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## ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Bryan L. Dawson, C. Douglas Johnson, and Bernardo M. Ferdman

Organizational psychology represents the area of psychology that applies psychological principles to the workplace, including the structure of organizations, the ways its members work together, and how the organization attempts to improve itself through motivation, diversity, work attitudes, leadership, culture, and other related processes (Levy, 2006). Within this framework, organizational psychology encompasses the social and interactional aspects of the work environment. Organizations and their leaders need to motivate a large variety of employees to accomplish specific tasks and goals while maintaining cultures that foster positive team dynamics and while developing and supporting engagement and leadership. As workplaces become more diverse, organizations are placing greater emphasis on multiculturalism to aid them in reaching their goals (Holvino, Ferdman, & Merrill-Sands, 2004; Maltbia & Power, 2009; Roberson, 2012; Shore et al., 2011).

Changes in globalization and the increasing use of work teams challenge organizations to foster positive intergroup interactions and to develop inclusive environments for their people. These challenges, together with the increasing attention to cultural diversity in psychology (as shown for example, in the American Psychological Association's [APA's] *Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists*; APA, 2003), frame the intersection of organizational and

multicultural psychology. One way to address this juncture is to consider how cultural backgrounds and culturally grounded social identities affect people's experiences in organizations (see Cox, 1993; Ferdman & Sagiv, 2012); we also can consider how an organization's processes are affected by the identities and the cultural features and diversity of its members (see Erez, 2011; Schneider, 1987) as well as their intergroup relations.

If multicultural psychology is the study of behavior through the lens of culture, particularly in contexts in which members of more than one cultural group interact, then we can think of *multicultural organizational psychology* as focused on the study and application of psychological principles in multicultural workplaces and to the range of cultural groups represented in multicultural societies. For us, then, multicultural organizational psychology pays particular attention to ethnic and other types of cultural diversity and to their implication for individuals and organizations. In the U.S. context, this means conducting research and developing theory that can apply to people of color and to other ethnocultural groups that traditionally have been mostly ignored by mainstream psychology. Thus, this chapter follows the current approach in U.S. psychology and focuses our attention on organizational psychology through the lenses of the experience and perspectives of people of color, especially as they interact with the dominant European American White culture.<sup>1</sup> The chapter

<sup>1</sup>The APA's (2003) multicultural guidelines describe the focus this way: "These Guidelines address U.S. ethnic and racial minority groups as well as individuals . . . from biracial, multiethnic, and multiracial backgrounds. Thus, we are defining *multicultural* in these Guidelines narrowly, to refer to interactions between individuals from minority ethnic and racial groups in the United States and the dominant European-American culture. Ethnic and racial minority group membership includes individuals of Asian and Pacific Islander, Sub-Saharan Black African, Latino/Hispanic, and Native American/ American Indian descent, although there is great heterogeneity within each of these groups. The Guidelines also address psychologists' work and interactions with individuals from other nations, including international students and immigrants and temporary workers in this country" (p. 378).

specifically examines variations in micro-, macro-, and meso-level outcomes as a function of identity and culture of different groups.

We believe that it is important to differentiate our use of the terms *minority* and *person* (or *people*) of *color*. Given that much of the U.S. research literature refers to non-White participants as *minorities*, we use this term to reflect usage in the sources we cite; however, we are not comfortable with the term because it confounds power, culture, and intergroup relations and ultimately equates groups that are different from each other (cf. Ferdman & Cortes, 1992). When presenting our interpretation of the literature and of the field as a whole, we use the term *person* (or *people*) of *color*, which for us restores a modicum of equality in the power dynamic between these individuals and the traditionally dominant White group and more easily allows questioning the typical assumption that the status quo in organizations constitutes “normal behavior.” When appropriate, we discuss specific ethnic or panethnic groups by their names (e.g., African American, Latino or Hispanic, Asian American, Native American) to better differentiate among groups and cultures.

It is also important to distinguish between race and ethnicity.<sup>2</sup> For our purposes, *race* includes the social labels and constructions inferred from physical markers associated with ancestry, such as skin tone, and eye and hair color, and the resulting classifications and identities. Race does not encompass cultural dimensions, including those based on behavior, values, and norms, and racial categorization historically and psychologically has been associated with intergroup relations of domination and oppression and the hierarchy of power at the group level (Ferdman, 1999; Gordon, 1965; Helms, 1996). In contrast, *ethnicity* has to do with both identity and culture (Ferdman, 1990) and is based on both presumed ancestry and shared or distinguishing cultural features. Ethnicity thus encompasses culturally grounded elements of behavior and values and can tap into the regional and cultural aspects of identity (Gallegos & Ferdman, 2007). In this context, this chapter focuses on multiculturalism in the United

States, and its prominent groups of people of color, in terms of how organizational psychology concepts, theories, and research apply to them and to their experiences in the workplace.

