The Cost Of Being Me: Assessing The Consequences Of Compliance With Perceived Pressure To Assimilate In Work Roles

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THE COST OF BEING ME: ASSESSING THE INDIVIDUAL CONSEQUENCES OF
COMPLIANCE WITH PERCEIVED PRESSURE TO ASSIMILATE IN WORK ROLES

by

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ABSTRACT

Acculturation refers to the process of change and adaptation that occurs between members of cultural groups, especially when one or more minority groups merge with the majority (Berry, 1980). In order to effectively manage diversity, organizational leaders are beginning to realize the importance of understanding the dynamics associated with cross cultural interactions in the workplace. This dissertation focuses on the acculturation mode of assimilation relative to the experiences of 101 African Americans employed in faculty and staff positions in colleges and universities located in the Southeastern United States. Specifically, the moderating role of ethnic identity on the relation between perceived pressure to assimilate and compliance, and the relations between compliance and both work stress and turnover intentions were assessed. The concept of perceived pressure to assimilate in organizations suggests that employees perceive that they are expected to deny their ethnic identities, or at least their expression, at work in order to conform to the norms of the organization. However, for employees with strong ethnic identities, their ethnicity is an essential component of their self-concept and pressure to deny that aspect of themselves may result in a conflict where they must decide whether to comply or to leave the organization. A Model of the Individual Consequences of Assimilation Pressure is presented based upon the Role Taking Model (Katz & Kahn, 1978), the Model of the Effects of Culture on Role Behavior (Stone-Romero, Stone and Salas, 2003), the Acculturation Typology (Berry, 1980), and the Model of Social Influence (Kelman, 1958). The participants completed questionnaires designed to assess the following constructs: perceived pressure to assimilate, ethnic identity, compliance, work stress, and turnover intentions. In order to obtain an additional assessment of compliance, the primary participants’ compliance behavior
was rated by their coworkers. As hypothesized, the results supported a positive relation between compliance and work stress. The other hypothesized relations were not supported. The implications of these results, a discussion of the study’s limitations, and directions for future research are presented.
This dissertation is dedicated to my father, Johnnie Lee Phillips. Although you are not here physically to celebrate the completion of this milestone with me, your continuous support and encouragement have brought me to this point and for that I thank you. To my mother Linda and my sister LaShanta, thank you for helping me through this journey.

This degree is for all of us…The Phillips Family, Ph.D.

- Dr. Niki
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Role Taking</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of the Effects of Culture on Role Behavior</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of Social Influence</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model of the Individual Consequences of Assimilation Pressure</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STUDY 1</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measures</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STUDY 2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measures</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Variables</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedure</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESULTS</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplement Analyses</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISCUSSION</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications for Future Research</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications for Practice</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A: FIGURES AND TABLES</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B: DEMOGRAPHICS AND E-MAIL INVITATION</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhibit B1: Participant demographic information</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhibit B2: E-mail invitation</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C: STUDY MATERIALS</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Model of the individual consequences of assimilation pressure ................................... 55
Figure 2: A model of the role episode (Katz & Kahn, 1978) .............................................................. 56
Figure 3: Scree plot of eigenvalues for perceived pressure to assimilate measure ....................... 57
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 1</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 4</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 5</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Changes in the demographic composition of the U.S. workforce have become of increased importance to organizational researchers. Globalization and a changing labor force have required leaders to focus on the attainment of diversity as a business imperative (Cox & Blake, 1991). Over 80% of organizations have programs, practices, and initiatives designed to promote diversity and inclusion (Human Resources Institute, 2003; Mehta, 2000; Wentling & Palma-Rivas, 2000). The business case for diversity posits that there is value associated with increased heterogeneity in organizations and that firms devote resources to such initiatives because they believe that diversity can be an asset to organizational performance and the bottom line (Adler, 1986; Cox, 1991; Hartenian & Gudmundson, 2000; Jayne & Dipboye, 2004; Wright, Ferris, Hiller, & Kroll, 1995). Previous research reports mixed results regarding the benefits associated with diversity (Bantel & Jackson, 1989; Jayne & Dipboye, 2004; Konrad, 2003; Richard, 2000; Riordan, 2000; Sacco & Schmitt, 2005; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998), suggesting that simply possessing a diverse workforce does not guarantee positive outcomes. One factor believed to affect this relation is the management of organizational diversity, which involves planning and implementing systems and practices to facilitate an environment such that the potential for achieving positive outcomes is maximized (Cox, 1991; Roberts, 2005).

Leaders have begun to realize that the effective and efficient management of demographic changes may have a positive effect on organizational functioning and competitiveness (Harvey, 1999; Kuczynski, 1999). Proper diversity management is believed to assist organizations in achieving competitive advantages in the areas of cost, resource acquisition, marketing, creativity, problem-solving, and flexibility (Cox & Blake, 1991; Konrad,
2003; Richard, Barnett, Dwyer, & Chadwick, 2004). For example, companies that effectively manage diversity may recognize cost advantages over those that do not due to lower turnover and absenteeism rates. Additionally, companies that have reputations as being favorable for women and ethnic minorities may have greater access to and may win the competition for talented employees (Konrad, 2003). Successfully managing diverse personnel may also bring insight and cultural sensitivity to marketing efforts, enabling organizations to meet the needs of a changing consumer base through the attraction and retention of employees who are similar to their customers (Adler, 1986; Cox & Blake, 1991; Hartenian & Gudmundson, 2000; Richard et al., 2004; Wright et al., 1995).

The study of acculturation provides an appropriate lens through which to assess the effectiveness of diversity management in organizations. Acculturation refers to the process of change and adaptation that occurs between members of cultural groups, especially when one or more minority groups merge with the majority (Berry, 1980). Despite the positives believed to be associated with diversity and the large number of organizations that have implemented related programs, some may not realize the potential benefits due to the manner in which it is attained and maintained (Cox, 1994; Cox & Finley-Nickelson, 1991). Although leaders may intend to create inclusive environments for diverse employees and applicants, some may facilitate an atmosphere that encourages assimilation (Cox, 1994; Cox & Blake, 1991). Assimilation in organizations reflects a form of acculturation where diverse employees are expected to deny or suppress certain aspects of their minority identities and conform to the norms of the organization (Cox, 1994; Cox & Blake, 1991). Organizational norms are generally agreed upon informal rules that guide behavior by designating what is appropriate in a given context (Feldman, 1984).
Therefore, some organizations employ uniform policies and practices to ensure that employee behavior is consistent with those norms. Such an approach is analogous to Schneider’s (1987) Attraction-Selection-Attrition (ASA) Model, which suggests that organizations seek to attract and retain individuals who possess similar values and cultures. According to this framework, individuals are attracted to organizations where they believe there is value congruence (Chapman, Uggerslev, Carroll, Piasentin, & Jones, 2005) and where they are likely to obtain valued outcomes (Vroom, 1964). Furthermore, employees are more likely to leave when they are dissimilar to others or when they perceive there is not a fit between their norms and those of the organization. In support of this argument, some estimates specify that ethnic minorities are more likely to leave organizations than members of the majority group (Cox & Blake, 1991). One reason for this discrepancy may be due to work environments that emphasize conformity over inclusion.

Diverse individuals who perceive a discrepancy between their personal norms and those of the organization are likely to be placed in a position where they are forced to suppress their behavioral preferences and conform to those of the organization. For example, the hairstyle choices of minority women, particularly Black women, are subject to pressures to conform to mainstream norms of attractiveness and professionalism (Rosette & Dumas, 2007). Long, straight hair has generally been considered the “gold standard” of attractiveness and the expectation of such hairstyles is present in corporate organizations (Rosette & Dumas, 2007). However, the natural hair texture of most Black women is kinky and tightly curled, and styles that complement such textures are not universally embraced and are seen as less attractive or flattering than straight hair (Rosette & Dumas, 2007). Therefore, some Black women are often
forced to choose between hairstyles that conform to mainstream expectations or those that are central to their identities (Rosette & Dumas, 2007). Also, some African American employees may perceive that they must suppress their communication style in order to avoid negative consequences. The communication style of African Americans is believed to more direct, expressive, and interpersonal than that of Whites, who are believed to be dispassionate, impersonal, and non-challenging (Kochman, 1981, 1989). Such stylistic differences often result in African Americans being considered argumentative, angry and hostile, which could lead to negative consequences (Kochman, 1981, 1989).

Although norms of conformity may increase the consistency and predictability of behavior, they could also have negative consequences for both organizations and employees. For example, if employees perceive they are pressured to suppress identity-related “dimensions of difference” and assimilate in order to be successful, it may signal to others that diverse identities are not valued (Ely, 1995). Such perceptions are likely to have a negative impact on the recruitment and retention of individuals from diverse backgrounds. Encouraging conformity may also result in organizations becoming homogeneous and unable to adapt to environmental changes (Frankel, 2006; Schneider, 1987), possibly hindering their ability to realize the advantages believed to be associated with diversity (e.g., innovation, creativity, meeting customer needs). As the composition of the workforce and society continues to change, organizational environments that emphasize conformity may be less likely to adjust and remain relevant in a dynamic social climate. In contrast, those that successfully incorporate diversity into their culture may be more likely to reap the benefits, including a greater ability to meet the needs of a heterogeneous customer base (Cox & Finley-Nickelson, 1991).
In addition to organizations, there may also be consequences for employees. Specifically, members of diverse groups who perceive they are pressured to assimilate may become stressed, dissatisfied, and/or leave organizations. Research has found that women and racial and ethnic minorities experience lower levels of organizational attachment, decreased group integration, dissatisfaction, and higher levels of turnover than majority group members (Cox, 1991; Jackson et al., 1991; O'Reilly, Caldwell, & Barnett, 1989; Tung, 1993). Explanations for these findings may be analogous to experiences reported by minority students enrolled in predominantly White institutions, who tend to drop out of school for reasons related to social estrangement (Suen, 1983), feelings of isolation, and a sense of not belonging (Cowan, Saufley, & Blake, 1979). These were different from White students, whose primary reason for dropping out was academic (Suen, 1983). The experiences of minority students may parallel those of employees who perceive that they are pressured to assimilate in order to be successful. As may be expected, this dilemma can be quite stressful and could harm the well being of employees.

Although both organization and employee-level consequences are important to understanding acculturation experiences, the focus of this study is on employees (also referred to as individuals). The decision to focus on this group is important as organizational outcomes are often a direct or indirect result of the collective behavior and experiences of employees. It is also important to note that the arguments presented in this study are not meant to imply that all types of conformity will result in negative outcomes, as some expectations and norms are vital to organizational functioning. The behaviors of interest to this study are those that are unrelated to job performance and are important to an employee’s self-concept. For example, employers are likely to prefer that all employees, regardless of background, attend work regularly, be
competent in their roles, and maintain a certain level of professionalism. Conformity in such areas is crucial to organizational effectiveness and the attainment of goals. However, if individuals perceive that they are pressured to conform on aspects unrelated to their job (e.g., appearance), their performance may be affected. Specifically, creativity, critical thinking, and/or innovation may be hindered when certain dimensions of difference amongst employees are suppressed (Roberts & Roberts, 2007).

Given that there are different facets of diversity (e.g., ethnic, religious, gender), all of which have the potential to influence employee and organizational outcomes, the analyses in this study are limited to ethnic diversity, specifically focusing on behaviors that display a connection to an employee’s culture or ethnicity. Such displays often take many forms and refer to conscious and intentional behaviors that signify their cultural or ethnic identities (Roberts & Roberts, 2007). Some employees may show their identities through aesthetic characteristics, such as visible displays or physical appearance (e.g., hair, clothing, jewelry) (Feldman & Klich, 1991; Rosette & Dumas, 2007) and/or symbolic gestures (e.g., engaging in cultural rituals, displaying cultural artifacts) (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Sanchez-Burks, Heaphy, & Ashford, 2006). Employees may also use strategic verbal disclosures, such as assertions of social identity (e.g., revealing sexual orientation) or cultural or political group involvement (Carbado & Gulati, 2000; Roberts & Roberts, 2007) that exhibit the degree to which they identify with a particular group, communicating how important these aspects are to their self-concept and daily living (Carbado & Gulati, 2000). Although on the surface these attributes may seem unrelated to employee or organizational functioning and represent an imperfect means of assessment, cultural and ethnic displays have the potential to be interpreted as proxies for personal values, professional
competence, and fit, all of which may be influenced by stereotypical beliefs (Cox & Nkomo, 1986). Therefore, some employees may perceive a pressure to deny certain aspects of themselves at work in order to reduce the likelihood that they will be assessed according to stereotypical beliefs associated with a particular display of identity (Steele, 1997).

**Purpose of the Study**

Theorists have highlighted a need for more research on the role of culture and ethnicity in the functioning of employees who are members of minority groups, specifically related to the manner in which these factors influence the way they navigate their work environments (Cox, 2004; Nkomo, 1992; Stone-Romero, Stone, & Salas, 2003). This study empirically examines the acculturation experiences of minority employees. This topic is relevant as researchers and practitioners increasingly search for ways to explore, assess, and understand the dynamics associated with cross-cultural interaction and its impact on organizational functioning and effectiveness.

