Workplace culture, workgroup identification, and workplace conflict

Vy Ngoc Lien

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WORKPLACE CULTURE, WORKGROUP IDENTIFICATION,
AND WORKPLACE CONFLICT

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science
in
Psychology:
Industrial/Organizational

by
Vy Ngoc Lien
June 2002
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A Thesis
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June 2002

Approved by:

Janet Kottke, Ph.D., Chair, Psychology

Mark Agars, Ph.D.

David Chavez, Ph.D.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to distinguish between which work factors contribute to emotional conflict in the workplace. Specifically, the factors of interest were existence and tolerance of multicultural diversity, workgroup culture (whether the work culture is individualist or collectivist), and group identification (the level to which a person feels interpersonally attached and identified with their work group). Eighty-two participants filled out a questionnaire with three scales measuring tolerance of diversity, work culture (individualism/collectivism), and group identification. As expected, participants with high total scale scores on tolerance and collectivism experienced lower emotional conflict. In addition, as group identification rose, emotional conflict also increased; however, an interaction between group identification and tolerance/collectivism was not found.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Businesses today are concerned with issues of diversity and fostering a healthy work environment in order to maintain maximum productivity as well as to avoid litigation for discrimination. The workforce consists of a wide mixture of people from different demographic backgrounds. Demography includes differences in age, gender, ethnicity, and tenure, to name a few. America continues to grow into a nation composed of groups that are distinct in ethnic character.

Organizations are perpetually attempting to build company structures and cultures that join people in pursuit of common interests. The diversity of the workforce needs to seriously be considered when attempting to create co-worker cohesiveness. The acknowledgment of and respect for individual differences is pivotal. Some considerable benefits of attaining a harmonious diverse work environment are high performance, profit, creativity, trust, effective problem solving, optimum productivity, and lowered conflict. Diversity refers not only to ethnic minority groups but also to differences within the majority group.
CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Diversity

When conceptualizing the impact of diversity in the workplace, diversity is "all the ways we differ that affect our performance" (Gordon, 1992). Diversity at work concentrates on observable characteristics such as race/ethnicity, nationality, age, and gender, along with personal underlying attributes such as a person's values, skills, knowledge, and cohort membership (Milliken & Martins, 1996). These attributes constitute our individual identity and determine the interpersonal relationships we have at work.

According to Gordon (1992), the goal of training people to value diversity is to construct an organization that can capitalize on the strengths of those who are in it. There are tremendous social, legal, and personal reasons for businesses to learn to adapt to an environment with individuals of mixed demographic backgrounds.

Emerging organizational challenges include technological advances, globalization (serving more multi-cultural markets), and a more diverse workforce. It is to the employer's advantage to recruit and select a
highly diverse workforce in order to be competitive since diversity offers a rich source of unique ideas (Curry, 1993). Demographic diversity encompasses fundamental differences between persons in many attributes such as age, gender, ethnicity, tenure, functional area, and marital status (Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999). A workplace with highly diverse members may pose many potential challenges as well as possible advantages for the organization. Organizations are now, more than ever, initializing structural changes to facilitate a diverse work pool to reap the benefits from it.

Organizational Structure

A centralized structure enforces the belief that only the leaders have the power to decide on what is best, while a decentralized structure encourages shared power and responsibilities and individual initiative (Yukl, 1998, p. 331). For many organizations, the organizational structure is converting from a highly hierarchical one (with centralized power) to a flatter, more decentralized form, geared toward group work. This means that employees are more likely to have an equal chance to use their work role and abilities to contribute to problem solving. The strategy behind this conversion is to improve
communication and help teams work more effectively to identify high quality solutions (Dumaine, 1991). Since organizational structures are becoming less hierarchical and more decentralized, there is a stronger need for successful collaboration; therefore, concerns regarding managing diversity are growing in order to address these challenges.

Schreiber (1996) strongly advocates that multicultural corporations follow the team management theory that states that barriers will be destroyed while cohesiveness will be gained between employees if the organizational structure is more participatory, not hierarchical. The backbone of this theory is the idea of unity occurring through the process of working together to achieve a common goal. An organizational structure with the mix of multicultural pedagogy and team management can help facilitate an inclusive environment where there is cooperation and a drive toward one shared purpose.

Nowadays, organizational strategies employ more of an interactionist approach where employees of different ethnicity and functional backgrounds are required to collaborate rather than to work solely (Pelled et al., 1999). Ethnically diverse and cross-functional groups of employees perform together in disseminating ideas to solve
business problems or to make pivotal decisions. The modification of the organizational structure to empower employees of different functions and roles demonstrates employers' need for more effective ways of conducting business. In order for this participative system to function and thrive, interpersonal relationships must be productive, where communication takes into careful consideration of the ideas of others who are culturally dissimilar.

Multiculturalism

There are strong and persistent attempts on behalf of organizational leaders and recruiters to create and adapt to a more diverse workforce for personal, social, and legal reasons, as mentioned. As noted earlier, diversity in an organization refers to the composition of individuals who are not alike in terms of age, gender, tenure, past experience, religion, political affiliation, or social group. Fundamental differences include demographic categories such as age, gender, and tenure. More complex underlying differences exist under the domain of multiculturalism, which includes differences beyond obvious physical appearances. Multi-cultural diversity consists of a pool of individuals whose differences are
attributed to their cultural background. Culturally diverse groups have ethnic and nationality differences (Watson, Kumar, & Michaelson, 1993). Many diversity factors are subsumed under multiculturalism such as differences in beliefs, social forms and structures, shared attitudes, values, goals, practices, language, religion, technology, and ethics. Culture is a means in which to express individual differences in these aforementioned factors. It is defined as customary practices and patterns of human behavior transmitted by knowledge of past generations.

Culture

Culture is related to one’s race/ethnicity and nationality, and has a direct impact on individual cognition and behavior. It is an integral component to take into account when attempting to investigate and explain why certain interpersonal clashes occur in the workplace. Culture is the key component to examining why individuals behave the way they do at work. Culture affects the way we do everything; how we stand, speak, conceive situations, interact with each other, and how we participate (Gardenswartz & Rowe, 2001). Individuals of different cultural backgrounds in the workplace must be considered equal in the rights they have, while
simultaneously maintaining their individual identity. That is, if multiculturalism is to pay off in the workplace, each person’s distinct contributions must be acknowledged for a cooperative culture to flourish. An approach to enforcing this rule is having a company culture that will push for cooperation and individual effort within the setting of a team effort (Schreiber, 1996).