## THE INTERSECTION OF MULTICULTURALISM AND ORGANIZATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Traditionally, organizations and their leaders have held the mind-set that diversity should be managed as a problem to be minimized (R. Thomas, 2010) by ignoring or eliminating differences. In recent years, many organizations have embraced the perspective that it is more beneficial to develop and capitalize on their diverse human resources in a way that recognizes and values cultural, ethnic, and other types of heterogeneity. These two frameworks or ideologies for thinking about diversity are referred to as *color-blindness* or *assimilation* and *multiculturalism* or *pluralism*, respectively (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Plaut, 2010; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Stevens, Plaut, & Sanchez-Burks, 2008). From a perspective of color-blindness, organizations stress a monolithic or monocultural perspective in which there is typically one best or right way to do things; these organizations seek to ignore or minimize group differences to manage diversity and to try to remove or neutralize invidious discrimination as well as possible demographic faultlines (Lau & Murnighan, 1998). In this context, ethnic and cultural differences are seen as problematic and highlighting or maintaining them can be seen as discriminatory or unfair (Ely & Thomas, 2001). In contrast, organizations operating from the perspective of multiculturalism are more likely to seek to recognize and celebrate group differences in organizations, to measure equity from an intergroup perspective, and to leverage cultural and other group-based differences as a source of organizationwide benefit (Ely & Thomas, 2001; Ferdman & Sagiv, 2012; Holvino et al., 2004).

These diversity ideologies can operate at both the individual and organizational level. At the individual level, diversity ideology has to do with individuals' beliefs, attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors related

<sup>2</sup>Although some scholars (e.g., Cox, 1993) use the term *racioethnicity* to represent the way race and ethnicity have often been confounded in the United States (see also Phinney, 1996), we prefer to keep these concepts distinct because they have different meanings and implications and confounding them can blur the distinction among a range of ethnic groups (Ferdman, 1999) sharing a racial identity or among racial groups sharing an ethnic identity.

to the need for and desirability of acknowledging and valuing diverse identities and cultures at work and in society. At the organizational level, diversity ideology refers to the organization's approach toward integrating and providing visibility to diverse identities and cultures in its mission, operation, structure, and various systems, including talent management and human resource development.

This distinction between alternative perspectives on the role of multiculturalism in organizations is also reflected in organizational psychology research on diversity and inclusion (van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). Much of this research has centered on negative outcomes of intergroup relations and mismanaged diversity, including processes, such as discrimination, affirmative action biases, and tokenism (e.g., Bochner & Hesketh, 1994; Kirchmeyer & Cohen, 1992; Shore et al., 2009). More recent work examines positive ways in which multicultural organizations can integrate diverse individuals into their organizations without forcing them to give up their identities and culture (Ely & Thomas, 2001). How employees perceive their sense of belonging to an organization represents one aspect of an organization's diversity climate (McKay, Avery, & Morris, 2009), which is composed of individual, group, and organizational factors. Various elements contribute to diversity climate, including, among others, the following: (a) the extent to which individuals encounter prejudice, stereotyping, or discrimination versus inclusion; (b) the type and degree of conflict among various identity groups, including racial/ethnic groups; (c) how much and in what ways the organization proactively attempts to address group inequities and to integrate underrepresented groups into upper level positions and to support employee networks; and (d) how proactive the organization is perceived to be with regard to diversity and inclusion, both internally and externally.

From this perspective, inclusion has been described as a key process related to successfully implementing a multicultural diversity ideology (Ferdman, 2010; Mor Barak, 2011; Roberson, 2006; Shore et al., 2011; Wasserman, Gallegos, & Ferdman, 2008). Broadly speaking, inclusion means allowing individuals the opportunity to be fully accepted and engaged without having to subsume

their sense of themselves, their social identities, or their cultural features, while contributing to the work of a group or organization (Ferdman, 2010; Shore et al., 2011). From a psychological perspective, the experience of inclusion involves feeling engaged, connected, safe, valued, and authentic, at both the individual and the group levels. Inclusion typically results in higher quality organizational results and allows individuals to effectively demonstrate their skills (e.g., Ely & Thomas, 2001). In contrast, exclusion typically leads to negative cognitive and behavioral outcomes (Kalev, Kelly, & Dobbin, 2006; Linnehan, Chrobot-Mason, & Konrad, 2006; McKay et al., 2007).

Historically, organizational psychology has not paid much attention to the role and dynamics of race and ethnicity in organizations as viewed from a multicultural lens. Many concepts in the field are drawn from research on dominant groups in organizations, typically Whites, and in homogeneous groups and organizations, in large part because they have constituted a large portion of the workforce. This raises significant questions about generalization of theories and findings to other groups and to multiculturally diverse organizations. Knowledge gained from studies that do not incorporate people of color or that combine people of varying ethnicities into a single category restricts the ability to properly generate and test theories and also can produce theories that are misleading and culturally inappropriate (e.g., Nkomo, 1992).