Despite research available in social psychology, sociology, and anthropology regarding acculturation experiences, there has been little empirical work on this topic in the fields of organizational behavior and human resources. The majority of work in these areas has been conceptual, focusing on the identification of factors that influence the acculturation mode prevalent in organizations (Berry, 2005; Cox & Finley-Nickelson, 1991; Redfield et al., 1936). The few empirical studies that have been conducted have generally focused on the congruence between the preferred modes of acculturation of the employees and/or organization (Alkhazraji, Gardner III, Martin, & Paolillo, 1997; Liujters, van der Zee, & Otten, 2006). Liujters et al. (2006) assessed the acculturation preferences of non-Dutch employees in work teams in The
Netherlands, with most employees preferring to have strong levels of identification with both their national culture and their work team. Another study examined the degree to which Muslim immigrants wished to maintain their national culture in their private and work lives after arriving in the United States (Alkhazraji et al., 1997). In this group, most employees preferred to keep their national culture for their private and social lives, and to accept organizational cultures at work. There has been little research in the field of management that has examined the acculturation experiences of employees who are members of ethnic minority groups in the United States. The current study endeavors to assess these experiences focusing on assimilation. Under assimilation, the culture of the majority group becomes the standard of behavior for all others merging into it. In organizations, the goal of assimilation is to eliminate cultural differences, or at least their expression, with minority groups being forced to reject or repress their socio-ethnic norms, values, and practices (Harquail & Cox, 1994). These factors represent components of an employee’s ethnic identity and pressure to suppress them may create conflict and indecision. Ethnic identity refers to an enduring, fundamental aspect of the self that includes a sense of membership in a particular ethnic group. It is generally seen as embracing various aspects of one’s group, including self-identification, feelings of belongingness and commitment, and a sense of shared values and attitudes (Phinney, 1996; Watts & Carter, 1991). Ethnic identity is believed to influence the manner in which an individual interprets and internalizes his or her sociological reality such that it is meaningful for his or her self-concept and self esteem, and influences his or her beliefs and behaviors (Cox, 1994; Cox & Finley-Nickelson, 1991; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1995; Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997).
The concept of assimilation suggests that individuals are expected to deny their cultural and ethnic identities to conform to the norms of the dominant culture. However, for individuals with a strong ethnic identity, their ethnicity represents a major aspect of their self concept and is essential and inherent to their everyday functioning. Therefore, when these employees perceive pressure to deny that aspect of themselves, the conflict that ensues may require them to choose whether to comply with the pressure or to leave the organization. Therefore, the primary purpose of this study is to assess the moderating role of ethnic identity strength in the assimilation experiences of minority employees.

This study endeavors to accomplish three goals. The first is to determine the degree to which minorities employed in predominantly majority organizations perceive that they are pressured to assimilate. The second is to develop a theoretical model of the Individual Consequences of Assimilation Pressure (ICOAP) based upon Katz and Kahn’s (1978) Role Taking Model, Stone-Romero et al.’s (2003) Model of the Effects of Culture on Role Behavior (ECORB), Berry’s (1980) acculturation typology, and Kelman’s (1958) Model of Social Influence. The final goal is to test the relations presented in the ICOAP model, specifically examining the moderating role of ethnic identity on the relations between perceptions of pressure to assimilate and compliance, and compliance and both turnover intentions and work stress.

In the sections that follow, each of the frameworks on which the ICOAP model is based is briefly explained and the hypotheses presented. Next, the results of the tests of hypotheses and implications of the findings are presented, and lastly, the limitations of the study and areas for future research are identified.
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

One goal of this dissertation is to present a model of the assimilation pressure experienced in organizations based on a compilation of Katz and Kahn’s (1978) Role Taking Model, Stone-Romero et al.’s (2003) ECORB Model, Berry’s (1980) acculturation typology, and Kelman’s (1958) Model of Social Influence. Each of the frameworks is briefly described below, followed by a discussion of the relations presented in the model. The ICOAP model is shown in Figure 1.

Organizational Role Taking

The ICOAP model is based upon the relations outlined in Katz and Kahn’s (1978) seminal Role Taking Model, as modified by Stone-Romero et al. (2003). In organizational settings, the acculturation experience often takes place through the process of role-taking (Katz & Kahn, 1978). The Katz and Kahn (1978) framework (Figure 2) describes the manner in which employees become familiar with the expectations associated with their particular organizational position and the way they behave relative to them. According to the framework, organizations can be viewed as a system of roles that represent the recurring, interrelated actions of employees. Each employee has a small number of others with whom he or she works closely who constitute his or her role set. The members of the role set have expectations of the person employed in a particular position (i.e., the focal employee) that dictate what that person should do, the type of person he or she should be, what he or she should think or believe, and how he or she should relate to others. The role expectations represent the standards by which performance will be evaluated, both formally and informally (Katz & Kahn, 1978; Stone-Romero et al., 2003).
The role expectations are communicated to the focal employee through the process of role sending, which represents an attempt to bring about conformity. Some expectations are directed toward the accomplishment of formally specified responsibilities and others are directed at making life easier or more pleasant for the members of the role set (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Each focal employee responds to these expectations in terms of his or her perceptions of them, which vary depending upon individual attributes, such as cultural beliefs, values, sensitivities, fears, and identities (Katz & Kahn, 1978). The role expectations as they are understood by the focal employee are termed the received role. Therefore for each focal employee, there is both a sent and received role. There can be a lack of congruence between the sent and received roles as each focal employee has a preconception about the position in which he or she is employed, and holds a set of attitudes and beliefs about what should and should not be done in that role (Katz & Kahn, 1978). The focal employee’s perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs may or may not be consistent with the expectations of the role set. If there is a discrepancy, the focal employee may be placed in a position where he or she must decide whether to go against his or her own beliefs and conform to the expectations of the role set.

The final component is role behavior, which represents the response of the focal employee to the information and expectations as he or she perceives them. Many focal employees will comply with the role set’s expectations, often displaying behaviors they don’t understand or which violate their personal values (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Alternatively, expectations perceived to be coercive or illegitimate may arouse resistance within the focal employee and result in counterproductive behavior. For example, when pressure is placed on
employees to increase production, it sometimes decreases, resulting in an outcome opposite to what was expected or encouraged (Katz & Kahn, 1978).

The current study focuses on the right side of the role episode as outlined by Katz and Kahn (1978), beginning with the received role and continuing through role behavior and employee outcomes. The focus is on the received role because it is believed to be the most critical component of the role taking model, as it represents the immediate influence on performance motivations and actual employee behavior (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Therefore, the current study examines the experiences of employees who are members of ethnic minority groups through the role taking process, beginning with the degree to which they perceive they are pressured to assimilate as the received role through individual-level outcomes (i.e., work stress and turnover intentions).

Model of the Effects of Culture on Role Behavior

Despite its theoretical importance, the role of culture has been largely ignored in the original model developed by Katz and Kahn (1978). To address this deficiency, Stone-Romero et al. (2003) extended the model to consider the impact of culture on the role-taking process. Specifically, they developed a Model of the Effects of Culture on Role Behavior (ECORB) that describes (a) the influence of the role sender’s culture on work-related scripts and role conceptions, (b) the focal employee’s culture on his or her work-related scripts and role conceptions, and (c) the impact of both on role behavior (Stone-Romero et al., 2003). Culture has been found to be related to individual values, attitudes, and behaviors (Hofstede, 1980, 1991; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and is thought to influence the available scripts and related beliefs about appropriate role behavior (Stone-Romero et al., 2003). These beliefs are also thought to

12
predict employee behavioral intentions and ultimately role behavior. Because their model incorporates the cultural backgrounds of both role senders and focal persons, Stone-Romero et al. (2003) argue that their model has a greater capacity to explain role behavior than does the seminal Katz and Kahn (1978) model.

The current study follows the lead of Stone-Romero et al. (2003) by examining the role of ethnic identity in the acculturation process of minority employees employed in predominantly majority organizations. In instances where the role sender(s) and focal employee(s) have different ethnic or cultural backgrounds, it is important to examine these identities when assessing the relations associated with cross-cultural interactions and communications.

**Acculturation**

Berry’s (1980, 2001) typology, which identifies four modes of acculturation, has been used to classify cross-cultural strategies in societal interactions, mergers and acquisitions (Nahavandi & Malekzadeh, 1988), and in intra-organizational diversity management (Alkhazraji et al., 1997; Cox, 1994; Cox & Finley-Nickelson, 1991). At the individual level, the modes vary depending upon the degree to which one desires to maintain his or her own identity, and to have contact with and participate in the larger society. At the organizational level, modes of acculturation reflect the degree to which the work environment values and welcomes cultural differences of employees. The four modes of acculturation outlined by Berry (i.e., integration, assimilation, separation, marginalization) are briefly defined below.

Integration reflects a two-way learning and adapting process where members of the involved cultural groups are flexible, and each adjusts to some degree in order to reflect the norms and values of the other(s) (Berry, 1980). In contrast, assimilation reflects a one-way
adaptation process where the culture of the majority becomes the standard of behavior for all others merging into it, with members of the minority group being expected to adjust to conform to it. Separation reflects a situation where minority group members are unwilling or unable to adapt to the majority culture, and therefore seek physical and cultural autonomy. Marginalization exists when there is little interest by either party in maintaining its culture or in establishing relationships with other groups. Although each of the acculturation strategies noted above has consequences for employees and organizations, the one most relevant to this study is assimilation.

*Model of Social Influence*

Social influence is defined as the change in one’s behavior as a result of induction by another person or group (Kelman, 1998). In the current context, induction refers to actions by influential others that “point a new direction for the [focal employee] and makes a new behavioral possibility available to him or her” (Kelman, 1998, p. 7). Kelman’s (1958) Model of Social Influence is the primary framework on responses to induction by others and specifies that individuals react to external attempts to influence and/or change their behavior in one of three ways, through compliance, identification, or internalization. The existence of these reactions has been confirmed through experimental research, providing support for the antecedents and consequences associated with each (Kelman, 2006). Although the resulting behavior appears to be the same for the three responses, the motivations underlying them are different (Kelman, 1958). Compliance occurs when an individual accepts influence from another entity, changing his or her behavior to match others’ expectations in order to achieve positive rewards or to avoid punishment (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Kelman, 1958). Identification occurs when an
individual changes his or her behavior because he or she wishes to establish and/or maintain a satisfying self-defining relationship to another person or group (Kelman, 1958). Internalization occurs when an individual changes behavior in order to maintain congruence with his or her beliefs and values, thus validating his or her self-concept (Kelman, 1958).

Although each response has implications for acculturation and diversity management in organizations, this study focuses on compliance. Compliance is defined as exhibiting behavior that is consistent with expectations for the purpose of achieving positive outcomes, but inconsistent with one’s personal preference (Kelman, 1998). When individuals comply, they do what others want them to do, not because they believe in the content of the behavior, but because it is instrumental to their desired outcomes. They learn to do and say what is expected in specific situations regardless of their private beliefs in order to gain the approval of others (Kelman, 1998). For example, an individual may make a special effort to only express opinions that are considered appropriate in order to gain admission to an informal network or to avoid being dismissed from a job (Kelman, 1998).

Model of the Individual Consequences of Assimilation Pressure

Although all four frameworks on which the ICOAP model is based outline the experiences of both role senders and focal employees, this study examines that of the latter, specifically their perceptions of assimilation expectations, compliance, and related outcomes (i.e., turnover intentions and work stress). The focus is on employee perceptions of pressure to assimilate as they represent individual realities and are key to understanding the relations between perceived pressure to assimilate, compliance, and outcomes (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Sanchez & Brock, 1996; Schaubroek, Ganster, & Fox, 1992). Perceptions reflect an individual’s
subjective assessment of the impact a particular experience has on his or her well-being (Folkman, Lazarus, Gruen, & DeLongis, 1986) and have been evaluated in research designed to assess the relations between individual functioning and discrimination (King, 2005) and racism-related stressors (Harrell, 2000).

The ICOAP model follows the framework outlined by Katz and Kahn (1978), as modified by Stone Romero et al. (2003) to outline the acculturation experiences of ethnic minorities employed in majority organizations. Specifically, the model provides a framework to assess the degree to which employees who are members of minority groups perceive that they are pressured to assimilate and their level of compliance. Additionally, the model suggests that these relations will be moderated by ethnic identity strength. Lastly, the model suggests that there will be positive relations between compliance and work stress and turnover intentions.

It merits noting that the variables presented in the ICOAP model are not intended to represent an exhaustive list of all factors related to acculturation in organizations, but to serve as an illustration of the experience of minority employees who perceive they are pressured to assimilate. The examination of members of these groups is important, as previous research reports that when in the numerical minority in organizations, group status may become salient (L. Cohen & Swim, 1995; Kanter, 1977) and ultimately influence behavior (Chao & Moon, 2005; Deaux & Major, 1990). In support of this, previous research reports that women and people of color are especially likely to encounter negative dynamics when they do not make up the majority of a group (Gutek, 1985; Konrad, Winter, & Gutek, 1992; Tolbert, Simons, Andrews, & Rhee, 1995), specifically reporting perceptions of discrimination and unfair
treatment due to their minority status (Backmon, Clark, & Weisenfeld, 1997; Sanchez & Brock, 1996; Schmader, Major, & Gramzow, 2001; Texeira, 2006).

