

ETHNIC DIVERSITY AT WORK:

**About interpersonal relations, well-being and
performance in ethnically diverse organizations**

Wido Oerlemans

ETHNIC DIVERSITY AT WORK:

**About interpersonal relations, well-being and
performance in ethnically diverse organizations**

ETNISCHE DIVERSITEIT AAN HET WERK:

Over gezonde werkrelaties, welbevinden en prestaties in

etnisch diverse organisaties

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit
Utrecht op gezag van de rector magnificus, prof.dr. J.C. Stoof,
ingevolge het besluit van het college voor promoties in het
openbaar te verdedigen op vrijdag 29 mei 2009 des middags
te 2.30 uur

door

Wilhelmus Gerardus Maria Oerlemans

geboren op 10 februari 1977, te Hoogerheide

Promotor: Prof. Dr. W.B. Schaufeli

Co-promotor: Dr. M.C.W. Peeters

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION. ETHNIC DIVERSITY AT WORK - THE DUTCH CASE	7
CHAPTER 2: ETHNIC DIVERSITY AT WORK: AN OVERVIEW OF THEORIES AND RESEARCH	13
CHAPTER 3: ACCULTURATION AND EMPLOYEE WELL-BEING: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ETHNIC MINORITY AND MAJORITY EMPLOYEES	39
CHAPTER 4: INTERACTIVE ACCULTURATION AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN THE MULTICULTURAL WORKPLACE	65
CHAPTER 5: ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND TEAM PERFORMANCE: THE ROLE OF TEAM IDENTIFICATION, ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND INTERCULTURAL TEAM CLIMATE	91
CHAPTER 6: ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND EMPLOYEE WELL-BEING: THE ROLE OF TEAM IDENTIFICATION, ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND INTERCULTURAL TEAM CLIMATE	121
CHAPTER 7: LET'S PUT DIVERSITY INTO PERSPECTIVE: ON THE MODERATING EFFECTS OF DIVERSITY PERSPECTIVES ON ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN TEAMS AND BENEFICIAL WORK-OUTCOMES	153
CHAPTER 8: GENERAL DISCUSSION	181
SAMENVATTING (DUTCH SUMMARY)	205
REFERENCES	217
DANKWOORD	239
CURRICULUM VITAE	243

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

ETHNIC DIVERSITY AT WORK - THE DUTCH CASE

The Netherlands has faced an immense increase in ethnic diversity in less than half a century. The percentage of inhabitants with a foreign heritage - i.e. people who have at least one parent born abroad – increased from less than 1 percent just after the second world war (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000) to 19,6% today (CBS, 2008). Several large scale immigration flows towards the Netherlands account for this significant increase in ethnic diversity. First of all, after the independence of the former Netherlands East Indies (today's Indonesia), many repatriates and Indonesians returned to the Netherlands. Second, a booming economy in the nineteen sixties and subsequent labour shortages resulted in large immigration flows of labour migrants from Turkey, Morocco as well as from southern and eastern European countries. Third, massive chain migration occurred through the process of family reunification - mainly among Turkish and Moroccan guest worker families - during the nineteen seventies and eighties. Fourth, as Surinam became independent in 1975, immigration flows towards the Netherlands swelled in the years before independence (1973-1975). Finally, politically unstable regions around the world (e.g. Iraq, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone) cause refugee flows towards western nations such as the Netherlands (for a more elaborate overview, see Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000). The fundamental shift in ethnic diversity in the Netherlands and in other western countries (for detailed demographic information, see OECD, 2008) has initiated countless debates about consequences of the increasing ethnic diversity in many areas such as politics, safety, communities, schools and organizations. It is against this background that this thesis focuses specifically on ethnic diversity in the workplace.

1.1 Ethnic Diversity in the workplace

The increase in ethnic diversity over the last half century in the Netherlands resulted in a significant change in terms of ethnic workforce composition. Imagine that only fifty years ago, organizations had a rather homogeneous workforce. Almost all workers shared a similar ethnic

background, were male, and worked for the same employer throughout their working lives. Nowadays, people work in organizations that are more diverse in terms of ethnicity, gender, age, organizational tenure, functional background, and educational background than ever before (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Concerning ethnic diversity, figures from 2006 show that one out of every five workers in the Netherlands has a non-Dutch background, meaning that 20% of the total workforce are either born themselves, or has parents who were born in countries outside of the Netherlands (CBS, 2007, 2008). Moreover, about half of the non-Dutch workers have their roots in so called 'non-western' regions such as Africa, Latin-America or Asia. The percentage of non-Dutch workers in the workforce is likely to increase further in the near future, mainly as a consequence of the low natural growth and the ageing of the 'Dutch' population.

As a consequence, organizations develop different strategies towards managing ethnic diversity in their workforce (e.g. Jewson, Mason, Drewet & Rossiter, 1995; De Vries, et al., 2005; Ely & Thomas, 2001). For some organizations, ethnic diversification of their staff is a 'compliance issue'. One of the goals of the Dutch government (e.g. Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, 2009) is to stimulate participation of ethnic minorities in the workforce, which is considered an important aspect of the successful integration of migrants in the Dutch society. Therefore, some organizations incorporate ethnic minorities in their workforce in order to comply to the pressure exerted by national and local governments. Other organizations state that ethnic diversity provides them with a competitive advantage. Here it is argued that ethnic diversity may bring along broader access to informational, social and cultural networks, which in turn stimulates creativity, innovativity, and problem solving capabilities within organizations (e.g. Cox & Blake, 1991). Yet, others argue that the inclusion of ethnic minorities in the workforce is also a moral issue (e.g., Mor Barak, 2005, Grossman, 2000; Linnehan & Konrad, 1999) together with the inclusion of other disadvantaged groups such as females, disabled people, gays, and lesbians. As such, by diversifying their workforce, ethnic diversity is part of the company's corporate social responsibility. Finally, some organizations diversify their staff as a means to get access to and legitimize their presence on multicultural markets (e.g. Ely & Thomas, 2001). For example, by matching their staff with the ethnic composition of

clients, organizations argue that they are better able to address the needs of these customers.

Empirical research on diversity and its consequences in terms of work-related outcomes shows that ethnic diversity harbours both opportunities and threats (for meta-analyses, see Jackson, Joshi, & Erhardt, 2003; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007; Webber & Donahue, 2001). Starting with opportunities, some studies demonstrate that ethnically diverse teams can outperform ethnically homogeneous teams (McLeod & Lobel, 1992; Watson, Johnson, & Merritt, 1998; Watson, Johnson, & Zgourides, 2002). On the other hand, ‘threats’ have also been reported. For instance, because of ethnic diversity, team processes may be impaired by conflict (Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999), poor team cohesion (Riordan & Shore, 1997), resulting in poor team performance and employee unwell-being (Jackson et al., 2003). Because of these mixed findings, ethnic diversity is often referred to as a double edged sword (Williams & O’Reilly, 1998). Thus in some cases, ethnic diversity might foster creativity and innovativity leading to a higher quality performance in ethnically diverse teams (Wittenbaum & Stasser, 1996). In other cases, ethnic diversity might negatively impact team-processes, team-performance and employee well-being (e.g. Jackson, Joshi & Erhardt, 2003).

In sum, ethnic diversity in the workforce has increased substantially over the past decades in the Netherlands, and is likely to increase further in the future. As a consequence, organizations become progressively more active by adopting diversity policies aimed at the effective management of (ethnic) diversity. At the same time, research on ethnic diversity paints a mixed picture about its consequences in the workplace. It therefore becomes more and more important to study why ethnic diversity sometimes relates positively, not, or negatively to various work-related outcomes. This is the main focus of this thesis.

1.2 Purpose and Aims of the Thesis

The main purpose of this thesis is to better understand the mixed findings about consequences of ethnic diversity in work-groups on various work-outcomes, by approaching ethnic diversity from three different perspectives. *The first aim* is to predict work outcomes in ethnically diverse workplaces from a cultural perspective, by using the acculturation

model (Berry, 1997) and the interactive acculturation model (Bourhis et al, 1997). The second aim is to predict work outcomes in ethnically diverse work groups from a social psychological perspective, by studying social identification (i.e. Tajfel et al., 1971; Turner et al., 1987) as an underlying psychological process. The third and final aim is to predict work outcomes in ethnically diverse work groups from a contextual perspective by examining two factors: intercultural climate (Harquail & Cox, 1993; Luijters, Van der Zee & Otten, 2008) and diversity perspectives (Ely & Thomas, 2001). By doing so, the main goal of this thesis is to clarify some of the mixed findings that are reported on ethnic diversity and work-related outcomes (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998; Jackson et al., 2001; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007; Webber & Donahue, 2001).

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 provides an overview of theory and research about consequences of ethnic diversity in the workplace on various work-outcomes. This chapter ends with the formulation of specific research questions that are addressed in this thesis. Chapters 3 and 4 approach ethnic diversity from a *cultural perspective*. **Chapter 3** studies the relationship between acculturation (Berry, 1997) and employee well-being for ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees. **Chapter 4** applies the interactive acculturation model of Bourhis et al. (1997) to analyze the quality of ethnic intergroup relations at the workplace. In addition, Chapters 5 and 6 approach ethnic diversity from a *social psychological and a contextual perspective*. **Chapter 5** examines whether social identification mediates the relationship between ethnic diversity and intercultural climate in work groups on the one hand, and cohesion, relational conflicts and performance on the other hand. Likewise, **Chapter 6** studies whether social identification mediates the relationship between ethnic diversity and intercultural climate in work groups on the one hand, and social support, discrimination at work and job burnout on the other hand. **Chapter 7** approaches ethnic diversity from a *contextual perspective*. Here, it is examined whether diversity perspectives (Ely & Thomas, 2001) moderate relationships between ethnic diversity in teams on the one hand and cohesion, creativity and performance in work groups on the other hand. Finally, **Chapter 8** discusses the theoretical and

practical implications of the findings from the previous chapters. Moreover, strengths and weaknesses of the various studies are reviewed and opportunities for further research are discussed.

CHAPTER 2: ETHNIC DIVERSITY AT WORK: AN OVERVIEW OF THEORIES AND RESEARCH¹

Ethnic diversity in the workforce is a subject of growing interest for western organizations. In EU countries, continuous immigration flows of post war guest workers and their family members, ex-colonial immigrants, political refugees, and highly educated workers have led to an increase of people with a foreign nationality (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2008). However, foreign population percentages vary significantly between EU countries. For instance, Luxembourg (39.9%), Austria (10.3%), Germany (9.5%), and Belgium (9.1%) have relatively high rates, whereas the lowest rates, of about 2 percent, are found in Greece, Finland, Portugal, Spain, and Italy. Other EU countries fall somewhere in between these two extremes, such as The Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, the U.K, and France, with percentages ranging from 4.3 percent to 6 percent (OECD, 2008). In the future, ethnic diversity in many EU countries is likely to increase even further as demographic figures indicate that net-migration flows (immigration minus emigration) are larger than the natural growth of national populations (Ekamper & Wetters, 2005; OECD, 2008).

The increase in ethnic diversity, along with accompanying demographic developments, have had a significant impact on the composition of the workforce. About fifty years ago, the demographic features of most work organizations were fairly homogeneous (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Many employees shared a similar ethnic background, were male, and worked for the same employer throughout their working lives. Nowadays, managers are confronted with teams and departments that are more diverse in terms of gender, age, ethnicity, organizational tenure,

¹ Chapter 2 is based on a published book chapter: Oerlemans, W. G. M., Peeters, M. C. W., & Schaufeli, W. B. (2008). Ethnic diversity at work: an overview of theories and research. In K. Näswall, J. Hellgren & M. Sverke (Eds.), *The Individual in the Changing Working Life* (pp. 211-232): Cambridge University Press.

functional background, educational background, and so on. Therefore, a growing number of companies (e.g., IBM, Siemens, Shell) have formulated diversity policies that are aimed at managing a diverse labor force. The reason for formulating diversity policies is often twofold: (1) it is considered to be a moral duty to have a labor force which mirrors the demographic representation of a given society; and (2) having a labor force that is diverse in terms of demographics and personal characteristics may stimulate creativity which can give companies a competitive advantage. For example, in a policy paper on diversity published on the internet, Shell states, "We believe that by attracting and developing the best people of all backgrounds and experience we uphold our value of 'respect for people' and improve our ability to form relationships and compete in diverse cultures and markets" (Shell, 2006).

To date, almost no literature reviews are specifically aimed at describing the consequences of ethnic diversity in the workplace (for an exception, see Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). *The aim of this chapter is to give an extensive overview of theory and research on the implications of the increasing ethnic diversity within organizations.* First, differences between the various definitions of ethnic diversity are briefly introduced, and the conceptualization of ethnic diversity in the current thesis is presented. After this, theories from a cultural, social psychological and contextual perspective are discussed that may explain consequences of ethnic diversity on work outcomes. Next, an overview of studies is presented, which focuses on the relationship between ethnic diversity, on the one hand, and different work outcomes, on the other hand, such as: a) performance outcomes, b) behavioral outcomes, and c) affective outcomes. Finally, the present chapter will end with the formulation of the specific research questions that are addressed in this thesis.

2.1 Conceptualization of Ethnic Diversity in organizations

Before addressing the consequences of ethnic diversity in the workforce, it is important to define it conceptually, since this can affect the manner in which the phenomenon itself is examined. Most studies still define "ethnicity" as a demographic characteristic that is *on a personal level*. However, from the 1980s onwards, authors of popular management literature as well as organizational researchers (e.g., Cox, 1993; Jackson, May, & Whitney, 1995; Jehn, Northcraft, & Neale, 1999) began to define

certain demographic characteristics, such as ethnicity, as *relational demographic characteristics* (e.g., Jackson et al., 1995; Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). In short, relational demography involves comparing the demographic characteristics of an individual (e.g., ethnicity, age, or gender) to the demographic characteristics of a social group. For example, in terms of ethnicity, individuals may be very similar or dissimilar compared to the team in which they work.

Extrapolating from this, ethnic diversity can also be researched from a so called compositional (e.g. team-level) perspective as "the presence of differences among members of a social unit" (Jackson et al., 1995, p. 217). Jackson et al. (1995) further refine the concept of diversity into *surface-level* and *deep-level diversity*. Surface-level diversity basically refers to characteristics of people that are readily observable, such as ethnicity, age, and gender. Deep-level diversity refers to characteristics that are more difficult to observe, such as one's personality, attitudes, skills, and competencies.

Other researchers claim that diversity is about the *effective management* of both demographic variation (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity) and personal variation (e.g., personal values, skills, and abilities) in the workforce (e.g., Rijsman, 1997). In this view, it is expected that diversity, when managed effectively, will entail economic benefits for organizations. In particular, diversity is expected to generate more creativity, multiple perspectives, and a broader access to informational networks that increase the quality of decision making.

Still other diversity researchers argue that diversity is about the *inclusion of socially disadvantaged groups* in the workforce (e.g., Grossman, 2000; Linnehan & Konrad, 1999). Accordingly, ethnic minorities, together with other groups, such as females, disabled people, gays, and lesbians, are thought of as socially disadvantaged groups that actively need to be included and provided with equal opportunities in the workforce. Defined this way, "diversity" is closely related to the concept of affirmative action (e.g., Heilmann, 1994). In sum, there is no uniform and generally accepted definition of ethnic diversity. Instead, different perspectives exist and some of the most used definitions are summarized in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Definitions of Diversity

Diversity type	Definition
<i>Readily detectable / Surface level diversity</i>	“[differences in] readily detectable attributes [that] can be quickly and consensually determined with only brief exposure to a target person. (e.g., sex, age, ethnicity, team tenure).” (Jackson et al., 1995, p. 217)
<i>Social category diversity</i>	“explicit differences among group members in social category membership, such as race, gender and ethnicity.” (Jehn et al., 1999, p. 745)
<i>Underlying / Deep level diversity</i>	“[differences in] underlying attributes that are more subject to construal and mutability. (e.g., knowledge, skills, abilities, attitudes and values).” (Jackson et al., 1995, p. 217).
<i>Informational diversity</i>	“differences in knowledge bases and perspectives that members bring to the group. Such differences are likely to arise as a function of differences among group members in education, experience and expertise.” (Jehn, Northcraft, & Neale, 1999, p. 743)
<i>Value diversity</i>	“occurs when members of a workgroup differ in terms of what they think the group’s real task, goal, target, or mission should be.” (Jehn et al., 1999, p. 745)

In this thesis, we conceptualize ethnic diversity in three different ways. First, we argue that ethnic diversity is as a form of deep-level diversity, because it encompasses *cultural differences* between different ethnic groups. Ethnicity refers to a group of closely related people who, to some extent, share their customs, beliefs, values, institutions, language, religion, history, and land of origin, or to put it briefly, a group who has the same culture or roots (e.g., Cashmore, 1996; Smith, 1991). Etymologically speaking, ethnicity is derived from the Greek word “ethnos,” which refers to a group of people or a nation. In its contemporary form, ethnicity still retains this basic meaning as it refers to a coherent group of people who are, at least latently, aware of having common origins, roots, and interests. Secondly, we conceptualize ethnic diversity as a subtype of “*surface-level diversity*” or “*social category diversity*”. Ethnic diversity is indeed a

readily detectable characteristic based on differences in overt physical features (Jackson et al., 1995; Jehn et al., 1999). Finally, ethnic diversity can also be conceptualized from a contextual perspective as (differences in) shared beliefs about the value of ethnic diversity and its consequences in work groups or organizations (e.g. Ely & Thomas, 2001).

Based on the three conceptualizations of ethnic diversity, we distinguish between three theoretical approaches to predict consequences of ethnic diversity on work outcomes in organizations. First, in the *cultural approach*, it is argued that ethnic diversity – as differences in acculturation orientations (Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997) and cultural values (Hofstede, 1980) – may influence work outcomes such as ethnic intergroup relations and employee well-being. Second, the *social-psychological approach* proposes that ethnic diversity – through psychological processes of social categorization and similarity attraction – relates to detrimental intergroup relations in ethnically diverse teams. Thirdly, *contextual factors* such as a specific organizational culture (Harquail & Cox, 1993) or particular (shared) beliefs among employees towards ethnic diversity (Ely & Thomas, 2001) are likely to moderate the relationship between ethnic diversity in organizations and work-outcomes.

2.1.1 The Cultural Approach

The concept of “culture” has been defined in many different ways. To give some examples, Larkey (1996) emphasizes that a culture includes a particular communication style, specific rules, dress codes, a shared meaning, and a particular language. Cox (1993) states that cultural groups share certain norms, values, and goal priorities, and have a similar socio-cultural heritage. According to this view, it is not controversial to assume that people with similar ethnic backgrounds share, at least to some extent, common cultures (Cashmore, 1996; Smith 1991). In this respect, the increase in ethnic diversity within organization thus brings along cultural differences across ethnic groups of employees which might impact work outcomes. Up till now, there are almost no scientific theories that elaborate on issues such as the impact of cultural diversity on work outcomes. Nevertheless, we will introduce and discuss some heuristic models and processes that might increase our understanding about the effects of ethnic diversity in organizations on work outcomes.

First of all, *acculturation orientations* may play a relevant role. The first definition of acculturation was offered by Redfield, Linton, and

Herskovits (1936; p. 149): “Acculturation comprehends those phenomena, which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.” Nowadays, Berry’s two-dimensional acculturation model (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Berry, 1997) is the most frequently used model to conceptualize acculturation (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004). According to this model, immigrant groups may engage in any of four acculturation strategies that are based on two dimensions: culture adaptation and culture maintenance. Culture adaptation refers to the extent to which immigrants wish to establish good relations with members of the host society. Culture maintenance refers to the importance of maintaining relations with one’s native culture. The combination of these two dimensions in a four-fold table yields the following four acculturation strategies: assimilation refers to a complete adaptation of immigrants to the dominant culture in a society of settlement without retaining one’s own native culture. Integration refers to adaptation to the dominant culture as well as maintaining one’s own native culture. Separation is a term used for immigrants who maintain their own native culture without adapting to the dominant culture. Finally, marginalization is what occurs when immigrants do not maintain or adapt to any culture. Interestingly, research shows that variations in acculturation orientations are significantly related to immigrants’ psychological well-being. For instance, it appears that the integration orientation leads to superior well-being whereas marginalization seems to the less fruitful acculturation orientation in this respect across different acculturating groups (Berry, 1990, Berry & Sam, 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). Likewise, acculturation might be applied to the multicultural workplace as a valuable instrument for predicting work-related well-being among ethnic minority employees.

Secondly, Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senécal (1997) extended the original acculturation model of Berry (1997) to an interactive acculturation model (IAM) where they seek to integrate the following components: (1) acculturation orientations adopted by immigrant groups in the host community; (2) acculturation orientations adopted by the host community towards specific groups of immigrants; (3) interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes that are the product of combinations of immigrant and host community acculturation orientations. Bourhis et al.

(1997) propose that the quality of intergroup relations between ethnic groups depends on the degree of concordance in acculturation orientations between both groups. According to the IAM model, *consensual relational outcomes* between members of immigrant and host community groups are predicted when both groups share either the integration or assimilation orientation. Next, *problematic relational outcomes* emerge when the host community and the immigrant group experience both partial agreement and partial disagreement as regards their profile of acculturation orientations. For example, the model predicts problematic intergroup relations to occur when immigrant groups prefer integration whilst the host community group prefers immigrants to assimilate to the host society, or vice versa. Finally, *conflictual intergroup relations* are predicted when the host community group and the immigrant group experience full disagreement in acculturation orientations (e.g. assimilation versus segregation), or when either segregation or marginalisation (referred to as anomie and exclusion) are preferred by both groups. Bourhis and colleagues propose that the quality of intergroup relations includes verbal and nonverbal cross-cultural communications; interethnic attitudes and stereotypes, intergroup tension, acculturative stress and discrimination. The IAM model of Bourhis et al. might be a useful tool to predict the quality of intergroup relations across ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups of employees in ethnically diverse organizations.

Thirdly, ethnically diverse groups differ systematically regarding the *cultural values* they adhere to. Hofstede (1980, 1991) distinguishes between four cultural value domains: masculinity-femininity, individualism-collectivism, power distance, and uncertainty avoidance. The individualism-collectivism dimension, in particular, is known to relate to the attitudes and behavior that are likely to influence work outcomes. This dimension refers to whether one's identity is defined by personal choices and achievements or by the character of the collective group(s) to which one belongs. In general, people from collectivistic (mostly non-western) cultures are more willing to sacrifice personal needs and to help their social group than people from individualistic (mostly western) countries. Thus, compared to people from individualistic cultures, people from collectivistic cultures may be more cooperative and more willing to perform duties in order to achieve group goals (Smith & Bond, 1998). Other cultural value domains are: (a) Power distance, the amount of respect and deference between those in superior and subordinate positions; (b)

Uncertainty avoidance, a focus on planning and the creation of stability as a way of dealing with life's uncertainties; and (c) Masculinity–Femininity, the relative emphasis on achievement or on interpersonal harmony – a distinction that characterizes gender differences in values across many national cultures.

Fourthly, differences between the *organizational culture* and the cultural background of employees may complicate adaptation to the organizational culture. Hofstede (1989; p. 391) refers to organizational culture as “collective habits, expressed in such visible things like dress, language and jargon, status symbols, promotion criteria, tea and coffee rituals, meeting rituals, communications styles, and a lot more.” Although organizational cultures differ across companies, it is conceivable that many organizational cultures have some overlap with the national culture of a particular society. Thus, immigrant employees who are raised in a culture that is distinctly different from an organizational culture may have more problems adapting to the organizational culture than native employees who share a cultural background that is more similar to the organizational culture. Finally, ethnically diverse groups may encounter *communication problems*. It is obvious that differences in language use, intonations, communication styles, and non-verbal aspects across cultures can complicate intercultural contact between ethnically diverse employees (Maznevski, 1994).

2.1.2 The Social-Psychological Approach

Social identity theory (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971) posits that people derive self-esteem and a sense of belonging from identifying themselves with social groups and from favorably comparing the group to which they belong with other groups. Tajfel and colleagues demonstrated in a series of laboratory studies that people are eager to identify themselves with a social group (called ingroup), even when group membership is based on trivial criteria such as the letter A or B. When people identify with a certain ingroup (e.g., group A), they tend to favor this ingroup over other (out)groups to which they do not belong (e.g., group B). These initial findings of Tajfel and his colleagues are confirmed in many other studies (for a meta analysis on this topic, see: Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992). Furthermore, people are likely to identify with their ethnic group because it provides them with a sense of belonging; it connects individuals to a group of closely related people who share a common culture (Cashmore, 1996;

Smith, 1991). When people identify with an ethnic ingroup (e.g., Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan, Swedish, Kurdish, English) – and they usually do –, social identity theory predicts that people will favor their own ethnic ingroup over other ethnic outgroups.

Social categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, & Oakes, 1987) further builds on the assumptions made in social identity theory by suggesting that the degree to which individuals identify with a social group depends on the specific context (Oakes, 1987; Turner, 1985). In this theory, “personal identity” is distinguished from “social identity.” Personal identity emphasizes that an individual’s identity should be distinguished from other members of the ingroup (Turner, 1982). Social identity, on the other hand, concerns what is shared with an ingroup, but not with members of an outgroup (Haslam, Powell, & Turner, 2000). In other words, there may be differences (e.g., in attitudes, beliefs, opinions) between members of the same social group. Social categorization theory emphasizes that individuals only identify with their ingroup when differences between members of the ingroup are smaller than the differences between the ingroup and other outgroups. Importantly, identification with a social group leads to behavior that is different from behavior originating from one’s personal identity, as it is oriented towards the interests of the group as a whole instead of one’s personal interests.

One situation in which individuals identify with their ingroup is when status differences between individuals of the ingroup are smaller than the status differences between the ingroup and the outgroups. Indicators of status differences are, for instance, power, socio-economic position, judicial status, numerical majority, and dominant culture. It is often the case that immigrant groups have a lower status (e.g., numerical minority, minority culture, lower functional levels, more unemployment) compared to the national group of a country. According to social categorization theory, status differences between ethnic groups will lead to a stronger identification of individuals with their ethnic ingroup and behavior that is in the interest of the ethnic ingroup. For example, both Kanter (1977) and Tajfel (1978) predict that high status groups may exaggerate the differences between themselves and low status groups, which leads to polarization. Also, under such circumstances, low status group members are expected to adapt to the values and norms of the high status group. However, for immigrant groups, it may not be easy to adapt to the values and norms of the majority, as individuals often feel closely connected to

their ethnic ingroup and its culture (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994; Cashmore, 1996).

Another theoretical paradigm which may explain consequences of ethnic diversity is the *similarity-attraction paradigm* of Byrne (1971). This paradigm states that a great variety of physical, social, or other attributes can be used as a basis for expecting similarity in attitudes, beliefs, or personality. It has been found that “The consequences of high interpersonal attraction may include frequent communication, high social integration and a desire to maintain group affiliation” (Tsui, Egan, & O’Reilly, 1992, p.551). According to this view, people may expect others with similar physical features to hold similar attitudes and beliefs. As such, ethnically similar people may be more attracted to each other than ethnically dissimilar people.

In conclusion, both social identity theory and social categorization theory as well as the similarity-attraction paradigm predict that ethnic diversity holds negative consequences for organizations. According to these three theories, ethnic diversity in work teams may lead to psychological processes such as ingroup liking, ingroup attraction, and ingroup favoritism. In turn, these psychological processes may affect the behavior of individuals in such a way that they will favor employees belonging to their own ethnic ingroup over employees belonging to ethnic outgroups. In ethnically diverse work units, this may lead to a number of negative outcomes such as less cooperation, less communication, more conflicts, and less cohesiveness. Additionally, differences in ethnic background between the individual and the team may not only affect team functioning, but also have negative personal outcomes. When an employee differs in ethnicity from the rest of a work unit, he or she may experience less organizational commitment, more turnover intention, and less job satisfaction than employees working in ethnically similar teams.

A perspective that predicts positive outcomes of diversity is known as the *information and decision-making theory* (Wittenbaum & Stasser, 1996). The quality of decision making depends on the unique and useful information a person has, as well as on the openness of the group to discuss these new insights. Unfortunately, individuals are more likely to base their decisions on shared information, that is, information that is collectively held by other group members (Stasser, 1992). In this way, unique information is withheld, which lessens the probability of group members engaging in innovative debates that create unique and high

quality ideas or solutions. Decision-making theorists argue that diversity can have positive effects on group performances, because diversity increases variation in terms of information, abilities, and skills.

Most organizational psychologists (Jehn, 1999; Jackson, Joshi, & Erhardt, 2003) argue that diversity in task-related characteristics, in particular, leads to better team performance. Task-related characteristics refer to those characteristics of individuals that are necessary for performing a certain task, such as particular skills, abilities, experience, and competencies. Whether or not information and decision-making processes are of higher quality when work units are ethnically diverse may thus depend on the task a team has to perform. For example, an ethnically diverse team of teachers may be better qualified to teach ethnically diverse students than an ethnically homogeneous team of teachers. In this instance, it is expected that ethnic diversity in a team of teachers would increase the information, knowledge, skills, and abilities that are available for increasing performance. In other cases, ethnic diversity may not be such a relevant characteristic for performance outcomes (for instance in production units on an operational level).

2.1.3 Contextual approach

On a contextual level, a particular organizational culture or climate in organizations towards ethnic diversity may impact the manner in which ethnic diversity relates to work-outcomes. For instance, Cox and Blake (1991) distinguish between *three types of organizations*: monolithic, plural and multicultural organizations. In *Monolithic organizations*, initiatives towards ethnic diversity are limited to the inclusion of ethnic minority employees. Research shows that this type of “affirmative action” has negative side effects in terms of less acceptance, more stress reactions, and less self-esteem among the personnel recruited in this manner (Heilman, 1994; Heilman, Block, & Lucas, 1992; Heilman, Rivero, & Brett 1991). *Plural organizations* are characterized by a more pro-active recruitment and promotion of ethnic minority employees. However, ethnic minorities are ultimately expected to assimilate to the dominant organizational culture. In *multicultural organizations*, differences are appreciated and used for organizational and personal gain alike. Cox and Blake argue that only the multicultural option leads to organizational benefits such as reduced turnover and absenteeism, recruiting the best personnel, more

cultural insight and sensitivity while marketing products and services, and increasing creativity and innovation.

Similar to the multicultural option proposed by Cox and Blake, Harquail and Cox (1993) claim that ‘tolerance for ambiguity’, ‘valuing cultural diversity’ and ‘low-prescription culture’ are important aspects in an organizational culture that will lead to beneficial work-outcomes. When tolerance for ambiguity is high, organizations exert less pressure on employees to assimilate towards the organizational culture. As a consequence, socio-cultural differences would be viewed upon as normal and potentially useful rather than dysfunctional. Furthermore, when cultural diversity is valued, it is more likely that cross-cultural exchange takes place between employees as compared to organizations that impose pressure on employees to conform to a single system of existing organizational norms and values. Additionally, a low prescription culture acknowledges a wide range of work-styles, ideas that deviate from the norm are seriously discussed, and employees have great latitude to create their own approaches towards their work.

Similarly, Ely and Thomas (2001) have developed *three diversity perspectives* based on which predictions can be made regarding how cultural diversity in workgroups relates to organizational benefits. The first perspective is named the *integration-and-learning perspective* and posits that the insights, skills, and experiences of employees that are derived from being a member of various cultural identity groups are “potentially valuable recourses that work groups can use to rethink its primary tasks and redefine its markets, products, strategies, and business practices in ways that will advance its mission” (Ely & Thomas, 2001, p.240). The authors argue that the integration-and-learning perspective can help facilitate open discussions about different points of view that are explicitly linked to cultural experiences of employees. It encourages employees to express themselves as members of their cultural identity groups, which enhances opportunities for cross-cultural learning and work group creativity.

The second perspective is called the *access and legitimacy perspective* and is based on “a recognition that the organization’s markets and constituencies are culturally diverse. In this case, organizations are promoting diversity in parts of its own workforce as a way of gaining access to and legitimacy with those markets and constituent groups” (Ely & Thomas, 2001, p. 243). The authors warn that such a belief leads to

racial segregation along functional levels, with whites having higher functional levels compared to ‘people of color’. As such, an access and legitimacy perspective on ethnic diversity is likely to increase interracial and inter-functional tensions and inhibit productive learning.

The third perspective is called the *discrimination-and-fairness perspective* and is characterized by “a belief in a culturally diverse workforce as a moral imperative to ensure justice and the fair treatment of all members of society. It emphasizes diversification efforts on providing equal opportunities in hiring and promotion, suppressing prejudicial attitudes, and eliminating discrimination” (Ely & Thomas, 2001, p. 245). This belief puts emphasis on creating equality and equal opportunity for all its employees. However, it does not focus on valuing ethnic diversity or cross-cultural learning. As such, organizations or work groups that uphold such a perspective are not likely to benefit from ethnic diversity in terms of higher creativity and performance. Instead, Ely and Thomas (2001) argue that – in addition – a discrimination-and-fairness perspective leads to discussions about fairness that may strain interracial relations.

2.2 Empirical Results of Studies on Ethnic Diversity in the Workplace

In accordance with Jackson, Joshi, and Erhardt (2003) we distinguish *four different types of outcome variables* that are often studied in diversity research. First, most studies have examined ethnic diversity in the context of *team performance*, including evaluations of team tasks, ratings of perceived team effectiveness, and “objective” measures of team performance, such as sales revenue, customer satisfaction, and sales productivity. Second, a fair amount of ethnic diversity research has focused on examining *behavioral outcomes*, encompassing communications, the use of information, and conflict and cooperation in teams. Third, a small amount of ethnic diversity research has also looked at the association between diversity and *affective outcomes*, including organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and identification with the job, team, or the organization as a whole. Fourth, in some studies, it was assumed that the relationship between ethnic diversity and performance would be *mediated* by behavioral or attitudinal processes. Results from empirical studies on these four types of outcomes are discussed below.

2.2.1 Performance Outcomes

Some *laboratory studies* reveal a *positive relationship* between ethnic diversity and performance. For instance, McLeod and Lobel (1992) showed that ethnically diverse groups produced ideas that were of higher quality compared to ethnically homogeneous groups. Furthermore, Watson, Kumar, and Michaelsen (1993) performed a longitudinal laboratory study in which they compared performance outcomes of ethnically homogeneous and heterogeneous groups composed of undergraduate and graduate students on several cognitive tasks. Results showed that the ethnically heterogeneous groups outperformed the homogeneous groups on several cognitive tasks during the last time period (identifying problem perspectives and generating solution alternatives). For the first thirteen weeks, however, ethnically homogenous groups outperformed ethnically diverse groups. Another study carried out by Watson, Johnson, and Zgourides (2002) showed somewhat similar results. For the first fifteen weeks, the ethnically homogeneous and heterogeneous groups performed equally well on several cognitive tasks. However, in the end, the ethnically heterogeneous groups outperformed the homogeneous groups. In a somewhat similar vein, Earley and Mosakowski (2000) demonstrated that effective team-performance depends on both time and the degree of ethnic diversity in work-groups. In particular, ethnically diverse teams performed worse in the beginning compared to later time periods. Furthermore, the authors found a curvilinear relationship where – over time – both highly ethnically diverse teams *and* ethnically homogeneous teams outperformed moderately diverse teams. Finally, Van der Zee, Atsma and Brodbeck (2004) – studying 43 culturally diverse work-groups across time – did not find a significant relationship between the cultural composition of student work-groups on the one hand and performance (i.e. student grades) on the other hand.

When comparing *field studies* on the association between ethnic diversity and performance outcomes, the results are more mixed. Starting with *positive outcomes*, O'Reilly, Williams, and Barsade (1997) showed in their study that ethnic diversity relates positively to creativity and implementation ability in teams. Teams composed of Asians and Anglo-Americans turned out to be more creative and better at implementing new ideas compared to teams that were composed of solely Anglo-Americans. Similarly, Cady & Valentine (1999) showed across 50 teams of a high-tech

Fortune 500 company that 'racial diversity' related positively to quality (but not quantity) of innovation.

Other field studies show *mixed, negative or no relationships* between ethnic diversity and performance outcomes. For instance, a study performed by Riordan and Shore (1997) showed that the level of perceived work group productivity depends on the proportion of ethnic minority (African-Americans and Hispanics) versus ethnic majority (Anglo-Americans) members in a team, as well as on the particular ethnic group studied. Anglo-American employees perceived less workgroup productivity when working in teams that were composed of mostly minority members. However, African-American participants reported the same level of work group productivity across different team compositions. Other studies indicated that ethnic diversity related negatively or not at all to performance evaluations (Lefkowitz, 1994; Sacket, DuBois, & Noe, 1991; Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990). For example, Greenhaus et al. (1990) found that African-Americans were rated lower than Anglo-Americans by Anglo-American supervisors on task and relationship dimensions of performance. Ely (2004) reported no significant relationships between ethnic diversity and objective measures of performance such as sales revenue, customer satisfaction, and sales productivity.

2.2.2 Behavioural Outcomes

A number of studies show that *ethnic diversity is negatively associated with behavioral outcomes*. For instance, Pelled and colleagues (Pelled, 1993; Pelled et al., 1999) concluded in their studies that ethnic diversity was associated with higher levels of emotional conflict in teams. Noteworthy, however, is the fact that group longevity and task-routineness moderated this relationship: the longer a group worked together and the more the tasks were routine, the less emotional conflicts in ethnically diverse groups were reported. Furthermore, ethnic diversity did not relate significantly to task-related conflicts. In addition, Hoffman (1985) indicated that an increase in African-American representation in Anglo-American teams was negatively associated with the frequency of interpersonal, but not organizational communication.

Other studies report *positive relationships*. For instance, O'Reilly, Williams, and Barsade (1999) show in their study that Anglo-American workers are more cooperative when working in ethnically diverse groups

composed of Asians and Anglo-Americans compared to groups composed of solely Anglo-Americans. The authors explain this puzzling result by suggesting that Asians might have more collectivistic values and that collectivism could be positively related to cooperation in teams. Cox, Lobel, and McLeod (1991) found similar results while studying differences in cooperative behavior between African-American and Anglo-American undergraduate and graduate students on a Prisoner's Dilemma task. Results indicated that African-American groups as well as mixed groups of African-Americans and Anglo-Americans were more cooperative than groups composed of solely Anglo-Americans. The authors expressed the need to further explore the positive effects of non-western cultures on organizational behavior and effectiveness. However, expectations with regard to cultural value differences across ethnic groups should be interpreted with caution, as other studies do not confirm the above described results (Espinoza & Garza, 1985; Garza & Santos, 1991). Yet, some studies (e.g. Riordan & Shore, 1997, Watson et al., 2002) show *no significant relationship* between the degree of ethnic dissimilarity in teams and behavioral outcomes, such as the perceived level of cohesiveness.

Finally, in their qualitative study, Ely and Thomas (2001) demonstrate that effects of ethnic diversity in organizations on 'work-group functioning' depend on the diversity perspectives that are held by its members. In particular, an integration-and-learning perspective enhanced work-group functioning through cross-cultural learning and exploration of diverse views on work-processes. In contrast, a discrimination-and-fairness perspective inhibited work-group functioning because of a lack of cross-cultural learning, and the inability of ethnic minority employees to bring relevant skills and insights to bear on work-processes. The access-and-legitimacy perspective had an intermediate effect on work-group functioning. On the one hand, it enhanced work-group functioning through an increased representation of ethnic minority employees, but it limited work-group functioning through a lack of cross-cultural learning as a consequence of racially segregated functions.

2.2.3 Affective Outcomes

A number of studies indicate that ethnic diversity – especially for ethnic minorities – *relates negatively to affective outcomes*. For instance, Greenhaus et al. (1990) found that ethnic minority managers (in this case African-Americans) felt less accepted and experienced lower levels of job

satisfaction compared to managers of the ethnic majority (in this case, Anglo-American). Likewise, results from a study among Dutch civil service workers (Verkuyten, de Jong, & Masson, 1993) showed that ethnic minority employees perceived less job satisfaction than ethnic majority (Dutch) employees, although the effect was relatively small. Furthermore, Verkuyten et al. show that more positive evaluations of job satisfaction occur when employees work more frequently together with ethnically similar colleagues. In a similar vein, Riordan and Shore (1997) show that employees are more committed towards the team when working together with ethnically similar colleagues as opposed to working in ethnically diverse teams. Likewise, Van der Zee, Atsma & Brodbeck (2004) show that ‘cultural diversity’ in teams relates negatively to commitment, but only under the condition that work-group members identify strongly with their cultural background. In addition, Van der Zee, Atsma & Brodbeck (2004) reported a negative main effect of cultural diversity in work-groups on members’ subjective well-being. This main effect was however moderated by social identification: under the condition of strong team identification, work-group members in ethnically diverse work groups reported more well-being, while under the condition of strong ethnic identification work-group members reported poorer well-being.

Furthermore, studies on acculturation show that *acculturation orientations* of ethnic minority employees relate to their subjective well-being at work. For instance, Lugtenberg and Peeters (2004) showed that ‘marginalized’ ethnic minority employees felt less competent, less committed, and less satisfied at work, whereas ‘integrated’ ethnic minority employees reported being more competent and committed towards work. A study performed by Luijters, van der Zee, and Otten (2006) also confirms that a “dual identity” (comparable to integration) is preferred among ethnic minority employees in the Netherlands. Amason, Allen, and Holmes (1999), studied the level of acculturative stress (i.e., the amount of stress caused by adaptation to another (majority) culture) among Hispanic workers in a North American company. Results indicated that the perceived level of acculturative stress among Hispanic employees depended on the amount and type of social support received from Anglo-American co-workers. In particular, respect for and help with personal problems proved to be types of social support that diminished acculturative stress among Hispanic employees. Finally, Luijters, Van der Zee & Otten (2008) show that employees identification with their team or organization

also depends on contextual factors such as a so called (perceived) intercultural group climate (i.e. derived from Harquail and Cox , 1993). In particular, a stronger intercultural group climate enhanced employees' identification with the organization and the team in ethnically diverse organizations.

2.2.4 Mediating Effects of Behavioral and Affective Outcomes on Performance

A number of studies have also suggested or investigated a possible mediating role of behavioral or affective processes on the relationship between ethnic diversity and performance. For instance, based on their findings which demonstrated a lagged effect of ethnic diversity in work groups on performance over time, Watson et al. (1993) suggested that ethnically diverse work-groups may need more time to deal with behavioral or affective processes in teams such as cultural differences, communication problems, or less cohesiveness. In a next study, Watson et al. (2002) demonstrated that the leadership style in culturally diverse teams was more relations oriented, whilst in homogeneous teams the leadership style was more task-oriented across time, which in the end led to ethnically diverse teams outperforming ethnically homogeneous teams. Thus, different leadership styles might benefit or hamper behavioral or attitudinal processes in ethnically diverse versus ethnically homogeneous teams, which in turn relates to effective performance. Furthermore, Greenhaus et al. (1990) empirically showed that the relationship between ethnic diversity (white versus black managers) and performance evaluations was partly mediated by the fact that black managers perceived less job discretion and less acceptance from their supervisors compared to white managers. Other studies have not found support for the assumed mediating effect of behavioral processes on performance outcomes. For instance, Pelled et al. (1999) failed to find a direct effect of ethnic diversity in teams on team-performance, and as such found no mediation effect of different types of conflicts.

2.3 Conclusions

Altogether, we reviewed 24 empirical studies on ethnic diversity. Of these studies, 11 (45,8%) examined the effect of ethnic diversity on performance

outcomes, 10 (41,6%) examined effects of ethnic diversity on behavioral outcomes, 8 (33,3%) related ethnic diversity to affective outcomes, and 7 (29,2%) examined two or more outcomes simultaneously. When linking the results obtained by these studies to the previously discussed theories, several conclusions can be drawn.

First, turning to the *cultural* approach, a small number of studies indicate that *acculturation orientations* have a significant impact on individual work outcomes among ethnic minority employees. In particular, it appears that an integration orientation among ethnic minority employees (i.e. maintaining one's native culture whilst also adapting towards the dominant culture) relates positively to individual work outcomes such as competence, commitment, satisfaction and well-being at work (e.g. Lugtenberg & Peeters, 2004). Furthermore, dual identification at work-group level (i.e. simultaneously identifying with both one's native culture and the team) seems to be most preferred among ethnic minority employees (Luijters, Van der Zee & Otten, 2006). Studies that examine how differences in acculturation attitudes relate to work outcomes are still scarce, but appear promising and therefore should be pursued in the future.

Furthermore, limited support is found for the assumption that *cultural values* (i.e., collectivism versus individualism) affect behavioral outcomes in ethnically diverse teams. In particular, it is assumed that people from non-western cultures are more collectivistic than people from western cultures, which has been found to positively relate to cooperation in teams. Two studies (Cox, Lobel, & Mcleod, 1991; O'Reilly, Williams, & Barsade, 1999) support this hypothesis while two other studies (Espinoza & Garza, 1985; Garza & Santos, 1991) do not. One reason for this contradictory finding may be that, although people are born in non-western cultures, they could have spent quite some time in an individualistic culture and are therefore more adapted to the values of that culture. Also, when people from non-western cultures constitute a numerical minority, the pressure to adapt to the (individualistic) values of the ethnic majority may undermine the expression of collectivistic behavior.

Thirdly, predictions derived from a *social psychological approach* (i.e. social identity theory, social categorization theory, similarity-attraction paradigm) - that ethnic diversity has a detrimental effect on behavioral and affective outcomes - are supported in a fair number of studies. For example, ethnic diversity in teams relates negatively to commitment

(Riordan & Shore, 1997), organizational experiences, career satisfaction, advancement opportunities (Greenhaus et al., 1990), emotional conflict (Pelled, 1993; Pelled et al., 1999), interpersonal communication (Hoffman, 1985), job satisfaction (Verkuyten, de Jong, & Masson, 1993), and employee well-being (Van der Zee, Atsma & Brodbeck, 2004; Lugtenberg & Peeters, 2004). However, this conclusion is not as straightforward as it may seem at first glance and should be qualified. As suggested by Jackson et al. (1995), ethnic diversity seems to be primarily connected to relations-oriented (i.e. emotional conflict, commitment, job satisfaction), career satisfaction) rather than task-related outcomes (i.e. task-related conflict, organizational communication. The contrast between relations-oriented and task-related is similar to the more familiar contrast between the terms *instrumental* and *socio-emotional*. We chose not to use the latter pair of terms because they imply that social relationships have no instrumental value. Contrary to this implication, we assume that social relationships have significant instrumental value for the immediate task at hand, as well as for future activities and objectives.

Also, some variables appear to mediate or moderate the negative effects of ethnic diversity on behavioral and affective outcomes. For example, Van der Zee et al. (2004) show that effects of ethnic diversity on commitment and well-being are moderated by social identification. Furthermore, Pelled and colleagues (1999) show that group longevity (the time that group members work together) and performing routine tasks appear to diminish the negative effects of ethnic diversity on emotional conflict in teams.

Fourthly, the predictions based on *information and decision-making theory* – that ethnic diversity is positively related to performance outcomes – are supported in a fair number of longitudinal *laboratory* studies, whereas *field* studies show a more complex relationship. One reason for this may be that most laboratory studies have a longitudinal design, while most field studies have a cross-sectional design. Interestingly, laboratory studies only find positive results of ethnic diversity on performance over time. This might point to the fact that ethnically diverse groups first need to overcome more difficulties – such as coping with cultural differences, similarity attraction, subgroup formation and so on – compared to homogeneous groups. Also, the outcome variables studied in laboratory studies are often different in nature from the performance outcomes measured in field studies. Laboratory studies typically examine cognitive tasks, whereas field

studies also include subjective performance outcomes, such as perceived work group productivity or performance evaluations. Yet another explanation may be that variations in ethnic diversity are manipulated in (quasi)-experimental studies whereas this is not the case in field studies. For instance, Earley and Mosakowski (2000) reported that – over time – ethnically highly diverse *and* ethnically homogeneous teams outperformed moderately diverse teams. In comparison, most work groups in field studies have low to moderate variations in ethnicity, which might explain why field studies report more negative relationships between ethnic diversity and performance.

Finally, studies that include a *contextual approach* towards ethnic diversity show promising results. For instance, Ely and Thomas (2001) show that an integration-and-learning perspective towards ethnic diversity enhanced work-group functioning in ethnically diverse organizations, whereas the other two diversity perspectives (discrimination-and-fairness, access-and-legitimacy) do not. In addition, the presence of a strong intercultural group climate towards ethnic diversity appears to stimulate employees' team identification and organizational identification in ethnically diverse organizations. It thus appears that contextual factors such as diversity perspectives and intercultural group climate affect the manner in which ethnic diversity in organizations relates to important work outcomes.

2.4 Research questions

Based on the previous overview of research, this thesis includes five empirical studies aimed at advancing ethnic diversity research from a cultural, a social psychological, and a contextual perspective. Figure 2.1 shows an interactional model of the three theoretical approaches towards studying ethnic diversity. Each of the three theoretical approaches are explained in more detail below.

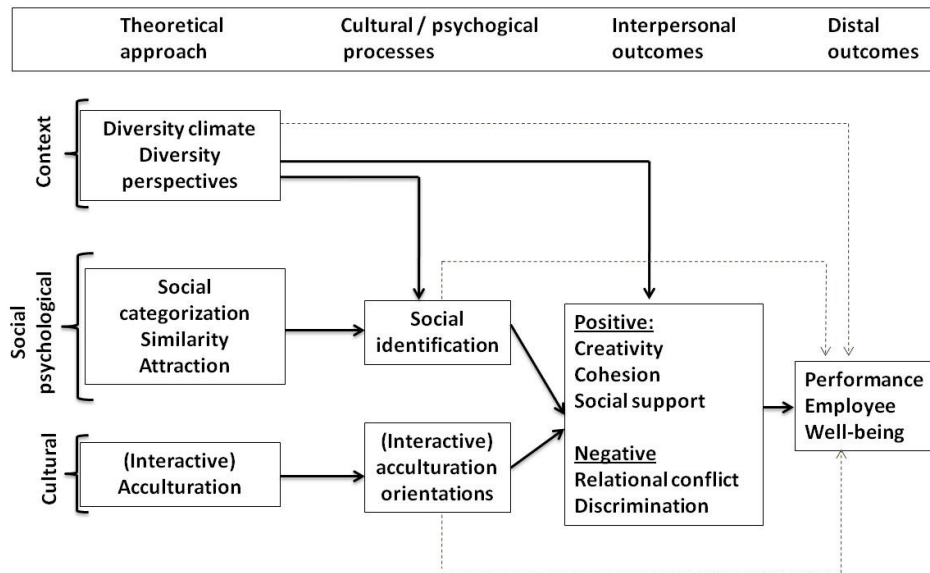


Figure 2.1. An interactional model on the impact of ethnic diversity on interpersonal and distal outcomes.

From a *cultural perspective*, it is analyzed whether Berry's acculturation model (1997) and the interactive acculturation model of Bourhis et al. (1997) are useful cultural models to understand work-outcomes in multicultural workplaces (see Figure 2.2). Studies on acculturation in the society at large show that integration is most preferred by ethnic minority groups, followed by assimilation or separation, while marginalization tends to be the least preferred acculturation orientation (Berry & Sam, 1997; 1999; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenszyk & Schmitz, 2002; Van Oudenhoven, Prins & Buunk, 1998; Bakker, Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2004). Regarding the (Dutch) ethnic majority group, research

shows that assimilation is – on average - the preferred acculturation orientation, followed by integration whereas separation and marginalization are the least preferred orientations among ethnic majority members (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2000). *The first research question is therefore: Are acculturation orientations among ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees within organizations similar compared to acculturation orientations among ethnic majorities and ethnic minorities in the society at large?*

In addition, acculturation orientations appear to have a substantial relationship with (un)successful adaptation in terms of psychological (i.e. health) and socio-cultural outcomes among immigrant groups. Integration is usually the most successful orientation in terms of psychological and socio-cultural adaptation (e.g. well-being and performance), whereas marginalization is the least successful, and assimilation and separation orientations are intermediate. This pattern has been found for different acculturating ethnic groups across a fair number of studies (Berry, 1990, Berry & Sam, 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006). Similarly, we apply the acculturation model to the workplace to predict well-being among ethnic minority and ethnic majority employees. *The second research question is therefore: Do acculturation orientations among ethnic minority and ethnic majority employees relate to their well-being at work?*

Furthermore, the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) of Bourhis et al. (1997) predicts that (partial) discordance in acculturation orientations between ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups would lead to problematic or even conflictual intergroup relations, whereas concordance in acculturation orientations leads to consensual relations. In line with the IAM model, Jasinskaja-Lahti and colleagues (2003) demonstrated that immigrants who shared discordant acculturation orientations with the host population experienced more discrimination and more stress compared to immigrants with concordant acculturation orientations. Similarly, Zagefka and Brown (2002) showed that a mismatch in preferred acculturation orientations between hosts and immigrants decreased the quality of intergroup relations for both groups. Research on the IAM model of Bourhis et al. (1997) in the workplace– to our knowledge – does not exist. Yet, as ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups of employees work together on a daily basis, the IAM model could be a ‘useful tool’ to predict the quality of intergroup work relations. Hence,

the third research question is: Does (dis)concordance in acculturation orientations between groups of ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees affect the quality of intergroup relations in multicultural workplaces?