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor (2012), in 1986, Hispanics, Blacks, and Asians made up 6.9%, 10.7%, and 2.9% of the American workforce, respectively; by 2010, these numbers had increased to 14.8%, 11.6%, and 4.7%, respectively, and projections for 2020 indicate proportions of 18.6%, 12.0%, and 5.7%, respectively. As people of color make up a larger proportion of the U.S. labor force, research that does not explicitly address their experiences and perspectives is in danger of becoming more irrelevant. Beyond considering these broad categories, research and theory increasingly must address the diversity that exists within these broad ethnic categories in meaningful ways at both the individual and organizational levels.

## HOW DO OUTCOMES DIFFER?

People from different cultural or ethnic backgrounds often vary from each other in how they perceive an organization's culture, processes, and procedures and how they experience the workplace. Research on demographic differences (e.g., Chatman & Spataro, 2005; Fine, Johnson, & Ryan, 1990) typically has compared White participants with non-Whites, who are all grouped together, creating the faulty illusion or stemming from the problematic assumption that all people of color—who are categorized as non-White—view their workplaces similarly. Although some do this type of grouping on the basis of sampling constraints in organizations or the small number of people of color in specific groups (e.g., Latino), it is important to gain a better understanding of how people of color in different ethnic groups vary from one another, rather than assuming that all minority groups are similar. Nevertheless, research has found that minority employees as a whole do experience less job satisfaction, less compliance with organizational citizenship behaviors, and more negative affectivity in the workplace compared with their White counterparts (e.g., Jones & Schaubroeck, 2004). This type of finding, while interesting and relevant, should be explored further in ways that consider how experiences and behavior vary across specific ethnic groups. This would allow researchers to explore the relative contributions of minority status, ethnic or racial identity, cultural features, and intergroup factors to those results (Ferdman & Cortes, 1992).

A related challenge to understanding the differential experience and outcomes of people of color in organizations is that much of the published research on ethnicity, race, and gender in organizations has tended to focus on gender and race separately, using an independent identity model. Doing this reinforces the fallacy of viewing groups as somewhat monolithic. This fallacy, which is present in much research on ethnicity, race, and gender in organizations, involves conceptualizing and operationalizing identity as a simple structure that focuses on one identity of individuals at a time (*one-dimensional identity model*) and does not recognize or address the interdependence or interweaving of identities across multiple dimensions (*multidimensional identity model*;

Johnson-Bailey & Tisdell, 1998; K. Thomas, Tran, & Dawson, 2010). A growing approach in the study of diversity and identity emphasizes the multiple identities of individuals across dimensions, such as ethnicity, race, gender, and social class, and the intersectionality and relationship among these dimensions in shaping both people's identities and their experiences (Dill, McLaughlin, & Nieves, 2007; Ferdman, 1999; Gallegos & Ferdman, 2007; Sanchez-Hucles, & Davis, 2010). Ideally, a multicultural approach to organizational psychology should involve consideration of these complexities. Nevertheless, specific attention to the experience of women of color in the workplace is still a relatively new in the arena of race and gender research, particularly among psychologists (Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). Furthermore, Bell and Nkomo (2001) provided a good example of comparing Black and White women's experiences of work and leadership development in the context of their multiple identities.

## THERE AND BACK AGAIN

This chapter explores the variety of experiences of persons of color, when applicable, as well as differences between their experiences and those of European Americans or Whites, to summarize literature regarding multicultural organizational psychology. In this context, we critique the field in terms of its efforts to fully explore group differences in the workplace. To this end, the rest of the chapter addresses individual-level organizational outcomes (micro outcomes: job satisfaction, organizational citizenship behaviors, training), broader organizational outcomes (macro outcomes: leadership, motivation, mentoring, career success), and the areas in which the two intersect (meso outcomes: how inclusion versus assimilation ideologies interact with individual and organizational contexts via leader-member exchange and work groups or work teams).

In reviewing and commenting on relevant literature, we have not sought to conduct a comprehensive review of all possible research but rather to provide illustrative examples of empirical work and its implications for constructing a multicultural organizational psychology. Throughout the chapter, we seek to integrate theoretical explanations for

group-level variations in perception, experience, and outcomes. After considering micro, macro, and meso outcomes, we then turn our attention to the field as a whole and provide our perspectives on what has been done well and what areas of research still need to be reviewed. With this framework, we hope to provide a clear understanding of the important aspects of the field in the 21st century as it pertains to the varied cultures and ethnic groups in U.S. organizations as well as to offer some direction for the future of multicultural organizational psychology.

## MICRO OUTCOMES

When we enter into an organization, we bring along with us our knowledge, our skills, our ability, and our other characteristics. These include our cultural and ethnic identity as well as our beliefs and views on diversity. These aspects of ourselves, while connected to the group level, also incorporate a measure of individual uniqueness. Individuals' cultural identity (Ferdman, 1990) includes their view of their group's cultural features; how these features are reflected in the self; and the extent to which these features are seen as guides for behavior, perceptions, and attitudes. From a social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), cultural identity encompasses who or what we perceive as our group and the attributes the group shares as well as how much of those attributes we perceive ourselves as sharing. These views in turn can shape our understanding and perception of workplace outcomes, such as job satisfaction and organizational citizenship behaviors. Although this chapter focuses on the outcomes after an individual has been established in the workplace, to fully explore the importance of diversity in the selection process, it is important to also understand how personnel selection intertwines with multicultural psychology, a topic covered elsewhere in this handbook (see Volume 2, Chapter 15).