Assimilation is the acculturation mode of interest in this study as it is believed to be the expectation in a large number of U.S. organizations (Cox, 1994; Cox & Finley-Nickelson, 1991) as many, either consciously or unconsciously, facilitate an environment that encourages and/or rewards conformity. Many environments rely on consistent and predictable behavior and encourage all employees to behave in a similar manner (Cox, 1994; Cox & Blake, 1991). However, such an emphasis on conformity may prove to be dysfunctional for both organizations and employees (Roberts & Roberts, 2007). While the organization appears to function effectively on the surface, misunderstanding and mistrust is likely to arise when members of minority groups are unilaterally pressured to alter their behavior (Buono & Bowditch, 1989; Cox & Finley-Nickelson, 1991; Tung, 1993). Additionally, if employees are pressured to conform and suppress their identities, they may likely experience negative personal-level outcomes (e.g., stress, dissatisfaction, alienation) and be more likely to leave the organization.

Ethnic minorities react in different ways when pressured to assimilate for various reasons. For instance, they may comply with the pressure behaviorally without internalizing the organization’s norms in order to receive outcomes, or they may adjust their beliefs such that the norms of the organization become consistent with their own. The reaction of interest in this study is compliance and is deemed appropriate due to research that identifies the potential conflict that may arise for individuals. Although compliance may result in positive job-related outcomes (i.e., promotions, pay raises), such behavior may lead to negative outcomes for employees. Specifically, individuals who behave in ways that are inconsistent with their personal beliefs are
likely to experience self-disappointment, embarrassment, and shame (Kelman, 1974). In organizational settings, employees are also likely to experience higher levels of psychological and emotional distress and intentions to turnover, and lower job satisfaction (Abraham, 1999; Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Cote & Morgan, 2002; Hewlin, 2003). Such consequences will undoubtedly have negative effects on employee performance levels, which may influence outcomes at the organizational level.

Perceived Pressure to Assimilate and Compliance. The ICOAP model predicts that the relation between perceptions of pressure to assimilate and compliance will be moderated by the employee’s ethnic identity strength such that the relation will be attenuated as ethnic identity increases. Employees who perceive they are expected to conform are likely to feel pressure to do so in order to achieve positive organizational outcomes (Cox, 1994). As Pfeffer (1989) argued, when the more powerful positions in organizations are filled almost exclusively by a particular group, the firms’ standards for success are likely to reflect characteristics stereotypical of that group. Therefore, many minority employees may perceive that they have to assimilate in order to be successful and receive positive organizational outcomes (e.g., positive performance appraisals, promotions, pay raises). Specifically, if minority employees believe that their manager monitors their behavior to assess the degree to which they fit with the organization, they may also perceive that displaying different aspects of their ethnicity or culture will be considered deviant and have a negative effect on their success (Carbado & Gulati, 2000). Theorists have begun to identify situations that may cause conflict for some members of minority groups. For example, a woman of color is often not surprised to be “encouraged” to change her hairstyle to something that is more appropriate for the corporate climate, or advised that her “project team
would be more comfortable if she smiled more.” Additionally, a Muslim employee may be asked if he or she really has to pray so many times each day. Such observations, recommendations, and inquiries may signal to employees that their self-presentation is inconsistent with the acceptable organizational environment (Roberts & Roberts, 2007).

Research has reported that African American managers are judged according to different performance standards than their Anglo American counterparts; being judged more on their degree of conformity and ability to “fit in” than on performance (Cox & Nkomo, 1986; Fernandez, 1981; Huck & Bray, 1976). Further support for this argument can be found in the literature on minority students attending predominantly White universities who consistently receive messages that they are not good enough and have nothing to offer and should be like White students in order to be successful (Hewitt, 1993). Additionally, minority students may perceive that their fellow group members have succeeded in mainstream institutions by downplaying their minority group identities, and may view such behavior as a requirement to succeed (G. Cohen & Garcia, 2005; Pronin, Steele, & Ross, 2004). Such an argument implies that employees engage in impression management strategies to present themselves in a manner that is consistent with the organization’s culture. Impression management theory posits that individuals who experience a discrepancy between their perceived and desired images, and for whom this creates a sense of dissonance, will attempt to present themselves in a manner that is consistent with how they wish to be seen by others (Baumeister & Jones, 1978; Leary & Kowalski, 1990). Employees who are able to portray an image where they are perceived as capable of meeting the technical and social demands of their position are more likely to receive advancement opportunities and other positive rewards associated with job competence.
Therefore, employees may work to emphasize aspects of themselves that are consistent with the organizational standards of professionalism (Roberts, 2005). However, such striving may present problems for women and minorities whose personal characteristics, behaviors, and values may be inconsistent with those of the “ideal professional,” a label inherently associated with being White, middle-class, masculine, heterosexual, and well-educated (Acker, 1990; Alvesson & Billing, 1998; Britton, 2000; Kanter, 1977).

One strategy that ethnic minorities may use to comply and present a specific image is by putting on façades of conformity, defined as “false representations created by employees to appear as if they embrace organizational values” (Hewlin, 2003, p. 634). Consistent with Kelman (2006), the façade of conformity construct focuses on the inconsistency between outward expression and internal beliefs, and implies that employees conform to role expectations on the surface, but do not actually internalize the norms of the organization. Minority employees are likely to feel pressure to display façades of conformity in order to avoid negative consequences associated with expressing alternative, unpopular, or unacceptable views (Hewlin, 2003). Support for the existence of façades is found in previous work that reports that some women and minorities perceive they are forced to wear a “shield” or mask in order to increase the comfort level of others in organizations (Cox, 1994; Essed, 1991; Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Pettigrew & Martin, 1989); that professional African-American males perceive they must adjust their voice inflection, posture, and appearance in order to appear less threatening to members of the majority group (Texeira, 2006); and that females in the coaching profession perceive they are pressured to
act masculine in order to gain respect from their male colleagues (Lovett & Lowry, 1994; Stangl & Kane, 1991).

Minority employees may seek to improve their status by “passing” as members of the majority group, believing that they may gain more positive organizational outcomes when they display behavior that is consistent with that group than when they do not (Roberts, 2005). White males often receive higher compensation, have more access to social networks, and receive more structured guidance than their diverse counterparts (Dreher & Cox, 1996). Dreher and Cox (1996) found support for their argument that White males have an advantage over women and men of other races in attaining compensation through their access to mentoring relationships with established similar others in their organizations. Furthermore, Kanter (1977) has argued that people whose “type” is represented in high proportion in an organization tend to join the informal network while others are excluded. Social and political networks in organizations often provide employees with information and resources for getting their jobs done, knowing when opportunities are available, and offering support during promotion decisions (DiTomaso, Thompson, & Blake, 1988). Women and minorities are often relegated to out-group status and consequently have less access to informal networks and related benefits (Nkomo & Cox, 1990). One reason that has been cited for these and other majority group advantages is interpersonal attraction, where individuals who are similar to one another are more likely to perceive each other as “attractive, predictable, and as individuals who would enjoy working together” (Dreher & Cox, 1996). Therefore, minority group members may comply to give the appearance that they are similar to the majority group in order to increase the likelihood of obtaining outcomes consistent with in-group membership.
As presented above, employees who display behavior that is inconsistent with their personal norms are likely to experience negative outcomes. Specifically related to assimilation, minority employees will likely experience difficulties resulting from pressure to relinquish their unique identities and preferences. Identities represent important components of individual functioning and should be examined when assessing employee behavior. It is therefore important to measure the degree to which employees identify with their ethnicity in order to specify the conditions under which the predicted relations existed.

*Ethnic Identity as a Moderator.* Both the Role Taking and ECORB models outline the importance of individual attributes in the understanding and interpretation of the sent role. In addition to the role set, each focal person serves as a “self-sender,” as he or she holds particular attitudes and beliefs about what he or she should do while in that position (Katz & Kahn, 1978), which are likely to be influenced by his or her ethnic identity. The ICOAP model predicts that the focal employee’s ethnic identity strength will moderate the relation between perceived pressure to assimilate and compliance. For individuals with strong ethnic identities, their ethnicity represents an important part of their self-concept, and they are less likely to be willing to suppress that identity or to symbolically exit their group through assimilation (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Most of the research assessing the relation between ethnicity and outcomes has clustered together all who acknowledge membership in a particular ethnic group (Phinney, 1996; Yinger, 1985). However, because there are considerable differences regarding the extent to which members identify and associate with their ethnic group, categorizations based only on acknowledgement of ethnicity are imprecise and arbitrary and will likely lead to erroneous
conclusions (Broman, Jackson, & Neighbors, 1989; Cox & Nkomo, 1986; Phinney, 1996; Reid, 1994; Waters & Eschbach, 1995). Therefore, the current study examines the role of ethnic identity, as opposed to ethnic group membership, in the assessment of the acculturation experiences of minority employees.

Considerable research supports a positive relation between ethnic identity and self-esteem (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994; Phinney, 1996). Specifically, a strong ethnic identity has been found to be related to personal strength, a positive self-evaluation (Phinney, 1989; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997), and self-esteem for minority group members (e.g., African Americans and Latinos) (Bowler, Rauch, & Schwarzer, 1986; Martinez & Dukes, 1991; Ockerman, 1979; Phinney et al., 1997). Additionally, employees with strong ethnic identities often have a desire to incorporate their ethnicity into their professional images and organizational roles (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Chrobat-Mason, Button, & DiClementi, 2001; Liujters et al., 2006) and will be less likely to comply with pressures to assimilate.

**H1: The relation between perceived pressure to assimilate and compliance will be moderated by ethnic identity strength, such that the relation will be attenuated as ethnic identity strength increases.**

**Compliance and Employee Outcomes.** The ICOAP model posits that employee outcomes vary depending upon the level of compliance exhibited within the organization. Providing the illusion of similarity to others in the organization can possibly serve to counter negative stereotypes and reduce the likelihood that one is considered to be an out-group member, possibly leading to more positive employment-related benefits (Major, Quinton, McCoy, & Schmader,
2000; Roberts, 2005). However, denying certain personal attributes and engaging in behavior that is inconsistent with one’s self concept may also lead to negative outcomes (Hewlin, 2003; Kelman, 2006; Roberts, 2005).

The ICOAP model predicts a positive relation between compliance and work stress. Stress is an inescapable reality of most working environments and results in a variety of psychological, physiological, and behavioral consequences for employees (McShane & von Glinow, 2003). Stress is defined as a state that results when individuals find themselves in a situation in which they perceive that they are unable to meet the demands facing them, and that the outcomes they will experience are a function of the degree to which they meet those demands (McGrath, 1976). It is considered to be an internal state or reaction to anything that a person consciously or unconsciously perceives as a threat (Clark & Watson, 1991). Because compliance reflects behavior that is inconsistent with an individual’s self-concept, it is likely that conformity pressure and resulting decisions will be seen as an identity threat, resulting in higher levels of stress. For example, if an employee with a strong religious identity perceives that his or her employer prohibits or frowns upon such expressions or beliefs, he or she may experience stress that may negatively influence his or her satisfaction level and performance (Chao & Moon, 2005).

Few studies on work stress have specifically examined the experiences of ethnic minorities. A recent study reported that Hispanic professionals experienced higher levels of job stress than members of the majority group, with females reporting significantly higher levels than males (Rodriguez-Calcagno & Brewer, 2005). Additionally, Sanchez and Brock (1996) report that perceptions of discrimination predicted employee outcomes (e.g., organizational
commitment, job satisfaction, and work tension) above and beyond other stressors (e.g., role conflict and role ambiguity). Due to the limited research that has directly examined the experiences of ethnic minorities in the workplace, the following hypothesis is presented.

\[ H2a: \text{There will be a positive relation between compliance and work stress.} \]

Research has reported a negative relation between work stress and job satisfaction (Hollon & Chesser, 1976; Kemery, Mossholder, & Bedeian, 1987; Miles, 1976), which in turn influences turnover intentions (Kemery et al., 1987). Following this, the ICOAP model predicts a positive relation between compliance and turnover intentions. Turnover intentions refer to one’s desire or willingness to leave an organization and considerable research suggests that they are predictive of actual turnover (Thoreson, Kaplan, Barsky, Warren, & de Chermont, 2003). Employee turnover is an important issue due to the high cost of hiring and training replacement workers as well as its ability to disrupt organizational activities and result in lost business opportunities for organizations (Cascio, 1991; Moore & Burke, 2002). Therefore, understanding the factors that may influence a worker’s decision to leave an organization can facilitate the development of programs aimed at retaining valued employees (Adams & Beehr, 1998).

A recent study evaluated the relation between perceptions of employee and organization value congruence and job satisfaction and turnover intentions of African Americans (Lyons & O’Brien, 2006). Lyons and O’Brien (2006) reported that perceptions of fit explained variance in both job satisfaction and turnover intentions, accounting for 43% and 17% respectively. Individuals who engage in compliance are likely to perceive a lack of congruence between their norms and those of the organization and may be more likely to report higher turnover intentions. Therefore, the following hypothesis is presented.
H2b: There will be a positive relation between compliance and turnover intentions.
STUDY 1

Method

In order to assess the reliability and validity of the study’s measures, a pilot study was conducted.

Participants

The participants in the pilot study were 40 African American professionals employed in various industries and organizations located in the Southeastern United States. The participants were 59% male with an average age of 34 (SD = 6.9). Almost all (96%) were employed full-time and 88% held a bachelor’s degree or higher.

