Discordance in Acculturation Strategies and its Relation to Ethnic Discrimination and Burnout in a Healthcare Setting.

Abstract

This study looked at cultural diversity in a job-related context. Actiz, an organization in charge of delegating healthcare services to the elderly was approached. Twenty-two teams ($N = 212$) took part, to ascertain the relationship between a (mis)match in acculturation strategies, ethnic discrimination, and personal job-related wellbeing (burnout). Berry's acculturation model was used as an indicator of acculturation strategies. Results were compared for both Dutch and immigrant colleagues ($N = 62$). The findings confirmed that mismatch does exist. No significant results were found for immigrants. Significant relationships were found for a mismatch on segregation and ethnic discrimination and mismatch segregation and burnout (exhaustion) for the Dutch colleagues. Perceived mismatch segregation and burnout (exhaustion) was found for the whole group but not when looking at immigrants alone. Ethnic discrimination did not significantly mediate the relationship between a discordance in acculturation strategies and wellbeing (burnout). These findings have practical implications for Dutch colleagues who prefer segregation as an acculturation strategy and find themselves at odds with their team members. Perceptions of ethnic discrimination and exhaustion are related consequences.

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1. Introduction

Cultural diversity is changing the dynamics of working life. The workforce in Western organizations is diversifying in terms of age, gender, cultural and educational background. The arrival of post-war guest workers and their families, ex-colonial immigrants, political refugees, and highly educated workers has led to an increase in the number of people with a foreign nationality. An estimated 4.3% of the population of the Netherlands are immigrants (OECD, 2003, in Oerlemans, Peeters & Schaufeli, 2008). This has ramifications for the workforce.

In the Netherlands, Dutch ethnic minority policies have shifted from public recognition of ethnic cultures and identities towards a more restrictive and individualized approach to the integration of newcomers (Sam & Berry, 2006). Such a shift in political approach can be partially attributed to the rise in anti-Muslim sentiment after the aftermath of 9/11, the assassination of Theo van Gogh in 2004, and the rise in popularity of the new-rightist populist movement of Geert Wilders.

This changing political context where debates about the positive and negative aspects of multiculturalism are prevalent can have an effect on interethnic relations. Verkuyten and Zaremba (2005) used cross-sectional data to examine evaluations of both Dutch participants (majority group) and Turkish-Dutch participants (ethnic minority group) about the host culture and immigrant groups during three periods (2001 to 2003). Dutch and Turkish participants showed higher ingroup identification and ingroup evaluation in 2002 (rise of new-rightist populist movement) than in 2001 and 2003. In 2002, Turkish and Moroccan ethnic groups were evaluated more negatively, compared to the evaluation of other ethnic groups which did not differ across the three years. Turkish participants evaluated all groups (e.g. Dutch and Moroccan) more negatively in 2002. This research shows how important it is to examine ethnic relations across time and how perceptions can differ drastically within a small period of time.

Thus, the political context has consequences for the way in which immigrants adapt to their host country in both private and public domains. One can assume that adaptation plays a role in the work environment, as people increasingly find themselves interacting and working in team settings. Acculturation is defined as "those phenomena,

which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936: p.149). How an individual chooses to interact with members of different cultural groups can affect work relations. Individual acculturation and team strategies may differ, potentially affecting interpersonal work relations and well-being.

With organizations progressively using groups as a way to enhance productivity and increasing diversity in the workforce, understanding the beneficial outcomes of team work is of paramount importance. Work allows for contact between different ethnic groups (van Oudenhoven Taris & van Vianen, 2003) and increases the potential for integration within the workforce.

The aim of this study is to explore the degree of (mis)match between personal and group acculturation strategies, and to determine whether this (mis)match is related to interpersonal work relations and well-being of both ethnic minority group employees and the majority group employees.

1.1 Team Diversity

Teams are being used more frequently in organizations. Once certain preconditions are met, teams can help improve quality and performance. However, performance studies of heterogeneous and culturally diverse teams have yielded contradictory results. Both positive and negative effects have been cited.

Van Oudenhoven, Taris and Vianen (2003) have summarized them as follows. Heterogeneous teams have a greater capacity to think outside the box, as different cultural backgrounds can increase the number of perspectives in a team. This can lead to more creative and quality solutions. If diversity is used constructively, it can have a positive effect on team performance (value-in diversity). This effect increases over time, as group members need more time to build trust and learn from each other.

Bradley, White and Mennecke (2003), state that ongoing teams have had the time to create foundational relationships and habitual routines. Such interpersonal skills allow ongoing teams to outperform short-term teams. They propose that teams will acquire cooperative skills if the anticipated benefit of integrating the interpersonal

intervention into their interactions, is seen to outweigh the costs of the integration effort. Finally, heterogeneous teams can diminish group cohesion. Group cohesion can at times lead to cognitive biases such as group think.

Cohesion may be lower in heterogeneous groups because of differing cultural backgrounds and values. This could lead to group members feeling less attracted to each other (similarity-attraction hypothesis), (Byrne, 1971) which can create misunderstandings, frustration and a decrease in productivity. Communication problems might also ensue, as immigrants might not master the host language completely and are less likely to voice their opinions. Misunderstandings due to contextual differences such as non-verbal signals and styles of communication are also common (see Hofstede, 1980).

In sum, potential positive effects of long-term heterogeneous teamwork are: different perspectives leading to creativity and quality solutions, a decrease in group biases such as group think (Janis, 1972) and an increase in team performance. Negative effects include misunderstandings, a lack of cohesion and a decrease in productivity. Interpersonal work relationships are thus of importance and taking diversity into account within this context may help in determining individual well-being and productivity.

1.2 Teams and Diversity Beliefs

Well-being and productivity are affected by diversity. What is the role of beliefs about diversity and its affect on team performance? Homan, van Knippenberg, van Kleef and de Dreu (2007) have examined the moderating effect of diversity beliefs on the relation between diversity and group processes and performance. In an experimental complex decision-making task, it was found that the belief in the value of diversity overcame potential negative effects of working with a diverse team.

Potential negative effects have been described as diversity fault-lines. The latter has been defined by Homan et al (2007), among others, as the convergence of different dimensions such as informational diversity, demographic characteristics and values and beliefs. This convergence elicits an 'us-them' perspective (social categorization) within the diverse group which disrupts group performance.

Homan et al (2007) found that diversity beliefs moderated the relationship between information diversity and performance. Informationally diverse (not informationally homogeneous) groups, performed better when they had pro-diversity beliefs rather than pro-similarity beliefs. This eliminated the diversity fault-line. Hence, intergroup bias in terms of an 'us-them' perspective, need not elicit negative group performance. Similarly Ely and Thomas (2001) found that the organization's perspective on diversity influenced the way in which people felt about diversity.

In sum, when pro-diversity beliefs were seen as a valuable resource for the organization, members reported feeling more respected and valued, reported more intergroup relations and felt more successful than when the organization's perspective did not focus on 'value in diversity'. Acknowledging and actively using diversity can change the way in which groups perform.

One can examine diversity more specifically by using the concept of acculturation. Acculturation may clarify the effects of diversity on an individual level. It can help us in determining whether immigrants will choose to adapt to their host country, or in this respect, work team or whether they choose to separate themselves from the work team.

1.3 Acculturation

Acculturation has been defined by Berry (2005) as the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members. At the *group level* this involves changes in social structures and institutions and in cultural practices. At the *individual level*, it involves changes in an individual's behaviour. It is a long-term process involving forms of mutual accommodation, which in turn leads to psychological and socio-cultural adaptations between both groups.

There is a great variability between individuals and groups in how acculturation takes place. The degree of psychological and social adaptation differs according to the aims of the individual and the *situational context*. How one chooses to adapt has been examined through the study of acculturation strategies (Berry, 2007). This is influenced by situational factors: the way in which the host country and its people react to

immigrants can have an effect on the acculturation process and whether immigrants will choose to have contact with individuals in the host country, or strive to maintain their own cultural heritage. Which choice individuals make is determined by their choice of acculturation strategy.

Four acculturation strategies have been derived from the two basic issues facing an individual in contact with another culture. These issues are linked to the orientation towards one's own group and the other group(s) (e.g. host). One can i). *maintain* one's heritage culture and identity, or one can ii). prefer to have *contact* with and participate in the larger society with the other generally dominant group(s) (Berry, 2005).