Multi-Cultural Diversity and Potential for Conflict

Multi-cultural management theory suggests that employees need valuable experience in strengthening their networks with co-workers and to reduce "culture shock". Culture shock is a "debilitating state of disorientation, one that builds slowly from each experience in which the sufferer encounters contrary ways of perceiving, doing, and valuing things" (Shames, 1986). Culture shock provokes a sense of confusion and ambiguity when people are exposed to an unfamiliar environment without adequate preparation. Many people solely seek others similar to themselves to affiliate with to reduce culture shock, but this may be counter-productive to facilitating a harmonious work environment, when avoidance of "alien" others exist.

In each culture, there are norms of how to behave and react in different situations (Gardenswartz & Rowe, 2001).
Without the willingness and knowledge of the way in which others may perceive events, a great amount of misunderstanding can occur. By failing to comprehend how culture influences individual needs and actions, people often misinterpret other’s behaviors (Gardenswartz & Rowe, 2001). When misunderstanding occurs, negative behaviors, such as inter-group discrimination, may surface and be highly dominant in interactions (Hegarty & Dalton, 1995).

The work climate should ideally be one in which participation is encouraged and individual ideas are taken and invested upon, but this is not always the case. People’s norms may clash and inhibit participative decision-making and problem solving. Getting work done productively requires good communication that is respectful and honest, not suppressed or inhibited, but this is not easily done. In a multicultural workplace, many interactions occur with others who are different. In terms of multi-cultural differences, which encompass a wide array of personal differences such as nationality, beliefs, traditions followed, culture, clubs joined; it is a very complex intriguing entanglement of cultural background. It is then vital to assess these perceived differences between work members to evaluate the potential for conflict and subsequently improving on group
interaction. Although different studies have found mixed results on diverse work groups, those in support of it claim that group interaction is always a serious issue (Chatman, Polzer, Barsade, & Neale, 1998; Hegarty & Harvey, 1995; Perreault & Bourhis, 1999). There has been a need to examine the attitudes of all organizational members pertaining to the rapidly changing workforce consisting of people from mixed multi-cultural backgrounds (Songer, 1991). It is prudent for organizations to measure employee attitudes toward culturally dissimilar others to delve into issues dealing with race, sexual orientation, religion, and nationality (Thomas, 1994). Measures of attitude are strongly encouraged before diagnosing a problem and creating intervention in an organization (Galagan, 1991). Such problems that can exist (e.g. interpersonal conflict) must be evaluated in order for any positive change to take place. Conflict can result in discrimination; therefore, assessing levels of multiculturalism and the multi-dimensionality of discrimination within the work context is essential (Hegarty & Dalton, 1995).
Group Forming Processes

When discrimination occurs, many group-forming processes occur in order to establish coalitions against disliked others. Several theories offer to explain these processes, and they offer one common thread of conceptualization, which is that individuals seek similar others to associate with and have close interpersonal ties with. People compare themselves to others and associate with those who are similar to them. Individuals consciously and unconsciously like others who share common attributes (Berscheid, 1985).

Social Comparison Theory. Social Comparison Theory states that people compare and then attach themselves socially to those who are similar in certain attributes (Pelled et al., 1999).

Work Identification. On the same level of conceptualization, but in a work context, work group identification is the individual’s perception of “oneness” with their work group (Riordon & Weatherly, 1999). Central to the definition of employee identification is the individual’s tendency to define themselves by the same attributes of the work group. Work members perceive themselves as being psychologically involved with the fate of the workgroup (Foote, 1951; Gould, 1975). Research on
group identification is valuable since it has been hypothesized to be related to many positive work process outcomes (Riordon & Weatherly, 1999).

**Group Cohesion.** Group cohesion is similar to social categorization and group identification in that it too refers to the process of attachment of oneself to a work group with perceived similarities. Work cohesion is the degree to which an individual perceives that his/her coworkers are interpersonally attracted to one another, willing to work with one another, and committed to the goals of the group (Bass, 1960; Stogdill, 1972).

These group-forming processes have great implications for a highly diverse workplace. These processes can either have positive effects or negative outcomes on worker interpersonal relations.

**Group Forming Processes and Potential for Conflict**

Chatman, Polzer, and Sigal (1998) found that based on the social comparison theory, people at work compare themselves with those who are similar on observable ethnic characteristics and that interactions are competitive and rivalrous based on this comparison. Billig and Tajfel (1971) found that when subjects were grouped based on aesthetic preferences (what artist they chose), they discriminated against those in their out-group. Even when
the researcher created social groups randomly and not based upon "real" similarities, discrimination occurred. There was something about the mentioning of belonging to a group that caused subjects to behave in such ways. This discrimination did not stem from actual personal differences, but simply from being told of group membership, since the groupings were randomly chosen.

Social cognitive theory contends that perceived similarity in another individual causes one to be attracted to the other and that individuals categorized their social world into groups of "them" and "us" (Billig & Tajfel, 1971). This brings about in-group favoritism and out-group segregation. When the separation between "in" and "out" groups occur, and there is an attempt to devalue other categories of persons, different behaviors are manifested such as stereotyping, belittling others, and distancing oneself (Tajfel, 1982). This negative affect causes a chain of reactions between persons in different demographic categorizations and can cause resentment and intragroup interactions sparked by anger (Reardon, 1995). Segregating oneself into a group can create great potential for conflict between work groups and individuals at work. Billig and Tajfel (1971) showed that subjects awarded money to others who they were told had the same
preference for an artist more so than for those who preferred a different artist, even when it was random. It was shown through this that even perceived trivial similarities could create the person to develop a liking to the other and include the other in their "in-group". But even when subjects were told that they were randomly placed into groups, they showed preference to those who were in their group.

Social category identity calls for categorizing persons into groups that can call for discrimination and self-segregation (Jehn & Gregory, 1999). This categorization can then lead to a hostile work atmosphere and may manifest as relationship conflict "conflict over workgroup member's personal preferences or disagreements about interpersonal interactions, typically about non-work issues such as gossip, social events, or religious preferences" (Jehn, 1995, 1997). Through their research on the household goods moving industry, they found support for their hypothesis that social category diversity increased relationship conflict in work groups. These findings have large implications for the benefits of interdependent teams with diverse cultural backgrounds. In summary, it was shown that individuals tend to display positive intergroup behavior due to their need to define
and divide themselves in their social surroundings. Conversely, individuals convey negative and unflattering attitudes and behaviors towards those in which they’ve categorized as belonging to the "out" group.

Benefits of Group Forming Processes

Research on social categorization shows that individuals tend to affiliate themselves with others based on commonalities and that they favor those who are in their group over out group members (Billig & Tajfel, 1971). These findings have significant implications for forming, building, and maintaining group cohesion. Knowing from past research that people tend to favor and get along well with others who are in their "in-group", perhaps a work culture allowing for cross-functional teams could pull diverse individuals together so that realization of shared goals can take place. Put another way, combining diverse work members can create unity based on some form of commonality and shared pursuit. Work group identification induces the individual to engage in and derive satisfaction and reinforce factors conventionally associated with group formation [e.g. cohesion] (Ashford & Mael, 1989, p. 35). Without work-group cohesion established through a sense of purpose and direction, there may easily be a break down in the group function.
When there are no clearly delineated goals that are shared within a group, there are great risks for conflict to occur.

