practices in the workplace and who decide to act on their own without waiting for a request from employees. This leads to the question: Why do some managers in an organisation take the initiative while others do not? Consideration of how the culture of an organisation influences the 'initiative' actions of managers in combination with the influence of the personal values and beliefs of the managers is vital to our understanding of this issue.

The online survey outcomes revealed the importance of the micro level everyday enactments by managers combined with compliance to macro legal frameworks to mitigate religious based conflict in the workplace. Responses were similar from employees in both case study organisations in relation to the question: *Have you been asked by your manager about your religious needs?* At CS1, 26 per cent responded 'Yes', and at CS2, 21 per cent responded 'Yes'. Further details were obtained during the participant interviews. Table (27) indicates the way in which managers took the initiative in both case study organisations.

Importantly, the data reveals that although SIT divides people into in-group and out-group categories, in CS2 in particular, the perceived support for differentiation within the organisational culture and the more explicit attempts to accommodate religious practices resulted in stronger relationships between the in- and out-groups. This challenges the strength of the dichotomy between in-groups and out-groups.

Table (27): Managers' initiatives

Initiatives taken by managers in both case study organisations			
CS1	Interviewees	Gender	Evidence
	Interviewee 4	Female, Sworn officer	'He (her manager) came up to me and said, do you want to work all night shifts for *Ramadan*? Then in the last two weeks, I said, can I not work night shifts, because I want to go pray *Taraweeh* (night prayers at *Ramadan*) at the mosque. He goes, yes, no worries'.
CS2	Interviewee 1	Male, Sessional academic	'They take the initiative and they ask me are you coming [to a social event]? Okay for catering purposes we need this one. Sometimes they also put this is vegetarian and *Halal*. So it means they are aware about this issue.'
	Interviewee 4	Male, Casual café attendant	'My manager sees how much I work, so he tries to accommodate me the best.'
	Interviewee 6	Male, Software developer	'Most of the time when we have meetings for any kind of function, they have different food for the Muslim people.'
	Interviewee 7	Male, Casual employee in the international office	'They try to avoid conflict with that kind of conflict, like religious conflict, so if we have an event or anything they will ask me if I'm okay with eating vegetarian food or seafood to make sure that the food they bring is suitable for me, even if I'm the only Muslim at the event.'
	Interviewee 8	Male, Employee in the Learning and Teaching Centre	'When *Eid* is already close, my supervisor himself asked me what are you planning on *Eid* day? You should do something. Don't even bother to come to work … Yeah, so he is sending me to enjoy *Eid* rather than coming to work. So I didn't have to even worry about how I request and how the response comes, just - I never had to request. Because it was already well known.'
	Interviewee 9	Male, Business development manager	'I remember a Christmas party that [the University] had in 2012 and they invited me and I was unable to attend and they said look, please come, and we have *Halal* food for you. They had one employee travel to Lakemba to a butcher shop and buy *Halal* meat.' 'During *Ramadan* they send me a greeting letter and during *Eid* they send me a greeting letter.'
	Interviewee 10	Male, Admission officer	'[At a party] my manager was sitting next to me, an Australian guy, he asked me; you don't drink right, because he knows that Muslims don't drink. I said yes, I don't. Then he walked away and he just brought cold drinks for me and offered me if I want to have a cold drink, I said okay, that's fine.'

11.6 Diversity policy and its impacts

The problematic nature of relying only on macro level initiatives to achieve effective diversity management in an organisation is further illustrated in the analysis of the data pertaining to the meso level factors. Almost half of the participants in both cases were not

aware of their organisation's diversity policy, and those that were aware of the policy expressed different understandings of the policy's purpose. To illustrate this point, for the online survey question: *Does your organisation have a diversity management policy?* 58 per cent of the CS1 participants answered 'Yes', six per cent answered 'No', and 35 per cent answered 'I do not know'. Of the participants at CS2, 53 per cent answered 'Yes' and 47 per cent answered 'I do not know'. It is worthwhile to mention that in CS1, even though it had a very sophisticated and comprehensive policy (as discussed in Chapter Eight of this thesis), the data did not support the effective implementation of the policy. This was clear from the responses from managers and employees outlined in Table (28) below. A possible explanation for this is that the diversity policy was delivered electronically.

When asked the same question during the interviews, Interviewees 7, 9, 11, 12 and 14 from CS1, and Interviewees 3, 4 and 15 from CS2, expressed three different interpretations of the purpose of the diversity policy: to prevent discrimination, to support employee recruitment, and to deal with members of the public and various ethno-religious communities. In addition, the Multi-Cultural Community Liaison Officers at CS1 indicated the diversity policy helped with employee integration. Interviewee 3 from CS2 for example said: 'It has yes, in the Student Welfare Centre. I have seen that they look after the welfare of the students'. Table (28) provides examples of some of the answers provided by both employees and managers to the question: *Does your organisation have a diversity management policy?*

Table (28): Answers to the question about the diversity management policy of the organisation

Employees at CS1	
Interviewee 1	'It is not recognised - I do not think it is applied.'
Interviewee 2	'I don't know.'
Interviewee 3	'I think there probably is. I'm not familiar with it.' 'There's a lot of good things written on paper but it's not in practice in general.'
Interviewee 9	'To be honest I really haven't looked too much into it.'
Interviewee 10	'I think any government department would have a policy in place against - such as equal employment opportunity, anti-discrimination in the workplace.'
Interviewee 12	'I think they have a diversity policy. Yes they do, but I'm not aware of it.'
Managers in CS1	
Manager 1	'I don't believe so.'
Manager 2	'I haven't read the policy recently.'
Employees in CS2	
Interviewee 1	'I heard about this one but I'm not sure about it.'
Interviewee 5	'I'm not sure. I do believe that any kind of discrimination is not allowed and that should also include religion.'
Interviewee 6	'What I've heard, and sometimes I get e-mails, I've never gone through the detail in that. You get the diversity e-mail thing, as an employee we receive the policy and other things. I think they have … I truly don't know what's in the diversity policy.'

Interviewee 9	'I have never looked at it.'
Interviewee 12	'To be frank... I have not looked at it.'
Managers in CS2	
Manager 1	'I didn't actually look at it, I know it's there.'
Manager 2	'I have to say I'm not aware of the policies myself. I hope there are policies in place but I have not looked up the policies myself.'

Importantly, a number of employees and managers indicated their belief that organisational culture or 'office culture' plays a more important role than laws in managing religious diversity. For example, Interviewees 1, 13, 15, and Manager 2 from CS1 stated that office culture was more relevant to the everyday life than macro level laws. Interviewee 13/CS1 said:

> The culture of the organisation is crucial in harnessing people and their differences. You have to accept people's differences and work with it. I think the policy is there to direct people. Where there is conflict, you have that avenue to progress, whether it's a grievance on any point of view, whether it's a discriminatory grievance or a managerial, industrial issue. Obviously, policies are there to advise.

In addition, Interviewee 17 from CS1 stated: 'The office culture will direct you more specifically because you're there every day.' Also Interviewee 7 from CS2 indicated his belief that office culture 'is more practical and engages the employees together'. Furthermore, Manager 2 from CS1 believed that a diversity policy is typically broad in scope, stating:

> The diversity policy is fairly broad brush. I mean it doesn't - it needs to conform to the federal and state anti-discrimination legislation. So it's fairly broad brush. It doesn't - it might identify groups to be mindful of, but it's not broad - focused specifically on a religious group or some other group. It's a fairly broad brush statement that everybody needs to be considered for their needs.