Positive or negative orientations to these issues intersect to define four acculturation strategies (see Figure 1). The adoption of a mono-cultural identity is referred to as *assimilation* – relinquishing minority identity and trying to adapt to the new one, and *separation* – rejecting the new dominant culture and maintaining one's minority identity. The bicultural option is *integration* – the adoption of aspects of the new society and culture without rejecting their former or minority identity. Lastly, *marginalization* occurs when the individual rejects both their former minority identity and that of the dominant host country (Rocca, Horenczk & Schwartz, 2000). A similar matrix can be used for the host group. The focus is then on the preferred strategy of the majority group with regards to the minority group (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997)

In most studies, integration is preferred over the other three strategies, with marginalization being the least preferred (Berry, 2006; Van Oudenhoven et al, 1998). In the Netherlands, Lugtenberg & Peeters (2004) found that the preferred acculturation strategies for a sample of ethnic minorities in an organization were integration and assimilation, whereas the majority group clearly preferred assimilation (Oerlemans & Peeters, submitted). Verkuyten (2005) found that whether one endorses multiculturalism or assimilation depends on ethnic group identification and group evaluation; multiculturalism was endorsed more strongly by Turkish participants, whereas the Dutch were more in favour of assimilation.

Dimension 1:
Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity characteristics?

	YES	NO
Dimension 2: YES	INTEGRATION	ASSIMILATION
Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups? NO	SEPARATION	MARGINALIZATION

Figure 1. The Bidimensional Model of Acculturation Strategies (Berry, 1980, 1984)

1.4 Acculturation Strategies and Well-being

A substantial amount of research has shown that there are differences in the preferred strategies used by immigrants. These differences have also been indirectly linked to the mental health of individuals. For instance, Berry, Kim, Minde and Mok (1987) found that immigrants in Canada who adopted an integration strategy were minimally affected by acculturative stress, whereas those who felt marginalized tended to be highly stressed, followed by those adopting the separation strategy. Immigrants pursuing the assimilation strategy experienced intermediate levels of acculturative stress (Berry, in Bourhis et al, 1997).

Verkuyten and Kwa (1994) reviewed ethnic self-identification and psychological well-being among minority youth (Turkish and Chinese) in the Netherlands. They used four types of identification: dissociative [separation], assimilative [assimilation], acculturative [integration] and marginal [marginalization], and discovered that Turkish youths showed a stronger dissociative self-identification than the Chinese youths. There was also an association between a marginal acculturation strategy and low self-esteem among Turkish youths. For Chinese, both

dissociative and marginal strategies were negatively associated with self-concept, happiness and a collectivistic orientation.

In sum, the choice of strategy has an effect on well-being. There are differences in strategy choice among minority groups. Integration seems to be the optimal strategy in terms of stress management, compared to separation and marginalization which are the least optimal. Other factors also have an effect on well-being.

1.5 (Mis)match in Acculturation Strategies

A discordance or (mis)match between perceived acculturation strategies between immigrant and host may have a significant effect on team and personal well-being. This has been found in several studies examining the relative fit between acculturation strategies and intergroup relations (Roccas et al. 2000; Zagefka & Brown, 2002).

According to the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) by Bourhis and colleagues (1997), consensual intergroup relations are predicted when both groups share integration or assimilation or individualist (marginal) orientations. The IAM puts acculturation in a broader context where the importance of not only the immigrants but also the host and the country's immigration policy affect the acculturation strategies used by all parties involved. Relational outcomes can be consensual, problematic or conflictual according to the acculturation orientation chosen.

A (mis)match between acculturation strategies can also affect group attitudes. Kurman, Eshel and Zehavi (2005) state that reluctance to accept foreigners and minorities is often perceived by these minorities as discrimination, stigmatization and stereotypical preconceptions. Using the division suggested by Berry and Sam (1997) between group and personal acculturation attitudes, Kurman et al (2005) found that a mismatch between the two (personal and group), has a negative effect on an immigrant's psychological adjustment.

Personal acculturation attitudes which disagree with normative group attitudes are likely to raise in-group criticism and internal uneasiness. Hence, even if an immigrant tries to adapt to the norms of the host country, but this attempt is not reciprocated by the host, relational outcomes can be uneasy. This could have

implications for our research as we examine the possible (mis)match between individual and team strategies and its effect on interpersonal work relations and well-being.

In sum, if one perceives that there is a mismatch in strategies used, discomfort might ensue. Horenczy (1996, in Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003) emphasizes the importance of perceptions in adjustment. He states that psychological discomfort is influenced by discrepancies between immigrant's own acculturation attitudes and the how the host group perceives them, rather than actual acculturation strategies adopted by the immigrants. This has implications for our research, as it highlights how important attitudes and perceptions are for emotional well-being. It is also interesting to examine the (mis)match and see if a relative degree of (mis)match between individuals and their colleagues (team) can be connected to well-being.

1.6 Discrimination

Ethnic discrimination can be used as another indicator for interpersonal work relations. This can also affect well-being. Racial [ethnic] discrimination is defined as "beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements, and acts that tend to denigrate individuals or groups because of phenotypic characteristics or ethnic group affiliation" (Clark, Anderson, Clark & Williams, 1999: p. 805).

Minority groups such as immigrants come across ethnic discrimination on the job. This type of discrimination is usually covert and more difficult to ascertain, yet it is still present. In 2003, a total of 3589 complaints were registered concerning unequal treatment in the Netherlands. Sixty percent of these were specifically for ethnicity, colour or race (van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2006).

Van der Zee and van Oudenhoven (2006) have listed examples of types of discrimination in the workplace. Discrimination can be found in the selection procedure, at work due to the 'solo-role', and the glass-ceiling effect. These will briefly be discussed.

Appraisal interviews are prone to biases (see Hargie, 2006). An additional bias is discrimination. In an experiment, two candidates were matched on criteria such as qualifications and work experience. Dutch candidates had a greater chance of getting

called back than ethnic minority candidates. A slight accent or a foreign surname decreased their chances of getting the job (Dankoor & Havelaar, 1994; Abell, Havelaar & Dankoor, 1997).

Other examples of discrimination come about because of being unique and having to represent the 'solo-role' in a company. This puts extra attention on one's performance which can lead immigrants to focus more on self-presentation rather than focusing on task-relevance (Pettigrew & Martin, 1987). Evaluation by others can be disproportionate so that one is either perfect at one's job or excessively inadequate. People in such a position do not tend to have a lot of social support from their colleagues (James, 1994).

The glass-ceiling effect, (the advancement of a qualified person is stopped at a lower level), tends also to hold true for immigrants as they are less aware of the cultural norms and behavioural formalities which can facilitate networking and getting ahead; Immigrants lack tacit knowledge, the unwritten rules within an organization, which natives acquire thanks to their cultural background (e.g. Sternberg, 1997).

As discrimination does exist, one should ascertain the consequences of discrimination. The experience of prejudice and discrimination has a significant negative effect on a person's well-being. The effect of perceived discrimination on psychological states has been found to be direct, strong and instant; it is less direct and slower on overall physical health status (Gallo & Mathews, 1999; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003).

Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Perhoniemi (2007) state that negative effects have been observed when studying immigrants' experiences of discrimination in everyday life as well as their perceptions of discrimination in the work environment (James, 1997; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti. 2000a). Perceived discrimination has been found to predict levels of well-being regarding depression, distress and anxiety, acculturative stress symptoms, life-satisfaction, self-esteem and behavioural problems, and physical health.

Verkuyten (1998) found that personal and group-level estimations of discrimination can have different roles in affecting well-being. Jasinkaja-Lahti et al (2007) found that group-level control beliefs and perceived discrimination were

negatively related to each other. Group-level control beliefs was defined as beliefs about the immigrants' general ability to control their employment opportunities. This indicates that immigrants might minimize the experience of discrimination in the work context to maintain a perception of control (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995, 1997).

In sum, discrimination is covert yet still present in organizations. It can mediate a person's well-being. Personal and group-level beliefs affect the way in which discrimination is dealt with.

1.7 Burnout

Another factor which can affect well-being in an organizational setting is burnout. Schaufeli et al. (2001) estimated that 4% of the Dutch working population (about 250 000 people) suffers from clinical burnout. Burnout can be used as an indicator for well-being. Burnout has been found in all kinds of professions. Of interest here is the examination of burnout within the helping professions. In this setting, burnout can be defined as "a syndrome of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and reduced personal accomplishment that can occur among individuals who do 'people work' of some kind" (Maslach & Jackson, 1986: p. 1). People who work in the social service sector have a greater prevalence of burnout than other occupations (Schaufeli & Enzmann, 1998). There are various ways of measuring burnout. Burnout can be divided into three dimensions; all have high internal consistency and convergent validity (see Schaufeli & Buunk, 2003). These dimensions are: exhaustion, cynicism, and professional efficacy.