Conflict

When interaction occurs at work, conflict is bound to unfold. Conflict is “perceived incompatibilities by the parties involved that they hold discrepancies” (Boulding, 1963). With a demographically diverse workforce, communication problems related to differences in beliefs, attitudes, values, and experiences are likely to emerge. Communication dilemmas and conflict are inherent in any work setting and can be caused by a variety of factors, some including opposing views of the nature of tasks, while others include disparaging attitudes aimed at personal attributes of coworkers such as gender, race, and nationality. In a highly diverse workplace, the latter form of conflict can instigate discrimination amongst others who deviate from one’s own personal identity (Van Buren, 1996).

Types of Conflict

Emotional versus Task Conflict. Two different components of a work relationship are task and interpersonal. Both of these parts need to be in good
harmony in order for the work group to be effective (Matthes, 1992).

Task conflicts are disagreements on the ways in which to approach the problems of a task (Jehn, 1997). Task conflicts, at a low or moderate level can bring positive benefits such as stimulation of ideas or novel ways to approach problems (Jehn, 1997).

Conversely, emotional conflict refers to cultural incompatibility and differences in needs, wishes, and goals. Emotional conflict can be used interchangeably with "relationship conflict, intragroup conflict, interpersonal conflict, affective conflict, and socio-emotional conflict". These terms refer to interpersonal incompatibility between employees that are not job related. These types of incompatibility are highly marked by interpersonal clashes that are not directly linked to the task (Jehn, 1997). Pinkley (1990) found in his study that disputants who engage in emotional conflict had feelings of hatred, jealousy, anger, and frustration. Jehn (1997) asserts that it is vital that relationship conflicts be resolved because they cannot bring any advantages and represent the most negative form of conflict. Emotional conflicts included problems that coworkers had with one another due to personal reasons,
such as one's background or disposition. Animosity and high levels of interpersonal tension, all of which are completely unrelated to the work task, characterize this interpersonal conflict. Emotional conflict in a highly multicultural diverse workforce can be exhibited through interpersonal friction and disturbances between workers, very possibly resulting in poor work communication and performance.

There are sharp differences between conflicts that are task related versus emotionally related, but research has found that one can lead to the other. As with task conflict, emotional conflict is likely to increase when a group is highly diverse. In a diverse workplace, people will be encountered with bad stereotypes that others may hold about them, so emotional conflict colored by hostility, resentment, and anger will be prevalent in a highly diverse work team (Pelled et al., 1999).

Empirical research has found that there is a negative relationship between emotional conflict, and productivity (Evan, 1965, Gladstein, 1984; Wall & Nolan, 1986). These interpersonal conflicts may influence productivity in that workers devote considerable amounts of time and energy into attempting to control hostility, lower threats,
keeping peace and building cooperation rather than working on technical parts of their jobs (Evan, 1965).

Pelled, Eisenhardt, and Xin (1999) researched the set of relationships between demographic diversity and conflict and how this ultimately determines performance. They postulated that task conflicts are mostly derived from functional job experience diversity, while emotional intragroup conflict results mainly from diversity in personal attributes such as ethnicity, age, or gender. Pelled et al. (1999) suggested that the more demographically diverse a group is, in regards to work experience, the more chance there is for disagreement on task-related issues such as goals, procedures, and decisions. In other words, an environment marked by persons with high levels of mixed job-related experiences and perspectives will spawn task conflict. On the other hand, there are demographic attributes that are not characterized as job related such as age, gender, and ethnicity. These personal attributes are less related to conflicts pertaining to tasks and team objectives, and more associated with interpersonal conflict. Complex issues tied to diversity variables, many times, charge emotional conflict.
Tajfel (1972) contended that a significant factor of interpersonal conflict is categorization, which is the subconscious need of a person to sort others out into social categories, mostly based on demographic characteristics. Categorization occurs in order to narrow the information about people and things in our environment into controllable and predictable social categories (Zimbardo & Leippe, 1991). Once this is developed, there is a tendency for individuals to build self-confidence by creating positive perceptions of their category and negative views of others (Turner, 1975; Tajfel, 1978).

Emotional Conflict and lack of a common goal. Jehn (1997) states that there are four conflict dimensions that are negative emotionality, importance, acceptability, and resolution potential. Negative emotionality is the level of negative affect expressed and felt during conflict, importance is the size or length of conflict, acceptability is the group standards that guide behavior during conflict, and lastly resolution potential is how resolvable the conflict appears (Jehn, 1997). Conflicts that are low in importance and emotion were found to be more potentially resolvable. Jehn (1997) found through her research that too much relationship conflict in the communications department of the household goods industry.
led to bad job performance while the high performing departments had the lowest level of emotional conflict. The communications unit exhibited interpersonal attacks such as yelling and name-calling. This resulted in decreased effectiveness and less time dedicated to work tasks. This then escalated into more anger and an atmosphere of defensiveness and blaming. The highest performing international moves department had an almost non-existent level of negative emotion. It was found that the low performing group also had disagreements on process issues (argument of roles) and the norms allowed for relationship conflict while the high performing group had norms that nourished open discussion about the task and process and inhibition of relationship conflicts. Clearly, the latter had clear shared goals along with open communication that encouraged group relationship harmony and effective task cooperation. Levine & Moreland (1990) along with other researchers have contended that these emotional conflicts occur in an organization because there is a lack of a common goal. In other words, work members have opposing goals and there does not exist any common ground in which they can associate with one another, and this spawns emotional conflict.
Outcomes of Conflict

Social categorization diversity creates emotional conflict, and in the long run can affect perceived performance, actual performance, satisfaction, intent to remain, and commitment (Jehn & Gregory, 1999).