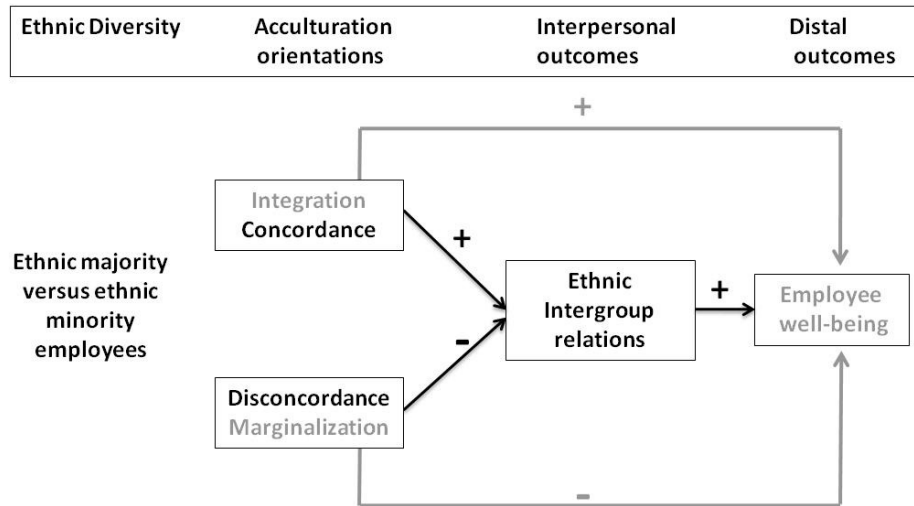


Figure 2.2. The cultural approach: Acculturation and Interactive acculturation. Note. Gray = Chapter 3; Black = Chapter 4.

Ethnic diversity is also approached from a *social psychological perspective* by examining the process of social identification (see Figure 2.3). Underlying processes such as social identification are understudied, but may explain the mixed findings of empirical studies on the relationships between ethnic diversity in teams and interpersonal outcomes (Webber & Donahue, 2001; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). In particular, as a consequence of similarity attraction (Byrne, 1999), ethnic diversity at team level is likely to have a negative impact on the degree to which its members identify with the team. Furthermore, in line with social categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), categorization along ethnic lines in ethnically diverse teams may increase the degree to which members identify with their ethnic group. In turn, when the interests of the employee are less aligned with the team but more with their ethnic subgroup, employees are likely to engage in behaviors that are detrimental for interpersonal outcomes in work-groups (e.g. Dutton, Dukerich & Harquail, 1994). Work groups and teams are used interchangeably in this

thesis. *A fourth research question is therefore: Does social identification mediate the relationship between ethnic diversity and interpersonal outcomes in teams?*

Ethnic diversity is approached from a *contextual perspective* by examining effects of ‘intercultural team-climate’ and ‘diversity perspectives’. An intercultural team climate is conceptualized as a set of shared beliefs at team-level that includes ‘tolerance for ambiguity’, ‘valuing cultural diversity’ and a ‘low-prescription culture’ (Harquail & Cox, 1993). Harquail and Cox (1993) argue that such a climate has a beneficial impact on the functioning of work groups in ethnically diverse organizations, as described in this chapter. In addition, an intercultural team climate may also affect the psychological process of social identification (i.e. Gaertner et al., 1999). When ethnic diversity is considered as normal and potentially useful rather than dysfunctional, team members are likely to identify more with their team. Also, valuing cultural diversity and a low prescription culture could stimulate team-members dual identification (i.e. simultaneous identification with the team and the ethnic group). Such processes of social identification could in turn mediate the direct relationship between intercultural climate and interpersonal outcomes. *The fifth research question is therefore: Does social identification mediate the relationship between intercultural climate at team level and interpersonal outcomes in teams?*

Social psychological and contextual approach: Social identification and intercultural climate

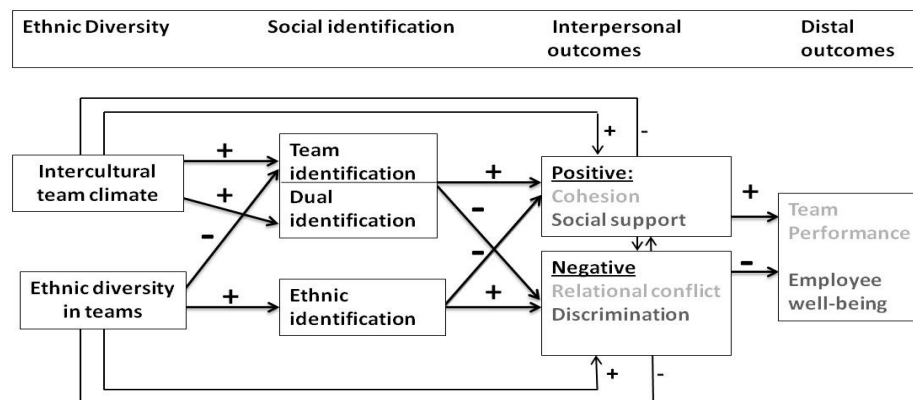


Figure 2.3. A social psychological and contextual approach: Social identification and intercultural team-climate. Note; light gray = Chapter 5; dark gray = Chapter 6; Black = Chapter 5 & 6.

Beliefs about the value of ethnic diversity and its role in the work group remain understudied (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). Yet, such beliefs may play an important role regarding the way in which ethnic diversity relates either positively or negatively to work related outcomes. Based on the findings of Ely and Thomas (2001), it is hypothesized that an integration-and-learning perspective leads to beneficial work-outcomes in terms of higher creativity, cohesion and performance in ethnically diverse teams whereas the other two perspectives do not (see Figure 2.4). *The sixth and final research question is: Do diversity perspectives moderate the relationship between ethnic diversity in teams and work outcomes?*

Contextual approach: Diversity perspectives

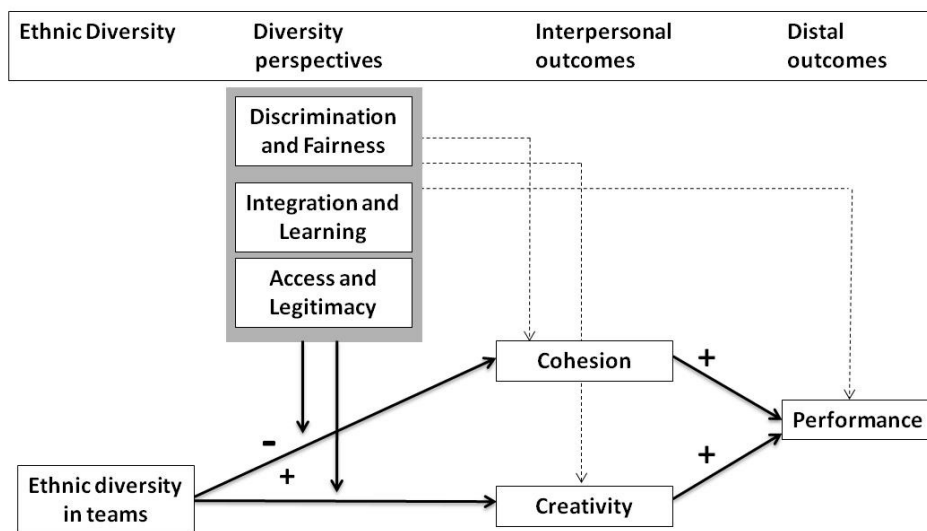


Figure 2.4. A contextual approach: The moderating role of diversity perspectives as studied in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 3: ACCULTURATION AND EMPLOYEE WELL-BEING: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ETHNIC MINORITY AND MAJORITY EMPLOYEES²

3.1 Introduction

Work plays a crucial role in the integration of ethnic minorities in western societies. It is often through work that members of different cultural backgrounds meet and interact with each other. These interactions are not always without problems. It is the aim of the present study to focus on acculturation orientations (explained below) of ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees, and to examine the extent to which these acculturation orientations relate to well-being at work. There are at least two reasons why research on this issue is important. First, since organizations are being confronted with personnel files that are increasingly diverse in terms of ethnicity (Oerlemans, Peeters, & Schaufeli, 2008), any endeavor to better understand the well-being of employees in ethnically diverse organizations is highly necessary. Second, while the relationship between acculturation and health has been repeatedly studied in the society at large, it has seldom been studied within the work context (Luijters, Van der Zee, & Otten, 2006).

Acculturation orientations

According to Berry (1997), acculturation orientations refer to two different dimensions: (1) *culture maintenance*; the importance for ethnic minorities to maintain key aspects of the ethnic culture; and (2) *culture adaptation*; the extent to which ethnic minorities wish to have contacts and participation in the mainstream culture. Combinations of the two dimensions yield the following four acculturation orientations: *integration*

² Chapter 3 is in press as: Peeters, M.C.W. & Oerlemans, W.G.M. The relationship between acculturation orientations and work-related well-being: Differences between ethnic minority and majority employees. *International Journal of Stress Management*.

(i.e., the desire to maintain key features of the ethnic minority culture while also adopting key features of the ethnic majority group), *assimilation* (i.e., full adaptation to the dominant culture of the ethnic majority group, without maintaining one's original ethnic minority culture), *separation* (i.e., a preference for maintaining features of the ethnic minority culture while rejecting the culture of the ethnic majority group) and *marginalization* (i.e., a rejection of both the ethnic minority and ethnic majority culture). So far, studies show that the integration orientation is most preferred by ethnic minority groups, followed either by assimilation or separation, while marginalization tends to be the least preferred acculturation orientation (cf. Berry & Sam, 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenzyk, & Schmitz, 2002; Bakker, Van der Zee, & Van Oudenhoven, 2004). With regard to the preferred acculturation orientations of the ethnic majority group, results show that assimilation is – on average – the preferred acculturation orientation, followed by integration. Separation and marginalization are the least preferred orientations among ethnic majority members (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2000).

Acculturation orientations in the work context

The workplace differs from the society at large in the degree to which social relationships are voluntarily. In the society at large, interactions with people who have different cultural backgrounds can either be avoided or on the contrary, initiated voluntarily. Interactions between employees in multicultural organizations can be unsolicited: employees with different cultural backgrounds can be obliged to work together, regardless of their preferences and intentions. As a consequence, employees' acculturation orientations in organizations might be different from their acculturation orientations in the society at large. For example, it might be expected that ethnic majority employees – who are often in a numerical majority – prefer assimilation of their ethnic minority colleagues. As a result, ethnic minority employees are likely to feel pressured by their ethnic majority colleagues to assimilate to the culture and habits of the dominant group within the organization, and as such to adapt their acculturation orientation. Some initial studies indeed provide evidence that ethnic minorities attach more importance to culture maintenance in private domains compared to public domains and vice versa for culture adaptation (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Phaet, Swyngedouw, &, 2003). In conclusion, although studies on acculturation orientations in the society at

large show that ethnic minorities prefer integration above assimilation, it can be expected that, as a consequence of frequent contact with ethnic majority employees at work, ethnic minority employees may prefer assimilation and integration to the same degree. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 1: Ethnic minority employees prefer both assimilation and integration the most, whereas separation and marginalization are the least preferred acculturation orientations.

Hypothesis 2: Ethnic majority employees prefer assimilation, followed by integration and marginalization, whereas separation is the least preferred acculturation orientation.

Acculturation and well-being

To what extent are employees' acculturation orientations related to well-being and how can this be explained? Theoretical frameworks that might shed light on this question have been borrowed from different areas of mainstream psychology, most notably, the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and the notion of acculturative stress (Berry, 2006).

According to *social identity theory*, group memberships and social identifications help individuals to structure the environment, and as such they contribute to a positive self-concept. On the one hand, for ethnic minority members, identification with the ethnic majority group in a society is necessary to adapt to the ethnic majority culture. On the other hand, it is also important for ethnic minorities to identify with their own cultural group. After all, affiliation with one's cultural background is often powerful and of strong emotional meaning. Identification with the ethnic majority and the ethnic minority group are not mutually exclusive processes. Simultaneous identification with both the cultural group and the ethnic majority group (called 'dual identification' and comparable to integration) holds the most beneficial outcomes for ethnic minorities in terms of their well-being. Other forms of identification – solely identifying with the ethnic majority group (assimilation) or the ethnic minority group (separation), or not identifying with any group at all (marginalization), have proven to be less fruitful in this respect (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001).

The second theoretical perspective considers acculturation orientations within a *stress and coping framework* by emphasizing the psychological and psychosomatic consequences of cross-cultural contact

and - change. Adaptation to the host culture can be very difficult and stressful. Stress induced by this adaptive process is referred to as *acculturative stress*. Acculturative stress is caused by the difficulties experienced in the process of acculturation and is inversely related to the psychological and physical well-being (Berry, 1998; Berry & Kim, 1988). Berry and colleagues conducted several studies on the relationship between immigrants' attitudes and acculturative stress within a wide range of ethnic groups in Canada (Berry, 1990; Berry & Kim, 1988; Zheng & Berry, 1991) and they consistently found that integration affords the lowest level of acculturative stress, assimilation achieves a medium degree of acculturative stress and separation and marginalization afford the highest level of acculturative stress. Furthermore, empirical research shows that integration is the most successful acculturation orientation in terms of well-being while the contrary is true for marginalization (Schmitz, 1994; Berry, 1997).

Acculturation and well-being in the work context

Research on acculturation in the workplace and its outcomes in terms of work-related well-being is still scarce. An exception is a study performed by (Tatar & Horenczyk, 2003). They found that ethnic majority teachers who preferred assimilation experienced more burnout symptoms compared to teachers who embraced a multicultural perspective (comparable to integration) when teaching in multicultural classrooms. This study shows that acculturation orientations may not only affect the well-being of ethnic minority employees, but also of ethnic majority employees. However, still there are some reasons why it can be expected that ethnic minority employees are likely to be more affected by acculturation orientations than ethnic majority employees: 1) the focus is on cultural adaptation of the ethnic minority groups; 2) ethnic minorities are almost always in a numerical minority position within organizations, and 3) ethnic majority norms and values are likely to be dominant within the organizational context. In sum, based on social identity and the notion of acculturative stress, it is hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 3: Integration has the strongest positive relationship with work-related well-being for both ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees, and for both groups marginalization has the strongest negative relationship with work-related well-being.

Hypothesis 4: The proposed relationships between acculturation orientations and work-related well-being in hypothesis 3 will be stronger for ethnic minority employees than for ethnic majority employees.

3.2 Method

Participants and procedure

Participants were public sector employees recruited from two different organizations in The Netherlands. Organization A was a department of the city hall of a large city in The Netherlands. Organization (B) was a police department. The most important inclusion criterion for selecting organizations was that majority and minority workers had to work together on a frequent, daily basis. Both organizations met with this criterion.

From the total number of employees in organization A (N=1300), all the non-western ethnic minorities (N=125) were approached for participation in the study³. Additionally, 100 Dutch employees from an organization panel were approached. At the time the data were gathered, this panel formed a good reflection of the total workforce in terms of gender, age and position. From the total 225 questionnaires that were distributed in organization A, 131 were returned (58.2%). Among the respondents were 50 ethnic minority employees (response rate: 40%) and 81 Dutch employees (response rate: 81%). The distribution of ethnic minority employees was as follows: Morocco (54%), followed by Turkey (20%) and Surinam (16%) and others (10%). Most ethnic minority employees (78%) were so called first-generation minorities, meaning that they themselves were born in the respective countries of origin.

Organization B agreed to participate in the study but only under the condition that up to a maximum of 100 questionnaires were distributed. The sample was randomly recruited by a personnel officer. Fifty ethnic minority employees and 50 Dutch employees were approached to participate in the study. Seventy-two questionnaires were returned (72.2%).

³ According to a Dutch law, a non-western immigrant is somebody who is born, or at least one of the parents must be born in: Turkey, Morocco, Surinam, the Netherlands Antilles, Aruba, former Yugoslavia, or in other countries in South or Mid-America, Africa, or Asia, with the exception of Japan and Indonesia. However, immigrants from the Maluku Islands - which is part of Indonesia - do belong to the target group. To improve the legibility of this chapter, we will refer to the group of non-western immigrants by the term ethnic minority employees.

Of the 50 minority employees, 28 (=56%) responded and 44 of the 50 Dutch employees responded which is 88%. The distribution of ethnic minority employees is as follows: Morocco (28.6%), Surinam (25%) or Turkey (17.9%), while (28.6%) originated from other non-western countries (see footnote 1). The majority of the ethnic minority employees (68%) were first generation ethnic minorities.

Integration of the samples

Since we were mainly interested in the association between acculturation and job-related well-being, irrespective of the particular organization, we examined if it was justifiable to pool both samples together. No differences exist with respect to gender ($X^2(df;1)=2.308$; ns) and age ($t(185)=1.587$; ns) between the two organizations, but there were significant differences in educational level ($t(201)=9.750$; $p<.001$) and organizational tenure ($t(198)=-3.546$; $p<.001$). In particular, employees from the city hall appeared to be more highly educated, but had a lower average on organizational tenure than employees working for the police department.

Next, we explored whether the differences in educational level and organizational tenure were significantly associated with the key study variables, acculturation and work-related well-being. Multivariate analyses showed that organizational tenure (Wilk's $\lambda=0.962$, $F(2;192)$; $p<.05$), but not educational level (Wilk's $\lambda=0.984$, $F(2;192)$; ns) significantly associated with acculturation. Moreover, educational level (Wilk's $\lambda=0.904$, $F(5;174)$; $p<.01$) but not organizational tenure (Wilk's $\lambda=0.946$, $F(5;174)$; ns) was associated with work-related well-being. Based on these findings the data of both organizations were pooled together and in the analyses we not only controlled for 'type of organization', but also for organizational tenure and educational level.

In addition, no gender differences were found between the Dutch and ethnic minority group ($X^2(1) = 1.54$; ns). However, ethnic majority employees appeared to be significantly older ($M = 38.9$; $SD=9.9$) than ethnic minority employees ($M=33.9$, $SD=9.40$) ($t(185)=3.43$; $p<.001$) and their organizational tenure was, on average, significantly higher ($M_{\text{majority}}=10.4$; $SD_{\text{Majority}}= 10.2$ versus $M_{\text{minority}}= 5.3$; $SD_{\text{minority}}=5.9$; $t(196.3)=4.49$; $p<.001$). In addition, Dutch employees were somewhat more educated than ethnic minority employees ($X^2(4)=12.22$; $p<.05$), hereby supporting the importance of controlling for educational level and

organization tenure. Age will not be considered as a control variable because of the high correlation with organizational tenure ($r=.60$; $p<.001$). The total sample consists of 79 ethnic minority⁴ and 124 ethnic majority (i.e., indigenous Dutch) employees. Finally, it appeared that there were no significant differences between first and second generation immigrants with regard to their scores on the study variables.

Measures

Since most of the scales that are used in this study have not frequently been included in studies among ethnic minorities, and since it has been documented that the measurement of psychological constructs might be very sensitive to cultural influences (Schaffer & Riordan, 2003), we present separate Cronbach's alphas for the total group ($N=203$), the ethnic minority group ($N=79$) and the Dutch group ($N=124$).

Acculturation orientations. Attitudes concerning culture adaptation and culture maintenance were measured with ten items based on a scale of Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2000). Five items measure culture maintenance and the other five items measure culture adaptation. The items refer to five different domains, namely linguistic competence, social contacts, education, upbringing and general attitudes about cultural maintenance and adaptation. Employees had to indicate on a five-point scale the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the items (1 = totally disagree, 5 = totally agree). An example item of the culture maintenance scale is "ethnic minorities must try to honor the customs and traditions of their own culture." An example item of the culture adaptation scale is: "Ethnic minorities should raise their children according to the Dutch norms and values." For the total sample, Cronbach's alpha of the culture maintenance scale was .68 and of the culture adaptation scale .64. When differentiating between ethnic minority and Dutch employees, culture maintenance turned out to be .64 for the ethnic minority employees and .64 for the Dutch employees. Cronbach's alpha for culture adaptation turned out to be .59 for the ethnic minority employees and .71 for the Dutch employees.

⁴ The three largest ethnic minority groups did not differ significantly from each other with regard to mean scores on the study variables.

Work-related well-being. In the present study, we focus on job satisfaction, organizational commitment and burnout as being important indicators of well-being at work.

Burnout (referring to the draining of mental resources caused by chronic job stress) was measured using the Dutch version of the Maslach Burnout Inventory General Survey (MBI-GS, Schaufeli, Leiter, Maslach, & Jackson, 1996; Schaufeli & van Dierendonck, 2000). The seven-point response scale ranged from 0 (never) to 6 (daily). The scale consists of 15 items divided over 3 subscales, namely: Exhaustion (five items, Cronbach's alpha for the total group is .85; for the ethnic minorities .87 and for the Dutch employees .84), Cynicism (4 items, Cronbach's alpha for the total group is .74; for the ethnic minorities .70 and for the Dutch .77) and Competence (six items, Cronbach's alpha for the total group is .73; for the ethnic minorities .73 and for the Dutch .73). Example items of the three subscales are respectively: "I feel exhausted because of my work", "I notice that I have developed too much distance towards my work" and "I know how to solve problems at work". Previous studies have shown that the factor structure is invariant across samples of different nations (Enzmann, Schaufeli, & Girault, 1995).

Affective organizational commitment (referring to employee identification with and involvement in the organization they work for) was measured with an eight-item scale of De Gilder, Van den Heuvel and Ellemers (1997). An example item is: "I experience problems of this organization as my own problems". This scale is based upon the well-known scale of Allen and Meyer (1990). The five-point rating scale ranged from (1) totally disagree to (5) totally agree. Cronbach's alpha was .80 for the total sample, .78 for the Dutch employees and .83 for the ethnic minority employees.

Job satisfaction was measured with one item derived from the Faces-scale of Kunin (1955). The item was: "All in all I'm satisfied about my job." The five-point response scale consisted of faces that expressed an emotion varying from very happy to very sad. This measure appears to be strongly correlated with multi-item questionnaires that assess general job satisfaction (Dunham & Herman, 1975).

3.3 Results

Acculturation orientations

In order to examine the preferred acculturation orientation of both groups, the scores on the culture maintenance and culture adaptation scale are transferred into the four acculturation orientations (assimilation, separation, integration and marginalization). This is done by computing the distances between the real scores and the ideal scores of the four strategies with the following formula (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver (2000): $\sqrt{[(\text{ideal score on adaptation scale} - \text{real score on adaptation scale})^2 + (\text{ideal score on culture maintenance scale} - \text{real score on culture maintenance scale})^2]}$

Results of a paired-sample t-test show that ethnic minority employees prefer both assimilation ($m=3.17$) and integration ($m=3.15$) to the same degree ($t(77)=.31$; ns). Also, ethnic minorities report no differences in scores for marginalization ($m=2.31$) and separation ($m=2.31$), but assimilation and integration on the one hand and separation and marginalization on the other hand differed significantly from each other at the $p<.001$ level. Hence, hypothesis 1, in which it was expected that ethnic minority employees would prefer assimilation and integration the most and separation and marginalization the least, is confirmed. The ethnic majority group has a preference for assimilation of non-western immigrants ($m=3.71$), followed by integration ($m=2.93$), marginalization ($m=2.28$) and separation ($m=1.80$). Paired sample t-tests showed that the differences between the mean scores were all significant ($p<.001$). Hence, hypothesis 2, in which it was stated that ethnic majority employees prefer assimilation, followed by integration and then marginalization, while separation was expected to be the least preferred acculturation orientation, is confirmed. When comparing acculturation orientations across the two groups, results show that Dutch employees report significantly higher scores on assimilation than ethnic minority employees ($F(1,198)=36.31$; $p<.001$), while the ethnic minority group showed higher scores on integration ($F(1,198)=6.94$; $p<.01$) and separation ($F(1,198)=36.37$; $p<.001$) compared to the ethnic majority group. Hence, while assimilation is the preferred orientation for both groups, ethnic majority employees still want ethnic minority employees to assimilate to the dominant culture to a higher extent compared to ethnic minority

employees. Conversely, ethnic minority employees are more in favor of maintaining their ethnic minority culture than ethnic majority employees.

Acculturation and work-related well-being

First, the correlations between the study variables were computed. As can be seen in Table 1 for the ethnic majority group, correlations between acculturation orientations and well-being variables are all non-significant. For the minority group there were more significant correlations. Also, the negative correlations between integration and marginalization and between assimilation and separation are strong for both groups. Finally, the inter-correlations between the dependent variables are moderately high for both groups.

Table 1
Pearson correlation coefficients between study variables. Below the diagonal are the coefficients of the ethnic minority group (N=66-78)¹. Above the diagonal are the coefficients of the ethnic majority group (N=120-124)¹

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. integration		-.73***	-.35***	.39***	.13	.09	.11	-.04	.07
2. marginalization	-.85***		-.34**	.30**	-.04	-.12	-.10	.05	-.13
3. assimilation	-.47**	.08		-.93***	-.13	.08	.04	-.01	.06
4. separation	.26*	.15	-.95***		.09	-.08	.04	.05	-.09
5. job satisfaction	.18	-.28*	.07	-.15		.45***	-.37***	-.68***	.54***
6. org. commitment	.36***	-.41**	-.15	.03	.48***		-.26**	-.47***	.51***
7. exhaustion	-.16	.20	.00	.06	-.38***	-.24*		.52***	-.55***
8. cynicism	-.33**	.33**	.12	-.02	-.32**	-.48**	.54***		-.58***
9. Competence	.32**	-.38**	.02	-.08	.32**	.46**	-.53**	-.50***	

* p<.05

** p<.01

*** p<.001

¹ Pairwise deletion of missing data

Next, we analyzed the relationship between acculturation orientations and well-being at work by performing several hierarchical regression analyses. To prevent problems of multicollinearity, separate analyses were performed for each of the four acculturation orientations as well as for each of the indicators of well-being. In the first model we included the control variables (i.e., organization type, organizational tenure and educational level), in the 2nd model we added a dummy variable for the group of ethnic minority employees (ethnic majority employees are the reference group) together with one of the four acculturation orientations. In the 3rd and final model, we added the interaction effect (ethnic minority x acculturation orientation) to examine if the effect of each acculturation orientation on each of the work-related well-being outcomes is stronger for ethnic minority than for ethnic majority employees. As proposed by Aiken and West (1991), we centered all independent variables before calculating interaction effects. Only models 2 and 3 are presented and discussed.

Results indicated, as predicted, that integration and marginalization relate significantly to work-related well-being, while assimilation and separation turned out to be unrelated to work-related well-being. Therefore, only the regression analyses of marginalization (Table 2) and integration (Table 3) are discussed. First, Table 2 shows the results with regard to marginalization orientations among employees. Model 2 shows that - after controlling for type of organization, educational level and organizational tenure - the more employees prefer a marginalization orientation, the less satisfied they are with their job ($\beta = -.13; p < .08$), the less commitment they experience towards the organization ($\beta = -.20; p < .001$), the more cynicism towards work they report ($\beta = .12; p < .092$) and the lower their scores on self-efficacy ($\beta = -.17; p < .05$). Hence, hypothesis 3, in which it was stated that marginalization would be the least beneficial acculturation orientation with respect to work-related well-being for employees, is confirmed for four out of five indicators of work-related well-being. Model 2 (main effects of marginalization and 'ethnic minority') appeared to explained 0.1% up to 4.2% of the variance in the well-being outcomes, indicating that it's relationship with work-related well-being is significant, but not very strong (Cohen, 1988).

Table 2

Multiple regression analyses for “marginalization” on all indicators of work-related well-being

	Job Satisfaction			Org. Commitment			Exhaustion			Cynicism			Prof. Self-Efficacy		
	model 2 beta	model 3 beta		model 2 beta	model 3 beta		model 2 beta	model 3 beta		model 2 beta	model 3 beta		model 2 beta	model 3 beta	
<i>(Constant)</i>															
<i>Control variables</i>															
Organisation	0.12	0.12		0.19 *	0.18 *		-0.13	-0.12		0.11	0.11		0.20 *	0.21 *	
Org. Tenure	-0.05	-0.06		0.10	0.09		-0.04	-0.03		0.02	0.03		0.16 *	0.15 *	
Education	0.07	0.05		-0.06	-0.09		0.06	0.09		0.25	0.28 **		-0.07	-0.09	
<i>Independent variables</i>															
Ethnic minority	-0.12	-0.13 +		-0.05	-0.06		0.03	0.04		0.01	0.02		0.03	0.03	
Marginalization	-0.13 +	-0.03		-0.20 ***	-0.06		0.00	-0.13		0.12 +	-0.01		-0.17 *	-0.06	
<i>Interaction</i>															
Marginalization x ethnic minority		-0.16 +			-0.22 **			0.21 *			0.22 *			-0.20 *	
R ² change	2.9% +	1.6% +		4.2% **	3.0% **		0.1%	2.7% *		1.4%	2.9% *		2.1% *	2.1% *	
R ²	4.0%	5.6%		13.3%	16.3%		3.5%	6.2%		6.7%	9.6%		12.7%	14.8%	

Note: Org. commitment=Organizational Commitment; Org. Tenure = Organizational tenure

+ = p<.10
 * = p<.05
 ** = p<.01
 *** = p<.001

In the 3rd model we included the interaction effect between ethnic minority and marginalization, and it shows that the relationship between acculturation and work-related well-being is moderated by ethnicity. In particular, results in Table 2 show that ethnic minority employees who prefer marginalization experience less job satisfaction ($\beta = -.16; p < .076$), less organizational commitment ($\beta = -.22; p < .01$), more exhaustion ($\beta = .21; p < .05$), more cynicism ($\beta = 0.22; p < .05$), less professional self-efficacy ($\beta = -.20; p < .05$) compared to ethnic majority employees. Hence, hypothesis 4, in which it was assumed that the relationship between marginalization on the one hand and work-related well-being on the other hand would be stronger for ethnic minority employees, is confirmed. The interaction effect explains another 1.6% up to 3.0% of the variance. In total, the amount of variance explained for the entire model is 5.6% for job satisfaction, 16.3% for organizational commitment, 6.2% for exhaustion, 9.6% for cynicism and 14.8% for professional self-efficacy. In order to better understand the nature of the interaction, we calculated – and graphically presented – the interaction effects according to the method described by Aiken and West (1991). The results (presented in Figures 1 to 5) clearly show that a marginalization orientation has a more detrimental effect on work-related well-being for ethnic minority employees than for ethnic majority employees.

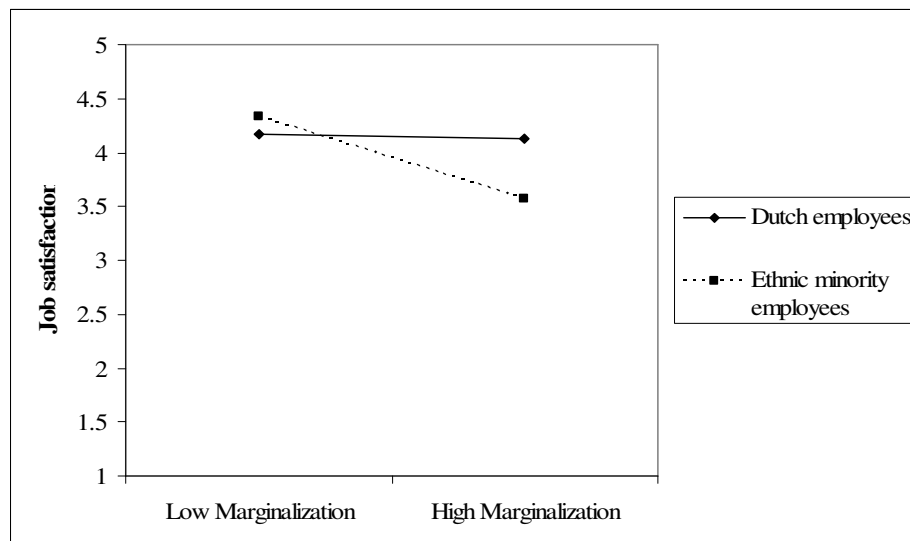


Figure 1. Interaction of ethnicity and marginalization on job satisfaction.

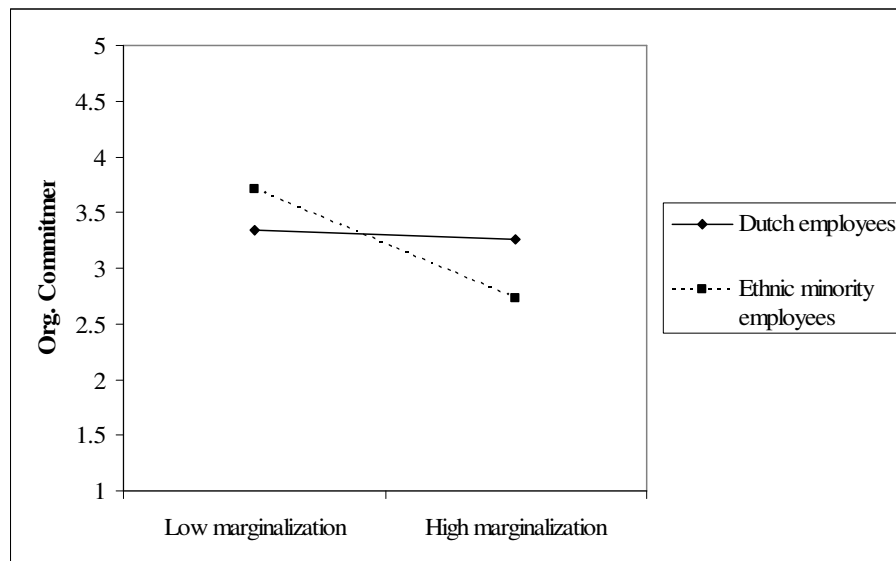


Figure 2. Interaction of ethnicity and marginalization on organizational commitment.

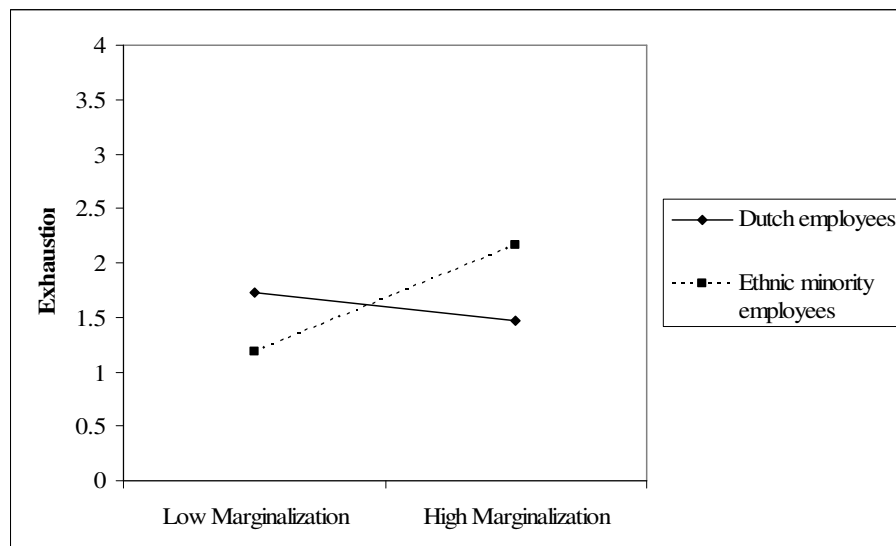


Figure 3. Interaction of ethnicity and marginalization on exhaustion.

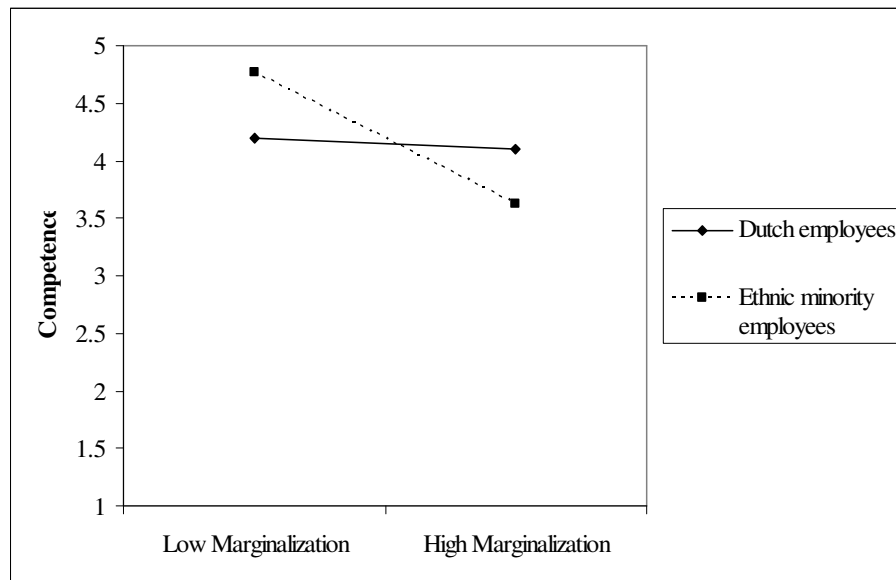


Figure 4. Interaction of ethnicity and marginalization on competence.

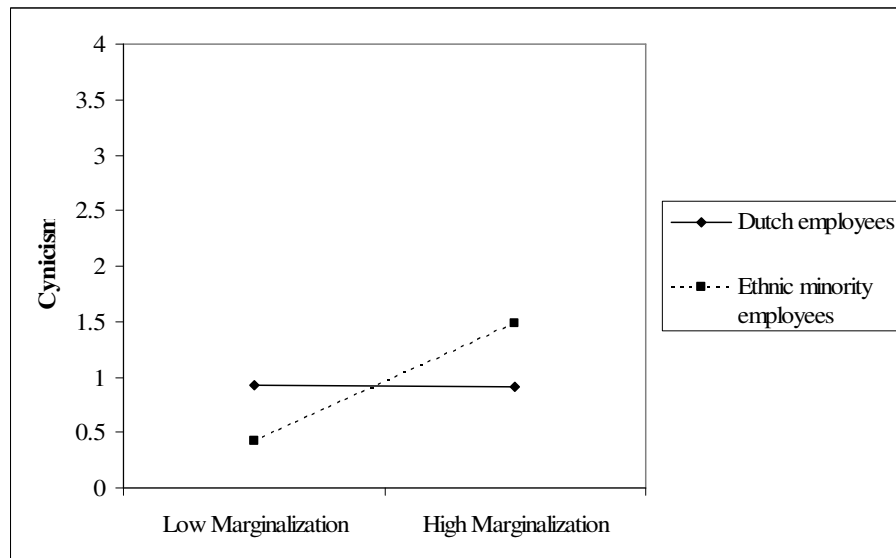


Figure 5. Interaction of ethnicity and marginalization on cynicism.

Table 3 shows similar analyses for the relationship between integration and the five indicators of work-related well-being. Results of model 2 (Table 3) show that - after controlling for type of organization, educational level and organizational tenure - the more employees prefer an integration orientation, the more satisfied they are with their job ($\beta=.15$; $p<.05$), the more committed they are towards their organization ($\beta=.21$; $p<.01$), the less cynicism towards work they experience ($\beta=-.16$; $p<.05$) and the more self-efficacious they feel towards their work ($\beta=.17$; $p<.05$). Hence, hypothesis 3, in which it was stated that integration would be the most beneficial acculturation orientation with respect to work-related well-being, is confirmed for four out of five indicators of work-related well-being. Model 2 (main effects of integration and 'ethnic minority') appeared to explained 0.1% up to 4.6% of the variance in the well-being outcomes, indicating that its relationship with work-related well-being is significant, but not very strong (Cohen, 1988).

Table 3

Multiple regression analyses for "integration" on all indicators of work-related well-being

	Job Satisfaction			Org. Commitment			Exhaustion			Cynicism			Prof. Self-Efficacy		
	model 2 beta	model 3 beta	model 3 beta	model 2 beta	model 3 beta	model 3 beta	model 2 beta	model 3 beta	model 3 beta	model 2 beta	model 3 beta	model 3 beta	model 2 beta	model 3 beta	model 3 beta
<i>Control variables</i>															
(Constant)															
Organisation	0.12	0.12		0.19*	0.19*		-0.13	-0.13		0.10	0.10		0.20*	0.20*	
Org. Tenure	-0.04	-0.05		0.11	0.11		-0.04	-0.03		0.01	0.03		0.17*	0.16*	
Education	0.05	0.05		-0.10	-0.09		0.06	0.06		0.27**	0.27**		-0.11	-0.10	
<i>Independent variables</i>															
Ethnic minority	-0.15*	-0.16*		-0.10	-0.11		0.03	0.05		0.04	0.06		-0.01	-0.02	
Integration	0.15*	0.13		0.21**	0.11		-0.01	0.09		-0.16*	-0.04		0.17*	0.08	
<i>Interaction</i>															
Integration x ethnic minority		0.04			0.17+			-0.17+			-0.19*			0.14	
R ² change	3.6%*	0.1%		4.6%+	1.5%+		0.1%	1.5%+		2.4%+	2.0%*		2.8%+	1.2%	
R ²	4.6%	4.7%		13.7%	15.2%		3.5%	5.1%		7.7%	9.7%		14.9%	16.2%	

Note: Org. commitment=Organizational Commitment; Org. Tenure = Organizational tenure

+ = p<.10

* = p<.05

** = p<.01

*** = p<.001

In the 3rd and final model, we included the interaction effect between ethnicity and integration. Results in Table 3 show that ethnic minority employees with an integration orientation are somewhat more committed towards their organization ($\beta=.17$; $p<.067$), somewhat less exhausted ($\beta=-.17$; $p<.084$) and less cynical ($\beta=-.19$; $p<.05$) towards work. Hence, hypothesis 4, which stated that the relationship between integration and work-related well-being would be stronger for ethnic minority employees than for ethnic majority employees, is partly confirmed. In total, the significant interaction effect between ethnic minority employees and integration explained an additional 1.5% for organizational commitment, 1.5% for exhaustion, and 2% for cynicism. The entire model explained 4.7% of the variance for job satisfaction, 15.2% of the variance for organizational commitment, 5.1% of the variance for exhaustion, 9.7% of the variance for cynicism and 16.2% of the variance for professional self-efficacy. To better understand the interaction effects, we again calculated – and graphically presented – the interaction effects according to the method described by Aiken and West (1991) and Dawson and Richter (2006). The results (presented in Figures 6 to 8) show that consequences of an integration orientation on the three indicators of work-related well-being are stronger for ethnic minority employees than for ethnic majority employees.

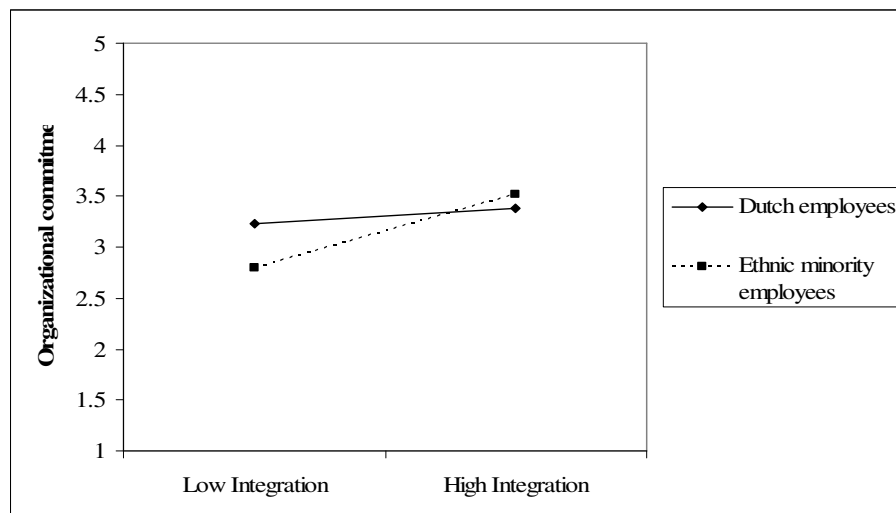


Figure 6. Interaction of ethnicity and integration on organizational commitment.

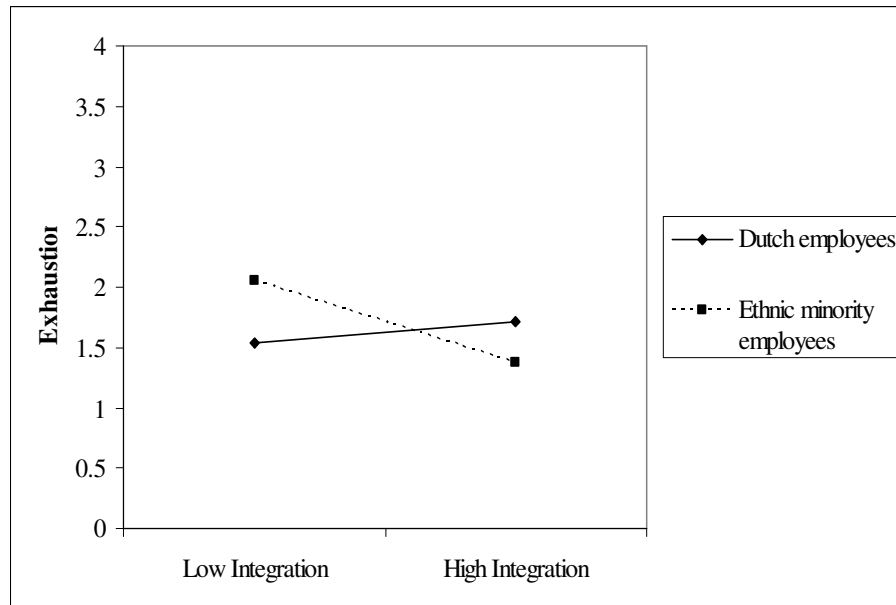


Figure 7. Interaction of ethnicity and integration on exhaustion.

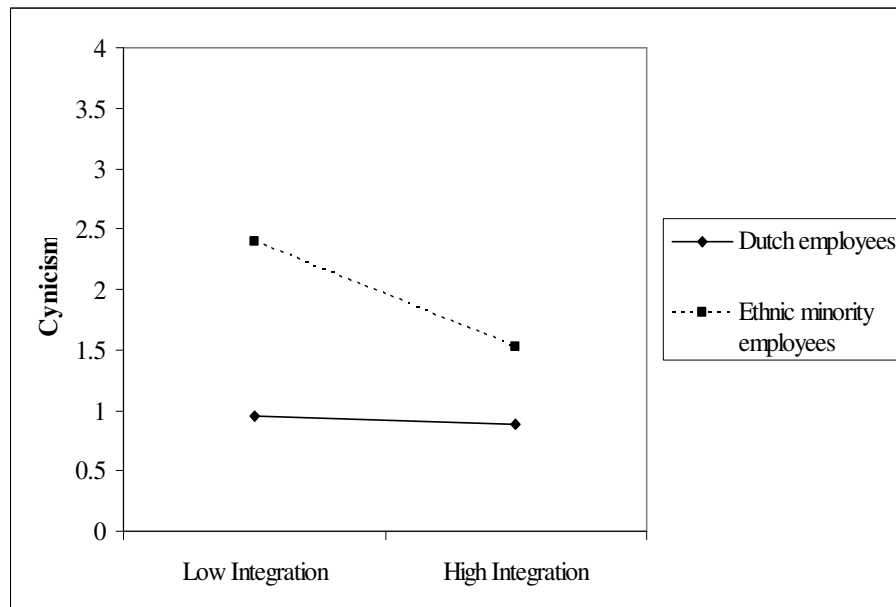


Figure 8. Interaction of ethnicity and integration on cynicism.

3.4 Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter explored the extent to which acculturation orientations (integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization) relate to employees' well-being at work and whether this relationship differs between ethnic minority workers compared to ethnic majority workers. In particular, the study shows that integration relates positively to well-being at work, while marginalization relates negatively to well-being at work, especially for ethnic minority employees. The relevance and consequences of these findings are discussed below.

Acculturation preferences

A first issue of the present study was to examine the preferred acculturation orientations of employees. In line with our predictions, we found that ethnic minorities preferred integration *and* assimilation the most and to a similar degree. Interestingly, research on acculturation orientations in the society at large showed that ethnic minority employees prefer integration above assimilation (Verkuyten & Thijs, 1999). One explanation for this alternate finding is that, in an organizational context, ethnic minority groups are more susceptible to social influence processes from the ethnic majority group. The ethnic majority group often has a dominant - numerical and hierarchical - position within organizations, and as such cultural values of the ethnic majority group are likely to be dominant. In other words, the results of this study seem to indicate that acculturation orientations of ethnic minorities may depend on the specific context (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004). In the public domain (e.g., school, work), culture adaptation is likely to be preferred because the cultural norms of the ethnic majority group are dominant, whereas in the private domain (e.g., at home with family or friends), culture maintenance is preferred because the ethno-cultural norms are likely to be dominant in this domain (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003; Phalet et al., 2003). Yet another explanation for the high scores on assimilation of ethnic minorities could be that the ethnic minority group of employees in this study were fairly high educated. Research shows that the higher the educational and occupational levels, the greater the ethnic minorities' acceptance of the host culture (Kosic, Kruglanski, Peirron, & Mannetti, 2004).

In addition, the present study showed that ethnic majority employees prefer assimilation –complete adaptation of ethnic minorities to

their dominant culture, without maintaining aspects of their ethnic minority culture - followed by integration, marginalization and finally separation. This means that members of the ethnic majority group prefer that ethnic minorities completely adapt to their dominant culture, without maintaining aspects of their ethnic minority culture. As such, our results mirror earlier research on acculturation orientations among ethnic majority groups (Sam, 2006).

Acculturation orientations and well-being at work

In general, results of this study supported the assumption that an integration orientation contributed to a better well-being at work (more job satisfaction, more organizational commitment, less cynicism and more self-efficacy), whereas a marginalization orientation is related to lower feelings of well-being at work (less organizational commitment, less self-efficacy, somewhat less job satisfaction and somewhat more cynical towards work). These results are in line with earlier studies on acculturation in the society at large which demonstrated that marginalization affords the highest amount of acculturative stress (Berry, 2006) which ultimately relates negatively to feelings of well-being, whereas integration affords the lowest amount of stress which relates positively to feelings of well-being.

Also, and as hypothesized, the relationship between acculturation orientations and work-related well-being was significantly stronger for ethnic minority employees compared to ethnic majority employees. An explanation for this finding is that ethnic minority members are likely to be in a numerical and hierarchical minority position compared to the ethnic majority group of employees. As a consequence, ethnic minority employees are more likely to be affected by acculturation orientations compared to ethnic majority employees. However, as the number of cultural minority members in society and within organizations continues to increase, acculturation processes may also affect the ethnic majority groups. For instance, some initial studies on this subject show that ethnic majority as well as ethnic minority groups experience negative consequences in terms of more discrimination and worse interethnic group-relations as a consequence of a mismatch in acculturation orientations between ethnic minority groups and the ethnic majority group (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). We therefore emphasize the

importance of examining acculturation orientations across different cultural groups.

Limitations

This study is not without limitations. Firstly, the present study is cross-sectional and thus the postulated relationships cannot be interpreted causally. Longitudinal studies are needed to further validate the hypothesized causality of the relationships. Secondly, the results cannot be generalized because they are retrieved from selective small groups. Also, we were only able to include a small number of ethnic minority employees in our study which made it impossible to distinguish between different ethnic groups. Minority groups differ in their visibility, affecting their likelihood of being targeted as an out-group. Minority groups also differ in their position in the social hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 1993), making some more likely to be targeted than others. These processes together could create variation in experiences within the minority group which we were not able to detect in this study. Therefore, future studies should try to distinguish between employees of different descent. Generally, survey research among ethnic minorities in organizations is difficult. Not only because ethnic minorities themselves are reluctant to fill out questionnaires, it is also often the organizational resistance that makes it difficult to get permission to distribute questionnaires. Dinsbach (2005) argues that, due to the sensitivity of the topic, many studies among ethnic minorities in organizations are often plagued by problems with data collection. Unfortunately, this study is no exception to this rule. The implication of this is the limited generalizability of the findings. However, the present study is one of the first studies that relates acculturation orientations to employee's well-being and since it seems to be the case that more and more employees of many different cultural backgrounds have to work together, it is of major importance that we begin to understand if and how this influences their well-being. A lot has to be learned yet about underrepresented, large groups of employees. Hence, Tetrick (2006) argues that 'we still need to improve our understanding of underrepresented populations (pp. 1-2)'.

Also the measurement of acculturation needs further attention and improvement. In this study, we used a measurement developed by Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver (2000) to measure 'general' acculturation orientations among employees on the two dimensions culture maintenance

and culture adaptation. In line with other scholars we used the proximity procedure to transform the two acculturation dimensions into Berry's four acculturation orientations. Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver (2006) report that this procedure has the advantage that it yields a score for all participants on all orientations instead of classifying participants into one of the four categories. A disadvantage, however, is the lack of independence of the scores on the acculturation orientations. Scores for integration and marginalization are strongly negatively related and the same is true for assimilation and separation.

Finally, this study has shown that social identity theory and the notion of acculturative stress offer fruitful perspectives for making predictions about the relationships between acculturation orientations and work-related well-being. However, since both processes were not actually measured we can only speculate about their explaining 'power'. So, in order to be able to draw more firm conclusions about the impact of social identifications and acculturative stress of employees, future studies could more explicitly measure identification processes and the amount of acculturative stress of workers in organizations.

Acculturation and managing cultural diversity in organizations

This study emphasizes that outcomes of cultural diversity depend on the 'beliefs' of employees within the organization concerning cultural diversity. Interestingly, *assimilation* seems to be the dominant perspective whereas *integration* holds the most beneficial outcomes in terms of well-being at work. Assimilation within organizations suggests that employees adhere to dominant cultural values and norms, with no room for cultural diversity. Integration refers to a combination of adhering to dominant values and norms, while also leaving room for (the expression of) cultural differences. Apparently, the latter approach seems to have a higher pay-off, at least in terms of the well-being of employees at work.

Some scholars (Cox & Blake, 1991; Ely & Thomas, 2001) suggest that the potential benefits of cultural diversity, for instance in terms of well-being and performances, can only be obtained when cultural differences are valued, appreciated and used for organizational and personal gain. For instance, in Berry's acculturation model (2001), the multicultural ideology is society's counterpart to individual level acculturation orientations of integration. Berry states that (his italics) "...in the multicultural model, individuals and groups retain their cultural

continuity and a sense of their cultural identity, and, on that basis, they participate in the social framework of the *larger society*.” (Sam & Berry, 2006, p.28). This larger society, according to Berry, is characterized by shared norms across cultural groups about how to live together (legally, economically, politically), but permits institutions to accommodate the different cultural interests. Such an ideology is different from a so called ‘mainstream’ ideology in which there is only one mainstream culture - one people, one culture, one nation – and it is expected that minority groups will eventually be absorbed into this mainstream culture. As such, a mainstream ideology reflects the assimilation orientation of individuals on a societal level.