Wade, Cooley and Savicki, 1986 (in Schaufeli & Buunk, 2002) found that peer cohesion decreased burnout over a 1 year period. These longitudinal effects were small but significant. Heterogeneous teams such as the ones we are examining might have less cohesion, which could affect the incidence of burnout.

Actual job characteristics and job demands can also have a substantial impact on burnout. Studies examining these external factors focus on the organizational setting. The Job Demands-Resource Model is an overarching model which looks at how employee well-being can be influenced by two sets of working conditions: i) *job demands*, characteristics of a job which potentially evoke strain once they exceed the

employee's adaptive capability, and *job resources,* the extent to which the job offers resources to employees (Bakker, Hakenen, Demerouti & Xanthopoulou, 2007). Bakker et al (2007), among others, have found that demanding aspects of work may lead to negative consequences for the individual (e.g. exhaustion, burnout) and resources can lead to engagement and positive outcomes (e.g. dedication and extra-role performance).

Bakker, Demerouti, Taris, Schaufeli, and Schreurs (2003) studied four home-care organizations and found evidence for the buffering role of job resources; the relationship between job demands (e.g. workload, physical demands, and patient harassment) and feelings of exhaustion disappeared when home-care professionals possessed many resources (e.g. autonomy, opportunities for professional development, performance feedback). Bakker, Demerouti and Euwema (2005) also found that job resources could act as a buffer to job demands related to burnout.

1.8 Discrimination and Burnout

Perceived ethnic discrimination might also affect the propensity for burnout in individuals. Stockman (2001) examined the relationship between racial diversity, discrimination and work experience. Findings indicated that perceptions of racial discrimination were related to burnout and work effectiveness. The relationship between perceptions of racial discrimination and burnout was stronger for White providers than African American providers. The relationship between racial discrimination and lower perceived work effectiveness was stronger for front-line providers than supervisors.

This research highlights the complexity one is faced with when examining discrimination in the workforce. Perceptions can have an impact on the racial climate in work settings. The type of job one has seems to affect both perceptions of discrimination and burnout levels. Our present study will also examine the difference between individuals and groups and to what extent ethnic discrimination may affect burnout levels.

1.9 Hypotheses

Considering the above research on (mis)match in acculturation strategies, ethnic discrimination and burnout, the following hypotheses have been formulated. Looking at previous research on ethnic discrimination in the workforce (e.g. Stockman et al, 2001), it can be argued that within organizations, discrimination may play a mediating role in organizational effectiveness, specifically with regards to health outcomes such as burnout.

The present study will examine the relationship between a relative (mis)match in acculturation strategies, ethnic discrimination and burnout among service workers (see Figure 2).

These effects (mismatch, ethnic discrimination, and burnout) will also be compared among immigrants and hosts in order to explore whether these groups differ in the level of relative mismatch (actual and perceived), discrimination and burnout experienced.

Figure 2. Research Model

The following hypotheses will be examined (see Fig. 2):

Hypothesis 1. There is a difference in acculturation strategy preference for immigrants and Dutch.

Hypothesis 1a: For Dutch, the order of preference in acculturation strategies will be: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization.

Hypothesis 1b: For Immigrants, the order of preference in acculturation strategies will be: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization.

Exploratory Question 1: What is the degree of mismatch (actual, perceived) between personal and team acculturation strategies.

Hypothesis 2a: There is a positive relationship between the degree of mismatch between individual and team acculturation strategies and the degree of perceived ethnic discrimination felt by individuals in a team.

Hypothesis 2b: There is a relationship between the degree of mismatch and burnout felt by individuals in a team.

Hypothesis 3: There will be a positive relationship between the amount of perceived ethnic discrimination and burnout levels.

Hypothesis 4: The relationship between the degree of mismatch and burnout will be mediated by perceived ethnic discrimination

Tentative Hypothesis: There are differences between immigrants and hosts with regards to the above hypotheses, in the sense that the relationships for immigrants will be stronger than for Dutch.

2. Method

2.1 Participants

Demographics

Two hundred and twelve health-care workers participated in this study. Their ages ranged from 17 to 62 years, with a total mean age of 40.1. Sixty-two participants (30.5%) described themselves as non-Western immigrants, and 141 described themselves as Dutch with parents of Dutch origin. Ninety-four percent (n = 199) of the participants were female, and 6% were male (n = 13). Educational background was similar for both immigrants and Dutch participants, where the average educational level was preparatory vocational training or lower general secondary education (MBO).

Team Composition & Time Spent Working

A total of 22 teams participated in the study. Teams varied in composition from 2 to 21 people, with an average of 9 people per team. The amount of time spent working in a team varied considerably from .5 to 372 months, with a mean total of 56.9 months. The amount of time participants had been working within the health-sector also varied considerably between 2 and 480 months, with a mean total of 115.5 months.

2.2 Procedure

Actiz has a total of 450 members who work in care homes, nursing homes and home care organizations. The study was carried out in eight organizations in charge of elderly care throughout the Netherlands. All organizations were recruited internally via Actiz. Participants were asked to complete a questionnaire which was estimated to take 20 minutes to complete. Questionnaires were completed separately and participants were asked to complete them in their own time. The questionnaires were placed in sealed envelopes to ensure confidentiality and returned to the Actiz head office in Utrecht or directly to the researcher by mail.

It should be noted that a number of participants found it difficult to answer the questionnaire. This was irrespective of their ethnic background, but dependent on their educational background. The team leader was given the option of having trained

assistants help participants fill in the questionnaire. This was generally declined. There was a 42 % response rate (N = 212).

2.3 Measures

Predictors

Acculturation is measured using a revised version of the Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver (2001) scale. These items examine preference towards cultural maintenance or adaptation regarding acculturation strategies. Berry's (1980, 1984) four acculturation strategies where examined in two different domains, *personal* and *team acculturation* preference. Three items were used per acculturation strategy, resulting in a total of 12 items (see Appendix). The items were measured on scales ranging from 1 (I disagree) to 5 (I agree).

An example per acculturation item is as follows: 'In a work setting, I find it important that immigrant colleagues- i). 'accommodate completely to the Dutch cultural norms and values, without maintaining their own cultural values and norms.' (assimilation), ii). 'accommodate to Dutch cultural norms and values, whilst maintaining their own cultural values and norms.' (integration), iii). 'maintain their own cultural norms and values, without adopting Dutch cultural norms and values'. (segregation), iv). 'are treated as individuals, whereby differences in cultural values and norms are not important.' (marginalization).

Cronbach's alpha for the four items measuring *personal acculturation* are: assimilation (α = .83), integration (α = .68), segregation (α = .70) and marginalization (α = .70). Cronbach's alpha for the four items measuring *team acculturation* are: assimilation (α = .76), integration (α = .72), segregation (α = .82), and marginalization (α = .65). Statistical reliability ranged from fairly good to good.

(Mis)match is calculated two ways. Both actual mismatch and perceived mismatch were calculated. Actual mismatch looks at the average degree of (mis)match in acculturation strategies between individuals (personal score) compared to all respondents of the team in which the individual was working(team score). Perceived

mismatch looks at the average degree of (mis)match in acculturation strategies between individuals (personal score) compared to what they think the team exemplifies (perceived team score).

The following formula were used:

Actual (mis)match

Acculturation Strategy (Assimilation, Integration, Separation, Marginalization) = $\sqrt{}$ [(personal score on an acculturation strategy – mean score of all respondents on an acculturation strategy) ^{2}].

Personal scores on acculturation strategies were measured via the following introduction to the statement:

> The following questions pertain to cultural maintenance and accommodation of immigrant colleagues. If you are part of this group, please answer in terms of your preferred preference. Dutch colleagues answer these questions in terms of how much they agree/disagree with these statements: "In a work context, I find it important that those colleagues who are immigrants…."

Perceived (mis)match

Acculturation Strategy (Assimilation, Integration, Separation, Marginalization) = $\sqrt{}$ [(personal score on an acculturation strategy – perceived team score on acculturation strategy) ^{2}].