Measures

All of the measures utilized a 7-point Likert-type response format with anchors of 1 - strongly disagree and 7 – strongly agree. Work stress was the only exception with anchors of 1 - never and 7 – always. Items were summed to form an overall score. The measures were presented in the following order: informed consent, work stress, turnover intentions, compliance, ethnic identity, and pressure to assimilate.

Work stress. Work stress was assessed using the 19-item Job-Related Tension Index by Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, and Rosenthal (1964), which asked participants to rate how often they have particular experiences in their work roles. A sample item is “Not knowing just what the people you work with expect of you.” The Cronbach alpha estimate for this measure was .90.

Turnover intentions. Turnover intentions were assessed with a 4-item measure used by Adams and Beehr (1998). In previous research, this measure has reported Cronbach alpha estimates averaging .90 (Adams & Beehr, 1998; Maynard, Joseph, & Maynard, 2006). Use of
this measure has predicted differences in turnover and retirement intentions (Adams & Beehr, 1998), and the role that underemployment plays in the turnover intentions of employees (Maynard et al., 2006). A sample item is “I am planning to leave my job for another in the near future.” The Cronbach alpha reliability estimate for this measure in this study was .90.

**Ethnic identity.** Ethnic identity was assessed using 20 items from Phinney’s (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Questionnaire. In previous studies, this measure has consistently reported Cronbach alpha estimates over .80. This measure has been used to predict the mentoring preferences of Hispanic professionals, reporting that those with stronger cultural identities preferred to have a professional mentor of their own ethnicity (Gonzalez-Figueroa & Young, 2005). Additionally, ethnic identity has been found to be a source of personal strength and positive self-evaluation for individuals (Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997), and the maintenance of a strong ethnic identity is generally related to psychological well-being among members of acculturating groups (Liebkind, 1996; Nesdale, Rooney, & Smith, 1997; Phinney et al., 1997). A sample item is “I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group.” The Cronbach alpha reliability estimate for this measure in this study was .86.

**Compliance.** Compliance was assessed using Hewlin’s (in press) 8-item Façade of Conformity measure, Gudjonsson’s (1989) 16-item Compliance Questionnaire, and four items designed specifically for this study. The Hewlin measure has been validated in previous research designed to assess the antecedents and consequences of creating façades of conformity and reported a Cronbach alpha estimate of .83 (Hewlin, in press). The Gudjonsson measure has been validated in previous research designed to assess the personality variables that are likely to predict compliance (Gudjonsson, Sigurdsson, & Einarsson, 2004), and in criminology studies as
a means to predict those likely to falsely confess to crimes (Horselenberg, Merckelbach, & Josephs, 2003) and those likely to reoffend (Peersen, Sigurdsson, Gudjonsson, & Gretarsson, 2004). A sample item is “I give in easily when pressured.” The Cronbach alpha coefficients reported in these studies averaged .71. The Cronbach alpha estimate of the combined measure used in this study was .78.

Employee perceptions of pressure to assimilate. Pressure to assimilate reflects employee perceptions that he or she must relinquish his or her ethnic identities and conform to the social norms and behaviors of the majority group in the organization to be successful. Although this topic has received conceptual attention, there has not been any empirical research assessing employee perceptions of pressure to assimilate in organizations. Therefore, this study required the development of a measure of this construct.

The measure of employee perceptions of pressure to assimilate was developed after a thorough review of the literature in the areas of organizational behavior (i.e., person-organization fit, diversity climate, inclusion), social psychology (i.e., cross-cultural interaction, social conformity), and sociology (i.e., acculturation of immigrants, acculturative stress), and interviews with ethnic minorities employed in predominantly Anglo-American organizations. Based on this information, a total of 34 items were developed. The items were rated by five subject matter experts (i.e., graduate students and university faculty members) to determine the degree to which each item accurately assessed the construct. Sixteen items received high ratings with 90% interrater agreement. The 16-item measure was administered to 52 African Americans and Hispanics enrolled in graduate programs in the state of Florida. An exploratory factory analysis was conducted using principal components analysis with orthogonal rotation (Hair,
Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1998). Items were retained if their loadings were .40 or higher. Following Kaiser’s Rule, the factors with eigenvalues over 1.0 were retained, resulting in four. Further review of the scree plot (Figure 3) revealed that a two-factor model was appropriate. Analyses of the items that loaded on factor two revealed that they loaded highly on both factors. Therefore, the second factor was eliminated. After review of each item’s contribution to the reliability estimate of the factor, seven were retained. A sample item is “In my company, I am pressured to deny my cultural beliefs in order to be successful.” The Cronbach alpha reliability estimate for the final measure was .85.

After completing the measures, the participants were asked to provide feedback regarding the study’s materials. They reported that the questionnaire was long and repetitive. In response, each item’s relevance and reliability was reviewed to identify those that could be revised or eliminated. Those that were eliminated or modified for study two are denoted in Exhibit C1.

The work stress measure was reduced from 19 to 15 items. The four eliminated items were designed by Kahn et al. (1964) for use in “intensive study” situations and therefore considered too narrow in scope to retain. For example, the experience of “feeling that someone else will get the job ahead of you, the one you are directly in line for” refers to a specific situation that many employees may not have encountered.

The compliance measure was reduced from 28 to 18 items. One item was eliminated from the Hewlin (in press) measure (e.g., “I say things that I really don’t believe at work”). Ten items were eliminated from the Gudjonsson (1989) measure because they focused more on agreeableness than on compliance (e.g., “I find it very difficult to tell people when I disagree with them.”). Further, the newly created items were modified or eliminated and three new ones
added to capture the motive behind the decision to comply with pressures to assimilate (e.g., “I am afraid that if I do not comply with the pressure to assimilate in my company, it will negatively influence my career.”).

The ethnic identity measure was reduced from 20 to 14 items. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Questionnaire is comprised of four subscales: affirmation and belonging, ethnic identity achievement, ethnic behaviors, and other group orientation. The eliminated items were from the latter due to their focus on the interaction between ethnic groups as opposed to the employee’s connection to his or her own (e.g., “I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn’t try to mix together.”).

The items on the measure of turnover intentions were modified to reflect a more specific assessment of the construct. For example, the item “I often think about quitting this job and finding another” was revised to “I often think of quitting this organization” to ensure that the response captured the employee’s thoughts about quitting as opposed to his or her job search intentions. Also, the items on the measure of perceived pressure to assimilate were modified to reflect the ratings of members of the employee’s ethnic group as opposed to personal experiences. For example, the item “I am pressured to suppress my cultural identity while at work” was revised to read “Members of my ethnic group are pressured to suppress their cultural identities while at work.” The rationale for this change was that some employees may not experience the pressure themselves, yet perceive that it exists for others. For instance, a minority employee who has ascended higher in the organizational hierarchy may not perceive that he or she has to assimilate, yet understands that it is the expectation for similar others in lower positions.
STUDY 2

Method

Participants

Although the proposed topic is of interest and applicable to other groups (i.e., other ethnic minority groups, women, religious groups), African Americans were chosen for this study due to their unique experiences in organizations relative to conformity expectations and pressures (Cox & Nkomo, 1986). Also, the historical experiences of African Americans, specifically related to the ability to maintain and practice aspects of their culture (Domm & Stafford, 1972), renders this group as a relevant sample on which to test the relations in the model. Lastly, there has been limited attention given to the acculturation experiences of African Americans and Afrocentric immigrants, as most of the empirical literature focuses on Hispanics and Asians (Buddington, 2002; Kamya, 1997; Turner, 1994).

As this study obtained self-reports as well as ratings from coworkers, the participants rating themselves will be referred to as primary and the coworkers as secondary participants. Participants were recruited from three organizations: one university and two community colleges. Seventy-nine percent of the participants were employed at the university, 13% at community college one and 8% at community college two. All three institutions serve the same regional community. The participants from the community colleges were 68% female with an average age of 39 (SD = 9.8). Fifty-three percent held a bachelor’s degree or higher and 49% were employed in professional positions. The participants from the university were 79% female with an average age of 45 (SD = 11). Sixty-three percent held a bachelor’s degree or higher and 59% were employed in professional positions.
Approximately 550 individuals were invited and 119 participated. Four participants asked to be removed from the study as they were natives of other countries (e.g., Jamaica) and did not consider themselves African American. Similarly, six others were removed from the analyses because they identified themselves as non-African Americans (e.g., Asian, Hispanic). The remaining participants were excluded from the analyses due to incomplete or unusable responses. For example, two questionnaires were returned with only the informed consent agreement and the ethnic identity measure completed. After accounting for unusable responses and individuals who did not meet the criteria for inclusion, the final sample size was 101 primary participants. Each primary participant distributed questionnaires to two of his or her coworkers, resulting in a total of 202 potential secondary participants. Fifty-six were returned, resulting in 40 pairs of questionnaires from the primary and at least one secondary. There were 16 complete sets, where both secondary participants returned complete questionnaires.

The final sample of primary participants was 72.5% female with an average age of 41 (SD = 12). Fifty-four percent held a bachelor’s degree or higher, and the average tenure with their current employer was 8 years (SD = 7.7). Sixty-one percent had 20 years or less of total work experience. Fifty-three percent were employed in professional positions, 27% in clerical, and 19% in administrative positions. Some of the occupational titles held by the primary participants included Assistant Director, Academic Advisor, Admissions Specialist, Accountant, Program Assistant, and Secretary.

The final sample of secondary participants was 80% female with an average age of 40 (SD = 11). Forty percent identified themselves as White or Caucasian and 63% held a bachelor’s degree or higher. The average tenure with their current employer was eight years (SD = 7.7).
Sixty-nine percent had 20 years or less of total work experience and 56% were employed in professional positions. Some of the occupational titles held by the secondary participants included Director, Assistant Dean, Accounting Clerk, and Office Manager. Detailed demographic information about the primary and secondary participants is presented in Exhibit B1.

Following the guidelines outlined by Cohen and Cohen (1983) and in order to test the study’s hypotheses with a power level of .80 (J. Cohen, 1965, 1977), a corresponding alpha of .05, and a medium effect size ($r = .30$), the required sample size was 84. The conventional medium effect size is consistent with Sanchez and Fernandez’s (1993) study of ethnic identification and acculturative stress, which reported effect sizes ranging from .30 to .40. This is the only empirical study that has assessed the relation between ethnic identification and acculturative stress and perceived discrimination and was therefore used as a guide.

**Measures**

All of the measures in this study utilized a 7-point Likert-type response format. With the exception of work stress, which had anchors of 1 – *never* to 7 – *always*, the remaining measures had anchors of 1 – *strongly disagree* to 7 – *strongly agree*. Items for each measure were summed to form an overall score.

*Work stress.* Work stress was assessed using 15 items from the Job-Related Tension Index by Kahn et al. (1964), where participants were asked to rate how often they had certain experiences in their work roles. A sample item is “Feeling that you have too little authority to carry out the responsibilities assigned to you.” The Cronbach alpha coefficient for this measure was .88.
**Turnover intentions.** Turnover intentions were assessed with a 4-item measure modified from that used by Adams and Beehr (1998). A sample item is “I intend to search for a position with another employer within the next year.” The Cronbach alpha coefficient for this measure was .91.

**Compliance.** Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson (2003) report that there are two ways of assessing compliance: self-reports and behavioral observation. This study utilized both of these methods, obtaining self-reports from employees and reports of behavioral observation from coworkers. Primary ratings of compliance were obtained utilizing 18 items modified from Gudjonnson’s (1989) Compliance Questionnaire, Hewlin’s (in press) Façade of Conformity measure, and additional items developed specifically for this study. A sample item is “I pretend that my values are the same as my company’s values in order to get ahead.” The Cronbach alpha coefficient for this measure was .79.

Secondary ratings of compliance were obtained with eight items from the primary participant questionnaire modified to reflect the coworker’s ratings of the primary’s level of compliance. A sample item is “At work, [he/she] strongly resists being pressured to do things that he/she does not want to do.” The Cronbach alpha coefficient for this measure was .66.

**Ethnic identity.** Ethnic identity was assessed using 14 items from Phinney’s (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Questionnaire. A sample item is “I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group.” The Cronbach alpha estimate for this measure was .85.

**Perceived pressure to assimilate.** Employee perceptions of pressure to assimilate were assessed using a 7-item measure developed specifically for this study. A sample item is “In my
company, members of my ethnic group are pressured to deny their cultural beliefs in order to be successful.” The Cronbach alpha reliability estimate for this measure was .85.

Control Variables

Tenure. Theorists in the area of organizational socialization suggest that tenure may influence an individual’s reaction to pressure. Specifically, when employees are new to an organization, they may be preoccupied with learning the environment and may be less likely to integrate their cultural and professional identities at that time (Ibarra, 1999; Roberts, 2005). Therefore, employment tenure was controlled for in the analyses.

Education level. Participant education level was also controlled for in the analysis. Minorities with higher levels of education may have higher confidence levels and stronger self concept clarity (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004) and may be less likely to comply with pressures to assimilate.

Gender. Because males and females may have different reactions to assimilation pressure, this variable was controlled for in the analysis.

Age. Age may influence the manner in which employees respond to pressure and was therefore controlled for in the analysis. Specifically, older workers may have been socialized in a different era of diversity and may be more susceptible to giving in to assimilation pressure as it may be viewed as necessary for job security and success.