While CS1 has a 92-page policy that covers cultural, linguistic and religious diversity, and a 40-page Islamic information guide, and CS2 mentions religion in the Enterprise Agreement in the section on leave entitlements, the number of surveyed Muslim employees who experienced workplace conflict was higher at CS1 at 31 per cent, compared to just 10 per cent at CS2. In fact, the interviewees at CS2 indicated the organisation had a supportive culture and that managers had a good understanding of religious diversity.

Interviewee statements such as those above and the general recognition by participants of the role of organisational culture in shaping workplace relations again draws attention to the importance of the everyday enactments by managers and staff. This is not to suggest that national and state legislation related to the management of diversity issues is not also a key element in the culture of the organisation. However, it highlights the potential pitfalls in relying on legislative decrees alone.

Another finding to emerge from the data analysis was the extent to which the attempts by the organisation to go beyond legal obligations to accommodate the religious needs of employees resulted in outcomes which directly contributed to the reduction in workplace conflict. According to Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi (2010) and Messarra (2014), supporting Muslim employees to practise their religion at work may help to strengthen employee motivation to improve work performance as well as strengthen their allegiance to the workplace. In addition Richard (2000) explained that one of the main benefits to an organisation that values religious diversity is that the process of inducting and socialising new employees is made easier. Hence, the organisation can benefit from stronger feelings of loyalty by employees as they feel they are supported to identify with a particular culture in the organisation and that this culture is given a voice (see also Grim, Clark and Snyder, 2014; and Lyons, Wessel, Ghumman, Ryan, and Kim, 2014).

Results from the participant interviews and online survey revealed respondents believed there were two main benefits to be derived from practising their religion: self-improvement, and increased cultural awareness in a multicultural workplace. With regard to positive impact on the self, Interviewee 1 (CS1) stated:

> *Religion is good thing for a person to practise, I believe, and it will give a person good manners. All religions deal with good manners, good attitude, [and] good dealing with others. To the contrary, I feel that putting the religion is a good ethic in the person and in the workplace.*

Similarly, Interviewee 10 (CS1) expressed the view: 'In my understanding, being a practising Muslim is basically someone who I would say is an honest individual, someone who has good character, is well-mannered, performs his job to the full standard.' Lastly, Interviewee 1 (CS2) who was supported to practise his religion declared: 'It's really great. At the same time

like it is some sort of motivation for me to work with [the] University because if I know there's a prayer room it means I'm not deprived.'

The data analysis revealed religious practices had little 'direct impact' (Tanenbaum, 2013, p. 18) on the daily interactions of employees and between managers and employees because they are either accommodated by the organisation (e.g., CS2) or by some managers (e.g., CS1), or because they are practised privately (e.g., employees at CS1). In fact, there were some positive impacts when religious practices were accommodated or known by others. However, with regard to the benefits to come to the workplace, a number of interviewees at CS1 (e.g., Interviewees 4, 8, 9 10 and 15) expressed their belief that increased cultural awareness following their efforts to communicate their faith to colleagues had had a positive impact. For instance, Interviewee 8 (CS1) commented:

> *They feel more comfortable asking about it because I'm one of them now, one of the Agency. But I'm also a Muslim in an obvious way. I had already established that good relationship with my workplace. They feel more comfortable now to come to me with questions and ask: why do people do this?*

This is in line with Tanenbaum's (2013) study and the following conclusion it draws:

> *Accommodations can have a positive impact on the workplace environment and ultimately the bottom line. Accordingly, we call on employers to adopt an accommodation ... that will enable employees to follow their beliefs and will simultaneously benefit the company. By this, we mean taking action before a problem emerges and adopting proactive policies, communication strategies, flexible schedules and related employee training.*

Interestingly, some employees whose religious practices were not accommodated indicated that this was their expectation and that they did not consider it to be discrimination given how difficult it is to accommodate the religious needs of all minority groups.

11.7 Benefits to the organisation from accommodating religious practices

Thus, the main finding drawn from the analysis of the participants' online survey and interview responses is that an organisation can benefit from demonstrating respect for religious diversity in the workplace. This result is in line with the conclusion reached by

scholars such as Barhem et al. (2009) and Jamal and Badwadi (1993) who suggested that workplace productivity is increased by acknowledging and supporting the religious identities of employees. Moreover, authors such as Hashim (2010), Forstenlechner and Al-Waqfi (2010), Cunningham (2010), and Moore and Rees (2007) are clear in their assertions that HR managers can improve Muslim employees' commitment to the organisation by making an effort to accommodate the employees' religious needs.

The benefits to the organisation are best encapsulated in the insights offered by Interviewee 5 (CS2):

> *Religion is a part of us so it should never be neglected. I know there are a lot of corporate environments where they don't want to include religion; they just want people to be focused at work. It's nothing bad, but if religion is involved it's always a positive impact on the business as well, I believe, because I would say any religious person, especially Muslims, would have stronger principles in terms of honesty in dealing with matters of privacy and everything. They would be at their best. So if managers and business owners, if they consider this aspect of employees, they wouldn't be harmed. It would be a very good advantage. ... It would give that Muslim satisfaction that they are doing their job and also fulfilling their religious need. It will give them a positive motivation and they will be able to work more. They will be able to work efficiently: they won't be depressed: they'll be able to concentrate.*

The interviewees' responses from CS1 also supported the online survey results with 8 out of 18 interviewees indicating they felt they had been socially excluded, treated as 'others', or that they had experienced lack of acceptance and 'stereotyping'. Moreover, 9 out of 18 interviewees felt they were involved in a conflict dynamic because they had not been accommodated to practise their faith in the workplace. To illustrate this point, Interviewee 4 from CS1 (a female) left the Agency a few months after the interview because she wanted to practise her religion with greater freedom. She actually described herself as a practising Muslim and said:

> *I pray, I fast, I love Islam. I want to practise as much as I can. I wear hijab, I try and live my life according to what God tells me to do, and I'm always seeking to improve that. I'm looking to get out of the [Agency].*

On the other hand, 3 out of 17 interviewees at CS2 felt they had been socially excluded and only one out of 17 interviewees felt he was involved in a conflict dynamic because his desire to practise his faith in the workplace had not been accommodated. There are of course other minor impacts on the organisation as a result of its religiously diverse employee group. For instance, Manager 1 (CS2) indicated re-rostering was an issue, stating: 'So it's just a matter of tweaking the roster a bit to suit everyone; probably the main impact is service zones, working on service zones.' This data illustrates that greater conflict accrues in an integrationist culture that does not adequately accommodate plurality.