## Job Satisfaction

Job satisfaction represents a positive emotional state that is the result of experiencing positive aspects within several dimensions of their job: pay, the work itself, promotion opportunities, supervision, and

coworkers (Smith, Kendall, & Hulin, 1969). The original theory of job satisfaction is modified to some extent when we consider multiple cultures. That is, the extent to which people of color have experienced positive aspects dealing with promotion opportunities, supervisors, and coworkers varies from group to group. Much of the literature, however, does not fully address how multiple cultures influence the perception of job satisfaction.

Within the job satisfaction literature and much of the cross-cultural literature, we find that studies tend to vary widely in their categorization and examination of racial or ethnic differences. Many studies examine Black–White differences and lump all other people of color into single groups (see Wilson & Butler, 1978) or only examine White–minority differences (see Chatman & Spataro, 2005) or exclusively Black–White differences (see Gold, Webb, & Smith, 1982; Milutinovich, 1977; Tuch & Martin, 1991). Although many of these studies find that minority or Black workers experience lower job satisfaction, relatively few examine why these differences may occur. Tuch and Martin (1991) proposed that these ethnic differences were due to the role of worker orientations that lead to differentiated job needs on the basis of race and ethnicity. The researchers found that Black participants in their sample scored far lower on the antecedents to job satisfaction than their White counterparts, thereby putting them at a disadvantage in terms of potential job satisfaction. Despite this thoughtful examination of racial differences, many future studies simply grouped people of color into one category. Although the argument can be made that sample size restricts further in-depth examination, this may not always be the case.

Identifying people of color as a single group restricts the ability of researchers to correctly identify how groups may differ in their perceptions of work. For example, in Miller and Travers's (2005) examination of minority teachers' job satisfaction in the United Kingdom, 93 of their participants were of Asian descent and 65 were of Black–African descent; however, these two distinct groups consistently are analyzed as one group under the heading of "minorities." Although they found that minority teachers are significantly more dissatisfied with their jobs,



there is no way of understanding whether this difference is being influenced by one ethnicity or the other, or if in fact as the researchers purported is due simply to being a person of color. Studies like these hinder the examination of potential ethnic variances within organizational settings.

Although much of the research may be hindering the forward movement of multicultural examination, some has gone beyond simply comparing Whites and Blacks or majority and minority groups. Glymour, Saha, and Bigby (2004) utilized a sample of 2,217 (57 Black, 134 Hispanic, 400 Asian or Pacific Islander, and 1,626 White) physicians from the Physicians' Worklife Survey (PWS) in their examination of racial and ethnic differences in job satisfaction. Their results indicated that Hispanic physicians were significantly more satisfied than White physicians and experienced less stress, whereas Asian and Pacific Islander physicians experienced less job satisfaction compared with White physicians and subsequently more stress. Finally, Black physicians did not differ significantly from White physicians. Even within this study, however, the results are reported as compared with the White (cultural default) category. Although examining differences in this manner is still somewhat hindering in that we do not fully explore the variation and differences between all groups, it does signify that combining members of different cultures into one umbrella "minority" group would yield drastically different and further incomplete results.

More recently, Jones, Ni, and Wilson (2009) utilized data from a Gallup nationwide telephone survey of U.S. employees to examine perceptions of workplace discrimination and its effects on employee outcomes, in particular worker job satisfaction (with an ethnically diverse sample of 1,252 individuals—492 White, 302 Black, 310 Latino, 104 Asian, 44 "No Response"). They found that Black and Latino respondents reported significantly higher levels of perceived discrimination than did White respondents and that this perceived discrimination had a significant negative impact on worker satisfaction.

These results, however, still examined each group as they differ from the White participants. Although a step forward from combining all people

of color into one label, the research still suffers from a lack of in-depth examination of people of color as they differ from one another. As organizations move from the assimilation paradigms to more inclusive environments, researchers that take a truly multicultural approach would be able to focus on intergroup differences to a much greater extent, thereby providing a clearer understanding of how people of color's experiences change within the workplace. As a field, organizational psychology should refrain from generalizing the experiences of "minorities" unless they are trying to make the case that the power dynamics within the given setting are the major factor influencing differences in behavior, and even then, these generalizations should be tested for appropriateness and validity beforehand.

### **Organizational Citizenship Behaviors**

Another area of concern is organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs). OCBs represent behavior that is above and beyond what the job requires. Research suggests that employees who are more satisfied are more likely to help their coworkers and to give some part of themselves back to the organization because they want to reciprocate their positive workplace experiences (Lawler & Mohrman, 1996). Although not officially recognized in performance appraisals, OCBs have significantly positive effects on reward recommendations, perceptions of task performance, liking on the part of the supervisor, and overall performance evaluations (Allen & Rush, 1998; Podsakoff, Blume, Whiting, & Podsakoff, 2009). Therefore, if members of certain groups are disadvantaged from a job satisfaction standpoint, they may be less likely to engage in prosocial OCBs and thus less likely to receive the benefits associated with OCBs.