Put into practice, diversity policies in organizations are often focused on the recruitment and advancement of ethnic minorities in the organization, while the organizational culture is not taken into account. However, as long as organizations have a so called ‘mainstream’ or ‘assimilative’ culture where employees adhere to dominant values and norms, it is unlikely that organizations will be able to benefit from a culturally diverse workplace. Knowing that the ethnic majority groups prefer a mainstream ideology, it will not be an easy task to change mainstream organizational cultures into multicultural one’s. We can only hope that, by presenting organizations and managers with empirical evidence on this subject, organizations are open for culture changes in the future as it clearly relates to more positive outcomes.

CHAPTER 4: INTERACTIVE ACCULTURATION AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN THE MULTICULTURAL WORKPLACE⁵

4.1 Introduction

Nowadays, many workplaces are transformed into domains where culturally diverse groups of employees interact on a daily basis. The term 'multicultural workplace' hereby implies differences in nationality, ethnicity, and/or cultural values. Although cultural diversity could benefit organisations in terms of creativity, innovation and decision making (McLeod and Lobel, 1992; Watson et al., 2002), studies also indicate that cultural diversity relates to process loss such as increased relational conflicts, poorer co-operation and a poorer quality of work-relations (for an overview, see Williams and O'Reilly, 1998; Oerlemans et al. 2008). A deeper understanding of how cultural diversity relates to work-outcomes is thus needed.

The literature on diversity is mostly focussed on examining so called 'surface-level' forms of diversity in work-groups such as age, ethnicity and gender (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998; Jackson et al., 1995, 2003), while less attention is paid to 'deep-level' forms of diversity (for exceptions, see Harrison et al., 1998; Wheeler, 2002). Deep-level forms of diversity may encompass (differences in) cultural attitudes, norms and values which are more permeable and more difficult to detect, as it requires sustained interpersonal contact between persons. A more thorough understanding of deep-level forms of diversity might help us to explain why cultural diversity relates either positively or negatively to relevant work-outcomes.

Therefore, the main aim of this study is to examine how cultural diversity relates to the quality of intergroup work-relations by focussing on

⁵ Chapter 4 is provisionally accepted for publication as Oerlemans, W.G.M. & Peeters M.C.W. The Multicultural Workplace: Interactive Acculturation and Intergroup Relations. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*.

differences in cultural value orientations between host community and immigrant workers. In particular, this study uses the *interactive acculturation model* of Bourhis et al. (1997) as a theoretical framework to predict whether differences in so called ‘acculturation orientations’ relate to either consensual, problematic or conflictual intergroup work-relations in the multicultural workplace.

Acculturation

When people from different cultures come into first-hand contact with one another, this will trigger a process called *acculturation*. The first definition of acculturation was offered by Redfield et al. (1936): ‘Acculturation comprehends those phenomena, which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups (p. 149).’ Nowadays, the most popular theoretical model to study acculturation has been introduced by Berry (1997). Here, acculturation is based on two main questions. The first question to answer is whether immigrants are willing to adapt to the dominant culture of the ‘new’ society: *culture adaptation*. The second question is whether immigrants want to maintain their own ethnic culture in the new society: *culture maintenance*. Based on answering these two questions with either yes or no, Berry distinguishes four possible acculturation orientations. *Integration* is defined by a positive answer (yes) to both questions while *marginalisation* is defined by negative answers (no) to both questions. A positive response to the first question and a negative response to the second question is referred to as *assimilation*, while the reverse defines *separation*. In addition, persons from the host community also hold acculturation orientations which concerns the degree to which immigrant groups should be allowed to maintain aspects of their heritage culture, or adapt to the dominant culture of the host community.

Interactive Acculturation and Intergroup-relations

Much historic work on acculturation focuses on adaptation processes of immigrants towards the dominant culture in the host society (e.g. Berry et al., 1987). However, Bourhis and colleagues (1997) argue, in line with its original definition, that acculturation is an interactive process between immigrant groups and the host community group in a society. Based on this premise, Bourhis and colleagues propose a more dynamic *interactive*

acculturation model (IAM) where they seek to integrate the following components: (1) acculturation orientations adopted by immigrant groups in the host community; (2) acculturation orientations adopted by the host community towards specific groups of immigrants; (3) interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes that are the product of combinations of immigrant and host community acculturation orientations.

According to the IAM model, *consensual relational outcomes* between members of immigrant and host groups are predicted when both host and immigrant group members share either the integration or assimilation orientation. Next, *problematic relational outcomes* emerge when the host community and the immigrant group experience both partial agreement and partial disagreement as regards their profile of acculturation orientations. For example, the model predicts problematic intergroup relations to occur when immigrant groups prefer integration whilst the host community group prefers immigrants to assimilate to the host society, or vice versa. Finally, conflictual intergroup relations are predicted when the host community group and the immigrant group experience full disagreement in acculturation orientations (e.g. assimilation versus segregation, integration versus marginalisation), or when either segregation or marginalisation (referred to as anomie and exclusion) are preferred by both groups.

Bourhis and colleagues propose that the quality of intergroup relations on a social-psychological level includes verbal and nonverbal cross-cultural communications; interethnic attitudes and stereotypes, intergroup tension, acculturative stress and discrimination. Furthermore, Bourhis et al. highlight that the consensual, problematic and conflictual relations should not be interpreted as three distinct clusters of relational outcomes, but rather as a single continuum ranging from consensual to conflictual relations.

In line with the IAM model, a study of Jasinskaja-Lahti and colleagues (2003) demonstrated that immigrants who differed in their acculturation orientations from the host population experienced more discrimination and more stress than immigrants with more concordant acculturation orientations. Similarly, Zagefka and Brown (2002) showed in their study that a mismatch in preferred acculturation orientations between hosts and immigrants increased the perception of in-group bias and

discrimination whilst decreasing the quality of intergroup relations for both groups.

The Role of Intergroup Contact in Acculturation

The definition of acculturation states that *sustained first hand contact* is required for consequences of acculturation to occur (Redfield et al., 1936). Hence, the degree of sustained intergroup contact in itself plays an important role in the development of intergroup relations. Indeed, more intergroup contact generally reduces feelings of prejudice and leads to more consensual intergroup relations (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). In addition, four key conditions are known to stimulate positive outcomes of intergroup contact (Allport, 1954): (1) equal group status within a given situation, (2) striving towards common goals (3) intergroup cooperation (4) support of authorities, law or custom. The psychological process would be that the four conditions altogether reduce feelings of anxiety and uncertainty regarding out-groups (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). Interestingly, workplaces generally provide such conditions, as employees often work interdependently on similar tasks and goals. Hence, contact frequency with the outgroup is likely to positively moderate the proposed relationship between interactive acculturation orientations and the quality of intergroup work-relations.

Group vitality of host community and immigrant groups

In addition, the host community group – compared to immigrant groups – usually enjoys what Bourhis and colleagues (1997) refer to as a ‘strong vitality position’, while non-western immigrant groups usually have a ‘low’ to ‘medium vitality position’ within the host country. Group vitality hereby refers to that what makes the group likely to act as a collective entity within a particular context (Giles et al., 1977). Several factors such as demographics (i.e. the number of people belonging to the same ethnic group), institutional control (i.e. whether groups gained representation in decision making levels) and status (i.e. sociohistorical status, prestige) contribute to the relative strength and vitality of ethnic groups. Knowing that the host community group usually enjoys a higher vitality position compared to immigrant groups, the pressure to adapt towards the cultural values of the dominant culture is often felt by immigrant groups. Therefore, it is likely that negative consequences of discordance in

acculturation orientations in terms of intergroup relations are especially experienced by immigrant groups and not the host community group.

The Present Study: Acculturation in the workplace

The present study examines whether the IAM model of Bourhis et al. is useful to predict consequences of cultural diversity on the quality of intergroup relations in the workplace. In particular, we analyse whether (differences in) acculturation orientations between host community (Dutch) workers and ‘non-western’ immigrant workers relate to either consensual, problematic or conflictual intergroup work-relations. We specifically focus on so called ‘non-western immigrant’ groups of workers, because differences in cultural values and norms are likely to be present between Dutch and non-western immigrant workers (Hofstede, 1984). Hence, the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2007) in the Netherlands defines non-western immigrants as individuals who themselves, or at least one of their parents, are born outside western countries such as European countries, the United States or Australia.

Hypotheses

Preferences for acculturation orientations depend on the specific cultural group, the conceptualization of acculturation (Snauwaert et al., 2003) and life domains studied (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2006). Nevertheless, research in the Netherlands among non-western immigrant groups generally shows that in public domains, integration is the most preferred acculturation orientation followed by assimilation, while segregation and marginalization are often the least preferred orientations (Arends-Tóth and Van De Vijver, 2003; Arends-Tóth and Van De Vijver, 2004; Ouarasse and Van de Vijver, 2005). The same studies show that the host community (Dutch) group prefers assimilation above integration, while segregation and marginalization are least preferred. As workplaces are closely related to public domains such as schools, it is hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 1: Assimilation is the preferred acculturation orientation of Dutch workers, followed by integration, while separation and marginalisation are the least preferred acculturation orientations.

Hypothesis 2: Integration is the preferred acculturation orientation of non-western immigrant workers, followed by assimilation, while

separation and marginalisation are the least preferred acculturation orientations.

Next, the IAM predicts that the degree of (dis)concordance in preferred acculturation orientations predicts the quality of intergroup relations. In this study, (dis)concordance is conceptualized in two ways. First, as proposed by Bourhis and colleagues, we analyse the IAM model on a group level by examining (dis)concordance in preferred acculturation orientations between the two groups across four locations within the studied company and relate this to the perceived quality of intergroup work-relations. Second, the degree of (dis)concordance is also examined on a so called 'relational level', by analysing the degree to which individual workers deviate in their acculturation orientations from the average of the out-group (i.e. host community or immigrant group) at the same location. Based on the IAM model of Bourhis and colleagues, we hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 3: On a location level, disconcordance – compared to concordance - in preferred acculturation orientations between the host community group and the non-western immigrant group results in a poorer quality of intergroup work-relations.

Hypothesis 4: The higher the degree of disconcordance in preferred acculturation orientations between individual workers compared to the out-group at the same location (i.e. host community or immigrant group), the poorer the perceived quality of intergroup work-relations among individual workers.

Furthermore, the frequency of intergroup contact is likely to moderate the relationship between disconcordance in preferred acculturation orientations on the one hand and the quality of work-relations on the other hand. Intergroup contact in itself is found to be positively related to intergroup relations (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). Furthermore, the organizational context often provides several conditions (Allport, 1954) for optimal outcomes of intergroup contact to occur. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 5: The relationship between (dis)concordance in acculturation orientations and the quality of intergroup work-relations is moderated by the frequency of intergroup contact. In particular, it is expected that the intergroup contact positively moderates the negative

relationship between discordance in acculturation orientations and the quality of intergroup work-relations.

Finally, host-community workers in general - and in this specific study - have a stronger vitality position compared to immigrant workers. For instance, host community workers have a higher organisational tenure, are in the numerical majority, and are overrepresented in higher functional levels compared to immigrant groups of workers. Therefore, it is likely that immigrant workers are more affected by discordance in acculturation orientations than the host community group (Bourhis et al., 1997). In particular, immigrant workers are likely to be pressured by host community workers to adapt to their culture. However, studies on interactive acculturation in the workplace are, at least to our knowledge, non-existent. Therefore, we explore the possibility that:

Exploratory question 1: Immigrant workers – compared to host community members - experience worse intergroup work-relations with host community members when they experience discordance in acculturation orientations.

4.2 Method

Sample and procedures

Data collection took place during two months. 190 employees working in four different locations of a postal service company in the Netherlands filled in a paper and pencil questionnaire. All employees worked in four similar distribution centres of the same company, where similar methods were used to sort the mail. Research assistant(s) were present at each of the four locations to answer questions of participants. The current study specifically focussed so called ‘blue collar workers’ for two main reasons. First, on the labour market in the Netherlands, non-western immigrant groups are overrepresented in blue-collar jobs (CBS, 2007). Second, thorough selection procedures at higher levels in organizations often suffer from so called ‘cultural bias’ which stimulates the recruitment of personnel that is culturally more similar to the dominant cultural group (Van de Vijver and Tanzer, 2003). This would reduce the probability of finding differences in cultural value orientations between cultural groups of employees.

The response rate within each of the four locations was 50% (n=25), 58% (n=29), 27% (n=54) and 38% (n=82). 49 workers had a so called 'non-western immigrant background' (CBS, 2007). About 43% of the non-western immigrant workers had a Surinamese background, 23% had an Indonesian background, 16% had a Turkish and 14% had a Moroccan background. Approximately 78% was 'first generation' immigrant, meaning that they themselves were born in the respective countries of origin.

Furthermore, about 59% of the total sample were male, and most employees (72%) had a lower secondary or a lower vocational degree. The average age of employees was about 45 years, with a minimum age of 18 and a maximum of 61. Employees worked on average for about 19 years in the postal service company, with a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 40 years. The immigrant group and the Dutch group of workers showed no differences in terms of educational level or gender distribution. However, immigrant workers were significantly older ($m=46.2$) than Dutch workers ($m=40.2$; $F(189,1)=12.658$; $p<.001$), and Dutch workers had a significantly higher organizational tenure ($m=20.1$) compared to immigrant workers ($m=12.2$; $F(189,1)=18.530$; $p<.001$).

Measures

Culturally diverse groups of workers may interpret questions differently (Meloan and Veenman, 1990). Questions in this study were not translated into other languages based on the assumption that translation itself can also lead to different interpretations (Van Oudenhoven, 2002). Therefore, the statistical reliabilities are reported for immigrant and Dutch workers separately, to ensure the statistical validity of the measurements for both groups.

Acculturation orientations were measured with the acculturation scale developed by Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2000). This scale follows a so called 'two-statement measurement method', where two items are formulated per domain. One refers to adopting the mainstream culture and the other to maintaining the heritage culture. One item example for culture maintenance is 'immigrants must try to honor the customs and traditions of their own culture'. One item-example of culture adaptation is: 'Immigrants should raise their children according to the Dutch norms and values'. In total ten items referred to five different life-domains: contact, upbringing, language, culture and education. Respondents answered on a

five-point scale (1 = totally disagree, 5 = totally agree). Cronbach's alpha for culture maintenance was .78 for Dutch *and* immigrant employees. Cronbach's alpha on cultural adaptation showed good statistical reliability for Dutch employees (.81) and a fair reliability for immigrant workers (.63). As proposed by Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2000, 2006), Euclidean distance scores were used to calculate acculturation orientations: $\sqrt{[(\text{ideal score on adaptation scale} - \text{real score on adaptation scale})^2 + (\text{ideal score on culture maintenance scale} - \text{real score on culture maintenance scale})^2]}$

For instance, the ideal score for *assimilation* is 5 on the culture adaptation scale and 1 on the culture maintenance scale. For *separation* the ideal score is 1 on adaptation and 5 on maintenance, for *integration* it is 5 on both the adaptation and maintenance scale and for *marginalisation* the ideal score is 1 on both scales. Scores are distracted from a maximum score ($\sqrt{32}=5.66$) so that a high score indicates a small distance, whereas a low score refers to a large distance. This procedure has the advantage that it does not classify participants into one of the four categories, but yields a score for all participants on all strategies. One disadvantage of this method is the lack of independence of the scores on the acculturation orientations (i.e. scores on integration and marginalization show a negative correlation and the same is true for assimilation and separation). However, other procedures using the two-dimension approach (i.e. culture adaptation and culture maintenance) yield similar problems (for more details on acculturation measures, read Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2006).

To calculate the *relational score for (dis)concordance in acculturation orientations* between individuals (X_i) compared to the out-group at the same location (\bar{X}), the standard deviation is calculated for each individual worker:

$$\sqrt{[(X_i - \bar{X})^2]}.$$

The *frequency of intergroup contact* was measured by asking employees to report the total number of colleagues with whom they frequently worked together, and how many of these colleagues had either a Dutch or immigrant background. Consequently, for Dutch workers, the frequency of intergroup contact was calculated by dividing the number of immigrant colleagues with the total number of colleagues. For immigrant

workers, the frequency of intergroup contact was calculated by dividing the number of Dutch colleagues with the total number of colleagues.

Work-relations with Dutch colleagues was measured with a 6-item scale of Van Veldhoven and Meijman (1994). We hereby included the target group in the questions. One item example is 'Do you feel appreciated by your *Dutch* colleagues?'. Respondents answered on a five-point scale (1 = not at all, 5 = always) Cronbach's alpha was .77 for immigrant and .77 for Dutch workers.

Work-relations with immigrant colleagues was measured with the same 6-item scale of Van Veldhoven and Meijman (1994). However, the target group was now the immigrant group of workers. The Dutch word 'allochtoon' was used to refer to immigrants, which is commonly used in the Dutch language. The definition of the Dutch word 'allochtoon' by the Central Bureau of Statistics in the Netherlands was included in the questionnaire. Cronbach's alpha was .74 for immigrant and .75 for Dutch workers. From the two scales on work-relations, one overall measure for *intergroup work-relations* was created. Intergroup work-relations includes all the scores on work-relations with the outgroup. Thus, for Dutch workers, scores are included that measure work-relations with immigrant colleagues, while for immigrant workers, scores are included that measure work-relations with Dutch colleagues.

Analyses

First, descriptive statistics of the study variables and preferred acculturation orientations of the immigrant and Dutch group of workers are discussed (hypotheses 1 and 2). Next, analyses of variance is performed to assess whether (dis)concordance in acculturation orientations between Dutch workers and immigrant workers at each of the four locations relate to the perceived quality of intergroup work-relations (hypothesis 3). Finally, multiple regression analyses is performed to assess whether (dis)concordance in preferred acculturation orientations on a relational level are associated with the perceived quality of intergroup work-relations (hypothesis 4), whether intergroup contact frequency moderates this relationship (hypothesis 5) and whether these relationships are experienced differently for Dutch workers Compared to non-western immigrant workers (explorative question 1).

4.3 Results

Descriptive statistics and preferred acculturation orientations

Table I shows means, standard deviations and correlations regarding the study variables, and Table II shows paired t-tests to assess differences in preferred acculturation orientations within the Dutch and non-western immigrant groups of workers.

Table I
Means, standard deviations and correlations

Measures	Host		Immigrant		Correlations							
	(N=141)		(N=49)									
	Mean	Sd	Mean	Sd	F-test	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Assimilation	3.71	0.92	2.98	0.78	16.642 ***	-						
2 Integration	3.00	0.84	3.68	0.94	14.698 ***	-0.63 ***	-					
3 Separation	1.65	0.79	2.08	0.61	8.241 **	-0.86 ***	0.33 ***	-				
4 Marginalization	2.04	0.71	1.73	0.87	4.074 *	0.12	-0.80 ***	0.24 ***	-			
5 Outgroup contact frequency	0.09	0.14	0.42	0.35	73.807 ***	-0.18 *	0.22 *	0.21 *	-0.10	-		
6 Disconcordance assimilation	0.86	0.67	1.01	0.58	1.405	0.29 ***	-0.21 *	-0.42 ***	-0.16	-0.03	-	
7 Disconcordance integration	0.79	0.59	0.98	0.60	2.458	-0.02	-0.12	-0.25 **	-0.03	-0.11	0.69 ***	-
8 Intergroup work relations	3.97	0.59	4.05	0.70	0.363	-0.09	0.09	0.14	0.03	0.06	-0.22 *	-0.25 **

NOTE. Abbreviations. Dutch = Host community workers; Immigrant = Non-western immigrant workers; *Sd* = Standard deviation.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Hierarchy in acculturation orientations among the Dutch and immigrant group.

Table II

Paired Differences

	ΔM_i	t	P.	ΔM_d	t	P.
Assimilation - Integration	-0.57	-2.28	*	0.92	6.80	***
Assimilation - Separation	0.99	4.37	***	2.40	16.79	***
Assimilation - Marginalization	1.31	8.53	***	1.92	19.64	***
Integration - Separation	1.56	10.10	***	1.48	21.48	***
Integration - Marginalization	1.88	7.34	***	1.00	9.04	***
Segregation - Marginalization	0.32	2.14	*	-0.47	-6.72	***

Note. Abbreviations: ΔM_i = differences in means for non-western immigrant group. M_d = differences in means for Dutch group. * $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$.

Concerning acculturation orientations, Table I indicates that assimilation is the preferred acculturation orientation among Dutch workers ($M=3.71$), followed by integration ($M=3.00$), marginalization ($M=2.04$) and separation ($M=1.65$). Furthermore, paired t-tests in Table II show for the Dutch group of workers that the means of each acculturation orientation differs significantly from other orientations. This confirms the first hypothesis, which stated that assimilation is the preferred acculturation orientation among the Dutch group of workers, followed by integration, while separation and marginalisation are the least preferred acculturation orientations.

Furthermore, Table I shows that immigrant workers prefer integration ($M=3.68$) above assimilation ($M=2.98$), followed by separation ($M=2.08$) and marginalization ($M=1.73$). Paired t-tests in Table II indicate that each of the acculturation orientations differ significantly from one another within the immigrant group of workers. This confirms our second hypothesis, which stated that integration is the preferred acculturation orientation among non-western immigrant workers, followed by

assimilation, while separation and marginalisation are the least preferred acculturation orientations.

In addition, F-tests in Table I show that assimilation and marginalisation are significantly more preferred by Dutch workers compared to immigrant workers in this sample. Conversely, integration and segregation are significantly more preferred by immigrant workers than Dutch workers. Hence, there is discordance in acculturation orientations between the Dutch and immigrant group of workers in this sample.

Furthermore, the intergroup contact frequency is significantly higher for the immigrant group of workers ($M=0.42$) compared to the Dutch group of workers ($M=.09$). Next, as integration and assimilation are the most preferred acculturation orientations among Dutch and immigrant workers, we included relational discordance scores for integration and assimilation in Table I. Both immigrant and Dutch workers share similar levels of discordance in preferred acculturation orientations. In addition, both groups report a similar and fairly good quality of intergroup work-relations.

Correlational data in Table I show that integration is strongly and negatively correlated with marginalization ($r=-.80$), while assimilation is strongly and negatively correlated with separation ($r=-.86$). This is due to a lack of independence of the scores for acculturation orientations as discussed in the method section and explained by Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2006). Furthermore, acculturation orientations are significantly related to relational discordance measures for integration and assimilation ($-.42 \leq r \leq .29$), but not to intergroup work-relations. Moreover, the two relational discordance measures are highly and positively correlated ($r=.69$). Furthermore, as expected, the two relational discordance measures are negatively correlated with intergroup work-relations ($-.22 \leq r \leq -.25$).

Discordance in acculturation orientations on a location level

Next, analyses of variance was performed to examine whether discordance in acculturation orientations are related to the quality of work-relations on a location level.

Table III.

Hierarchical Regression Analyses predicting quality of intergroup work-relations.

Location	Acculturation	Mi*	Md*	F-test	
	orientations				
1	Assimilation	3.40	3.70	1.09	
	Integration	3.17	3.09	0.07	
	Separation	2.00	1.66	1.38	
	Marginalization	2.12	2.08	0.02	
2	Assimilation	2.96	3.38	1.34	
	Integration	3.50	3.29	0.39	
	Separation	2.21	1.85	1.28	
	Marginalization	1.82	1.88	0.03	
3	Assimilation	2.98	4.04	18.42	***
	Integration	3.92	2.97	17.81	***
	Separation	2.11	1.35	14.83	***
	Marginalization	1.57	1.87	3.65	
4	Assimilation	3.11	3.98	6.05	*
	Integration	3.49	2.86	3.94	*
	Separation	1.74	1.43	1.15	
	Marginalization	1.69	1.99	1.40	

Note. *Abbreviations: Mi = mean for non-western immigrant group. Md = mean for Dutch group. * $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$.

Table III indicates that Dutch and immigrant workers show concordance in acculturation orientations in the first and the second location. Conversely, the immigrant and Dutch group of workers show discordance in acculturation orientations in the third and the fourth location. In particular, Dutch workers preferred assimilation to a higher degree compared to immigrant workers, while immigrant workers preferred integration and separation to a higher degree than Dutch workers in the third location. Similarly, at the fourth location, assimilation is more preferred by Dutch workers compared to immigrant workers, while immigrant workers prefer integration to a higher degree than Dutch workers.

Comparing the third and fourth location to the first and second location, analysis of variance shows that the perceived quality of

intergroup work-relations is higher in the first and second location compared to the third and fourth location ($F(133,1)=5.762;p<.018$). This confirms our third hypothesis, in which it was stated that on a location level, disconcordance (compared to concordance) in preferred acculturation orientations results in a poorer quality of intergroup work-relations.

(Dis)concordance in Acculturation orientations on a relational level

Hierarchical regression analyses were performed to assess the relationship between disconcordance in preferred acculturation orientations on a relational level and the perceived quality of work-relations. As it turned out, every worker preferred either assimilation or integration to the highest degree. Therefore, the relational disconcordance scores in Table IV reflect the degree of disconcordance in either assimilation or integration. To assess the impact of intergroup contact, employees were only included when they reported to actually work together with one or more colleagues of the out-group. Hence, employees who did not work together with colleagues from the other cultural group either skipped the questions for work-relations with the out-group, or reported fictional work-relations in which we are not interested. Out of 131 Dutch workers, 77 reported to work regularly with immigrant colleagues, while 36 out of 43 immigrant workers reported to be working with Dutch colleagues. The inclusion of assimilation and integration measures in one regression model provided us with unacceptable levels of multicollinearity (i.e. Tolerance < 0.2; Variance Inflation Factor > 5, Condition index > 30), due to high correlations between assimilation and integration ($r=-.63$) and the two disconcordance scores ($r=.69$). Therefore, measures for assimilation are included in a first regression model, while measures concerning integration are included in a second model.

Table IV*Disconcordance in acculturation orientations at a relational level.*

Intergroup Work-Relations (N=113)						
Acculturation orientations	Assimilation			Integration		
Model	I	II	III	I	II	III
Immigrant worker	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.07	0.06	-0.05
Intergroup contact frequency	-0.01	0.00	-0.01	0.04	0.07	0.11
Acculturation orientation	0.07	0.24	0.25	0.04	0.15	0.39
Disconcordance	-0.22 *	-0.27 *	-0.08	-0.26 **	-0.30 *	0.07
Two-way interactions						
immigrant x contact frequency		-0.22	-0.27		-0.15	-0.33
contact frequency x disconcordance		-0.13	0.36		-0.16	0.58 *
immigrant x disconcordance		0.09	0.11		0.07	-0.05
Three-way interactions						
immigrant x contact frequency x disconcordance			-0.62 **			-0.80 ***
Adjusted R²	2.0%	1.0%	10.0%	3.9%	3.5%	12.9%

Note. *p.<0.05; **p.<0.01.

In the first step, a dummy was included to compare the host community group with the non-western immigrant group of workers. Also, we controlled for the main effect of the acculturation orientations (i.e. either assimilation or integration), and added the measures concerning disconcordance in assimilation and integration, as well as the intergroup contact frequency. Results in Table IV show that there are no differences in the perceived quality of intergroup work-relations between Dutch and immigrant workers. Furthermore, neither intergroup contact frequency, nor the degree to which workers preferred assimilation or integration related to the perceived quality of intergroup work-relations. However, the first regression model in Table IV shows that more disconcordance in assimilation relates to a poorer quality of intergroup work-relations. Similarly, the second regression model shows that more disconcordance in integration relates to a poorer quality of intergroup work-relations. This

confirms our fourth hypothesis, in which it is stated that a higher degree of disconcordance in preferred acculturation orientations between individual workers compared to the out-group at the same location (i.e. host community or immigrant group) relates to a poorer quality of intergroup work-relations.

In a second step, we tested the moderation effect of intergroup contact frequency on the relationship between disconcordance in acculturation orientations and quality of work-relations as proposed in hypothesis 5. In addition, we explored whether disconcordance would relate differently to the perceived quality of intergroup work-relations for immigrant workers compared to Dutch workers. Results in Table IV show that none of the two-way interactions are significant. Thus hypothesis 5 which stated that the relationship between (dis)concordance in acculturation orientations and the quality of intergroup work-relations would be moderated by the frequency of intergroup contact, is rejected. Furthermore, Table IV shows no significant differences between Dutch and immigrant workers concerning the relationship between disconcordance and the quality of intergroup work-relations.

In the third and final step, we explored whether the moderation effect of contact frequency on the relationship between disconcordance and quality of intergroup work-relations differed for Dutch workers compared to non-western immigrant workers. Interestingly, this appears to be the case. Hence, both regression models show that contact frequency with the out-group moderates the relationship between disconcordance (in either assimilation or integration) and intergroup work-relations differently for the immigrant group of workers compared to the Dutch group of workers. Interaction effects are plotted in Figures 1 through 4 to examine the nature of this interaction effect in more detail.

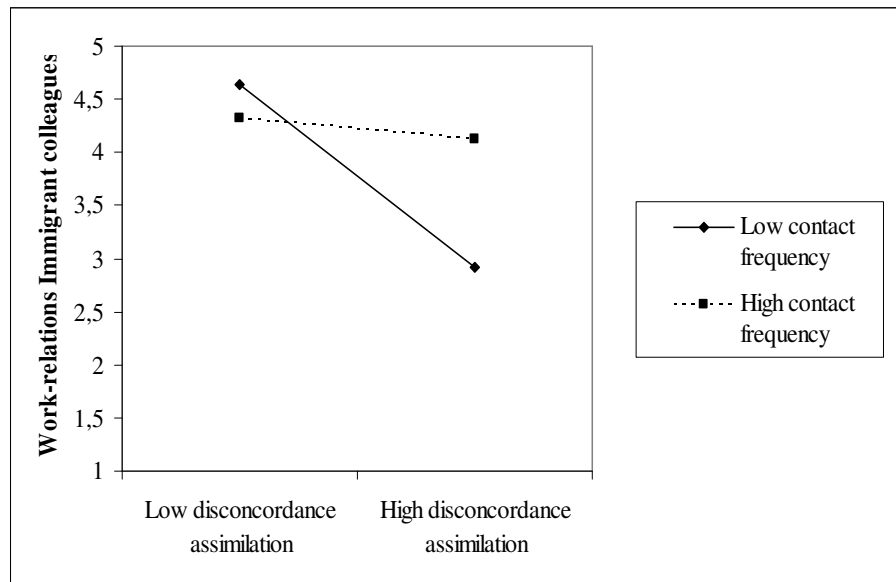


Figure 1. Discordance in assimilation and intergroup contact frequency for Dutch workers.

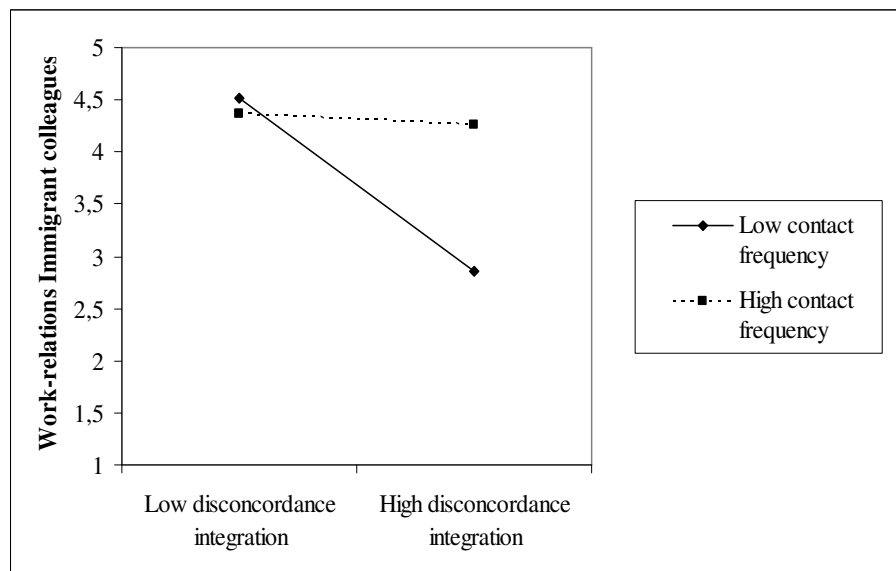


Figure 2. Discordance in integration and intergroup contact frequency for Dutch workers.

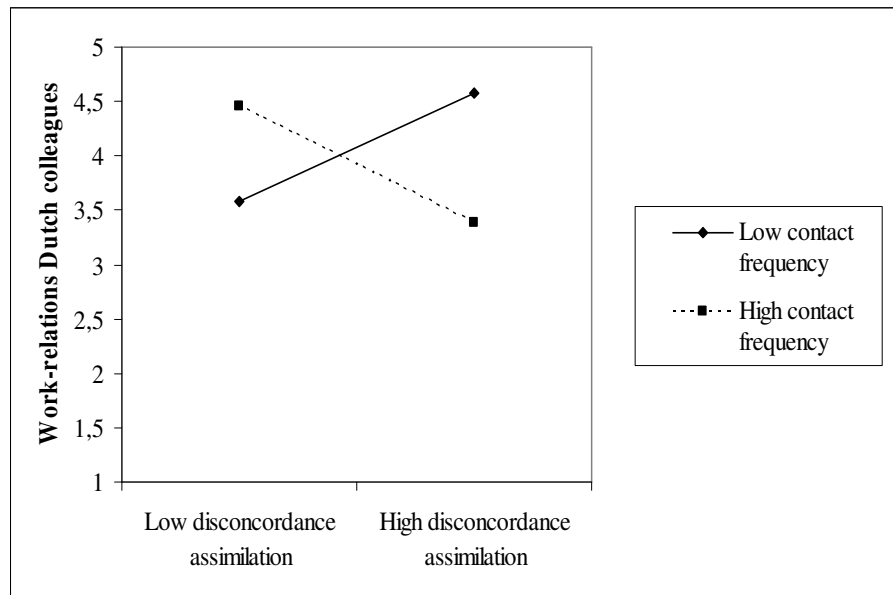


Figure 3. Discordance in assimilation and intergroup contact frequency for Immigrant workers.

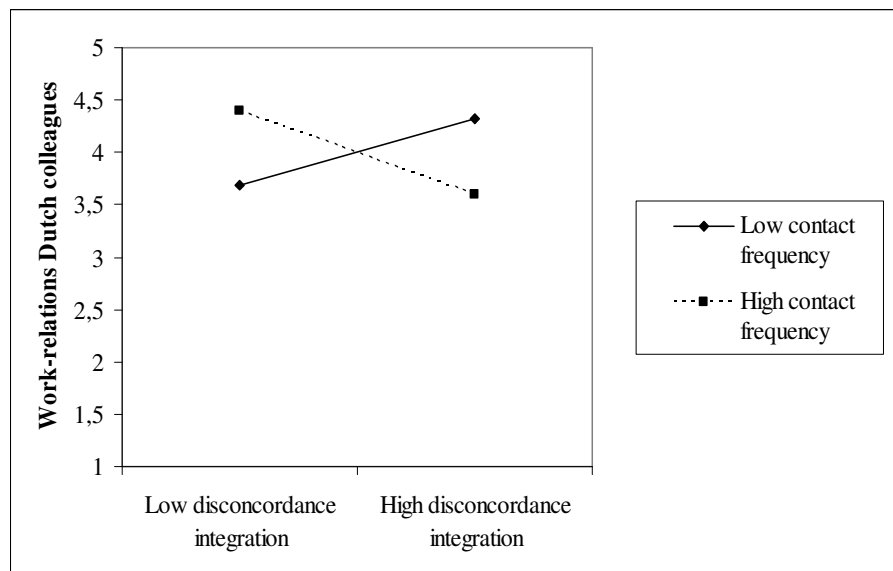


Figure 4. Discordance in integration and intergroup contact frequency for Immigrant workers.

For Dutch workers, Figures 1 and 2 indicate that more discordance relates to a poorer quality of intergroup work-relations under conditions of low intergroup contact. Conversely, under conditions of high intergroup contact, discordance has little effect on the perceived quality of work-relations.

For immigrant workers, Figures 3 and 4 show that a higher degree of discordance relates to *poorer* intergroup work-relations under conditions of high intergroup contact. In contrast, discordance relates to a high quality of intergroup work-relations under conditions of low intergroup contact. In sum, hypothesis 5 - which stated that intergroup contact would positively moderate the negative relationship between discordance in acculturation orientations on the one hand and the perceived quality of intergroup work-relations on the other hand - appears to be confirmed for the Dutch group of workers, but not for immigrant workers. Finally, the two regression models explain about 10% up to 13% of the variance for intergroup work-relations.

Discussion and Conclusion

The main aim of this study was to examine whether the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) of Bourhis and colleagues (1997) is a useful tool to predict the quality of intergroup work-relations in the multicultural workplace. This appears to be the case. In line with the IAM model, results show that more discordance (i.e. disagreement) in acculturation orientations between host community and immigrant workers relates to a poorer quality of intergroup work-relations. However, contact frequency with the out-group moderates this relationship differently for Dutch workers compared to immigrant workers. These findings are discussed in detail below, together with limitations of this study and suggestions for further research.

As hypothesized, host community (Dutch) workers had different hierarchies concerning acculturation orientations compared to immigrant workers. Dutch workers in this sample preferred assimilation above integration, while marginalisation and separation were least preferred. Put differently, Dutch workers wanted immigrants to completely adapt to the Dutch culture, without maintaining aspects of their heritage culture. Conversely, immigrant workers preferred integration above assimilation, while separation and marginalisation are least preferred. Immigrant

workers thus prefer a dual-orientation in which they both adapt to the host culture and maintain aspects of their heritage culture at the same time. This confirms our first and second hypothesis, and it generalizes findings from previous studies in the Netherlands (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2003; Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2004; Ouarasse and Van de Vijver, 2005).

Furthermore, the IAM model predicts that disconcordance in preferred acculturation orientations between immigrant groups and the host community group results in a poorer quality of intergroup relations (Bourhis et al., 1997). This study replicated these expectations within an organizational context. We hereby considered disconcordance in acculturation orientations across 4 locations of the company *and* disconcordance scores on a relational-level. Within two locations where immigrants and Dutch workers shared concordance in acculturation orientations, workers reported a higher quality of intergroup work-relations compared to the other two locations where both groups shared a partial disconcordance in acculturation orientations (i.e. assimilation versus integration). This confirmed our third hypothesis. On a relational-level, a higher degree of disconcordance between individual workers compared to the out-group at the same location related to a poorer quality of intergroup work-relations as experienced by individual workers which confirms our fourth hypothesis.

Next, based on intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006), we hypothesized that a higher frequency of intergroup contact would buffer the negative relationship between disconcordance in acculturation orientations and the (poorer) quality of intergroup work-relations. Interestingly, this fifth hypothesis was supported for host community workers but not for immigrant workers. For Dutch workers, a high frequency of intergroup contact buffered the negative effect of disconcordance in acculturation orientations on the perceived quality of intergroup work-relations. Conversely, for immigrant workers, a high frequency of intergroup contact aggravated the negative effect of disconcordance in acculturation orientations on the quality of intergroup work-relations.

One explanation for this unexpected finding might concern the difference in vitality positions between the immigrant and host community groups of workers. Although acculturation is defined as change in cultural patterns of *one or both groups* as a consequence of sustained intergroup

contact, it is in reality often the immigrant groups with in a 'low vitality position' (Bourhis et al., 1997; Phinney et al. 2001) who experiences pressure from the host community group to assimilate to the host culture. Hence, when intergroup contact increases, immigrant members are likely to feel more pressure from host community members to adapt to the host culture, which negatively affects their perceived quality of intergroup work-relations.

Another explanation might be that intergroup contact reduces feelings of anxiety, uncertainty and threat on how to approach and communicate with immigrant groups more effectively for host community members compared to immigrant workers. Feelings of anxiety grow out of concerns about how people should act, how they might be perceived, and whether they will be accepted by the out-group (Stephan and Stephan, 1985). Recent studies demonstrated that intergroup anxiety mediates the relation between intergroup contact and intergroup relations (Paolini et al., 2004; Stephan et al., 2002). The degree of intergroup contact is generally much lower for host community members compared to immigrant workers, also in this sample. Under such circumstances, an increase in intergroup contact may be more effectively reducing feelings of anxiety and threat for host community groups compared to immigrant groups.

Limitations and recommendations for future research

No study is without limitations and this study is no exception. First of all, the sample size of this study is fairly small, and this study was executed in only one organisation. We therefore recommend that future studies try to replicate these findings to other organisational contexts and a wider range of immigrant workers. Furthermore, despite the explicit notion of confidentiality on the questionnaire, social desirability may have played a role whilst answering the questionnaire for some workers. Also, the questionnaire was in the Dutch language, so misinterpretation of the questions cannot be ruled out. This being said, researchers were present at the location to answer questions regarding the survey and the statistical reliability of the constructs used in this study appeared to be sufficient for both host community and immigrant groups of workers (Meloan and Veenman, 1990). Another limitation concerns the fact this data is cross-sectional, which does not allow us to determine the causality of the

relationships found in this study. Future studies should collect longitudinal data to be able to determine causality of the proposed relationships.

Another consideration refers to the measurement for acculturation orientations. In this study we used a two-statement measurement method to assess acculturation orientations (Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver, 2000). However, the manner in which acculturation orientations should be measured is a hotly debated. Different conceptualizations of acculturation orientations (Snauwaert et al., 2003) and differences in studied life-domains (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2006) leads to different distributions of participants across the four acculturation orientations. It would thus be useful to create a specific acculturation measure aimed at studying acculturation within the domain of work.

Finally, this study shows that frequency of intergroup contact moderates the relationship between interactive acculturation and the quality of intergroup work-relations differently for immigrant and host community groups. Future studies should further flesh out why this could be the case. It would be interesting to explicitly include Allport's optimal conditions of contact (Allport, 1954). Furthermore, recent studies point to other factors that may either facilitate or hamper optimal intergroup relations beyond Allport's conditions of optimal contact. For instance, factors such as intergroup anxiety (Stephan and Stephan, 1985), authoritarianism and normative restraints (Pettigrew et al., 2006), as well as the degree to which ethnic group memberships are salient (Voci and Hewstone, 2003) all seem to relate to the degree to which intergroup contact relates to intergroup relations.

Managerial implications

As organizations are more and more confronted with a multicultural workforce, it becomes increasingly important for managers to understand how cultural diversity affects relevant group-processes such as the quality of intergroup work-relations. The present study shows that (dis)concordance in acculturation orientations provides an explanation for the relationship between cultural diversity and the quality of intergroup work-relations. In this light, it is important to recognize that acculturation orientations are not solely a result of individual preferences, but instead are dependent on many contextual factors. For instance, Berry (2006) distinguishes between 'melting pot' societies and 'multicultural' societies. Melting pot refers to '...a single dominant or *mainstream* society, on the

margins of which are the various *minority* groups. The common assumption is that such groups should be absorbed into the mainstream culture in such a way that they essentially disappear (p.28)'. Instead, in a 'multicultural' society '...individuals and groups retain their cultural continuity and a sense of their cultural identity and, on that basis, they participate in the social framework of the *larger society* (p.28)'. Obviously, the melting pot context exerts greater pressure on cultural minority groups to assimilate to the dominant culture compared to the multicultural context. In addition, types of context may shift over time. For instance, the Netherlands recently shifted from a multicultural society towards a melting pot society (DeZwart and Poppelaars, 2007). Similarly, one of the above mentioned contexts may also prevail within organizations. For instance, Cox and Blake (1991) distinguish between three types of organizations: monolithic, plural and multicultural organizations. Monolithic and plural organizations are focussed on recruitment of ethnic minority employees, but ethnic minority groups are ultimately expected to assimilate to the dominant culture of the organizations. Conversely, in multicultural organizations cultural differences are appreciated and used for organizational and personal gain. Recent studies seem to suggest that only in the latter context organizations can benefit from its cultural diversity (Ely and Thomas, 2001; Luijters et al. 2008).

The present study suggests that the main differences in acculturation orientations relate to the domain of culture maintenance, where immigrant workers prefer to maintain aspects of their heritage culture while host community workers are intolerant towards such cultural diversity. Changing the context of an organization towards a multicultural context (i.e. in terms of implementing diversity policies, training intercultural competencies, and so on) is likely to increase the degree of tolerance for cultural differences and should thus decrease the level of discordance in acculturation orientations between the host community and immigrant groups. In turn, concordance in acculturation orientations relate to consensual intergroup work- relations.

FINAL CONCLUSION

This chapter integrates the theoretical framework of interactive acculturation (Bourhis et al., 1997) and intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998). By doing so, it provides a more detailed insight in how

cultural diversity relates to important work-outcomes such as intergroup work-relations. As such, this study should be regarded of as a first step towards explaining the mixed outcomes often found in studies on cultural diversity in organizations which are often focussed on so called ‘surface-level’ forms of diversity (Oerlemans et al., 2008; Williams and O’Reilly, 1998). As authors, we hope that scholars will recognize the potential value in using the IAM as a theoretical framework in future research on cultural diversity in the multicultural workplace.

CHAPTER 5: ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND TEAM PERFORMANCE: THE ROLE OF TEAM IDENTIFICATION, ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND INTERCULTURAL TEAM CLIMATE⁶

5.1 Introduction

Management literature often proclaims that managers should increase ethnic diversity in the workforce because it enhances workgroup performance (Morrison, 1992). However, studies about such positive effects have been limited and results show mixed findings (for reviews, read Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). On the one hand, ethnically diverse workgroups are sometimes more creative, innovative, and better at problem solving compared to ethnically homogeneous workgroups (Cox, Lobel, & McLeod, 1991; Watson, Johnson, & Zgourides, 2002; Watson, Kumar, & Michaelson, 1993). On the other hand, ethnic diversity in workgroups also leads to detrimental workgroup functioning such as less workgroup cohesion (Riordan & Shore, 1997) and more relational conflicts (Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999), which in turn affect team performance (Beal, Cohen, Burke, & McLendon, 2003; De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). As workgroups become increasingly diverse in terms of ethnicity (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998), it is important to maximize the benefits of ethnic diversity in workgroups while minimizing its negative consequences.

In an attempt to explain these mixed findings, the current chapter addresses an issue that is often ignored in ethnic diversity research: social identification. For example, a workgroup can consist out of ten members of which three are Turkish, four are Moroccan, and three are Dutch. However, the extent to which workgroup members actually define themselves in terms of their ethnic group (i.e. being Turkish, Moroccan, or Dutch), their workgroup (i.e. being a workgroup member), or both, is unclear. What exactly makes people define themselves in terms of one group membership rather than another? Or in the words of Wharton: 'Much more needs to be

⁶ Chapter 5 has been submitted for publication as: Oerlemans, W.G.M., Peeters, M.C.W. & Schaufeli, W.B. Ethnic diversity in teams: Blessing or Burden?

done with respect to understanding how particular social identities become salient, and the consequences of salience to organizations and their members' (Wharton, 1992, p.67).

In this chapter, social identification serves to explain the relationship between ethnic diversity in workgroups on the one hand, and workgroup functioning on the other hand. We propose that ethnic diversity in workgroups and an intercultural climate (explained below) are two factors at workgroup level that relate to workgroup functioning: workgroup cohesion and relational conflict. Furthermore, we hypothesize that such relationships are mediated by the degree to which employees identify with their ethnic group, their workgroup or both. Consequently, workgroup functioning is expected to relate to subjective and objective indicators of workgroup performance (Beal, Cohen & McLendon, 2003; (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). In sum, this chapter tries to shed more light on the current controversy vis-à-vis the link between ethnic diversity in workgroups and work-outcomes by focusing on underlying mechanisms of social identification. Figure 1 shows the research model of the present study.

Social psychological and contextual approach: Social identification and intercultural climate

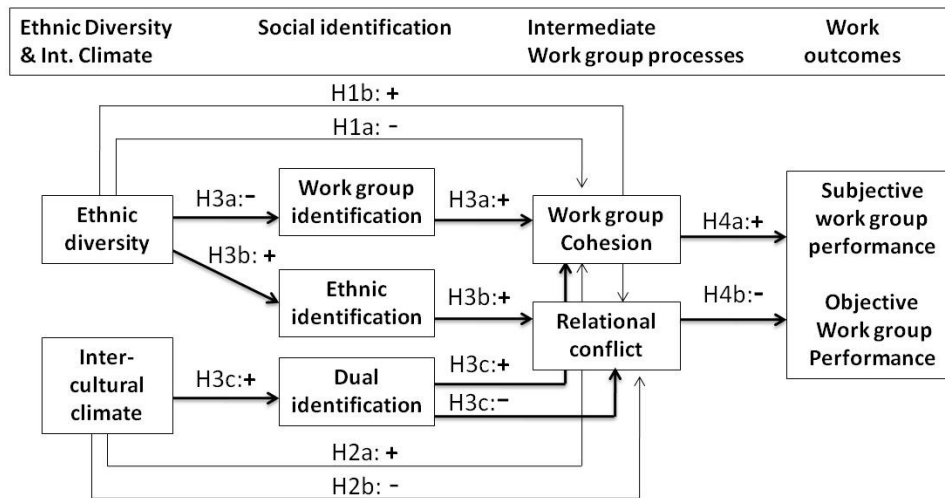


Figure 1. Research model. Please note that H = hypothesis, and that H3a, H3b and H3c are mediation hypotheses.

Ethnic Diversity and Workgroup functioning

Ethnic diversity in workgroups may lead to benefits in terms of higher creativity and better performance (i.e. Cox et al., 1991; Watson et al., 2002). However, such benefits are not often reported in field studies on ethnic diversity (e.g. Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). One reason for this is that ethnic diversity also harbors threats. In particular, two psychological processes appear to lead to detrimental consequences: similarity attraction and social categorization (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). The similarity attraction paradigm (Byrne, 1999) is based on the notion that people are highly attracted to 'similar others'. Feelings of similarity can be based on demographic as well as underlying characteristics such as one's ethnicity, gender, age, personality, cultural values, attitudes, and so on (Byrne, 1999). For instance, people often feel highly attracted towards their ethnic group with whom they share things such as a history, a place of origin, a language, cultural values, and so on (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). As a consequence, workgroup members feel *less* attracted to workgroups that are ethnically more diverse.

The similarity attraction perspective is complemented by the social categorization perspective (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). The starting point for social categorization is that similarities and differences between workgroup members form the basis for categorizing self and others into subgroups, distinguishing between similar ingroup and dissimilar outgroup members. Readily visible and impermeable characteristics such as one's ethnicity (i.e. racial features) or underlying differences in cultural values and norms could lead to such categorization processes (e.g. Jackson, May, & Whitney, 1995). Consequently, people tend to favor ingroup members over outgroup members, trust ingroup members more, and are more willing to cooperate with ingroup members compared to outgroup members (e.g. Brewer & Brown 1998, Tajfel & Turner 1986). As such, psychological processes of similarity attraction and social categorization are likely to limit the capability of workgroups to function effectively when they are ethnically more diverse.

In this study, ethnic diversity is conceptualized as variations in the ethnic composition of workgroups (Blau, 1977; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). Hereby, *ethnic minority groups* (i.e. employees who originated from countries outside the Netherlands) are distinguished from the (Dutch) ethnic majority group. Ethnic minority employees in the present sample originated predominantly from 'non-western' countries (i.e.

Africa, Asia, Caribbean). As such, differences in surface-level characteristics (i.e. racial features) as well as underlying cultural differences (i.e. Hofstede, 1980) are likely to be present in workgroups, leading to processes such as similarity attraction and social categorization. Two outcomes are examined as indicators for workgroup functioning: Group cohesion and relational conflicts. In particular, workgroup cohesion is likely to be affected by the psychological process of similarity attraction. Workgroup cohesion reflects the degree to which members of a workgroup are attracted to each other (Shaw, 1981). It is generally expected ‘...that the perception of similarity in attitudes, as inferred on the basis of similarity in demographic attributes leads to attraction among group members’ (Webber & Donahue, 2001, p. 147). Thus, ethnic diversity – through a *decrease* in similarity attraction – likely relates negatively to workgroup cohesion.

In addition, the degree to which ethnically diverse workgroups experience relational conflicts could be affected by the process of social categorization. Relational conflicts are characterized by interpersonal clashes between group members characterized by anger, frustration, and other negative feelings (Eisenhardt, Jean, & Bourgeois, 1997; Jehn, 1995; Pelled et al., 1999). Linking diversity to relational conflict, Pelled et al. (1999) demonstrate that *especially* impermeable attributes like ethnicity, gender, and age are most likely to lead to social categorization, which in turn results in ‘intercategory clashes’ (p. 5). Thus, ethnic diversity – through the process of social categorization – results in more relational conflicts. Based on the above reasoning, it is hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 1a: Ethnic diversity at workgroup level relates negatively to workgroup cohesion.

Hypothesis 1b: Ethnic diversity at workgroup level relates positively to relational conflict.

Intercultural Group Climate and Workgroup Functioning

Somewhat contradicting the negative predictions based on social categorization and similarity attraction, research in the society at large indicates that an increase in interethnic contact generally *improves* – rather than deteriorates - ethnic intergroup relations (e.g. Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Already in 1954, Allport mentioned that four critical conditions predict optimal intergroup contact: (1) equal group status within a given situation, (2) striving towards

common goals (3) intergroup cooperation (4) support of authorities, law or custom. A recent meta-analysis of Pettigrew & Tropp (2006) shows that intergroup contact by itself *improves* ethnic intergroup relations (i.e. reduces prejudice). Also, the authors conclude that "...Allport's optimal contact conditions (...) typically leads to even greater reduction in prejudice", and also that further examination "...demonstrates that these conditions are best conceptualized as an interrelated bundle rather than as independent factors" (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006. p.751).