Procedure

The participants in this study were African Americans employed in faculty and staff positions in universities and community colleges located in the Southeastern United States. Potential participants were identified through campus officials, their membership in affinity-
based organizations, or referrals from other employees and participants. The campus officials and officers were contacted, informed of the purpose and design of the study, and asked to assist in identifying and encouraging participation among the African Americans in their respective organizations. Potential primary participants were initially contacted via e-mail with an introductory message from the campus official or officer that explained the general purpose of the study and asked them to participate. In an attempt to increase the response rate, special care was taken to ensure that the person who sent the e-mail and provided the introductory message had name recognition and was well-known and respected. Previous research related to conducting survey studies suggests that having the endorsement of key individuals within the organization is likely to increase participation (Bruvold, Comer, & Rospert, 1990; Fox, Crask, & Kim, 1988). Further, those who chose to participate were eligible for entry into a drawing to win a gift card. A copy of the invitation e-mail is presented in Exhibit B2.

Those who agreed to participate were contacted via e-mail and phone and informed as to when the study materials would be delivered. Attempts to reach those who did not respond to the e-mail were made via phone, in person, and at organizational meetings. Study materials were hand delivered in sealed envelopes to each participant and collected one week later. At the community college locations, the procedure was slightly modified to maximize efficiency. In lieu of the materials being delivered, specific days, times, and locations for data collection were scheduled. Potential participants were contacted, informed of the purpose of the study, and asked to select a time they would be able to attend. The materials were delivered to those unable to attend the scheduled data collection sessions following the original distribution procedure. The
materials for the primary participants were presented in the following order: informed consent, ethnic identity, perceived pressure to assimilate, work stress, and demographics.

In order to obtain a comprehensive assessment of compliance of the primary participant, secondary ratings were obtained. Primary participants were asked to identify two coworkers to participate in the study and to provide their e-mail addresses. The e-mail addresses provided a means to follow-up with the secondary participants to remind them to complete and return their questionnaires.

After the questionnaires were collected, each primary was presented with two sealed envelopes to give to the secondary participants that he or she identified. The questionnaire packet informed the secondary of how he or she was identified, explained the general purpose of the study, and asked for his or her participation. The completed secondary questionnaires were returned via U.S. mail in self-addressed, postage-paid envelopes. The questionnaires were presented to the secondary participants in the following order: informed consent, compliance behavior, and demographic information. A copy of the complete questionnaire packets for both the primary and secondary participants is presented in Exhibits C2 and C3.
Analysis

The hypotheses were tested using moderated multiple regression, as this technique provides the ability to test for a statistically significant interaction between a moderator and another variable in predicting values of a third (Stone-Romero & Anderson, 1994; Stone, 1988). Further, this method has been found to be more powerful than other statistical procedures for detecting moderator variables (Stone-Romero & Anderson, 1994).

To test Hypothesis 1, compliance was regressed on perceived pressure to assimilate, ethnic identity, and the moderator variable - the product term of perceived pressure to assimilate and ethnic identity. To reduce the impact of multicollinearity, the predictor variables were mean-centered prior to their entry into the regression equation (J. Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). To test Hypotheses 2a and 2b, work stress and turnover intentions were regressed on compliance behavior in separate equations. The control variables were entered simultaneously with the predictors in each of the regression equations.
RESULTS

Table 1 provides the means and standard deviations for the variables, and the correlations are presented in Table 2. Results of the tests of hypotheses are presented in Table 3.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that the relation between employee perceptions of pressure to assimilate and compliance would be moderated by the employee’s level of ethnic identity, such that the relation will be attenuated as the strength of ethnic identity increases. The results did not provide support for this hypothesis ($\beta = 0.016$, $t = 0.172$, $p > .05$).

Hypothesis 2a predicted a positive relation between compliance and work stress. The results provided support for this hypothesis ($\beta = 0.275$, $t = 3.209$, $p < .01$).

Hypothesis 2b predicted a positive relation between compliance and turnover intentions. The results did not provide support for this hypothesis ($\beta = 0.074$, $t = 0.794$, $p > .05$).

Supplemental Analyses

In addition to the hypothesized relations, supplemental analyses were conducted. First, the data were analyzed to assess whether pressure to assimilate or ethnic identity were predictors of compliance. The results supported a positive relation between perceptions of pressure to assimilate and compliance ($\beta = 0.446$, $t = 4.448$, $p < .05$), however the relation between ethnic identity and compliance was not significant ($\beta = -0.076$, $t = -0.825$, $p > .05$).

The data were further analyzed to assess whether there existed relations between perceptions of pressure to assimilate and work stress or turnover intentions. The rationale for these analyses was that, for some employees, the perception that they are pressured to assimilate may increase the likelihood that they will experience work stress and/or plan to leave the organization. The data provide support for positive relations between perceptions of pressure to
assimilate and both work stress ($\beta = 0.380, t = 4.326, p < .05$) and turnover intentions ($\beta = 0.288, t = 3.012, p < .05$).

The hypotheses were also tested using the secondary ratings of compliance as opposed to self reports. The data did not provide support for any of the hypothesized relations. The descriptive statistics, correlations, and results of regression analyses using the secondary ratings are presented in Tables 4, 5, and 6 respectively.
DISCUSSION

Although the results did not fully support the hypothesized relations, the study’s findings provide insight into the acculturation experiences of African Americans employed in higher education. Of the three hypothesized relations tested in this study, one was supported by the results. Supplemental analyses confirmed the existence of a positive relation between perceptions of pressure to assimilate and compliance; however the prediction that this would be moderated by ethnic identity strength was not supported. The lack of significance may be the result of low power due to sample size. Despite my best recruiting efforts, only 119 of a potential 550 participated. Increasing sample size is often outside of the control of the researcher and sometimes results in studies having insufficient power to detect moderating effects (Stone-Romero & Liakhovitski, 2002).

The predicted positive relation between compliance and work stress was supported, suggesting that employees who display behavior that is inconsistent with their personal beliefs may experience higher levels of work stress. Work stress could have negative effects on employees in various ways as research has reported relations between stress and negative health outcomes (Johnson et al., 2005; Landsbergis, 2003). Health problems for employees may translate into increased costs for organizations. Organizational managers can work to reduce diversity-related stressors by working to foster an environment of inclusion where employees are able to express themselves and maximize their contribution.

The hypothesized relation between compliance and turnover intentions was not supported. There are a few possible explanations of this finding. For example, some employees may be dependent upon their jobs and unwilling or unable to pursue employment alternatives.
For others, compliance may not constitute an employment “deal breaker” as it may be considered a component of the job. Some minority employees believe that compliance is a requirement for professional success and are less likely to consider leaving the organization to be an alternative (Anderson, 1999; Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Frankel, 2006). Future research in this area can examine the influence of perceptions of job alternatives and compliance expectations on turnover decisions.

Review of the control variables found significant relations between compliance and both education level ($\beta = -0.324, t = -3.201, p < .01$) and age ($\beta = -0.221, t = -2.043, p < .05$), work stress and both education level ($\beta = 0.311, t = 3.502, p < .01$) and age ($\beta = -0.348, t = 3.612, p < .01$), and turnover intentions and age ($\beta = -0.386, t = -3.658, p < .01$). The negative relation between education and compliance is consistent with the argument that more education is associated with higher levels of confidence and self-concept clarity, reducing the likelihood that individuals will engage in behavior that is inconsistent with their personal preferences. The negative relation between age and compliance was contrary to the expectation that older employees would be more likely to comply. Older workers may have had enough of playing the game of compliance or may have other priorities that render it undesirable or unimportant. The positive relation between education and work stress may result from increased demands often associated with higher levels of employment. The negative relations between age and both work stress and turnover intentions may reflect a shift in the priority of work and a desire for stability.

Supplemental analyses provided support for positive relations between pressure to assimilate and both work stress and turnover intentions, suggesting that the perception of pressure to assimilate alone may be enough to result in higher levels of stress and intentions to
leave. Further, none of the hypothesized relations were supported when analyzed using the secondary ratings of compliance. These findings may be due to the small sample size, which likely reduced the power to detect the hypothesized relations. The low response rate also eliminated the ability to conduct a full comparison of the results of the hypotheses tests by rater, either primary or secondary, due to the large discrepancy in sample sizes of the two groups. Lastly, the measure completed by the secondary participants suffered from low reliability, reporting an alpha estimate less that of the recommended value of .70 (Nunnally, 1978). Future studies should expand the measure by adding additional items to rate coworker compliance to increase the reliability.

Implications for Future Research

Due to the shortage of empirical research on this topic, the opportunities for future studies are vast. First, this study focused only on African American employees. Although the historical experiences of this group make it an interesting population for studying acculturation, it is also important to study others in order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding. In addition to ethnic minorities, future research should examine the experiences of social minorities, such as women, the Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) communities, and members of religious groups not considered mainstream. For example, due to stereotypical beliefs about the connection between Islam and terrorism, employees who ascribe to Islamic principles may feel pressure to adjust their behaviors and expressions in order to calm the fears of others. Further, the role of visible versus invisible stigmas could be examined. Those who have the opportunity to conceal their identity (e.g., LGBT) may feel less pressure to assimilate because
their stigma is hidden. They may, however, experience other types of dissonance due to the inability to be their true selves.

Second, the experiences of the majority group within organizations should also be studied. It is sometimes questioned whether the experiences of minority employees differ from the majority, and the degree to which these differences can be attributed to identity-related factors. Roberts and Roberts (2007) posit that although all employees engage in some form of compliance, more effort is required from members of marginalized or minority groups as they are more likely to have preferences that are less consistent with the norms of the organization. Members of these groups must therefore expend more effort to demonstrate their competence and character while working to dispel negative stereotypes that may be applied to them (Carbado & Gulati, 2000; Roberts, 2005). The study of the experiences of both minority and majority populations can begin to provide insight into similarities and differences across groups.

Employees in the higher education industry were examined in this study. This group may differ from employees in traditional organizations as this industry is characterized by two distinct categories of employees, faculty and staff; classifications that govern the nature of positions and related responsibilities and expectations. Specifically, many faculty roles are characterized by a high degree of autonomy, flexible schedules, and the option to have little contact with coworkers. In contrast, some staff roles are characterized by more supervision, more specific requirements for behavior, and more day-to-day contact with others. As a result, the pressure felt by staff may be more salient as this group is more likely to experience it on a daily basis. Future research could examine whether the reports of experiences differ by employment classification. Such studies could also investigate the differences in compliance among tenured and untenured...
faculty as well as the influence that job security has on behavioral decisions. It is possible that faculty members with tenure will report lower levels of compliance as it may not be considered a necessity for job security. However, it would be important to assess the current rank and future aspirations of tenured faculty, as those who hope to ascend to full professor may still feel pressure to conform and continue to exhibit compliance in order to achieve that outcome.

Future research should also examine the experiences of employees in various industries to determine whether differences exist. For example, is there more pressure in the accounting versus education industry or in the private versus public sector? Researchers could examine experiences in both traditional and non-traditional work environments, and in both for-profit and not-for-profit organizations. Such information may help to identify potential triggers of such experiences, which can aid in the development of procedures and programs to create better work environments for all.

Including more recent constructs in the assessment of acculturation experiences could aid in the advancement of research in this area. For example, the field of social psychology has begun to empirically assess a construct termed “acculturative dissonance” (Rumbaut & Portes, 2002). Defined as the “general conflict that occurs when parent and youth cultural systems clash as a result of the differential acculturation experienced by parents and youth” (Le & Stockdale, 2008), acculturative dissonance has been used to explore experiences across generations. Future research could build upon this and extend the construct to reflect the internal conflict that occurs when there is a disconnect between the two worlds in which an individual may exist. For example, a Hispanic American who wishes to maintain his or her cultural identity and be active
in mainstream America may experience conflict, which creates a sense of dissonance as he or she decides how to navigate between landscapes.

Building upon this idea, future research can explore the manner in which employees cope with assimilation pressure or other acculturative conflict. The decision to comply is complex and employees may adopt various coping strategies to reduce the amount of stress experienced in their roles. Some may seek support in the form of mentoring, affinity groups, and other associations in an attempt to meet their need for cultural acceptance. Understanding the various methods of coping with acculturative differences can provide valuable insight into the behavior of employees and the types of programs and opportunities that can be offered to increase inclusion.

In addition to the experiences of employees, it is important to understand the role of leadership and institutional practices in the development of conflict or inclusion. Future research can address this issue, using the Katz and Kahn (1978) Role Taking Model as a guide, by examining the role requirements sent by organizational leaders. For example, evaluating policies and procedures, new employee socialization processes, multicultural activities, and training and mentoring programs can aid in the identification of the acculturation mode that is prevalent within the organization. Future research could also evaluate whether this acculturation mode is the one that the organization’s leaders intend to promote. For example, many desire to foster an inclusive organizational climate, however the message conveyed to employees may not be reflective of that goal. An assessment of the manner in which the organization is perceived by employees can serve as a reality check to determine whether the intentions match the effect.
Although the current study focused on the negative aspects of assimilation, future research could examine its impact on the work environment, as the outcomes could be positive or negative depending upon the level of harm it inflicts (Roberts & Roberts, 2007). Displays that are offensive or harmful to others should be suppressed in order to facilitate effective organizational functioning. For example, the wearing or display of paraphernalia that advertises membership in a hate group or denigrates others will likely create dissention within the workforce, thus lowering productivity. Therefore, attempts to suppress such expressions should have a positive influence on the work environment. Future studies could work to determine the circumstances under which assimilation may result in positive or negative outcomes.