Perceived scores were measured via the following introduction to the statement:

> Looking at actual behaviour of immigrant employees in your team, please answer how relevant these statements are for you: "In my team…"

Ethnic discrimination is measured via four items devised by Lugtenberg and Peeters (2004). The statements were: (1) 'How often have people made hurtful comments about you concerning your cultural background', (2) 'How often have you been bullied or teased because of your cultural background', (3) 'How often have you been ignored due

to your cultural background', (4) 'How often have you been treated unfairly because of your cultural background'. The items were measured on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = almost never till 5 = almost always). A higher score indicates a greater amount of discrimination. Cronbach's alpha for the item scale was .83.

Outcome

Burnout is measured by the Dutch version of the Maslach inventory UBOS (Utrechtse Burnout Scale) which consists of a three dimension scale of: exhaustion, cynicism, and professional efficacy (Schaufeli & van Dierendonk, 2000). An example of a statement for each dimension is as follows: i). Exhaustion- 'I feel mentally exhausted by my work.' ii). Cynicism- 'I'm not as enthusiastic as I used to be when it comes to work.', and iii). Professional Efficacy- 'I find that I am good at my work' (these were coded negatively). All item scales are rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (Never) to 6 (Always). These scales are standardized. Cronbach's Alpha for Exhaustion is .83, for Cynicism is .73 and for Professional Efficacy is .83, all indicate good reliability.

3. Results

3.1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 gives an overview of the descriptive statistics for the acculturation strategy items for the three groups (total sample, immigrants, and Dutch), as well as the internal consistencies of the items included in the analysis.

Table 1 *Overview of Acculturation Strategy Items*

	M	SD	Alpha	N	M	SD	Alpha	N	M	SD	Alpha	N	t
Personal Score Assimilation	1.9	1.04	.83	202	1.92	1.13	.87	60	1.97	1.02	.81	136	1.21
Personal Score Integration	4.3	.68	.68	201	4.32	.7	.61	58	4.29	.68	.73	137	-.29
Personal Score Segregation	1.5	.75	.74	204	1.64	.85	.66	60	1.42	.69	.73	138	-.05
Personal Score Marginalization	3.6	1.06	.7	201	3.58	.99	.52	60	3.60	1.09	.76	135	-.86
Team Score Assimilation	2.4	1.00	.76	197	2.54	1.03	.7	59	2.34	1	.79	132	.80
Team Score Integration	4.1	.73	.72	198	4.02	.73	.61	59	4.12	.73	.76	133	.46
Team Score Segregation	2	.95	.82	197	2.14	1.04	.83	58	1.93	.90	.81	134	1.59
Team Score Marginalization	3.23	.95	.65	198	3.23	.94	.66	59	3.23	.97	.66	133	-.31

$p > 0.05$

As can be seen from this table, all items show good reliabilities, with Cronbach's alpha coefficients around 0.6 and higher. There were no significant differences between immigrants and Dutch with regards to acculturation strategy preference (see Table 1). Difference in acculturation preferences can be seen. Paired t-tests indicated that there was a significant difference between immigrants and Dutch with regards to an order in preference for acculturation strategy (see Table1b). It was consistently the same for all groups: integration, marginalization, assimilation and lastly segregation. Integration was the most preferred and segregation the least. Hence, hypotheses 1a and 1b are rejected. There is indeed a difference in acculturation strategy preference. This is confirmed for the total population. However the order of preference does not coincide with the predictions.

Table 1b *Paired Differences: Acculturation Hierarchy for the Total Population*

Personal	M	t	p.
Assimilation - Integration	2,36	22,38	p <.001
Assimilation - Segregation	0,45	6,48	p <.001
Assimilation - Marginalization	-1,67	-15,37	p <.001
Integration - Separation	2,82	35,73	p <.001
Integration - Marginalization	0,68	7,89	p <.001
Segregation - Marginalization	-2,13	-23,08	p <.001
Team			
Assimilation - Integration	1,7	16,56	p <.001
Assimilation - Segregation	0,39	5,54	p <.001
Assimilation - Marginalization	-0,86	-9,2	p <.001
Integration - Separation	2,09	21,62	p <.001
Integration - Marginalization	0,86	11,77	p <.001
Segregation - Marginalization	-1,23	-13,43	p <.001

Next, the relative (mis)match (perceived) between individuals and teams was examined. For perceived mismatch, paired sample t-tests show that acculturation strategies differ significantly from each other for all groups (total sample, immigrants and Dutch) (see Tables 2-4). This indicates that for all employees, there is a significant difference between actual acculturation strategies chosen, and the strategies which they think the team would want them to choose (perceived). Relative mismatch does exist. The exploratory question, whether there is a degree of mismatch among individual and team acculturation strategies, is confirmed for perceived mismatch. Actual mismatch could not be tested for significance due to the way actual mismatch was calculated. A t-test would have compared the mean score of the person with the mean score of all respondents, which in this case would have been the same.

Table 2 *Results for the test of comparison of means for the total population*

Perceived Mismatch Total				
	Mean	Mean P.	*t*	*p.*
Assimilation	1.94	2.38	-4.31	.000
Integration	4.33	4.09	3.06	.003
Segregation	1.47	1.99	-7.1	.000
Marginalization	3.63	3.24	3.8	.000

Mean = Mean Personal Acculturation Strategy,

Mean P = Mean Perceived Acculturation Strategy

Table 3 *Results for the test of comparison of means for Immigrants*

Perceived Mismatch Immigrants				
	Mean	Mean P.	*t*	*p.*
Assimilation	1.94	2.54	-4.99	.001
Integration	4.36	4.01	3.59	.000
Segregation	1.64	2.15	-3.52	.001
Marginalization	3.58	3.23	2.41	.019

Mean = Mean Personal Acculturation Strategy,

Mean P = Mean Perceived Acculturation Strategy

Table 4 *Results for the test of comparison of means for Dutch*

Perceived Mismatch Dutch				
	Mean	Mean P.	*t*	*p.*
Assimilation	1.97	2.33	-4.31	.003
Integration	4.31	4.11	3.08	.000
Segregation	1.41	1.93	-7.1	.000
Marginalization	3.62	3.24	3.8	.000

Mean = Mean Personal Acculturation Strategy,

Mean P = Mean Perceived Acculturation Strategy

Actual (mis)match and perceived (mis)match were compared with paired sample t-tests. This was done for the total population and then for immigrants and Dutch respectively. No significant differences were found. However, there is an exception. Paired sample t-tests showed that there was a significant difference for segregation for the total population (t(133) = -1.99, p < 0.05), for immigrants (t(56) = -.28, p <0.01), and for the Dutch (t(133) = - 1.99, p <0.05). These results indicate that for segregation, there is a significant difference between actual and perceived mismatch. In other words, segregation exists but is not as great as what one perceives it to be. Accordingly, it was chosen to collapse the results for further multiple regression analysis for actual and perceived mismatch and focus solely on perceived mismatch. For segregation, both actual and perceived mismatch were examined as this was significant

3.2 Inferential Statistics

Tables 5-7 show the means, standard deviations and correlations between variables. The number of variables that correlate with each other was small. Variables that significantly relate to each other for the complete data set (see table 5) are certain mismatches and perceived mismatches (integration, segregation and marginalization). These are weakly related to each other. The three burnout dimensions are weakly to moderately related to each other. Looking at table 6, for immigrants there are weak relations for: actual and perceived mismatch for integration and marginalization, perceived mismatch segregation with mismatch marginalization, and perceived segregation with perceived mismatch assimilation. For burnout dimensions, cynicism was highly related to exhaustion. There is also a weak relationship between actual mismatch integration and discrimination for immigrants. Looking at table 7, for the Dutch, certain mismatch strategies are weakly to moderately related to each other. Actual mismatch segregation is weakly related to ethnic discrimination. Perceived mismatch segregation and actual mismatch segregation are both related to exhaustion. All burnout dimensions are moderately related to each other (see Table 7).