The Texaco case is an example of the effects of a dysfunctional interpersonal work system that further affected all facets of the diverse workplace. Executives from Texaco were tape recorded on November 4, 1996 making racially crude comments regarding Black coworkers that resulted in a widely publicized case of racial conflict. As a result, Texaco underwent a ground-up cultural transformation by implementing “company-wide sensitivity programs” (Rosin, 1998). Texaco’s attempt to re-construct their organizational culture to improve coexistence between demographically dissimilar others demonstrated their need to repair and prevent further damages resulting from racial tension. From this case, it is demonstrated that the organizational environment and structure carries considerable weight in driving employee behavior. The derogative and demeaning behaviors manifested through the employee showed a serious weakness in the structure of the organization through lack of enforcement of mutual respect.
Organizational Culture

The company culture is analogous to ethnic culture in that it is the way in which a group of people operate on shared assumptions, beliefs about the world and their place in it, human nature, and human relationships (Schein, 1992). Organizational culture holds an essential role in determining whether individuals within it will be synergetic and productive versus non-cooperative and unproductive. The way in which an organization operates through its mission and beliefs largely shapes the interpersonal dynamics that are involved within it. The main function of culture is to guide individuals in conscientiously deciding how to behave and respond so that any anxiety, confusion, and uncertainty is reduced or eliminated (Yukl, 1998, p. 330). Shared assumptions on what is acceptable and what is not are embedded in the ways that a business operates. These rules of behavior are the driving force for how individuals chose to act and think in the workplace. When organizational culture is forceful and cemented in employee's everyday functioning, these tacit understandings of acceptable behavior become important priorities for each individual. Organizational culture is then constantly and consistently reinforced and becomes uniform (Yukl, 1998, p. 332). There are many
connections between individual culture and organizational culture that are essential in understanding the interpersonal dynamics of any given organization. The norms and assumptions that are inherent in an ethnic culture affect the way individuals think and behave in a broad sense, but at work, the organizational culture is the driving force in bringing out what is and is not acceptable within the confinements of the professional workplace. The vital role that organizational culture plays is crucial in understanding the levels of interpersonal accordance between its diverse culturally ethnic constituents. Whether an organization supports teamwork or gives prominence to individualistic accomplishments may have implications for its success. Two pre-dominant forms of organizational culture exist that shape the way individuals interact with one another which are the individualistic and collectivist cultures.

**Individualism versus Collectivism**

Individualistic cultures concentrate on rewarding accomplishments that are achieved by the individual while collectivist cultures encourage and reward common objectives, interchange of ideas, and exchange of novel and different approaches in one common pursuit. Wagner and Moch (1986) stated that individualism is the state in
which the needs of groups are given lesser importance than personal interest. Individualists seek to fulfill personal desires above those of a group. In contrast, persons in collectivist cultures often consider the needs and desires of others in the group which they belong (Wagner, 1995). This cross-cultural research can have direct implications for workplace cultures. When applying individualistic versus collectivist cultures to the work environment, arguably findings of cross-cultural research can be applied.

An organization’s practice of individualism versus collectivism may have an impact on the likelihood that “organizational membership” will be perceived as a social category (Chatman, Polzer, Barsade, & Neale, 1998). Chatman et al. (1998) researched the self-categorization process and how this plays a vital role in determining worker relations in a diverse organization that either employs a individualistically or collectivist geared business culture. Self categorization, as mentioned, is the process in which individuals find self-identification in terms of being a part of a social group (Chatman et al., 1998). This act of categorizing is closely tied to organizational culture, as past research has found. The more salient the group membership is, the more similar the
person sees themselves to the other members (Brewer, 1979). Once people define themselves as part of the social group, they are likely to distance themselves from members of other groups. An organization’s success depends upon the members it employs. Members must work together in order for the business to survive and perform at an optimal level.

To enforce cooperation, the group of heterogeneous workers must perceive themselves to be similar in some fashion. It is then crucial for the company to consider factors that will cause people to self-categorize (Chatman et al., 1998). Demographic attributes are the most often categorized social group, especially when people do not know each other and need to form an initial impression. Demographically similar persons are likely to possess common backgrounds (Chatman et al., 1998). When an organization employs individualistically or collectivist oriented practices, it determines how members interact with one another and self-categorize, as well as approach various decisions and dilemmas (Trice & Beyer, 1993).

Although some studies illustrate that social categorization leads to isolation from out-members, there could possibly be a positive form of social grouping where all work members share a goal in a collectivist
environment, leaving no one out of the loop. Wagner (1995), through his research had many findings of the benefits of having a collectivist mentality and plan of action. Individuals who are independent and self-considerate are less likely to engage in cooperative behavior, while collectivists who are team-geared are more likely to engage in cooperative behavior.

Knowing the effects of group factors on individualists has great promise for tailoring a collectivist work culture to bring about increased cooperation in these individuals. In collective business cultures, there are rules and norms in which to abide by; therefore, those within a group are more likely to categorize organizational membership as a social group. As opposed to collectivist business cultures, individualistic cultures have less emphasis on interdependence and people are free to behave differently from an established group norm.

Chatman et al. (1998) supports the idea that functional antagonism exists where the salience of one category turns other categories less salient. For example, when organizational membership is salient, demographic attributes will be lowered in saliency. This concept is
important when speaking of the effects of a collectivist culture on social categorization.

Chatman et al. (1998) found that being a part of an individualistic business culture with diverse others increases demographic social categorization. On the other hand, collectivist groups facilitated categories according to the salience of organizational membership. In order to accomplish having a successful diverse workforce, the main goal is to find a way in which dissimilar others see themselves as part of an “in group”. Once this occurs, interaction will be productive, satisfying, and beneficial. Even if an organization has a workforce consisting of individuals with unique views for approaching business solutions, these views may not be useful if people see dissimilar others as “out groups”. Feelings that members have a “common fate” in team-oriented cultures will allow for them to perceive others in common grounds and part of their same social categorization.

Organizational Culture and Lowered Conflict

Conflict may be reduced in a collectivist culture due to the effects of grouping people together in a common commitment that affects everyone (Sherif, 1961). People who are in “in groups” may feel more comfortable with each
other and debate more constructively making conflict beneficial as opposed to dysfunctional (Chatman, et al., 1998).

There are many ways in which the organizational culture can promote and elicit cooperation and decrease conflict. Caudron (1994) suggests cross-training employees so that each individual is aware of all organizational processes that contribute to the end result. Rohm and Haas Texas Inc., a chemical company located in Houston underwent reorganization of work teams developed around natural work processes. This company designed mixed teams of people from different functions to work collaboratively to monitor certain processes of chemical manufacturing. In doing this, Rohn and Haas hoped to facilitate employee awareness and appreciation of other’s work, ideas, values, and perspectives. Putting diverse individuals together to form a concerted effort toward one common goal required diversity awareness and tolerance. Employees of this Texas based company were questioned and positive views emerged. Today, companies realize the gains of having employees from diverse backgrounds, perspectives, as well as functions unite, but it takes constructive acceptance of dissimilar others (Caudron, 1994). Diversity not only addresses obvious physical differences, but most
significantly underlying values, knowledge, attitudes, goals, religion, ethics, and social beliefs. When team members have a clear business goal, it is less likely that they will let individual differences get in the way (Caudron, 1994). Many businesses emphasize a company climate that holds all individuals responsible for its success, fostering teamwork. Each person "stands or falls" from the behaviors and attitudes of other individuals (Cooper, 2000). Careful collaboration supports the idea that the company will develop faster by multiplying efforts rather than working independently (Cooper, 2000).