Notwithstanding these minor issues, what is apparent is that the negative impacts on the organisation would be far greater if there was no attempt by management to accommodate the religious needs of employees. Interviewee 4 (CS2) confessed:

> *Without any doubt, if they tell me tomorrow that, okay, you cannot go and pray because all this has changed, because we are getting more busy, then the very next day it would not be a difficult decision for me to go and tell them okay since you are doing this, then I have to look for something else.*

A similar sentiment was expressed by Interviewee 5 (CS2) on the topic of restricted religious accommodations:

> *I wouldn't accept a shift where they would tell me no, you won't get a break at that time. But this is just a start. Eventually in my future I wouldn't work if I'm not given prayer breaks for the five times in a day because I think that it can be done pretty quick, at least five minutes to 10 minutes wouldn't harm my work environment.*

11.8 Importance of organisational culture

The findings from this study thus partly confirm Tanenbaum's (2013) conclusion that 'when workers cannot conduct the core practices that are part of their faith it impacts morale and corporate reputations in ways that can have implications for worker recruitment and retention.' Moreover, assertions in SRW literature of the benefits to both the organisation and to employees from acknowledging religious diversity and accommodating religious practices point to the importance of combining legal compliance with positive everyday enactments to achieve effective diversity management.

On the basis of the above discussion, it appears that organisational culture and the practices it endorses in relation to the management of religious diversity can determine the extent to

which employees have to manifest their religious identity and engage in religious practices. In CS2, 36 per cent of the practising Muslim employees consistently engaged in daily religious practices, and 17 per cent engaged in religious practices sometimes. In contrast, the discussion in the Findings and Analysis chapters revealed the tendency among CS2 Muslim employees is to adapt at a lower level compared to CS1 employees. Indeed, the tendency by CS2 Muslim employees is towards integration. Moreover, at CS1 the percentage of practising Muslim employees who use their Muslim names is 66 per cent compared to 83 per cent at CS2. Table (29) compares the results between CS1 and CS2:

Table (29): Comparison between CS1 and CS2

Comparison points	CS1	CS2
Experienced Conflict	31%	10%
Engaging in religious practices in the workplace	Always 36% Sometimes 17% Total 53%	Always 59% Sometimes 28% Total 87%
Using their Muslim names	66 %	83 %

It was also evident that Muslim employees at CS1 responded to the diversity dynamic in the workplace by trying to achieve a balance in their response to different cultural demands. As discussed in the Conceptual Framework chapter, Jackson (2010, p. 388) referred to this as an attempt at 'cultural fusion' with the aim to reconcile cultural or identity clashes by integrating what they believe to be the important aspects of both. Here the implication is that Muslim employees are apparently prepared to conceal their religious identity, in particular their religious practices, in order to more fully embrace the dominant culture in the workplace (Jackson, 2010, p. 166). Interviewee 3 (CS1) exemplifies this point being born in Palestine but choosing to adopt an English name and to only engage in prayer when at home.

Data from the sworn officers in CS1 supports the argument that the perceptions of the strength of the dominant culture in the workplace can influence the extent to which employees manifested their religious identity in the workplace. It is not only the dominant culture in the workplace, but also the inherent requirements of the job that can prevent employees from practising their faith in the workplace. This is evident in the CS1 data which revealed Muslim employees believed the requirements of the job to conflict with the prayer

times. A tendency towards assimilation can often emerge as a result of the perceived dominant workplace culture and the likely difficulties experienced in trying to maintain one's different religious/cultural identity (Jackson, 2010, p. 166). Thus, in order to avoid tension or conflict in CS1, some Muslim interviewees indicated they were prepared to integrate and manage their identity according to the dominant culture by sacrificing certain religious practices in the workplace. Furthermore, the perceptions of employees from diverse religious backgrounds of the 'strength' of the dominant culture can often emerge from the way in which the principles of multiculturalism are endorsed in the workplace.

11.9 Conclusion

A key element to attaining organisational goals, particularly in relation to the effective management of diversity, is to respect employees (Dean and Safranski, 2008). However, given that one-dimensional conceptualisations of diversity management do not adequately respond to the complexities of gender, ethnicity and religion (Syed and Pio, 2010), a multi-dimensional approach which includes the role of the internal organisational culture and the managers' understanding of diversity is required. Indeed, the management of diversity in Australian workplaces is a complex yet fundamentally important aspect of workplace relations. With regard to the management of religious diversity, this chapter demonstrated that while the current regulatory and legal framework provides an adequate foundation for the management of religious diversity issues, there is still much more that can be done. Preventing conflict in the workplace based on religious differences and accommodating religious practices are, of course, desirable outcomes for managers. Certainly, the interview and online survey data illustrated that when there is greater flexibility in the approach to the management of religious identity religious employees are more likely to feel accepted and be willing to support the organisation and be more productive. Moreover, in workplace contexts such as CS2 there are also better relations between in-groups and out-groups.

The enforcement of regulations determined at both the macro (national or state) and the meso (diversity policy) levels is necessary, but these regulations alone are not enough to adequately manage religious diversity at work. Employees who seek to practise their religion in the workplace need not only the protection of anti-discrimination laws, they also need a workplace culture that appreciates and values diversity as was demonstrated at CS2.

Given that religious diversity among employees in Australian workplaces is projected to increase, managers may need to improve their understanding of the ways in which religious diversity impacts organisational operations. They may also improve their understanding of how to most effectively meet their employees' religious needs. If managers fail in this regard and elect to ignore or avoid the issue of accommodating employees' cultural and religious needs, the result may very well be an increase in felt and manifest conflict in the workplace as demonstrated through the experience of the employees in the study sample, at CS1 in particular.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Conclusion

The aim of this research was to identify the key Islamic religious practices that might cause conflict in two secular workplace settings in Australia. The aim was also to examine the response of managers to religious diversity in the workplace and to the religious practices of Muslim employees both in terms of attempts to accommodate these practices as well as techniques to manage conflict situations. Moreover, this research provided opportunities for Muslim workers and their managers to give voice to their experiences of religion-based workplace conflict. To facilitate this outcome, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected for analysis; that is, an online survey was used to collect quantitative data and in-depth semi-structured interviews provided qualitative data. The workplaces investigated in this study were two organisations from the public sector in Sydney, Australia. It is hoped that the findings presented in this study will enhance the capacity of organisations to take action to increase managers' level of awareness of religious diversity in the workplace.

A number of important discoveries related to the relationship between workplace diversity and workplace conflict emerged from this study. What was particularly evident was that minority group employees (i.e., Muslim employees) in culturally diverse workplace contexts do not necessarily experience conflict with colleagues (including managers) as a result of their religious differences. Rather, the likelihood of minority group Muslim employees experiencing workplace conflict is contingent on the workplace itself. To clarify, the emergence of religion-based workplace conflict is influenced by a range of variables. These include the diversity management practices implemented by managers in the workplace, employee (both at management and non-management levels) awareness of the practices, religious obligations that conflict with inherent job requirements, everyday enactments, and employee attitudes towards religious difference.

Notwithstanding the importance of recognising that the unique context of each organisation impacts the potential for religion-based conflict to emerge, consideration of legislative and procedural factors was nonetheless required. This study found that reliance by management on the organisation's internal official diversity policy or on actions that seek only to ensure

compliance with government legislation is, in the main, not adequate as a mechanism for preventing religion-based conflict in the workplace. One of the key arguments posited in this study is that such mechanisms alone do not satisfactorily ensure that the religious needs of employees in contemporary workplaces are addressed. This study sought to identify how the culture of an organisation – including diversity management practices and managers' understandings of religious diversity – contributes to the potential emergence of conflict in the workplace. The context of this focus was the two case study organisations selected for inclusion in this study as well as the effective management of religious diversity more generally.