Gaertner et al. (Gaertner, Dovidio, Nier, Ward, & Banker, 1999) – in an attempt to explain the underlying psychological process of Allport's contact conditions – developed the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM). CIIM states that Allport's contact conditions lead to optimal intergroup relations because they transform an individual's cognitive representations from two separate groups, "us" and "them", into one inclusive common ingroup: "we" (i.e. a common ingroup identity). For example, workgroup members (have to) cooperate on a daily basis to achieve common goals. Also, working together may increase members' knowledge about ethnic outgroups and it provides opportunities to form friendly ties with ethnic outgroup members (Pettigrew, 1998). As a consequence, workgroup members (re)categorize ethnically diverse members as ingroup members – part of the team – rather than ethnic outgroup members. In turn, evaluations towards ethnically diverse workgroup members and the workgroup as a whole become more positive (Brewer, 1979; Messick & Mackie, 1989; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and social categorization processes such as group-based biases are reduced (Hewstone, 1990).

Similarly, Harquail and Cox (1993) claim that – within an organizational culture - 'tolerance for ambiguity', 'valuing cultural diversity' and 'low-prescription culture' are important aspects in an organizational culture that would improve ethnic intergroup relations. When tolerance for ambiguity is high, organizations exert less pressure on ethnic minority employees to assimilate towards the organizational culture. As a consequence, socio-cultural differences would be viewed upon as normal and potentially useful rather than dysfunctional. Furthermore, when cultural diversity is valued, it is more likely that cross-cultural exchange takes place between employees compared to organizations who impose pressure on employees to conform to a single system of existing

organizational norms and values. Moreover, 'a low prescription culture' would be more suitable in culturally diverse workgroups. A low prescription culture acknowledges a wide range of work-styles, ideas that deviate from the norm are seriously discussed, and employees have great latitude to create their own approaches towards their work within the boundaries of integrity, safety and ethics.

In the present chapter, we argue that when workgroup members have shared beliefs towards 'tolerance for ambiguity', 'valuing cultural diversity' and a 'low-prescription culture' it enhances workgroup functioning. We refer to these conditions as 'intercultural group climate' at workgroup level. For instance, when socio-cultural differences are viewed upon as normal and when ethnic diversity is valued in workgroups, it is likely that workgroup members are more attracted to the workgroup resulting in stronger workgroup cohesion. Furthermore, beliefs towards an intercultural group climate at workgroup level are likely to stimulate a common ingroup identity among workgroup members. As such, social categorization processes based on ethnic or cultural diversity are less likely to occur, resulting in less relational conflicts. Therefore, it is hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 2a: An intercultural climate at workgroup level relates positively to workgroup cohesion.

Hypothesis 2b: An intercultural climate at workgroup level negatively to relational conflict.

Social Identification as a Mediator

A major criticism is that relationships between workgroup diversity and workgroup functioning only provide indirect evidence for the occurrence of underlying psychological processes such as similarity attraction and social categorization (e.g. Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). As a proximal indicator for the processes of similarity attraction and social categorization, we therefore propose that team identification and ethnic identification mediate the direct relationship between ethnic diversity and workgroup functioning. In particular, the process of similarity attraction would decrease feelings of attraction among members of diverse workgroups which in turn leads to lower workgroup cohesion. Empirical evidence for a decrease in similarity attraction would be that workgroup members identify less with their workgroup when their workgroup is ethnically more diverse. In turn, there is an abundance of empirical

evidence showing that decreased workgroup identification relates negatively to employees' evaluations of work processes and outcomes such as work-motivation, job-involvement, feelings of cohesion, and the intention to continue working for the same organization (e.g. Van Knippenberg & Van Schie, 2000). Therefore, it is hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 3a: Workgroup identification mediates the direct relationship between ethnic diversity at workgroup level and workgroup cohesion.

Furthermore, ethnic diversity at workgroup level is hypothesized to relate negatively to relational conflict through the process of social categorization. Thus, as a consequence of ethnic diversity, people *categorize* themselves and others into ethnic subgroups, and subsequently favor their (ethnic) ingroup to which they belong over ethnic outgroups to which they do not belong (Turner et al., 1987). Empirical evidence for social categorization would be that ethnic diversity at workgroup level would cause workgroup members to identify more strongly with their ethnic group. In turn, stronger ethnic identification is likely to make ethnic subgroup differences salient within workgroups, leading to higher relational conflict. Therefore we hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 3b: Ethnic identification mediates the direct relationship between ethnic diversity at workgroup level and relational conflict.

Based on the Common Ingroup Identity Model of Gaertner et al. (1996), we propose that the presence of an intercultural group climate relates positively to workgroup functioning because it stimulates common ingroup identification among workgroup members. Evidence for such processes occurring are that Whites evaluate Blacks more favorably when they interact with them as members of the same group compared to separate individuals. For instance, Whites comply more frequently with a Black interviewer's request to interview them when they share a common university affiliation (Nier, Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, & Rust, 2001).

Importantly, Gaertner, Dovidio and Bachman (1996) have argued that the development of such a common ingroup identity does not require each group to forsake its subgroup identity. For example, it is possible for people to conceive of two groups (e.g. ethnic groups), as operating

interdependently with the context of a super ordinate entity (e.g. a workgroup). Especially in the case of ethnic identity, it would be undesirable or even impossible for people to relinquish their ethnic subgroup identities based on the fact that some characteristics are simply impermeable (i.e. racial features). As such, common ingroup identity is also referred to as dual identity. In this chapter, dual identification is conceptualized as a process where workgroup members identify *simultaneously* with their workgroup (as a super ordinate entity) *and* their ethnic group. Based on the above reasoning, it is hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 3c: Dual identification mediates the direct relationship between intercultural climate at workgroup level and workgroup functioning (i.e. workgroup cohesion and relational conflict).

Workgroup Functioning and Workgroup Performance

Workgroup diversity is often primarily related to workgroup functioning, while in turn, workgroup functioning predict workgroup performance (Ely & Thomas, 2001; Pelled et al., 1999; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Relational conflict reduces the ability of workgroups to function effectively, and is therefore likely to reduce workgroup performance (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). Conversely, when cohesion is strong, workgroups are more motivated to perform well, coordinate activities better and show superior performance (Beal et al., 2003). As such, it is hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 4a: Workgroup cohesion relates positively to workgroup performance.

Hypothesis 4b: Relational conflict relates negatively to workgroup performance.

5.2 Method

Procedure and Data Collection

Sixty workgroups were invited to participate in this study. The workgroups mainly performed financial-economic tasks in accountancy, administration or insurance claims. Furthermore, the organization had a 'team-based structure', meaning that workgroups (i.e. teams) were recognized as distinct units who share interdependent tasks and similar goals (Alderfer, 1977; Guzzo & Dickson, 1996; Hackman, 1987). To maximize participation, all team managers were first invited for a presentation

regarding this research. Consequently, each of the workgroup managers received an invitation by email to participate with all workgroup members containing a link to the electronic questionnaire. Managers forwarded this email to their workgroup members. A general login and password were used to ensure confidentiality. Several reminders were sent to managers in order to maximize participation. 793 employees out of a total number of 1031 employees filled out the questionnaire, constituting a response rate of 72%. Across the sixty workgroups, response rates varied from 30% to 100%.

Sample

About 46.5% of the total sample was men and ages ranged from 19 to 68 years, with an average of 38 years. 43% had finished lower secondary or lower professional education, 20% had a higher secondary educational degree, 23% finished higher professional education, and about 13% held a university degree. The mean organizational tenure was 10.6 years, varying from half a year to over 42 years, and workgroup-members worked on average for about 4 years in their workgroup. About 56% of all employees held a junior clerical position, about 27% had a senior/expert clerical position, and 7% were workgroup-leaders.

Participants were asked to fill out their country of birth and both their parents (open ended questions). Based on the reported countries of birth, nearly 76% of the participants had a Dutch (i.e. ethnic majority) background, and 24% had a 'non-Dutch' background; 12% of the respondents had a Caribbean (i.e. Surinamese or Antillean) background, 2% had a Turkish background, 2% had a Moroccan background and 4% had an Indonesian background. Finally, about 4% of the participants rated a 'western' background (i.e. mostly a West-European background such as German, Belgian, and the UK). 51% of the non-Dutch employees were born in countries outside the Netherlands, constituting so called first generation migrants, whereas 49% were second generation migrants (i.e. one or two parents born outside of The Netherlands).

Measures

Independent variables

The *ethnic diversity at workgroup level* was calculated using Blau's index (Blau, 1977). Its computational formula is $1 - \sum p_k^2$, where p is the proportion of unit members in k th category. Values of Blau's index range from zero to $(k-1)/k$. For instance, in a workgroup that consists of 5 Dutch, 3 Surinamese and 2 Turkish workgroup-members, the squared proportions of each subgroup are .5², .3² and .2², respectively. Consequently, Blau's index is 1 minus the sum of the squared proportions of the ethnic subgroups ($1 - (.25 + .09 + .04)$) is .62. Thus, the higher the index, the more ethnically diverse the workgroup. Based on country of birth, we included both first and second generation participants as members of the respective ethnic minority groups. Whereas cultural differences are likely to be smaller among second generation migrants compared to first generation migrants, distinctions based on surface-level characteristics (i.e. racial features) are still present, which could initiate psychological processes such as similarity attraction and social categorization.

Furthermore, Gagnon and Bourhis' (1996) one-item measure was used to assess the degree to which workgroup members identified with either their ethnic group or the workgroup (e.g., How much do you identify yourself as a member of your workgroup / ethnic group). The answering possibilities ranged on a five point Likert scale from 1 ('almost never') to 5 ('almost always'). Dual identification was calculated by calculating the product of team-identification x ethnic identification.

Intercultural group climate consisted of 5 items, based on 'tolerance for ambiguity', 'valuing diversity' and a 'low prescription culture' at workgroup level (Harquail & Cox, 1993). As this is a new measure, all items are included in the appendix. One item example is "Cultural diversity is appreciated as a valuable aspect of the workgroup". Answering categories ranged from 1 ('totally disagree') to 5 ('totally agree'). Cronbach's alpha was .82 for ethnic majority and .80 for ethnic minority employees, showing sufficient statistical reliability. All items together formed one scale. This is in line with Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), who argue that a bundle of optimal contact conditions - rather than its single components - improve intergroup work relations. Cronbach's alpha was .82 for ethnic majority and .80 for ethnic minority employees, showing sufficient statistical reliability.

One way to objectify whether such an intercultural climate exists at a workgroup level is to examine if perceptions of such a climate are shared

among its members (e.g. Anderson & West, 1999). In other words, workgroup members should have shared perceptions about such a climate rather than radically diverse individual perceptions. Therefore, we assessed whether a significant amount of the variation in answers was shared among workgroup members by calculating the Rwgj (James, Demaree, & Wolf, 1984) and the intra-class correlation (ICC, Hofmann, 1997; Snijders & Bosker, 1999). The average Rwgj score across the sixty teams was on average .86, suggesting that the measure is indeed consistently tapping shared climate perceptions rather than aggregating radically diverse individual perceptions. Moreover, adding a group-level for intercultural group climate resulted in a significant model fit (deviance=43.219, df=1, $p<.001$; Intra Class Correlation = .15), showing that intercultural group climate possesses discriminable validity on a workgroup level.

Dependent and Control Variables

Workgroup cohesion consisted of 7 items developed by Riordan and Shore (1997), based on the work of Shaw (1981). One item example is: “Most of the employees in my workgroup get along well with each other.” Answering categories ranged from 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree). Cronbach’s alpha was .93 for ethnic majority employees and .92 for ethnic minority employees.

Relational conflict was measured with 5 items developed by Jehn (1995). One example item is: “There are relational conflicts between me and my workgroup members”. Answering categories ranged from 1 (never) to 5 (almost always). Cronbach’s alpha for ethnic majority employees .91 and .93 for ethnic minority employees.

Perceived workgroup performance is measured using the 5 items developed by Jehn, Northcraft, and Neale (1999). One example item is: “In my opinion, my workgroup performs well”. Answering categories ranged from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree). Cronbach’s alpha for ethnic majority employees was .91 and .93 for ethnic minority employees.

Objective workgroup performance is measured on a workgroup level with the ‘Key Performance Indicator (KPI)’. This is a measure used within the organization itself to assess the overall performance for every workgroup per quarterly performance figure (i.e. four times a year). The company shared this global KPI figure for each team at the end of the quarter after which the data collection took place. The KPI measure has six

levels: 1) 0-20% of the goals accomplished; 2) 21-40% of the goals accomplished; 3) 41-60% of the goals accomplished; 4) 61-80% of the goals accomplished 5) 80-90% of the goals accomplished 6) 91-100% of the goals accomplished. The exact nature for of the performance goals within each of the teams were – unfortunately - not shared within the company due to reasons of confidentiality. Overall, workgroup performance goals included indices such as sales figures, client satisfaction, product satisfaction, waste reduction and energy savings.

Finally, it is necessary to control for additional variables that may cause spurious correlations between the predictor variables and the outcome variables. For example, previous research has indicated that *group size* may affect individuals' attitudes (Shaw, 1981). A meta-analysis on group size indicated that as workgroups grew, members were more likely to be dissatisfied (Mullen, Symons, Hu, & Solas, 1989). Therefore, group size, as measured at workgroup level by the number of employees in a workgroup, was included as a control variable. Furthermore, research shows that effects of demographic (e.g. ethnic) diversity on workgroup functioning may decline as a consequence of *group longevity* (i.e. the average amount of time spend in a group by workgroup members; Harisson, Price & Bell, 1998). Therefore, group longevity, as measured at team level by the number of months employees on average worked together, was included as a second control variable.

Multi Level Analysis

Multi-level regression analyses are performed to test the hypotheses. Conventional statistical analyses violates the assumption of independence of observations because of the hierarchical structure of the data, and overestimate the number of observations for workgroup-level variables, leading to spuriously significant results (Hox, 2002). We used the Multi-level application for Windows (Rasbash, Browne, Healy, Cameron, & Charlton, 2005) which accurately takes into account the hierarchical structure of the data (Kenny, Kashy, & Bolger, 1998). The multilevel regression analyses used in this chapter distinguishes between two levels of measurement: the individual level (level 1) and the workgroup level (level 2). In multilevel analyses, random effects provide estimates of the variation in the independent variable that is due to differences between groups (level 2 variation) and between individuals (level 1 variation). The modeling of fixed effects is comparable to the derivation of regression weights in ordinary regression analyses. Before performing the analyses, variables were centered to prevent multicollinearity (Aiken & West, 1991).

Significance of effects is tested by means of the likelihood ratio test. This test uses the difference (deviance) between two model fits as a test statistic.

5.3 Results

Preliminary Analysis: Confirmatory Factor Analyses and Descriptive Statistics

Before testing the hypotheses, Confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) with AMOS 7.0 (Arbuckle, 1997) were conducted to assess the optimal structure among the subjective dependent measures (i.e. workgroup cohesion, relational conflict and workgroup performance). Table 1 shows several fit indices: (a) the Comparative Fit Index (CFI; Bentler, 1990), (b) the Normed Fit Index (NFI; Bentler & Bonnet, 1980), (c) the Goodness of Fit Index, and (d) the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA; Browne & Cudek, 1993). To assess the relative fit of the three factor Model, chi-squares between the Models are compared (Widamen, 1985).

The CFAs in Table 1 support a three factor measurement Model of the dependent variables including workgroup cohesion, relational conflict and perceived workgroup performance, compared to other solutions. The CFI, NFI and GFI were approximately .90. and support the acceptability of the fit (Bollen, 1989), although the chi-square of the three factor model is significant (χ^2 (116, $N = 723$) = 889.11, $p < .01$) and RMSEA is somewhat high (RMSEA=.09; Browne & Cudek, 1993). Means, standard deviations and correlations among the control, predictor, and outcome variables are included in Table 2.

Table 1*Fit Indices for Confirmatory Factor Analyses*

Model	X ²	df	CFI	NFI	GFI	RMSEA	Comparison	ΔX ²	Δdf
M1 Three factor model	889.11	***	116	0.90	0.89	0.90			
M2 Two factor model (perf, coh + relcfl)	1,951.11	***	118	0.77	0.76	0.77	M1-M2	1,062.00	2
M3 Two factor model (relcfl, coh + perf)	1,966.57	***	118	0.77	0.76	0.77	M1-M3	1,077.46	2
M4 Two factor model (coh, relcfl + perf)	2,375.46	***	118	0.71	0.71	0.72	M1-M4	1,486.35	2
M5 Single factor model	3,103.61	***	119	0.62	0.62	0.63	M1-M5	2,214.50	3
M6 Null model	8,080.31	153							

Note. Perf= workgroup performance; coh=workgroup cohesion; relcfl=relational conflict; CFI= Comparative Fit Index; NFI = Normed Fit Index; GFI = Goodness-of-Fit Index; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation.

Table 2*Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations of the Study Variables*

	Mean	Sd	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>Work group level variables</i>											
1 Group size	13.69	4.59	-								
2 Group longevity	4.19	2.37	-0.15	***							
3 Ethnic diversity	0.35	0.23	-0.02	-0.25	***						
4 Intercultural climate	3.98	0.35	0.10	**	-0.16	***	0.58	***			
5 Key performance indicator	4.50	0.66	0.02	0.27	***	-0.26	***	0.16	***		
<i>Individual level variables</i>											
6 Ethnic identification	2.80	1.30	-0.02	-0.08	*	0.04	0.04	-0.04	-		
7 Work group identification	3.04	1.06	0.05	-0.08	*	0.04	0.16	***	0.10	*	0.40
8 Work group cohesion	5.12	1.10	-0.03	-0.03		0.08	0.23	***	0.17	***	-
9 Relational conflict	2.05	0.73	0.05	-0.01		0.00	-0.21	***	-0.19	***	0.08
10 Perceived work group performance	3.91	0.63	0.00	0.09	*	-0.06	0.09	*	0.31	***	0.04
									0.21	***	0.51
											-0.31

Note. Sd=standard deviation. *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

Testing the Research Model

The four steps for mediation proposed by Baron and Kenny (1986) are followed to predict Hypotheses 1 through 3. These four steps involve that: 1) the independent variables (ethnic diversity and intercultural climate at workgroup level) predict interpersonal outcomes (workgroup cohesion and relational conflict); 2) independent variables predict the mediator variables (workgroup identification, ethnic identification and dual identification); 3) mediator variables predict dependent variables, and 4) independent variables do not predict dependent variables when controlling for mediator variables. To test for significance in mediation, we performed the Sobel test as suggested by Baron and Kenny (1986). Results are displayed in Table 3 and Table 4.

A significant amount of the variance for workgroup cohesion (Intra Class Correlation = .19) and relational conflicts (Intra Class Correlation = .22) lies on a workgroup level, which confirms the need to perform multi-level analyses. In addition - following the above steps to test mediation effects - each of the nested models in Table 4 show an increase in model fit for workgroup cohesion (Model 1: Δ deviance = 13.10, df = 4, p > .01; Model 2: Δ deviance = 14.89, df = 2, p <.001; Model 3: Δ deviance 9.48, df = 1, p < .01) and relational conflict (Model 1: Δ deviance=16.43, df = 4, p <.01; Model 2: Δ deviance 11.04, df = 2, p <.001; Model 3: Δ deviance 6.60, df = 1, p <.01).

Ethnic diversity, intercultural climate, and workgroup functioning (hypotheses 1 and 2)

Following the first step for mediation, we first predicted that ethnic diversity would relate negatively to workgroup functioning (lower workgroup cohesion, more relational conflict). Conversely, it was expected that intercultural climate at workgroup level would relate positively to workgroup functioning (lower workgroup cohesion, higher relational conflict). Confirming hypothesis 1a, results show that ethnic diversity at workgroup level relates negatively to workgroup cohesion (z = -2.67; p < .01). In addition, ethnic diversity at workgroup level is positively associated with relational conflict (z = 2.48 ; p < .05) as predicted in hypothesis 1b. Conversely, intercultural workgroup climate relates positively to workgroup cohesion (z = 3.72 ; p < .001) which confirms hypothesis 2a, whereas it is negatively associated with relational conflict (z

= -4.20 ; $p < .001$) as predicted in hypothesis 2b. Thus – as hypothesized - ethnic diversity at workgroup level relates negatively to workgroup functioning (i.e. lower workgroup cohesion, higher relational conflict) whereas intercultural climate at workgroup level relates positively to workgroup functioning (higher workgroup cohesion, lower relational conflict).

Table 3

Multi-level Regression Analyses: Workgroup Identification, Ethnic identification and Dual identification

	Work group identification		Ethnic identification		Dual identification	
	<i>est</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>se</i>
<i>Work group level variables</i>						
Group size	0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Group longevity	-0.03	0.02	-0.05	0.02	0.00	0.03
Ethnic diversity	-0.55	0.24 *	0.02	0.34	-0.52	0.42
Intercultural climate	0.61	0.14 ***	0.08	0.18	0.60	0.21 **
-2*loglikelihood (IGLS Deviance)	1892.65		2172.34		2251.36	
Δ -2*loglikelihood	19.67 ***		5.23		10.28 ***	
Between group variance	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03
Within group variance	1.09	0.06	1.67	0.09	1.89	0.11
		3%	0%	1%	0%	2%
		0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Note. *p<.05; **P<.01; ***P<.001.

Table 4:*Multi-level regression analyses: Workgroup Cohesion and Relational Conflict*

	Work group cohesion						Relational conflict					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	est	se	est	se	est	se	est	se	est	se	est	se
<i>Work group level variables:</i>												
Groupsize	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01
Group longevity	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	0.02
Ethnic diversity	-0.54	0.20 **	-0.40	0.18 *	-0.38	0.18 *	0.75	0.30 **	0.72	0.30 **	0.69	0.30 *
Intercultural climate	0.85	0.23 ***	-0.56	0.44 ***	-0.50	0.03 ***	-0.66	0.16 ***	-0.63	0.16 ***	-0.60	0.16 ***
<i>Individual level variables:</i>												
Work group identification			0.16	0.04 ***	0.18	0.042 ***			-0.06	0.03 *	-0.07	0.03 **
Ethnic identification			-0.07	0.03 *	-0.10	0.034 **			0.07	0.02 ***	0.08	0.02 ***
<i>Interaction:</i>												
Dual identification					0.08	0.03 ***					-0.04	0.02 **
-2*loglikelihood (IGLS Deviance)	1858.78		1843.89		1834.41		1320.84		1309.79		1303.19	
Δ -2*loglikelihood	13.10 **		14.89 ***		9.48 **		16.43 **		11.04 **		6.60 **	
Between group variance	0.17	0.05 6%	0.16	0.05 6%	0.16	0.05 7%	0.08	0.02 7%	0.08	0.02 7%	0.08	0.02 7%
Within group variance	0.97	0.06 0%	0.95	0.06 2%	0.94	0.06 3%	0.42	0.03 0%	0.41	0.02 1%	0.41	0.02 2%

Note. *p<.05; **P<.01; ***P<.001.

Social identification as a Mediator (hypothesis 3)

The second step for mediation is to analyze whether ethnic diversity and intergroup climate at workgroup level are associated with social identification (i.e. workgroup identification, ethnic identification, dual identification) as mediator variables. Results are displayed in Table 3. Ethnic diversity relates negatively to workgroup identification ($z = -2.28$; $p < .05$) which confirms hypothesis 3a. However, ethnic diversity at workgroup level did not relate to ethnic identification ($z = 0.05$; n.s.), rejecting hypothesis 3b. Furthermore, intercultural group climate was positively associated with dual identification ($z = 2.80$; $p < .01$) which confirms hypothesis 3c. In sum, the more ethnically diverse workgroups are, the less workgroup members identify with their workgroup. Conversely, the stronger the intercultural group climate is, the more workgroup members uphold a dual identification pattern, identifying with both their team *and* their ethnic group.

In the third and fourth step, we predicted that social identification – as mediator variables – predict workgroup functioning and as such mediate direct effects of ethnic diversity and intercultural climate at workgroup level on workgroup functioning. Results are displayed in Table 4, Model 2. Hypothesis 3a predicted that workgroup identification mediates the direct relationship between ethnic diversity and workgroup cohesion. Results are in partial support for this hypothesis. Ethnic diversity relates to workgroup cohesion and workgroup identification, confirming the first and the second steps for mediation. Furthermore, workgroup identification relates positively to workgroup cohesion ($z = 3.76$; $p < .001$) which confirms the third step. Thus, the stronger members identify with their workgroup, the more workgroup cohesion they experience. The Sobel test ($z = -1.99$; $p < .05$) also confirms that workgroup identification mediates the direct relationship between ethnic diversity and workgroup cohesion which confirms the fourth step for mediation. However, the negative relationship between ethnic diversity and workgroup cohesion remains significant after adding workgroup identification to the equation (ethnic diversity Model 1: $z = 2.48$, $p < .01$; ethnic diversity + workgroup identification; $z = 2.18$, $p < .05$). Thus, workgroup identification *partly* mediates the negative relationship between ethnic diversity and workgroup cohesion. As such, hypothesis 3a – which predicted mediation – is partly supported.

Next, hypothesis 3b predicts that ethnic identification partly mediates the direct relationship between ethnic diversity at workgroup level and relational conflict. However, this prediction is rejected. Ethnic diversity at workgroup level does not predict ethnic identification and as such does not support the second condition for mediation. However, results do show that ethnic identification – as a main effect – relates negatively to workgroup cohesion (Model 2: $z = -2.24$; $p < .05$) and positively to relational conflict (Model 2: $z = 3.23$; $p < .001$). Thus, the more workgroup members identify with their ethnic group, the less workgroup cohesion and the more relational conflict they experience.

Hypothesis 3c predicted that dual identification would mediate the direct relationships between intercultural climate at workgroup level on the one hand, and workgroup cohesion and relational conflict on the other hand. Results are in partial support for this hypothesis. Confirming the first and second steps for mediation, intercultural workgroup climate relates to both workgroup functioning as outcome variables and to dual identification as a mediator. Results - in Table 4, Model 3 - indeed demonstrate that dual identification is positively associated with workgroup cohesion (Model 3: $z = 3.08$; $p < .001$), while dual identification relates negatively to relational conflict ($z = -2.59$; $p < .01$). These interaction effects are plotted in Figure 1 and Figure 2 for further interpretation. Both Figures show that the more workgroup members identify with both their team *and* their ethnic group, the more workgroup cohesion and the less relational conflicts they experience. As hypothesized, Sobel tests indicate that dual identification mediates the direct relationship between intercultural climate at workgroup level and workgroup cohesion ($z = 2.06$; $p < .05$), whereas evidence for mediation is marginally significant ($z = 1.90$; $p < .058$) for relational conflict. In addition, the direct relationship between intercultural climate at workgroup level on the one hand and workgroup cohesion (Model 2: $z = 3.40$, $p < .001$; Model 3: $z = 3.16$; $p < .001$), and relational conflict (Model 2: $z = -4.04$; Model 3: $z = -3.82$; $p < .001$) on the other hand remain significant after the inclusion of dual identification as a mediator in the model. In other words, dual identification *partly* mediates relationships between intercultural climate at workgroup level on the one hand, and workgroup cohesion and relational conflict on the other hand. As such hypothesis 3c is partly confirmed.

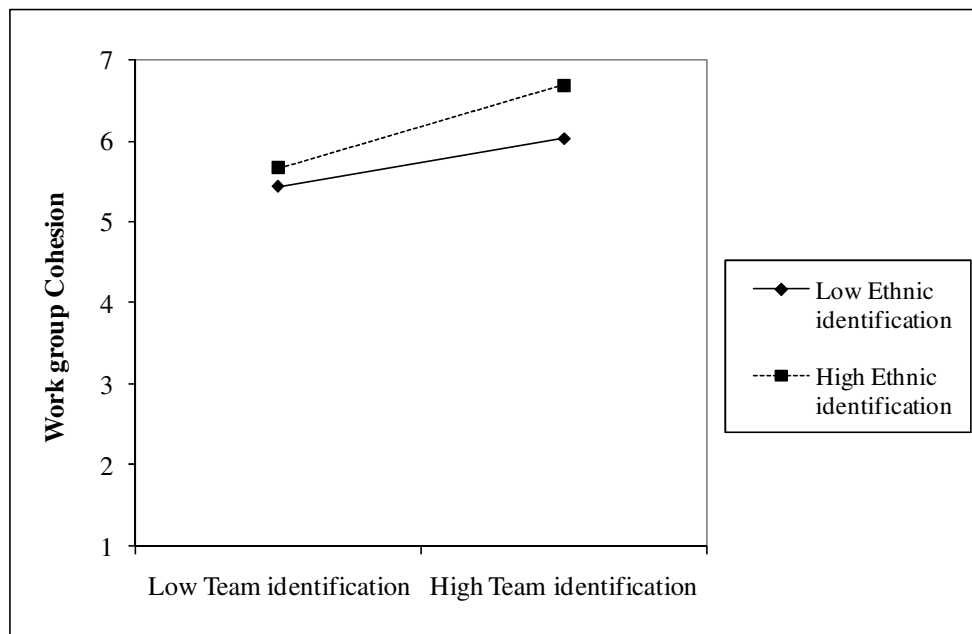


Figure 2: Interaction effect for Workgroup cohesion

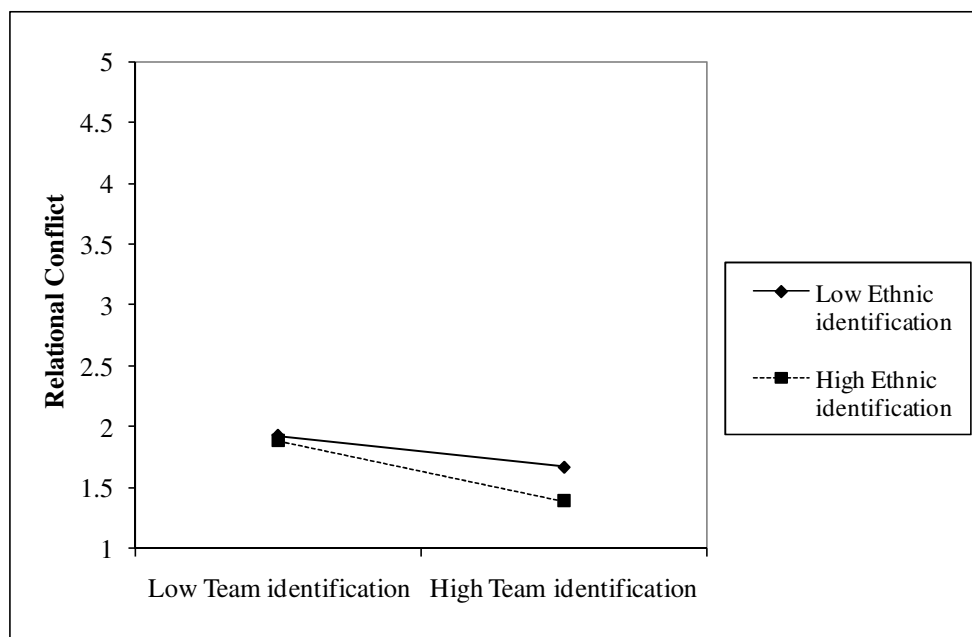


Figure 3: Interaction effect for Relational conflict

Workgroup Cohesion, Relational Conflict and Workgroup Performance (hypothesis 4)

Finally, it was hypothesized that workgroup cohesion would relate positively, whereas relational conflict would relate negatively to workgroup performance. Multi-level analyses are performed to test whether workgroup cohesion and relational conflicts are related to perceived workgroup performance (Hypothesis 4). As correlations between relational conflict and workgroup cohesion reasonably strong ($r=.60$), we included workgroup cohesion in a first model while incorporating relational conflict in a second model to avoid the problems with multicollinearity (Tsui, Ashford, Clair, & Xin, 1995). In both models, the inclusion of workgroup cohesion and relational conflict resulted in a better Model fit (Model 1: Δ deviance = 227.389, $df = 3$, $p < .001$; Model 2: Δ deviance 103.663, $df = 3$, $p < .001$). As expected, workgroup cohesion was positively ($z = 11.83$; $p < .001$) and relational conflict was negatively ($z = -7.00$; $p < .001$) associated to perceived workgroup performance, thus confirming Hypothesis 4a and 4b that state that workgroup cohesion (4a) and relational conflicts (4b) are related to perceived workgroup performance.

Table 5

Multi-level Regression Analyses: Perceived Workgroup Performance

	Perceived work-group performance								
	null model		model 1		model 2				
	est	se	est	se	est	se			
<i>Work group level variables:</i>									
Groupsize				0.00	0.01		0.00	0.01	
Group longevity				0.03	0.01		0.03	0.01	
<i>Work group processes:</i>									
Work group cohesion				0.27	0.02	***			
Relational conflict							-0.22	0.03	***
-2*loglikelihoood (IGLS Deviance)	1186.754			959.365			1083.12		
Δ -2*loglikelihoood			R ²	227.389	***	R ²	103.633	***	R ²
Between group variance	0.07	0.02	18%	0.04	0.01	8%	0.05	0.02	5%
Within group variance	0.32	0.02	82%	0.24	0.01	20%	0.29	0.02	8%

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 6
Multiple Regression Analyses: Key Performance Indicator

	Key Performance Indicator			
	Model 1		Model 2	
	Beta	T	Beta	T
<i>Work group level variables:</i>				
Groupsize	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.16
Group longevity	0.30	2.32 *	0.26	2.10 *
<i>Work group processes:</i>				
Work group cohesion	0.28	2.21 *		
Relational conflict			-0.33	-2.58 **
R ² adj		11.4%		14.2%

Note. *p<.05; **P<.01; ***P<.001.

Multi-level analyses only predict outcomes on the lowest (individual) level and Key Performance Indicators are ratings at workgroup level. Therefore, we aggregated mean scores for workgroup cohesion and relational conflict to a workgroup level to perform multiple regression analyses at workgroup level only. The Intra Class Correlation (ICC) for workgroup cohesion is .19, and .22 for relational conflict, showing that evaluations of individual workgroup members on these two work processes are - to a significant degree - shared. Results are displayed in Table 6 and show that – similar to perceived workgroup performance - workgroup cohesion (Model 1: beta = .28; p <.05) relates positively, and relational conflict negatively (Model 2 beta = -.33; p <.01) to Key Performance Indicators. Figure 4 shows all significant paths for the hypothesized relationships.

Additional relationships

Beyond the tested hypotheses, three additional relationships were found. First of all, intercultural climate at workgroup level also related positively to workgroup identification (z = 4.36; p < .001). Furthermore, workgroup identification related negatively to relational conflict (z = -2.04; p < .05) and ethnic identification related negatively to workgroup cohesion (z = -2.24; p < .05). Figure 4 shows an overview of the research model, indicating all significant relationships that are found in the present study.

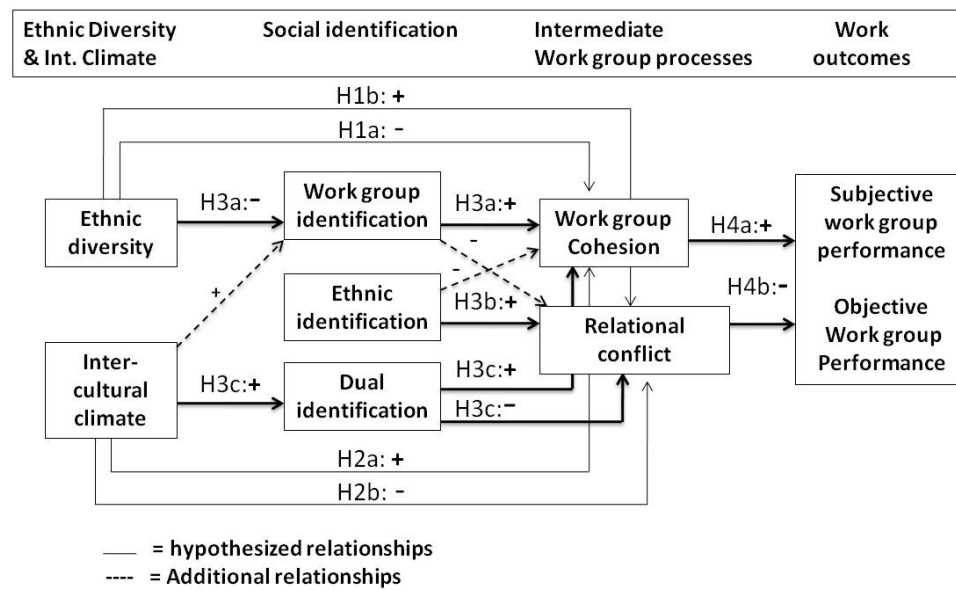


Figure 4. Research Model, significant relationships

5.4 Discussion and Conclusion

Research that examined effects of ethnic diversity in workgroups on workgroup functioning has yielded inconsistent findings (Jackson et al., 2003; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007; Webber & Donahue, 2001). The present study clarifies some of these inconsistencies by demonstrating that social identification - as an underlying mechanism - partly explains relationships between ethnic diversity and intercultural climate at workgroup level on the one hand, and workgroup functioning (i.e. team cohesion, relational conflict) on the other hand. Such findings are important, as workgroup functioning relates to perceived and objective workgroup performance. The theoretical implications of the findings are discussed in more detail, together with the limitations of the study, practical recommendations, and opportunities for further research.

Main findings

Ethnic Diversity, Social Identification, and Workgroup Functioning

First, results show that ethnic diversity at workgroup level relates negatively to workgroup cohesion and positively to relational conflict (confirming hypothesis 1a and 1b). As such, these findings validate

assumptions that are based on similarity attraction (Byrne, 1999) and social categorization (Turner et al., 1987) and generalize results reported in other studies (e.g. Williams & O'Reilly, 1998; Pelled et al., 1999; O'Reilly et al., 1989). However, one major criticism is that psychological mechanisms – such as similarity attraction and social categorization – that supposedly explain detrimental relationships between ethnic diversity in workgroups and work group functioning are not empirically examined (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). Providing more insight on this issue, the present study includes social identification to assess such psychological mechanisms. By doing so, the current study provides empirical evidence for the process of similarity attraction, but not social categorization.

In particular, a higher ethnic diversity at workgroup level relates to lower workgroup identification among its members. Thus, it appears that ethnic diversity at workgroup level indeed lowers feelings of attraction towards the workgroup among its workgroup members (Byrne, 1999; Tsui et al., 1992). In turn, when members identify less with the workgroup, they perceive less workgroup cohesion. As such, workgroup identification partly mediates the relationship between ethnic diversity and workgroup cohesion (confirming hypothesis 3a).

Contrary to predictions, however, we did not find evidence for the process of social categorization in ethnically diverse workgroups. We assumed that categorization in ethnically diverse workgroups would be accompanied by higher levels of ethnic in-group identification among its members. However, ethnic diversity at workgroup level did not relate to an increase in ethnic identification among its members (rejecting Hypothesis 3b). A possible explanation for this absent finding could be that other factors beyond ethnic diversity play a role. For instance, status inequalities (Gaertner et al., 1993), or perceived intergroup threat (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) may be better indicators for ethnic subgroup formation and accompanying ethnic identification compared to the degree of ethnic diversity in workgroups. Results *do* show that when workgroup members identify more strongly with their ethnic subgroup, they experience more relational conflict and the less workgroup cohesion. In other words, *when* workgroup members categorize themselves strongly in terms of their ethnic subgroup, processes such as ingroup favoritism are likely to obstruct smooth workgroup functioning (e.g. Brewer & Brown 1998, Tajfel & Turner 1986).

Intercultural Climate, Social Identification, and Workgroup functioning

Contextual factors besides ethnic diversity at work group level are often not examined, but could play a relevant role in determining the relationship between ethnic diversity and workgroup functioning (Jackson et al., 2003). Based on Harquail and Cox (1993), we argued that an intercultural climate that includes aspects such as 'tolerance for ambiguity', 'valuing cultural diversity' and a 'low-prescription culture' are important aspects at workgroup level that would enhance workgroup functioning. Confirming such expectations, results indeed demonstrate that an intercultural climate at workgroup level relates positively to workgroup cohesion and negatively to relational conflict (confirming hypothesis 2a and 2b). As such it generalizes findings outside the work context, which show that favorable conditions of intergroup contact can improve the quality of intergroup relations (e.g. Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, additional analyses indicated that the positive associations between intercultural climate in workgroups and workgroup functioning are independent of the degree of ethnic diversity in workgroups. An explanation for this could be that the intercultural climate reflects cultural aspects of the organization as a whole - as initially proposed by Harquail and Cox (1993) - rather than a specific climate within teams. Also, the degree of contact among employees across workgroups could play a role. For instance, when employees communicate on a regular basis with others outside their workgroup, the degree of ethnic diversity within the workgroup might not be such a good indicator for the degree of ethnic intergroup contact employees have.

Furthermore, results in this study indicate that the positive relationship between intercultural climate and workgroup functioning is partly mediated by dual identification. This finding confirms expectations based on the common in-group identity model (Gaertner et al., 1999). It indeed appears to be the case that a strong intercultural climate harbors cultural aspects (i.e. 'tolerance for ambiguity', 'valuing cultural diversity' and a 'low-prescription culture') which stimulate a 'common in-group identity', where workgroup members identify strongly with both the workgroup and their ethnic background (e.g. Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994). In turn, results show that strong dual identification among workgroup members relates positively to workgroup functioning. As such, dual identification partly mediates the direct

relationships between intercultural climates at workgroup level on the one hand, and social support and relational conflict on the other hand (confirming hypothesis 3c). As ethnic differences are readily detectable (Jackson et al., 1995) and central to a person's identity (Van der Zee et al., 2004), it is often impossible to ignore ethnic differences in workgroups. Under such circumstances, it appears that dual identification is the most viable alternative way of identification which leads to the most beneficial workgroup outcomes.

Workgroup functioning and Workgroup Performance

Finally, workgroup cohesion and relational conflict relate to subjective and objective forms of workgroup performance (confirming Hypothesis 4a and 4b). In particular, experienced workgroup cohesion and relational conflict by workgroup members relate to subjective evaluations of their workgroup performance. Moreover, aggregated measures for workgroup cohesion and relational conflict at workgroup level relate to objective workgroup performance. As such, these findings demonstrate that – as expected – relational conflict reduces the ability of workgroups to function effectively, and therefore reduces (evaluations of) workgroup performance (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). Conversely, more cohesion makes members more motivated to perform well, and to coordinate their activities more effectively so that their performance as a workgroup is more successful (Beal et al., 2003).

Beyond Social Identification

As the main effects of ethnic diversity and intercultural group climate on workgroup functioning are not *fully* mediated by social identification, it is plausible that other psychological mechanisms play a role. For instance, one alternative could be that ethnic diversity also brings along cultural differences which complicate work processes in ethnically diverse workgroups (Luijters et al., 2008). Furthermore, it might be the case that feelings of anxiety, uncertainty, and threat on how to approach and communicate with ethnically diverse team-members play a role. Recent studies demonstrated that intergroup anxiety may mediate the relation between intergroup contact and intergroup relations (Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2004; Stephan et al., 2002). Similar processes could mediate the relationship between ethnic diversity in workgroups and

intercultural group climate on the one hand, and workgroup functioning on the other hand.

Study Limitations and Future Research

Of course, this study has its limitations which are addressed here. First, results are based on cross-sectional data and thus we cannot determine the causality of the hypothesized relationships. For example, effective workgroup functioning and performance could feed back to a stronger workgroup identification among workgroup members over time. This being said, some initial studies on time-lagged effects of workgroup diversity yield inconsistent findings (Harrison et al., 1998; Schippers, Den Hartog, Koopman, & Wienk, 2003; Watson, Johnson, & Merritt, 1998). It would be interesting to include social identification and intercultural climate in longitudinal studies on diversity as well (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007).

Moreover, studying ethnic diversity in field studies provides a restriction of range problem. The ethnic diversity in the sixty workgroups of the present company does reflect average levels of ethnic diversity within the Netherlands where this study is performed. On the one hand, this is a strong point because as such the study shows ecological validity. On the other hand, the full range of ethnic diversity (i.e. from completely homogeneous to completely diverse; Harrison & Klein, 2007) cannot be studied. One alternative is to conduct experimental studies where ethnic workgroup compositions can be manipulated (e.g. Watson et al., 2002). However, findings in experimental studies on ethnic diversity and its consequences in workgroups often differ substantially from findings in real-life organizations (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998) providing researchers with a dilemma on this point.

This study specifically focused on one type of diversity. Of course, we acknowledge that the concept of workgroup diversity encompasses a whole range of other demographic (age, gender), deep-level (attitudes, values), or task-related (educational and functional level) attributes (Harrison & Klein, 2007; Jackson et al., 2003). An interesting avenue for future research is for instance to examine whether an intercultural climate has similar effects across other types of diversity in workgroups, as some studies already demonstrated (Kossek & Zonia, 1993; Mor Barak, 2005).

Although one-item measures for social identification have been used in previous research (Gagnon & Bourhis, 1996), we recommend that future studies use more elaborate measures to measure ethnic identification (e.g. (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001) and workgroup identification (e.g. Riordan & Weatherly, 1999).

Practical Recommendations

This study provides two clear guidelines for organizations: First, organizations should be aware that ethnic diversity in workgroups has detrimental consequences on workgroup functioning as it decreases workgroup identification among its members. Therefore, specific actions could be aimed at preventing such a decrease in workgroup identification. For instance, workgroup managers could stimulate ethnically diverse employees to work on shared tasks and goals of the team, and provide positive feedback on performances of the team as a whole. Such feedback is likely to result in higher team identification (Van Knippenberg, de Dreu & Homan, 2004). Furthermore, a strong emphasis on unity through things such as clothing, logos, and so on would further stimulate identification with the team.

Secondly, a specific organizational culture that values cultural diversity, tolerates ambiguities, and provides a low prescription culture (Harqail & Cox, 1993) is positively associated with workgroup functioning as it stimulates dual identification among workgroup members. However, creating such an organizational culture is not an easy task. Cox and Blake (1991) argue that organizations often maintain a “monolithic” or “plural” perspective on diversity, instead of becoming “intercultural”. In monolithic organizations, ethnic diversity policies are limited to the inclusion of ethnic minority employees. Research shows that this type of “affirmative action” has negative side effects in terms of less acceptance, more stress reactions, and less self-esteem among the personnel recruited in this manner (Heilman, 1994; Heilman, Block, & Lucas, 1992; Heilman, Rivero, & Brett, 1991). Plural organizations are characterized by a more pro-active recruitment and promotion of ethnic minority employees in the organization. However, ethnic minorities are ultimately expected to assimilate to the dominant organizational culture. Cox and Blake argue that ethnic diversity can only lead to organizational benefits when organizations become intercultural. Possible paths towards a stronger intercultural

climate may be to train intercultural competencies among (ethnic majority) managers (e.g. Bhawuk, 2001, Cushner & Brislin, 1996). Furthermore, taking time to discuss ethnic diversity and its consequences for workgroup functioning could lead to more appreciation and understanding about (how to deal with) ethnic diversity in the workplace (Milleken, Bartel & Kurtzberg, 2003).

Conclusion

Psychological mechanisms that underlie detrimental effects of ethnic diversity in workgroups on workgroup functioning are scarcely studied. Providing more insight on this issue, the present research shows that ethnically diverse workgroups experience detrimental workgroup functioning (i.e. less workgroup cohesion, more relational conflict) because of a decrease in workgroup identification among its members. As such, it shows evidence for the psychological process of similarity attraction (Byrne, 1999). Furthermore, contextual factors such as climates or cultures towards diversity are often not taken into account when studying the relationship between (ethnic) workgroup diversity and its consequences (Webber & Donahue, 2001; Jackson et al, 2003). This study shows that an intercultural climate at workgroup level relates positively to workgroup functioning, in part because it stimulates dual identification among its members. These findings offer some interesting starting points for organizations as it partly explains why ethnic diversity relates to detrimental work-outcomes, and it offers new avenues for research on the consequences of diversity climates in workgroups.

CHAPTER 6: ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND EMPLOYEE WELL-BEING: THE ROLE OF TEAM IDENTIFICATION, ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND INTERCULTURAL TEAM CLIMATE⁷

6.1 Introduction

Workforces in most countries have become increasingly diverse in terms of ethnicity, so understanding the potential benefits as well as detrimental consequences of ethnic diversity becomes ever more important (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). However, there seems to be a lack in research regarding the link between ethnic diversity on the one hand and employee wellbeing on the other hand. In a recent meta analyses, Jackson, Joshi and Erhardt (2003) concluded that about 75% of all studies on work-group diversity examine outcomes on a work-group level such as work-group performance, while limited attention has been paid towards studying effects of ethnic diversity in work-groups on individual level outcomes such as employee wellbeing.

In addition, occupational health research has been focused on identifying a range of job-stressors (e.g.. work pressure, emotional demands) and job-resources (e.g. autonomy, social support) that affect employee wellbeing (e.g. Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). However, little attention is paid to the potential impact of contextual factors – such as the ethnic composition of work-groups – on interpersonal job stressors, job resources and employee wellbeing (e.g. Tetrick, 2006). As employee wellbeing relates to important outcomes like turnover intentions (e.g. Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004), absenteeism (Bakker, Demerouti, de Boer & Schaufeli, 2003), and performance (Bakker, Van Emmerick, Van Riet, in press), it becomes more and more important to analyze such relationships.

To fill this void, the current study examines the link between ethnic diversity in work-groups and employee wellbeing. In particular, this

⁷ Chapter 6 has been submitted for publication as: Oerlemans, W.G.M., Peeters M.C.W. & Schaufeli, W.B. Ethnic Diversity in Work-groups and Job Burnout: The Role of Identity Salience.

chapter addresses the following question which is often ignored in diversity research: To what extent does a social category – such as a persons' ethnicity or being a work group member – become a psychologically meaningful category for work-group members to identify with? And what consequences does identity salience have on the perception of work-group members of their job resources and job stressors? We hereby refer to 'identities' as psychological manifestations of social categories (Miller, 1983), while 'salience' relates to how prominently individuals use a social category to define oneself (Turner, Hogg, & Oakes, 1987).

In this chapter, it is proposed that identity salience among work-group members (i.e. work-group identity, ethnic identity, or dual identity) is affected by at least two contextual factors: (a) the ethnic work-group composition and (b) an intercultural group climate (Harquail & Cox, 1993). Furthermore, it is argued that identity salience affects the degree to which work-group members perceive discrimination at work (as an interpersonal job stressor) and receive social support (as an interpersonal job resource). In turn, discrimination at work and received social support are expected to be proximally related to job burnout (as a multidimensional measure for employee well-being) and as such mediate the effects of ethnic diversity and identity salience on job burnout. In sum, identity salience is considered as a social psychological process that may explain the link between ethnic diversity in work-groups and employee well-being.

Effects of Ethnic Work Group Composition on Identity Salience

An important weakness in ethnic diversity research is that ethnic diversity is often solely approached from a demographic perspective by analyzing the direct effects of the ethnic work group diversity (i.e. proportions of different ethnic subgroups that are represented in the work group) on work-related outcomes. Meta analyses have concluded that results of such demographic studies reveal inconsistent findings (for recent overviews, see Jackson, Joshi, & Erhardt, 2003; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007; Webber & Donahue, 2001). For example, ethnic diversity in work-groups relates both positively, negatively, or not at all to work-group outcomes such as work-group performance (Cox, Lobel, & McLeod, 1991; Watson, Johnson, & Zgourides, 2002; Watson, Kumar, & Michaelsen, 1993), work-group cohesion (Riordan & Shore, 1997; Webber

& Donahue, 2001) and work-group conflict (Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999).

Interestingly, demography scholars often explain negative effects of ethnic diversity by referring to – but not empirically studying – two psychological processes: social categorization (Turner et al., 1987) and similarity attraction (Byrne, 1999). The social categorization perspective states that on the basis of cognitive limitations and a desire to make sense of their social environment, people categorize others on the basis of their demographic particularities (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). As differences in ethnicity are often readily visible (i.e. based on racial features, language use, and so on; Jackson et al., 2003) individuals use ethnicity as a meaningful characteristic and distinguish between ethnic subgroups. Moreover, social categorization assumes that when ethnic subgroup identities are salient, people have a tendency to show intergroup bias which makes them favor their ethnic ingroup over other ethnic outgroups (Chrysoschoou, 2004). As a consequence, ethnic diversity in work-groups would result in work-group processes and interactions between work-group members that run less smoothly as opposed to work-groups that are ethnically more homogeneous.

The notion of similarity attraction predicts similar (negative) outcomes for ethnic diversity. In this case it is argued that individuals feel more attracted towards others with whom they share similarities in both personal and physical features (Byrne, 1999). Ethnicity provides a strong basis for similarity attraction because ‘ethnicity’ relates individuals to a group of people who share things like racial features, cultural values, place of origin, language, religion, and so on (Cashmore, 1996). As a result, work-group members would be less attracted towards working in work-groups that are ethnically more diverse, which negatively affects their organizational behavior (Tsui, Egan & O’Reilly, 1992).

Importantly, demography scholars assume that processes such as social categorization and similarity attraction take place as a result of work-groups being (ethnically) more diverse (Williams & O’Reilly, 1998). However, as research has provided mixed results (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007), it is proposed in this study that - in line with self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) - processes of social categorization and similarity attraction do not occur automatically, but rather depend on the degree to which different identities become salient

(i.e. are psychologically meaningful for work-group members and are used as a basis for identification). For that reason, it should first be determined whether ethnic diversity in work-groups relates to identity salience among work-group members. In particular, for processes of social categorization to occur, an increase in ethnic diversity in work-groups is expected to be related to a stronger identification among work-group members with their ethnic subgroup (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Furthermore, consequences based on similarity attraction can only happen when work-group members are less attracted to ethnically diverse work-groups, which would result in a lower identification with their work-group. It is therefore first hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 1a: The higher the degree of ethnic diversity in work-groups, the less employees identify with their work-group.