Outcomes of Collectivist Organizational Cultures

A good example of collaborative working is through global teams. Solomon (1995) provides an example of a company named Maxus Energy with a team composed of ten who are American, Dutch, British, and Indonesians. The individuals forming this group have different belief systems guided by their cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Some believe in individualism and others believe in a collectivist strategy. This group was complex and dissimilar in most fundamental beliefs such as religion, culture, and politics. It was truly a multi-culturally diverse team with persons from cross functions (engineers, geologists, & production experts). They had one ultimate
goal was to raise oil and gas production. This mixed culture of highly competent people utilized their own talents and perspectives in attempts to attain the set goal. The goal was accomplished, there was no decrease in production, and the company added oil reserves, which had never occurred before. In this case, Solomon asserts that global teams maximize effectiveness by approaching a business goal with varying perspectives, which serves as powerful resources, beyond anything achievable from individualistic work settings. “When a project requires brainpower, teams are much more efficient” (Solomon, 1995). With so much talent and differing insights, optimum performance can be achieved. The Maxus provided a clear road for the group to take with a set goal and with each person’s defined roles and respect for one another’s positions. In this case, performance was at its maximum. Work teams that are composed of persons with various multi-cultural backgrounds can either become successful or debilitating based upon how they interact collectively.

Based on the foregoing literature, two major hypotheses are proposed.

Hypothesis 1 (See Figure 1): Perceived tolerance of multicultural diversity and work culture
(individualism/collectivism) will predict emotional conflict such that:

A) High levels of perceived tolerance of multicultural diversity and high levels of perceived collectivism will decrease emotional conflict to its lowest level.

B) Low levels of perceived tolerance of multi-cultural diversity and high levels of individualism will increase emotional conflict maximally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Culture</th>
<th>&quot;I&quot;</th>
<th>High Tolerance</th>
<th>Low Tolerance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;C&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>High EC</td>
<td>Maximum EC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lowest EC</td>
<td>Low EC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* "I" indicates Individualist and "C" indicates Collectivist; EC = Emotional Conflict.

Figure 1. Hypothesis One

Hypothesis 2: Group Identification will enhance the predictability of the relationship of perceived tolerance of multicultural diversity and work culture (individualism/collectivism) on emotional conflict. Specifically, group identification will aid the decrease of emotional conflict in collectivist work cultures to its lowest level in the high tolerance
condition, and it will add to the increase of emotional conflict in individualistic work cultures, maximally in the low tolerance condition.
CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

Participants

Pilot Study. Data for the pilot study were collected from 157 Cal State San Bernardino undergraduate students.

Main Study. Data for the main study were collected from four public organizations: Pomona High School, Hood Communications Incorporation, City of Los Angeles Personnel Department, and U.C. Riverside Rivera Library. The sample consisted of 84 individuals total, among them, 40% males and 60% females took the survey on a voluntary basis, based upon their supervisor’s consent. Participants varied in job positions with 75% having no supervisory duties and 25% with supervisory duties. Age ranged from 19 to 62, with a mean of 34. Job experience with their current organization ranged from 1 month to 32 years. 35.7% have a college education. Religious affiliations and ethnic backgrounds varied (see Table 1).
Table 1. Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From</td>
<td>To</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lob Experience</td>
<td>1 month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>High School 50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisory Duties</td>
<td>No 75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>African-American</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Demonation</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecostal</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silch</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taoist</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlisted</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Procedure

All participants signed a consent form, a demographic questionnaire, and a questionnaire that contained items regarding perceived tolerance of multi-cultural diversity, perceived individualism/collectivism, group identification, and emotional conflict. Questionnaires were anonymous; therefore, no names were collected and forms were shuffled into a confidential folder. A
deb Briefing statement was given to participants for reference to any follow-up questions.

Measure

Diversity

The tolerance of multi-cultural diversity was measured by the Organizational Diversity Inventory designed by Hegarty and Dalton (1995). 20 items were answered using a 5-point Likert Scale (1 = Strongly Agree through 5 = Strongly Disagree). Alphas have been reported for the 5 subscales as follows:

- Factor 1, .75: "Existence of Discrimination" (items 1, 7, 9, 11, 18).
- Factor 2, .80: "Discrimination Against Specific Groups" (Items 2, 8, 13, 16, 19).
- Factor 3, .65: "Managing Diversity" (Items 14, 15, 17).
- Factor 4, .64: "Actions Regarding Minorities" (Items 3, 5, 10).
- Factor 5, .65: "Attitudes Toward Religion" (Items 4, 6, 12).

Items 4, 5, 14, 15, 17, & 20 were reverse coded to preserve directionality so that higher scores indicate a
higher tolerance level of workplace diversity. For this study, a total scale score was used and the alpha was .89.

**Individualism/Collectivism**

Wagner (1995) created a scale of five factors that measure an individual's individualism/collectivism. The scale includes 20 items, with all items measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree through 7 = Strongly Disagree). High scores on the total scale represent higher levels of perceived collectivism.

Wagner (1995) conducted a factor analysis with varimax rotation and found 5 factors. The initial scale labels and alphas for subscales are reported below:

- **Factor 1, .72:** "Personal Independence" with one item from Erez and Earley (1987), and four items from Triandis and Colleagues (1988).
- **Factor 2, .79:** "Importance to Competitive Success" with 5 items from Triandis and Colleagues (1988).
- **Factor 3, .83:** "Value of Working Alone" with 2 items from Wagner and Moch (1986) values scale, and 1 item from Erez and Earley (1987).
- **Factor 4, .80:** "Espousal of Norms about the Subordination of Personal Needs to Group"
Interests" with 4 items from Wagner and Moch (1986) norms scale.

- Factor 5, .76 with 3 items from Wagner and Moch (1986) beliefs scale.

Items 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, & 19 are reverse coded so that high ratings indicate stronger collectivism.

This scale was revised to represent individual's perception of levels of individualism/collectivism in their organization. The original scale framed questions to address individual's own levels of individualism/collectivism. The revision included placing an instructional sentence before the items that asked, "How much would you agree that your organization supports these ideas?" Item revisions included rewording questions 7, 11, and 12 to match with the instructional objectives and deletion of number 9 since it addresses an individual affect associated with competitiveness.

Because of this revision, a pilot study was conducted to determine whether the items were still tapping into the same factors that Wagner (1995) found. After collection of the pilot data, a principal axes factor analysis, forcing five factors, was conducted to compare extracted factors.
to the factors found by Wagner (1995). For this study, alpha was .90.