Correlation Matrix Table 5 Total

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Mismatch Assimilation	,76	,45											
2. Mismatch Integration	,52	,35	,20**										
3. Mismatch Segregation	,52	,45	,25**	,16*									
4. Mismatch Marginalization	,82	,54	,03	-,05	,04								
5. Perceived MM Assimilation	,75	,71	-,01	-,01	-,08	-,01							
6. Perceived MM Integration	,54	,54	,08	,11	-,02	-,02	,12						
7. Perceived MM Segregation	,73	,76	,07	-,03	-,03	,12	,37**	,24**					
8. Perceived MM Marginalization	,89	,79	,08	-,03	-,05	,34**	,08	,26**	,06				
9. Ethnic Discrimination	1,15	,39	,06	-,02	,12	-,08	,06	,07	,05	-,11			
10. Burnout (Exhaustion)	1,55	,91	,06	,10	,17	,11	-,08	-,11	,16	-,13	,01		
11. Burnout (Cynicism	1,00	,86	-,08	-,08	,00	,00	,02	,00	,02	-,14	-,01	,45**	
12. Burnout (Personal Efficacy)	1,84	,91	,00	,01	,02	-,13	-,03	,03	,13	-,03	,03	,21*	,40**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Correlation Matrix Table 6 Immigrants

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Mismatch Assimilation	,84	,55											
2. Mismatch Integration	,51	,36	,09										
3. Mismatch Segregation	,52	,50	,15	-,07									
4. Mismatch Marginalization	,77	,54	,05	-,05	,11								
5. Perceived MM Assimilation	,82	,72	-,14	-,08	-,07	,02							
6. Perceived MM Integration	,57	,57	,03	,29*	,07	-,02	-,06						
7. Perceived MM Segregation	,86	,84	-,02	-,12	,06	,14	,26*	,24					
8. Perceived MM Marginalization	,86	,78	,04	,01	-,08	,39**	,17	,25	,06				
9. Ethnic Discrimination	1,33	,50	-,08	,27*	,01	-,15	,23	,10	,19	-,13			
10. Burnout (Exhaustion)	1,41	,86	,00	,03	-,16	-,17	-,20	,02	-,01	-,11	,00		
11. Burnout (Cynicism	1,33	,86	-,05	-,10	-,25	-,17	-,02	,10	,10	-,25	,02	,76**	
12. Burnout (Personal Efficacy)	2,06	1,03	-,11	,02	-,38	-,20	-,04	,00	,24	-,22	-,30	,08	,12

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Correlation Matrix Table 7 Dutch

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Mismatch Assimilation	,74	,57											
2. Mismatch Integration	,52	,34	,28**										
3. Mismatch Segregation	,53	,43	,31**	,26**									
4. Mismatch Marginalization	,84	,55	,04	-,07	-,02								
5. Perceived MM Assimilation	,73	,72	,03	,01	-,11	-,02							
6. Perceived MM Integration	,53	,53	,10	,01	-,10	-,03	,18*						
7. Perceived MM Segregation	,67	,71	,11	-,01	-,08	,12	,42**	.217*					
8. Perceived MM Marginalization	,89	,81	,12	-,06	-,04	,32**	,05	,27**	,05				
9. Ethnic Discrimination	1,08	,31	,10	,16	,22**	-,01	-,08	,04	-,10	-,10			
10. Burnout (Exhaustion)	1,59	,94	,10	,13	.255*	,18	-,04	-,16	,22*	-,15	,03		
11. Burnout (Cynicism	,94	,85	-,14	-,09	,10	,05	,01	-,05	-,07	-,15	-,03	,40**	
12. Burnout (Personal Efficacy)	1,80	,88	,00	,02	,18	-,10	-,06	,02	,10	,04	,14	,27**	,45**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The chance that the hypotheses will be confirmed is small, as correlations between mismatch, ethnic discrimination and burnout were limited to: actual mismatch integration and discrimination ($r = -.27$, $p <.05$) for immigrants, and for the Dutch, actual mismatch segregation and discrimination ($r = .22$, $p <.01$), and actual and perceived mismatch segregation and burnout(exhaustion) ($r = .21$, $p < .01$).

To test hypotheses 2 - 4, multiple regression analyses were done. The variables age, gender, educational background, and amount of time spent working, were controlled for. Previous research has controlled these demographic variables as predictors (Jasinski-Lahti et al, 2007). Kurman, Eshel and Zehavi (2005) found significant relationships on variables such as gender, time spent in host country, and university admission score (educational background). Here, educational background contributed significantly to ethnic discrimination and burnout (outcome variables) for certain analyses. When this was the case, betas and adjusted R^2 values are indicated.

For immigrants, no significant relationships were found among mismatch, ethnic discrimination and burnout. Hence, hypotheses 2-4 were rejected for the immigrant population. The tentative hypothesis, stating that the relationships found for hypotheses 2-4 will be stronger for immigrants than for the Dutch, was also rejected.

For the total number of respondents, all regression analyses were also non significant, with the exception of one relationship; whilst controlling for educational background ($R^2 = .14$, Adj. $R^2 = .10$), there was a significant relationship between perceived mismatch segregation and burnout(exhaustion) ($\beta = .26$, $p < .05$).. Hypothesis 2b, which states that there is a relationship between the degree of mismatch and burnout felt by individuals in a team, is confirmed for the total population. Individuals perceive discordance in acculturation strategy (segregation) between themselves and their team (see Figure 3).
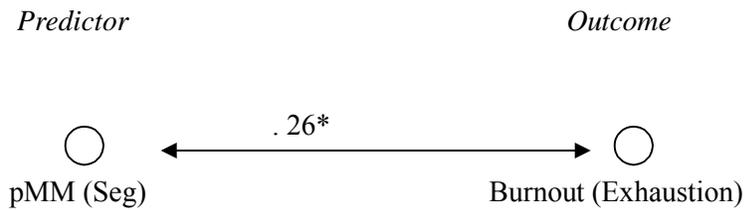
. 26*

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pMM (Seg)   Burnout (Exhaustion)

Figure 3 *Regression Paths for the Total Population.*

Number represents the standardized beta, *p < .05.

      In contrast, three significant relationships were found for the Dutch respondents. These can be seen in figure 4. If one looks at the first path, whilst controlling for educational background ($R^2 = .099$, Adj. $R^2 = .063$), there was a significant relationship for *actual mismatch segregation* and *discrimination* ($\beta = .24$, p <.05). Hypothesis 2a holds true for Dutch employees, when looking at segregation. There seems to be a positive relationship between the degree of mismatch (segregation) between individual and team acculturation strategies, and the degree of perceived ethnic discrimination felt by individuals in a team.

      Whilst controlling for educational background ($R^2 = .416$, Adj. $R^2 = .123$), there was also a significant relationship for *actual mismatch segregation* and *burnout(exhaustion)* ($\beta = .270$, p < .05). Perceived mismatch was looked at next. Whilst controlling for educational background ($R^2 = .108$, Adj. $R^2 = .108$), there was a significant relationship for *perceived mismatch segregation* and *burnout(exhaustion)* ($\beta = .260$, p < .05). The total variance of the model including all the predictors was not significant. However, the relationship between perceived mismatch segregation and burnout(exhaustion) was significant. Hence, hypothesis 2b is confirmed for the Dutch; there is a relationship between the degree of actual and perceived mismatch (segregation) and burnout felt by individuals in a team.

Predictor   *Outcome*

aMM (Seg)   .24   Discrimination

aMM (Seg)   .27*   Burnout (Exhaustion)

pMM (Seg)   .26*   Burnout (Exhaustion)

Figure 4 *Regression Paths for the Dutch.*

Numbers represent the standardized beta,   *p < .05.

Hypothesis 3 states that there will be a negative relationship between the amount of perceived ethnic discrimination and burnout levels. This has been rejected, as there was no significant relationship found between ethnic discrimination and burnout for all three groups (see Table 6). Hypothesis 3 is rejected.

Table 6 *Regression Paths Ethnic Discrimination and Burnout Dimensions*

	Total		Immigrants		Dutch	
	β	*p.*	β	*p.*	β	*p.*
Ethnic Discrimination → Burnout (Exhaustion)	.01	.94	.02	.56	.01	.95
Ethnic Discrimination → Burnout (Cynicism)	.03	.75	.01	.96	.02	.87
Ethnic Discrimination → Burnout (Personal Efficacy)	.06	.56	-.33	.11	.19	.10

Hypothesis 4 predicted that the relationship between the degree of (mis)match and burnout will be mediated by perceived ethnic discrimination. According to Baron and Kenny (1986), four requirements should be met to establish mediation. First, there should be a significant effect of the predictor (IV) on the criterion variable (DV). Second, there should be an effect of the predictor(s) on the mediator. Third, the mediator should predict the criterion variables. Fourth, the effect of the predictor(s) should be reduced to non-significance when controlling for the mediator. The requirements for mediation were not met, as there were no significant effects among three paths for any variables tested. Neither complete nor partial mediation was present. Hypothesis 4 which states that the relationship between the degree of mismatch and burnout will be mediated by perceived ethnic discrimination and the resulting work-related well-being (burnout) is rejected.