To ensure a comprehensive investigation of religion-based conflict in the workplace was undertaken, this study sought to explore the phenomenon at the macro, meso and micro levels. It adopted a multiple case study design with a mixed-method approach to data collection. Moreover, the qualitative and quantitative data were triangulated to identify similarities and differences to better inform the answers generated for each research question. Importantly, this study presented challenges to pre-existing views on culture-based workplace conflict reported in previous studies in other countries and in media representations of cultural conflict involving Muslim employees in the workplace. Indeed, this study sought to respond to assertions in news broadcasts and some research studies that Muslim employees are subject to ongoing workplace discrimination in non-Muslim countries.

In seeking to achieve the stated aims and objectives, this study contributes to two important domains of enquiry: diversity management, and SRW in the Australian context. In addition, this study found that organisational and office culture, initiatives by managers to increase their awareness of religious diversity, and attempts by managers to accommodate the religious needs of employees were critical in preventing religion-based conflict in a culturally diverse workplace.

An important variable contributing to the validity of the findings presented in this study was Muslim employees' religious practices in the workplace. This was addressed in Research Question 1: *What is the extent of Muslim religious practices in the case study organisations?* The data showed that the majority of participants in the study were practising Muslims (71 per cent in CS1, and 86 per cent in CS2). The term 'practising' was understood in two ways by the participants. Some understood the term to mean following the *Quran*, *Sunnah* (what

the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) said including Islamic manners); others understood the term in relation to participating in particular religious practices such as daily prayer and fasting during the month of *Ramadan*. Importantly, some participants found it difficult to know what practices they needed to mention in their answers as they considered their faith as a whole way of life.

Research Question 2 asked: *Do the religious practices of Muslim workers cause cultural conflict in the workplace?* This study showed that, generally speaking, the impact of Muslim employees' religious practices on the workplace was minimal. Evidence was presented to show that some Muslim employees experienced 'felt conflict' when their religious practices were not accommodated. Notwithstanding this experience by some Muslim employees, their religious practices most often resulted in no significant impact on the workplace because they were performed privately, especially in CS1, or because there were mechanisms in place at the workplace to accommodate the religious behaviours, such as in CS2. It was noted, however, that conflict related to issues of religious identity was more evident in CS1 than in CS2 and that it included racial comments and stereotyping. As previously mentioned, the inherent job requirements caused personal conflict for some participants. Another critical factor was also the impact of the dominant organisational culture. One case was integrative or unitarist and the other reflected a differentiation approach that was more accepting of plurality. Greater ambiguity was identified in a more unitarist integrationist organisational context.

Research Question 3 asked: *How do managers respond to the religious practices of Muslims?* What emerged from the responses of both employees and managers was that the response of managers to Muslim religious practices was influenced by two main factors: the culture within the organisation, and individual managers' understanding of the practices and values of different religions. Although the managers may have sought to accommodate the religious needs of employees in different ways, there was, however, general consensus among them that discrimination in the workplace had to be prevented. Indeed, the different ways in which each case study organisation attempted to manage the religious needs of Muslim employees was a reflection of the different organisational contexts. Clearly, the different workplace contexts produced results unique to the organisation which indicates that diversity management and the accommodation of religious practices needs to be flexible and adapted to specific organisational needs.

Lastly, Research Question 4 asked: *What are the main issues/problems faced by Muslim workers, and how do managers address these issues/problems?* A range of workplace issues particular to Muslim employees were identified in this study. Some Muslim employees at CS1, for example, suggested that the way in which their religious needs were accommodated was an issue. In addition, some employees at CS1 identified lack of acceptance and stereotyping as an issue, which in turn led them to hide their religious identities. As previously mentioned, the presence and prevalence of these issues can be linked to the culture of the organisation. Furthermore, this study demonstrated that many of the Muslim employees felt that they belonged to a counterculture due to their different values and practices related to alcohol consumption and eating particular foods which distinguished them from the in-groups of their workplaces. In certain contexts, the Muslim culture, such as in relation to alcohol consumption, appears to operate like a counterculture because it creates a conflict between practices rather than between people in the case study organisations. The issue was of course most evident in the context of work-related social functions or meetings, and only one Muslim employee indicated that they were concerned that non-participation would have negative consequences. Nonetheless, they reported that different colleagues responded to their different values and practices in different ways, including requests to explain or even justify their non-participation. On rare occasions such responses involved stereotyping.

Of particular note in this study is the finding that Muslim women did not indicate they had experienced any workplace conflict issues particular to their gender or a greater number of workplace conflict situations compared to their Muslim male counterparts. This is despite the fact that Muslim women practise their religion in a different way and they often require a greater amount of time to have their religious practices accommodated (e.g., time for the daily prayers.) This study highlighted that some studies of the workplace experiences of Muslim employees in general and Muslim women employees in particular point to a greater prevalence of conflict situations for Muslim women in the workplace. Such studies often cite the decision of a Muslim woman to wear *hijab*, or her approach to the management of gender relations in the workplace, as contributing factors to such conflict situations. In contrast, this study concluded that Muslim women in the case study organisations experienced no more conflict situations at work than were experienced by Muslim males.

12.1 Study Limitations

The findings discussed in this study should be considered with three limitations in mind. First, as researchers are only beginning to develop theories pertaining to the religion-work dynamic, this study was unable to apply a theoretical framework specific to religion and work. Second, limited access to research data proved to be problematic. There were many barriers to accessing organisations in Sydney to gauge their potential for inclusion as case studies. Private sector organisations were particularly reticent and they justified this by saying, for example; 'We already undertake an annual diversity survey where our employees are asked about all areas of diversity including culture and religion. Unfortunately there is not the capacity to survey employees between this annual cycle.' In addition, even when access to an organisation and verbal approval were achieved, in many cases official written approval could not be obtained for reasons not known to the researcher. As a result, this study focused on two public sector organisations based on availability, and the researcher obtained data saturation. Third, the capacity of this study to draw on a wide range of literature to support the discussion of the research findings was limited. The notion of religious diversity in secular workplaces is a relatively new phenomenon. As a result, there is a lack of broad and in-depth academic research on the topic, especially in Australia.

12.2 Future Research

The findings presented in this study, along with the views and insights offered by the study participants, point out the complexities related to the relationship between religion and work in emergent contemporary workplaces. The efforts made by the two case study organisations to accommodate employees' religious needs and managers showing greater understanding of religious difference is evidence that measures to manage religion in the workplace are better now than in the past. Evidently, awareness and understanding of different faiths within multicultural societies is improving. Therefore, religion in the workplace is an important topic for further research because 'religion undoubtedly has a place in Australia's future' (Sherlock, 2013).

In terms of the nature of further research required, because this study was an examination of workplace experience of religion-based conflict (for Muslim employees) and of diversity management practices, it has opened the door for future investigations. Given that 'religion and the workplace' is a relatively new phenomenon, and that the relationship between

business and religions is generally not well understood by leaders of organisations, it warrants more attention as an academic field of research interest.