Research has shown that Black workers tend to experience more negative outcomes within the workplace, which in turn leads to fewer OCBs (see Jones & Schaubroeck, 2004; Kahneman, Slovic, & Tversky, 1982; van den Bos, Lind, Vermunt, & Wilke, 1997). Jones and Schaubroeck (2004) found that Blacks were significantly less likely to participate in OCBs compared with their White counterparts, which was mediated partially by negative affectivity and lack of social support. Thus, Black

workers who experienced more negative affectivity from their jobs and less social support were less likely to engage in OCBs within their workplace. Much of the research thus far has examined this Black–White relationship (see Thau, Aquino, & Bommer, 2008) when examining ethnicity and OCBs because of low sample sizes from other ethnicities.

Ethnicity has largely been ignored when studying the antecedents of organizational citizenship behaviors. This may be due in part to the lack of intergroup research done on job satisfaction. Much of the extant literature suggests a strong relationship between job satisfaction and OCBs, yet despite the consistent findings that people of color experience less job satisfaction, there is no strong movement as of yet within organizational psychology to examine group differences in regards to OCBs or its antecedents and consequences. Although organizational psychology traditionally has been acultural, it is important that research explore the potential for intergroup differences concerning these individual outcomes because of their damaging effects on people of color and our understanding of how people of color perceive their environment.

One primary factor that leads to dissatisfaction in the workplace is the discrepancy between the worker's values and the organization's values. People who feel that their values are different than that of their organization experience more stress at work and are likely to disengage or quit their jobs (Podsakoff, LePine, & LePine, 2007; Von Hippel, Issa, Ma, & Stokes, 2011). When research clumps people of color under one umbrella heading it becomes easy to lose track of group cultural values and instead fall back on a majority–minority dynamic that can limit communication and lead to high levels of turnover. During this tumultuous time, people of color may have issues forming and maintaining their ethnic identities at work because of more assimilation limiting policies and procedures that can have even further damaging effects. To this end, some researchers have proposed models to help alleviate negative consequences and foster positive identities for employees (see Dutton, Roberts, & Bednar, 2010). Dutton et al.'s (2010) model is particularly exciting in that it attempts to define which factors can lead to positive

identity construction for members of all ethnic groups.

## MACRO OUTCOMES

Beyond the individual aspects of multicultural organizational psychology lie the organizational factors and outcomes. Within a given organization, outcomes may vary for people of color concerning mentoring availability, outcomes, and procedure as well as leadership opportunities and career planning. We now turn our consideration toward the macro-level dynamics that organizations encounter (see also Volume 2, Chapter 35 on organizational change and development).

### Leadership

Eagly and Chin (2010) appropriately diagnosed the treatment of diversity and leadership as suffering from “intellectual segregation,” given that the two are treated as two separate domains. Furthermore, Pegues and Cunningham (2010) asked where the love for racioethnic minorities in the leadership literature is. These scholars have contended that leadership differences between members of different racioethnic groups result from differences in cultural values, beliefs, and experiences, attributable to each group's social status or rank within the social macrostructure. Scholars of leadership rarely focus on multicultural aspects and influences of leadership, often assuming leadership is universal; however, cross-cultural or international differences have been the focus of many research efforts (see Ayman & Korabik, 2010; House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004).

The GLOBE project (House et al., 2004), for example, is touted as one of the most comprehensive global studies of leadership in recent years. This work extends Hofstede's seminal cross-cultural research and suggests some “universal truths” about acceptable and unacceptable behaviors. The methodological design and breadth of the study are among its strengths; however, it is not without limitations. Interestingly, the study labeled the region including the United States as “Anglo,” supporting the tendency to equate White with leadership (see Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008). Nevertheless, the GLOBE project should serve as a model and point of departure for studying within and between



racioethnic group differences relative to leadership from a multicultural perspective.

### **Motivation**

For leaders to influence their followers to work toward the achievement of organizational objectives, they must understand what motivates them. As organizations continue to experience a demographic shift with people of color entering the workforce at a faster pace than any other group, leaders should ask the question, “Does culture affect motivation and, if so, how?” Motivation, by way of definition, represents the psychological processes that prompt arousal, direction, and persistence of voluntary actions toward achieving a goal (Mitchell, 1982). An employee’s motivation typically is linked to the expectation of receiving a particular reward (Beyer, Stevens, & Trice, 1980), such as a promotion or increased compensation. How an employee experiences the workplace can significantly affect how motivated, or engaged, he or she is. According to Cox (1993), if an employee perceives discrimination in the work environment, then their level of expectation [and motivation] is lessened. In a comparative analysis of race or ethnicity and employee engagement, Jones et al. (2009) contended that “looking at all minority/non-white employees as a single entity can lead to misleading results” (p. 207). These scholars found differences between the ethnic groups and that immigration status can affect some key outcomes, which suggests that research is needed to make every effort to understand the role motivation plays across various racial and ethnic groups. As noted by relational demography literature (e.g., Tsui & O’Reilly, 1989), simply being a minority can have significant effects on individuals’ affective experiences in the workplace, including motivation. Conejo (2001) provided practical tips on how to motivate Hispanic workers, taking the distinct cultural differences into account. Forman (2003) investigated how race-related structural constraints affected the psychological functioning of African Americans. Specifically, using a national sample and a local probability sample of African Americans, he found a negative relationship between perceived racial segmentation in the workplace where many Blacks are relegated to the least