With regards to the tentative hypothesis, whether there were differences between immigrants and hosts with regards to the above hypotheses, the following can be said. There were differences between immigrants and hosts. There were no

significant relationships found between mismatch, discrimination, and burnout for immigrants. For the Dutch, there was a significant relationship between actual mismatch segregation and discrimination (hyp.2a). There were also significant relationships found for the Dutch for actual and perceived mismatch segregation and burnout (exhaustion) (hyp.2b).

4. Discussion

4.1 Summary of the Findings

Research examining ethnic diversity in the workplace is still rare. This study was an attempt to increase the scope of previous research by exploring whether psychological factors such as acculturation mismatch relates to ethnic discrimination and burnout.

Summarizing the results obtained, significant results were scarce. With regards to the first hypothesis, significant differences were found in acculturation strategy preference. Looking at the descriptive statistics, the means for highest to lowest acculturation strategy are as follows: integration, marginalization, assimilation, and lastly segregation. The first hypothesis which indicated that there would be differences in preference among Dutch and immigrant colleagues, was rejected (H1).

Looking at whether relative mismatch exists, results indicate that relative perceived mismatch does exist. Acculturation strategies differ significantly for all groups (total, immigrants and Dutch). The exploratory hypothesis was confirmed .

Hypothesis 2a was confirmed for Dutch and not for immigrants. There was a positive relationship between the degree of actual mismatch(segregation) among Dutch individuals and team acculturation strategies, and the degree of perceived ethnic discrimination felt.

Likewise, Hypothesis 2b was also partially confirmed for the total population and for Dutch, but not for immigrants; there is a relationship between the degree of actual and perceived mismatch(segregation) and burnout(exhaustion) felt by individuals in a team (H2b).

However, there was no significant negative relation between the amount of perceived ethnic discrimination and burnout levels. Hypothesis 3 was rejected (H3). No mediation effect was found for ethnic discrimination. Hypothesis 4 was accordingly rejected (H4).

Regarding the tentative hypothesis, there were differences between immigrants and hosts with regards to the above hypotheses. More specifically, there were no significant relationships found between mismatch, discrimination, and burnout for

immigrants. For immigrants, no significant relationships were found between a mismatch in acculturation strategies, ethnic discrimination or burnout. This is not surprising as the correlations only indicated a weak relationship between integration and ethnic discrimination, which was not replicated when doing a multiple regression analysis.

For the Dutch, actual mismatch segregation and discrimination was significant (H2a), and both actual and perceived mismatch segregation related significantly to burnout (exhaustion) (H2b).

4.2 Interpretation of Findings

Possible implications of the above results are discussed next. There was a difference in preference for acculturation strategies: integration, marginalization, assimilation and segregation (H1). This order of preference is different compared to previous research (e.g. Oerlemans & Peeters (submitted). Oerlemans and Peeters (submitted) found that among Dutch colleagues, assimilation was the preferred acculturation strategy, followed by integration and separation, whilst marginalization was the least preferred strategy. For immigrant colleagues, integration was the preferred acculturation strategy, followed by assimilation, separation and then marginalization (see also Lugtenberg & Peeters, 2004).

How can this difference be explained? The respondents in our population are part of Actiz, an organization in charge of distributing health care in the Netherlands. Actiz are currently involved in a pilot project whose aim is to increase cultural diversity in their workforce. Integration is central to such a project. Awareness of the benefits of integration might have been propagated within the organization. Assuming this is the case a higher proportion of respondents will interpret integration as a positive aspect in the workforce (value-in-diversity) and favour it over assimilation.

'Integration' can also have various meanings. Certain individuals attribute it more to assimilation and others more to an equal contribution of both immigrant and host cultures (Arends-Toth & van der Vijver, 2006). Thus it would be beneficial to examine the different ways in which individuals refer to integration and the other acculturation strategies in order to clarify the differing findings. This has been done

through experimental studies of cultural frame switching (e.g. Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2002).

Marginalization was the second most preferred strategy in our sample. Previous research has shown that it can have negative effects on personal ratings of well-being (e.g. Berry, Phinny, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Schmitz, 1992). Marginalization in this research was conceptualized as individualism, as was proposed in Bourhis et al (1997). Bourhis et al (1997) state that individualist prefer to identify themselves as individuals rather than members of an in or out-group, and choose group identification in terms of their personal needs rather than imposed demands. This can have a positive effect on well-being in a setting where individualism is dominant. One can assume that this is the case in a Dutch health-care organization focused on the patient and his/her needs.

Looking at whether relative mismatch exists, the results indicate that relative perceived mismatch does exist (exploratory question). Acculturation strategies differ significantly for all groups (total, immigrants and Dutch). What one chooses and what one thinks the team would choose, i.e. perceptions, differ. Since relative perceived mismatch exists, the next step was to see whether there was a difference between the different kinds of mismatch. Accordingly actual and perceived mismatch were compared with paired sample t-tests. This was done for the total population and then for immigrants and Dutch respectively. No significant differences were found when comparing actual and perceived mismatch. This was the case for all acculturation strategies except for segregation, where a significant difference was found.

Thus, one can assume that regarding mismatch, an individual's perceptions are correct. Actual (mis)match and perceived (mis)match are similar. The self-preferred acculturation strategy, and the strategy one thinks the team would prefer, can be discordant (e.g. I would prefer marginalization and they prefer integration). The perception of an individual might reflect the reality (actual mismatch); In this case, what one perceives is similar to what exists in the work setting. There is a match in views.

In contrast, with a mismatch for segregation, what one perceives differs from what exists in the work setting. Looking at the means for perceived and actual

mismatch, perceived mismatch is significantly higher than actual mismatch, indicating that a person's perception of segregation is higher than actual segregation within a team. In this case, perceptions might colour reality, as a mismatch does exist, but this mismatch is greater in the eyes of the beholder than in the actual work setting. Awareness of one's own perceptions with regards to segregation, and checking one's own impressions with those of the team, can be beneficial in expelling any 'irrational' perceptions about segregation.

Hypothesis 2a was confirmed for Dutch and not for immigrants. There was a positive relationship between the degree of actual mismatch (segregation) among Dutch individuals and team acculturation strategies, and the degree of perceived ethnic discrimination felt. Hence, the greater the amount of discordance, the greater amount of discrimination felt. Surprisingly, this was not found for immigrants. Therefore, either discrimination does not exist or it was not detected due to sample size. If it did exist, it may be that to maintain a perception of control, immigrants might minimize the experience of discrimination (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995, 1997).

Social desirability might have decreased the amount of participants willing to indicate whether they felt discriminated against. Anonymity decreases the likelihood of social desirability; however it might be the case that if there are aspects of covert discrimination, these are less easily detected and in turn harder to measure. On the same vein, it might be that immigrants who have been employed for a longer time and thus successfully socialized filled in the questionnaire whereas those who have problems are not inclined to complete a questionnaire (Dinsbach, 2005).

Likewise, Hypothesis 2b was also partially confirmed for the total population and for the Dutch, but not for the immigrants; there is a relationship between the degree of actual and perceived mismatch (segregation) and burnout(exhaustion) felt by individuals in a team. Unlike what Kurman et al (2005) have found, where a mismatch between personal and group strategies has a negative effect on an immigrant's psychological adjustment, this research shows that the mismatch is only significant for segregation for the Dutch population. Mismatch perse is not bad. A mismatch on segregation is.

Why this relationship has been found for the Dutch and not for the immigrants is unclear as previous research has found significance (e.g. Jasinskaja-Lahti et al, 2003). One might stipulate that burnout is a more accepted phenomenon for the dominant Dutch majority group. Burnout might be less prevalent in an immigrant sample as valued job characteristics have been shown to differ among Dutch and immigrants. Van Oudenhoven, Taris and Vianen (2003) found that job satisfaction for immigrants was in great part due to social aspects within the work environment, such as being treated with respect. For Dutch colleagues, task variables such as responsibility were linked to job satisfaction. Following this reasoning, it could be that immigrants who have the appropriate amount of job resources, such as support, will be less likely to have burnout. Bakker et al (2005) did find that job resources acted as a buffer towards job demands on burnout.