Further research contributions to the field could be undertaken in a range of different areas. First, researchers could continue to focus on religion and work from a gender perspective by investigating whether the gender of the workplace manager makes a significant difference to the way matters related to religion are managed in the workplace. Second, a comparative study could be undertaken of Muslim employees working for non-Muslim managers and Muslim employees working for Muslim managers in Australia. The scope of the comparative research could in turn be widened to include a comparison of the workplace experience of Muslim employees with employees of other faiths. The survey of thousands of American adults by the Tanenbaum Center for Interreligious Understanding has twice made valuable contributions (1999 and 2013) to our understanding of the prominent issues related to religion in contemporary workplaces. The two surveys, however, were either not designed according to scientific research principles or were limited to the American context. Thus, research which aims to investigate conditions for Muslim employees in the Australian workplace context and which rigorously applies accepted research methods may provide valuable insights. Recently, Pio (2014) conducted a significant study of five minority religious groups in New Zealand and found that employers in New Zealand generally had no problems employing Hindus and Buddhists, but it was found that those employers had many questions about Muslims. Future research could look to establish the extent to which the Australian workplace context is comparable to that of New Zealand.

Third, an as yet unexplored perspective of the religion and work dynamic relates to customer preferences. As such, future research could investigate whether or not customer preferences impact the culture of an organisation in terms of the extent to which the organisation attempts to accommodate employees' religious needs. Fourth, there is scope for further research into the appropriateness, or lack thereof, of some workplace roles and responsibilities for Muslims. The research could aim to determine whether there are certain jobs a practising Muslim cannot do, such as working in the alcohol industry for example. It was evident in this study that Muslim employees indicated their issue with alcohol consumption. Fifth, another aspect of the religion and work phenomenon that would benefit from further research relates to the issue of promotion for religious employees. Although the issue was touched upon in this study because of its repeated mention in the literature, the researcher was not able to

investigate in depth the issue of promotion as it relates to religious employees. This is primarily because a longitudinal study of each employee was not included in the study design and because the researcher did not have access to each participant's employee file. Thus, further research of the promotion pathways for religious (e.g. Muslim) employees in culturally diverse secular workplaces and the factors impacting promotion opportunities would provide greater scope for understanding the religion and work dynamic.

Lastly, further research focus could be undertaken on the factors impacting the development and implementation of effective workplace communication strategies in the context of religion and work. Communication has a key role to play in achieving positive outcomes in the management of religious diversity as it increases employees' awareness of differences in cultural and religious values and beliefs. With regard to Muslim employees in particular, greater employee awareness of various religious practices and beliefs is more likely to result in increased tolerance and acceptance of these practices and the potential removal of conflict situations among Muslim employees and their co-workers.

Thus, based on the interview and online survey data from this study, there is an increasing need for managers to take two interrelated actions in order to prevent conflict in the workplace. First, they need to improve their understanding of religious diversity in the workplace. Second, they need to reduce the gap between diversity policies and everyday enactments by managers by demonstrating the implications of this understanding through the creation of an inclusive organisational culture. The findings demonstrate the importance of understanding the subjective components of the issues in order to create harmonious workplace relations and the fundamental inadequacy of relying on legislation alone to prevent conflict in the workplace caused by religious practices.

It is hoped that this research will prompt managers of Muslim employees to broaden their knowledge of religion-based issues relevant to Muslim employees in order to improve their diversity management outcomes.

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APPENDIX 1: The online survey questions

This online survey is based on a modification of a survey conducted by J. Pyke, Master's Thesis, Victoria University 2005, and Religion/Spiritualty in the Workplace Survey, 2008, Society for Human Resource Management

Please answer the following questions:

A. Personal Questions

1. Are you:

Male   ( )

Female ( )

2. How old are you? …………..

3. Where were you born?

(   ) in Australia

(   ) No, I was born in ....

4. How long have you been in Australia if you were born overseas?

( ) less than 1 year

( ) 1-5 years

( ) 6-20 years

( ) over 21 years

5. What is your highest level of education that you have attained?

( ) High school

( ) Diploma

( ) Bachelor's degree

( ) Master's degree

( ) PhD

( ) Other …………………………..

6. What is the discipline of your education background?

( ) Education

( ) Business

( ) Law

( ) IT or computing

( ) Other …………………..

7. Where were you educated?

( ) In Australia

( ) Elsewhere ………………

8. Is English your second language?

( ) Yes, and my mother tongue is …………………

( ) No, English is my first language.

9. Are you a practising Muslim?

( ) Yes

( ) No

10. If Yes, do you express your religion and/or your culture through

a) your appearance? (e.g., headscarves, beards)

( ) Yes

( ) No

b) your name?

( ) Yes

( ) No

B. **Employment related questions**

11. Do you work in:

( ) Public sector

( ) Private sector

( ) Non-profit /volunteer

( ) Government Sector

( ) Other

12. The postcode of your work location is (   )

13. Is your manager Muslim?

( ) No

( ) Yes

14. How many Muslims work with you?

( ) 0-5

( ) 6-10

( ) 11-20

( ) over 20

( ) I do not know

15. What is your occupation (What job are you currently doing?)

…………………………………………………..

16. In which industry is your organisation located?

( ) Construction and mining/oil and gas

( ) Educational services

( ) Finance

( ) Government

( ) Health

( ) High-tech

( ) Insurance

( ) Manufacturing (durable goods, e.g., cars)

( ) Manufacturing (nondurable goods, e.g., food)

( ) Newspaper publishing/broadcasting

( ) Services (non-profit)

( ) Services (profit)

( ) Telecommunications

( ) Transportation

( ) Utilities

( ) Wholesale/retail trade

( ) Other (please specify) _____

17. Are you:

( ) a full time employee

( ) a part time employee

( ) casual

( ) other ………………………………….

18. How long have you been employed in your organisation:

( ) less than one year

( ) 2-3 years

( ) more than 4 years

C. Religious practices in the workplace

19. Do you engage in any specific Muslim religious practices at work?

( ) Yes

( ) No

( ) Sometimes

20. How important is the ability to engage in religious practices in the workplace for

you?

( ) very important

( ) important

( ) moderate

( ) unimportant

21. How important is it to you that your organisation understands your religion and its

practices in the workplace?

( ) very important

( ) important

( ) moderate

( ) unimportant

22. How important to you is your manager's understanding of Muslim religious practices

in the workplace?

( ) very important

( ) important

( ) moderate

( ) unimportant

23. Have you experienced any conflicts in your organisation regarding your religious

identity or practices?

( ) No

( ) Yes - Please specify (e.g. it was about daily prayer, Hijab, or during Ramadan)

……

……

…………………………………………………………………………………………

24. Do you think that Muslim women experience specific and/or unique problems in the workplace related to their gender?
    ( ) No
    ( ) Yes, explain it in more detail please.

……

……

……

………………

25. Do you think that Muslim men experience specific and/or unique problems in the workplace related to their gender?
    ( ) No
    ( ) Yes, explain it in more detail please.

……

……

……

………………

26. Has your manager directly addressed any conflicts arising from your identity and/or practices or from those of other Muslim employees?

( ) Yes

( ) No

27. Do you engage in Jummah (Friday) prayer?

( ) No

( ) Yes

28. If not, is this because of your workload, work time or lack of interest?

( ) workload

( ) work time

( ) lack of interest

29. If yes, where do you pray?

( ) at work Mussallah

( ) at the Mosque

30. If you pray at work Mussallah, how many minutes do you need to pray Jummah (Friday prayer)?

………………………….

31. If you pray at a Mosque, how many minutes do you need to pray Jummah (Friday prayer)?

……………………………

32. If you engage in religious practices, how many minutes do you need to pray each daily prayer at work?

…………………………

33. Have you been asked by your manager about your religious needs?

( ) No

( ) Yes

34. Have you explained your religious needs to your manager?

( ) No

( ) Yes

35. Is there a special prayer room for daily prayer in your organisation?

( ) No, I normally pray at ……………………………………………………..

