Chapter 6

Summary and discussion

The current dissertation presents four empirical studies that aim to investigate determinants facilitating organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) and factors related to counterproductive work behavior (CWB) across Turkey and the Netherlands. The following potential determinants of OCB were distinguished: 1) general beliefs about the world, 2) relational identification with the supervisor, 3) values of individualism and collectivism, and 4) leadership styles (i.e., paternalistic vs. empowering leadership). The factors related to CWB comprised feelings of shame and guilt.

Four empirical studies are presented in this dissertation, and evolved around determinants of OCB and factors related to CWB across two cultures. The main findings are based on surveys and research involving blue- and white-collar Turkish employees in Turkey, Turkish-Dutch white-collar employees in the Netherlands, and Turkish students in Turkey and Dutch students in the Netherlands, all of whom held part-time jobs. A summary of the findings from each chapter and their implications are discussed below. The chapter will close with a brief conclusion.

6. 1 Summary, Discussion, and Implications

Chapter 2 examined social beliefs and relational identification with the supervisor (RI) as determinants of OCB among Turkish blue- and white-collar employees. Two research questions were dealt with. First, we investigated how employees' social beliefs and RI related to their OCB. Second, we looked at whether these relationships were comparable across blue- and white-collar workers in Turkey.

As a starting point for this cross-cultural research into determinants of OCB, we examined OCB in the Turkish – non-western – culture because OCB had been examined predominantly in western cultures. Chapter 2 therefore concentrated on determinants of OCB among blue- and white-collar employees in Turkey.

First, social beliefs were examined, as these were assumed to be important determinants of OCB. Social beliefs are general views about the world, and are categorized into five dimensions: *reward for application, social cynicism, social complexity, fate control,* and *religiosity* (Leung et al., 2002). OCB can be categorized into the dimensions of *interpersonal facilitation*, *job dedication*, and *organizational support* (Borman et al., 2001; Van Scotter & Motowidlo, 1996). We expected that diverse social beliefs would be related to different dimensions of OCB.

Two of the five social axioms appeared to affect OCB among blue- and white-collar Turkish employees. One of these was reward for application, which refers to

beliefs that hard work and effort lead to positive consequences. As anticipated, this world view was related positively to job dedication both among blue- and white-collar Turkish employees. This finding is consistent with previous research that showed a positive relationship between reward for application and the number of working hours (International Survey Research, 1995). Reward for application was also related positively to organizational support in both blue- and white-collar samples. This finding indicates that employees who believe in working hard are more likely to support the organization for which they work.

The second social axiom that appeared to affect OCB was religiosity, which, however, only affected OCB among blue-collar employees. Religiosity refers to the belief in the existence of supernatural forces, and in the useful functions of religious beliefs (Leung et al., 2002). In particular, religiosity was related positively to job dedication and to organizational support among blue-collar employees. However, it was not related to any of the OCB dimensions among white-collar employees. The higher educational level of white-collar employees in comparison to blue-collar workers may have reduced for them the importance of religion. Such an interpretation is in line with Uecker and Regnerus (2007), who found that the degree of education reduced accordingly the importance of religion in people's lives. Higher education may consequently also have lessened the effects of religious beliefs on white-collar employees` OCBs. Although this interpretation seems plausible, it needs to be tested in future studies.

As a second determinant of OCB in Turkey, we considered employees` perceived relationship with their supervisor. Because people in collectivistic cultures are likely to define themselves in terms of their relationships with others, and interactions with supervisors are crucial in Turkish culture, we assumed that relational identification with the supervisor would play a functional role for subordinates` OCB. We were also interested in determining to what extent an association between RI and the supervisor and OCB differs between blue- collar and white-collar employees.

RI indeed was positively related to all three OCB dimensions among blue-collar employees. It was also related positively to interpersonal facilitation and organization support among white-collar employees. Thus, employees' RI has a facilitating role in

determining OCB both among blue- and white-collar employees. Our findings also showed that the relation between RI and organizational support is even stronger for blue-collar employees than it is for white-collar employees.