**Work-Group Identification**

Riordan and Weatherly's (1999) scale of group identification measures the construct of group identification and its relation to group cohesion and group communication. The scale of work-group identification included 17 items, with all items measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree through 7 = Strongly Agree). Internal consistency has ranged from .78 to .79. For this study, alpha was .90.

**Emotional Conflict**

Jehn's (1995) measure of intragroup conflict was utilized for perceived emotional conflict, the criterion variable, in the workplace. Four items measure emotional conflict on a 5-point Likert Scale (1 = None through 5 = A lot). Alpha Coefficient for emotional conflict was reported at .90. For this study, alpha was .92.
CHAPTER FOUR
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis

For the Pilot Study, a principal axes factor analysis was conducted to compare the factors that emerged from the pilot data to the original Wagner (1995) study.

For the main study, hierarchical regression procedures were employed to control for the effects of non-culturally related demographic differences while assessing the main effects on emotional conflict of workplace tolerance of diversity, individualism/collectivism, and group identification. In these procedures, the control variables of age, gender, educational background, and job experience were regressed against emotional conflict in the first step. Next, workplace tolerance of diversity and individualism/collectivism were entered as a multiplicative factor (collectivism/tolerance) to assess the main effects remaining. The third step included entering group identification to assess any additional main effects remaining. Lastly, collectivism/tolerance was entered with group identification in order to examine any interaction effects.
Results

Pilot Study: Wagner’s (1995) individualism/collectionism scale was used to assess the levels of collectivism at work. As such, the question stem was altered so that participants answered all questions in reference to how much their organization supports the ideas of individualism/collectionism as measured by the items. In addition to the change in the question stem, several items (7, 11, and 12) were reworded to achieve a better fit with the question stem. Wagner’s (1995) scale was therefore adapted and a factor analysis was conducted. Factor analysis with varimax rotation revealed that 16 items loaded with their original items in corresponding factors; three items did not (items 8, 11, 16). The overall factor structure was very similar to Wagner’s (1995) factors (See Table 2 for pilot study results). This 19-item scale was thus used in the main study analysis.

Main Study: Analyses were performed using SPSS REGRESSION and SPSS FREQUENCIES for evaluation of assumptions. Missing values were less than 5% and mean replacement was done. Z scores of all variables showed no significant outliers and no cases were deleted. The assumption of normality was met by all variables except “Group Identification” which was moderately negatively
Table 2. Pilot Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
<th>Factor 3</th>
<th>Factor 4</th>
<th>Factor 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(3)8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(1)11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(1)16</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Wagner's* *Wagner's* *Wagner's* *Wagner's*

Factor 1 & 2 Factor 4 Factor 5 Factor 3

Note: (#) and * Indicate Wagner's (1995) original factor loadings.
Pilot Study Factor names:
Factor 1 = Personal independence and self-reliance & Importance of competitive success.
Factor 2 = Espousal of norms about the subordination of personal needs and group interests.
Factor 3 = Beliefs about the effects of personal pursuits on group productivity.
Factor 5 = Value attached to working alone.

Skewed and was transformed using the square root formula for moderate negative skewness recommended by Tabachnick and Fidell (2001). This transformation reduced the skewness of the distribution from -1.259 (z = -4.79, p < .01) to .182 (z = .69, ns). Residual scatter plots indicated that the assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity were met. Through regression, Mahalanobis distance was evaluated with the maximum value being 17.83. With the criterion of $\alpha = .001$ for 4 df, the critical $\chi^2$ value is 18.467; therefore, no multivariate outliers were
detected and no cases were deleted. Multicollinearity was not evident with no dimension having more than one variance proportion greater than .50.

Table 3 displays the means, standard deviations and the range of the variables and Table 4 shows the intercorrelations among variables. In Table 5, the four steps of the analysis are listed and in each step, the standard regression coefficients (β), R, R², and R² change are shown. Results of the first step of the regression analysis revealed that four non-culturally related demographic factors—age, gender, education, and job experience did not significantly predict emotional conflict, F(4,75) = 1.034, p = .396, R = .235, R² = .05. The "non-multicultural" control variables accounted for only 5% of the variance in emotional conflict. The second step entered revealed significant effects of collectivism/tolerance on emotional conflict, F(5,75) = 15.968, p < .01, R = .730, and R² = .53, sr² = .48. In other words, after non-culturally related demographics were controlled for, collectivism/tolerance accounted for 53% of the variance in emotional conflict. Standardized coefficients indicated that the most variance in emotional conflict is attributed to collectivism/tolerance (β = -.531). In support of
Table 3. Means and Standard Deviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Means</th>
<th>Standard Deviations</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EMOTCON (Emotional Conflict)</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIVSUM (Tolerance of Diversity)</td>
<td>64.63</td>
<td>14.53</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDCOLL (Individualism/Collectivism)</td>
<td>86.31</td>
<td>19.74</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROUPID (Group Identification)</td>
<td>94.82</td>
<td>12.99</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLTOL (Collectivism/Tolerance Interaction Term)</td>
<td>5606.86</td>
<td>1847.47</td>
<td>1476</td>
<td>9379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROUPIDT (Group Identification Transform)</td>
<td>4.51</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLTLGRP (Interaction)</td>
<td>24,794.05</td>
<td>9759.92</td>
<td>4505</td>
<td>49,925.33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Intercorrelations Among Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Emotional Conflict</th>
<th>Collectivism/Tolerance</th>
<th>Group Identification Transform</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism/Tolerance</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Identification</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transform</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism/Tolerance &amp;</td>
<td>-.33</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Identification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Interaction Term)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypothesis 1, it was demonstrated that as collectivism/tolerance increases, emotional conflict decreases (see figure 2 for a scatterplot of maximum and lowest emotional conflict conditions). In the third step of the equation, group identification was found to
significantly increase prediction of emotional conflict, $F(6,75) = 17.15$, $p < .01$, $R = .774$, $R^2 = .60$, $\text{sr}_1^2 = .07$. In other words, group identification accounted for 7% more unique variance in emotional conflict than collectivism/tolerance alone. Standardized coefficients indicate that as group identification increases, emotional conflict increases ($\beta = .392$). The last step tested the interaction of group identification with collectivism/tolerance and did not support hypothesis 2 [$F(7,75) = 14.57$, $p = .634$, $R = .775$, $R^2 = .60$, $\text{sr}_1^2 = .001$].