Implications for Practice

The findings from this study have implications for organizational practice. Specifically, employees who perceive they are pressured to assimilate are likely to report higher levels of work stress, which can have negative effects on themselves and the organization. As the labor force and organizations become more diverse, leaders should work to foster an environment of inclusion, where differences are viewed as a potential source of strength as opposed to conflict. In such an environment, employees are comfortable being themselves and are less likely to perceive they are pressured to deny important aspects of themselves that are unrelated to the performance of their role. In order to accomplish this, leaders should objectively review their organization’s policies, procedures, and practices in order to assess whether they are consistent with an environment where diverse employees are expected to assimilate in order to be successful. For example, the reward and performance appraisal system could be examined to determine whether individuals are assessed on performance or on the degree to which they
conform to organizational norms. Additionally, leaders should ensure that employees at all levels receive diversity training, such that they are aware not only of the experiences of specific groups, but also of their personal biases and the manner in which they can influence their judgment and decision-making. Further, all employees should be involved in the creation of an inclusive work environment. For example, increasing organizational diversity has been associated with lowered psychological attachment for Whites and males, but not for women and minorities (Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992). As a possible explanation, Tsui et al. (1992) speculated that increased diversity in organizations may require changes in language or behavior that may be stressful or taxing to, and resisted by, members of higher status groups. Therefore, care should be taken to ensure that all employees are considered in any adjustments or efforts made relative to this issue in organizations.

Limitations

There were limitations and challenges associated with this study that may have influenced the findings. Two were a result of the nonexperimental design: the inability to manipulate the independent variables and the lack of power to randomize the sample (Kerlinger & Lee, 2000). As a result, it was not possible to conclude that there were any causal relations between the variables.

This study was also limited by common method bias, specifically the potential effects resulting from the responses on all variables coming from the same source (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). To remedy this, ratings of primary participants’ compliance were obtained from themselves as well as their coworkers. The procedure of obtaining ratings from different sources is believed to resolve the effects of same-source ratings.
by eliminating the ability of the raters to bias the relations between the variables (Podsakoff et al., 2003).

Another limitation associated with this study was the self-selection of respondents, which occurs when “the members of the groups being studied are in the groups, in part, because they differentially possess traits or characteristics extraneous to the research problem” (Kerlinger & Lee, 2000, p. 560). Participation in this study was completely voluntary. Therefore, those who participated were likely comfortable being involved in a “diversity” study, not intimidated or worried about their employer finding out, generally interested in helping out a graduate student, and/or willing to provide information to make the working environment better for minority employees. Regardless of the reason, they possessed certain characteristics that governed their decision to participate.

The selection of the secondary participants also posed a challenge, as the primary participants likely selected coworkers whom they believed shared their views or would rate them favorably. As a result, the ratings may not be accurate. Although the design of this study did not allow for this modification, future studies could randomly assign secondary participants to rate the primary, reducing the likelihood that the results will be influenced by selection.

An extension of the self-selection limitation was the difficulty in obtaining participants. Whenever possible, those who declined were asked why they chose not to participate. The reasons varied, however a majority were related to fear and skepticism - fear that participation in the study would jeopardize their employment, or that their employer would use their responses to sabotage them in some way. Further, inviting individuals to participate through e-mail may have influenced their willingness to participate. Specifically, potential participants may have been
concerned that their identities would be revealed and their responses made available to their employer through the identifying information associated with their e-mail addresses. Due to the sensitive nature of research in this area, future studies should strive to contact potential participants in a manner such that their concerns about confidentiality and anonymity are suppressed.

The use of the ethnic identity measure also posed a challenge in this study, as it may not have accurately assessed the construct. Although the items may assess a dimension of ethnic identity, it is unlikely that individuals from any ethnic group, regardless of their degree of connection, would disagree with statements such as, “I feel good about my ethnic background” or “I am happy that I am a member of my ethnic group.” Future research could assess this construct using alternative measures in addition to self-reports. For example, behavioral observation, reports of the ownership or display of artifacts, or the degree of participation in ethnic-related activities could also be used in order to make more conclusive inferences about ethnic identity.

Further, this study was also limited by range restriction relative to ethnic identity. Restriction of range exists “when the variability of one or more variables upon which a sample correlation coefficient is based is lower in the sample than in the population” (Stone, 1978, p. 58). As the ratings on this measure could range from 26 to 100, reflecting lowest to highest ethnic identity strength, the range was 50 ($M = 84.5$, $Mdn = 86$, $SD = 10.8$) with 70% of the participants reporting scores of 81 or higher. The high scores and low variability associated with the ethnic identity of the participants may have influenced the results of this study. Although it is not possible to conclude the specific impact that the restriction of range had on the results, it has
been recognized that this artifact downwardly biases the correlation between the predictor and criterion (Glass & Hopkins, 1983; Sackett & Yang, 2000; Stone, 1978). Therefore, it is likely that the relation between ethnic identity strength and compliance or perceived pressure to assimilate is underestimated in the current study.

The use of the higher education industry and employees who identified as African American may limit the generalizability of these results to other organizations and groups. Future research could study this ethnic group in other employment contexts to determine whether the reported experiences differ across industries. Additionally, future studies should also examine other ethnic groups in various industries to determine whether their experiences are similar to those reported here. Research should also consider the historical contexts of other ethnic groups in this country to determine whether differences may be attributed to varying societal, environmental, or social experiences.
CONCLUSION

The topic of acculturation is under-researched in the field of management. Considering the demographic transition taking place in the United States, it is imperative that managers and researchers understand the benefits and challenges associated with the incorporation of various cultures and attitudes into existing organizational environments and the consequences that may result when employees perceive that they are pressured to relinquish important aspects of themselves.

The goal of this dissertation was to make a contribution to the acculturation literature by empirically assessing experiences related to assimilation in organizations. Specifically, I sought to capture the experiences of African Americans employed in higher education relative to the levels of assimilation pressure they perceive in their roles. Although all of the hypothesized relations were not supported, the findings from this study provide a starting point for future research. Drawing from the areas of sociology, psychology, and management, the ICOAP model was developed. The measure of employee perceptions of pressure to assimilate developed for this study should be validated with other populations and in other settings.

As this area continues to evolve and grow, it is my hope that this study will serve as evidence of the importance of this topic and provide a guide to researchers to explore other avenues and directions within the area of organizational acculturation. Obtaining a true understanding of these experiences can assist leaders in creating environments where productivity is increased and the goals they have for their organization, its employees, and society at large can be realized.
Figure 1: Model of the individual consequences of assimilation pressure
Figure 2: A model of the role episode (Katz & Kahn, 1978)
Figure 3: Scree plot of eigenvalues for perceived pressure to assimilate measure
Table 1

*Descriptive Statistics: Primary Ratings of Compliance*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>$M$</th>
<th>$SD$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perception of Pressure to Assimilate</td>
<td>18.88</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>84.48</td>
<td>10.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compliance</td>
<td>53.09</td>
<td>19.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Stress</td>
<td>42.54</td>
<td>17.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnover Intentions</td>
<td>16.85</td>
<td>9.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>8.25</td>
<td>7.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>41.50</td>
<td>12.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*N = 101*
### Table 2

**Correlations: Primary Ratings of Compliance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Perception of Pressure to Assimilate</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Compliance</td>
<td>0.33**</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Work Stress</td>
<td>0.39**</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.28**</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Turnover Intentions</td>
<td>0.27**</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.46**</td>
<td>.91</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Tenure</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>-0.49**</td>
<td>-0.36**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Education Level</td>
<td>0.29**</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>-0.17*</td>
<td>0.30**</td>
<td>0.21*</td>
<td>-0.31**</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Gender</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.17*</td>
<td>-0.28**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Age</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>-0.45**</td>
<td>-0.44**</td>
<td>0.49**</td>
<td>-0.20*</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Coefficient alphas appear along the diagonal. Gender was coded as: Male = 0, Female = 1. * p < .05 **p < .01
Table 3

*Results of Regression Analyses: Primary Ratings of Compliance*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Compliance</th>
<th>Work Stress</th>
<th>Turnover Intentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>$T$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Pressure to Assimilate (PA)</td>
<td>0.446</td>
<td>4.448**</td>
<td>0.380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity (EI)</td>
<td>-0.076</td>
<td>-0.825</td>
<td>-0.076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compliance</td>
<td>0.275</td>
<td>3.209**</td>
<td>0.074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA X EI</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>0.172</td>
<td>0.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>0.037</td>
<td>0.332</td>
<td>-0.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Level</td>
<td>-0.324</td>
<td>-3.201**</td>
<td>0.311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>0.280</td>
<td>0.131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.221</td>
<td>-2.043*</td>
<td>-0.348</td>
</tr>
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</table>

$^{1}R = .480, F (7, 94) = 4.011**$  
$^{2}R = .586, F (5, 96) = 10.035**$  
$^{3}R = .461, F (5, 96) = 5.182**$
Table 4

*Descriptive Statistics: Secondary Ratings of Compliance*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>$M$</th>
<th>$SD$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Perception of Pressure to Assimilate</td>
<td>20.25</td>
<td>7.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>87.81</td>
<td>7.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compliance - Primary</td>
<td>56.36</td>
<td>12.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compliance - Secondary</td>
<td>40.68</td>
<td>6.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Stress</td>
<td>40.25</td>
<td>15.02</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turnover Intentions</td>
<td>19.68</td>
<td>10.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>10.11</td>
<td>7.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>42.82</td>
<td>12.21</td>
</tr>
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</table>

$N = 40$
Table 5

*Correlations: Secondary Ratings of Compliance*

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
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<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
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<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Perception of Pressure to</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Compliance - Primary</td>
<td>0.35*</td>
<td>-0.40*</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Compliance – Secondary</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Work Stress</td>
<td>0.36*</td>
<td>-0.95</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>-0.47**</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Turnover Intentions</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>-0.26</td>
<td>0.45**</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.52**</td>
<td>.90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tenure</td>
<td>-0.26</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>-0.43*</td>
<td>-0.27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Education Level</td>
<td>0.39*</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.30</td>
<td>0.49**</td>
<td>-0.46**</td>
<td>-0.39*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Gender</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Age</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>-0.65**</td>
<td>-0.68**</td>
<td>0.44**</td>
<td>-0.65**</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Coefficient alphas appear along the diagonal. Gender was coded as: Male = 0, Female = 1. *p < .05  **p < .01
Table 6

*Results of Regression Analyses: Secondary Ratings of Compliance*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coworker Compliance</th>
<th>Work Stress</th>
<th>Turnover Intentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Pressure to Assimilate (PA)</td>
<td>0.246</td>
<td>1.016</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity (EI)</td>
<td>-0.433</td>
<td>-1.854</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coworker Compliance</td>
<td>-0.300</td>
<td>-1.960</td>
<td>0.192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA X EI</td>
<td>-0.348</td>
<td>-1.469</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>0.189</td>
<td>-0.121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Level</td>
<td>-0.155</td>
<td>-0.527</td>
<td>0.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>0.022</td>
<td>0.109</td>
<td>-0.128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.190</td>
<td>0.628</td>
<td>-0.506</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^{1}R = .523, \ F (7, 39) = 1.073$  
$^{2}R = .738, \ F (5, 39) = 5.276^{**}$  
$^{3}R = .701, \ F (5, 39) = 4.243^{**}$  

* $p < .05$  
** $p < .01$
APPENDIX B: DEMOGRAPHICS AND E-MAIL INVITATION
### Exhibit B1: Participant demographic information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description – Primary participants</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Time = 96%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part Time = 4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tenure with current organization (in years)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10 = 68.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20 = 21.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30 = 3.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 30 = 1.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Current position classification</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical = 27%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional (inc faculty) = 53%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative = 19%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tenure in current position (in years)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10 = 78%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20 = 18%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 20 = 1.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Holding a supervisory position</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes = 52%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No = 48%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Managing a department or entity</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes = 21%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No = 79%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total work experience (in years)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10 = 27.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20 = 32.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30 = 18.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40 = 7.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 40 = 4.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Last performance rating</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above average = 61%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average = 39%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Highest level of education</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school = 10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate degree = 3.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor degree = 23.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialist certification = 1.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master degree = 29.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorate degree = 11.6%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Male = 27.5%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female = 72.5%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-25 = 15.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-40 = 34.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40+ = 46.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ethnicity - Supervisor</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian or Asian American = 3.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or African American = 18.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic or Latino = 2.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic = 54%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian = 0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed; parents from two different groups = 0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ethnicity - Majority of workers</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian or Asian American = 0.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or African American = 6.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic or Latino = 1.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic = 65%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian = 0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed; parents from two different groups</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other or unknown</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description – Secondary participants</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Time = 90%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part Time = 10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure with current organization (in years)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10 = 73.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20 = 13.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30 = 3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current position classification</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical = 22%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional (inc. faculty) = 56%</td>
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<td>Administrative = 21%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tenure in current position (in years)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10 = 96.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>10-20 = 0%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-30 = 3.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holding a supervisory position</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes = 53%</td>
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<tr>
<td>No = 47%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Managing a department or entity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yes = 13%</td>
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<tr>
<td>No = 87%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total work experience (in years)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10 = 26.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-20 = 43.4%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>20-30 = 36.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>30-40 = 9.9%</td>
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<td>Last performance rating</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above average = 80%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average = 20%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest level of education</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>High school = 13%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Associate degree = 23%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor degree = 17%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialist certification = 3%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master degree = 33%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorate degree = 7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male = 20%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female = 80%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-25 = 10.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-40 = 31%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40+ = 58.7%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. citizen</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes = 100%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>No = 0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity - Self</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian or Asian American = 6.7%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or African American = 26.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic or Latino = 23%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic = 40%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian = 0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed; parents from two different groups = 3.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Black, Hispanic)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity - Supervisor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian or Asian American = 6.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or African American = 30%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic or Latino = 16%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic = 43%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity - Majority of workers</td>
<td>American Indian = 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mixed; parents from two different groups = 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian or Asian American = 3.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or African American = 6.7%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic or Latino = 0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic = 63%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian = 3.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed; parents from two different groups = 0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other or unknown = 16.7%</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Exhibit B2: E-mail invitation

Introduction from campus official:
Please see the message below from Nichole Phillips, a Ph.D. student at UCF. She needs employees of [organization name] to complete surveys for her dissertation research. She is researching a very important topic. Please help her out if you can.