The findings on RI are in accordance with previous research that demonstrated the importance of social exchange relationships between subordinates and their supervisors with regard to their OCB (i.e., Leader Member Exchange, LMX, Deluga, 1994). The positive relations found between RI and OCB also clearly seem to reflect the hierarchical nature of Turkish society (Smith, Bond, & Kâğitçibaşi, 2006) where people accept and respect the status differences and define their self-concepts in terms of their relationship with others.

RI was not related to job dedication among white-collar employees. This is possibly because white-collar employees are less dependent on their supervisors while performing their tasks than are blue-collar employees (Michael, Guo, Wiedenbeck, & Ray, 2006).

The finding that the relation between RI and organizational support was even stronger for blue -collar than for white-collar employees may be explained by the fact that blue-collar employees more frequently communicate with their supervisors, and depend on them more while performing their tasks than do white-collar workers (Michael et al., 2006).

In Chapter 3, social beliefs and RI were examined among white-collar Turkish-Dutch employees in the Netherlands and Turkish employees in Turkey. We investigated the same research questions as in Chapter 2, but now compared white-collar Turkish-Dutch workers in the Netherlands with their Turkish counterparts in Turkey. The goal was to investigate whether living and working in a western country would have an effect on how social beliefs and RI are related to OCB.

Regarding social beliefs, we examined in particular the effects of reward for application and religiosity on OCB.

First, we studied whether reward for application would relate positively to job dedication among Turkish-Dutch employees in the same way it did for their Turkish counterparts in Turkey. The results showed that reward for application did not relate positively to job dedication among Turkish-Dutch in The Netherlands, which is in contrast to the positive relationship found among Turkish employees in Turkey. Reward for application thus was a stronger determinant of job dedication among Turkish employees in Turkey than it was for Turkish-Dutch workers.

In a search for factors that would moderate the relationship between reward for application and job dedication among Turkish-Dutch employees in the Netherlands, it was observed that educational level appeared to moderate this relationship positively. In other words, the relationship between reward for application and job dedication was stronger among highly educated Turkish-Dutch employees than among less well-educated Turkish-Dutch employees. This finding seems consistent with previous research that showed, on the one hand, an association between educational level and, on the other hand, a better socio-cultural and psychological adaptation and a higher self-esteem (Ataca & Berry, 2002). Among Turkish-Dutch employees, 23% had PhD degrees and 38% had university degrees. Among Turkish employees in Turkey, 1% had PhD degrees and 41% had graduated from university. The fact that fewer people in the Turkish employee sample in Turkey had PhD degrees may have caused a reduction in the variance of educational level, and consequently may have contributed to the fact that educational level did not moderate the relationship reward for application and job dedication. Further studies need to investigate this finding in greater depth.

Second, we investigated whether the positive relationship between religiosity and interpersonal facilitation and organizational support among Turkish white-collar employees would become a negative one among Turkish-Dutch employees in the Netherlands.

Results unexpectedly showed that religiosity beliefs among white collar-Turkish-Dutch employees had a positive relationship with organizational support, and therefore may aid adaptation to Dutch society. These results differ from previous research findings that demonstrated religiosity beliefs to mostly play a negative role in the adaptation of

migrants to the host society (Verkuyten, 2007; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). An explanation for the present findings may be that our Turkish-Dutch sample was composed of white-collar employees, and their conceptualization of religion may be different from that of blue-collar immigrants, who traditionally were studied in earlier research. We suggest future research to further validate our findings.

Chapters 2 and 3 have certain practical implications regarding the relationship between social beliefs and OCB, one of which is mentioned here. Reward for application appears to be an important determinant of OCB among both blue- and white-collar Turkish employees in Turkey, and among the more highly educated white-collar Turkish-Dutch employees, but not as much among less well-educated white-collar Turkish-Dutch employees. Organizations therefore may want to apply more effort and time in order to enhance "hard work pays off" perceptions of their less well-educated white-collar employees in The Netherlands. Because beliefs are developed through socialization, certain organizational behavior – such as paying employees' wages on time and keeping promises – may enhance the effects of reward for application beliefs of employees' OCB. Nevertheless, one caveat is that our study does not provide any information on the relationship between reward for application and OCB among native Dutch employees or blue-collar Turkish employees in the Netherlands.