Hypothesis 1b: The higher the degree of ethnic diversity in work-groups, the more employees identify with their ethnic subgroup.

Effects of Intercultural Group Climate on Identity Salience

A second critical issue in diversity research is that effects of contextual factors besides (ethnic) work group diversity are often not empirically examined (Jackson et al., 2003; Webber & Donahue, 2001). However, research on intergroup contact states that an increase in interethnic contact may also *improve* interethnic relations in ethnically diverse groups when *conditions* for intergroup contact are favorable (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). Already in 1954, Allport believed that by promoting contact between ethnic groups, negative stereotypes and attitudes towards ethnic out-groups would be challenged. He specified four conditions (common goals, cooperation, equal group status and support from authorities, customs or laws) that influence people's reactions to interethnic contact.

Conditions such as described by Allport (1954) would lead to optimal intergroup relations because they transform an individual's cognitive representations from two separate groups, "us" and "them", into one inclusive superordinate group: "we" (Gaertner, Dovidio, Nier, Ward, & Banker, 1999). For example, work-group members (have to) cooperate on a daily basis to achieve common goals. Also, working together may increase members' knowledge about ethnic outgroups and it provides opportunities to form friendly ties with ethnic outgroup members (Pettigrew, 1998). As a consequence, work-group members may

(re)categorize ethnically diverse members as ingroup members – despite ethnic differences – rather than outgroup members. In turn, evaluations towards ethnically diverse work-group members – and thus the team as a whole – become more positive (Brewer, 1979; Messick & Mackie, 1989; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and group-based biases are reduced (Hewstone, 1990). Recently, a meta-analysis confirmed that interethnic contact generally results in better interethnic relations and reduced feelings of prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), especially when Allports' conditions are met.

In the present chapter we argue that the presence of a so-called 'intercultural group climate' provides such favorable conditions in a workplace context. An intercultural group climate values cultural differences, prescribes few behaviors and tolerates ambiguities (Harquail & Cox, 1993; Luijters, Van der Zee, & Otten, 2008). It is a climate where work-group members accept, respect and openly discuss cultural differences, and where such differences are seen as an advantage rather than a disadvantage for the work-group. Initial studies appear to confirm that a positive intercultural group climate relates positively to organizational identification. Similarly, cues that refer to the benefits of diversity in work-groups result in work-group members identifying more with their work-group (Van Knippenberg, Haslam, & Platow, 2007).

Furthermore, in addition to enhancing work-group identification, a strong intercultural group climate is said to encourage individuals to express themselves in terms of their ethnic identity (Harquail & Cox, 1993). As such, work-group members may perceive themselves as members of both their ethnic group *and* their work-group, thus upholding a so-called dual identity. For example, Gaertner et al. propose in their 'Common Ingroup Identity Model' (CIIM) that members of separate (ethnic) groups can conceive of themselves as belonging to a common superordinate category (i.e. the work-group), that is inclusive of former (i.e. ethnic) ingroup and outgroup members (Gaertner et al., 1999; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994). It is therefore hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 2a: The stronger the intercultural group climate, the more employees identify with their work-group.

Hypothesis 2b: The stronger the intercultural group climate, the more employees uphold a dual identity.

Identity Salience, Discrimination, and Social Support

Theoretically, identity salience has been posited to affect behavior (Kramer, 1993; Shamir, 1990), but the link between identity salience on the one hand and job stressors and job resources on the other hand has been less well established. In the current study we consider the effect of identity salience on perceived discrimination at work (as a job stressor) and received social support (as a job resource) from fellow work-group members.

Discrimination at work is conceptualized as subtle discriminatory behavior that employees may perceive in a work-group from their fellow work-group members such as being ignored, ridiculed, unfairly treated, or being bullied (Deith et al., 2003). Pettigrew and Martin (1987) refer to such discriminatory practices as ‘microaggressions’, while Deith et al. (2003) describe such incidents as ‘everyday discrimination’ or ‘mistreatment’. Importantly, the word ‘discrimination’ is not explicitly used in our survey-questions, as Gomez and Trierweiler (2001) showed that people’s informal theories about discrimination may influence their reports of events when specifically primed to think about ‘discrimination’. Furthermore, as today’s forms of ethnic and racial discrimination have become more subtle, it is often impossible to determine whether discriminatory practices can be attributed to someone’s ethnic or racial background (Deith et al., 2003). Therefore, we do not specifically refer to ethnicity as the cause for discriminatory practices in this research.

As an opposite to discrimination, social support - as a job resource - is conceptualized as a combination of four forms of social support that were first identified by House (House, 1981) – instrumental, emotional, informational and appraisal. Instrumental support refers to helping people with their work while emotional support involves providing empathy, care, and trust to validate a person’s sense of value and adequacy. Furthermore informational support refers to providing persons with information (s)he can use in coping with (work-related) problems, while appraisal support involves the transmission of information that is relevant to self-evaluation (e.g. constructive feedback).

Perceptions of discrimination at work and received social support are likely to vary as a function of social identity salience. For instance, people are more likely to receive help from others when they are perceived to belong to an ingroup that is salient to them (Levine, Prosser, Evans, & Reicher, 2002). Conversely, when work-group members are perceived as

belonging to an ethnic outgroup, people are less likely to benefit from social support from their colleagues, and more likely to encounter hostility (James, 1995). In addition, when individuals identify others as belonging to the same ingroup, evaluations of interpersonal relations often become more positive. For example, employees who identify more strongly with their work-colleagues perceived a higher amount of received social support from their colleagues at work (Haslam, Vigano, Roper, Humphrey, & O'Sullivan, 2003).

Conversely - although not specifically focused on job stressors or job resources - increased 'cultural identification' (i.e. ethnic identification) in culturally diverse groups relates to lower levels of commitment among group members. Likewise, focusing on ethnic majority/minority differences, Black Americans (i.e. ethnic outgroups) reported to receive less social support compared to majority Whites (James, 1997), and American minorities - as opposed to the American majority whites - appear to perceive more discrimination at work (Roberts, Swanson, & Murphy, 2004).

Furthermore, although effects of *dual identity* vary according to the context (Gaertner et al., 1999), dual identification usually results in a higher quality of interethnic relations. For example, Whites appear to evaluate Blacks more positively, and comply more frequently with Blacks when they interact with them as members of the same group (e.g. the same university affiliation) compared to separate individuals (Nier, Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, & Rust, 2001). Similarly, it is likely that dual identification relates positively to interpersonal relations among employees working in ethnically diverse work-groups. Linking social identity salience to perceived discrimination at work and received social support, it is hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 3a: The stronger employees identify with their work-group, the more social support and the less discrimination at work they report to experience.

Hypothesis 3b: The stronger employees identify with their ethnic subgroup, the less social support and the more discrimination at work they report to experience.

Hypothesis 3c: The stronger employees maintain a dual identity, the more social support and the less discrimination at work they report to experience.

Discrimination, Social Support and Job burnout

In this study, job burnout is considered as a multidimensional indicator for employee well-being. Job burnout represents a chronic form of job stress and is typically defined as a syndrome of emotional exhaustion, cynicism and lack of professional efficacy (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). Emotional exhaustion refers to a general feeling of chronic fatigue, caused by continuous exposure to demanding working conditions. Cynicism is defined as a callous, distanced and cynical attitude toward the work itself. Finally, professional efficacy encompasses both social and non-social aspects of occupational accomplishments. Hence, high scores on exhaustion and cynicism, and low scores on professional efficacy are indicative of burnout.

Few studies have analyzed the direct link between factors such as ethnic diversity in work-groups, intercultural group climate and identity salience on the one hand and employee wellbeing on the other hand. Yet, one study shows that organizational identification was positively related to professional efficacy, but neither to exhaustion nor cynicism (Jackson, Schwab, & Schuler, 1986). The authors suggest that employees would derive greater fulfillment from their work (i.e. more professional efficacy) because it serves to promote an entity that is valued as a part of their social identity. Likewise, the work group could constitute a superordinate group that is valued by employees as a part of their identity. However, Haslam (2004) warns that 'this does not necessarily mean that high identification protects employees from exhaustion, because they are still required to exert energy on behalf of the work-group' (p.203). This result corroborates findings which demonstrate that work group identification are positively related to work-group commitment and intentions to continue working for the same organization (Van Knippenberg & Van Schie, 2000).

Furthermore, Van der Zee, Atsma and Brodbeck (2004) showed that – contrary to expectations – 'cultural identification' (i.e. ethnic identification) did *not* relate to a general measure for employee wellbeing (Warr, 1990). However, the authors argued that their research was performed within student work-groups and that cultural background might not have been such a big issue in those work-groups compared to work-groups in real-life organizations. Furthermore, they demonstrated that 'cultural diversity' in work-groups related negatively to general wellbeing.

In either case, it is more likely that job stressors such as discrimination at work, and job resources such as received social support

are more proximally related to job burnout. For instance, discrimination relates to several physiological and psychological stress responses such as paranoia, anxiety, depression, helplessness-hopelessness (Williams & Chung, 1997), lowered self-esteem (Armstead, Lawler, Gorden, Cross, & Gibbons, 1989; Birt & Dion, 1987; Bullock & Houston, 1987; Dion, Dion, & Wan-Ping Pak, 1992) anger, aggression, and/or the use of alcohol or other substances to angry feelings (Armstead et al., 1989; Cooper, 1993; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999). Furthermore, two studies show that discrimination at work relates (negatively) to various forms of employee wellbeing like job satisfaction, emotional and physical wellbeing (Deith et al., 2003), organizational commitment and organizational citizenship behavior (Ensher, Grant-Vallone, & Donaldson, 2001). Furthermore, received social support is a job resource which usually relates negatively to stress reactions such as job burnout (Bouwman & Landeweerd, 1992; Dignam & West, 1988; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004). Also, James et al. (1997) showed that the direct relationship between ethnic minority status on the one hand and health outcomes (i.e. absence from work, medical consumption and hospitalization) was mediated by (low) levels of social support that minority members reported to receive. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

H4a: Received social support relates negatively to job- burnout.

H4b: Discrimination at work relates positively to job burnout.

H4c: Direct effects of ethnic diversity in work-groups, intercultural group climate and identity salience on job burnout are mediated by social support and discrimination.

6.2 Method

Team Selection, Data Collection, Response Rate

Sixty teams of a Dutch insurance company participated in this study. Team-members performed interdependent tasks and pursued similar goals which is consistent with definitions of teams or work-groups (Alderfer, 1977; Guzzo & Dickson, 1996; Hackman, 1987). The sixty teams all performed financial-economic tasks such as accountancy, administration, and handling insurance claims. Unfortunately, the company did not possess any information regarding the degree of ethnic diversity in their teams. Therefore, a first rough estimate of the degree of ethnic diversity was made by analyzing (non-Dutch) surnames of employees in

each of the teams. Based on this first selection, thirty teams with the highest percentages of non-Dutch surnames (ranging from 25% to 50%) were included in this study, as well as 30 other teams that held a lower percentage of non-Dutch surnames (less than 25%) to ensure variability. Team leaders of each of the teams were contacted to ensure the accuracy regarding the degree of ethnic diversity, and were informed that their team had been selected to participate in this study.

Each of the team leaders were invited to participate in the study via an email sent by the head of the HRM department, with a link to an electronic questionnaire. Consequently, team leaders were asked to fill out the electronic questionnaire themselves, and send the link to all their team members. A general password was used to ensure anonymity for each of the respondents. Data collection took place during two months. A total number of 1031 employees were approached to participate in the study, of which 793 were identified as ethnic majority (Dutch) employees and 238 employees as ethnic minority (non-Dutch) employees.¹ Response rates indicated that 69% of the ethnic majority (n=547), and 74% of the ethnic minority employees (n=175) filled out the questionnaire. Across teams, the average response rate was 72% and varied from 30% to 100%.

Sample Characteristics

Percentages of ethnic minorities in teams ranged from 0% to 67% and was on average 24%. Also, the selected teams had an average team size of 14 employees, ranging from 5 to 25 employees. Furthermore, 46.5% of the respondents were male and employees were on average about 38 years (M=38.23, SD=9.78). About 43% of all employees finished lower secondary or lower professional education, 20% had higher secondary education, 24% held a college degree, and 13% held a university degree. The mean organizational tenure was about 11 years (M=10.59, SD=9.65) and employees worked on average for about 4 years in their team (M=4.19, SD=4.75). About 56% worked in junior clerical positions, while about 27% had a senior/expert clerical position, 7% were team-leaders and 10% occupied other positions.

Measures

Independent variables

Ethnic diversity in teams was calculated by using Blau's index $1 - \sum p_k^2$ (Blau, 1977), where p is the proportion of unit members in k th

category. For instance: in a team that consists of 5 Dutch, 3 Surinamese and 2 Turkish team-members, the squared proportions of each subgroup are .5², .3² and .2², respectively. Consequently, Blau's index is 1 minus the sum of the squared proportions of the ethnic subgroups ($1 - (.25 + .09 + .04)$) is .62. The higher the index, the more ethnically diverse the team. Based on this measure, the ethnic diversity in teams was on average .35 ($M = .35$, $SD = .23$).

Furthermore, we used a one-item measure of Gagnon & Bourhis (1996) to assess the degree to which work-group members identified with either their ethnic group or the work-group: 'To what degree do you identify yourself as a member of your work-group / ethnic group'. The answering possibilities ranged on a five point Likert scale from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost always*). Scores on work-group identification were on average 3.04 ($SD = 1.06$) and 2.80 for ethnic identification ($SD = 1.30$). Dual identification was calculated by taking the product of team-identification and ethnic identification.

Intercultural group climate consisted of five items, scored on a five point Likert scale as used by Luijters et al. (2008). The scale was adapted to measure intercultural group climate on work-group (team) level instead of 'branch' level. One example item is 'In our team, we value differences in cultural backgrounds among team-members'. Answering categories ranged from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*).

Following Anderson and West (1998), we agree that the appropriate level of analysis to examine climate measures is the work-group. However, before aggregating intercultural group climate to work-group level, it was first assessed whether work-group members have shared perceptions about this climate rather than diverse perceptions. The rate of agreement across work-group members on intercultural group climate was therefore assessed by calculating the within-group inter-rater reliability ($=Rwgj$; James, Demaree, & Wolf, 1984) and the intra-class correlation ($=ICC-1$; Hofmann, 1997; Snijders & Bosker, 1999). The average $Rwgj$ score across the sixty teams was on average .86, indicating that it is consistently tapping shared climate perceptions rather than aggregating diverse perceptions of individual work-group members. In addition, the ICC was .14, and adding a work-group level resulted in a significant relative fit of the Null model in multi-level analysis (deviance = 43.219, $df = 1$, $p < .001$), demonstrating

that intercultural group climate possesses sufficient discriminable validity on a work-group level.

Dependent variables

Social support received from fellow team-members was assessed with an eight item Likert scale developed by Peeters, Buunk & Schaufeli (1995). Each dimension of social support (instrumental, emotional, informational, appraisal) is assessed by two items. One item example for instrumental support is: 'My fellow team-members help me with certain tasks'. The items were scored on a five point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost always*).

Discrimination at work was measured with four items on a five point Likert scale proposed by Lugtenberg & Peeters (2004), based on the work of Deith et al. (2003). An item example is: 'To what degree do team-members bully or harass you?'. The items were scored on a five point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*almost never*) to 5 (*almost always*).

Job burnout was assessed with the Dutch version (Schaufeli & Van Dierendonck, 2000) of the Maslach Burnout Inventory-General Survey (Schaufeli et al., 1996). All items were scored on a seven point Likert scale ranging from 0 (*never*) to 6 (*always*). The MBI-GS includes three subscales: exhaustion (EX: five items; e.g., 'I feel used up at the end of a work day'); cynicism (CY: four items; e.g., 'I doubt the significance of my work'), and professional self-efficacy (PE: six items; e.g., 'I can effectively solve the problems that arise in my work'). High scores on EX and CY and low scores on PE are indicative of job burnout. Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) showed that a three factor solution resulted in a superior model fit compared to either a one ($\Delta\chi^2 = 1063.035$; $p < .001$) or the best fitting two factor solution ($\Delta\chi^2 = 341.52$; $p < .001$), and the hypothesized three factor solution showed an acceptable fit to the data ($\chi^2 = 676.512$, GFI = .94; NFI = .92; CFI = .94, RMSEA = .06).

Control variables

Two control variables, being *work-group longevity* (i.e. team-tenure: Katz, 1982; Weingart, 1992) and *work-group size* (Brewer & Kramer, 1986) are included in subsequent analyses because both are known to influence individual and group dynamics.

Multi-level Regression Analyses

Multi-level regression analyses were used to test out hypotheses. Conventional statistical analyses violate the assumption of independence of observations because of the hierarchical structure of the data (employees are nested in teams), and overestimate the number of observations for work-group level variables, thus leading to spuriously significant results (Hox, 2002). Multi-level regression analyses takes the multi-level structure and the various dependencies of the data into account (Hox, 2002; Kenny, Kashy, & Bolger, 1998). Before performing the analyses, variables were centered to prevent problems with multicollinearity (Aiken & West, 1991). Significance of effects was tested by means of the likelihood ratio test. This test uses the difference (deviance) between two model fits as a test statistic. The difference in model fit follows a chi-square distribution, with the number of added parameters as degrees of freedom.

6.3 Results

Preliminary analyses

Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations, correlations, and internal consistencies for each of the variables. Cronbach Alpha for each of the scales exceeds .70, indicating that the scales have sufficient internal consistency (Nunnally & Bernstein 1994).

Relations of Ethnic Work-group Composition and Intercultural Group Climate with Identity Salience (Hypotheses 1 and 2)

Multi-level analyses were performed to determine the hypothesized relationships between ethnic diversity in work-groups and intercultural group climate on the one hand, and identity salience on the other hand (i.e. Hypotheses 1 and 2). Group size and Group longevity were entered first in the regression equation as control variables. The intra-class correlation (ICC-1) for work-group identification is .03, for dual identification .02 and for ethnic identification .01, showing that most of the variance lies on an individual (employee) level. Results are shown in Table 2.

Table 1
Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations and Reliabilities of the study variables

Variable	Mean	Sd	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<i>Team-level variables</i>													
1 Work-group size	13.69	4.59	-										
2 Work-group longevity	4.19	2.37	-0.15 **	-									
3 Ethnic diversity in work-group	0.35	0.23	-0.02	-0.25 **	-								
4 Intercultural group climate	3.98	0.35	0.10 **	-0.16 **	0.58 **	(.84)							
<i>Individual-level variables</i>													
5 Ethnic identification	2.80	1.30	-0.02	-0.08 *	0.04	0.04	-						
6 Work-group identification	3.04	1.06	0.05	-0.08 *	0.04	0.16 **	0.40 **	-					
7 Social support	3.54	0.60	-0.01	0.02	-0.03	0.13 **	0.07	0.22 **	(.88)				
8 Discrimination at work	1.43	0.58	0.04	-0.03	0.13 **	-0.05	0.07	-0.06	-0.32 **	(.86)			
9 Exhaustion	1.24	0.88	0.08 *	-0.13 **	0.01	-0.03	0.06	0.00	-0.26 **	0.34 **	(.85)		
10 Cynicism	1.08	0.88	0.04	-0.07	0.05	-0.07	-0.01	-0.13 **	-0.24 **	0.34 **	0.53 **	(.76)	
11 Professional Efficacy	4.20	0.89	0.09 *	0.08 *	-0.06	0.06	0.04	0.16 **	0.19 **	-0.13 **	-0.23 **	-0.33 **	(.76)

Note. *p<.05; **P<.01.

Table 2
Multi-level Regression Analyses: Workgroup Identification, Ethnic identification and Dual identification

	Work group identification		Ethnic identification		Dual identification	
	<i>est</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>se</i>
<i>Work group level variables</i>						
Group size	0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Group longevity	-0.03	0.02	-0.05	0.02	0.00	0.03
Ethnic diversity	-0.55	0.24 *	0.02	0.34	-0.52	0.42
Intercultural climate	0.61	0.14 ***	0.08	0.18	0.60	0.21 **
-2*loglikelihood (IGLS Deviance)	1892.65		2172.34		2251.36	
$\Delta -2$ *loglikelihood	19.67 ***		5.23		10.28 ***	
Between group variance	0.00	0.00	3%	0.00	1%	0.03
Within group variance	1.09	0.06	0%	0.09	0%	0.11
						0%

Note. *p<.05; **P<.01; ***P<.001.

Hypothesis 1a stated that an increase in ethnic diversity in work-groups is negatively related to work-group identification. In line with this expectation, Table 2 shows that ethnic diversity relates negatively to work-group identification ($t = -1.99$; $p < .05$), which supports Hypothesis 1a. Thus, the more ethnically diverse work-groups are, the less employees identify with their work-group. Hypothesis 1b stated that more ethnic diversity in work-groups is positively associated with ethnic identification. However, contrary to expectations, results show *no* significant relationship between ethnic diversity and ethnic identification, thus rejecting Hypothesis 1b. Furthermore, hypotheses 2a and 2b stated that intercultural group climate stimulates work-group members to identify with their work-group and their dual identity. Results indeed show that intercultural group climate is positively associated with work-group identification ($t = 4.30$; $p < .001$) and with dual identification ($t = 2.86$; $p < .01$), confirming Hypotheses 2a and 2b. None of the control variables (group longevity and group size) were related to identity salience.

Relations of Identity Salience with Received Social Support and Discrimination At Work (Hypothesis 3)

Table 3 shows results concerning the hypothesized relationships between identity salience on the one hand, and perceptions of received social support and discrimination on the other hand (i.e. Hypotheses 3). The ICC-1 is .07 for social support, and .06 for discrimination, validating the use of multi-level analyses. Multi-level analyses were performed whereby the Null model was tested against 3 nested models. Model 1 included all work-group level variables (i.e. group size, group longevity, ethnic diversity in work-groups, and intercultural group climate). In Model 2, work group identification and ethnic identification were added. In the third Model, dual identification (i.e. the interaction between work group identification and ethnic identification) was included. Table 3 shows that each successive nested model resulted in a better relative model fit, except for the third model with regard to discrimination.

Table 3
Multi-level Regression Analyses: Identity Salience, Social Support and Discrimination at Work.

	Social Support						Discrimination at Work					
	model 1		model 2		model 3		model 1		model 2		model 3	
	est	se	est	se	est	se	est	se	est	se	est	se
team-level variables:												
Groupsize	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Group longevity	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Ethnic diversity	-0.50	0.19 **	-0.44	0.18 **	-0.42	0.18 **	0.79	0.17 ***	0.77	0.17 ***	0.77	0.17 ***
Intercultural climate	0.37	0.10 ***	0.31	0.09 ***	0.29	0.09 ***	-0.33	0.09 ***	-0.31	0.09 ***	-0.31	0.09 ***
Individual level variables:												
Team identification			0.11	0.02 ***	0.12	0.02 ***			-0.05	0.02 *	-0.05	0.02 *
Ethnic identification			-0.01	0.02	-0.02	0.02			0.05	0.02 **	0.05	0.02 **
Interactions:												
Dual identification					0.03	0.02 *					0.00	0.02
-2*loglikelihood (IGLS Deviance)	1146.28		1123.59		1119.77		1093.88		1086.69		1086.68	
Δ -2*loglikelihood	13.48 **		22.69 ***		3.82 *		21.43 ***		7.20 *		0.01	
Between group variance	0.02	0.05	3%	0.01	0.01	4%	0.01	0.01	4%	0.01	0.01	4%
Within group variance	0.34	0.06	0%	0.33	0.02	2%	0.33	0.02	3%	0.32	0.02	2%
									1%	0.31	0.02	2%
											0.31	0.02
												2%

Note. *p<.05; **P<.01; ***P<.001.

Hypothesis 3a predicted that the more employees identify with their work-group, the more social support they receive and the less discrimination at work they experience. In line with this expectation, Table 3 shows that work-group identification relates positively and significantly to received social support (Model 2: $t = 4.58$; $p < .001$), while it relates negatively to perceived discrimination at work (Model 2: $t = -2.00$; $p < .05$) which confirms Hypothesis 3a.

Hypothesis 3b predicted that the more employees identify with their ethnic group, the less social support and the more discrimination at work they perceive. Results partly confirm this hypothesis. Table 3 displays that the more team-members identify with their ethnic subgroup, the more discrimination at work they experience (Model 2: $t = 2.42$; $p < .01$). However, ethnic identification was *not* significantly related to social support (Model 2: $t = -.42$; $p > .05$). Hence Hypothesis 3b is only partly confirmed for discrimination.

Finally, Hypothesis 3c stated that the more employees uphold a dual identity, the more social support and the less discrimination at work they would experience. In line with Hypothesis 3c, results show that dual identification is significantly and positively associated with social support (Model 3: $t = 1.97$; $p < .05$). However, dual identification does *not* relate to perceived discrimination at work (Model 3: $t = .07$; $p > .05$), so that Hypothesis 3c is only partly confirmed (for received social support).

Furthermore, Table 3 shows that the relationships between ethnic diversity in work-groups and intercultural group climate on the one hand and social support and discrimination at work on the other hand remain significant after adding identity salience to the regression equation in Models 2 and 3. In particular, the more ethnically diverse work-groups are, the less social support (Model 3: $t = -2.39$; $p < .01$) and the more discrimination (Model 3: $t = 4.50$; $p < .001$) employees experience at work. Conversely, the more positive the intercultural group climate, the more social support (Model 3: $t = 3.16$; $p < .001$) and the less discrimination (Model 3: $t = -3.42$; $p < .001$) employees experience. None of the control variables were related to either received social support or discrimination at work.

*Relations of Social Support and Discrimination with Job Burnout
(Hypothesis 4)*

Next, the hypothesized relationships between identity salience, social support and discrimination at work on the one hand, and job burnout on the other hand were analyzed (Hypothesis 4). As job burnout is a three dimensional indicator for employee wellbeing, Table 4 displays results for Exhaustion (EX), Table 5 for Cynicism (CY) and Table 6 for Professional Efficacy (PE). The ICC-1 for EX is .04, for CY .08 and for PE .05, thus validating the use of multi-level analyses.

Multi-level analyses were performed whereby the null model was tested against four nested model. Model 1 included all work-group level variables: work-group size, work-group longevity, ethnic diversity in work-groups, and intercultural group climate. In the second Model, work-group identification and ethnic identification were added, while in Model 3 dual identification was included. In the fourth and final Model, received social support and discrimination at work were added. For EX, Table 4 shows that all successive steps resulted in a relative improvement of the model fit, except for Model 2. For CY, Table 5 indicates that only Models 2 and 4 result in a significant relative improvement of the model fit. For PE, Table 6 shows that every step results in a significant relative improvement of the model fit.

Table 4*Effects of Identity Salience, Social Support and Discrimination at Work on Exhaustion*

Exhaustion										
Null Model			Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	est	se	est	se	est	se	est	se	est	se
Team-level variables:										
Groupsize			0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Group longevity			-0.04	0.02 **	-0.04	0.02 **	-0.04	0.02 **	-0.04	0.02 **
Ethnic diversity			0.09	0.25	0.09	0.26	0.13	0.26	-0.30	0.23
Intercultural climate			-0.16	0.13	-0.14	0.13	-0.18	0.14	0.02	0.12
Individual-level variables:										
Team identification					-0.03	0.04	-0.02	0.04	0.04	0.03
Ethnic identification					0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.03
Interactions:										
Dual identification							0.05	0.02 *	0.06	0.02 **
Mediators:										
Social Support									-0.28	0.06 ***
Discrimination at work									0.42	0.06 ***
-2*loglikelihood (IGLS Deviance)	1647.79		1637.54		1637.01		1631.88		1512.97	
Δ -2*loglikelihood			10.25 *		0.52		5.13 *		118.91 *	
Between group variance	0.03	0.02	4%	0.02	0.02	2%	0.02	0.02	1%	0.01
Within group variance	0.74	0.04	96%	0.73	0.04	0%	0.73	0.04	0%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%	0.61
							0.71	0.04	4%</	

Note. *p<0.05; **P<0.01; ***P<0.001.

Table 5*Effects of Identity Salience, Social Support and Discrimination at Work on Cynicism*

Cynicism										
Null Model			Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	est	se	est	se	est	se	est	se	est	se
Team-level variables:										
Groupsize			0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Group longevity			-0.01	0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	0.02
Ethnic diversity			0.65	0.29 *	0.58	0.29 *	0.61	0.29 *	0.25	0.25
Intercultural climate			-0.39	0.15 **	-0.33	0.15 *	-0.35	0.15 **	-0.20	0.13
Individual level variables:										
Team identification					-0.11	0.04 ***	-0.10	0.04 **	-0.06	0.04
Ethnic identification					0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.00	0.03
Interactions:										
Dual identification							0.03	0.02	0.04	0.02
Mediators:										
Social Support									-0.19	0.06 ***
Discrimination at work									0.41	0.06 ***
-2*loglikelihood (IGLS Deviance)	1668.47		1659.33		1649.63		1647.36		1546.63	
Δ -2*loglikelihood			9.14		9.70 *		2.28		100.73 ***	
Between group variance	0.06	0.02	8%	0.04	0.02	3%	0.04	0.02	3%	0.02
Within group variance	0.73	0.04	92%	0.73	0.04	0%	0.72	0.04	1%	0.71
									0.04	0.02
									2%	0.64
									0.04	0.04
									13%	

Note. *p<.05; **P<.01; ***P<.001.

Table 6

Effects of Identity Salience, Social Support and Discrimination at Work on Professional Efficacy.

	Professional Efficacy									
	Null Model		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	est	se	est	se	est	se	est	se	est	se
Team-level variables:										
Groupsize			-0.02	0.01 *	-0.02	0.01 **	-0.02	0.01	-0.02	0.01 *
Group longevity			0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Ethnic diversity			-0.70	0.26 **	-0.62	0.25 **	-0.59	0.25 **	-0.47	0.25
Intercultural climate			0.40	0.13 **	0.32	0.13 **	0.29	0.13 *	0.22	0.13
Individual level variables:										
Team identification					0.13	0.04 ***	0.14	0.04 ***	0.11	0.04 **
Ethnic identification					-0.02	0.03	-0.03	0.03	-0.03	0.03
Interactions:										
Dual identification							0.04	0.02 *	0.05	0.02 *
Mediators:										
Social Support									0.19	0.06 ***
Discrimination at work									-0.07	0.06
-2*loglikelihood (IGLS Deviance)	1671.94		1657.68		1649.63		1640.48		1589.70	
Δ -2*loglikelihood			14.26 **		8.05 *		9.15 **		50.78 ***	
Between group variance	0.04	0.02	5%	0.02	0.02	3%	0.01	0.02	3%	0.01
Within group variance	0.74	0.04	95%	0.74	0.04	0%	0.73	0.04	2%	0.69
							0.72	0.04	2%	0.69
Note. *p<.05; **P<.01; ***P<.001.										

Note. *p<.05; **P<.01; ***P<.001.

Hypothesis 4a stated that received social support would relate negatively to job burnout. In line with this hypothesis, results show that received social support relates negatively to EX (Model 4: $t = -5.04$, $p < .001$) and CY (Model 4: $t = -3.29$, $p < .001$), while received social support relates positively to PE (Model 4: $t = 3.20$, $p < .001$). Thus, Hypothesis 4a is supported for all three burnout dimensions.

Next, Hypothesis 4b predicted that discrimination at work relates positively to job burnout. Confirming this assumption, results show that discrimination at work is strongly and positively related to EX (Model 4: $t = 7.19$; $p < .001$) and CY (Model 4: $t = 6.98$; $p < .001$). However, discrimination is not significantly related to PE (Model 4: $t = -1.21$; $p > .05$). Thus, discrimination is associated with two out of three dimensions for job burnout, which supports hypothesis 4b.

Finally, Hypothesis 4c predicted that received social support and discrimination at work would mediate the relationships between ethnic diversity, intercultural group climate and identity salience on the one hand, and job burnout on the other hand. For EX, results show that only dual identification relates significantly – and positively – to EX (Model 3: $t = 2.27$; $p < .05$). Contrary to predictions, this relationship was not mediated by social support or discrimination at work (Model 4: $t = 2.62$; $p < .01$). It thus appears that the stronger work-group members uphold a dual identity, the more exhausted they are and that this relationship is *not* mediated by social support and discrimination at work.

Moreover, outcomes demonstrate that ethnic diversity in work groups relates positively to CY (Model 3: $t = 2.11$; $p < .05$), while work-group identification (Model 2: $t = -3.14$; $p < .001$) and intercultural group climate (Model 3: $t = -2.33$, $p < .01$) relate negatively to CY. As predicted by Hypothesis 4c, these direct effects on CY are indeed fully mediated by social support and discrimination at work (ethnic diversity in work-group, Model 4: $t = 0.98$, $p > .05$; intercultural group climate, Model 4: $t = -1.53$, $p > .05$; and work-group identification, Model 4: $t = -1.69$, $p > .05$).

Finally, results show that ethnic diversity in work-groups is negatively associated with PE (Model 3: $t = -2.38$, $p < .01$), while intercultural group climate (Model 3: $t = 2.25$, $p < .05$), work-group identification (Model 2: $t = 3.74$, $p < .001$), and dual identification (Model 3: $t = 1.96$, $p < .05$) are positively related to PE. As predicted by Hypothesis 4c, the relationships between ethnic diversity in work-groups and

intercultural group climate on PE are mediated by social support (ethnic diversity in work-groups, Model 4: $t = -1.91$, $p > .05$; intercultural group climate, Model 4: $t = 1.73$, $p > .05$). However, contrary to expectations, social support did *not* mediate the direct relationships between work-group identification (Model 4: $t = 2.97$, $p < .01$) and dual identification (Model 4: $t = 2.05$, $p < .05$) on PE.

Summarizing the findings concerning Hypothesis 4c, results show that all direct effects of ethnic diversity in work-groups and intercultural group climate on job burnout are mediated by received social support and discrimination at work. However, effects of dual identification (on EX and PE) and work-group identification (on PE) remain significant even after including social support and discrimination to the regression equation. Hence, Hypothesis 4c is partly confirmed. Finally, looking at the control variables, group size has a significant and negative effect on PE (Model 4: $t = -2.00$; $p < .05$).

6.4 Discussion and Conclusion

The current chapter examines the relationship between ethnic diversity in work-groups and job burnout. By doing so, the study makes three main contributions to the present research on diversity and occupational health. First, it addresses a lack in research concerning effects of ethnic diversity in work-groups on individual outcomes such as employee wellbeing (Jackson et al., 2003). Second, it extends occupational health research by investigating the connection between ethnic diversity in work-groups on the one hand, and interpersonal job stressors (i.e. discrimination at work), job resources (i.e. received social support) and employee wellbeing (i.e. job burnout) on the other hand. Thirdly, identity salience is introduced as an underlying psychological process that explains the mixed findings that have been reported on the link between ethnic work-group diversity and work-related outcomes (i.e. Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). Each of the findings and their theoretical and practical relevance are discussed below.

Ethnic Work-group diversity and Identity Salience

First of all, along the lines of self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), we posited and found that more ethnic diversity in work-groups

relates negatively to work-group identification among employees (confirming Hypothesis 1a). However, ethnic diversity in work groups did not relate to ethnic identification (rejecting Hypothesis 1b). By showing that ethnic diversity in work groups relates to work group identification, this study provides empirical evidence for the social psychological processes that are often assumed to take place as a consequence of (ethnic) work group diversity (Webber & Donahue, 2001; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007).

As mentioned in the introduction, two processes are often used – but often not empirically tested – as an explanation for detrimental outcomes of (ethnic) work group diversity: similarity attraction and social categorization (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). This study provides empirical evidence for the similarity attraction process. In particular, according to the similarity attraction paradigm, employees would feel less attracted to their work group when it is more diverse (i.e. resulting in a lower work group identification) which is exactly what we found. In contrast, the social categorization perspective states that people define themselves and others more strongly in terms of their ethnic subgroup as a consequence of (ethnic) work group diversity. However, we did not find such empirical evidence as ethnic work group diversity turned out to be unrelated to ethnic identification. Thus, it appears that – in this case – ethnic work group diversity is more related to the process of similarity attraction (i.e. decrease in work group identification) rather than social categorization (i.e. increase in ethnic identification). This has important implications, as work-group identification and ethnic identification relate differently to employees' perceptions of interpersonal job resources and job stressors (further discussed below).

Intercultural Group Climate and Identity Salience

Furthermore, in line with intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998), it was postulated and found that a positive intercultural group climate relates positively to work-group identification and dual identification – i.e., simultaneous identification of employees with their work-group and with their own ethnic group (confirming Hypotheses 2a and 2b). This finding is important as it is often reasoned – but not empirically tested – that factors such as team climate and culture affect work-related outcomes in ethnically diverse teams (i.e. Webber &

Donahue, 2001; Jackson et al., 2003). In particular, the current study confirms results from an experimental study which showed that (manipulating) positive beliefs about valuing diversity resulted in a higher work group identification (Van Knippenberg et al., 2007). By showing that intercultural group climate relates positively to work group identification, the present study generalizes experimental findings to a real life organizational context. Furthermore and as expected, intercultural group climate was found to enhance employees dual identification. In an intercultural group climate, members accept, respect and openly discuss cultural differences, and such differences are seen as an advantage rather than a disadvantage for the work-group. Such a climate stimulates employees to identify themselves in terms of their cultural identities, in combination with identifying themselves as a work-group member (Gaertner et al., 1994). This is important, as dual identification is significantly related to social support and aspects of job burnout beyond ethnic identification or work group identification alone (further discussed below).

We recommend that future studies keep on examining the impact of contextual factors such as intercultural group climate on work-related outcomes (i.e. Webber & Donahue, 2001; Jackson et al., 2003). In this respect, it would be important to distinguish between different climates or perspectives that might be differentially related to work group outcomes in ethnically diverse work-groups. For instance, Ely and Thomas (2001) demonstrated in their qualitative study that different perspectives on cultural diversity predict the degree to which culturally diverse organizations are successful in reaping the benefits of a culturally diverse work-force. In particular, they argued that a so-called '*integration and learning*' perspective – similar to the studied intercultural group climate – leads to positive work-related outcomes. In contrast, an *access and legitimacy perspective* (only focusing on recruiting cultural minorities based on the cultural diversity of markets) or a *discrimination and fairness perspective* (similar treatment of all employees without openly discussing cultural differences) are perspectives that appear to be unsuccessful in optimizing benefits of cultural diversity in organizations.

Identity Salience, Social Support and Discrimination

Next, as expected and based on self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), results indicated that employee's perceptions of interpersonal

job stressors and job resources varied as a function of identity salience: Employees who strongly identified with their work-group, or upheld a strong dual identity, perceived more received social support (mostly confirming Hypotheses 3a and 3c), while employees who strongly identified with their ethnic group perceived more discrimination from fellow work-group members (mostly confirming Hypothesis 3b). These findings are important, as only few studies have examined consequences of identity salience on employees perceptions of interpersonal job resources and job stressors (Haslam, 2004).

The above findings relate to the work of Levine et al. (2002), who showed that people are more likely to help others out when they are seen as belonging to the same ingroup. Also, people perceive more received social support from others who they consider to be ingroup members (Haslam, Vigano, Roper, Humphrey, & O'Sullivan, 2003). Moreover, Nier and colleagues (2001) showed that ethnically dissimilar persons are more likely to co-operate with one another when they share a similar group affiliation (i.e. the same university). This study generalizes these initial findings to a work context. In particular, employees who strongly identify with their work group, or uphold a dual identity, are more likely to perceive other members in their work group as ingroup members. As such, employees have more positive perceptions of received social support, and perceive less discrimination from their fellow work group members compared to 'weak work group identifiers'.

In addition, the current study also demonstrates that when employees exclusively identify themselves in terms of their ethnic subgroup (i.e. outgroup), they perceive *more* discrimination from fellow work group members. This relates to the idea that when employees identify themselves, or are identified, as ethnic outgroup members, they are more likely to encounter hostilities at work from their co-workers (James et al., 1995).

The finding that identity salience relates to perceived interpersonal job stressors and job resources also has practical relevance for organizations. In particular, organizations may be successful in reducing job stressors and increasing job resources among employees to the degree to which they are successful in promoting a positive intercultural group climate (Harquail & Cox, 1993, Luijters et al., 2008), which stimulates

employees to identify themselves in terms of their work group and dual identity.

Non-Mediation of Identity Salience

Yet, we have to be careful not to overstate the importance of identity salience. In particular, identity salience did not fully mediate direct effects of ethnic diversity and intercultural group climate on interpersonal job stressors and job resources. In fact, results show that ethnic diversity in work-groups relates negatively to social support and positively to discrimination, even after identity salience was added in multi-level analyses. Similarly, results indicated that intercultural group climate was positively associated with social support and negatively related to discrimination beyond effects of identity salience.

It thus appears that identity salience does not tell the whole story. Alternatively, in line with Blau's (1977) original reasoning, it could be the case that an increase in (ethnic) minorities would pose a competitive threat to (ethnic) majorities in work-groups, resulting in adverse outcomes such as demonstrated in this study. In contrast, conditions such as a positive intercultural group climate could reduce feelings of perceived intergroup threat (e.g. see Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Preliminary studies indeed suggest that perceived intergroup threat acts as a mediator between interethnic contact and intergroup relations (Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2004; Stephan et al., 2002). This line of research is worth further exploring in future studies.

Identity Salience, Social Support, Discrimination and Job Burnout

Moreover, results of this study showed that social support related negatively, while discrimination at work related positively to job burnout (confirming Hypotheses 4a and 4b). As such, it replicates findings in occupational health research which demonstrate that received social support relates negatively to stress reactions like job burnout (Bouwman & Landeweerd, 1992; Dignam & West, 1988). This being said, the (negative) relationship between discrimination at work - as a specific interpersonal job stressor - and job burnout remains understudied (Deitch et al., 2003). As discrimination is positively related to two out of the three burnout dimensions (i.e. EX and CY), we argue that future studies should take discrimination into account. In a workplace where employees (have to) work in teams which are increasingly diverse in terms of ethnicity,

gender, age, personality, cultural values, and so on (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998), discrimination at work could become a more relevant interpersonal job stressor to deal with.

Furthermore, and as expected, social support and discrimination *fully mediated* the relationships between ethnic diversity in work-groups and intercultural group climate on job burnout (partly confirming Hypothesis 4c). This confirms expectations in most diversity studies, in which a model is assumed where diversity influences group processes, and in turn different group processes relate to more distal outcomes such as performance and employee' wellbeing (Raghuram & Garud, 1996).

However – contrary to expectations – the direct relationships between identity salience and job burnout *were not mediated* by social support and discrimination (partly rejecting Hypothesis 4c). In particular, dual identification turned out to be *positively* related to EX, while both work-group identification and dual identification were positively associated with PE, even after the inclusion of social support and discrimination in multi-level analyses. Although links between identity salience and job burnout are not yet well established in research, some preliminary studies obtained similar findings, be it for organizational identification. For instance, Haslam et al. (2003) found a negative relationship between organizational identification and a general measure for job burnout. Furthermore, Jackson et al. (1986) showed that high identifiers with the organization reported higher professional efficacy (personal accomplishment) compared to low identifiers, while their levels of exhaustion and cynicism (callousness) were quite similar compared to high identifiers.

An explanation for the positive relationship between identity salience and PE could be that employees who identify with their work-group - or uphold a strong dual identity - derive greater fulfillment from their work because the work they do serves to promote the work-group that they value as a part of their social identity. However, this does not mean that high identification protects employees from feelings of exhaustion, as they are still required to exert energy on behalf of the work-group (Haslam, 2004). Elaborating on this point, the present study shows that dual identification actually *enhances* feelings of exhaustion among employees. An explanation for this could be that employees who express themselves in terms of their dual identity experience more tensions between the norms

and values of the ethnic group compared to the work group, which may give rise to role conflict (see Luijters et al., 2006). Related to this, Luijters et al. found that ethnic minority employees preferred to uphold a dual identity, but only when they scored high on emotional stability. In addition, people who uphold their dual identity – and thus switch between expressing themselves in terms of their cultural identity and work group identity – are likely to encounter more diversity-related stress which may ultimately lead to feelings of exhaustion (Van Oudenhoven & Eisses, 1998). It would be interesting if future studies would try to replicate these preliminary findings.

Study Limitations

Despite its contributions, the current study also has some limitations that need to be addressed. The first limitation is that we used cross-sectional data and therefore we cannot determine the causality of the proposed research model. For instance, it is also plausible that as a consequence of job burnout, employees identify less with their work-group, or that more social support causes employees to identify more with their work-group. Hence, it is important to replicate our findings in a longitudinal study.

Furthermore, Blau's index score (1977) for measuring ethnic work-group compositions was based on the available ethnic diversity in the work-groups of this company. As a consequence, we could not examine the entire continuum of ethnic diversity in work-groups that is theoretically possible. Put differently, ethnic majority (Dutch) employees were still in a numerical majority in most of the work-groups under study. In this respect, it is a challenge to find companies that harbor even more variance in ethnic work-group compositions that are willing to participate in this kind of research. An alternative would be to conduct experimental studies where ethnic work-group compositions can be manipulated. However, this would of course reduce the ecological validity of such findings for real-life organizational settings.

Thirdly, this study used a one-item measures for social identification. Although similar measures have been used before (e.g. Gagnon & Bourhis, 1996), we recommend that future studies use more elaborate measures to assess ethnic identification (e.g. Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001) and work-group identification (e.g. Riordan & Weatherly, 1999). Finally, our study specifically focused on one

type of diversity. Of course, we acknowledge that the concept of work-group diversity encompasses a whole range of other demographic (age, gender), deep-level (attitudes, values), or task-related (educational and functional level) attributes (Harrison & Klein, 2007; Jackson et al., 2003). An interesting avenue for future research is to examine whether the relationships found in our study hold up for other types of diversity in work-groups (e.g. Randel, 2002).

Final Conclusion

Despite these limitations, we believe that our research contributes significantly to the current literature on workplace diversity and occupational health. It shows that consequences of ethnic diversity in work-groups depend on the degree to which different identities become salient in ethnically diverse work-groups. In addition it suggests that intercultural group climate is a contextual factor beyond the ethnic work-group composition that relates to identity salience and employees perceptions of interpersonal job resources and job stressors. Thus, rather than assuming that ethnic diversity in work-groups “automatically” relates to either positive or negative outcomes, our study provides a more detailed understanding of the psychological role that identity salience plays in the relationship between ethnic diversity in work-groups and employee well-being.

NOTE

The Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) defines persons as ethnic minority members when the person him-/herself, or at least one of their parents is born in a country outside of the Netherlands. This definition is also used in this study to distinguish ethnic majority from ethnic minority employees. The specific distribution of ethnic backgrounds among employees was as follows: 75.8% Dutch (ethnic majority), 10.9% Surinamese/Antillean, 4.3% Turkish/Moroccan, 3.9% Indonesian and 5.1% of the participants had ‘other’ ethnic origins. About 51% were so called first generation migrants (born themselves in a country outside of the Netherlands), and 49% were 2nd generation migrants (person born in the Netherlands, with one or both parents born outside of the Netherlands).

CHAPTER 7: LET'S PUT DIVERSITY INTO PERSPECTIVE: ON THE MODERATING EFFECTS OF DIVERSITY PERSPECTIVES ON ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN TEAMS AND BENEFICIAL WORK-OUTCOMES⁸

7.1 Introduction

In the past decades, workforces in western societies (Europe, USA and Australia) have become more and more ethnically diverse (OECD, 2008). This trend has raised important questions for organizations concerning the effects of the increasing ethnic diversity in the workforce on work outcomes. Answering this question is not simple. Meta-analyses (Jackson, Joshi, & Erhardt, 2003; Oerlemans, Peeters, & Schaufeli, 2008; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007; Webber & Donahue, 2001) have concluded that ethnic diversity is a so called 'double edged sword'. On the one hand, positive effects of ethnic diversity have been reported in empirical research. For instance, ethnically diverse work groups have the potential of being more creative, innovative and are therefore able to outperform ethnically homogeneous work groups (McLeod & Lobel, 1992; Watson, Johnson, & Merritt, 1998; Watson, Johnson, & Zgourides, 2002). On the other hand, negative effects of ethnic diversity have also been reported. For instance, ethnically diverse work groups appear to experience more detrimental outcomes in terms of more emotional conflict (Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999) and less team cohesion (Riordan & Shore, 1997), which negatively affects individual and work group performance (Jackson et al., 2003). Interestingly, most research on ethnic diversity so far has been primarily focussed on so called 'direct effects' of diversity in teams, in terms of variations in ethnic or national origin in teams. However, such studies have reported mixed outcomes (Jackson et al., 2003; Webber &

⁸ Chapter 7 has been submitted for publication as: Oerlemans, W.G.M., Peeters, M.C.W. & Schaufeli, W.B. Putting Diversity into Perspective: How Different Diversity Perspectives Relate to Team Cohesion, Employee Creativity and Performance in Multicultural Teams.

Donahue, 2001; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). As ethnic diversity in work groups leads to both positive and negative consequences, it becomes more and more important to pay more attention to the particular conditions which may moderate effects of ethnic diversity on work outcomes (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007).

The main aim of this study is therefore to contribute to the research on ethnic diversity by exploring so called 'diversity perspectives' that may moderate consequences of ethnic diversity on work outcomes in teams. Diversity perspectives are 'group members' normative beliefs and expectations about diversity and its role in their work group' (Ely & Thomas, 2001, p.234). On the one hand, we focus on the potentially positive consequences of ethnic diversity in work groups in terms of employee creativity and performance (e.g. McLeod & Lobel, 1992; Watson et al., 2002). On the other hand, we also include team cohesion as an outcome which is likely to be negatively associated with ethnic diversity in teams (Riordan & Shore, 1997; Webber & Donahue, 2001) and generally precedes work-group performance (Beal, Cohen, Burke, & McLendon, 2003).

In this study, ethnic diversity is conceptualized as a group characteristic (e.g. Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007), as variations in the ethnic composition of a workgroup (Blau, 1977). Hereby, *ethnic minority groups* (i.e. people who originated from countries outside the Netherlands) are distinguished from the (Dutch) ethnic majority group (CBS, 2007). Ethnic minority groups in the present study predominantly originated from 'non-western' countries (i.e. Africa, Asia, Caribbean). As such, directly visible differences based on racial features as well as underlying cultural differences (i.e. Hofstede, 1980) are likely to be salient in work groups.

Positive and Negative consequences of ethnic diversity

Diversity research has been guided by two research traditions which predict negative and positive consequences of ethnic diversity in work groups. On the negative side, it is argued that ethnic diversity may lead to detrimental outcomes because of similarity attraction (Byrne, 1999). The similarity attraction paradigm states that people are highly attracted to 'similar others'. Ethnicity is likely to lead to feelings of similarity, based on the fact that it is a directly visible characteristic, based on racial features and language use (e.g. Jackson, May & Whitney, 1995). Also, people are

likely to be more attracted to people with whom they share things such as a history, a place of origin, a language, cultural values, and so on (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). As a consequence, workgroup members may feel *less* attracted to workgroups that are ethnically more diverse. One indicator for (a decrease in) similarity attraction in work groups is work group cohesion, as this reflects the degree to which members of a workgroup are attracted to each other (Shaw, 1981). It is generally expected ‘...that the perception of similarity in attitudes, as inferred on the basis of similarity in demographic attributes (such as ethnicity) leads to attraction among group members’ (Webber & Donahue, 2001, p. 147).

On the positive side, the information and decision-making perspective (Wittenbaum & Stasser, 1996) entails the notion that (ethnically) diverse groups are likely to possess a broader range of relevant knowledge, skills, and abilities, and members with different opinions and cultural perspectives. This may set the stage for more creative and innovative group performance because the need to integrate diverse information and reconcile diverse perspectives may stimulate thinking that is more creative and prevent groups from moving to premature consensus on issues that need careful consideration (e.g. Van Knippenberg et al. 2004).

As ethnic diversity in work groups appears to lead to both negative (Riordan & Shore, 1997; Pelled et al., 1999) and positive outcomes (e.g., Mcleod & Lobel, 1991; Watson et al., 2002), it is time to research more complex models which identify the conditions under which ethnic diversity leads to either beneficial or detrimental outcomes. To this end, we argue in this study – based on the diversity perspectives introduced by Ely and Thoams (2001) – that differences in work group members’ normative beliefs and expectations about (ethnic) diversity and its role in the workgroup are likely to moderate the way in which ethnic diversity in work groups relates to work outcomes.

Diversity Perspectives

Based on qualitative observations in different organizational contexts, Ely and Thomas (2001) distinguish between three diversity perspectives: Integration and Learning (I&L), Discrimination and Fairness (D&F), and Access and Legitimacy (A&L). Each of these perspectives provides a

rationale for organizations to increase their ethnic diversity, but only one of these perspectives – the I&L perspective – appears to be associated with benefits of diversity, for instance in terms of higher creativity and performance. Based on these promising qualitative findings, a main aim of this study is to quantify each the three perspectives as proposed by Ely and Thomas (2001), and to explore whether diversity perspectives moderate the relationship between ethnic diversity on the one hand, and employee creativity, team cohesion, and (individual and work group) performance on the other hand.

Starting with the first perspective, Ely and Thomas conceptualized an *Integration and Learning (I&L) perspective* as the belief among group members that ‘...insights, skills and experiences employees have developed as members of various cultural identity groups are potentially valuable resources that the work group can use to rethink its primary tasks’ (Ely & Thomas, p.240). When work group members hold an I&L perspective on ethnic diversity in their workgroup, they might be more inclined to engage in cross-cultural learning, and express culturally diverse views on how to engage in or re-evaluate core work group processes. Assuming that a higher ethnic diversity in work groups is accompanied by an increase in cultural differences, the I&L perspective would therefore stimulate creative and innovative debates in ethnically diverse teams, leading to enhanced work processes and performance.