Sincerely,
[campus official]

Introduction from affinity group leader:
Hello all, please see the message below from Nichole Phillips. I met this young lady today and was very impressed by her. She is working on her dissertation and needs your help. The survey doesn’t take that long so let’s do all that we can to make sure that she is successful.

E-mail invitation message:
My name is Nichole Phillips and I am a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Management in the College of Business. I am writing to ask for your assistance with my dissertation research. Specifically, my dissertation seeks to assess the experiences of African Americans employed at [organization name]. More specifically, I am asking that you complete a series of questionnaires designed to assess your perceptions, feelings, and beliefs of the environment in which you work. The goal of this study is to provide a more thorough understanding of the experiences of diverse employees in hopes that the information obtained will advance the field of diversity in organizations.

I would really appreciate your assistance with this study. If you are willing to participate, please reply to this message and provide your name and campus location. I will contact you to arrange convenient times for me to drop off and pick up the questionnaires from your office.

All of your responses will be kept completely confidential and no one other than me will ever see your responses. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me via the information provided below.

I thank you in advance for your participation.

Sincerely,
Nichole Phillips
Ph.D. Candidate
(407) 823-1710
tphillips@bus.ucf.edu
Exhibit C1: List of Items

Work Stress

1. Feeling that you have too little authority to carry out the responsibilities assigned to you.
2. Being unclear on just what the scope and responsibilities of your job are.
3. Not knowing what opportunities for advancement or promotion exist for you.
4. Feeling that you have too heavy a work load, one that you can’t possibly finish in a given workday.
5. Thinking that you’ll not be able to satisfy the conflicting demands of various people over you.
6. Feeling that you’re not fully qualified to handle your job.
7. Not knowing what your supervisor thinks of you, how he evaluates your performance.
8. The fact that you can’t get information needed to carry out your job.
9. Having to decide things that affect the lives of individuals, people that you know.
10. Feeling that you may not be liked and accepted by the people you work with.
11. Feeling unable to influence your immediate supervisor’s decisions and actions that affect you.
12. Not knowing just what the people you work with expect of you.
13. Thinking that the amount of work you have to do may interfere with how well it gets done.
14. Feeling that you have to do things on the job that are against your better judgment.
15. Feeling that your job interferes with your family life.
16. Feeling that you have to do things that are in conflict with your personal beliefs.*
17. Feeling that your progress on the job is not what it should be or could be.*
18. Thinking that someone else may get the job done above you, the one you are directly in line for.*
19. Feeling that you have too much responsibility and authority delegated to your by your superiors.*

*denotes items eliminated in study 2
Turnover Intentions

1. I am planning to leave my job for another in the near future.
2. I often think of quitting this job and finding another.*
3. I would like to quit this job and find another in the near future.*
4. Barring unforeseen circumstances, I plan to stay in this job for my career.*

*denotes item eliminated or modified in study 2
Ethnic Identity

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about the African American group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of the African American cultural group.
3. I have a clear sense of my African American background and what it means to me.
4. I like meeting and getting to know people from cultural groups other than my own.*
5. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my membership in the African American cultural group.
6. I am happy that I am an African American.
7. I sometimes feel it would be better if different cultural groups didn’t try to mix together.*
8. I am not very clear about the role of my African American ethnicity in my life.
9. I often spend time with people from cultural groups other than my own.*
10. I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of African Americans.
11. I have a strong sense of belonging to the African American cultural group.
12. I understand pretty well what my cultural group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to African Americans and other cultural groups.
13. In order to learn about African Americans, I have often talked to other people about African Americans.
14. I have a lot of pride in my cultural group and its accomplishments.
15. I don’t try to become friends with people from other cultural groups.*
16. I participate in cultural practices of African Americans, such as special food, music, or customs.
17. I am involved in activities with people from other cultural groups.*
18. I feel a strong attachment towards the African American cultural group.
19. I enjoy being around people from cultural groups other than my own.*
20. I feel good about my African American background.

*denotes items eliminated in study 2
Compliance

Hewlin (in press) Façades of Conformity
1. At work, I don’t discuss my personal values if they are not in agreement with organizational values.
2. At work, I suppress my personal values that are different from those of the organization.
3. I don’t share certain things about myself and my culture in order to fit in at work.
4. At work, I openly express personal values that conflict with organizational values.
5. I don’t “play politics” at work by pretending to embrace organizational values.
6. I behave in a manner that reflects the organization’s value system even though it is inconsistent with my personal values.
7. I say things that I don’t really believe at work.*
8. I pretend that my values are the same as the organization’s values.

Gudjonsson (1989) Compliance Questionnaire
9. I give in easily to people when pressured at work.
10. I find it very difficult to tell people at work when I disagree with them.*
11. I tend to give in to people at work who insist that they are right.*
12. At work, I try very hard not to offend people in authority.*
13. I would describe myself as a very obedient person at work.
14. I tend to go along with what people at work tell me, even when they are wrong.
15. I believe in avoiding rather than facing demanding and frightening situations at work.*
16. I try to please others at work.*
17. Disagreeing with people at work often takes more time than it is worth.*
18. I generally believe in doing as I am told.
19. I try to avoid confrontation with people at work.*
20. I try hard to do what is expected of me at work.
21. I am not concerned about what people at work think of me.*
22. At work, I strongly resist being pressured to do things that I do not want to do.
23. I go along with what people at work tell me in order to please them.*
24. I freely express my opinion at work, even if it is different from that of the organization.*

Items Developed for this Study
25. I comply with the organization’s pressures to assimilate even though I do not believe in the organization’s values.*
26. I don’t believe in the organization’s pressures to assimilate, but comply with them in order to achieve rewards.*
27. I comply with the organization’s pressures to assimilate because I believe in the organization’s values.*
28. I don’t believe in the organization’s pressures to assimilate, but comply with them in order to avoid punishment.*

*denotes items eliminated or modified in study 2
Employee Perceptions of Pressure to Assimilate*

1. I believe that my company puts pressure on members of my ethnic group to conform to organizational norms.
2. I am pressured to suppress my cultural identity while at work.
3. In order to be successful in my company, I must assimilate to the existing organizational environment.
4. In my company, I must deny my cultural beliefs in order to be successful.
5. In my organization, I am pressured to minimize the degree to which I display various aspects of my culture.
6. I am pressured to assimilate to the organization’s culture in order to receive promotions at work.
7. In my company, I am pressured to “act white” in order to be accepted.

*All items were modified in study 2 to reflect the perception that members of the employee’s ethnic group, as opposed to him or her, are pressured to assimilate.
Exhibit C2: Materials for Primary Participants – Study 2

My name is T. Nichole Phillips and I am a Ph.D. Candidate in the Management Department at the University of Central Florida. The current study is being conducted as part of my dissertation research and will be supervised by my faculty supervisor, Dr. Foard Jones. The present study focuses on your experiences and beliefs as an employee in your current organization and I thank you for considering being a participant in this important research.

This study is being conducted for academic research purposes only in hopes of progressing knowledge in the area of organizational experiences of minority professionals. If you agree to participate in this study, you will be presented with a series of questions related to your experiences as an employee in your organization and will be asked to indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statements. Additionally, you will be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire regarding your background and experiences. In order to obtain a more complete view of your workplace and experiences, I would also like to obtain ratings from your coworkers. After completing the questionnaire, you will be given two copies of another questionnaire in a sealed envelope to distribute to two of your coworkers whom you know well and with whom you have consistent interaction and contact. Your coworkers will be instructed to complete the questionnaire and return the survey via U.S. Postal Mail in the self-addressed stamped envelope provided.

The survey will be distributed by me at your place of employment during the months of March and April 2008. Completion of the survey is expected to take less than 20 minutes. I realize that your time is valuable and appreciate your efforts to assist me in this endeavor. Although some of the questions may seem similar, please think carefully about your response to each question. Please note that you are not expected to answer any question that you do not wish to answer or that makes you feel uncomfortable. If there is such a question, just skip it and move on to the next question.

There are no anticipated risks for participating in this study. Your survey will be assigned a code number to protect your confidentiality and your name will not be associated with your responses in any way. Additionally, your responses will never be reported in a way that will enable you to be identified as all results will be reported in aggregate form and individual responses will not be published.

This research study has been reviewed and approved by the UCF Institutional Review Board. Questions or concerns about research participants' rights may be directed at UCF IRB Office, University of Central Florida, Office of Research and Commercialization, 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501, Orlando, FL 32826-3252. The telephone number is 407-823-2901. My faculty supervisor, Dr. Foard Jones, may be contacted at (407) 823-2925 or foard.jones@bus.ucf.edu.

Participation in the study is voluntary and no compensation will be given to those who participate. As a research participant you will not benefit directly from this research and I thank you for your participation. Even if you choose not to participate, I appreciate your consideration. You are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation in the project at any time without consequence. You must be 18 years of age to participate. If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please do not hesitate to contact me. My contact information is listed below. Thank you again for your assistance. It is important and I really do appreciate it.

T. Nichole Phillips, Ph.D. Candidate
Phone: (407) 823-1715
Email: tphillips@bus.ucf.edu

INFORMED CONSENT:
I have read the procedure described above. I voluntarily agree to participate in this survey project and have been provided a copy of this consent form upon request.

________________________________________________________________________
Signature

________________________________________________________________________
Date
In this country, people come from a variety of racial/ethnic backgrounds. The statements below refer to your membership in a particular ethnic group. Please select the ethnic group that you most identify with from the following options:

- Asian or Asian American
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino
- White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic
- American Indian
- Other (please specify): ____________________

Please refer to the ethnic group you selected when responding to the statements provided below. Please consider each of the following statements. Then, place the number in the space next to the statement that best indicates the degree to which you agree or disagree with that statement. Please use the following response options:

(1) Strongly Disagree  (2) Moderately Disagree  (3) Slightly Disagree  (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree  (5) Slightly Agree  (6) Moderately Agree  (7) Strongly Agree

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
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</table>

1. I feel a strong attachment towards my ethnic group.

2. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

3. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.

4. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means to me.

5. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.

6. I am happy that I am a member of my ethnic group.

7. I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.

8. I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group.

9. I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group.

10. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to members of both my ethnic group as well as others.

11. In order to learn about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.

12. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.
13. I participate in cultural practices of my ethnic group, such as special food, music, or customs.

14. I feel good about my ethnic background.
The following statements are designed to assess the environment as it relates to diversity in your company. Some of the statements refer to the topic of “cultural assimilation.”

Specifically defined, cultural assimilation refers to minority employees denying or suppressing their minority ethnicities and cultures and conforming to the culture of the dominant group (i.e. Anglo American).

Please read the definition of assimilation above and consider each of the following statements. Then, place the number in the space next to the statement that best indicates the degree to which you agree or disagree with that statement. Please use the following response options:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately Disagree</td>
<td>Slightly Disagree</td>
<td>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</td>
<td>Slightly Agree</td>
<td>Moderately Agree</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_____ 1. My company puts pressure on members of my ethnic group to conform to organizational norms.

_____ 2. Members of my ethnic group are pressured to suppress their cultural identities while at work.

_____ 3. In order to be successful in my company, members of my ethnic group are pressured to assimilate to the existing organizational environment.

_____ 4. In my company, members of my ethnic group are expected to deny their cultural beliefs in order to be successful.

_____ 5. In my organization, members of my ethnic group are forced to minimize the degree to which they display various aspects of their ethnic identities.

_____ 6. Members of my ethnic group are pressured to assimilate to the organization’s culture in order to receive promotions at work.

_____ 7. In my company, members of my ethnic group are pressured to “act white” in order to be accepted.
The statements presented below refer to your values and behavior as an employee in your current organization. Please consider each of the following statements. Then, place the number in the space next to the statement that best indicates the degree to which you agree or disagree with that statement.