desirable jobs (e.g., Kaufman, 2001) and psychological well-being.

### **Mentoring**

Kram’s (1985) seminal work operationalized mentoring as an interpersonal relationship between a more experienced person (i.e., mentor) and a less experienced person (i.e., protégé or mentee), in which case the mentor serves two primary functions: career and psychosocial. Much of the literature on mentoring purports significant benefits for those protégés who are privileged to have mentors (Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, & Lima, 2004; Eby, Allen, Evans, Ng, & DuBois, 2008). D. Thomas (2001), however, aptly stated that when it comes to mentoring, “race matters.” On the basis of an in-depth study of the career progression of minorities at U.S. corporations, he noted distinct patterns of career success between Whites and minorities, which suggest that different types of mentoring are required. Minorities tend to become discouraged, deskilled, and demotivated when they are not fast-tracked early in their careers, especially when compared with their White counterparts; however, effective mentoring relationships can minimize these deleterious effects by investing in and encouraging protégés of color to remain focused on their career goals, performance, and skill development. Mentors must understand the importance of taking a holistic, developmental approach with the protégé and embrace all aspects of the mentoring role (coach and counselor) by explaining not only the how-to’s but also the why’s and by offering emotional support during the process. Mentors must be prepared to address race and racism as these are often salient to the protégé and can present significant obstacles for the protégés of color.

Although D. Thomas’s research (D. Thomas, 2001; D. Thomas & Gabarro, 1999) offered keen insights on the mentoring process, it also lumped minorities into one group, which seems endemic to the mentoring literature. Blake-Beard, Murrell, and Thomas (2007) asserted that understanding how race and mentoring intersect could lead to a process of changing power dynamics and dismantling barriers that keep people of color from attaining key leadership positions in organizations. Blancero and

DelCampo (2005) discussed the difficulties people of color have in identifying people in leadership positions who they can relate to and possibly establish a mentoring relationship. Furthermore, in a sample of Hispanic degree holders of masters of business administration, they reported high levels of perceived discrimination relative to mentoring, with 70% saying they go unnoticed by potential mentors and 60% reporting unwillingness to be engaged in mentoring relationships on the basis of their ethnicity. Blancero and Blancero (2001) found Hispanic workers benefit more from having an Anglo mentor, given their organizational influence; however, gaining access to a mentor is often a barrier with which they must contend.

This type of research is important on many levels as it can help individuals and organizations develop strategies that are more effective and create mentoring programs that consider these often-forgotten matters. More research is needed to assess the impact of same- and cross-race (ethnic) mentoring relationships and the extent to which it is viewed as a high risk to mentor a protégé of color (e.g., Blake-Beard et al., 2007; Blancero & DelCampo, 2005; Ragins, 1997).

### Career Success

In recent years, the operationalization of career success has shifted as employees have had to deal with organizational restructuring, reengineering, down- or rightsizing, and layoffs and have moved away from the implicit lifelong employment contract in which the organization assumed major responsibility for the employees' careers (Breland, Treadway, Duke, & Adams, 2007). This expansion has moved beyond the traditional, objective measures of career success (e.g., compensation, promotions, span of control, managerial level; Ng, Eby, Sorenson, & Feldman, 2005) to include more subjective measures, such as career satisfaction and employability (Eby, Butts, & Lockwood, 2003).

Furthermore, how one achieves career success has moved from an employee remaining with a single employer to more of a boundaryless focus (Mirvis & Hall, 1996) where the employee follows the opportunity regardless of the organization offering it. Given this, organizations are trying to develop

strategies to attract and retain the key talent needed to fulfill the mission of the organization. As organizations become increasingly diverse, they have to consider how to include groups of employees (e.g., African Americans, Hispanic Americans) that they may not have focused on in the past. Eby, Johnson, and Russell (1998) identified several career challenges for organizations and for people of color at career entry and career reentry. Given that not everyone experiences the world of work in the same way and that various forms of discrimination and other barriers limit career success of individuals of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, it is important to ensure that career models are applicable and generalizable beyond the majority population.