Chapter 3 further investigated whether RI would also be predictive of OCB among white- collar Turkish-Dutch employees in the Netherlands. Findings showed that RI was unrelated to OCB, in contrast to the positive relationship found among Turkish employees in Turkey. The Dutch culture is characterized as an individualistic one in which people define themselves in terms of their individual features rather than of their relationships with others. Additionally, forming personalized relationships at work is not a salient aspect of the Dutch work environment. Turkish-Dutch employees may be familiar with these features of the Dutch culture, and therefore may be less likely to relationally identify with their supervisors.

Chapter 3 also showed that length of stay in the Netherlands moderated the relationship between RI and organizational support. Specifically, the relationship between

RI and organizational support was stronger for Turkish-Dutch workers who had lived for a shorter time in the Netherlands than for Turkish-Dutch who were born in or who lived in the Netherlands for a longer period. This finding seems to confirm that the longer Turkish-Dutch migrants stay in The Netherlands, the more they will behave like the Dutch. Future studies should investigate whether this finding holds for blue-collar Turkish-Dutch employees as well. Relational identification with the colleagues also needs to be examined in future research among other migrant groups and in other western cultures.

Although defining oneself in terms of one`s relationships with others is not a salient aspect of Dutch culture, Dutch supervisors who are managing ethnically diverse work groups need to be attentive to the cultural differences in RI. In collectivistic cultures, RI can play a crucial role in facilitating important work behavior such as OCB. Our findings may therefore be of practical relevance for national and multinational companies that want to improve intercultural communication and awareness in the workplace.

Although both studies in Chapters 2 and 3 highlighted important issues, certain limitations are worth mentioning. First, these studies are cross-sectional in nature and make use of self-reports. Future studies should include supervisors' and colleagues' evaluations of OCB in order to limit any possible socially desirable responses and multicollinearity issues. Because of the cross-sectional nature of the studies, drawing inferences about the direction of the relationships is not possible. It would be useful to collect more longitudinal data and/or to use experimental designs in order to make stronger causal inferences about the findings. Further, the social beliefs of social cynicism, social flexibility, and fate control had to be excluded from statistical tests because the alpha coefficients of their scales were too low. Future studies should put extra effort into improving the reliability of these scales by adding more items that are specific to the Turkish and Dutch cultures. A search could also be made for other social beliefs that may be potentially salient.

In **Chapter 4,** we investigated the effects of individualism and collectivism as well as leadership styles on OCB in an experimental scenario study among a Turkish

student sample at a Turkish University and a native Dutch student sample at a Dutch university. Participants in both samples held part-time jobs.

Regarding the relationship between individualism and collectivism on the one hand and OCB dimensions on the other hand, the results provided support for our notion that other-oriented OCB (organizational support, interpersonal facilitation) is a more salient concept within collectivistic than within individualistic cultures, and for the idea that self-oriented OCB (job dedication) is a more salient concept within individualistic than within collectivistic cultures.

In the Turkish sample, a collectivistic orientation was related positively to all dimensions of OCB, whereas individualism did not relate to any of the OCB dimensions. The relationship between a collectivistic orientation and other-oriented OCB was significantly stronger than that between a collectivistic orientation and self-oriented OCB. This pattern was less evident within the more individualistic Dutch sample.

The Turkish results confirm the definition of Turkish culture as a collectivistic one in which people perceive themselves to be interdependent within their group ('interdependent self'), and therefore are inclined to allow their behavior to be noticeably more guided by the expectations of others and by social norms of the in-group than by personal attitudes and goals (Church, 2000; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 2000).

In the Dutch sample, the relationship between an individualistic orientation and self-oriented OCB (job dedication) was significantly higher than that between an individualistic orientation and interpersonal facilitation. This finding confirms the representation of an individualistic culture as one in which people tend to perceive themselves as autonomous individuals who are independent of the group, and who are likely to give priority to personal goals over collective ones (Hofstede, 2001).

As leadership is among the strongest antecedents of OCB (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine, & Bachrach, 2000), we also investigated whether different types of leadership styles (i.e., a paternalistic vs. empowering style) had different effects on OCB among Turkish respondents in Turkey and Dutch respondents in the Netherlands. Because paternalism forms a preferred leadership style in collectivistic cultures (Fikret-Pasa,

Kabasakal, & Bodur, 2001), we assumed this style would have a stronger positive effect on OCB in Turkey than in the Netherlands. Autonomy and self-reliance are core aspects of an empowering leader and also of individualism. We thus expected that an empowering leader would have a stronger positive effect on OCB in the Netherlands than in Turkey.