**Personal values comprise the things that are most important to us. They are the deep seated, pervasive standards that influence almost every aspect of our lives: our moral judgments, our responses to others, our commitments to personal goals.**

**Organizations also have values which identify what the company stands for. Organizational values constitute “what really counts” in organizations and can be implied from every decision that is made within the organization.**

Please read the excerpt regarding values above and consider each of the following statements. Then, place the number in the space next to the statement that best indicates the degree to which you agree or disagree with that statement.

Please use the following response options:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1) Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>(2) Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>(3) Slightly Disagree</th>
<th>(4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree</th>
<th>(5) Slightly Agree</th>
<th>(6) Moderately Agree</th>
<th>(7) Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I give in easily when pressured at work.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>I would describe myself as a very obedient person at work.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>I tend to go along with what people at work tell me, even when they are wrong.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>When at work, I believe in doing as I’m told.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>I try hard to do what is expected of me at work.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>At work, I strongly resist being pressured to do things that I don’t want to do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>At work, I don’t discuss personal values that are not in agreement with organizational values.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>At work, I suppress my personal values that are different from those of the company.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>I don’t share certain things about myself in order to fit in at work.</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>At work, I openly express personal opinions and beliefs that conflict with those of my company.</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>I don’t “play politics” at work by pretending to embrace my company’s values.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>When at work, I behave in a manner that reflects my company’s value system even though it is inconsistent with my personal values.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>I pretend that my values are the same as my company’s values in order to get ahead.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
14. I comply with the pressures to assimilate in my company even though it conflicts with my personal belief system.

15. I refuse to comply with my company’s pressures to assimilate even though I know that it will result in negative consequences.

16. I am afraid that if I do not comply with the pressure to assimilate in my company, it will negatively influence my career.

17. I comply with the pressures to assimilate in my company because that is what you have to do to be successful.

18. Overall, I comply with the pressures to assimilate in my company.

19. I intend to remain with this organization for the remainder of my career.

20. I often think about quitting this organization.

21. I intend to search for a position with another employer within the next year.

22. I am planning to leave my job for another in the near future.

23. I have no plans to search for a new position any time soon.

24. I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this organization.
The statements presented below refer to your experience as an employee in your current organization. Please consider each of the following statements. Then, place the number in the space next to the statement that best indicates how often you have the following experiences in your job.

Please use the following response options:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Feeling that you have too little authority to carry out the responsibilities assigned to you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Being unclear on just what the scope and responsibilities of your job are.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Not knowing what opportunities for advancement or promotion exist for you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Feeling that you have too heavy a work load, one that you can’t possibly finish in a given workday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Thinking that you will not be able to satisfy the conflicting demands of various people who rank over you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Feeling that you’re not fully qualified to handle your job.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Not knowing what your supervisor thinks of you, how he or she evaluates your performance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The fact that you can’t get the information needed to carry out your job.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Having to decide things that affect the lives of individuals, people that you know.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Feeling that you may not be liked and accepted by the people that you work with.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Feeling unable to influence your immediate supervisor’s decisions and actions that affect you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Not knowing just what the people you work with expect of you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Thinking that the amount of work you have to do may interfere with how well it gets done.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feeling that you have to do things on the job that are against your better judgment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Feeling that your job interferes with your family life.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Please respond to the following items. Note that the information you provide will be used only for statistical purposes and will be treated confidentially. Please answer all questions.

1. Please list the name of the university that you work for. ____________________________

2. Are you employed full-time or part-time? ____________________________

3. How long have you been employed with your current company (in years)? ______

4. What is your current position title? ____________________________

5. How long have you held your current position (in years)? ____________________________

6. In your current position, are you responsible for supervising other employees? Y N

   If YES, how many employees do you manage? ____________________________

7. Do you currently manage a department or entity of the company? Y N

   If YES, please name the department or entity? ____________________________

8. How many years of total work experience do you have? ____________________________

9. What was your last performance rating (i.e. above average, excellent, etc.)? __________

10. What is the highest level of education you have completed (select one)?

    ______ High school
    ______ Associate Degree
    ______ Bachelor Degree
    ______ Specialist Certification
    ______ Master Degree
    ______ Doctorate Degree
    ______ Other (please specify) ____________________________

11. Your Gender (select one):

    ______ Male
    ______ Female

12. What is your age (in years)? __________

83
13. Are you a U.S. citizen?  Y   N

14. Your ethnicity is
   ______ Asian or Asian American
   ______ Black or African American
   ______ Hispanic or Latino
   ______ White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic
   ______ American Indian
   ______ Mixed; parents are from two different groups (*please specify*)
       Group 1________________________ Group 2________________________
   ______ Other (*please specify*)_____________________________________

15. The ethnicity of your supervisor is
   ______ Asian or Asian American
   ______ Black or African American
   ______ Hispanic or Latino
   ______ White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic
   ______ American Indian
   ______ Mixed; parents are from two different groups (*please specify*)
       Group 1________________________ Group 2________________________
   ______ Other (*please specify*)_____________________________________

16. The ethnicity of the majority of your coworkers is
   ______ Asian or Asian American
   ______ Black or African American
   ______ Hispanic or Latino
   ______ White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic
   ______ American Indian
   ______ Mixed; parents are from two different groups (*please specify*)
       Group 1________________________ Group 2________________________
   ______ Other (*please specify*)_____________________________________
My name is Nichole Phillips and I am a Ph.D. Candidate in the Management Department at the University of Central Florida. The current study is being conducted as part of my dissertation research and will be supervised by my faculty supervisor, Dr. Foard Jones. The present study focuses on your experiences and observations as an employee in your current organization and I thank you for considering being a participant in this important research.

This study is being conducted for academic research purposes only in hopes of progressing knowledge in the area of organizational experiences of university employees. If you agree to participate in this study, you will be presented with a series of questions related to your perception of the environment in which you work and the behavior of employees within the organization, and will be asked to indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statements. Additionally, you will be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire regarding your background and experiences. After completing the questionnaires, please place them in the self-addressed stamped envelope provided and return them to the researcher via U.S. Postal Mail.

Completion of the questionnaires is expected to take less than 15 minutes. I realize that your time is valuable and appreciate your efforts to assist me in completing my dissertation. Although some of the questions may seem similar, please think carefully about your response to each question. Please note that you are not expected to answer any question that you do not wish to answer or that makes you feel uncomfortable. If there is such a question, just skip it and move on to the next question.

There are no anticipated risks for participating in this study. Your survey will be assigned a code number to protect your confidentiality. Additionally, your responses will never be reported in a way that will enable you to be identified as all results will be reported in aggregate form and individual responses will not be published.

The research study has been reviewed and approved by the UCF Institutional Review Board. Questions or concerns about research participants' rights may be directed at UCF IRB Office, University of Central Florida, Office of Research and Commercialization, 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501, Orlando, FL 32826-3252. The telephone number is 407-823-2901. My faculty supervisor, Dr. Foard Jones, may be contacted at (407) 823-2925 or foard.jones@bus.ucf.edu.

Participation in the study is voluntary and no compensation will be given to those who participate. As a research participant you will not benefit directly from this research and I thank you for your participation. Even if you choose not to participate, I appreciate your consideration. You are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation in the project at any time without consequence. Even if you choose not to participate, or choose to discontinue your participation, I ask that you still return the incomplete survey to me in the envelope provided. You must be 18 years of age to participate in this study. If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please do not hesitate to contact me. My contact information is listed below. Thank you again for your assistance. It is important and I really do appreciate it.

T. Nichole Phillips, Ph.D. Candidate
Phone: (407) 823-1715
Email: tphillips@bus.ucf.edu

INFORMED CONSENT:
I have read the procedure described above. I voluntarily agree to participate in this survey project and have been provided a copy of this consent form upon request.

Signature

Date

85
One of the purposes of this study is to obtain an understanding of employee behavior within organizations. In order to obtain a complete view of the organization in which you work, we are relying on the opinions of others. The following statements refer to the behavior of your coworker who referred you to this study. Please write the initials (first and last name) of the person who gave you this questionnaire in the space provided below.

The person who gave me this questionnaire’s first and last name initials are _______.

Based upon your interaction with and observation of him or her while at work, please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements as they apply to the individual identified above.

Please consider each of the following statements. Then, place the number in the space next to the statement that best indicates the degree to which you agree or disagree with that statement.

Please use the following response options:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>(2) Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>(3) Slightly Disagree</th>
<th>(4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree</th>
<th>(5) Slightly Agree</th>
<th>(6) Moderately Agree</th>
<th>(7) Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1. He/she gives in easily when pressured at work.
   ____

2. I would describe him/her as a very obedient person at work.
   ____

3. He/she tends to go along with what people at work tell him/her, even when they are wrong.
   ____

4. When at work, he/she seems to believe in doing as he/she is told.
   ____

5. He/she tries hard to do what is expected of him/her at work.
   ____

6. At work, he/she strongly resists being pressured to do things that he/she doesn’t want to do.
   ____

7. He/she doesn’t “play politics” at work by pretending to embrace the department’s values.
   ____

8. He/she seems to fit in very well in the department.
   ____
Please respond to the following items. Note that the information you provide will be used only for statistical purposes and will be treated confidentially. Please answer all questions.

1. Please list the name of the college/university that you work for. ____________________________

2. Are you employed full-time or part-time? ____________________________________________

3. How long have you been employed with your current college/university (in years)? ______

4. What is your current position title? ________________________________________________

5. How long have you held your current position (in years)? ___________________________

6. In your current position, are you responsible for supervising other employees? Y N

   If YES, how many employees do you manage? ____________________________

7. Do you currently manage a department or entity of the college/university? Y N

   If YES, please name the department or entity? ___________________________

8. How many years of total work experience do you have? _____________________________

9. What was your last performance rating (i.e. above average, excellent, etc.)? ____________

10. What is the highest level of education you have completed (select one)?

    _____ High school
    _____ Associate Degree
    _____ Bachelor Degree
    _____ Specialist Certification
    _____ Master Degree
    _____ Doctorate Degree
    _____ Other (please specify)________________________________________

11. Your Gender (select one):

    _____ Male
    _____ Female

12. What is your age (in years)? ________________
13. Are you a U.S. citizen?  Y  N

14. Your ethnicity is
   ______ Asian or Asian American
   ______ Black or African American
   ______ Hispanic or Latino
   ______ White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic
   ______ American Indian
   ______ Mixed; parents are from two different groups (please specify)
       Group 1 ___________________________ Group 2 ___________________________
   ______ Other (please specify) __________________________________________

15. The ethnicity of your supervisor is
   ______ Asian or Asian American
   ______ Black or African American
   ______ Hispanic or Latino
   ______ White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic
   ______ American Indian
   ______ Mixed; parents are from two different groups (please specify)
       Group 1 ___________________________ Group 2 ___________________________
   ______ Other (please specify) __________________________________________

16. The ethnicity of the majority of your coworkers is
   ______ Asian or Asian American
   ______ Black or African American
   ______ Hispanic or Latino
   ______ White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic
   ______ American Indian
   ______ Mixed; parents are from two different groups (please specify)
       Group 1 ___________________________ Group 2 ___________________________
   ______ Other (please specify) __________________________________________
Notice of Expedited Initial Review and Approval

From: UCF Institutional Review Board
FWA0000351, Exp. 5/07/10, IRB00001138

To: Tanglea Phillips

Date: December 13, 2007

IRB Number: SBE-07-05170

Study Title: The Cost of Being Me: Assessing the Consequences of Employee Acculturation Experiences

Dear Researcher:

Your research protocol noted above was approved by expedited review by the UCF IRB Chair on 12/12/2007. The expiration date is 12/11/2008. Your study was determined to be minimal risk for human subjects and expediteable per federal regulations, 45 CFR 46.110. The category for which this study qualifies as expediteable research is as follows:

7. Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

The IRB has approved a consent procedure which requires participants to sign consent forms. Use of the approved, stamped consent document(s) is required. Only approved investigators (or other approved key study personnel) may solicit consent for research participation. Subjects or their representatives must receive a copy of the consent form(s).

All data, which may include signed consent form documents, must be retained in a locked file cabinet for a minimum of three years (six if HIPAA applies) past the completion of this research. Any links to the identification of participants should be maintained on a password-protected computer if electronic information is used. Additional requirements may be imposed by your funding agency, your department, or other entities. Access to data is limited to authorized individuals listed as key study personnel.

To continue this research beyond the expiration date, a Continuing Review Form must be submitted 2 - 4 weeks prior to the expiration date. Advise the IRB if you receive a subpoena for the release of this information, or if a breach of confidentiality occurs. Also report any unanticipated problems or serious adverse events (within 5 working days). Do not make changes to the protocol methodology or consent form before obtaining IRB approval. Changes can be submitted for IRB review using the Addendum/Modification Request Form. An Addendum/Modification Request Form cannot be used to extend the approval period of a study. All forms may be completed and submitted online at http://iris.research.ucf.edu.

Failure to provide a continuing review report could lead to study suspension, a loss of funding and/or publication possibilities, or reporting of noncompliance to sponsors or funding agencies. The IRB maintains the authority under 45 CFR 46.110(e) to observe or have a third party observe the consent process and the research.

On behalf of Tracy Dietz, Ph.D., UCF IRB Chair, this letter is signed by:

Signature applied by Janice Turchin on 12/13/2007 12:51:55 PM EST

IRB Coordinator
REFERENCES


97