Secondly, the *Access and Legitimacy (A&L) perspective* is based on the belief among work group members that ‘...the organization’s markets and constituencies are culturally diverse. It therefore behooves the organization to match that diversity in parts of its own workforce as a way of gaining access to and legitimacy with those markets and constituent groups (p.243)’. Elaborating on this, work group members believe that ethnic diversity is a resource in terms of gaining legitimacy to operate on diverse markets. For example, within health care homes where this study is performed, work group members may believe that it is important to match the ethnic diversity inside their work group or organization with the ethnic variation in clients to whom they provide their services. Ely and Thomas argue that - because of a lack of focussing on the potential benefits of ethnic diversity in terms of cross cultural learning and an overemphasis on so called ‘cultural representation’ - a dominant A&L perspective in ethnically diverse work groups may not provide the necessary conditions to

reap the potential benefits of ethnic diversity in terms of increased creativity and performance.

Thirdly, the *Discrimination and Fairness (D&F) perspective* constitutes ‘a belief in a culturally diverse workforce as a moral imperative to ensure justice and the fair treatment of all members of society’. When group members would hold a discrimination and fairness perspective on ethnic diversity, the focus would lie on providing equal opportunities for all team members despite differences in ethnic background, suppressing prejudicial attitudes and eliminating discrimination. (p.246)’. In other words, the D&F perspective puts emphasis on equality between culturally diverse employees, and a zero tolerance for ethnic discrimination. Here, diversity is a so called ‘end in itself’, as the main goal is to include traditionally underrepresented cultural groups in the workplace as a moral imperative. Ely and Thomas argue that the D&F perspective would *not* lead to beneficial work outcomes, mainly because the expression of different cultural perspectives is discouraged through its strong emphasis on fairness and equal treatment.

Linking Diversity Perspectives to Employee Creativity, Team-Cohesion, and Performance in Multicultural Teams.

In the present study, we examine whether the three diversity perspectives are associated with creativity and performance as potentially positive outcomes of ethnic diversity in work groups and team cohesion as a potential negative outcome. We hereby compare teams that are ‘highly’ culturally diverse with ‘low’ culturally diverse teams.

Starting with employee creativity, Ely and Thomas (2001) suggest that only under the condition that work group members hold an I&L perspective, ethnic diversity work groups would lead to more creativity among its team members. In other words, when work group members evaluate ethnic diversity in their work group as a valuable resource for rethinking tasks of the work group, they are more likely to discuss different cultural perspectives on how to engage in particular tasks.

In contrast, both in the A&L and the D&F perspectives, beliefs about ethnic diversity in work groups are *not* based on valuing ethnic diversity as a valuable resource for cross-cultural learning, and therefore would not be related to employee creativity. Furthermore, exchanging different cultural perspectives of course denotes that such cultural

differences are present within teams. Hence, for the integration and learning perspective to add to employee creativity, work groups should be composed out of employees with an ethnically diverse background. Our first hypotheses are therefore:

Hypothesis 1: The Integration and Learning Perspective relates positively to employee creativity, but only in highly ethnically diverse teams.

Hypothesis 2: Neither the Access and Legitimacy Perspective, nor the Discrimination and Fairness Perspective relates positively to employee creativity in neither highly ethnically diverse teams nor low ethnically diverse teams.

According to Ely and Thomas (2001), the I&L perspective would also enhance team cohesion whereas the other two perspectives do not. Elaborating on this, an I&L perspective would provide a context in work groups where culturally diverse perspectives on work related issues are exchanged. Although such discussions might initially spark conflict on how to execute work processes, it should ultimately lead to enhanced team cohesion for two reasons. First, such debates and discussions are, in the end, constructive and lead to enhanced performance. Second, employees would feel that their cultural background is valued and this would contribute to higher feelings of cohesiveness among members in ethnically diverse work groups.

In contrast, the D&F and A&L perspective would not relate to an increase in team cohesion. In particular, Ely and Thomas argue that a D&F perspective would prevent team members from expressing their cultural identity, which is an important aspect of the self. As a consequence, members in ethnically diverse work groups feel disrespected and devalued. This would result in decreased feelings of cohesiveness towards the team. Furthermore, a dominant A&L perspective only puts emphasis on ethnic representation, which by itself is unlikely to lead to a higher work group cohesion. Moreover, the A&L perspective would also stimulate an 'ethnic division of labor', where work group members and clients are matched based on their ethnic background which would not promote feelings of work group cohesion. Again, we reason that relationships between diversity perspectives and team cohesion are stronger when teams are highly ethnically diverse as compared to teams that have low levels of ethnic diversity. Following Ely and Thomas (2001), it is hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 3: The Integration and Learning Perspective relates positively to team cohesion, but only in highly ethnically diverse teams.

Hypothesis 4: Neither the Access and Legitimacy Perspective, nor the Discrimination and Fairness Perspective relates positively to team cohesion neither highly ethnically diverse teams nor low ethnically diverse teams.

Team cohesion and employee creativity are both likely to affect the quality of individual and team performance. In particular, when team cohesion is strong, team members are more motivated to perform well, coordinate activities better and show superior team performance (Beal et al., 2003). Furthermore, employee creativity will generate more perspectives and innovative ideas on how to execute and improve work processes, and therefore it will lead to a higher quality performance (Oldham & Cummings, 1996). Hereby, we assume team cohesion and employee creativity are important for team performance and individual performance in both ‘highly’ culturally diverse teams and ‘low’ culturally diverse teams.

Furthermore, both Ely and Thomas (2001) as well as others (Jackson et al., 2003; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998) state that effects of ethnic diversity are *not* directly related to ‘distal outcomes’ suchlike individual and team performance. Instead, ethnic diversity and diversity perspectives would relate primarily to work processes (e.g. team cohesion and employee creativity) which in turn relate to performance outcomes. As ‘diversity perspectives’ constitute a relatively new phenomenon in diversity research, however, we also explore the possibility that diversity perspectives are directly related to performance outcomes, and that processes such as employee creativity and team cohesion mediate such direct effects. Therefore, the final hypotheses are as follows:

Hypothesis 5: Team cohesion will be positively related to individual and team performance in both highly ethnically diverse teams and low ethnically diverse teams.

Hypothesis 6: Employee creativity will be positively related to individual and team performance in both highly ethnically diverse teams and low ethnically diverse teams.

Explorative questions 1: Do diversity perspectives relate directly to individual and team performance? And if so, (2) do team cohesion and

employee creativity mediate direct effects of diversity perspectives on individual performance and team performance?

7.2 Method

Procedure and Response Rate

A website was setup to inform elderly health care institutions about the possibility to participate in the current research on ethnic diversity. In total, 22 teams working in elderly health care homes across 8 health care institutions agreed to participate in this research. The decision to include teams in elderly health care homes was based on the fact that a) employees in such teams work together on a daily basis in one physical place (the elderly health care home), and b) employees have to coordinate their efforts on a daily basis to provide high quality health care for their clients. Such criteria are pivotal in order to talk about groups as ‘teams’ or ‘work-groups’ (Alderfer, 1977; Guzzo & Dickson, 1996; Hackman, 1987). Another reason to study teams in elderly health care homes is that they provide their services to a growing number of clients with a multicultural background. For this reason, ethnic diversity clearly has the potential to contribute beneficially to processes such as increased creativity and performance (i.e. providing the best health care possible to multicultural clients). The main reason for health care institutions to participate in this research was that during past years, the ethnic diversity in both the clientele as well as the staff had been increasing. Therefore, the topic of ethnic diversity, or ‘multiculturalism’ as it is sometimes called, was considered important. Of the 22 teams, 212 out of 513 employees completed a paper-and-pencil questionnaire, constituting a response rate was 41%. Across the teams, the response rates varied from 22% to 100%. Employees were ensured confidentiality.

Sample Characteristics

The distribution of gender in this sample is rather skewed, comprising of ‘only’ 13 men (6,1%) and 199 women (93,9%). The average age is 40.4 years (SD = 11.1). Furthermore, about 28% of the total sample consists of employees with a so called ‘non-Dutch’ background, meaning that either the person him/herself or at least one of the parents is born in another country (CBS, 2007). About 48% of the ‘non Dutch’ employees had a Caribbean background (i.e. Suriname and the Dutch Antilles); about 27%

had mainly an African background such as Sierra Leone, Tunesia, Angola, and Cape Verde; about 17% has a European, but non-Dutch background (i.e. Germany, Poland, and former Yugoslavia), and 8% had either a Turkish or Moroccan background. 63% of the ‘non Dutch’ employees were born themselves in the respective country of origin constituting so called ‘first generation’ migrants. Furthermore, about 31% of the employees in our sample had finished a pre-vocational study, while about 50% finished a vocational study. 29% held either a degree in higher vocational studies, or a university degree. The average team size was about 13 employees ($SD=5.2$) and the average team tenure was about 10 years ($SD=8$).

Measures

The degree of *ethnic diversity in teams* was calculated using Blau’s index (Blau, 1977, which is one of the most widely used formulas to calculate categorical forms of diversity (Harrison & Klein, 2007; Timmerman, 2000). Its computational formula is $1 - \sum p_k^2$, where p is the proportion of unit members in k th category. Values of Blau’s index range from zero to $(k-1)/k$. For instance, in a team that consists of 5 Dutch, 3 Surinamese and 2 Turkish team-members, the squared proportions of each subgroup are $.5^2$, $.3^2$ and $.2^2$, respectively. Consequently, Blau’s index is 1 minus the sum of the squared proportions of the ethnic subgroups ($1 - (.25 + .09 + .04)$) is $.62$. Hence, the higher the index, the more culturally diverse the team.

Quantitatively distinguishing between the three *diversity perspectives* as suggested by Ely and Thomas (2001) provided us with a challenge, since their research is based on qualitative observations. Rather than constructing completely new quantitative scales to measure the three perspectives, we modified pre-existing measures that – to a degree – reflected the perspectives described by Ely and Thomas. Each of the perspectives were measured on a five point likert scale, ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (always). First, for the *Integration and Learning* perspective, we modified the *intercultural group climate* measure, originally developed by Luijters, Van der Zee and Otten (2008). The items combine aspects of valuing ethnic diversity and cross-cultural learning. The scale is originally used on a branch level, so we modified the scale to reflect a team-level perspective. Secondly, to measure the *discrimination and fairness* perspective, we modified the organizational fairness measure originally developed by Mor Barak (2005) which consists of six items. The original

target of this scale were ‘managers’, so we adapted the scale to target the ‘team’. Also, some of the wording was modified to suit the context of elderly health care teams. Thirdly, for the *access and legitimacy perspective*, we did *not* find a suitable measure that accurately expressed the notion of this perspective. Therefore, we included three items that – in our opinion – reflected this perspective on a team level perspective. As items were sometimes modified as described above, each of the items concerning the three diversity perspectives are presented in Table 1.

For *Employee creativity*, 4 items were used from a scale developed by George & Zhou (2001). Answering categories on a five point Likert scale ranged from 1 (never) to 5 (always). One item example is ‘I come up with new ideas to execute tasks’.

Team cohesion consisted of 7 items developed by Riordan and Shore (1997), based on the work of Shaw (1981). One item example is: ‘In my team, all team members do their part of the job well’. Answering categories ranged from 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree).

Individual performance was measured in two ways. *Inrole performance* was assessed with 3 items from a measure developed by Goodman & Svyantek (1999). One item example is “I achieve the objectives of the job.” Answer categories ranged from 0 (not at all characteristic) to 6 (totally characteristic). *Extra-role performance* is defined as actions that go beyond what is stated in formal job descriptions and that increase organizational effectiveness (MacKenzie, Podsakoff, & Fetter, 1991). The instrument utilized in the present research constitute 3 items from the measure developed by Goodman and Svyantek (1999). One item example is ‘I Take the initiative to orient new employees to the department even though not part of my job description.’ The same answer categories as for inrole performance were used.

Perceived team performance is measured using the 5 items developed by Jehn, Northcraft, & Neale (1999) One example item is: ‘In my opinion, my team performs well’. Answering categories ranged from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree).

Table 1
Diversity Perspectives, items

no	Item
<i>Integration and Learning</i>	
1	In our team, we respect team members with a different cultural background
2	In our team, culturally diverse team members work together
3	In our team, team members learn from each others cultural differences
4	In our team, cultural differences between team members are openly discussed
5	In our team, ethnic diversity is valued and used to enhance work processes
<i>Discrimination and Fairness</i>	
6	In our team, members are treated differently because of their cultural background (Reversed)
7	In our team, members are hired and promoted objectively, regardless of their cultural background
8	In our team, members are evaluated and get feedback fairly, regardless of their cultural background
9	In our team, members get assignments based on their skills and abilities
10	In our team, decisions are taken fairly, without cultural differences playing a role
11	In our team, differences between members' cultural backgrounds are not important
<i>Access and Legitimacy</i>	
12	In our team, ethnic minority employees are matched with ethnic minority clients who have a similar ethnic background
13	In our team, special initiatives for ethnic minority clients are predominantly executed by ethnic minority employees
14	In our team, ethnic minority employees are only hired to treat ethnic minority clients

Strategy of Analyses

The hypothesized model is tested through Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) analyses, using the Amos computer program (Arbuckle, 1997). Amos generates a chi-square goodness of fit statistic to test the extent to which the hypothesized model is consistent with the data. Furthermore, several other fit indices are commonly used to investigate the overall fit of a postulated model. For instance, as a rule of thumb, a Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) higher than .90 and a Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) lower than .08 generally indicate a good fit of the model (Browne & Cudeck, 1989). In addition, we examined the Tucker-Lewis coefficient, and the Normed Fit Index (NFI) where values should ideally exceed .90 (Hoyle, 1995).

First, Multi Group Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA) are performed to assess whether the three diversity perspectives can be quantitatively distinguished from one another in 'highly' culturally diverse and 'low' diverse teams. Secondly, the hypothesized causal model is tested in SEM, which includes three exogenous variables (the three diversity perspectives), and four endogenous variables (team cohesion, employee creativity (as processes), and inrole, extra role and team performance (as outcome variables)). Several competing models were tested in multi group analyses:

1. An 'indirect effects' model, which mirrors the theoretical model as proposed by Ely and Thomas (2001), where paths from the three diversity perspectives relate to employee creativity and team cohesion (as indicators of individual and group functioning), and in turn paths from employee creativity and team cohesion predict performance (i.e. inrole, extra-role and team performance). We tested this model against the following two alternatives:
2. A 'direct effects' model, where paths from the three diversity perspectives, as well as employee creativity and team cohesion are directly related to performance outcomes.
3. A 'direct and indirect effects' model, where the three diversity perspectives relate to employee creativity and team cohesion *and* individual and team performance, as well as paths from employee creativity and team cohesion to performance outcomes.

Means, standard deviations and correlations of the variables used are presented in Table 2. All variables showed sufficient statistical reliabilities with Crohnbach Alpha $>.70$. Means of the three diversity perspective presented in Table 2 are derived from the CFA performed below.

Table 2
Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations of the Study Variables

No.	Variable names	N	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Cultural diversity	212	0.26	0.21	-									
2	Discrimination and Fairness	212	4.20	0.74	-0.08	(.76)								
3	Integration and Learning	212	3.77	0.84	-0.08	0.40 **	(.82)							
4	Access and Legitimacy	212	2.30	1.05	0.07	-0.26 **	0.05	(.72)						
5	Employee Creativity	212	3.36	0.80	-0.05	0.10	0.23 **	0.04	(.92)					
6	Team Cohesion	212	5.06	1.11	-0.14 *	0.33 **	0.39 **	-0.02	0.07	(.88)				
7	Extra-role Performance	212	5.55	1.14	0.00	0.15 *	0.26 **	-0.09	0.42 **	0.11	(.73)			
8	In-role Performance	212	5.83	0.90	-0.02	0.00	0.10	-0.09	0.20 **	0.12	0.48 **	(.83)		
9	Individual Performance	212	5.69	0.88	-0.01	0.09	0.22 **	-0.10	0.37 **	0.13	0.90 **	0.82 **	(.80)	
10	Team Performance	212	4.04	0.62	-0.01	0.08	0.25 **	0.07	-0.01	0.53 **	0.16 *	0.18 *	0.19 *	(.78)

Note. *p<.05; **P<.01.

7.3 Results

Preliminary analyses – Confirmatory Factor Analyses for Diversity Perspectives

Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA) were first performed to test whether the three diversity perspectives – as measured by the items in Table 1 – could be successfully distinguished. Multi Group analyses was performed to assess whether factor loadings and constructs regarding the three diversity perspectives were similar for employees working in highly ethnically diverse teams (N = 11 teams, 112 employees) compared to employees working in low ethnically diverse teams (N = 11 teams, 100 employees). To distinguish highly culturally diverse from low diverse teams, Blau's index was used. In particular, employees working in 50% of the teams with the highest index scores were labelled highly culturally diverse teams, whereas the other 50% of the teams which scored lowest on the Blau's index were labelled as low diverse teams. To give an indication, the proportion of cultural minorities in low diverse teams was on average .10, and ranged from 0 to .16. The proportion of cultural minorities in highly diverse teams was on average .41 and ranged from .17 to .71. All parameters (factor loadings, variances, and covariances) were constrained as suggested by Byrne (2001), thus assuming that parameters are equal across highly and low diverse teams. Results of this Multi Group CFA is displayed in Table 3 below:

Table 3

Multi Group Confirmatory Factor Analyses for the Diversity Perspectives

Diversity Perspectives		χ^2	df	P	GFI	NFI	TLI	RMSEA	Comparison	$\Delta\chi^2$	P
M1	one factor	545,08	167	0,001	0,69	0,63	0,59	0,11			
M2	two factors (I&L+D&F, A&L)	452,50	165	0,001	0,72	0,72	0,69	0,10	M2-M1	92,58	0,001
M3	two factors (I&L+A&L, D&F)	441,78	165	0,001	0,75	0,73	0,70	0,10	M3-M2	10,72	0,001
M4	two factors (D&F+A&L, I&L)	423,66	165	0,001	0,75	0,74	0,72	0,09	M4-M3	18,12	0,001
M5	three factors	363,66	162	0,001	0,78	0,80	0,78	0,09	M5-M4	60,00	0,001
M6	three factors, without AL3, DF1, IL1	93,83	93	0,001	0,90	0,88	0,90	0,06	M8-M7	269,83	0,001

Note. I&L = Integration and Learning; D&F = Discrimination and Fairness; A&L = Access and Legitimacy; I&L1 = Integration and Learning item 1; D&F1=Discrimination and Fairness item 1; A&L = Access and Legitimacy item1. χ^2 = Chi square; df = degrees of freedom; P = Probability; GFI = Goodness of Fit Index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis Index; NFI = Normed Fit Index; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation. $\Delta\chi^2$ = Chi Square Difference.

Results in Table 3 indicate that the three factor model (M5) shows a significantly better model fit (χ^2 difference $p < .001$) compared to either a one factor (M1) or a two factor model (M2-M4). Put differently, questions about the three diversity perspectives indeed yield a three factor solution, which represent the three diversity perspectives as proposed by Ely and Thomas (2001). This being said, the three factor model did not show satisfactory fit indices as the GFI, NFI and TLI measures are below .90 and the RMSEA is higher than .08 (Browne and Cudeck, 1989; Hoyle, 1995).

Modification Indices showed three important things. First, the third item of the A&L perspective (AL3) had a low loading on the Access and Legitimacy (A&L) construct ($.33 < r < .35$). A Reason for this could be that this item stated that 'ethnic minority employees are only hired to treat ethnic minority clients'. As such it can be considered the 'most extreme' item with respect to segregation in comparison with the other two items. Furthermore, the first item of the Discrimination and Fairness construct showed low loadings on the Discrimination and Fairness construct ($.39 < r < .34$). A likely explanation is the fact that this first item is reversed scored and thus measures 'unfairness'. A final concern was that the first item of the I&L perspective loaded on both the I&L perspective ($.68 < r < .66$), as well as the D&F construct ($.48 < r < .50$). The item text is: In our team, we respect team members with a different cultural background. As such, this item may hold the middle between the D&F perspective which is about fair treatment despite cultural differences, and integration and learning which focuses more on integration and utilizing cultural differences for cross-cultural learning in the team. Leaving out the three above mentioned items resulted in acceptable fit indices, as indicated in Model 6; the GFI and TLI both exceed .90 while the NFI approaches .90 (.88). Also, the RMSEA is lower than .08 (.06). For the I&L construct, factor loadings ranged from .65 to .83, for the D&F construct, factor loadings ranged from .43 to .90., and for the A&L construct, the two factor loadings across the two groups ranged from .50 to .99. Factor loadings for each of the items, and for each of the two groups are displayed below in Table 4.

Table 4
Factor loadings concerning the Three Diversity Perspectives

no	Item	Factor loadings	Factor loadings
<i>Integration and Learning</i>			
1	In our team, we respect team members with a different cultural background	omitted	Low diverse teams
2	In our team, culturally diverse team members work together	0.65	omitted
3	In our team, team members learn from each others cultural differences	0.83	0.68
4	In our team, cultural differences between team members are openly discussed	0.75	0.83
5	In our team, cultural diversity is valued and used when discussing core work-group processes	0.65	0.73
<i>Discrimination and Fairness</i>			
6	In our team, members are treated differently because of their cultural background (Reversed)	omitted	0.71
7	In our team, members are hired and promoted objectively, regardless of their cultural background	0.55	omitted
8	In our team, members are evaluated and get feedback fairly, regardless of their cultural background	0.87	0.46
9	In our team, members get assignments based on their skills and abilities	0.80	0.90
10	In our team, decisions are taken fairly, without cultural differences playing a role	0.73	0.82
11	In our team, differences between members' cultural backgrounds are not important	0.43	0.82
<i>Access and Legitimacy</i>			
	In our team, ethnic minority employees are matched with ethnic minority clients who have a similar ethnic background	0.99	0.43
12	In our team, special initiatives for ethnic minority clients are predominantly executed by ethnic minority employees	0.50	0.99
13	In our team, ethnic minority employees are only hired to treat ethnic minority clients	omitted	0.64
14	In our team, ethnic minority employees are only hired to treat ethnic minority clients	omitted	omitted

Testing the Competing Models

Table 5 shows results of the Multi Group SEM analyses for the competing models. Again, based on Blau's index, employees working in highly ethnically diverse teams (N = 11 teams, 112 employees) formed one group, while employees working low ethnically diverse teams (N = 11 teams, 100 employees) formed a second group.

Table 5

Multi Group Structural Equation Models

	Structural models	χ^2	df	P	GFI	NFI	TLI	RMSEA	Comparison	$\Delta\chi^2$	P
M1	Indirect effects model	48,268	26	0,005	0,93	0,82	0,77	0,07			
M2	Direct effects model	79,204	20	0,001	0,91	0,70	0,71	0,13	M1-M2	-30,94	0,001
M3	Direct + Indirect effects model	23,26	14	0,056	0,97	0,91	0,83	0,06	M1-M3	25,01	0,012
M4	Final Revised Model	48,537	36	0,079	0,94	0,82	0,91	0,04	M4-M3	25,28	n.s.

Note. χ^2 = Chi square; df = degrees of freedom; P = Probability; GFI = Goodness of Fit Index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis Index; NFI = Normed Fit Index; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation. $\Delta\chi^2$ = Chi Square Difference.

Table 5 shows that the 'Indirect effects model' has a better fit to the data compared to the 'direct effects model' (M2 - M1; χ^2 difference = 30.94, $df = 6$, $p < .001$). In turn, the 'direct + indirect effects model' shows a better fit to the data compared to the hypothesized 'indirect effects model' (M3 - M1; χ^2 difference = 25.01, $df = 6$, $p < .01$). The 'Direct + Indirect effects model' shows fairly good fit indices, with GFI and NFI above .90, and RMSEA <.08, although the TLI shows a figure below .90 (.83).

For reasons of interpretations and in order to make the model more parsimonious, all insignificant paths ($p > .05$) in the 'Direct + Indirect effects model' (M3) were deleted in the 'Final Revised Model' (M4). The Final Revised Model (M4) has an equal fit to the data compared to the 'Direct and Indirect effects model' (χ^2 difference = 25.28, $df = 22$, $p > .05$), and fit indices show adequate scores, although the NFI is below .90 (GFI = .94, NFI = .82, TLI = .91, RMSEA = .04). Below, Figure 1 represents the model for employees working in highly ethnically diverse teams, while Figure 2 represents the model for employees working in low ethnically diverse teams.

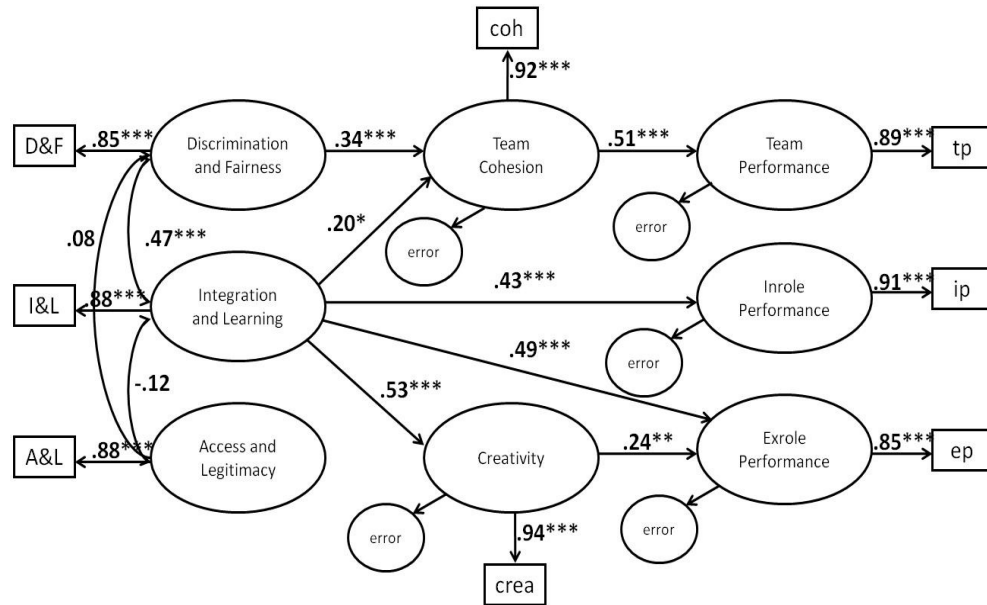


Figure 1. Causal model for employees working in highly ethnically diverse teams (N=112). Note. $^*p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$.

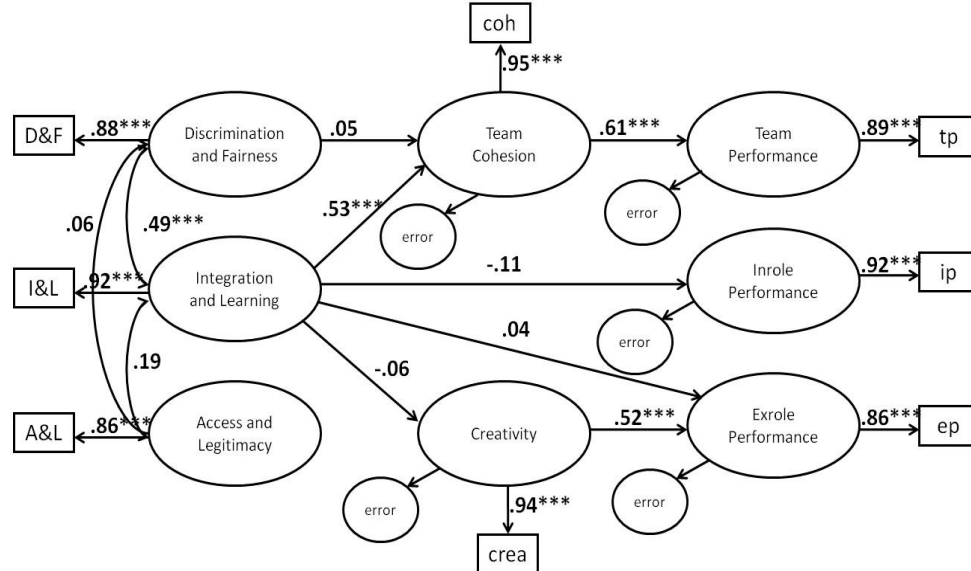


Figure 2. Causal model for employees working in low ethnically diverse teams (N=100). Note. $^*p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$.

Testing the hypothesis

First, it was hypothesized that the Integration and Learning (I&L) Perspective would enhance employee creativity, but only in teams that are ethnically diverse. Figure 1 indeed shows a strong and positive path between I&L and employee creativity ($\beta = .53$; $p < .001$) in teams that are *highly* ethnically diverse, while in *low* ethnically diverse teams this relationship is absent ($\beta = -.06$; $p > .05$). Furthermore, when constraining this path to be equal for both groups, the χ^2 drops significantly (χ^2 difference = 18.252; $p < .001$), showing that the nature of the path is significantly different for employees in ethnically diverse compared to employees in ethnically homogeneous teams which confirms hypothesis 1.

The second hypothesis stated that neither the Access and Legitimacy Perspective, nor the Discrimination and Fairness Perspective relates positively to employee creativity in neither highly ethnically diverse nor low ethnically diverse teams. Results indeed support that neither the A&L perspective ($-.08 < \beta < .13$; $p > .05$) nor the D&F perspective ($-.04 < \beta < .11$; $p > .05$) related significantly to employee creativity, which confirms this second hypothesis. For this reason, both paths are omitted in the Final revised model (M4) as shown in Figures 1 and 2.

Third, it was hypothesized that the Integration and Learning perspective would relate positively to team cohesion, but only in highly ethnically diverse teams. Results indeed show that the path between the I&L perspective and team cohesion is positive and significant ($\beta = .20$; $p < .05$) in ethnically diverse teams. However, contrary to expectations, the same path was also positive and significant in low ethnically diverse teams ($\beta = .53$; $p < .001$). When constraining this path to be equal for both groups, the χ^2 does *not* change significantly (χ^2 difference = 3.07, df 1, $p > .05$), showing that the nature and strength of the path from the I&L perspective to team cohesion is equal for employees in ethnically highly *and* low diverse teams. Thus, hypothesis 3 is only partly confirmed; the I&L perspective *is* related to team cohesion. However, contrary to expectations, this relationship is significant for employees working in ethnically highly diverse *and* low diverse teams.

The fourth hypothesis stated that neither the Access and Legitimacy Perspective, nor the Discrimination and Fairness Perspective relates positively to team cohesion in highly ethnically diverse and low diverse teams. Results indicated that paths between the A&L perspective and team

cohesion are *not* significant ($-.04 < \beta < .04$; $p > .05$). Therefore, we omitted this path in Figures 1 and 2. Furthermore, and as expected, the path between D&F and team cohesion is not significant for *low* ethnically diverse teams ($\beta = .05$; $p > .05$). However, contrary to expectations, the path between the D&F perspective *is* significant in *highly* ethnically diverse teams ($\beta = .34$; $p < .01$). Interestingly, constraining this path to be equal for both groups did *not* result in a significant difference in χ^2 (χ^2 difference = 1.86, df 1; $p > .05$), showing that the nature of the relationship is in essence equal for highly ethnically diverse and low diverse teams. In sum, hypothesis 4 is partly confirmed, as three out of four paths are insignificant.

The fifth hypothesis stated that team cohesion would be positively related to individual and team performance. Partly confirming this hypothesis, team cohesion is indeed strongly and positively related to team performance in both highly culturally diverse ($\beta = .51$; $p < .001$) and low diverse teams ($\beta = .61$; $p < .001$). Constraining this path to be equal for both groups did *not* result in a significant χ^2 difference (χ^2 difference = 1.366, df 1, $p > .05$). Hence, both in highly ethnically diverse and low diverse teams, team cohesion relates positively to team performance. Contrary to expectations, however, team cohesion was *not* significantly related to inrole nor extra role performance ($-.13 < \beta < .04$, $p > .05$). Thus, hypothesis 5 is partly confirmed.

In the sixth hypothesis, it was stated that employee creativity would be positively related to individual and team performance. Individual performance is measured by both inrole and extra role performance. Results show that employee creativity relates primarily to extra role performance in both highly ethnically diverse ($\beta = .24$; $p < .01$) and low diverse teams ($\beta = .52$; $p < .01$). Furthermore, constraining the path between the two groups to be equal resulted in a significantly higher χ^2 (χ^2 difference = 5.236, df 1, $p < .05$) showing that the path is somewhat stronger for low ethnically diverse teams compared to highly diverse teams. Contrary to predictions, however, employee creativity did not relate significantly to inrole performance ($.14 < \beta < .19$; $p > .05$) nor team performance ($-.18 < \beta < .04$), and therefore these paths are omitted in the Final revised model (M4) and in Figures 1 and 2. Hence, hypothesis 6 is partly confirmed, as results show that employee creativity relates to extra role performance, but not inrole performance nor team performance.

Finally, we explored whether any of the diversity perspectives are directly related to individual and team performance (research question 1), and if so, whether team cohesion and employee creativity would mediate such effects (research question 2). Concerning mediation effects, we followed the three steps as suggested by Baron and Kenny (1986). Interestingly, results show that the I&L perspective relates directly and positively to both inrole performance ($\beta = .43, p < .01$) and extra role performance ($\beta = .54, p < .001$), but only in *highly* ethnically diverse teams and not in low diverse teams ($-.11 < \beta < .04; p > .05$). In a second step, we analyzed whether employee creativity – as a predictor for extra role performance – would mediate the relationship between I&L and extra role performance. Including the path from I&L to employee creativity in the model did result in a decrease of the direct effect of I&L to extra role performance from $\beta = .54$ to $\beta = .49$. The Sobel test (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) indicates that this decrease is significant ($p < .05$). In sum and answering both research questions, the I&L perspective relates *directly* to both inrole and extra role performance, but only in highly ethnically diverse teams (research question 1). Furthermore, the direct path of I&L to extra role performance is partly mediated by employee creativity, while I&L is directly related to inrole performance which is *not* mediated by employee creativity *nor* team cohesion (research question 2).

So in sum, the results demonstrate that in *highly ethnically diverse teams*, the I&L perspective relates to employee creativity (variance explained = .20), inrole performance (variance explained = .18), and – together with employee creativity – extra role performance (variance explained = .42). Conversely, in *low ethnically diverse teams*, the I&L perspective does *not* relate significantly to employee creativity (variance explained = .00), inrole performance (variance explained = .00), or extra role performance, which is only predicted by employee creativity (variance explained = .26). Furthermore, in *highly ethnically diverse teams* both the I&L perspective and the D&F perspective relate to team cohesion (variance explained = .22) which, in turn, predicts team performance (variance explained = .26). In *low diverse teams*, only the I&L perspective relates to team cohesion (variance explained = .31) which in turn predicts team performance (variance explained = .37).

7.4 Discussion and Conclusion

This study shows that ‘diversity perspectives’ as proposed by Ely and Thomas (2001) may hold the key to better understanding the relationship between ethnic diversity on the one hand and beneficial consequences suchlike employee creativity, team cohesion and performance on the other hand. Three diversity perspectives as proposed by Ely and Thomas (2001) were quantitatively defined and distinguished from one another in confirmatory factor analyses. Furthermore, perhaps the most important findings are that the Integration and Learning (I&L) perspective relates positively to employee creativity, inrole performance and extra role performance in *highly* culturally diverse teams, whereas these relationships are *not* present in *low* ethnically diverse teams. In contrast, all (but one) of the associations between the Access and Legitimacy (A&L) and the Discrimination and Fairness (D&F) perspectives on the one hand and creativity, team cohesion and performance on the other hand were insignificant. These findings demonstrate that – in line with the diversity perspectives proposed by Ely and Thomas (2001) - only the I&L perspective leads to the often suggested benefits in ethnically diverse teams in terms of creativity and performance. Below, each of the findings are discussed in more detail, together with practical implications and limitations of the present study.

First of all, this study shows that I&L relates to employee creativity (confirming H1), inrole performance and extra role performance (research question 1), but only in highly ethnically diverse teams. Conversely the A&L and D&F perspectives are not related to neither employee creativity (confirming H2), nor performance. These findings are in line with the theoretical model proposed by Ely and Thomas (2001), in which it is argued that only an I&L perspective on ethnic diversity will enhance cross-cultural learning in ethnically diverse work groups. In other words, when work group members belief in an I&L perspective on ethnic diversity, they view ethnic diversity as being valuable and useful in terms of enhancing work processes and performance. Consequentially, employees with an I&L perspective express their cultural identities and differing cultural perspectives and ideas, thereby enhancing their creative input. Importantly, the I&L perspective only leads to more employee creativity in teams that are highly ethnically diverse, and not in teams that are (mostly) ethnically homogeneous. The main reason for this would be that in homogeneous

teams, expressing oneself in terms of one's cultural identity or background would not stimulate employee creativity, as employees have a similar cultural perspective on how to enhance or evaluate the work they do. In other words, *actual* ethnic diversity (i.e. in terms of different cultural backgrounds among team members) must be present in order for the I&L perspective to lead to more employee creativity and performance. Furthermore, both the D&F and the A&L perspective are *unrelated* to employee creativity. As set out by Ely and Thomas (2001), neither the D&F perspective nor the A&L perspective considers ethnic diversity to be valuable for cross-cultural learning and enhancing core work processes, which explains their absent relationship with employee creativity.

Secondly, this study shows that the I&L perspective is positively associated with team cohesion. This relationship was present in both *highly* as well as *low* ethnically diverse teams (partly confirming hypothesis 3). One explanation for the similar outcomes across both highly and low diverse teams could be that statements in the I&L perspective includes respecting colleagues and working together, which stimulates feelings of cohesiveness among employees in all teams, regardless of the specific ethnic composition. The I&L perspective on ethnic diversity in work groups thus appears to relate to feelings of cohesion in ethnically more homogeneous teams as well, but it only sparks employee creativity and relates positively to individual performance in highly ethnically diverse teams.

Partly confirming our fourth hypothesis, it was hypothesized and found that the A&L was unrelated to team cohesion. However, contrary to what was hypothesized, the D&F perspective was positively associated with team cohesion among work group members in ethnically diverse teams. Ely and Thomas (2001) argue that a belief in the D&F perspective would ultimately lead to frustration among employees, because this perspective leaves no room for expressing one's cultural identity and discuss cultural differences. In turn, we argued that ignoring peoples cultural background would be detrimentally related to team cohesion among members in ethnically diverse work groups. Based on the present finding, an alternative explanation would be that fair treatment and an emphasis on equality fosters feelings of cohesiveness among employees working in ethnically diverse teams. Conditions such as 'fairness' and 'inclusion' have been labelled as important before to enhance interpersonal work relations in diverse organizations by other authors (e.g. Mor Barak,

2005). A second explanation could be that, in our sample, I&L correlates *positively* with D&F. This suggests that both perspectives cannot be viewed upon as opposite perspectives, but rather as complementary to one another. Thus, a focus on D&F doesn't necessarily exclude a focus on I&L, and a combination of the two have different but beneficial effects on different work processes. In particular, D&F stimulates feelings of cohesiveness among team members, while I&L also enhances employee creativity in ethnically diverse teams.

Next, results showed that employee creativity *and* team cohesion are associated with performance outcomes in both highly ethnically diverse *and* low diverse teams (mostly confirming hypothesis 5 and 6). More specifically, team cohesion relates positively to team performance, while employee creativity is associated with extra role performance. This makes sense. Team cohesion would particularly relate to team performance, because questions refer to the 'team as a whole' (Beal et al., 2003), rather than individual employees. Also, the positive relationship between employee creativity and extra role performance may be understood as follows. Creative employees are likely to think and act outside the normal repertoire, and therefore come up with novel ideas and perspectives on how to do things different. Similarly, such a creative employee would not (only) adhere to their daily tasks and goals (i.e. exercise inrole performance), but in addition would perform extraordinary tasks (i.e. extra role performance) as well (Oldham & Cummings, 1996).

Finally, several authors (Ely & Thomas, 2001; Raghuram & Garud, 1998; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998) have reasoned that diversity perspectives would first relate to work processes, while in turn such process are connected to more distal outcomes like individual and team performance. Contrary to such predictions, the I&L perspective showed a *direct* relationship with both inrole and extra role performance, while the latter relationship is only partly mediated by employee creativity. In a somewhat similar vein, Goodman & Svyantek (1999) empirically demonstrated that 'organizational culture' relates directly to both task (inrole) performance and contextual (extra role) performance. Furthermore, this study uses self-ratings of inrole and extra role performance, and so common method bias might be a problem (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Lee, 2003).

Some limitations have to be taken into account. First of all, this study is cross-sectional and therefore cannot determine the causality of each of the relationships found. This being said, alternative SEM models (not displayed here), with different causal paths showed a worse model fit compared to the models presented in this study (Browne & Cudeck, 1989; Hoyle, 1995). However, longitudinal research designs are needed to answer questions of causality in a more accurate way. Furthermore, findings of this study are based on a very specific sample of predominantly female workers in the elderly health care sector. Therefore, it is important that results in this study are tested in other organizational contexts and across different gender compositions in teams.

Next, this study is based on self-ratings among employees concerning performance outcomes. Self ratings do not necessarily provide an accurate view of 'objective' performance. This being said, correlations between self-reported performance and objective forms of performance are on average significant and positive (Jaramillo, Carrillat, & Locander, 2005). Nevertheless, more objective outcomes (e.g. companies performance figures, objective (health care) indicators for both clients and employees) would further strengthen the argument that diversity perspectives have a relevant impact on work outcomes such as performance in ethnically diverse teams.

Finally, because of the small sample size ($N=22$ teams), diversity perspectives were analysed from an individual level perspective (i.e. as beliefs of work group members) rather than an aggregate work group level. Theoretically, work group members may hold different beliefs about ethnic diversity in the same work groups. This would question the idea that there is one dominant diversity perspective within work groups. To address this question, we calculated intra-class correlations (ICC1) for I&L ($ICC = .34$), D&F ($ICC = .12$) and for A&L ($ICC = .06$), which were all significant (χ^2 difference, $p < .001$). These findings suggest that the diversity perspectives within this sample are – at least to a significant degree - shared among members in similar work groups.

Final note

By examining the impact of diversity perspectives on work (group) processes and performance outcomes in ethnically diverse teams, this study helps to explain the mixed findings that are abundant in research on ethnic diversity (Jackson et al., 2003; Oerlemans et al., 2008; Van Knippenberg &

Schippers, 2007; Webber & Donahue, 2001; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). In particular, this research shows that the I&L perspective relates to more employee creativity, inrole and extra role performance, but only in highly ethnically diverse teams. In contrast the D&F perspective relates to more feelings of cohesiveness in ethnically diverse teams, but not creativity nor performance, while the A&L perspective is unrelated to any of the outcomes studied. As such, these findings support the general idea of Ely and Thomas' theoretical model (2001) that only the I&L perspective contributes significantly to beneficial outcomes such as increased employee creativity and performance in ethnically diverse teams.

CHAPTER 8: GENERAL DISCUSSION

8.1 *Introduction*

The ethnic diversity in organisations has increased considerably during the past decades (OECD, 2008). With this increase, organizations are confronted with both opportunities and threats. On the positive side, ethnic diversity may increase creativity and performance in teams (McLeod & Lobel, 1992; Watson, Johnson, & Merritt, 1998; Watson, Johnson, & Zgourides, 2002). On the negative side, ethnic diversity may also increase detrimental work-outcomes, including relational conflicts (Pelled, Eisenhardt & Xin, 1999), poor team cohesion (Riordan & Shore, 1997) and poor well-being (Van der Zee, Atsma & Brodbeck, 2004). The main purpose of this thesis is therefore to better understand such mixed findings about the impact of ethnic diversity on various work-outcomes. To this end, Chapter 2 presented an overview of theory and research on this subject. Based on its conclusions, this thesis attempted to clarify consequences of ethnic diversity for various work outcomes by approaching ethnic diversity from a cultural, a social-psychological and a contextual perspective.

First, using the literature on cross-cultural psychology, the concept of acculturation (Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997) was proposed to gain insight in the way in which ethnic diversity is associated with well-being at work (Chapter 3). Furthermore, the interactive acculturation model (Bourhis et al., 1997) was applied to predict the quality of ethnic intergroup relations in a blue collar workplace (Chapter 4). Findings corroborate the prediction that acculturation is a useful ‘cultural tool’ to predict consequences of ethnic diversity in the workplace in terms of well-being at work and the quality of ethnic intergroup relations.

Secondly, the literature on team diversity (e.g. Williams & O’Reilly, 1998; Jackson et al., 2003) identifies two social-psychological processes that would cause ethnically diverse teams to function less effectively compared to ethnically homogeneous groups: similarity attraction (Byrne, 1999) and social categorization (Turner et al., 1987). However, the degree to which such psychological processes are actually studied remains limited (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). Therefore,

social identification (Tajfel et al., 1971) is studied in real organizations (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6) as a proximal indicator of similarity attraction and social categorization. The results demonstrate that similarity attraction – rather than social categorization – is a phenomenon that explains why ethnic diversity in teams is associated with detrimental work outcomes.

Finally, a limited number of studies have focused on contextual factors that might illuminate why ethnic diversity relates either positively or negatively to work outcomes (e.g. Jackson et al., 2003; Webber & Donahue, 2001). Initial findings on this matter reveal that an intercultural climate (Harquail & Cox, 1993; Luijters, 2008) and diversity perspectives (Ely & Thomas, 2001) might explain why ethnic diversity in teams has either positive or negative consequences. Confirming these expectations, results presented in Chapter 5 and 6 show that a strong intercultural climate in teams relates positively to various work outcomes and enhances team identification and dual identification. Furthermore, the findings presented in Chapter 7 show that an ‘integration-and-learning perspective’ is associated with increased employee creativity and better performance, whereas a discrimination-and-fairness perspective appears to be associated with stronger team cohesion in ethnically diverse teams.

The primary objective of the present chapter is to summarize and integrate the results of the studies in this thesis, and to discuss its theoretical implications (8.2). Thereafter the strengths and weaknesses of this thesis are mentioned (8.3). The chapter ends with proposing several interesting avenues for future research and recommendations for practice (8.4).

8.2 *Summary of main findings and theoretical implications.*

8.2.1 The cultural approach: Acculturation in the workplace

In order to study acculturation in the workplace, three survey studies were executed: one among employees working in a city hall (Chapter 3), one in a police department (Chapter 3), and one in a postal service organization (Chapter 4) in The Netherlands. A first research question was: *Are hierarchies in acculturation orientations among ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees within organizations similar compared to hierarchies in acculturation orientations among ethnic majorities and ethnic minorities in the society at large?* A short answer to the above research question is: yes. Let us first consider the results for the ethnic majority (= Dutch)

employees. Both Chapter 3 and 4 show that ethnic majority employees prefer assimilation above integration, whereas separation and marginalization are least preferred. This finding confirms the hierarchy in acculturation orientations that is usually found in the Dutch society at large (e.g. Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2000). It means that Dutch employees generally prefer ethnic minority colleagues to completely adapt to the Dutch culture, without retaining ties with their native culture.

Concerning the hierarchy in acculturation attitudes among *ethnic minority groups*, results in the society at large generally indicate that integration is most preferred, followed by assimilation or separation, whereas marginalization tends to be the least preferred acculturation orientation (Berry & Sam, 1997; 1999; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenszyk & Schmitz, 2002; Van Oudenhoven, Prins & Buunk, 1998; Bakker, Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2004). It is striking that the results in Chapter 4 show the exact same hierarchy as found in these earlier studies. However, within the sample of Chapter 3, the hierarchy in acculturation orientations among ethnic minority employees was slightly different: assimilation and integration were preferred to the same degree. A plausible explanation for this difference could be that ethnic minority employees in Chapter 3 were highly educated, whereas the ethnic minority employees in Chapter 4 were mainly low educated, blue collar workers. Higher educational and occupational levels usually coincide with ethnic minorities' acceptance of the host culture (Kosic, Kruglanski, Peirron, & Mannetti, 2004). Another reason could be that in public domains such as the workplace, the norms of the dominant ethnic group are most salient and influential (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004). This might be particularly the case in higher educated jobs, where the numbers of ethnic minority employees are traditionally smaller.

A second research question was: *Do acculturation orientations among ethnic minority and ethnic majority employees relate to their well-being at work?* Findings in Chapter 3 show that this is indeed the case. In particular, employees with a high (versus low) preference for integration report more favorable well-being at work (more job satisfaction, more organizational commitment, less cynicism and more self-efficacy). The opposite pattern was found for marginalization. The more employees adhere to a marginalization orientation, the lower their well-being at work (less organizational commitment, less self-efficacy, somewhat less job

satisfaction and somewhat more cynical towards work). These findings are in line with results of studies in the society at large, across a number of acculturating groups (Berry, 1990; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Berry & Sam, 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Integration is usually the most successful orientation in terms of psychological and socio-cultural adaptation, whereas marginalization is the least successful orientation, and assimilation and separation orientations are intermediate.

In addition, our findings showed that the relationship between acculturation orientations and well-being at work is much stronger for ethnic minority employees than for ethnic majority employees. This makes sense: ethnic minorities – especially from non-western parts of the world as is the case in our samples - experience a large cultural distance towards the Dutch culture (e.g. Hofstede, 1980). For this reason, the extent to which ethnic minority employees either adapt to the Dutch culture, or maintain their native culture, has a higher impact on their well-being compared to their Dutch colleagues (Ward & Kennedy, 1993).

The third research question was: *Does (dis)concordance in acculturation orientations between groups of ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees affect the quality of intergroup relations in multicultural workplaces?* Results indeed confirm that this is the case. In line with the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) of Bourhis et al. (1997), results in Chapter 4 show that more disconcordance (i.e. differences) in acculturation orientations between ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees relates to poorer intergroup work-relations. More specifically, in two distribution centres of a postal company where immigrants and Dutch workers shared *concordance* in acculturation orientations (on assimilation and integration), ethnic majority and ethnic minority workers reported a higher quality of intergroup work-relations compared to the other two locations where both groups showed a partial disconcordance in acculturation orientations (i.e. assimilation versus integration). Furthermore, on a relational-level, it was found that a higher degree of disconcordance in acculturation orientations between individual workers compared to their out-group (i.e. either the Dutch or the ethnic minority group) at the same location related to a poorer quality of intergroup relations as experienced by individual workers. Similarly, findings in the society at large also demonstrate that for ethnic minority groups (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003) and ethnic majority groups (Zagefka

& Brown, 2002), higher discordance in acculturation orientations with the opposite group relates to more problematic or even conflictual intergroup relations.

One challenging aspect was that *actual* contact with ethnic minority workers alleviates some of the negative consequences that are associated with discordance for ethnic majority workers, whereas the reverse is true for ethnic minority workers (Chapter 4). In other words, ethnic majority workers who have a higher degree of actual contact with ethnic minority workers experience better work relations with their ethnic minority colleagues – under conditions of discordance – compared to ethnic majority workers who have a low degree of *actual* contact. An explanation for this would be that for ethnic majority workers, actual contact with ethnic minority workers reduces feelings of anxiety, uncertainty and threat on how to approach and communicate with members from ethnic minority groups (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Quite interestingly, a reversed conclusion can be drawn for ethnic minority workers. When ethnic minority workers have a higher degree of *actual* contact with ethnic majority colleagues under conditions of discordance, they experience *worse* intergroup relations with ethnic majority workers. An explanation for this might be that ethnic minority employees feel more pressure to assimilate to dominant cultural norms of the ethnic majority members when they have more contact with this group (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004).

Acculturation thus appears to be a useful cultural instrument to assess consequences of ethnic diversity in the workplace. In particular, results show that: a) hierarchies in acculturation orientations differ between ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees (Chapter 3 and Chapter 4); b) Acculturation orientations are associated with well-being at work for ethnic minority employees (Chapter 3) and c) (Dis)concordance in preferred acculturation orientations between ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees are associated with the quality of intergroup relations between ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees (Chapter 4).

8.2.2 The social-psychological approach: Social identification at the workplace

Taking a social psychological approach implies that we shift our attention from the individual level to the team-level (e.g. Williams & O'Reilly,

1998; see Chapter 2). Sixty teams of a large insurance company participated in a survey study. In Chapter 5, consequences of ethnic diversity in teams were studied on team-level outcomes in terms of relational conflicts in teams, team cohesion and team performance. In Chapter 6, consequences of ethnic diversity in teams are directed at (inter)personal-level outcomes such as social support, discrimination at work, and job burnout.

A fourth research question was: *Does social identification mediate the relationship between ethnic diversity and interpersonal outcomes in teams?* The quick answer is yes. It appears that similarity attraction (i.e. conceptualized as team identification) explains why ethnic diversity in teams relates to detrimental (inter)personal outcomes. More specifically, team members appear to be *less attracted* to their team when teams are ethnically more diverse. This is demonstrated by the fact that team members in ethnically more diverse teams identify less with their team (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). An explanation for this is that dissimilarity in ethnicity is likely to highlight differences between employees based on racial features, language use, cultural values and so on. Such differences are likely to become salient and consequently reduce interpersonal attraction among team members in ethnically diverse teams (Byrne, 1999).

In turn, when employees identify less with their team, they are less motivated to act on behalf of their team, and more prone to show counterproductive work behaviour (Haslam et al., 2003; Levine et al., 2002; Riketta, 2005; Van Knippenberg & Van Schie, 2000). This assumption is corroborated by the finding that weaker team identification among team members in ethnically diverse teams results in poorer team cohesion, more relational conflicts (Chapter 5), less social support and more discrimination at work (Chapter 6). As such, team identification partly mediates the direct and negative relationship between ethnic diversity in teams and the (inter)personal outcomes under study. In other words, ethnic diversity in teams appears to lead to detrimental interpersonal outcomes in teams because it highlights cultural and ethnic differences, based on which team members identify less with their team and show less productive work behaviour.