Although the body of research related to career success continues to grow, little research actually includes comparative analyses of the four groups of interest to multicultural psychology. Johnson and Eby (2011) used dominance analysis and correlations to determine whether the predictors used in published research on traditional career success with an African American male sample were consistent. They found that in some cases, the relationships were consistent and others they were not. Other scholars (see Blancero, DelCampo, & Marron, 2007; Johnson, Ruiz, & Nguyen, 2012) have conducted empirical research or developed conceptual frameworks to see which factors predict career success among Hispanics, taking the unique cultural perspectives into consideration. Much work needs to be done in this area as we seek to understand the dynamics associated with career success among people of color.

### MESO OUTCOMES

Previous sections of this chapter discussed the micro and macro outcomes. The meso-level outcomes focus on the linkages between these two levels, specifically bridging the interpersonal, or relational, aspects of working as part of a group or team. Job satisfaction was one of the key micro outcomes; however, facets of job satisfaction (i.e., job satisfaction with supervisor and job satisfaction with coworkers) are relational in nature as it possibly involves leadership (a macro-level outcome). Two

bodies of research that have emerged as meso outcomes within organizational psychology are leader-member exchange (LMX) and work groups and teams. This research is described in the following sections from the perspective of multicultural organizational psychology.

### **Leader–Member Exchange**

LMX (Graen & Wakabayashi, 1994) suggests that leaders differentiate the types of relationships they have with various employees. The quality of the relationship the subordinate has with her or his supervisor can significantly affect other attitudes about and outcomes within the organization. Sparrowe and Liden (1997) argued that low-quality LMX (those subordinates who find themselves as members of the outgroup) engage in economic (contractual) exchanges that do not progress beyond what is required by the implied employment contract, whereas those with high-quality relations (ingroup members) benefit from social exchanges that extend beyond what is required by the employment contract. Given that most organizational leaders are in the racioethnic majority (Caucasian), people of color tend to find themselves in low-quality LMX relationships, in part, because of similarity and attraction biases (Byrne, Clore, & Worchel, 1966) at play, wherein the leader prefers to surround himself or herself with similar others, and because of the notion that little (or nothing) can be gained from a reciprocity perspective (e.g., Stark & Poppler, 2009; Stewart & Johnson, 2009).

In the extant literature on LMX, many types of diversity are represented. For example, Stewart and Johnson (2009) looked at gender in military work groups, whereas Phillips and Bedeian (1994) looked at the effect of attitudinal and personality diversity on LMX quality. Colella and Varma (2001) considered the impact of subordinate disability status on the LMX relationship. Studies with race or ethnicity as a construct of interest were limited. One study, by Varma, Srinivas, and Stroh (2005), introduced culture into the LMX research by comparing LMX in U.S. and Indian samples. Furthermore, Stark and Poppler (2009) attempted to assess the impact of racial demographics on measures of LMX quality but ended up dichotomizing the respondents into

White and non-White. Using a sample from the PhD Project conference participants, Suazo, Turnley, and Mai-Dalton (2008) were able to differentiate between African Americans and Hispanic Americans when evaluating psychological contract breach and LMX. Given the critical role that LMX plays on perceptions of fairness and beliefs around trust, value, and respect (Mayer, Nishii, Schneider, & Goldstein, 2007; Uhl-Bien & Maslyn, 2003), future research should continue to examine whether race and ethnicity play a role in the quality of LMX relationships.

### **Work Groups and Work Teams**

Not only is there interplay between leaders and subordinates, but also interpersonal interactions between coworkers are important to consider in multicultural organizational psychology. A vast body of literature looks at work groups and work teams, and as demographics continue to shift, more scholars have expanded their research to recognize this shift (e.g., van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Millikens and Martins (1996) suggested a double-edged sword, resulting from increased work group diversity in terms of functioning and outcomes, indicating some gains from an information processing and creativity perspective, but diminishing performance initially as they work through the challenges associated with managing diverse perspectives and approaches. van Knippenberg and Schippers (2007) discussed how group composition affects group performance, cohesion, and social interaction as well as member satisfaction, commitment, and other measures of well-being.

Given that the interaction between employees seems to matter, scholars should assess the role that ethnicity and race play to determine what within- and between-group differences may exist. Lau and Murnighan (1998) termed the process of how subcategorizations can occur in a work group *diversity faultlines*. In essence, this is where the group subdivides, or splits, on the basis of certain correlated dimensions of diversity represented in the group. These subdivisions are salient with the group members represented, suggesting that both within-group similarity and between-group differences could

exist. This chapter has gone into more depth concerning the applicability of multicultural issues at the individual, group, and organizational level and has offered suggestions concerning the applicability of multicultural psychology to these areas, including coaching as well as individual and organizational-level assessment and intervention.

### **WHERE ARE WE AND WHAT CAN WE DO BETTER?**

This chapter has illustrated the ways in which organizational psychology intersects with multicultural psychology on both the personal and organizational levels. As a field, organizational psychology has attempted to study multiculturalism as it relates to the power dynamics between White individuals and people of color but only recently has begun to delve deeper into the cultural differences that may exist between members of different ethnicities. This chapter has cited research that has come short in terms of truly recognizing that those differences exist or that has relied on a “majority versus minority” dichotomy. Newer research, however, is progressing in this attempt by incorporating members of various ethnicities and exploring the differences and similarities among them and not just comparing them to their White counterparts.