The question still remains why significance was found for the dimension of exhaustion and not for cynicism and personal efficacy. This could be because exhaustion is the prevalent symptom of burnout (Schaufeli & Buunk, 2003), which might make it easier to ascertain significance for exhaustion in the results. Additionally, Schaufeli and Buunk (2003) reviewing research done on burnout, state that a relatively small proportion of the working population, around 1 to 10%, suffer from severe burnout symptoms, which would need therapeutic treatment. Burnout is not normally distributed in the general population which might make it difficult to establish who it effects, whether it is for immigrants or the Dutch.

4.3 Limitations

Results are based on correlations. Hence causality between variables can not be made. Furthermore, methodological issues might shed more light on the absence of significant results found for immigrants (for a thorough review of issues on research on ethnic minority, see Dinsbach, 2005). Relevant issues for this research are: the definition of immigrants, acculturation as a construct, comparing different groups, and representative samples. These will be briefly discussed.

Defining the term immigrant can be value-laden and subjective. This research looked at non-Western immigrants of both first and second generation who live in the

Netherlands. Research in the Netherlands commonly uses the term 'allochtoon' to define people who are born abroad and/or have one parent who is born abroad (Dinsbach, 2005). Most research on immigrants examines non-Western immigrants of for instance Moroccan or Turkish descent. Ingelby (2000, in Dinsbach, 2005) rightfully claims that dealing with culture as a categorical research variable is difficult as culture is ever-changing. In research it is necessary to examine groups and discern whether there are differences in order to advance knowledge about for instance diversity. However, the pitfall is that such a definition can be reductionistic and value-laden. Interdisciplinary research can aid in expanding our view.

Acculturation as a construct has been critiqued in health research as being too one-dimensional. For instance, Hunt, Schneider and Comer (2004) critically reviewed the use of acculturation as a construct in US health research on Hispanics and conclude that it is not a useful concept for psychometric measurement, rather it is a way of ethnic stereotyping. This is an extreme criticism which is context-dependent. Acculturation is indeed a complex process with no single measure revealing its complexity in an all-encompassing manner (Arends-Toth & van der Vijver, 2006). In our model, acculturation is bi-directional as like in Bourhis et al's (2007) and Berry's (2005) approach, it takes into account both the hosts and immigrants.

Comparison among groups can be difficult. Group composition can greatly affect results obtained. Concerning the present research, comparisons between teams were not done, as the amount of people in each team and the composition of Dutch vs. immigrants per team varied too greatly. It would have been interesting to examine whether there are differences between immigrants (e.g. Turkish, Moroccan, and Antillean). However, the sample size was too small to obtain significance. This could have affected the results as there were no significant results found for the immigrant population ($n = 62$).

There was however a significant result for actual and perceived mismatch (segregation) and burnout (exhaustion). This was found for the total population, indicating that there might have been a small effect but that due to size, this effect was not significant.

To circumvent the issue of comparing teams, we chose to examine the difference between acculturation strategies among employees on an interpersonal level: i.e. which acculturation strategy do I agree with most (personal) vs. which acculturation strategy do I think the team agrees with most (team). This is an alternate way of examining teams. The assumption is that individual perceptions have an important impact on relational functioning. This has been shown previously (eg. Horenczy, 1996, in Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003) and our results imply that for segregation as an acculturation strategy, perceptions do indeed have a significant impact on well-being.

There might have been no significant differences between groups because of the breadth of specification. Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. (2003) state that even if both groups agree with one another (e.g. integration is the best strategy), less agreement is expected if the strategies are specified in more detail. This is because hosts and immigrants may disagree on the preferred degree of relinquishing the newcomer's previous identity. Their research results confirmed this; when looking at the second acculturation preference of immigrant youths in Finland, Israel and Germany, those immigrants whose personal acculturation preferences were most in conflict with those of the hosts (separatists in Finland and Israel, assimilationists in Germany) either perceived more discrimination or reported more stress than other immigrants. Even if acculturation strategies match, one must be aware of the difference in meaning for each person.

Obtaining data can be difficult with ethnic minorities, as they are less used to answering questionnaires and might have difficulty interpreting answers which are not in their native tongue. They were also asked to rate their proficiency, self-report levels were as follows: poor 1 %, satisfactory 21.6 %, good 50.5% and excellent 26.9 %. Hence, one could conclude that language was not the issue. Translations can also lead to biases (van Oudenhoven, 2002, in Dinsbach, 2005).

Interestingly, educational background was more important than ethnicity when it came to the ease in which questionnaires were filled in. Via informal feedback, team leaders stated that certain participants found it difficult to fill in the questionnaire. Looking at the mean educational background of our sample, most had a preparatory vocational training or lower general secondary education (MBO).

4.4 Future Research and Implications

As a minimal amount of variance was explained by acculturation mismatch, the question arises which other variables have a greater effect on well-being. Research has found that discordance in acculturation strategies has an effect on well-being (e.g. Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Perhoniemi, 2007; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000a). This type of research is relatively new, and as such, more needs to be done to examine how acculturation strategies relate to well-being and whether these paths are mediating, moderating or indirect.

Creating a questionnaire specifically aimed at a lower educational background could increase the validity and generalizability of research on cultural diversity. Taking this into account, the questionnaire used at present was validated. Other ways of obtaining information would additionally contribute to the field. For instance a mixture of quantitative (e.g. semi-structured interviews) and qualitative research might clarify contradictory findings and reflect the intricacy found in research topics such as acculturation and well-being.

For the Dutch colleagues who did have a significant effect of actual mismatch(segregation) on ethnic discrimination and actual and perceived mismatch(segregation) and burnout(exhaustion), stress reduction techniques would be helpful. It would be interesting to discover why they felt discriminated against compared to other colleagues. It could be that their sense of discrimination was heightened as it is not as common to feel discriminated against within a dominant group. Future studies should examine this path and see if it can be replicated. Future studies should also look at other variables in an attempt to ascertain what aspects do have a greater effect on acculturation strategies and well-being.

5. Conclusion

The results of this study indicate that there is a complex relationship between a discordance in acculturation strategies, whether they are actual or perceived, ethnic discrimination and burnout. These variables do not significantly relate to each other. Mismatch of acculturation strategies does seem to exist among all groups. The preferred choice of acculturation strategy is the same for all respondents, with

integration being the most preferred and segregation the least. Significant results were found for mismatch segregation and ethnic discrimination and mismatch segregation and burnout(exhaustion) for the Dutch respondents. Perceived mismatch segregation and burnout(exhaustion) was found for the whole group but not when looking at immigrants alone. No significant relationships between mismatch (perceived or actual), ethnic discrimination and burnout, were found for immigrants.

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7. Appendix

Culturele diversiteit in Zorgteams

Een onderzoek naar de invloed van culturele diversiteit op team-functioneren, teamprestaties en gezondheid van werknemers

Uitgevoerd door:
Universiteit Utrecht,
Sectie Sociale en Organisatie Psychologie
Drs. W.G.M. Oerlemans, Dr. M.C.W. Peeters

Inleiding

Beste deelnemer/deelneemster,

Hartelijk dank voor uw deelname aan dit onderzoek over culturele diversiteit in de zorgsector van de Universiteit Utrecht, in samenwerking met Actiz.

Hieronder staan enkele aandachtspunten:

- Voor het slagen van het onderzoek is het erg belangrijk dat u alle vragen invult.
- Er zijn geen juiste of onjuiste antwoorden, het gaat ons om uw persoonlijke mening.
- Denk niet al te lang na en geef aan wat u het best passende antwoord vindt.
- Vul de vragen op een rustig moment in, waarbij u ongestoord kunt werken.
- Alle informatie wordt vertrouwelijk behandeld door onderzoekers van de Universiteit Utrecht.

Het invullen duurt ongeveer 20 minuten.

Alvast hartelijk dank voor uw medewerking!