In addition, this thesis *rejects assumptions based on social categorization* by showing no relationship between ethnic diversity in teams and the degree to which employees identify with their ethnic group. An explanation for this absent finding could be that other factors beyond

the ethnic group composition alone play a relevant role in the degree to which ethnic diversity actually leads to processes of ethnic categorization. For example, within teams, team members often have an equal status, they strive towards common goals of the group, and there is intergroup cooperation between employees. This could all reduce feelings of anxiety and uncertainty regarding out-groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Such favorable conditions of intergroup contact would make processes of social categorization less likely to occur.

Moreover, findings in Chapter 5 show that poorer team cohesion and stronger relational conflicts within teams are negatively associated with subjective and objective team performance. These findings make sense. Relational conflicts reduce the ability of teams to function effectively, and therefore reduce team performance (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). Also, because of a weaker team cohesion, employees in teams are less motivated to perform well. They are therefore less likely to coordinate their activities which results in poorer team performance (Beal et al., 2003). Furthermore, Chapter 6 indicates that employees experience more burnout symptoms as a consequence of receiving less social support and more discrimination at work from their fellow team members. This is in line with expectations. Employees who receive less social support from their fellow team members are prone to experience more stress reactions such as job burnout (Bouwman & Landeweerd, 1992; Dignam & West, 1988; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004). Moreover, some initial studies on discrimination at work show that it has a negative impact on various forms of employee wellbeing like job satisfaction, emotional and physical wellbeing (Deith et al., 2003), and organizational citizenship behavior (Ensher, Grant-Vallone, & Donaldson, 2001).

Also interesting is the fact that social identification relates directly to various dimensions of job burnout (Chapter 6). In particular, dual identification is positively associated with exhaustion, while both work-group identification and dual identification are positively associated with professional efficacy, even after the inclusion of social support and discrimination in multi-level analyses. Team members who uphold a dual identity are likely to switch between expressing themselves in terms of their cultural identity and work group identity. By doing so, team members might experience difficulty in finding a balance between the norms and values of their ethnic group compared to the (ethnically diverse) team. For

instance, knowing that (ethnic majority) employees usually prefer complete adaptation to the dominant culture (Chapter 3 and Chapter 4), upholding a dual identity in ethnically diverse teams might give rise to role conflict which, in turn, relates to feelings of exhaustion (Luijters, Van der Zee & Otten, 2006). The positive relationships between team identification and dual identification and professional self efficacy might be understood as follows: it is likely that team members who identify themselves strongly with their team - or uphold a strong dual identity - derive greater fulfillment from their work because the work they do serves to promote the team that they value as a part of their social identity.

In sum, taking a social psychological perspective towards examining ethnic diversity in teams reveals that a) team members experience poorer team cohesion, more relational conflicts, less social support and more discrimination at work when teams are ethnically more diverse (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6); b) such detrimental outcomes are partly explained by the fact that team members are less attracted to teams that are ethnically diverse, as demonstrated by a lower team identification (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6); c) in turn, poorer team cohesion and more relational conflicts in teams hamper team performance (Chapter 5), and d) less social support and more discrimination at work from fellow team members enhance burnout symptoms among team members (Chapter 6).

8.2.3 The contextual approach: Intercultural Climate and Diversity Perspectives

Ethnic diversity was also approached from a *contextual perspective* in this thesis by focusing on the 'intercultural climate' in teams (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6) and on different perspectives that employees hold towards ethnic diversity in their team (Chapter 7). The intercultural climate was examined in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, based on the study among sixty teams of a large insurance company in the Netherlands. Furthermore, diversity perspectives in ethnically diverse teams were studied in Chapter 7 by approaching 22 teams in nursery homes for the elderly.

The fifth research question was: *Does social identification mediate the relationship between intercultural climate at the team level and interpersonal outcomes in teams?* An answer to this question is that team identification and dual identification partly mediate the relationship between intercultural climate and interpersonal outcomes in teams. These findings of course needs further qualification. First of all, results show that

a stronger intercultural climate at the team level relates to stronger team cohesion, less relational conflicts (Chapter 5), more social support, and less feelings of discrimination in teams (Chapter 6).

As an underlying process, social identification appears to explain – at least in part – *why* an intercultural climate in teams has such positive consequences: An intercultural climate in teams appears to stimulate both team identification and dual identification among team members, which in turn partly mediate the positive relationships between intercultural climate in teams and interpersonal outcomes. These findings could be interpreted in accordance with the Common Ingroup Identity Model of Gaertner et al. (1994). A strong intercultural climate represents the cultural aspects on a team level as identified by Harquail and Cox (1993) - ‘tolerance for ambiguity’, ‘valuing cultural diversity’ and a ‘low-prescription culture’. These cultural aspects appear to facilitate team identification and dual identification among team members. For instance, a higher ‘tolerance for ambiguity’ means that there is less pressure on (ethnic minority) employees to assimilate to dominant (i.e. Dutch) values and norms. Furthermore, ‘valuing ethnic diversity’ means that team members evaluate ethnic diversity as a positive aspect of their team, rather than dysfunctional. As a consequence, team members might be more inclined to identify themselves with their team, even when teams are ethnically diverse. Moreover, a ‘tolerance for ambiguity’ and ‘valuing ethnic diversity’ leaves more room for team members to maintain certain aspects of their ethnic identity (i.e. ethnic values, norms, language and so on), enabling them to identify themselves more in terms of their dual identity.

In turn, as already mentioned, team members who identify themselves strongly in terms of their team are more motivated to act on behalf of the team, show productive work behaviour (Haslam et al., 2003; Levine et al., 2002; Riketta, 2005; Van Knippenberg & Van Schie, 2000). Results indeed demonstrate that stronger team identification among team members results in stronger team cohesion, less relational conflicts (Chapter 5), more social support and less discrimination in teams (Chapter 6). Moreover, dual identification appears to have similar positive consequences: the more team members identify themselves in terms of their dual identity, the more team cohesion, the less relational conflict (Chapter 5) and the more social support (Chapter 6) they report. Interestingly, positive associations between dual identification and

adaptation are also established in studies on identity and adaptation within the society at large. Such studies report that dual identity (also referred to as integrated identity or bicultural identity) among immigrants leads to higher levels of overall well-being and performance compared other identity categories (i.e. ethnic identity, national identity or marginalized identity; Phinney et al. 2001). At the team level, it appears that the team and a persons' original ethnic background are both important parts of a persons' identity. An intercultural climate appears to allow for such dual identification among team members, which results in team members who are more motivated to show productive work behaviour on behalf of their team.

One issue is that – at least in this thesis - positive outcomes of an intercultural climate do not appear to be associated with the extent to which there is ethnic diversity in teams. In other words, a favourable intercultural climate appears to have similar positive associations with interpersonal outcomes in ethnically (more) homogeneous teams as compared to ethnically (more) diverse teams. One reason might be that interactions between employees in organizations are often not limited to interactions between team members. Assuming that there is also communication between employees across different teams, the degree of ethnic diversity in teams would not be such an accurate indicator for the actual degree to which employees have interethnic contact. Another reason might be that in the organizations under study, Dutch employees were always in a numerical majority which limits interpretations of the findings. We further elaborate upon this aspect in the strengths and weaknesses section of this chapter.

The sixth and final research question was: *Do diversity perspectives moderate the relationship between ethnic diversity in teams and work outcomes?* Answering this question, Chapter 7 indicates that the *integration-and-learning (I&L) perspective* moderates the relationship between ethnic diversity in teams on the one hand and employee creativity and performance on the other hand. In contrast, the *discrimination-and-fairness perspective* moderates the relationship between ethnic diversity and team cohesion - but not creativity nor performance - in ethnically diverse teams, and the *access-and-legitimacy perspective* has no relationship with any of the studied work outcomes.

The finding that especially the *integration-and-learning perspective* contributes to higher creativity and performance in ethnically diverse teams

– but not in ethnically homogeneous teams - corroborates hypotheses based on a theoretical model concerning diversity perspectives. Ely and Thomas (2001) argue that when the integration-and-learning perspective is dominant, employees engage in cross-cultural learning, and express culturally diverse views on how to engage in or re-evaluate core team processes. As such, this perspective appears to stimulate creativity in teams that are ethnically diverse, leading to enhanced performance. In a similar vein, information and decision making theory (e.g., Wittenbaum & Stasser, 1996) states that the quality of decision making depends on the unique and useful information a person has, *as well as* on the openness of the group to discuss these new insights. The integration-and-learning perspective holds beliefs among team members that ethnic diversity is potentially valuable and useful to rethink work processes and as appears to provide such openness in teams.

In addition, the finding that the *discrimination-and-fairness perspective* positively moderates the relationship between ethnic diversity on the one hand, and team cohesion - but not creativity or performance – on the other hand, has important theoretical implications. Ely and Thomas (2001) argue that a belief in ‘discrimination-and-fairness’ among team members would ultimately fuel feelings of frustration. Such a belief would inhibit team members to express themselves in terms of their cultural identity, which is arguably an important aspect of the self. Alternatively, others have argued that conditions such as ‘fairness’ and ‘equal treatment’ enhance feelings of cohesion in ethnically diverse teams (e.g., Mor Barak, 2005). For example, a belief in fairness would create a safe climate where all employees are treated as equals and get similar opportunities, regardless of their ethnic background. Chapter 7 suggests that the latter argument is more accurate by showing that a discrimination and fairness perspective relates to more team cohesion among its team members.

All in all, approaching ethnic diversity from a contextual perspective indeed appears to be a fruitful avenue to explain consequences of ethnic diversity on work outcomes. Altogether, main findings demonstrate that a) A strong intercultural climate in teams is associated with stronger team cohesion, less relational conflict (Chapter 5), more social support, and less discrimination in teams (Chapter 6); b) An intercultural climate in teams relates positively to team identification and dual identification among its team members; c) When an integration-and-

learning perspective towards diversity is preferred in ethnically diverse teams, team members are more creative and show better performance; d) When a discrimination-and-fairness perspective towards diversity is preferred in ethnically diverse teams, team members experience stronger team cohesion.

8.2.4 Integration of the approaches

Considering ethnic diversity from three different approaches has several advantages. Probably the greatest benefit is that it creates a rather complete picture of the many processes that take place within individuals and teams when employees from different cultures work together. The studies reported in the present thesis underline this statement for they show that both acculturation orientations as well as social identification processes and perceptions about diversity perspectives do matter when employees need to make diversity work. Considering all findings, there is one thing that stands out. Based on either a cultural, social psychological or a contextual perspective, all results indicate that ethnic diversity leads to the most beneficial work outcomes when employees and teams find an optimal balance between specific ethnic subgroup identities and cultures on the one hand, and the dominant identity and culture on the other hand (i.e. integration). For instance, integration refers to a combination of adaptation to the dominant culture with maintaining aspects of one's native culture. Furthermore, from a psychological approach, integration could be characterized by employees who identify strongly with both their ethnic group and the team (i.e. dual identification; Hutnik, 1991). As such, dual identification reflects the integration orientation on a psychological level. In addition, intercultural team climate and integration-and-learning are contextual factors in teams that are likely to stimulate integration orientations among its members. For example, Chapter 5 and 6 demonstrate that an intercultural climate (Harquail & Cox, 1993) relates positively to dual identification. Similarly, the integration-and-learning perspective is characterized by a belief that cultural diversity in work groups is a 'potentially valuable resource' (Ely & Thomas, 2001, p.240) and as such is likely to stimulate an integration orientation among employees in work groups.

Consequently, the *integration orientation relates to the most beneficial work-outcomes*. For example, the integration orientation - as studied from a cultural perspective - relates to superior well-being at work

(Chapter 3) and higher quality ethnic intergroup relations at work (Chapter 4). Furthermore, integration – as studied from a social psychological perspective (i.e. dual identification) - relates positively to various interpersonal outcomes (i.e. stronger team-cohesion; more social support; less relational conflict; Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). Finally, integration – from a contextual perspective (i.e. intercultural climate and integration-and-learning) - relates positively to various interpersonal outcomes (Chapter 5 & Chapter 6), higher creativity and better performance (Chapter 7).

8.3 *Strengths and Weaknesses*

This thesis has a number of strengths and weaknesses, which are discussed here.

8.3.1 Main strengths and contributions of the thesis

Acculturation orientations predict well-being at work and the quality of ethnic intergroup relations in the multicultural workplace. A first contribution of this thesis is that it is one of the first to apply the concept of acculturation (Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997) to the workplace. The main reason for doing so is that work is an important domain where daily cross-cultural contact takes place between ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups. Therefore, opinions about culture adaptation and culture maintenance have important consequences for the way in which ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees engage in (un)productive intergroup relations at work (Bourhis, et al., 1997), and employee' well-being. Yet, cultural processes in the workplace remain understudied. In accordance with the cross cultural literature on acculturation (e.g. Sam & Berry, 2006; Bourhis et al., 1997), it is demonstrated in this thesis that a combination of maintaining one's original culture with adapting to the dominant culture (i.e. integration) results in the most wellbeing at work for ethnic minorities. Furthermore, differences in preferred acculturation orientations between ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups of employees result in problematic intergroup relations (Chapter 4). Hence, the concept of acculturation illuminates that underlying cultural processes play a relevant role in predicting work outcomes in ethnically diverse workplaces.

Ethnic diversity in teams relates to detrimental work outcomes through the psychological process of similarity attraction. A second contribution is that this thesis includes social identification as an underlying psychological process to better understand consequences of ethnic diversity in teams on interpersonal outcomes. So far, ethnic diversity in teams is often studied from a demographic perspective (i.e. in terms of variations in ethnic or national origins), which resulted in mixed findings (Jackson et al., 2003; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). Two psychological processes appear to lead to detrimental work outcomes in ethnically diverse teams: similarity attraction and social categorization (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Yet, empirical evidence of such underlying psychological processes occurring in ethnically diversity teams remains limited (Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). Based on the empirical evidence found in this thesis, it appears that similarity attraction is the underlying psychological process that causes ethnically diverse teams to function less smoothly.

Intercultural climate and diversity perspectives – as contextual factors – enhance our understanding on the mixed consequences of ethnic diversity in teams on work outcomes. A third strong point is that this thesis includes contextual factors such as an intercultural climate (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6) and diversity perspectives (Chapter 7) to better understand the mixed relationships between ethnic diversity in teams and work-outcomes. To date, only a limited number of studies on ethnic diversity in teams include such contextual factors (e.g. Webber & Donahue, 2001; Jackson et al., 2003). However, aspects of the context, such as the degree to which ethnic diversity is a valued aspect of the team, are likely to influence the way in which ethnic diversity in teams relates either positively or negatively to work outcomes. To this end, this thesis shows that a strong intercultural climate in teams enhance team functioning and interpersonal outcomes for team members, although its positive effects do not appear to be independent of the ethnically diversity in teams (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). Furthermore, diversity perspectives (Ely & Thomas, 2001) appear to moderate the relationship between ethnic diversity in teams and favourable work-outcomes (Chapter 7). An integration-and-learning perspective towards ethnic diversity among team members appears to enhance creativity and performance in ethnically diverse teams. Furthermore, a discrimination-and-fairness perspective among team members in ethnically

diverse teams appears to enhance team cohesiveness, but not creativity nor performance.

Variety of organizations under study. Fourthly, this thesis includes studies performed in various organizations such as: a city hall department, a police department, a postal distribution centre, an insurance company, and nursery homes for the elderly. This broad variation in organizations contributes to the ecological validity of the findings. Related to this point, Chapter 4 incorporates a sample of blue-collar workers, and among them are so called first generation, and non-western workers. Such groups are often difficult to incorporate in this type of research (Dinsbach, 2005).

Balance between positive and negative work outcomes. This thesis includes a range of innate positive outcomes such as social support, team cohesion, employee creativity and team performance, as well as negative work-outcomes such as relational conflict, discrimination at work, and job-burnout. As such, the thesis provides a balanced view on potential benefits as well the negative consequences of ethnic diversity in the workplace.

Multi-level approach. Multi-level techniques were executed to study consequences of ethnic diversity in teams in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, which adds to the validity of the presented findings. Many studies on ethnic diversity still use conventional statistical analyses such as ordinary regression techniques (e.g. Riordan & Shore, 1997; Pelled et al., 1999; Watson et al., 2002). However, such calculations violate the assumption of independence of observations because of the hierarchical structure of the data, and overestimate the number of observations for workgroup-level variables, leading to spuriously significant results (Hox, 2002). We used the Multi-level application for Windows (Rasbash, Browne, Healy, Cameron, & Charlton, 2005) which accurately takes into account the hierarchical structure of the data (Kenny, Kashy, & Bolger, 1998).

8.3.2 Weaknesses and limitations of the thesis

Apart from these strengths, there are also some limitations that have to be considered when interpreting the findings in this thesis.

Social desirability. Questions about negative consequences of ethnic diversity – for instance in terms of discrimination at work – may be sensitive to social desirability: people may not report being discrimination against. For instance, Meerman (1999) reported that in ethnically diverse organizations, people try to avoid a conversation about discrimination in

the workplace. As such, negative work outcomes (i.e. discrimination at work, relational conflicts) could be ‘underreported’. Related to this is the fact that ethnic minorities have an unfavourable position on the labour market compared to the Dutch group. This is most obvious when considering unemployment rates that are two to three times higher for (non-western) ethnic minority groups compared to the Dutch group (CBS, 2008). Also, hiring discrimination against ethnic minorities on the labour market is still commonplace today (e.g. Deros, Nguyen & Ryan, 2009). Therefore, ethnic minority workers could be more afraid of losing their job, and consequently do not report discriminatory practices in the workplace.

Cross-sectional nature of the studies. Secondly, the cross-sectional nature of the studies limits conclusions about the assumed causality of the proposed relationships. First, longitudinal laboratory studies on ethnic diversity in teams show that *time* could be an important factor. Rather hopeful is the fact that ethnically diverse teams are able to outperform ethnically homogenous groups in the long run, although vice versa, ethnically homogeneous teams appear to outperform ethnically diverse teams in the beginning (e.g. Watson et al., 2002). It appears to be the case that – in the beginning – ethnically diverse teams spend more time discussing relational differences whereas ethnically homogeneous teams spend more time on task-related processes. Indeed, it is plausible that ethnically diverse teams have more interpersonal differences as influenced by multicultural backgrounds. Such differences might initially lead to self-oriented behaviour among team members in ethnically diverse teams (e.g. Watson et al., 1998), as indicated in this thesis by a lower team identification among members in ethnically diverse teams. In the long run – also depending on diversity perspectives and the intercultural climate in teams – ethnically diverse teams could overcome such interpersonal difficulties. With experience in feedback and communication across time, interpersonal problems might be reduced to the level of ethnically homogeneous teams. It might even be the case that – with regular communication about team processes and team performance – ethnically diverse teams can learn to take advantage of the multiple viewpoints, which in the end results in higher performance (e.g. McLeod and Lobel, 1992; Watson et al., 1993).

Restriction of range problem when studying ethnic diversity in Dutch organizations. There is a restriction of range problem when performing research on ethnic diversity within real organizations in the

Netherlands. That is, ethnic majority employees occupied a numerical majority – compared to ethnic minority employees - in almost all of the teams and organizations under study. Hereby this thesis reflects the current situation in many Dutch organizations, whereby – on average – one out of five employees has a non-Dutch background (CBS, 2008). This aspect has to be taken into account when interpreting findings regarding the effects of ethnic diversity on work-outcomes. For example, Earley and Mosakowski (2000) reported a curvilinear relationship where both completely ethnically homogeneous teams and highly diverse teams outperformed moderately diverse teams. Such curvilinear relationships might also exist in organizations, but up to this point most organizations do not (yet) have such high variations in ethnic diversity. An alternative would be to conduct experimental studies where ethnic team compositions can be manipulated. However, as elaborated upon a bit in Chapter 2, there are substantial differences in outcomes on the link between ethnic diversity and work-related outcomes when comparing laboratory studies with field studies. This is thus a trade-off that should be considered when engaging in ethnic diversity research.

Operationalisation of acculturation and social identification. Another dilemma concerns the operationalisation of acculturation. As this is one of the first studies to incorporate acculturation orientations in the domain of work, we relied on the existing two-statement measurement method introduced by Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2000) to assess ‘general’ acculturation orientations. In line with Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2006) we used the proximity procedure to transform the two acculturation dimensions into Berry’s four acculturation orientations. This procedure has the advantage that it yields a score for all participants on all orientations instead of classifying participants into one of the four categories. A disadvantage, however, is the lack of independence of the scores on the acculturation orientations. In addition, conceptualizations of acculturation orientations (Snauwaert et al., 2003) and differences in studied life-domains (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006) may affect the way in which participants are distributed across the four acculturation orientations (i.e. integration, assimilation, separation, marginalization). Another measurement issue is that in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, one-item measures for team identification and ethnic identification were used. Whilst this has been done previously (Gagnon & Bourhis, 1996), we

recommend that future studies use multi-item measures for ethnic identification (e.g. Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001) and team identification (e.g. Riordan & Weatherly, 1999).

8.4 Directions for Future Research

Ethnic diversity in organizations will further increase in the future, and thus this research domain is likely to become ever more important. Therefore, we discuss future research possibilities according to the cultural, psychological and contextual approaches that are used in this thesis.

8.4.1 The cultural approach

First, as acculturation orientations are significantly related to employee well-being (Chapter 3), more has to be learned about the exact process that links acculturation orientations to well-being (Sam & Berry, 2006). One reason for the positive relationship between integration and employee well-being could be that integration incorporates protective factors, such as the willingness to identify with and live in two cultures, which might foster bicultural social support systems. In contrast, marginalization involves rejecting the dominant culture in society and one's native culture, which leaves no support system in either culture. Alternatively, assimilation and separation involve a positive and a negative relationship with a culture, respectively, which might explain its intermediate effects on positive adaptation. Such processes could be further investigated in the workplace as well. It might be that an integration orientation relates to receiving social support from both the ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups of employees; that assimilation and separation relate to receiving social support from either the majority *or* ethnic minority group; and marginalization leaves no social support from any group. Future research could differentiate between social support received from ethnic in-group and out-group members to further explain the process that links acculturation orientations to employee well-being.

Secondly, the differential role of intergroup contact frequency on the relationship between interactive acculturation and intergroup relations between ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees has to be qualified in future studies (see Chapter 4). On the one hand, intergroup contact may reduce feelings of anxiety, uncertainty and threat for ethnic majority employees on how to approach and communicate with ethnic minority

members (Stephan and Stephan, 1985; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Such conditions could improve ethnic intergroup relations with ethnic minority workers among the ethnic majority employees, even despite differences in acculturation orientations. On the other hand, for ethnic minority employees, higher intergroup contact may be accompanied by pressure to assimilate to dominant cultural norms of the ethnic majority group (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004). As ethnic minority employees prefer to combine cultural adaptation with maintaining aspects of their original culture, more contact with ethnic majority employees could deteriorate ethnic intergroup relations with ethnic majority employees.

Thirdly, an interesting avenue for future research would be to study variations in preferred acculturation orientations across the domains of work and family. For instance, in the workplace, norms of the dominant group could be salient and most influential whereas ethnic norms are likely to be more present in predominantly co-ethnic domains such as the home domain. Such differences could affect variations in the degree to which ethnic minorities prefer acculturation orientations across domains (Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2003). In turn, successful psychological and socio-cultural adaptation among ethnic minorities might depend on the flexibility to switch between acculturation orientations across domains (Phalet & Andriessen, 2003). Such an approach to acculturation entails that acculturation measures should be tailored to the particular domains in which acculturation orientations are analyzed.

8.4.2 The social psychological approach

More research has to be performed on the nature of the relationships between ethnic diversity in teams, social identification and work outcomes. For instance, when analysing ethnic diversity in teams, three types of ethnic diversity might be considered: high homogeneity (e.g. all team members belong to the same ethnic group), moderate diversity (consisting of a few ethnic subgroups, for instance an ethnic majority group and some smaller ethnic minority group) and high diversity (many ethnic subgroups). These differences in degree of ethnic diversity in teams might impact the way in which ethnic diversity relates to work outcomes. For example, Earley and Mosakowsky (2000) argue that (ethnically) homogeneous team members are likely to share pre-existing commonalities

(i.e. based on similarity in culture, language, values, norms and so on), and as such will be more unified and cooperate more easily to meet external demands such as organizational goals (i.e. Jackson et al., 1995). In contrast, in moderately diverse teams, members belonging to a small number of ethnic subgroups might more easily revert to pre-existing (ethnic) subgroup identities and accompanying subcultures, creating a potential for worse interpersonal outcomes such as more relational conflict (e.g. Jehn et al., 1999; Chapter 5 of this thesis), or poorer team cohesion (Chapter 5 of this thesis). In highly diverse teams, there would be no commonalities between its members, nor is there a possibility to revert to pre-existing subgroup identities because almost all individuals belong to different ethnic subgroups. As a consequence, such highly diverse teams should first develop new forms of understanding - arguably a 'new' or a so-called 'hybrid' culture - emerging from team member interactions. The current thesis encompasses the first (homogeneous) and second (moderately diverse) types of teams, but not the third (highly diverse) type which might be the reason why we primarily find detrimental consequences of ethnic team diversity on interpersonal outcomes.

Furthermore, time could play a relevant role and should be the focus of future studies as well. For example, Watson et al. (2000) show that, in the long run, ethnically diverse teams report beneficial work-outcomes as compared to ethnically homogeneous teams, whereas in the beginning, ethnically homogeneous teams report more beneficial work-outcomes. It appears to be the case that - in the beginning - ethnically diverse teams spend more time discussing relational differences whereas ethnically homogeneous teams spend more time on task-related processes. Indeed, it is plausible that ethnically diverse teams first need to discuss differences in viewpoints influenced by multicultural backgrounds. Such differences might initially lead to self-oriented behaviour among team members in ethnically diverse teams (e.g. Watson et al., 1998), as indicated in this thesis by a lower in team identification among members in ethnically diverse teams. In the long run - also depending on diversity perspectives and the intercultural climate in teams - ethnically diverse teams could overcome such interpersonal difficulties. With experience in feedback and communication across time, interpersonal problems might be reduced to the level of ethnically homogeneous teams. It might even be the case that - with regular communication about team processes and team performance - ethnically diverse teams can learn to take advantage of the

multiple viewpoints, which in the end results in higher performance (e.g. McLeod and Lobel, 1992; Watson et al., 1993).

8.4.3 The contextual approach

The findings that diversity perspectives moderate the relationship between ethnic diversity in teams and beneficial work-outcomes such as employee creativity and performance (Chapter 7) should be generalized to different organizational contexts and performed across different ethnic groups of employees (e.g. Luijters, Otten, Van der Zee & Van Duin, 2008). Furthermore, it would be interesting to study how diversity perspectives develop over time. At first, organizations may start out with a focus on fairness and equal opportunities (which reflects the discrimination and fairness perspective). After this initial stage, teams might begin to pursue potential benefits by matching their staff to the ethnic representation among clients to gain access to ethnically diverse markets (i.e. access-and-legitimacy), or are for the first time confronted with the negative side in terms of conflicts, discrimination or turnover intentions. Ultimately, organizations might realize that ethnic diversity may bring along broader access to informational, social and cultural networks, which in turn stimulates creativity, innovativity, and problem solving capabilities within organizations (e.g. reflecting the integration-and-learning option). It would be interesting to study the causality between such a development in diversity perspectives, and the consequences on work-outcomes on an organizational, team and individual level.

8.5 *Practical Implications*

Based on the findings in this thesis, we identify a number of actions organizations could carry out to benefit from ethnic diversity and avoid its detrimental consequences. It should be noted that we have studied consequences of ethnic diversity on individual-level and team-level outcomes in the workplace. Therefore, recommendations are aimed at improving individual and team-related work-outcomes.

First of all, because an integration orientations appears to relate to superior well-being at work for ethnic minority employees, team-managers could become (more) appreciative of the diverse cultural backgrounds of their team-members. For instance, being more sensitive to variations in food preferences (i.e. supplying food which matches cultural or religious

convictions), religious preferences (i.e. create places and/or reserve time for praying) or by supporting activities that employees engage in because of their culture (i.e. not eating during day time in the period of Ramadan) would highlight such appreciation. Furthermore, as ethnic majority employees generally prefer assimilation, training intercultural competencies among (ethnic majority) managers might be an option (e.g. Bhawuk, 2001, Cushner & Brislin, 1996). Furthermore, taking time to discuss cultural differences and its consequences for the team could lead to more appreciation and understanding about (how to deal with) ethnic diversity in the workplace (Milleken, Bartel & Kurtzberg, 2003). Such actions might result in more understanding and less discordance in acculturation orientations between ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees, which leads better intergroup relations.

Ethnic diversity in teams decreases team-identification among employees which results in detrimental work-outcomes. Therefore, team-managers should act in several ways to increase team identification among employees in ethnically diverse teams. First, managers could stimulate ethnically diverse employees to work on shared tasks and goals of the team, and provide positive feedback on performances of the team as a whole. Such feedback is likely to result in higher team identification (Van Knippenberg, de Dreu & Homan, 2004). Furthermore, a strong emphasis on unity through things such as clothing, logos, and so on would further stimulate identification with the team. Also, managers could try to stimulate ethnic intergroup contact in ethnically diverse teams by creating higher interdependency in tasks that ethnic majority and ethnic minority employees have to perform together. Working together increases team-members' knowledge about ethnically diverse colleagues, ethnic out-groups and it provides opportunities to form friendly ties (Pettigrew, 1998).

Managers should try to shift towards an intercultural climate that allows 'tolerance for ambiguity', 'valuing cultural diversity' and 'a low-prescription culture' (Harquail & Cox, 1993). Hence, such a climate would entail that team-managers exert less pressure on employees to assimilate to the dominant organizational culture, to appreciate cultural diversity, and to allow deviation from groupthink to discuss a wider range of work-styles. Furthermore, managers should consider cultural diversity as a valuable resource in their team that can be used to rethink primary work-processes (i.e. integration and learning perspective). Such a belief towards diversity helps to facilitate open discussions across ethnically diverse employees

based on different cultural perspectives, which in turn might enhance creativity and performance in teams. Also, managers could make sure that employees get equal opportunities, are fairly treated, and show zero tolerance for discrimination within the team. However, it is important to notice that this type of climate relates primarily to more similarity attraction among team-members (i.e. higher team-cohesion) rather than that it relates to the benefits of ethnic diversity in terms of higher creativity and performance.

It should be noted that the usefulness of specific actions are likely to differ from one organization to the other as a consequence of variations in organizational culture, work-ethics, structure, and types of tasks that are performed. As such, the above mentioned actions should be interpreted as recommendations rather than absolute guidelines to 'make ethnic diversity work'. In addition, the usefulness of specific actions is likely to depend on the specific circumstances that occur within organizations. For instance, initiatives focussing on avoiding marginalization or separation, and stimulating assimilation might be particularly useful when organizations are confronted with negative consequences of ethnic diversity. Alternatively, when organizations experience neither benefits nor detrimental consequences, they might try to shift to actions that stimulate an integration orientation.

8.6 Final Conclusion

This thesis shows a rather complete picture of all the processes that connect ethnic diversity in organizations to either positive or negative work outcomes. When overlooking all the studies there is one thing that stands out. The cultural, psychological and contextual approach all point to the fact that ethnic diversity leads to the most benefits when employees are able to maintain their ethnic identity and culture on the one hand, and at the same time successfully adjust to the dominant group and its culture on the other hand. Also, a team culture in which ethnic diversity is valued and different cultural perspectives are used to improve team functioning and team performance are most likely to make ethnic diversity work!

SAMENVATTING (DUTCH SUMMARY)

In de afgelopen decennia is de etnische diversiteit binnen organisaties fors toegenomen. Dit fenomeen is grotendeels toe te schrijven aan de aanhoudende positieve migratiestromen naar westerse landen zoals Nederland, alsmede het een feit dat organisaties in toenemende mate moeten globaliseren om internationaal te kunnen blijven concurreren. Deze toenemende etnische diversiteit biedt organisaties zowel kansen als bedreigingen. Een verondersteld positief effect is dat organisaties beter in staat zouden zijn de multiculturele markt te bedienen wanneer men beschikt over multicultureel personeel. Daarnaast zouden etnisch diverse teams over een gevarieerder sociaal, cultureel, en informatief netwerk beschikken waardoor creatieve en innovatieve oplossingen kunnen worden gegenereerd (Watson et al., 2002). Etnische diversiteit in organisaties zou echter ook kunnen leiden tot nadelen. Verschillen in culturele opvattingen kunnen aanleiding vormen voor miscommunicatie en onbegrip tussen werknemers, waardoor interetnische werkrelaties en de gezondheid van werknemers onder druk komen te staan. Ook kan subgroepvorming binnen teams op basis van etnische afkomst leiden tot uitsluiting van werknemers in teams, wat het functioneren van werknemers en teams niet ten goede komt.

Hoofdstuk 2 in dit proefschrift start met een overzicht van studies die reeds zijn uitgevoerd op het gebied van etnische diversiteit in organisaties. De belangrijkste conclusie uit dit hoofdstuk is inderdaad dat een toenemende etnische diversiteit organisaties zowel voordelen als nadelen oplevert. Enerzijds blijkt dat etnisch diverse teams in staat zijn om beter te presteren dan etnisch homogene teams. Anderzijds kan etnische diversiteit ook tot nadelen leiden, zoals een verhoging van emotionele conflicten tussen teamleden met een verschillende etnische afkomst, een verminderde betrokkenheid van werknemers bij het team, minder groepscohesie, en slechtere teamprestaties. Het meeste onderzoek richt zich hierbij op het zogenaamde ‘directe effect’ van etnische diversiteit op werkuitskomsten, waarbij etnische diversiteit wordt gedefinieerd als etnische variatie in organisaties of teams op basis van verschillen in etnische afkomst. Aangezien deze studies zowel voordelen als nadelen rapporteren wordt het van steeds groter belang om onderzoek te plegen

naar onderliggende culturele en psychologische processen die kunnen verklaren *waarom* etnische diversiteit soms negatief en soms positief samenhangt met verschillende werkuitkomsten. Daarnaast worden contextuele factoren – zoals het teamklimaat ten aanzien van etnische diversiteit – vaak genegeerd in onderzoek. In het overige gedeelte van dit proefschrift wordt daarom onderzoek uitgevoerd naar drie processen die tegenstrijdige samenhang tussen etnische diversiteit en werkuitkomsten nader zouden kunnen verklaren, namelijk: a) een cultureel proces (acculturatie), b) een sociaal psychologisch proces (sociale identificatie) en c) contextuele factoren (intercultureel teamklimaat en perspectieven op diversiteit).

Acculturatie

Acculturatie oriëntaties ontstaan wanneer individuen uit verschillende culturen langdurig met elkaar in contact komen. Hierbij is acculturatie gebaseerd op twee vragen: a) in hoeverre is het belangrijk voor individuen om zich aan te passen aan de cultuur van de ander (cultuuraanpassing) en b) in hoeverre is het belangrijk voor individuen om de eigen cultuur te behouden (cultuurbehoud). Afhankelijk van de wijze waarop beide vragen worden beantwoord kunnen vier acculturatie oriëntaties prevaleren. Men spreekt van *assimilatie* wanneer individuen zich volledig aanpassen aan de cultuur van de ander, zonder hun eigen cultuur te willen behouden; van *integratie* wanneer individuen het belangrijk vinden om zowel aspecten van de nieuwe cultuur over te nemen als hun eigen cultuur te behouden; van *segregatie* wanneer individuen hun eigen cultuur willen behouden, zonder zich aan te passen aan de cultuur van de ander, en tenslotte van *marginalisatie* wanneer individuen zich niet willen aanpassen aan de cultuur van de ander *noch* de eigen cultuur willen behouden. Onderzoek naar acculturatie oriëntaties onder immigrantengroepen wijst over het algemeen uit dat *integratie* leidt tot optimaal functioneren – bijvoorbeeld in termen van gezondheid en prestaties – terwijl *marginalisatie* het tegenovergestelde effect heeft. Daarnaast kunnen acculturatie oriëntaties tussen autochtone en allochtone groepen van elkaar verschillen, wat negatief van invloed is op de wijze waarop beide groepen met elkaar omgaan. In Nederland is het bijvoorbeeld zo dat autochtonen vaak een sterke voorkeur voor assimilatie (volledige aanpassing van allochtonen aan de Nederlandse cultuur), terwijl allochtone groepen eerder een voorkeur

uitspreken voor integratie. Dit kan wellicht een problematische samenwerking tussen beide groepen tot gevolg hebben binnen organisaties.

Onderzoek naar (effecten van) acculturatie oriëntaties binnen organisaties is schaars. Toch is het juist interessant om acculturatie oriëntaties te onderzoeken binnen de context van organisaties, omdat autochtone en allochtone werknemers dagelijks met elkaar in contact komen en met elkaar (moeten) samenwerken. Hierdoor is het aannemelijk dat werknemers in etnisch diverse organisaties regelmatig worden geconfronteerd met culturele verschillen tussen henzelf en hun collega's, wat van invloed kan zijn op het functioneren van werknemers. We baseren ons onderzoek hierbij op verschillen tussen autochtone en *niet-westerse* allochtone werknemers, omdat culturele verschillen tussen deze groepen waarschijnlijk het grootst en meest betekenisvol zijn. In hoofdstuk 3 en hoofdstuk 4 worden een drietal zaken nader onderzocht met betrekking tot acculturatie. Ten eerste is onderzocht of acculturatie oriëntaties verschillen tussen autochtone en niet-westerse allochtone werknemers. Ten tweede is onderzocht of acculturatie oriëntaties samenhangen met de arbeidsgerelateerde gezondheid van autochtone en niet-westerse allochtone werknemers. Ten derde is onderzocht of verschillen in acculturatie oriëntaties tussen autochtone en niet-westerse allochtone groepen werknemers negatieve gevolgen hebben op de wijze waarop autochtone en niet-westerse allochtone collega's met elkaar samenwerken. Een drietal organisaties waren bereid te participeren in het onderzoek; een gemeentelijke instelling, de Politie en een postbedrijf. In totaal beantwoorden 266 autochtone werknemers en 127 niet-westerse allochtone werknemers een vragenlijst.

Ten eerste blijkt dat autochtone werknemers over het algemeen een sterkere voorkeur hebben voor *assimilatie* dan hun niet-westerse allochtone collega's. Andersom hebben niet-westerse allochtone werknemers een sterkere voorkeur voor *integratie* in vergelijking tot hun autochtone collega's. Met andere woorden, autochtone werknemers prefereren dat niet-westerse allochtone werknemers zich volledig aanpassen aan de autochtone (Nederlandse) cultuur, zonder behoud van hun eigen cultuur. Niet-westerse allochtone werknemers prefereren een combinatie van cultuuraanpassing met het behouden van de eigen etnische cultuur. Daarbij komen de aangetroffen hiërarchieën in acculturatie oriëntaties van zowel autochtone als niet-westerse allochtone werknemers in deze studies sterk

overeen met de hiërarchieën die eerder zijn aangetroffen binnen de (Nederlandse) samenleving.

Ten tweede is het zo dat acculturatie oriëntaties vooral samenhangen met de arbeidsgelateerde gezondheid van niet-westerse allochtone werknemers. Niet-westerse allochtone werknemers met een sterke voorkeur voor *integratie* ervaren meer tevredenheid op hun werk, voelen zich meer betrokken bij de organisatie en ervaren minder burnout klachten. Daarentegen blijkt het tegenovergestelde het geval voor niet-westerse allochtone werknemers met een sterke voorkeur voor marginalisatie; zij ervaren minder werktevredenheid, minder organisatie betrokkenheid, en meer burnout klachten). Voor autochtone werknemers blijkt acculturatie niet zozeer samen te hangen met aspecten van arbeidsgelateerde gezondheid. Het lijkt er dus op dat affiniteit met beide culturen ‘voordelen’ biedt. Het trots zijn op en het behouden van elementen uit de eigen cultuur geeft niet-westerse allochtonen naar alle waarschijnlijk gevoelens van herkenbaarheid, verbondenheid en zelfvertrouwen. Aan de andere kant biedt aanpassing aan de Nederlandse cultuur ook voordelen. Zo zal er binnen de meeste organisaties in Nederland nog steeds een ‘Nederlandse cultuur’ heersen zoals blijkt uit de sterke voorkeur onder autochtone werknemers voor assimilatie. Vaak bestaan organisaties in Nederland nog in meerderheid uit werknemers met een Nederlandse afkomst. Juist het kunnen combineren van beide elementen (cultuurbehoud en cultuuraanpassing) maakt dat niet-westerse allochtone werknemers optimaal kunnen functioneren en zich gezonder voelen op het werk in Nederlandse organisaties.

Ten derde blijkt uit de resultaten dat autochtone en niet-westerse allochtone werknemers een betere samenwerking op het werk ervaren met de andere groep naarmate het verschil in acculturatie oriëntaties tussen beide groepen kleiner wordt. Dit komt overeen met het interactieve acculturatie model van Bourhis et al. (1997) dat voorspelt dat overeenkomsten in acculturatie oriëntaties (integratie en assimilatie) leiden tot harmonieuze interetnische relaties terwijl verschillen in acculturatie oriëntaties kunnen leiden tot problematische of zelfs conflictueuze interetnische relaties. Dit gezegd hebbende blijkt wel dat de mate van daadwerkelijke contacten met werknemers uit de andere groep de relatie tussen acculturatie oriëntaties en de kwaliteit van onderlinge samenwerking beïnvloed. Autochtone werknemers die verschillen in acculturatie oriëntaties van hun niet-westerse allochtone collega’s ervaren

een betere samenwerking met hun niet-westerse allochtone collega's wanneer het aantal daadwerkelijke contacten met niet-westerse allochtone collega's toeneemt. Een verklaring hiervoor zou kunnen zijn dat gevoelens van angst, onzekerheid en/of dreiging ten aanzien van allochtonen onder autochtonen afneemt naarmate autochtonen meer in contact komen met niet-westerse allochtonen, ondanks verschillen in acculturatie oriëntaties. Interessant genoeg is het omgekeerde het geval voor niet-westerse allochtone werknemers. Niet-westerse allochtone werknemers die verschillen in acculturatie oriëntatie van hun autochtone collega's ervaren een minder goede samenwerking met autochtone collega's naarmate ze meer in contact komen met autochtone collega's op het werk. Een verklaring hiervoor is wellicht dat niet-westerse allochtone werknemers vaak in een minderheidspositie verkeren binnen organisaties, zowel in numeriek opzicht als in functieniveau. Hierdoor zouden niet-westerse allochtone werknemers grote druk kunnen ervaren om zich aan te passen aan de Nederlandse cultuur naarmate ze meer in contact komen met autochtone collega's, wat de werkrelatie met autochtone collega's niet ten goede komt.

Concluderend blijkt dat acculturatie inderdaad een relevant cultureel proces is binnen etnisch diverse organisaties dat niet kan worden genegeerd. Niet-westerse allochtone werknemers blijken het best te functioneren wanneer er ruimte bestaat om zich – naast aanpassing aan de dominante cultuur – te kunnen blijven uiten in termen van hun etnische cultuur. Daarentegen verlangen autochtonen van hun niet-westerse allochtone collega's vaak volledige aanpassing aan de Nederlandse cultuur, zonder behoud van hun eigen etnische cultuur. Naarmate acculturatie oriëntaties sterker uiteenlopen tussen beide groepen leidt dat tot een slechtere kwaliteit van de onderlinge samenwerking. In de algemene conclusie van het proefschrift staan dan ook een aantal suggesties om een *integratie* oriëntatie binnen etnisch diverse organisaties onder autochtone als niet-westerse allochtone werknemers te bevorderen.

Sociale Identificatie

Sociale identificatie kan - als sociaal psychologisch proces - meer inzicht kan verschaffen in de wijze waarop etnische diversiteit in teams gerelateerd is aan negatieve werkuitskomsten. Hierbij zijn twee theorieën van belang: de gelijkheidsattractie hypothese (Byrne, 1999) en de sociale

categorisatie theorie (Turner et al., 1987). De gelijkheidsattractie hypothese stelt dat personen zich meer tot elkaar aangetrokken voelen naarmate men meer demografische kenmerken – zoals bijvoorbeeld etniciteit, geslacht, leeftijd - met elkaar deelt. Bovendien is het zo dat mensen demografische kenmerken vaak als basis nemen om ook overeenkomsten te verwachten op andere gebieden zoals attitudes, overtuigingen en persoonlijkheid. Etniciteit is bij uitstek een demografisch kenmerk wat ervoor kan zorgen dat mensen zich meer tot elkaar aangetrokken voelen. Personen met eenzelfde etnische afkomst delen immers ook vaak eenzelfde cultuur, taal, geschiedenis, en komen uit hetzelfde land van herkomst. De gelijkheidsattractie hypothese kan verder worden aangevuld door de sociale categorisatie theorie. Deze theorie veronderstelt dat (etnische) overeenkomsten en verschillen tussen personen als basis kunnen dienen voor subgroepvorming, waarbij men onderscheid maakt tussen groepen waartoe men zelf behoort (ingroups) en groepen waartoe men niet behoort (outgroups). Uit onderzoek blijkt dat mensen etnische groepsleden meer vertrouwen, meer geneigd zijn om met hen samen te werken, en etnische groepsleden bevoordelen ten koste van personen die tot een andere etnische groep behoren (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Tajfel & Turner 1986).

Toegepast op de organisatie context voorspellen zowel de gelijkheidsattractie hypothese als de sociale categorisatie theorie dat etnische diversiteit in teams voornamelijk een negatief effect zal hebben op het functioneren en presteren van werknemers en teams. Echter, studies naar het ‘directe effect’ van etnische diversiteit in teams op het functioneren en presteren van werknemers en teams hebben tegenstrijdige resultaten opgeleverd (zoals in Hoofdstuk 2 omschreven). Het is dus van groot belang om na te gaan of bovengenoemde sociaal psychologische processen zich ook daadwerkelijk manifesteren in etnisch diverse teams. Ten eerste is daarom onderzocht of de mate waarin etnische diversiteit in teams een negatief effect heeft op het functioneren en presteren van werknemers en teams. Ten tweede is onderzocht of etnische diversiteit in teams samenhangt met de mate waarin werknemers zich aangetrokken voelen tot (identificeren met) hun eigen team, hun etnische groep, of beide. Ten derde is onderzocht of deze vormen van identificatie de relatie tussen etnische diversiteit in teams enerzijds en het functioneren en presteren van werknemers en teams anderzijds nader kan verklaren.

Twee studies in hoofdstuk 5 en hoofdstuk 6 zijn gericht op het beantwoorden van deze onderzoeksvragen. Hoofdstuk 5 richt zich hierbij

meer op werkuitkomsten op teamniveau, zoals teamcohesie, teamconflicten en teamprestaties, terwijl Hoofdstuk 6 werkuitkomsten op (inter)persoonlijk niveau bestudeerd zoals de mate van sociale steun, discriminatie op het werk en de arbeidsgerelateerde gezondheid van werknemers. De studies zijn gebaseerd op een vragenlijstonderzoek dat is uitgevoerd binnen 60 multiculturele teams (N=722 werknemers) van een Nederlandse verzekeringsmaatschappij. In totaal participeerden 549 autochtone werknemers en 173 allochtone werknemers in het onderzoek. Ruim 94% van de allochtone werknemers was van niet-westerse komaf.

Ten eerste blijkt uit de resultaten dat etnische diversiteit in teams vooral nadelig samenhangt met diverse werkuitkomsten. Teamleden in teams die etnisch meer divers van samenstelling zijn ervaren minder teamcohesie en meer emotionele conflicten in hun team, wat uiteindelijk leidt tot slechtere teamprestaties. Daarnaast blijkt dat naarmate teams etnisch meer divers zijn van samenstelling, teamleden minder sociale steun en meer discriminatie op het werk van hun collega's ervaren, en dit leidt uiteindelijk tot meer burnout klachten. Deze bevindingen bevestigen de idee dat etnische diversiteit in teams inderdaad negatief samenhangt met werkuitkomsten op zowel (inter)persoonlijk als op teamniveau.

Ten tweede wijzen de resultaten uit dat teamleden zich minder aangetrokken voelen tot hun team naarmate het team etnisch meer divers van samenstelling is. Dit blijkt uit het feit dat werknemers zich minder gemiddeld genomen identificeren met hun team naarmate hun team etnisch meer divers is van samenstelling. Daarentegen hangt de mate van etnische diversiteit in teams niet samen met de mate waarin werknemers zich aangetrokken voelen tot hun eigen etnische groep. Het lijkt er dus vooral op dat werknemers zich meer aangetrokken voelen tot teams die etnisch homogeen van aard zijn, zoals voorspelt in de gelijkheidsattractie hypothese. Een reden hiervoor is waarschijnlijk dat etnische diversiteit onder meer samenhangt met verschillen in bijvoorbeeld culturele waarden, taalgebruik en raciale verschillen waardoor het minder moeilijker is in etnisch diverse teams om naar elkaar toe te groeien.

Ten derde blijkt dat een lagere identificatie van werknemers met het team inderdaad leidt tot slechter functioneren en presteren van werknemers in teams. Een lagere mate van teamidentificatie onder teamleden leidt tot minder cohesie, meer emotionele conflicten, minder sociale steun en meer ervaren discriminatie op het werk van teamleden. Deze resultaten

bevestigen andere studies waaruit blijkt dat teamleden die zich minder identificeren met het team over het algemeen ook minder gemotiveerd zijn om zich voor het team in te zetten, en meer geneigd zijn om contraproductief gedrag te vertonen. Daarnaast is het interessant te zien dat werknemers met een sterkere *duale identiteit* – identificatie van werknemers met zowel hun eigen etnische afkomst alsmede het team – beter functioneren; zij ervaren meer teamcohesie, minder emotionele conflicten, meer sociale steun en meer gevoelens van competentie ten opzichte van het werk in hun team. Het is dus zo dat – net als bij acculturatie – het verbonden zijn met beide groepen (in dit geval het team en de etnische groep) de meeste voordelen oplevert. Het lijkt dus wederom van groot belang in een etnisch diverse organisatiecontext dat werknemers een goede balans weten te vinden tussen enerzijds betrokkenheid bij het team of de organisatie als geheel, en anderzijds verbondenheid met de etnische (sub)groep waartoe werknemers behoren.

Samenvattend blijkt dat sociale identificatie – als sociaal psychologisch proces – een rol van betekenis speelt in de samenhang tussen etnische diversiteit in teams en diverse werkuitkomsten. Etnische diversiteit in teams hangt negatief samen met werkuitkomsten op (inter)persoonlijk en teamniveau. Deze negatieve samenhang wordt deels verklaard doordat werknemers in etnisch meer diverse teams zich minder identificeren met het team.

Contextuele factoren: Intercultureel klimaat en Perspectieven op diversiteit.

Tenslotte is in dit proefschrift onderzoek uitgevoerd naar contextuele factoren in de vorm van een intercultureel klimaat' en verschillende 'perspectieven op diversiteit' binnen teams. Een intercultureel klimaat – volgens eerder onderzoek – uit drie aspecten: tolerantie voor culturele ambiguïteit, waardering voor culturele diversiteit en een organisatiecultuur zonder al te veel regels. 'Tolerantie ten aanzien van culturele ambiguïteit' houdt in dat organisaties geen grote druk uitoefenen op werknemers om zich volledig aan te moeten passen (assimileren) aan de organisatiecultuur. Er bestaat ruimte voor werknemers om hun verscheidenheid op het gebied van culturele waarden en gebruiken te behouden. Daarnaast omvat 'waardering voor culturele diversiteit' in dat de culturele diversiteit als normaal en waardevol voor de organisatie, en niet als disfunctioneel. Meer waardering voor culturele diversiteit zal waarschijnlijk gepaard gaan met

meer openheid en crossculturele samenwerking tussen werknemers van verschillende etnische afkomst. Ten derde creëert een 'organisatiecultuur zonder al te veel regels' ruimte voor werknemers om op verschillende manieren het werk te verrichten. Ook worden ideeën die afwijken van de algemene norm serieus in overweging genomen.

In hoofdstuk 5 en 6 is onderzoek uitgevoerd naar de mate waarin een intercultureel klimaat aanwezig is binnen ieder van de onderzochte teams, en de gevolgen hiervan voor het functioneren en presteren van werknemers en teams. Ten eerste is onderzocht of een intercultureel klimaat in teams positief gerelateerd zou zijn aan het functioneren en presteren van werknemers en teams. De verwachting was dat met name etnisch diverse teams zouden profiteren van een positief intercultureel klimaat. Gedeeltelijk volgens verwachting laten de resultaten zien dat teams en werknemers beter gaan functioneren en presteren naarmate het intercultureel klimaat in teams positiever is. Daarentegen vonden we geen evidentie voor de aanname dat met name etnisch diverse teams zouden profiteren van een positief intercultureel klimaat. Een reden hiervoor kan zijn dat er binnen organisaties over het algemeen genomen regelmatig interactie plaatsvindt tussen werknemers van verschillende teams. Hierdoor zouden de voordelige gevolgen van een intercultureel klimaat zich niet beperken tot etnisch diverse teams. Daarnaast is onderzocht of een intercultureel klimaat samenhangt met identificatie van werknemers met betrekking tot hun team, hun etnische afkomst, of beide. Resultaten wijzen – volgens verwachting – uit dat een intercultureel klimaat in teams positief samenhangt met de mate waarin werknemers zich identificeren met het team *alsmede* met hun duale identiteit. Dit valt goed te verklaren. Een positieve waardering voor culturele diversiteit binnen teams kan zorgen voor meer gevoelens van verbondenheid tussen teamleden in etnisch diverse teams. Daarnaast biedt een intercultureel teamklimaat ruimte voor werknemers om hun unieke culturele waarden en normen, en hun eigen werkwijze te behouden. Zo'n context biedt ruimte – naast aanpassing aan de organisatiecultuur- voor het behoud van de eigen etnische identiteit. Dit is onder meer belangrijk, omdat teamidentificatie en duale identificatie onder werknemers leidt tot een beter functioneren en presteren van werknemers en teams, zoals hiervoor beschreven is.