( ) Yes

36. Do you have any religious decoration in your office?

( ) Yes, I have …………………………………………………………………

( ) No

37. Please rate the following religious practices from 5 to 1 (5 is very important and 1 is not important at all).

1. For both men and women:

    -   Daily prayers (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - or 1)

    -   Fasting Ramadan (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - or 1)

    -   To keep yourself away from forbidden actions, food (e.g., pork) or drink (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - or 1)

    -   To decorate your place with religious stuff (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - or 1)

    -   To avoid working closely with the other gender (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - or 1)

    -   To wear modest attire (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - or 1)

2. For women only:

   - To wear Hijab (headscarf) (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - or 1)

3. For men only:

   - Jummah (Friday) prayer (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - or 1)

   - To wear a beard (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - or 1)

   - To wear a hat or skullcap (5 - 4 - 3 - 2 - or 1)

38. Does your organisation have a diversity management policy?

( ) Yes

( ) No

( ) I do not know

39. Do you agree with the idea of removing all religions from the workplace?

( ) Yes

( ) No

40. Do you have anything else you would like to say?

……

……

……

……

……

……

……

……

……

……

……

……

Thank you so much for your time

APPENDIX 2: Interview Questions for Managers

1. Are you:
   - A senior Manager?
   - An HR manager?
   - A line manager?
- Other? …………………….
2. How long have you been in this position?
5. How many Muslims are they in your organisation or in your work unit?
6. Are you familiar with Muslim religious needs?
7. Have you been asked to accommodate them? If so, which religious practices have figured most prominently in these requests?
8. Are there challenges for you as a manager in terms of managing workers' religious needs?
9. Do you manage religious leave, and if so, how do you do so?
10. Does your organisation have a formal written policy for managing diversity that includes religious activities?
11. Are Muslim religious needs increasing in your organisation?
12. Does your organisation offer training for religious diversity?
13. If yes, are training courses well attended?
14. What impact does religious diversity have on your organisation?
15. How do you feel about people bringing their religions and religious practices into the workplace?
16. Have you experienced any conflict in regard to Muslim religious practices in the workplace?
17. If so, can you describe them?
18. How do religious practices affect your scheduling of workers?
19. How do religious practices affect your perspective of efficiency (productivity, job performance)?

APPENDIX 3.1: Information and Consent Form for Employees' Online Survey

Department of Marketing and Management

Faculty of Business and Economy

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Phone: (61-2) 9850 4811
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Email: lucy.taksa@mq.edu.au
Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Name:

Professor Lucy Taksa
Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Title
Head of Department, Department of
Marketing and Management

Information and Consent Form for Employee Online Survey

Name of Project: **An Examination of Muslim Religious Practices in the Workplace and their Implications for Management.**

Dear employee,
You are invited to participate in this Survey. The purpose of this study is to examine how managers respond to Muslim employees' religious needs in the workplace. To this end, it investigates the extent of Muslim religious practices in your organisation and how the organisation and its managers respond to the needs of practicing Muslim employees.

The study is being conducted by Yousef Ibrahim Alnamlah, a full time PhD student, in the Department of Marketing and Management, Faculty of Business and Economics, at Macquarie University (contact No. 0431107165, yousef.alnamlah@mq.edu.au) under the supervision of Professor Lucy Taksa, (contact No. (61-2) 9850 4811, lucy.taksa@mq.edu.au) Head of Department.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to answer the survey questions related to Yousef Alnamlah's thesis. The information will be confidential and will not be shown to anyone other than the supervisors.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without any consequences.

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(PARTICIPANT'S ONLINE COPY)

APPENDIX 3.2: Information and Consent Form for Employee Interviews

Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Name:

Professor Lucy Taksa
Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Title
Head of Department, Department of Business

Information and Consent Form for Employee Interviews

Name of Project: **An Examination of Muslim Religious Practices in the Workplace and their Implications for Management.**

Dear employee,

Thank you for indicating your willingness to be interviewed for this project. The purpose of this study is to examine how managers respond to Muslim employees' religious needs in the workplace. To this end, it investigates the extent of Muslim religious practices in your organisation and how the organisation and its managers respond to the needs of practising Muslim employees.

The study is being conducted by Yousef Ibrahim Alnamlah, a full time PhD student, in the Department of Marketing and Management, Faculty of Business and Economics, at Macquarie University (contact No. 0431107165, yousef.alnamlah@mq.edu.au) under the supervision of Professor Lucy Taksa, (contact No. (61-2) 9850 4811, lucy.taksa@mq.edu.au) Head of Department.

It is anticipated that interviews will last approximately one hour and if you decide to participate, you will be asked to answer the interview questions related to Yousef Alnamlah's thesis. The researcher will record the interviews, and the interview recordings and transcripts will be confidential. A copy of your interview transcript will be provided on request.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequences.

I, _(participant's name)_ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name:
  (Block letters)

Participant's Signature: _____ Date:

Investigator's Name:
  (Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____ __ Date:

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(PARTICIPANT'S AND INVESTIGATOR'S COPY)

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APPENDIX 3.3: Information and Consent Form for Managers

Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Name:
Professor Lucy Taksa
Chief Investigator's / Supervisor's Title
Head of Department, Department of Business

Information and Consent Form for Managers

Name of Project: **An Examination of Muslim Religious Practices in the Workplace and their Implications for Management.**

Dear Manager,

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed.
You are invited to participate in this interview. The purpose of this study is to examine how managers respond to Muslim employees' religious needs in the workplace. To this end, it investigates the extent of Muslim religious practices in your organisation and how the organisation and its managers respond to the needs of practising Muslim employees.

The study is being conducted by Yousef Ibrahim Alnamlah, a full time PhD student, in the Department of Marketing and Management, Faculty of Business and Economics, at Macquarie University (Contact No. 0431107165, yousef.alnamlah@mq.edu.au) under the supervision of Professor Lucy Taksa, (Contact No. (61-2) 9850 4811, lucy.taksa@mq.edu.au) Head of Department.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to answer the interview questions related to Yousef Alnamlah's thesis. The researcher will record the interviews, and the recordings will be confidential and will not be shown to anyone other than the supervisors.

A summary of the results of the data can be made available to you on request.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequences.