Our findings indeed showed that a paternalistic leadership style had a more positive effect on job dedication and organizational support in Turkey than in the Netherlands. This result confirms research by Aycan et al. (2000), which showed that a paternalistic leadership style is viewed as less effective in western societies than in collectivistic societies.

Interestingly, an empowering leadership style did not have a more positive effect in the Netherlands than in Turkey. In both countries, the effect of this leadership style was similar. Although the positive influence of an empowering leadership style in Turkey was an unexpected finding, several earlier studies investigating an empowering leadership style in non-western countries showed mixed results. For instance, whereas empowerment was related negatively to job satisfaction in India in comparison to the US, Poland, and Mexico (Robert, Drasgow, Martocchio, & Lawler, 2000), d`Iribarne (2002) showed that empowered employees could be a positive functional tool in the collectivistic societies of Morocco and Mexico. An explanation for the positive effect of an empowering leadership style in Turkey may be twofold. First, our sample consisted of students, where a cultural transition towards individualistic values can be seen more quickly than in the older generations. Second, some aspects of an empowering leadership style such as giving employees *freedom in decision-making* can be evaluated as a manifestation of trust by the leader accorded to one`s employees. An employee may subsequently think: "If I am given the freedom to act, then my supervisor trusts me. I should then earn this trust by supporting the organization, working extra hours, and assisting my colleagues."

In the Netherlands, an empowering leadership style had a more positive effect, whereas a paternalistic style had a more negative effect on all OCB dimensions. This finding is in support of previous research in the US, which showed that employees who perceived their leader to stimulate them to perform autonomously felt psychologically

empowered and subsequently showed stronger OCB (Cirka, 2005). Regarding paternalism, this finding is in line with Kim`s study (1994), which showed that paternalism was negatively related to a work culture that encouraged the taking of initiative.

Several limitations of the study reported in Chapter 4 need to be mentioned. First, we used samples involving students, each of whom held a part-time paid job. In order to increase the generalizibility of our findings, future research could use full-time non-student employees as participants. Another potential limitation was the exclusive use of self-report measures regarding OCB. In addition to self-report measures, we suggest that future research include evaluations of employees' OCB by colleagues and supervisors, for instance through the use of 360-degree feedback systems. Future studies also need to investigate leadership preferences of Turkish-Dutch employees in order to determine whether these people prefer leadership styles that are specific to their ethnic culture or to the culture in which they are living.

One of the practical implications of the study in Chapter 4 relates to the finding that collectivistic orientations were positively related to interpersonal facilitation and organizational support in Turkey, and to all dimensions of OCB in the Netherlands. This may imply that if employees see themselves as a part of a group, they will also demonstrate more OCB. Thus, organizations may profit by making a greater effort to create a collectivistic orientation in the workplace.

In **Chapter 5**, we examined whether violations of interpersonal and work regulation norms affect feelings of shame and guilt differently in Turkey and in the Netherlands. This research was undertaken among Turkish students in Turkey and native Dutch students in the Netherlands in an experimental scenario study.

Several authors had criticized the early notions that collectivistic cultures are shame cultures, whereas individualistic cultures can be considered as guilt cultures. Our findings supported this criticism (Bierbrauer, 1992; De Hooge, Breugelmans, & Zeelenberg, 2008; Stipek, Weiner, & Li, 1989).

In Turkey, the violation of a norm in interpersonal relationships at work had a stronger influence on feelings of shame as well as guilt than did a work regulation norm violation. This finding also shows that interpersonal relationships are of crucial importance in Turkey, and seem to be more significant than work regulations. The finding is in line with Kâğitçibaşi (1994), who argued that Turkish culture is one of relatedness, where dependent interpersonal relationships go beyond personal family boundaries.

In the Netherlands, the violation of both types of norms elicited feelings of shame and guilt feelings to the same extent. This indicates that both norms are equally important to Dutch participants. The reason for this may be that the Netherlands is a feminine country, in which people also value interpersonal relationships highly. This culture also scores high on societal collectivism, which indicates that people act collectively according to the rules laid down by legal authorities (Gelfand et al., 2004). These features of the Dutch culture may explain why the violation of both types of norms elicited feelings of both shame and guilt.