#### **Where Are We?**

It is important for organizational psychologists to continue to explore how culture affects and changes our notions of job satisfaction, leadership, mentoring, and employee attitudes toward work. One common thread throughout the research is that people of color do have significantly different experiences and that these differences change depending on the ethnicity of the group and the work environment. How an organization chooses to approach their multicultural workforce can reduce the likelihood that people of color will leave their organization and in turn will make them more satisfied with their workplace. In addition to reducing turnover and increasing job satisfaction, an organization’s diversity climate has long-lasting effects on intergroup conflict and can enhance cohesiveness among employees (Avery & Thomas, 2004). Organizations who promote a

prodiversity climate in their hiring and promotion procedures should experience less intergroup, thereby resulting in lower instances of discrimination. This in turn affects perceived discrimination for minority employees, thereby reducing issues of alienation and perceived stereotype threat when the organization is supportive of diversity. Multicultural organizational psychology has done well at identifying the need to further explore how workplace climates affect people of color.

#### **What Can We Do Better?**

The field is still lacking, however, in its ability to challenge the status quo concerning interethnic research. Much of the literature explored in writing this chapter still presents the majority–minority dichotomy through the lens of critical race theory but fails to recognize the intersection of ethnicity, identity, and organizational climate. As mentioned earlier, the field of organizational psychology seems unwilling at times to discuss issues of difference, and when it does, it still supports the status quo. That is, in many studies, the field still compares people of color with their White counterparts (who are seen as the norm) when discussing how satisfied employees are with their job, who is capable of becoming a leader, or who should be given the opportunity for mentoring, rather than examining the unique experiences of groups on their own. Although comparisons to majority group may be helpful in understanding differences in perception, studies should not simply focus on group-level mean differences, but instead they should explore the antecedents or factors that influence these individual and organizational outcomes as they occur within groups. For example, a study could find that Black employees are significantly less satisfied with their jobs than their White counterparts, but this does nothing to explain whether the variables predicting job satisfaction are the same for each group or not. If perhaps the antecedents are the same, research should examine why these factors are not as strong of a predictor for Black employees. If the antecedents differ for groups, then research should realign its focus to examine how to improve perceptions of the antecedents in an effort to equalize job satisfaction for all employees.

This chapter serves as a call to researchers to challenge the status quo, even if it is through incremental work. Although the issues of sample size for certain ethnic groups may be problematic in some areas, this crutch is quickly dissipating as more Latino, Black, and Asian Indian people enter the workforce and climb the corporate ladder. For example, recent research foregoes the comparison to a majority group but rather focuses on the experiences of particular groups, such as the experiences of Latino immigrants and job satisfaction (see Valdivia & Flores, 2012) or the experiences of minority nurses and leadership development (see Huff, 2011). Much still needs to be done to better understand how these individuals are perceived as leaders, how their experiences shape their view of the workplace, and how organizations can better equip these individuals to be successful in an environment that traditionally has forced them to assimilate.

As we continue to integrate people into work teams and new environments, researchers and organizations should continue to increase the breadth of their work to better understand where potential faultlines may occur and how not only to remedy these issues but also to understand what creates them and to prevent them altogether. In the areas of career success and motivation, more comparative analyses of the four groups of interest need to be conducted to illuminate cultural and racial differences in how these groups relate to one another in a work environment.

One method to ensure this direction of research is to incorporate these practices into our mentorship of future scholars. Among more than 1,200 psychology graduate students of varying cultures, Maton et al. (2011) found that mentoring was the strongest predictor of satisfaction across all groups. Moreover, students of color perceived that their ethnic groups were represented significantly less than Caucasians. These students represent potential future diversity scholars. It is important for the potential mentors of these scholars to train them properly in the pursuit of better psychological research, including how they examine intercultural differences.

Researchers should seek to gather data from representative samples of individuals, including people

of color to the extent that they can make accurate conclusions on the basis of the data. Within each of these groups, more efforts should be made to distinguish intergroup differences when necessary. Tran and Dawson (2008) have made the argument that under the umbrella term of *Hispanic*, there are differences in level of acculturation and assimilation in U.S. society as well as differences between generations. Future research should examine the complexities of being Cuban, Puerto Rican, Dominican, or Mexican, for instance, as these subcultures may have an impact on how these individuals perceive and expect their organizations to embrace diversity.

As a field, it is understood that people of color do face significantly different challenges in both individual and organizational-level outcomes, but we must move away from this practice of dichotomizing majority—minority groups and instead focus on the differences within those cultures as they exist within our applicable samples. We may be tempted to paint a picture with a broad stroke, but in doing so we may be overgeneralizing experiences and missing the nuance that multiculturalism brings to our organizations. By exploring these areas of research, we hope that we have demonstrated a need within organizational psychology to strengthen its understanding of intercultural communication.

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