_____

I,   *(participant's name)*   have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name:
   (Block letters)

Participant's Signature: _____ Date:

Investigator's Name:
   (Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____ __ Date:

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (Telephone: (02) 9850 7854; email: ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(PARTICIPANT'S AND INVESTIGATOR'S COPY)

APPENDIX 4: Media cases

#	The incident	When	Where	Gender	Source
1	18 Muslim employees allegedly fired for praying in the workplace	26 March, 2013	US Ohio EXEL	Not sure	http://m.prnewswire.com/news-releases/cair-ohio-files-muslim-workers-bias-complaints-against-dhl-subsidiary-200083251.html
2	Mr. Charles was asked by the restaurant manager if he was a Muslim. He indicated he was and he was told he might need to cut his beard to work in the restaurant. Mr. Charles said he could not cut or trim his beard shorter than the length of his fist because of his religion. He was hired as a food preparation position. Two days after starting work, however, Mr. Charles was told he had to shave his beard. When he refused to do so his employment was terminated, even though he offered to wear a "beard net", which is similar to a hair net, as an accommodation. The lawsuit charges the company with violating Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1991.	May 2012	North Carolina company US	Male	http://www.businessinsurance.com/article/20130404/NEWS07/130409915
3	Tarek Al-Birekdar alleged that co-workers and supervisors called him "camel jockey", made disparaging remarks about Islam, and told him that "you people don't belong here." He was fired for purportedly violating a company leave policy about 18 months after he filed an MHRA bias charge. Started with bullying and ended complicated.	2003-2006	Chrysler Group LLC in Missouri US	Male Syrian	http://media.ca8.uscourts.gov/opndir/13/03/083780P.pdf
4	*Dunnes* told a Muslim worker she could not wear her hijab. Ms Tavoraite, of Parknamore in Ballincollig, is suing Dunnes, of 46-50 South Great George's Street, Dublin, for unfair dismissal. An Employment Appeals Tribunal (EAT) in Cork was told yesterday that staff at Dunnes wear a standard uniform Loreta Tavoraite	6 Nov., 2010	Dunnes, of 46-50 South Great George's Street, Dublin UK	Female	http://www.independent.ie/irish-news/dunnes-told-muslim-worker-she-couldnt-wear-her-hijab-26897009.html
5	Former Disneyland employee to sue over right to wear hijab at work. Imane Boudlal	2010-now	Disneyland Lose Angeles	Female	http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/disneyland-employee-sue-wear-hijab-work-article-1.1135427#ixzz23Y98bXFo
6	Muslim worker at the Whole Foods at Pennsylvania Avenue was	2011	Whole	Male	http://www.philebrity.com/2012/08/08/cair-philadelphia-files-

	treated differently after a trip to Mecca, including being followed when he prayed. He was followed and watched so much that he began to pray outside by the dumpsters just to have some privacy. The worker, **Glenn Mack,** claims he was also <u>fired for being a Muslim</u>.		Foods at Pennsylvania US		<u>suit-against-whole-foods-for-that-time-they-made-a-muslim-worker-pray-by-the-trash/</u> <u>http://edition.cnn.com/2011/11/08/us/pennsylvania-muslim-fired/index.html?_s=PM:US</u>
7	Ashraf claims his boss at UPS called him "a monkey" over instant messenger, because of the colour of his skin. Another manager allegedly followed him into the bathroom, mocked him for urinating sitting down, as Ashraf's particular beliefs dictate, and gave him a demonstration in "how we urinate in this country."	2008	UPS Florida US	Male	http://www.islamophobiatoday.com/2012/07/11/florida-muslim-worker-accuses-ups-of-bias/
8	30 Somali men and women say they were asked to leave their work site because they wouldn't comply with a new dress code. The number of people impacted is higher and the allegations against their employer, Dianne's Fine Desserts, are more serious.	2012	Dianne's Fine Desserts US	30 Male and female	<u>http://www.southernminn.com/faribault_daily_news/news/local/article_f4d66f60-a6ad-5649-9161-b1f8202a46aa.html</u>
9	Camden Council in North London started deducting five minutes worth of salary from a member of staff at its children's department each time he stopped work to pray, likening it to the cigarette breaks enjoyed by smokers.	June, 2012	Camden Council in north London UK	Male	http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/9310836/Council-docked-Muslim-workers-pay-for-prayer-breaks.html
10	Kamal Aly The Boy Scouts of America owes $152,500 in back wages to a Muslim Egyptian-American who was passed over for promotion, a federal judge ruled.	May, 2012	America's Mohegan Council US	Male	http://www.courthousenews.com/2012/05/29/46899.htm
11	Muslim woman wins $5 million verdict from AT&T for discrimination	May, 2012	AT&T US	Female	http://ebn.benefitnews.com/news/att-muslim-religion-discrimination-eeoc-diversity-2724468-1.html
12	A San Francisco jury has awarded $465,400 to a Muslim of African descent who quit his job as a security guard after a co-worker called him a "goddamn terrorist," supervisors made racist comments and a top company official endorsed a statement that "Muslims kill people." (Managers and co-workers)	25 January, 2012	San Francisco US	Male	http://www.islamophobia-watch.com/islamophobia-watch/2012/1/25/california-jury-sides-with-muslim-guard-in-harassment-case.html
13	After landing the job, Ms. Holloway-Russell wore the khimar when reporting for her first work assignment. She was told to remove the khimar because the company's dress code required all employees to wear a white shirt, tie, black pants, a black belt, black socks, and black shoes. The code forbade additions to the uniform for any reason, including religion. Ms. Holloway-Russell	28 Dec., 2011	Philadelphia, PA, United States	Female	http://www.jdsupra.com/post/documentViewer.aspx?fid=cbe0f30c-6fc6-496f-97fb-cb1d1f114eac

	was offered a company-approved baseball hat to wear in lieu of her khimar, but she refused to remove her khimar. She was then terminated.				
14	In its suit filed in U.S. District Court for the District Of Columbia against the Mandarin Oriental Hotel Group, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) alleges that in December of 2010, the American citizen of Moroccan heritage was forbidden to go to the 8th or 9th floors of the hotel because an Israeli delegation was staying there. (Managers)	2011	Washington, D.C US	Not sure	http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/cair-muslim-sues-dc-hotel-over-bias-during-israeli-delegations-stay-128609123.html
15	Minneapolis/St. Paul International Airport, the employees were prohibited from praying outside of the newly implemented work breaks, which did not coincide with prayer times."	10 August, 2011	St.Paul International Airport US	Not sure	https://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=10150275730804442&comments
16	The Muslim woman at the centre of a lawsuit against Abercrombie & Fitch over being forced to remove her hijab while working in the stockroom of a Hollister Co. store in San Mateo spoke at this morning's press conference. "When I was asked to remove my scarf after being hired with it on, I was demoralized and felt unwanted", Hani Khan said Hollister and Abercrombie & Fitch	27 June, 2011	San Francisco US	Female	http://blogs.ocweekly.com/navelgazing/2011/06/hijab_abercrombie_fitch_muslim.php http://www.las-elc.org/docs/cases/Khan_Complaint.pdf http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vBvP3NIgn5Q http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/newsroom/6-27-11a.cfm
17	The Muslim employee, Riham Osman, reported that when she went to work as an Air France Passenger Service Agent (US) at the airport earlier this month she was told she could not wear her scarf because of an alleged Air France dress code. The worker refused to violate her religious beliefs and practices by removing her hijab and was promptly sent home.	22 June, 2011	Washington Dulles International Airport US	Female	https://www.facebook.com/notes/cair/cair-action-ask-air-france-to-apologize-to-worker-sent-home-over-hijab/10150225945459442?ref=nf http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yl0vmjLk4tw
18	An Australian Muslim was threatened with dismissal for taking 10 minutes off work to pray. The Australian Industrial Relations Commission said that it had received a complaint from Kamal El-Masri about a threat to sack him unless he stopped praying during working hours.	1 October, 2002	Sydney, Australia	Male	http://www.abc.net.au/worldtoday/stories/s698275.htm http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2002/10/10/1034222543449.html http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/2318415.stm
19	Mohsin Mohmed, 23, of, said he was repeatedly asked by Virgin Trains managers to trim his beard and was told not to wear a religious skullcap. He said his Islamic faith meant that he could not trim his beard. An employment tribunal dismissed his claims of racial and religious discrimination and unfair dismissal.	11 January, 2005	Ilford, Essex, United Kingdom,	Male	http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/essex/3736626.stm