Figure 2. Hypothesis One Scatterplot
Table 5. Steps of the Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable Entered in Step 1</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>R² Change</th>
<th>N=82</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Variables entered in Step 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Experience</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variables entered in Step 2</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism/Tolerance</td>
<td>-.54</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.48**</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 1 supported</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variables entered in Step 3</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Identification</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.07**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variables entered in Step 4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism/Tolerance &amp;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Identification</td>
<td>-.19</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 2 not supported</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: **p < .01

Discussion

Consistent with the findings of most prior research on demographic diversity, work culture, and emotional conflict, the results of this study supported the hypothesis that a workplace with high levels of tolerance of diversity and high levels of collectivism would correspond to a work environment in which individuals experience low emotional conflict. The scatterplot in Figure 2 illustrates that emotional conflict is at its lowest values (0-10) as collectivism and tolerance for diversity is at its highest (5000-10000). Conversely, a work environment with low levels of tolerance of diversity and high levels of individualism are likely to be marked
by high emotional conflict among work members. Figure 2 demonstrates that emotional conflict is at its high and maximum values (10-18) as collectivism and tolerance for diversity is at its lowest (0-5000).

This result has large implications for employing a highly collectivist work culture. The company culture is the vehicle in which individuals operate on shared assumptions and beliefs about the way things are operated in the group, their place in it, and their relationship with others (Schein, 1992). Work culture guides individuals in conscientiously deciding how to respond to and manage emotional conflict. It was shown in this study that individuals within a perceived collectivist culture reported less emotional conflict. Emotional conflict was reduced as levels of collectivism rose and was increased as levels of individualism increased.

This result may be because collectivist cultures reward achievement of common work goals among their members and recognize team accomplishments; therefore, interpersonal interchanges are less vulnerable to non-work related, culturally related emotional conflict. For example, persons in collectivist cultures often consider the needs of others in the group to which they belong (Wagner, 1995).
This study most significantly expanded upon past literature by investigating multicultural variables and their effects among individuals at work. It is useful to research workplace diversity since demographic heterogeneity increases variance in perspectives and approaches to work that different group members can share (Thomas & Ely, 1996). America is composed of workgroups indelible in their ethnic character, (Gordon, 1992). Organizations are more diverse now than ever and continue to be, with the percentage of minorities growing in the future (Hegarty & Dalton, 1995).

In this study, multiculturalism accounted for how a diverse cultural workforce may benefit or harm the organization based upon the work culture that defines what behaviors are acceptable or not. Work cultures hold a fundamental role in determining whether its multiculturally diverse members will operate synergistically or unproductively.

Although this study found an effect of group identification on emotional conflict, the data did not support hypothesis 2 which stated that group identification would add to the increase of emotional conflict only in the individualist work culture and aid the decrease of emotional conflict only in the
collectivist culture. The results did not demonstrate that group identification is the process that when attached to a particular work culture (individualist/collectivist) determines the direction of emotional conflict. This was not parallel to Chatman et. al.'s, (1998) findings that individuals categorize themselves based upon the most salient information with individualist forming coalitions with culturally similar others and discriminating against out-group members, while collectivists identify with others on team-related terms with the inclusion of all work members and no exclusion based upon multicultural dissimilarities.

This study is important in that it revealed that the process of group identification contributes to greater emotional conflict, although its direct relationship to work culture was not demonstrated. Although there was no support for the interaction of group identification with individualism/collectivism, group identification itself was found to be related to emotional conflict. This main effect showed that the process of identifying with others in the workplace has a distinctive role in interpersonal relationships. Similarly, Billig and Tajfel (1971) found that subjects discriminated against their out-group when they were randomly grouped based upon aesthetic
preferences for artists. Being that group membership was randomly chosen and not based upon real similarities on artist preferences, they concluded that the mere mentioning of belonging to a group promoted in-group favoritism and out-group devaluation. Group membership was shown in the present study to have this negative in-group/out-group effect, with a higher rate of emotional conflict reported by individuals with higher group identification.

In short, this study pointed out multiple interrelated factors that may shape interpersonal relationships at work and the emotional conflict that occurs. The current study is noteworthy because it was drawn from a diverse sample, consisting of individuals who widely varied in multicultural attributes, but it is not without limitations.

Limitations

Although non-culturally related demographic variables were statistically controlled for, there may have been other non-cultural factors that contributed to emotional conflict, such as tenure, friendship, and personality differences among work members that were not tested for. Assessing such factors could possibly provide more
explanation of interpersonal conflict. Also, this study solely used the survey approach, which may have inflated the relationships between variables because of common method variance. Perhaps other methods (e.g. interviews, archival records of discrimination) can be of extra help in guiding research in the future. Most importantly, future additional collection of large samples may lead to more statistical power and thus increase the possibility of significance for the interaction of group identification processes and type of work culture. In doing so, more insight can be gained as to how multicultural differences can be shaped into a more positive aspect of work by the work culture, rather than a negative form through the process of workgroup identification.

Directions for Future Research

Although emotional conflict was measured, task conflict should also be measured since the two can be interrelated. Task conflict concerns disagreements on the approaches to a task as opposed to emotional conflict which consists of interpersonal friction between work members due to personal reasons such as one's background or disposition and is unrelated to the work task (Jehn,
1997). Task conflict could perhaps generate emotional conflict, with multicultural issues complicating the matter. In other words, task conflict could lead to emotional conflict based upon multicultural differences among opposing parties or vis versa. As with task conflict, emotional conflict is likely to increase when a group is highly diverse when people encounter others who may hold unendearing stereotypes regarding one another. These personal issues may contribute to the extent of coordination on tasks, or it may be that disagreement and low coordination of tasks leads to non-task related interpersonal conflict based upon multicultural differences. Future studies of the relationship between task and emotional conflict in a highly diverse workplace could provide useful information of their interrelatedness.

In addition, organizational variables that could be measured in extended studies include diversity training, conflict resolution systems, organizational consequences for discriminatory behavior, and their effects on emotional conflict among multiculturally diverse individuals at work. The intensity and time-span of these organizational programs could possibly have an immediate impact on how work members are taught to deal with
emotional conflict. Further, organizations that are more determined and consistent in promoting conflict resolution practices may have effects on how emotional conflict is controlled at work.

The present study indicated through the diversity scale that in some organizations, efforts were made to increase tolerance of multiculturally diversity through methods such as workshops, classes, and seminars. The foregoing attempts on behalf of the organization in conjunction with diversity training and diversity management may be an indication of the organization's level of motivation to alleviate emotional conflict strategically through its processes and systems. Future comparison of pro-diversity management versus non-diversity management systems in organizations and how these practices can account for subsequent levels of emotional conflict would be useful to tap into the effects of diversity management on work members.