When the effects of norm violations were compared across countries, it was seen that an interpersonal norm violation had a stronger effect on feelings of shame and guilt in Turkey than it did in the Netherlands. This indicates that interpersonal relations are more important in Turkey than in Netherlands, and therefore that the violation of an interpersonal norm will elicit more feelings of shame and guilt in Turkey than in the Netherlands. Although the Netherlands, as previously mentioned, is a feminine country, it seems that people from collectivistic cultures are more inclined to perceive themselves as interdependent with regard to others than are people from an individualistic culture. Violations of interpersonal relationships thus will bring about more negative consequences in Turkey than in the Netherlands.

The results also showed that the violation of a work regulation norm had a stronger effect in the Netherlands than it did in Turkey. Since institutional practices are highly valued in the Netherlands (Gelfand, Bhawuk, Nishii, & Bechtold, 2004), organizational rules play a crucial role for people in the individualistic Dutch culture. Therefore, it seems plausible to conclude that rules set by legal authorities are of more

importance, and their violation therefore results in stronger feelings of shame and guilt in the Netherlands than in Turkey (Gelfand et al., 2004).

The study also has its limitations. Findings were based on student samples, and future research therefore should aim to validate these findings among employees. Further, because Turkish-Dutch employees form one of the largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, it also makes sense for future studies to examine the effects of norm violations on feelings of shame and guilt among this ethnic Turkish group.

Among the practical implications of our findings, it can be mentioned that Turkish organizations may need to apply greater time and effort in building a positive social climate at work in order to prevent counterproductive work behavior. Moreover, as the violation of an interpersonal norm had stronger effects in Turkey, and the violation of a work regulation norm had stronger effects in the Netherlands, intercultural awareness needs to be facilitated in multicultural work environments and international organizations, where people have to consider these cultural differences in work norms.

6.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, the research reported in the present dissertation has highlighted several issues regarding determinants of OCB and factors related to CWB. These are the following:

1. We found antecedents of OCB to be cultural orientations (i.e., social beliefs and values of individualism and collectivism) and issues related to leadership practices (i.e., leadership styles and relational identification with the supervisor). Two of the five social beliefs – reward for application and religiosity – appear to be determinants of OCB;

2. Value orientations are important determinants of OCB. A collectivistic value orientation in particular is related positively to all dimensions of OCB in both Turkey and in the Netherlands. This finding indicates that one's feeling of being a part of a collective

in an organization facilitates OCB in both countries. However, the relationship between collectivism and other-oriented OCB (i.e., interpersonal facilitation and organizational support) is much stronger in Turkey. This highlights the relational and collectivistic nature of the Turkish culture;

3. Leaders have a vital role in facilitating OCB in the Turkish culture. Both paternalistic and empowering leadership style appear to have positive effects on OCB. This finding points out that receiving both paternalistic care and empowering encouragement from one`s supervisor can have a stimulating effect. Employees` relational identification with their supervisors is also crucial for facilitating OCB. However, a paternalistic leadership style, which implies forming personalized relationships in a hierarchical way between employees and the supervisors, has a negative effect on OCB in the Netherlands;

4. When people are engaging in counterproductive acts, feelings of shame and guilt can arise. Different types of counterproductive behavior had differential effects on feelings of shame and guilt across Turkey and the Netherlands. In Turkey, interpersonal norm violations seemed to have more importance than work regulation violations. This, again, demonstrates that relationships are vital in Turkish culture. Moreover, the effect of an interpersonal norm violation is stronger in Turkey than in the Netherlands. This result showed that interpersonal norms are vital in Turkish society. One way to avoid counterproductive work behavior in Turkey therefore may be for Turkish organizations to apply more time and effort in building a good social climate at work. Although both types of norm violations elicited feelings of both shame and guilt in the Netherlands, violation of a work regulation norm led to stronger feelings of guilt in the Netherlands than it did in Turkey.

All four studies confirm the need to increase intercultural awareness in multicultural workplaces and in international organizations where people have to consider these cultural nuances. Future research, however, should further improve our understanding of cultural determinants of work behavior, not only among western and non-western cultures but also among ethnic minorities in multicultural societies.