Tenslotte is in hoofdstuk 7 van dit proefschrift onderzoek uitgevoerd naar de gevolgen van verschillende perspectieven op etnische

diversiteit op de mate van cohesie, creativiteit en prestaties onder 212 werknemers, werkzaam voor 22 zorgteams in woon- en zorgcentra voor bejaarden. Zo'n 28% van de zorgteams bestond uit allochtone werknemers, waarbij verreweg de meesten een niet-westerse allochtone achtergrond hadden. Naar aanleiding van eerder onderzoek werden drie perspectieven op diversiteit onderscheiden: 'Integration and Learning (I&L)', Access and Legitimacy (A&L), en tenslotte 'Discrimination and Fairness (D&F)'.

Het I&L perspectief wordt gedefinieerd als de overtuiging dat uiteenlopende inzichten, vaardigheden en ervaringen van werknemers met een verschillende culturele achtergrond een waardevolle bron vormen voor teams om de doelen en prestaties van het team of de organisatie verder te verbeteren. In etnisch diverse teams waar dit perspectief domineert zouden werknemers met een verschillende culturele afkomst zich meer gewaardeerd en gerespecteerd voelen. Tevens worden culturele verschillen besproken met als doel om bestaande bedrijfsprocessen of prestaties van het team of de organisatie te verbeteren.

Het A&L perspectief wordt gekenmerkt door de overtuiging dat de markten waarbinnen organisaties opereren cultureel divers van aard zijn geworden. Etnische diversiteit wordt hierbij vooral gezien als een streven om 'culturele representativiteit' te bieden ten opzichte van klanten. Etnische diversiteit wordt hierbij *niet* gezien als waardevol om bedrijfsprocessen of doelen van de organisatie te verbeteren. Binnen dit perspectief is er dus weinig ruimte zijn om crosscultureel leren te bevorderen, waardoor de voordelen van etnische diversiteit niet zouden worden benut.

Tenslotte kenmerkt het *D&F perspectief* zich door een geloof in een cultureel divers personeelsbestand als moreel initiatief tot rechtvaardigheid en eerlijke behandeling van *alle* (culturele) groepen in de maatschappij. Initiatieven omtrent diversiteit zijn hierbij met name gericht op het verstrekken van gelijke kansen in de rekrutering en promotie van personeel, alsmede het tegengaan van culturele vooroordelen en discriminatie. Doordat vooral 'gelijkheid' wordt benadrukt tussen cultureel diverse werknemers kan er geen sprake zijn van kennisoverdracht op crosscultureel gebied, waardoor potentiële voordelen van etnische diversiteit niet benut worden. Daarnaast worden problemen of uitdagingen rondom interculturele samenwerking wellicht niet besproken vanwege angst onder werknemers om discriminerende uitspraken te doen. Dit zou

uiteindelijk leiden tot gevoelens van frustraties bij werknemers waardoor teams en organisaties minder goed gaan functioneren en presteren.

De resultaten laten zoals verwacht zien dat een I&L perspectief de meeste voordelen oplevert in termen van meer creativiteit en betere prestaties in etnisch diverse teams. Bovendien blijkt dat dit positieve effect zich alleen voordoet binnen teams die etnisch divers van samenstelling zijn. Hieruit blijkt dat – zoals verwacht – voordelen van etnische diversiteit in teams in termen van meer creativiteit en betere prestaties zich alleen voordoen als a) teams etnisch divers van samenstelling zijn en b) er een I&L perspectief op diversiteit wordt gehanteerd waarbij diversiteit als waardevol en bruikbaar wordt gezien voor het verbeteren van bedrijfsprocessen en -prestaties. In tegenstelling blijkt het D&F en A&L perspectief op diversiteit bijna geen voordelen op te leveren. Wel is het zo dat een D&F perspectief – anders dan verwacht - positief samenhangt met de mate van teamcohesie onder werknemers. Deze bevinding duidt op het feit dat zaken als rechtvaardigheid en gelijke behandeling van werknemers een positieve uitwerking hebben op gevoelens van teamcohesie. Gebaseerd op deze uitkomsten worden er diverse suggesties gedaan om een I&L perspectief op diversiteit binnen teams te bevorderen.

Samenvattend kunnen we concluderen dat ook contextuele factoren een belangrijke relatie vertonen met het functioneren en presteren van werknemers in etnisch diverse teams. Met name een intercultureel klimaat en een I&L perspectief op diversiteit zorgen voor een beter functioneren en presteren van werknemers die werkzaam zijn in etnisch diverse teams. In de algemene conclusie worden dan ook aanbevelingen gedaan om zo'n klimaat binnen teams te bevorderen.

Tot slot

Het bestuderen van etnische diversiteit middels een culturele, psychologische en contextuele benadering heeft zo zijn voordelen. Het grootste voordeel is waarschijnlijk dat dit proefschrift een vrij compleet beeld schetst van processen die plaatsvinden wanneer werknemers uit verschillende culturen met elkaar samenwerken. Alle bevindingen in overweging nemende is er één aspect dat moet worden benadrukt. De resultaten wijzen uit dat etnische diversiteit in organisaties tot de meeste voordelen leidt wanneer er een optimale balans is tussen enerzijds behoud

van de eigen etnische identiteit en cultuur van werknemers, en anderzijds aanpassing aan dominante cultuur en identiteit binnen teams in Nederlandse organisaties. Het waarderen en ruimte laten voor etnische diversiteit en culturele verschillen, gecombineerd met het gebruiken van deze verschillen om teams en organisaties beter te laten functioneren leidt ertoe dat etnisch diverse organisaties maximaal kunnen profiteren van de voordelen die etnische diversiteit hen biedt.

REFERENCES

- Aiken, L.S. & West, S.G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interaction*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Alderfer, C. P. (1977). Group and intergroup relations. In J. R. Hackman & J. L. Suttle (Eds.), *Improving the quality of work life*. Pallisades, CA: Goodyear.
- Allen, N.J. & Meyer, J.P. (1990). The measurement and antecedents of affective, continuance and normative commitment to the organization. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 63, 1-18.
- Amason, P., Allen, M. W., & Holmes, S. A. (1999). Social support and acculturative stress in the multicultural workplace. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 27, 310-334.
- Anderson, N. R., & West, M. A. (1998). Measuring Climate for Work Group Innovation: Development and Validation of the Team Climate Inventory. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 19(3), 235-258.
- Allport, G.W. (1954), *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Arbuckle, J. L. (1997). *Amos users guide version 3.6*. Chicago: Smallwaters Corporation.
- Arends-Tóth, J. & Vijver, F.J.R. van de (2006). Assessment of psychological acculturation. In D.L. Sam & J.W. Berry (Eds.), *Acculturation Psychology*. (pp. 142-163). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arends-Tóth, J. & Van de Vijver, F.J.R. (2004). Domains and dimensions in acculturation: Implicit theories of Turkish-Dutch. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 28, 19–35.
- Arends-Tóth, J., and Van De Vijver, F.J.R. (2003), “Multiculturalism and acculturation: views of Dutch and Turkish–Dutch”, *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 33(2), 249-66.
- Arends-Tóth, J. & Vijver, F.J.R. van de (2000). Multiculturalisme: Spanning tussen ideaal en realiteit. [Multiculturalism: tension between ideal and reality]. *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor de Psychologie en haar Grensgebieden*, 55, 159-168.

- Armstead, C. A., Lawler, K. A., Gorden, G., Cross, J., & Gibbons, J. (1989). Relationship of Racial Stressors to Blood-Pressure Responses and Anger Expression in Black-College Students. *Health Psychology, 8*(5), 541-556.
- Bakker, A. B., & Demerouti, E. (2007). The Job Demands-Resources model: state of the art. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 22*(3), 309-328.
- Bakker, A. B., Demerouti, E., De Boer, E., & Schaufeli, W. B. (2003). Job demands and job resources as predictors of absence duration and frequency. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 62*, 341-356.
- Bakker, A. B., Van Emmerick, H., & Van Riet, P. (2008). How job demands, resources, and burnout predict objective performance: A constructive replication. *Anxiety, Stress & Coping, 21*(3), 1-16.
- Bakker, W., Van der Zee, K. I., & Van Oudenhoven, J. P. (2006). Personality and Dutch emigrants' reactions to acculturation orientations. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 36*(12), 2864-2891.
- Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The Moderator-Mediator Variable Distinction in Social Psychological Research: Conceptual, Strategic, and Statistical Considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51*(6), 1173-1182.
- Beal, D. J., Cohen, R. R., Burke, M. J., & McLendon, C. L. (2003). Cohesion and Performance in Groups: A Meta-Analytic Clarification of Construct Relations. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 88*(6), 989-1004.
- Bentler, P. M. (1990). Comparative fit indexes in structural Models. *Psychological Bulletin, 107*, 238-246.
- Bentler, P. M., & Bonnet, D. G. (1980). Significance tests and goodness of fit in the analysis of covariance structures. *Psychological Bulletin, 88*, 588-606.
- Berry, J.W. (2006). Stress perspectives on acculturation. In D.L. Sam & J.W. Berry (Eds.), *Acculturation Psychology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.27-42.
- Berry, J.W. (2001). A psychology of immigration. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*, 615-631.
- Berry, J. W. (1998). Acculturation and Health. In S. S. Kazarian & D. R. Evans (Eds.), *Cultural Clinical Psychology: Theory, Research, and Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Berry, J.W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, 46, 5-34.
- Berry, J. W. (1990). Acculturation and adaptation: Health consequences of culture contact among circumpolar peoples. *Arctic Medical Research*, 49, 142-150.
- Berry, J.W. (1966). Temne and Eskimo perceptual skills. *International Journal of Psychology*, 1, 207-229.
- Berry, J. W. & Kim, U. (1988). Acculturation and Mental Health. In P. Dasen, J. W. Berry, & N. Sartorius (Eds.), *Health and cross-cultural psychology: Towards applications*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Minde, T., & Mok, D. (1987). Comparative Studies of Acculturative Stress. *International Migration Review*, 3, 491-511.
- Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Power, S., Young, M., & Bujaki, M. (1989). Acculturation attitudes in plural societies. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 38, 185-206.
- Berry, J.W., Phinney, J.S., Sam, D.L., Vedder, P. (2006). *Immigration youth in cultural transition: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation across national contexts*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bhawuk, D.P.S. (2001). Evolution of culture assimilators: Toward theory based assimilators. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 25, 141-163.
- Birt, C. M., & Dion, K. L. (1987). Relative deprivation theory and responses to discrimination in a gay male and lesbian sample. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 26, 139-145.
- Blau, P. M. (1977). *Inequality and heterogeneity*. New York: Free Press.
- Bollen, K. A. (1989). *Structural equations with latent variables*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Bourhis, R. Y., Moise, L. C., Perreault, S., & Senécal, S. (1997). Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach. *International Journal of Psychology*, 32, 369-386.
- Bouwman, N. P. G., & Landeweerd, J. A. (1992). The role of social support and coping behavior in nursing work: main or buffering effect? *Work & Stress*, 6, 191-202.

- Brewer, M. B. (1979). Ingroup bias in the minimal intergroup situation: A cognitive-motivational analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 86, 307-324.
- Brewer, M. B., & Kramer, R. M. (1986). Choice behavior in social dilemmas: Effects of social identity, group size, and decision making framing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 50, 543-549.
- Brewer M.B. & Brown R.J. (1998). Intergroup relations. In D.T. Gilbert, S.T. Fiske (Eds.) *Handbook of Social Psychology* (pp. 554-94). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Browne, M. W., & Cudek, R. (1993). Alternative ways of assessing Model fit. In K. A. Bollen & J. S. Long (Eds.), *Testing Structural Equation Models* (pp. 136-162). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Bullock, S. C., & Houston, E. (1987). Perceptions of racism by Black medical students attending White medical schools. *Journal of the National Medical Association*, 79, 601 – 608.
- Byrne, D. S. (1999). *Social exclusion*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Byrne, D.S. (1971). *The attraction paradigm*. New York: Academic Press.
- Campbell, J. P., McCloy, R. A., Oppler, S. H., & Sager, C. E. (1993). A theory of performance. In N. Schmitt & W. C. Borman (Eds.), *Personnel selection in organizations* (pp. 35-70). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Cashmore, E. (1996). *Dictionary of race and ethnic relations*. London & New York: Routledge.
- CBS. (2007). Available at: <http://www.cbs.nl/en-GB/menu/themas/dossiers/allochtonen/methoden/begrippen/default.htm?Languageswitch=on&ConceptID=37> (accessed 15 Januari 2009).
- CBS. (2008). Available at: <http://www.cbs.nl/nlNL/menu/themas/dossiers/allochtonen/cijfers> (accessed 15 Januari 2009).
- Chryssochoou, X. (2004). *Cultural Diversity: Its Social Psychology*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Cooper, R. S. (1993). Health and the social status of Blacks in the United States. *Annals of Epidemiology*, 3, 137-144.
- Cox, T. H. (1993). *Cultural diversity in organizations: Theory, research, and practice*. San Francisco: Berret-Koehler.

- Cox, T. H. & Blake, S. (1991). Managing cultural diversity: Implications for organizational competitiveness. *Academy of Management Executive*, 5, 45-56.
- Cox, T. H., Lobel, S., & McLeod, P. (1991). Effects of ethnic group cultural differences on cooperative and competitive behavior on group task. *Academy of Management Journal*, 34, 827-847.
- Cushner, K., & Brislin, R. W. (1996). *Intercultural Interactions: A Practical Guide*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- De Dreu, C. K. W., & Weingart, L. R. (2003). Task Versus Relationship Conflict, Team Performance, and Team Member Satisfaction: A Meta-Analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88(4), 741-749.
- Deith, E. A., Barsky, A., Butz, R. M., Chan, S., Brief, A. P., & Bradley, J. C. (2003). Subtle yet significant: The existence and impact of everyday racial discrimination in the workplace. *Human Relations*, 56(11), 1299-1324.
- Derous, E., & Nguyen, H.H., & Ryan, A.M. (in press). Hiring discrimination against Arab minorities: Interactions between prejudice and job characteristics. *Human Performance*.
- De Zwart, F., & Poppelaars, C. (2007). Redistribution and ethnic diversity in the Netherlands. *Acta Sociologica*, 50, 387-399.
- Dignam, J. T., & West, S. G. (1988). Social support in the workplace: Tests of six theoretical models. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 16, 701-724.
- Dion, K. L., Dion, K., & Wan-Ping Pak, A. (1992). Personality-based hardiness as a buffer for discrimination related stress in members of Toronto's Chinese community. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*, 24, 517-536.
- Dinsbach, A.A. (2005). Socialization in the Workplace: A focus on migrant groups. Doctoral thesis. Free University Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
- Dunham, R. & Herman, J. (1975). Development of female Faces scale for measuring job satisfaction. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 60, 629-631.
- Earley, P.C., Mosakowski, E. Creating hybrid team cultures: An empirical test of transnational team functioning. *Academy of Management Journal*, 43(1), 26-49.

- Eisenhardt, K. M., Jean, L. K., & Bourgeois, L. J. (1997). How management teams can have a good fight. *Harvard Business Review*, 75(4), 77-85.
- Ekamper, P. & Wetters, R. (2005). *First EU demographic estimates for 2004*. Retrieved October 1, 2005, from <http://www.nidi.knaw.nl/en/projects/270601/nowcast2004/>
- Ely R. J. (2004). A field study of group diversity, participation in diversity education programs, and performance. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 25, 755-780.
- Ely, R. J. & Thomas, D. A. (2001). Cultural diversity at work: The effects of diversity perspectives on work group processes and outcomes. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 46(2), 229-273.
- Ensher, E. A., Grant-Vallone, E. J., & Donaldson, S. I. (2001). Effects of Perceived Discrimination on Job Satisfaction, Organizational Commitment, Organizational Citizenship Behavior, and Grievances. *Human Resource Management Quarterly*, 12(1), 53-72.
- Enzmann, D., Schaufeli, W. B., & Girault, N. (1995). The validity of the Maslach Burnout Inventory in three national samples. In: L. Bennett, D. Miller, & M. Ross (Eds.). *Health workers and aids: Research, intervention and current issues in burnout and response* (pp. 131- 150). Chur: Switzerland: Harwood.
- Espinoza, J. & Garza, R. (1985). Social group salience and inter-ethnic cooperation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 21, 380-392.
- Fiske, S. T., & Neuberg, S. L. (1990). A continuum of impression formation from category-based to individuating processes: influences of information and motivation on attention and interpretation. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 23, 1-74.
- Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Nier, J. A., Ward, C. M., & Banker, B. S. (1999). Across Cultural Divides: The value of superordinate identity. In D. Prentice & D. Miller (Eds.), *Cultural Divides: Understanding and overcoming group conflict* (pp. 173-212). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Gaertner, S. L., Rust, M. C., Dovidio, J. F., Bachman, B. A., & Anastasio, P. A. (1994). The contact Hypothesis: The role of a common ingroup identity on reducing intergroup bias. *Small Group Research*, 25, 224-249.

- Gagnon, A., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1996). Discrimination in the Minimal Group Paradigm: Social Identity or Self-Interest? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 22(12), 1289-1301.
- Garza, R. & Santos, S. (1991). Ingroup/outgroup balance and interdependent inter-ethnic behavior. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 27, 124-137.
- George, J. (1990). Personality, affect and behavior in groups. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 75, 107-116.
- George, J., & Zhou, J. (2001). When Openness to Experience and Conscientiousness Are Related to Creative Behavior: An Interactional Approach. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86(3), 513-524.
- Gilder, D. van, Heuvel, H. van den, & Ellemers, N. (1997). Het 3-componenten model van commitment. [The 3-components model of commitment]. *Gedrag & Organisatie*, 10, 95-105.
- Giles, H., Bourhis, R.Y., and Taylor, D.M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In Giles, H. (Ed.) *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations*, Academic Press, London.
- Goodman, S. A., & Svyantek, D. J. (1999). Person–Organization Fit and Contextual Performance: Do Shared Values Matter. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 55(2), 254-275.
- Gomez, J. P., & Trierweiler, S. J. (2001). Does discrimination terminology create response bias in questionnaire studies of discrimination? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27, 630-638.
- Greenhaus, J. H., Parasuraman, S., & Wormley, W. M. (1990). Effects of race on organizational experiences, job performance evaluation, and career outcomes. *Academy of Management Journal*, 33, 64-86.
- Grossman, R. J. (2000). Is diversity working? *HR Magazine*, 45(3), 46-50.
- Guzzo, R. A., & Dickson, M. W. (1996). Teams in Organizations: Recent Research on Performance and Effectiveness. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 47, 307-338.
- Hackman, J. R. (1987). The design of work teams. In J. W. Lorsch (Ed.), *Handbook of organizational behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Harquail, C. V., & Cox, T. (1993). Organizational culture and acculturation. In T. Cox (Ed.), *Cultural diversity in organizations*:

- Theory, research and practice* (pp. 161-176). San Francisco: Berret-Koehler.
- Harrison, D. A., & Klein, K. J. (2007). What's the difference? Diversity constructs as separation, variety, or disparity in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 32(4), 1199-1228.
- Harrison, D.A., Price, K.H., & Bell, M.P. (1998). Beyond Relational Demography: Time and the Effects of Surface- and Deep-Level Diversity on Work Group Cohesion. *Academy of Management Journal*, 41(1), 96-107.
- Haslam, S. A. (2004). Stress. In S. A. Haslam (Ed.), *Psychology in organizations: The Social Identity Approach* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Haslam, S. A., Vigano, V., Roper, H., Humphrey, L., & O'Sullivan, L. (2003). Social identification and burnout: evidence of a variable relationship across subcomponents: Unpublished manuscript, University of Exeter.
- Haslam, S. A., Powell, C., & Turner, J. C. (2000). Social identity, self categorization and work motivation: Rethinking the contribution of the group to positive and sustainable organizational outcomes. *Applied psychology: An international review*, 49(3), 319-339.
- Heilman, M. E. (1994). Affirmative action: Some unintended consequences for working women. *Research in Organizational Behaviour*, 16, 125-169.
- Heilman, M. E., Block, C. J., & Lucas, J. A. (1992). Presumed incompetent? Stigmatization and affirmative action efforts. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 77, 436-544.
- Heilman, M. E., Rivero, J. C., & Brett, J. F. (1991). Skirting the competence issue: Effects of sex based preferential selection on task choices of women and men. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76, 99-105.
- Hewstone, M. (1990). The ultimate attribution error? A review of the literature on intergroup causal attribution. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 20, 311-335.
- Hoffman, E. (1985). The effect of race-ratio composition on the frequency of organizational communication. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 48(1), 17-26.
- Hofstede, G. (1991). *Cultures and organizations: Software of the mind*. London: McGraw-Hill.

- Hofstede, G. (1989). Organizing for cultural diversity. *European Management Journal*, 7, 390-397.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences. International differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- House, J. S. (1981). *Work Stress and Social Support*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Hox, J. J. (2002). *Multilevel Analysis: Techniques and Applications*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Hoyle, R. H. (1995). The structural equation modelling approach: Basic concepts and fundamental issues. In R. H. Hoyle (Ed.), *Structural equation modelling: Concepts, issues and applications* (pp. 1-15). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hutnik N. 1991. *Ethnic Minority Identity: A Social Psychological Perspective*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jackson, S. E., Joshi A., & Erhardt, N. L. (2003). Recent research on team and organizational diversity: SWOT analysis and implications. *Journal of Management*, 29(6), 801-830.
- Jackson, S. E., May, K. E., & Whitney, K. (1995). Understanding the dynamics of diversity in decision-making teams. In R. A. Guzzo & E. Salas (Eds.), *Team effectiveness and decision making in organizations* (pp. 204-261). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Jackson, S. E., Schwab, R. L., & Schuler, R. S. (1986). Towards an understanding of the burnout phenomenon. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 71, 630-640.
- James, K. (1995). Social identity, work stress, and minority workers' health. In G. Puryear & S. L. Sauter (Eds.), *Job Stress 2000: Emerging Issues* (pp. 127-145). Washington, DC.: American Psychological Association.
- James, K. (1997). Worker social identity and health-related costs for organizations: a comparative study between ethnic groups. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 2, 108-117.
- James, L. R., Demaree, R. G., & Wolf, G. (1984). Estimating Within-Group Interrater Reliability With and Without Response Bias. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 69(1), 85-98.
- Jaramillo, F., Carrillat, F., & Locander, W. B. (2005). A Meta-analytic Comparison of Managerial Ratings and Self-Evaluations. *Journal of Personal Selling and Sales Management*, 25(4), 315-328.

- Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., Horenczyk, G., & Schmitz, P. (2003). The interactive nature of acculturation: Perceived discrimination, acculturation, attitudes and stress among young repatriates in Finland, Israel and Germany. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27, 79-97.
- Jehn, K. A. (1995). A multi-method examination of benefits and detriments of intragroup conflict. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 40, 256-282.
- Jehn, K. A., Northcraft G. B., & Neale, M. A. (1999). Why differences make a difference: A field study of diversity, conflict and performance in workgroups. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 44(4), 741-763.
- Jewson, N., Mason, D., Drewett A., Rossiter, W. (1995). *Formal Equal Opportunities Policies and Employment Best Practice*. Employment Department Research Series No. 69. Sheffield: Employment Department.
- Jung, D., & Sosik, J. (1999). Effects of group characteristics on work group performance: A longitudinal investigation. *Group Dynamics*, 3, 279-290.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York: Basic books.
- Knippenberg, D. van & Schippers, M. C. (2007). Work Group Diversity. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 58, 515-541.
- Katz, R. (1982). The effects of group longevity on project communication and performance. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 27, 81-104.
- Kenny, D. A., Kashy, D. A., & Bolger, N. (1998). Data analysis in social psychology. In D. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Kessler, R. C., Mickelson, K. D., & Williams, D. R. (1999). The prevalence, distribution and mental health correlates of perceived discrimination in the United States. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 40, 208-230.
- Kosic, A., Kruglanski, A.W., Pierro, A., & Mannetti, L. (2004). The social cognition of immigrants' acculturation: Effects of the need for closure and the reference group at entry. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 86, 796-813.

- Kossek, E. E., & Zonia, S. C. (1993). Assessing Diversity Climate: A Field Study of Reactions to Employer Efforts to Promote Diversity. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 14*(1), 61-81.
- Kramer, R. M. (1993). Cooperation and organizational identification. In J. K. Murnighan (Ed.), *The social psychology of organizations: Advances in Theory and Research* (pp. 244-268). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Kunin, T. (1955). The construction of a new type of attitude measure. *Personnel Psychology, 8*, 65-77.
- Larkey, L. K. (1996). Toward a theory of communicative interactions in culturally diverse workgroups. *Academy of Management Review, 21*, 464-491.
- Lefkowitz, J. (1994). Race as a factor in job placement: Serendipitous findings of "ethnic drift." *Personnel Psychology, 47*, 497-513.
- Levine, R. M., Prosser, A., Evans, D., & Reicher, S. D. (2002). Self-categorization and bystander non-intervention: two experimental studies. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 32*, 1452-1463.
- Linnehan, F. & Konrad, A. M. (1999). Diluting diversity: Implications for intergroup inequality in organizations. *Journal of Management Inquiry, 8*, 399-414.
- Lugtenberg, M. & Peeters, M. C. W. (2004). Acculturatievisies van allochtone en autochtone werknemers. Is er een verband met welbevinden op het werk? *De Psycholoog, September*, 417-424.
- Luijters, K., Otten, S., Van der Zee, K.I., and Van Duin, J. (2008). Consequences of Cultural Diversity: the Importance of Diversity Management. *Paper under revision*.
- Luijters, K., Van der Zee, K., & Otten, S. (2008). Cultural diversity in organizations: Enhancing identification by valuing differences. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 32*(2), 154-163.
- Luijters, K., van der Zee, K.I., & Otten, S. (2006). Acculturation orientations among ethnic minority workers and the role of intercultural personality traits. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 9*(4), 561-575.
- Maslach, C., Schaufeli, W. B., & Leiter, M. P. (2001). Job burnout. *Annual Review of Psychology, 52*, 397-422.
- MacKenzie, S. B., Podsakoff, P. M., & Fetter, R. (1991). Organizational citizenship behavior and objective productivity as determinants of

- managerial evaluations of salespersons' performance. *50, 1*, 123-150.
- Maznevski, M. L. 1994. Understanding our differences: Performance in decision-making groups with diverse members. *Human Relations*, 47(5), 531-552.
- McLeod, P. & Lobel, S. (1992). The effects of ethnic diversity on idea generation in small groups. Paper presented at the Annual Academy of Management Meeting, Las Vegas, Nevada.
- Meerman, M. (1999). *Gebroken wit: Over acceptatie van allochtonen in arbeidsorganisaties*. Dissertation, Universiteit van Leiden. Amsterdam: Thela Thesis.
- Meloen, J.D., and Veenman, J. (1990), *Het is maar de vraag..., Onderzoek naar Responseffecten bij Minderhedensurveys. [It's about the question..., Research on Response effects in minority surveys]*, Lelystad: Koninklijke Vermande BV.
- Messick, D. M., & Mackie, D. M. (1989). Intergroup relations. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 40, 45-81.
- Miller, D. R. (1983). Self, symptom, and social control. In T. R. Sarbin & K. E. Scheibe (Eds.), *Studies in social identity* (pp. 319-338). New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Milleken, F. J., Bartel, C. A., & Kurtzberg, T. R. (2003). Diversity and creativity in work groups: A dynamic perspective on the affective and cognitive processes that link diversity and performance. In P. Paulus & B. Nijstad (Eds.), *Group creativity: Innovation through collaboration* (pp. 32-62). New York: Oxford Press.
- Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment. (2009). Available at: http://home.szw.nl/index.cfm?menu_item_id=13711&hoofdmenu_item_id=13825&rubriek_item=391837&rubriek_id=391817&set_id=135. (retrieved 2 februari 2009).
- Mor Barak, M. E. (2005). Towards a Globally inclusive workplace: Putting the pieces together. In *Managing Diversity: Towards a Globally Inclusive Workplace* (pp. 286-292). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Morrison, A. M. (1992). *The New Leaders: Guidelines on Leadership Diversity in America*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Mullen, B., Brown, R. J., & Smith, C. (1992). Ingroup bias as a function of salience, relevance and status: An integration. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 22, 103-122.

- Nier, J. A., Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Banker, B. S., & Rust, M. C. (2001). Changing Interracial Evaluations and Behavior: The Effects of a Common Group Identity. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 2001(4), 299-316.
- Nunnally, J. C., & Bernstein, I. H. (1994). *Psychometric theory* (3 ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Oakes, P. J. (1987). The salience of social categories. In J. C. Turner, M. A. Hogg, P. J. Oakes, S. D. Reicher, & M. S. Wetherell (Eds.), *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory* (pp. 117-141). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Oldham, G. R., & Cummings, A. (1996). Employee Creativity: Personal and Contextual Factors at Work. *Academy of Management Journal*, 39(3), 607-634.
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, (2008). *International Migration Outlook: SOPEMI 2008*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Oerlemans, W. G. M., Peeters, M. C. W., & Schaufeli, W.B. (2008). Ethnic diversity at work: An overview of theories and findings. In K. Näswall, M. J. Hellgren, & M. Sverke (Eds.), *Balancing work and well-being: The individual in the changing working life*. (pp.211-232).
- Oerlemans, W.G.M. & Peeters, M.C.W. (accepted for publication). Interactive acculturation and intergroup relations in the multicultural workplace. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*.
- O'Reilly, C. A., Williams, K. Y., & Barsade, S. G. (1997). Group demography and innovation: Does diversity help? In E. Mannix & M. Neale (Eds.), *Research in the management of groups and teams* (vol. 1). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- O'Reilly, C. A., Williams, K. Y., & Barsade, S. G. (1999). The impact of relational demography on teamwork: When majorities are in the minority. Research paper no. 1551. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University, Graduate school of Business.
- Ouarasse, O.A., and Van de Vijver, F.J.R. (2005). The role of demographic variables and acculturation attitudes in predicting sociocultural and psychological adaptation in Moroccans in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29(3), 251-272.

- Pedhazur, E.J. (1982). *Multiple regression in behavioural research*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Paolini, S., Hewstone, M., Cairns, E., and Voci, A. (2004). Effects of direct and indirect cross-group friendships on judgments of Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland: The mediating role of an anxiety reduction mechanism, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30, 770–786.
- Peeters, M. C. W., Buunk, B. P., & Schaufeli, W. B. (1995). Social Interactions, Stressful Events and Negative Affect at Work - a Microanalytic Approach. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 25(4), 391-401.
- Peeters, M. C. W. & Oerlemans W. G. M. (in press). The relationship between acculturation orientations and work-related well-being? Differences between ethnic minority and majority employees. *International Journal of Stress Management*.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 65-80.
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Martin, J. (1987). Shaping the organizational context for Black American inclusion. *Journal of Social Issues*, 43, 41-78.
- Pettigrew, T. F., and Tropp, L.R. (2006). A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751-783.
- Pettigrew, T. F., Wagner, U., Stellmacher, J., and Christ, O. (2006). Why does authoritarianism predict prejudice? The mediators of a global phenomenon. *Manuscript submitted for publication*.
- Phalet, K., & Andriessen, I. (2003). Acculturation, motivation and educational attainment. In L. Hagendoorn, J. Veenman, & W. Vollebergh (Eds.), *Integrating immigrants in the Netherlands* (pp. 145–172). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Phalet, K. & Swyngedouw, M. (2003). A cross-cultural analysis of immigrant and host values and acculturation orientations. In H. Vinken & P. Ester (Eds.), *Comparing cultures*. Leiden: Brill.
- Pelled, L. H. (1993). Team diversity and conflict: A multivariate analysis. Working paper, School of Business Administration, University of Southern California.
- Pelled, L. H., Eisenhardt, K. M., & Xin, K. R. (1999). Exploring the black box: An analysis of work group diversity, conflict, and performance. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 44, 1-28.

- Phinney, J. S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic identity, Immigration, and well-being: An interactional perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 493-510.
- Podsakoff, P. M., MacKenzie, S. B., & Lee, J. Y. (2003). Common Method Biases in Behavioral Research: A Critical Review of the Literature and Recommended Remedies. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88(5), 879-903.
- Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2004). SPSS and SAS procedures for estimating indirect effects in simple mediation models. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments, & Computers*, 36(4), 717-731.
- Randel, A. E. (2002). Identity salience: a moderator of the relationship between group gender composition and work group conflict. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 23, 749-766.
- Rasbash, J., Browne, W. J., Healy, M., Cameron, B., & Charlton, C. (2005). MLwiN version 2.02. London: Institute of Education.
- Raghuram, S., & Garud, R. (1998). The Vicious and Virtuous Facets of Workforce Diversity. In M. N. Ruderman, M. W. Hughes-James & S. E. Jackson (Eds.), *Selected Research on Work Team Diversity* (pp. 155-178). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Redfield, R., Linton, R., & Herkovits, M. (1936). Memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 38, 149-152.
- Rijsman, J. B. (1997). Social diversity: A social psychological analysis and some implications for groups and organizations. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 6, 139-152.
- Riketta, M. (2005). Organizational identification: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 66(2), 358-384.
- Riordan, C. M. & Shore, L. M. (1997). Demographic diversity and employee attitudes: An empirical examination of relational demography within work-units. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 82(3), 342-358.
- Riordan, C. M., & Weatherly, E. W. (1999). Defining and Measuring Employees' Identification with Their Workgroups. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 59(2), 310-324.
- Roberts, R. K., Swanson, N. G., & Murphy, L. R. (2004). Discrimination and occupational mental health. *Journal of mental health*, 13(2), 129-142.

- Sackett, P., DuBois, C., & Noe, A. (1991). Tokenism in performance evaluation: The effects of work representation on male-female and black-white differences in performance ratings. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76, 263-267.
- Sam, D.L. (2006). Acculturation: conceptual background and core components. In D.L. Sam & J.W. Berry (Eds.), *Acculturation Psychology*. (pp. 27-43). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sam, D.L. & Berry, J.W. (2006). *Acculturation Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sandhu, D. S. & Asrabadi, B. R. (1994). Development of an Acculturative Stress Scale for International Students: preliminary findings. *Psychological Report*, 75(1), 435-448.
- Schaufeli, W. B. (2005). The future of occupational health psychology. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 53, 502-517.
- Schaufeli, W. B., & Bakker, A. B. (2004). Job demands, job resources, and their relationship with burnout and engagement: a multi-sample study. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 25(3), 293-315.
- Schaufeli, W. B., Leiter, M. P., Maslach, C., & Jackson, S. E. (1996). The MBI-General Survey. In C. Maslach, S. E. Jackson, & M .P. Leiter (Eds.), *Maslach Burnout Inventory* (pp. 19-26). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Schaufeli, W.B. & Van Dierendonck, D. (2000). Utrechtse Burnout Schaal (UBOS): Testhandleiding [*Utrecht Burnout Scale. Test Manual*]. Amsterdam: Harcourt Test Services.
- Schippers, M. C., Den Hartog, D. N., Koopman, P. L., & Wienk, J. A. (2003). Diversity and team outcomes: the moderating effects of outcome interdependence and group longevity and the mediating effect of reflexivity. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 24, 779-802.
- Schmitz, P. (1994). Acculturation styles and health. In S. Iwawaki, Y. Kashima, & K. Leung (Eds.), *Innovations in cross-cultural psychology* (p. 360-370). Lisse, The Netherlands: Swets & Zeitlinger Publishers.
- Shamir, B. (1990). Calculations, values, and identities: the sources of collectivistic work motivation. *Human Relations*, 43, 313-332.
- Shaw, M. E. (1981). *Group Dynamics: the Psychology of Small Group Behaviour*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Shell. (2006). *Shell and diversity*. Retrieved October 1, 2006, from http://www.shell.com/home/Framework?siteId=royal-en&FC2=&FC3=/royal-en/html/iwgen/who_we_are/shell_and_diversity/shell_and_diversity.html
- Sidanius, J. & Pratto, F. (1993). The inevitability of oppression and the dynamics of social dominance. In: P.M. Snideman, P.E. Tetlock, E.G. Carmines (Eds.), *Prejudice, politics and The American dilemma*, (pp. 173-211). Stanford University Press.
- Smith, A. D. (1991). The ethnic basis of national identity. In A.D. Smith (Ed.), *National identity* (pp. 19-42). London: Penguin Books.
- Smith, P. B. & Bond, M. H. (1998). *Social psychology across cultures* (2nd ed.). Bath: Prentice Hall.
- Snauwaert, B., Soenens, B., Vanbeselaere, N., and Boen, F. (2003). When Integration Does Not Necessarily Imply Integration: Different Conceptualizations of Acculturation Orientations Lead to Different Classifications. *Journal of cross-cultural psychology*, 34(2), 231-239.
- Stasser, G. (1992). Pooling of unshared information during group discussions. In S. Worchel, W. Wood, & J. A. Simpson (Eds.), *Group process and productivity* (pp. 48-67). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Stephan, W. G., Boniecki, K. A., Ybarra, O., Bettencourt, A., Ervin, K. S., & Jackson, L. A. (2002). The role of threats in the racial attitudes of Blacks and Whites. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28, 1242-1254.
- Stephan, W.G., & Stephan, C.W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Social Issues*, 41, 157-176.
- Tajfel, H. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. London: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, H., Billig, M., Bundy, R. P., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorisation and intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 27, 27-36.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel & W.G.Austin (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Tatar, M. & Horenczyk, G. (2003). Diversity-related burnout among teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 19, 397-408.
- Taylor, D. M. & Moghaddam, F. M. (1994). Theories of intergroup relations: International and social psychological perspectives (2nd ed.). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Tetrick, L.E. (2006). Editorial. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 11, 1-2.
- Timmerman, T. A. (2000). Racial Diversity, Age Diversity, Interdependence, and Team Performance. *Small Group Research*, 31, 592-606.
- Tsui, A. S., Ashford, S. J., Clair, L. S., & Xin, K. R. (1995). Dealing with Discrepant Expectations: Response Strategies and Managerial Effectiveness. *Academy of Management Journal*, 38(6), 1515-1543.
- Tsui, A. S., Egan, T. D., & O'reilly, C. A. (1992). Being Different - Relational Demography and Organizational Attachment. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 37(4), 549-579.
- Turner, J. C. (1982). Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Social identity and intergroup relations* (pp.15-40). Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Turner, J. C. (1985). Social categorization and the self-concept: A social cognitive theory of group behavior. In E. J. Lawler (Ed.), *Advances in group processes* (vol. 2, pp. 77-122), Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., & Oakes, P. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self categorization theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Uzzell, D. Barnett, J. (2006). "Ethnographic and Action Research", In G.M. Breakwell, S. Hammond, C. Fife-Shaw & J.A. Smith (Eds.), *Research methods in psychology*. Sage Publications, London, pp. 300-21.
- Van Oudenhoven, J. P., & Eisses, A. M. (1998). Integration and assimilation of Moroccan immigrants in Israel and The Netherlands. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 22(3), 293-207.
- Van de Vijver, F. J. R. & Leung, K. (1997). *Methods and data analysis for cross-cultural research*. Newbury park: Sage publications.

- Van de Vijver, F. J. R. & Phalet, K. (2004). Assessment in multicultural groups: The role of acculturation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 53(2), 215-236.
- Van de Vijver, F. J. R. & Tanzer, N.K. (2003). Bias and equivalence in cross-cultural assessment: an overview. *Revue Européenne de Psychologie Appliquée*, 54(2), 119-135.
- Van der Zee, K., Atsma, N., & Brodbeck, F. (2004). The influence of social identity and personality on outcomes of cultural diversity in teams. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 35(3), 283-303.
- Van Knippenberg, D., De Dreu, C. K. W., & Homan, A. C. (2004). Work group diversity and group performance: An integrative model and research agenda. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 98, 1008-1022.
- Van Knippenberg, D., Haslam, S. A., & Platow, M. J. (2007). Unity Through Diversity: Value-in-Diversity Beliefs, Workgroup Diversity, and Group Identification. *ERIM Report Series Reference No. ERS-2007-068-ORG*.
- Van Knippenberg, D., & Schippers, M. C. (2007). Workgroup Diversity. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 58, 515-541.
- Van Knippenberg, D., & Van Schie, E. C. M. (2000). Foci and correlates of organizational identification. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 72(2), 137-147.
- Van Veldhoven, M., & Meijman, T. F. (1994). *Het meten van psychosociale arbeidsbelasting met een vragenlijst: de vragenlijst beleving en beoordeling van de arbeid (VBBA) [The measurement of psychosocial work load with a questionnaire: the questionnaire experience and evaluation of work (QEEW)]*, Nederlands Instituut voor Arbeidsomstandigheden [Dutch Institute for Working Conditions], Amsterdam.
- Verkuyten, M., De Jong, W., & Masson, C. N. (1993). Job satisfaction among ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 42(2), 171-189.
- Verkuyten, M. & Thijs, J. (1999). Nederlandse en Turkse jongeren over multiculturalisme: cultuurbehoud, aanpassing, identificatie en groepsdiscriminatie. *Sociologische gids: maandblad voor Sociologie en Sociaal Onderzoek*, 46, 407-425.
- Vermeulen, H. & Penninx, R. (2000). *Immigrant Integration: The Dutch case*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

- Voci, A., & Hewstone, M. (2003). Intergroup contact and prejudice toward immigrants in Italy: The mediational role of anxiety and the moderational role of group salience. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 6, 37-54.
- Vries, S., de, van de Ven, C., Nuyens, M. Stark, K. Van Schie, J. Van Sloten, G.C. (2005). *Diversiteit op de Werkvloer: Hoe werkt dat? Voorbeelden van diversiteitsbeleid in de praktijk*. 2005, Amsterdam: Plantijn-Casparie.
- Ward, C. & Kennedy, A. Where's the "culture" in cross-cultural transition? Comparative studies of sojourner adjustment. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 24(2), 221-249.
- Warr, P. (1990). The measurement of well-being and other aspects of mental health. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 63(3), 193-210.
- Watson, W. E., Johnson, L., & Merritt, D. (1998). Team orientation, self-orientation, and diversity in task groups: their connection to team performance over time. *Group & Organization Management*, 23(2), 161-188.
- Watson, W. E., Johnson, L., and Zgourides, G. D. (2002). The influence of ethnic diversity on leadership, group process, and performance: an examination of learning teams. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26(1), 1-16.
- Watson, W. E., Kumar, K., & Michaelsen, L. K. (1993). Cultural diversity's impact on interaction process and performance: Comparing homogeneous and diverse task groups. *Academy of Management Journal*, 36(3), 590-602.
- Webber, S. S., & Donahue, L. M. (2001). Impact of highly and less job-related diversity on workgroup cohesion and performance: a meta-analysis. *Journal of Management*, 27(2), 141-162.
- Weingart, L. (1992). Impact of group goals, task component complexity, effort, and planning on group performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 77, 682-693.
- Wharton, A. S. (1992). The social construction of gender and race in organizations: a social identity and group mobilization perspective. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 10, 55-84.
- Wheeler, K.G. (2002). Cultural values in relation to equity sensitivity within and across cultures. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 17(7), 612-627.

- Widaman, K. F. (1985). Hierarchically nested covariance structure Models for multitrait-multimethod data. *Applied Psychological Measurement*, 9, 1-26.
- Williams, D. R. & Chung, A. (1997). Racism and Health. In R. Gibson & J. S. Jackson (Eds.), *Health in Black America*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Williams, K. Y. & O'Reilly, C. A. (1998). Demography and diversity in organizations: A review of 40 years of research. In B. M. Staw & L. L. Cummings (Eds.), *Research in Organizational Behavior* (Vol. 20, pp. 77-140). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Witkin, H. A., Price-Williams, D., Bertini, M., Christiansen, B., Oltman, P. K., Ramirez, M., et al. (1974). Social Conformity and Psychological Differentiation. *International Journal of Psychology*, 9(1), 11-29.
- Wittenbaum, G. & Stasser, G. (1996). Management and information in small groups. In J. Nye & M. Brower (Eds.), *What's social about social cognition? Social cognition research in small groups* (pp. 3-28). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Zagefka, H. & Brown, R. (2002). The relationship between acculturation orientations, relative fit and intergroup relations: Immigrant-majority relations in Germany. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 32, 171-188.
- Zheng, X. & Berry, J. W. (1991). Psychological Adaptation of Chinese Sojourners in Canada. *International Journal of Psychology*, 26(4), 451-471.

DANKWOORD

Na vier jaar werken is het proefschrift dan bijna af...maar nog niet helemaal. Het meest gelezen stuk moet nog geschreven worden, en dan heb ik het natuurlijk over HET dankwoord ☺. Het voelt als een eer om dit te mogen schrijven. Eindelijk komen de mensen aan bod zonder wie dit proefschrift nooit van de grond zou zijn gekomen.

Allereerst wil ik natuurlijk mijn co-proMOTOR Maria Peeters bedanken. Zij was inderdaad *de* motor achter dit AiO-project. Maria, bedankt voor ALLES. Bij dat 'alles' zit het enorme vertrouwen dat je me steeds weer hebt gegeven en alle waardevolle adviezen waardoor ik mijn academische competenties heb kunnen ontwikkelen. Daarnaast ben ik je dankbaar voor de vele gezellige momenten, je relativiseringsvermogen en de veeeee kopjes senseo waarbij we discussies over het proefschrift afwisselde met de laatste roddels. Daarnaast gaat mijn dank uit naar mijn promotor Wilmar Schaufeli. Beste Wilmar, jij bent inderdaad een '*Pro*'. Ik wil je hartelijk danken voor alle waardevolle gesprekken en degelijke adviezen waarbij je steeds weer het overzicht wist te behouden en een realistische planning uitstippelde voor mijn promotie. Daarnaast zijn we via jouw bloedeigen zoon toch maar mooi bij Delta Lloyd terecht gekomen wat twee mooie studies heeft opgeleverd. En dat alles is gelukt ondanks je sabbatical, het onverwachte ziekbed, en de Spaanse 'El Puro' die iets te zwaar op je maag lag...dank!

De leden van de beoordelingscommissie, Prof. Martin Euwema, Prof. Karen I. Van Oudenhoven-Van der Zee, Prof. Maykel Verkuyten en Prof. Mandy van der Velde bedank ik voor hun tijd en bereidheid mijn proefschrift te beoordelen.

Wanneer je onderzoek doet naar gevolgen van etnische diversiteit in organisaties dan is het natuurlijk wel erg handig wanneer bedrijven de meerwaarde van zo'n onderzoek inzien. Bij Delta Lloyd ben ik Ben Sinnige als voorzitter Directie HRM erg dankbaar voor het geven van 'groen licht' om grootschalig onderzoek uit te voeren. Daarnaast ben ik Iris Mesland, Tim den Outer en Willem Jan Wiebosch erg dankbaar voor het enthousiasme, de no-nonsense benadering en de waardevolle hulp bij de praktische voorbereiding en uitvoering van het onderzoek bij Delta Lloyd. Bij ActiZ wil ik Leonie Vogels bedanken voor haar enthousiasme en de mogelijkheid om onderzoek uit te voeren bij een aantal zorginstellingen.

Wat ik ook niet mag vergeten is dat er een flink aantal psychologie studenten vol enthousiasme hebben meegewerkt met de dataverzameling bij onder andere De Politie, TPG Post en de zorginstellingen. Maaïke, Roos, Barbara, en Elke, mede door jullie hulp zijn de studies in dit proefschrift tot stand gekomen. Ontzettend bedankt!

Vier jaar aioschap is natuurlijk niet vol te houden zonder deskundige en vooral leuke collega's die je gezelschap houden. Gelukkig heb ik hieraan geen moment gebrek gehad binnen de vakgroep Sociale en Organisatie Psychologie. Ik wil jullie dan ook allemaal bedanken voor een erg leerzame en fijne periode gedurende mijn aioschap. Een paar mensen verdienen natuurlijk bijzondere aandacht. In den beginne waren er Saar en Despoina, daarna volgde Annemarie. Saar, jij vond me de leukste en meest geschikte kandidaat voor de aio-positie. Ik heb het dus mede aan jou te danken dat ik überhaupt op deze plek terecht ben gekomen, thanks! Despoina, thanks for all the advice and the good times, including my first APA conference in Miami where I lost my way and found out that 'Macey's' is not a bar but the American version of the 'V&D'! Also thanks for accepting the paranymph duties. Annemarie, met jou heb ik de meeste tijd doorgebracht in dezelfde kamer (zweethok soms ☺) op de universiteit. Wat een onvergetelijke tijd was dat. Lief en leed hebben we gedeeld, inclusief 'brommers kijken', inzichten over terrorisme en integratie, de komst van Inma en de verkiezing van Obama! Zo'n geweldig mens als jij krijg ik nooit meer als collega. Ik mis je in Rotterdam en hoop je snel weer te spreken.

Over the years we also had some foreign visitors to our department. This was of course very interesting for me, considering my topic. Alma, muchas gracias for the many flow tea's we've enjoyed and for the nice holidays we spent together with Willemijn and Sergio in Castellon. It was such a beautiful place that we decided to make a special fotobook dedicated to Castellon (Nadie me quita mis vacaciones en Castellón!). It's great that you take up the paranymph duty together with Despoina so that the team will be truly ethnically and culturally diverse! Inma, que pasión de Andalucía, I will never forget your stay and hope you are enjoying your life in Granada (either with or without Michel!).

Daarnaast wil ik het Psychology and Health Research Institute bedanken, en dan denk ik in het bijzonder aan Lizet Hoekert en Pascale Leblanc. Met elkaar hebben we het steeds weer voor elkaar gekregen om

een nieuwe newsletter de deur uit te doen. Pascale, vergeet niet dat je er nog steeds ravissant uit ziet: Op naar de volgende ‘paradise by the dashboardlight’. Ook leden van de PhD council bedankt voor de leuke tijd!

Het leven eindigt (hopelijk) niet bij het voltooien van dit AiO-project. Ik ben mijn nieuwe collega's binnen het RISBO en de psychologie afdeling aan de Erasmus Universiteit te Rotterdam zeer erkentelijk voor de warme ontvangst en de ruimte die ik krijg om de laatste loodjes van het proefschrift te voltooien (ondanks alle indirecte uren die hiermee gepaard gaan).

Natuurlijk zijn vrienden en familie minstens zo belangrijk. Zij herinneren je eraan dat het leven niet alleen bestaat uit theorievorming, confirmatieve factoranalyses, structurele modellen, multi-level analyses en papers produceren. Pa en Ma, Maddy, Michael en ‘onze’ kleine Jens. Ik kan nu proberen een mooie literaire volzin te schrijven, maar we weten allemaal dat dit soort taal ‘bij ons thuis’ nooit wordt gebezigd! Om het dan maar op z'n Bergs te zeggen: ‘Dagge bedankt zijt da witte’. Daarnaast de muzikale partners in crime van ‘mijn’ bandje SessionX - Mark, Esther, Marcel, Ciska en Rein – enorm bedankt voor de leuke tijden die we steeds weer beleven. Van ‘Hava Nagila’ op Joodse bruiloftsfeesten tot ‘Hou me vast’ bij het gemiddelde dorpsfeest, het is altijd weer een grote happening en zeker de beste manier om te ‘detachen’ van het werk! Ook anderen zoals *het* stapgroepje in Utrecht (...ook al hebben we nooit tijd om ook daadwerkelijk te gaan) en Jerry wil ik bedanken voor de broodnodige gezellige avonden in Utrecht en in het limburgse.

Last but not least wil ik ‘mijn’ Willemijn bedanken. Lieve schat, ik blijf verbaast over het feit dat je na zeggen en schrijven zeven (heilige?) jaren nog steeds zoveel van mij houdt. Dat is trouwens wederzijds hoor! Daarbij weet je me steeds weer mee te slepen naar allerlei verre oorden. Of het nu de decadentie is van een Love-Boat cruise in de Carribean met “Shane the cruise director”, of op de vlucht op de fiets in zuid-Marokko voor een wilde woestijnhond uit de Sahara, iedere keer gebeuren er weer nieuwe en onverwachte dingen waardoor ik nog meer van je ga houden. Bedankt voor alle steun en vertrouwen en vooral ook het geduld dat je hebt opgebracht tijdens mijn promotiejaren. Wij gaan oud worden met elkaar, daar ben ik van overtuigd! Genoeg geschreven (anders kost het me weer een extra pagina drukkosten), ‘ik heb gezegd’ en ‘ora est’ (voor het proefschrift dat naar *nu* de drukker moet!).

CURRICULUM VITAE

Wido Oerlemans was born on Februari 10th 1977 in Hoogerheide, the Netherlands. He first obtained a bachelors degree of Applied Sciences in Management, Economics and Law at Ichthus Hogeschool in Rotterdam. After this, Wido worked for several years as a process manager within various departments of an American industrial organization. After this, he decided to pick up a second study at Utrecht University within the General Social Sciences department, with a special interest for ethnic minorities and integration processes. His research interest at that time concerned social distances between ethnic minority and majority groups in the Netherlands, and transnational activities among immigrant groups. Shortly after receiving his Master's Degree (cum laude) in 2004, Wido obtained a position as a PhD-student within the Department of Social and Organizational Psychology at Utrecht University. During these four years, he had the opportunity to further develop his academic skills and conduct research on the topic of ethnic diversity in organizations. Under supervision of Maria Peeters and Wilmar Schaufeli he worked for four years on this PhD project, resulting in the present dissertation. As from januari 2009, Wido works as a Post-Doc researcher at the department of RISBO Contract Research of Erasmus University Rotterdam. Here he will continue his academic career together with Arnold Bakker and Ruut Vennhoven for at least three more years by asking the most fundamental question which everyone wants to know: What makes us Happy?