Diversity and conflict management systems and their utility, temporal implementation, and degree of success also should be studied in combination with the type of work culture (individualist or collectivist) in which it is employed. This would allow for a resourceful outlook of how work culture can either assist or hinder
organizational attempts of managing multicultural diversity. Research on multiculturalism and these work processes would provide useful insight into how successful can systems turn their diverse work force into a lucrative source.
APPENDIX A

SURVEY
**SURVEY**

The statements in this survey are concerned with many aspects of diversity. There are no right or wrong answers. Respond to each statement from your own point of view. You are asked to respond honestly and your response will remain anonymous.

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by choosing one of the following answer alternatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Agree Strongly</th>
<th>Uncertain or Mixed or Agreement/Disagreement</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree Strongly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 I have experienced the discomfort of discrimination.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Some people in my organization are not comfortable with women in managerial positions.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Sometimes I feel my organization hires minorities to fill unstated quotas.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 I would be comfortable having a mentor who was not at all like me.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Our company actively recruits minorities.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Sometimes a person’s religion affects how they are viewed in my organization.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Not everyone at my level in the organization is treated fairly.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Many people in my organization are biased against people who are gay.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Sexual discrimination exists in my organization.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Sometimes I feel people get assignments because they are a minority person.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agree Strongly</td>
<td>Uncertain or Mixed or Agreement</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Our company sometimes doesn't follow our stated policies against discrimination.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>People of certain religious faiths are often not well integrated into the organization.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>I have heard sexist remarks about women at work.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>My organization has sponsored classes, workshops, and/or seminars on managing the diverse work force.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Managing diversity has helped my organization to be more effective.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>I have heard racist remarks at work.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>My company accommodates the needs of disabled persons.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>I have heard people at work make negative comments about gays.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Management talks about diversity, but doesn't really do anything about it.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>My spouse (significant other) would say that they treat me fairly here.</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How much would you agree that your organization supports these ideas?

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree that your organization supports each statement by choosing one of the following answer alternatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Disagree Strongly</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree Somewhat</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree Somewhat</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Agree Strongly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Only those who depend on themselves get ahead in life.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Winning is everything.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Working with others in a group is better than working alone.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 People should be made aware that if they are going to be part of a group then they are sometimes going to have to do things they don’t want to do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 A group is more productive when its members do what they want to do rather than what the group wants them to do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 To be superior a person must stand alone.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Winning is important in both work and games.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 It is preferable to work alone on a job than to work with a group.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 People who belong to a group should realize that they’re not always going to get what they personally want.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 A group is most efficient when its members do what they think is best rather than doing what the group wants them to do.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11 If you want something done right, you’ve got to do it yourself.

12 Success is the most important thing in life.

13 Working with a group is better than working alone.

14 People in a group should realize that they sometimes are going to have to make sacrifices for the sake of the group as a whole.

15 A group is more productive when its members follow their own interests and concerns.

16 What happens to me is my own doing.

17 Doing your best isn’t enough; it is important to win.

18 People in a group should be willing to make sacrifices for the sake of the group’s well-being.

19 In the long run the only person you can count on is yourself.
Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by choosing one of the following answer alternatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Disagree Strongly</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree Somewhat</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree Somewhat</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Agree Strongly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>It is important to me that others think highly of my work group.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>In my work group, there is a lot of team spirit among the members.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>In my work group, individuals feel free to offer an opinion regarding work-related issues.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>It is important to me that others do not criticize my work group.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>In my work group, group members know that they can depend on each other.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>In my work group, individuals frequently discuss work assignments with each other.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>It is important to me that my work group is successful.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>In my work group, group members stand up for one another.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>In my work group, individuals share ideas and information.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>It is important to me that I am a member of my work group.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>In my work group, individuals pitch in to help one another.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>In my work group, individuals take the time to listen to coworkers’ problems and worries.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agree Strongly</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Agree Somewhat</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Disagree Somewhat</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Disagree Strongly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>-------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>It is important to me that my work group is acknowledged for its success.</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  6  7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>In my work group, group members take interest in one another.</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  6  7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>In my work group, group members regard each other as friends.</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  6  7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>In my work group, group members are very cooperative with one another.</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  6  7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>In my work group, group members work as a team.</td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  6  7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by choosing one of the following answer alternatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Some or Little</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>A lot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

INFORMED CONSENT
INFORMED CONSENT

Dear Participant,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this Workplace Culture, Workgroup Identification and Workplace Conflict study, which is conducted by Vy Lien under the supervision of Professor Jan Kottke of the Psychology Department at California State University, San Bernardino. This study has been approved by the Psychology Department of Human Subjects Review Board at CSUSB. There are no foreseeable risks associated with this study and your participation will take approximately 25 minutes. Please give careful consideration to each item and respond as accurately and honestly as possible.

If you have any questions regarding the nature of this study, or wish to receive a copy of the results, please feel free to contact Vy Lien at (909) 880-5585 after June 2002. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Please read the following before indicating that you are willing to participate.

1. I understand that participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw without penalty at any time.

2. I understand that my responses will remain anonymous.

3. I understand that, at my request, I can receive additional explanations of this study after my participation is completed.

Please do not put your name on this questionnaire.

Please place a check or an X in the space provided below to acknowledge that you are at least 18 years old and have read and understand the statements above. By marking the space below you give consent to participate voluntarily in this study.

Thank you

Place an X here

Date
APPENDIX C

DEBRIEFING STATEMENT
DEBRIEFING STATEMENT

Dear participant:

Thank you for your participation in this project. As indicated, the goal of the study was to investigate Workplace Culture, Workgroup Identification and levels of Conflict that occurs in the workplace. As your name was not requested, your responses are anonymous.

Please do not reveal the nature of the study to other potential participants, as it might bias the results.

If you have any further questions regarding the nature of this study or would like to receive a copy of the results when they become available (after June, 2002), please contact Vy Lien or Professor Jan Kottke at (909) 880-5585. The results of the study will be reported in group form only.
APPENDIX D

DEMOGRAPHICS
Please place one check mark next to the answer that applies to you (Example: X)

1. Gender:
   _____ Male
   _____ Female

2. Race:
   _____ Caucasian
   _____ Hispanic
   _____ Asian
   _____ African American
   _____ Pacific Islander
   _____ Native American
   _____ Other (Please Fill In)

3. Age

4. Educational Background
   _____ Graduate Degree
   _____ College Degree
   _____ High School Degree

5. Religious Affiliation

6. Job Title ______________________
   How many years in current job? ________

7. Length of Service with organization if different than answer to number 6?

   _____
8. Please estimate the number of employees in your organization.
   ____ <10
   ____ 10-50
   ____ 51-150
   ____ 151-500
   ____ 501-1000
   ____ 1001-2500
   ____ 2501-5000
   ____ >5000

9. Do you have supervisory duties?
   ____ yes   ____ no

   If so, how many employees report to you?
REFERENCES