20	More than 100 Muslim workers were fired from a Greeley slaughterhouse after refusing to report for work a day earlier in protest against the company's refusal to allow a prayer break during the work shift.	11 Sept., 2008	Colorado, US, Greeley slaughterhouse	Male and female	http://www.denverpost.com/breakingnews/ci_10432000
21	Detroit Jury Awards Muslim Man "Ali Aboubaker" A Record $1.1M In 'Beard-Related' Discrimination Case. He was fired because of his beard.	February 28, 2014	Detroit, USA	Male	http://detroit.cbslocal.com/2014/02/28/detroit-jury-awards-muslim-man-a-record-1-1m-in-discrimination-case/
22	*Toll Pty Limited trading as Toll Express v Abdulrahman [2007] NSWADTAP 70* , the appellant lost an appeal against a tribunal ruling that it pay $25,000 in damages for racial discrimination slurs made by employees of the company against a former Muslim employee, calling him "bombchucker" and "Osama Bin Laden".	1 August 2006	Australia	Male	http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/cases/nsw/NSWADT/2006/221.html http://www.lawlink.nsw.gov.au/adtjudgments/2006nswadt.nsf/15f9fbc7c71d7590ca2571030000f0fe/d9e3efb173ee5396ca2571bb0004613b?OpenDocument
23	Three Muslim employees alleged hostile work environment, unjust firing from Tinley Park Cadillac dealership.	2013	US	Males	http://www.cairchicago.org/2014/06/25/cair-chicago-welcomes-eeoc-decree-on-muslim-worker-discrimination-claims/
24	Christian health worker Victoria Wasteney is taking legal action against the NHS after she was accused of bullying a Muslim colleague.	28 Jun 2014	UK	Female	http://www.telegraph.co.uk/health/healthnews/10933206/NHS-worker-who-bullied-Muslim-by-praying-for-her.html
25	Nursing home refused to allow Muslim worker to wear hijab, government lawsuit alleges	July 09, 2014	US	Female	http://www.mcknights.com/nursing-home-refused-to-allow-muslim-worker-to-wear-hijab-government-lawsuit-alleges/article/359936/

APPENDIX 5: Countries where employees of CS1 were born

Afghanistan
Antarctica
Bangladesh
Bosnia & Herzegovina
Canada
Egypt
Fiji
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Kuwait
Lebanon
New Zealand
Northern /Ireland
Pakistan
Palestine
Turkey
UAE
Vietnam

APPENDIX 6: Ethics clearance

Human Research Ethics Committee

FINAL REPORT FORM
FOR TEACHING OR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

*** Submission Instructions ****

- <u>If you are a student, this form must be either signed or submitted via email by your supervisor</u>

- If your application was reviewed by a Human Ethics Faculty Sub-Committee or you have received an email reminder from a faculty sub-committee, then you can submit your completed final report form to the relevant faculty sub-Committee.

- For all other Final Reports please submit your completed form to ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au or to the Ethics Secretariat, Research Office, Level 3, Research HUB, Building C5C.

Handwritten forms will not be accepted.

*Once your report has been submitted it will be noted by the Committee. **Please note that you will NOT receive any correspondence from the HREC regarding your report.** However, the HREC may undertake an audit at any time without notification.*

Please answer all questions. Please do not delete questions or any part of a question.
Use lay terms wherever possible.

1.   **TITLE of research project or unit code and name:**

An examination of Muslim religious practices in the workplace and their implications for management

2.   **REFERENCE NO.:** | 5201100942 |
| --- |

3.   **CHIEF INVESTIGATOR:**
       (If you are submitting a Final Report for an ethics application submitted after 1 January 2010 then the CI must be a staff member/supervisor)

Name:	Lucy Taksa
Title:	Professor
Staff No.:	**MQ20097199**

Student No.:	**42010551**

Position held:	Associate Dean - Research
Department & Faculty	Faculty of Business and Economics
Tel. No.: (work)	(+61-2) 9850 4811
Email address:	lucy.taksa@mq.edu.au

4.   **SUPERVISOR: (For Honours, Post-Graduate and HDR Students:** If you are submitting a Final Report for an application submitted **prior to 2010** please complete supervisor's details)

  ** FOR APPLICATIONS SUBMITTED PRIOR TO 2010 where Student is CI **

Name:	
Title:	
Staff No.:	
Department & Faculty	
Tel. No.: (work)	
Email address:	

5.Please indicate the current status of the project:

  (a)   *Completed on*   **[14/02/2015]** (dd/mm/yyyy)

  (b)   *Not completed but the project has run for 5 years from the original approval therefore this is a Final Report for the current ethical approval.*

    I will be submitting a new application for approval
    to enable the project to continue.   ☐ Yes ☒ No

  (c)   *Not commenced or discontinued on* **[   ]** (dd/mm/yyyy)

    Give a brief report below explaining why the project was not commenced or was discontinued:

6. During the course of the project, have you complied with the conditions of approval (i.e. any conditions imposed by the Committee and the standard conditions of approval outlined on your letter of final approval)?

    ☒ Yes ☐ No

    If you have answered NO, explain what conditions have not been met and why:

    [ ]

7. Have any ethical concerns or difficulties arisen during the course of the project?   ☐ Yes ☒ No

    If you answered **YES**, describe the ethical concerns or difficulties and any adverse effects on participants, and steps taken to deal with these:

    [ ]

8. The following questions relate to the current and future storage arrangements of the research data and the maintenance of its confidentiality and security:

    (a) Will the data be securely stored as listed in the initial
         Application (Item 6.9)?   ☒ Yes ☐ No

         If NO, please provide details.

         [ ]

    (b) Will anyone else have access to the data besides those listed   ☐ Yes ☒ No
         in the application (Item 6.10) or in any approved amendments?

         If YES, please provide details

         [ ]

(c)   Will you be keeping the data for the minimum 5 year period from the date the research was completed or 5 years from the date of the last publication?   ☒ Yes   ☐ No

If NO, please provide details

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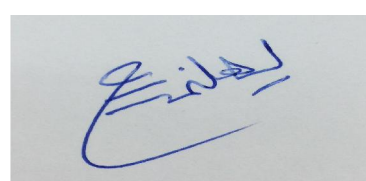(c)   Are there plans to destroy the data which were not mentioned in the initial application?

☐ Yes   ☒ No

If YES, please provide details,

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9.   **CERTIFICATION:**

NB. If you are Honours, Postgraduate or HDR student and you submitted an ethics application prior to 2010, then your report needs to be signed by yourself and your supervisor. (Submission by your supervisor's email will be accepted in lieu of a signature).

I confirm that this project has been conducted in a manner that conforms in all respects with the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007), all other relevant pieces of legislation, codes and guidelines and the procedures set out in the original protocol.

(Guidelines and National Statement available via
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/policy)

Supervisor:	Student Investigator (If applicable):
Signed:	**Signed:** **Yousef I. Alnamlah**

Name: Professor Lucy Taksa	Name: Yousef I. Alnamlah
Date: 22April 2015	Date: 22/04/2015

Please note that you will NOT receive any correspondence from the HREC regarding your report.
NB. Students: Form must be signed by your supervisor (or submitted via email from your supervisor)