A. Achtergrondgegevens/ Demographic Variables

Vul a.u.b. de onderstaande vragen in:

1	Bent u man of vrouw?	❑ man ❑ vrouw
2	Hoe oud bent u?	……....(jaar)
3	Wat is de hoogste opleiding die u heeft afgerond? *(Als uw opleiding er niet bij staat, kruis dan de opleiding aan die het meest op de door u gevolgde opleiding lijkt)*	❑ lagere school ❑ MAVO, LBO, VMBO ❑ MBO ❑ HAVO ❑ VWO ❑ HBO ❑ WO
4	Hoelang bent u binnen uw zorginstelling werkzaam?	…..jaar …..maanden
5	Hoelang bent u in uw huidige team werkzaam?	…..jaar …..maanden
6	Wat is uw huidige functie/beroep?	………………………………..
7	Binnen welke zorginstelling/locatie bent u werkzaam?	………………………………..
8	Binnen welk team bent u werkzaam?	………………………………..
9	Bent u in Nederland geboren?	❑ Ja, ga door met vraag 12 ❑ Nee
10	In welk land bent u geboren?	…………………………..
11	Hoeveel jaar woont u in Nederland?	❑ …………….jaren
12	Hoe is uw kennis van de Nederlandse taal?	❑ Slecht ❑ Matig ❑ Voldoende ❑ Goed ❑ Uitstekend

13	In welk land is uw vader geboren? In welk land is uw moeder geboren?	…………………………… ……………………………
14	Met betrekking tot mijn etnische afkomst voel ik me…..	❏ Nederlands ❏ Marokkaans ❏ Turks ❏ Surinaams ❏ Antilliaans ❏ Overig, namelijk………………
15	Bent u teamleider?	❏ Ja, ga door met vraag 16 ❏ Nee, ga door met vraag 19
16	Hoelang bent u al teamleider?	…..jaar …..maanden
17	Uit hoeveel mannen en vrouwen bestaat uw team?	………mannen en ………..vrouwen
18	Kunt u inschatten welke culturele achtergrond uw teamleden hebben *(a.u.b aantal collega's invullen)*?	*Culturele afkomst aantal* Nederlands …….. Surinaams …….. Antilliaans …….. Turks …….. Marokkaans …….. Anders, nl: …….. …….. …….. …….. …….. …….. …….. …….. …….. …….. …….. ……..

*De volgende vragen gaan over **uw mening met betrekking tot cultuurbehoud en -aanpassing van allochtone werknemers**. Behoort u tot deze groep, vul dan a.u.b. uw eigen voorkeur in. Autochtone werknemers geven aan in hoeverre ze het eens/oneens zijn met de stellingen.*

1	2	3	4	5
Helemaal mee oneens	Enigszins mee oneens	Neutraal	Enigszins mee eens	Helemaal mee eens

"Ik vind het belangrijk dat allochtone werknemers op het werk…"

50	…zich aanpassen aan de Nederlandse waarden en normen, maar *met* behoud van hun eigen culturele waarden en normen	1	2	3	4	5
51	…zich *volledig* aanpassen aan de Nederlandse waarden en normen, *zonder* behoud hun eigen culturele waarden en normen	1	2	3	4	5
52	… hun eigen culturele waarden en normen behouden, *zonder* zich aan te passen aan de Nederlandse waarden en normen	1	2	3	4	5
53	…behandeld worden als individu, waarbij verschillen in culturele waarden en normen niet van belang zijn	1	2	3	4	5
54	…zich aanpassen aan de Nederlandse cultuur, maar *met* behoud van hun eigen cultuur	1	2	3	4	5

1	2	3	4	5
Helemaal mee oneens	Enigszins mee oneens	Neutraal	Enigszins mee eens	Helemaal mee eens

"Ik vind het belangrijk dat allochtone werknemers op het werk…"

55	…zich volledig aanpassen aan de Nederlandse cultuur, *zonder* behoud hun eigen cultuur	1	2	3	4	5
56	…hun eigen cultuur behouden, *zonder* zich aan te passen aan de Nederlandse cultuur	1	2	3	4	5
57	…behandeld worden als individu, waarbij cultuurverschillen *geen* rol van betekenis spelen	1	2	3	4	5
58	…zich aanpassen aan de Nederlandse gebruiken, maar *met* behoud van hun eigen culturele gebruiken	1	2	3	4	5
59	…zich aanpassen aan de Nederlandse gebruiken, *zonder* behoud van hun eigen culturele gebruiken	1	2	3	4	5
60	…hun eigen culturele gebruiken behouden, *zonder* zich aan te passen aan de Nederlandse gebruiken	1	2	3	4	5
61	…behandeld worden als individu, waarbij verschillen in culturele gebruiken *niet* belangrijk zijn	1	2	3	4	5

C. Team Acculturation Preference

*Onderstaande stellingen gaan **het daadwerkelijke gedrag van allochtone werknemers binnen uw team**. Geeft a.u.b. aan in hoeverre de volgende situaties **op uw team** van toepassing zijn.*

1	2	3	4	5
(Bijna) nooit	Zelden	Af en toe	Regelmatig	(Bijna) altijd

"Binnen mijn team…"

62	…passen allochtone werknemers zich aan de Nederlandse waarden en normen aan, maar *met* behoud van hun eigen culturele waarden en normen	1	2	3	4	5
63	passen allochtone werknemers zich *volledig* aan de Nederlandse waarden en normen aan, *zonder* behoud van hun eigen culturele waarden en normen	1	2	3	4	5
64	…behouden allochtone werknemers hun eigen culturele waarden en normen, zonder aanpassing aan de Nederlandse waarden en normen	1	2	3	4	5
65	…spelen verschillen in culturele waarden en normen geen rol van betekenis	1	2	3	4	5
66	…passen allochtone werknemers zich aan de Nederlandse cultuur aan, maar met behoud van hun eigen cultuur	1	2	3	4	5
67	…passen allochtone werknemers zich volledig aan de Nederlandse cultuur aan, zonder behoud van hun eigen cultuur	1	2	3	4	5

1	2	3	4	5
Helemaal mee oneens	Enigszins mee oneens	Neutraal	Enigszins mee eens	Helemaal mee eens

"Binnen mijn team…"

68	…behouden allochtone werknemers hun eigen cultuur, *zonder* zich aan te passen aan de Nederlandse cultuur	1	2	3	4	5
69	…spelen cultuurverschillen *geen* rol van betekenis	1	2	3	4	5
70	…passen allochtone werknemers zich aan de Nederlandse gebruiken aan, maar *met* behoud van de eigen culturele gebruiken	1	2	3	4	5
71	…passen allochtone werknemers zich *volledig* aan de Nederlandse taal aan, zonder behoud van hun eigen culturele gebruiken	1	2	3	4	5
72	…behouden allochtone werknemers hun eigen culturele gebruiken, *zonder* zich aan te passen aan de Nederlandse gebruiken	1	2	3	4	5
73	…spelen verschillen in culturele gebruiken *geen* rol van betekenis	1	2	3	4	5

D. Ethnic Discrimination

Hieronder staan een viertal vragen over ongewenste omgangsvormen binnen uw team.
Vult u a.u.b. het antwoord in dat als beste uw mening weergeeft.

1	2	3	4	5
(Bijna) nooit	Zelden	Af en toe	Regelmatig	(Bijna) altijd

87	Hoe vaak komt het voor dat er kwetsende opmerkingen worden gemaakt tegen u vanwege uw culturele afkomst?	1 2 3 4 5
88	Hoe vaak komt het voor dat u gepest of getreiterd wordt vanwege uw culturele afkomst?	1 2 3 4 5
89	Hoe vaak komt het voor dat u genegeerd wordt vanwege uw culturele afkomst?	1 2 3 4 5
90	Hoe vaak komt het voor dat u onrechtvaardig behandeld wordt vanwege uw culturele afkomst?	1 2 3 4 5

E. Work-related Health Measures: Burnout

Nooit	Sporadisch	Af en toe	Regelmatig	Dikwijls	Zeer dikwijls	Altijd
0	1	2	3	4	5	6

130	Ik voel me mentaal uitgeput door mijn werk	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
131	Ik twijfel aan het nut van mijn werk	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
132	Een hele dag werken vormt een zware belasting voor mij	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
133	Ik weet de problemen in mijn werk goed op te lossen	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
134	Ik voel me 'opgebrand' door mijn werk	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
135	Ik heb het gevoel dat ik met mijn werk een positieve bijdrage lever aan het functioneren van de organisatie	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
136	Ik merk dat ik teveel afstand heb gekregen van mijn werk	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
137	Ik ben niet meer zo enthousiast als vroeger over mijn werk	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
138	Ik vind dat ik mijn werk goed doe	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
139	Als ik op mijn werk iets afrond vrolijkt dat me op	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
140	Aan het einde van een werkdag voel ik me leeg	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
141	Ik heb in deze baan veel waardevolle dingen bereikt	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
142	Ik voel me vermoeid als ik 's morgens opsta en er weer een werkdag voor me ligt	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
143	Ik ben cynischer geworden over de effecten van mijn werk	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
144	Op mijn werk blaak ik van het zelfvertrouwen	0 1 2 3 4 5 6

De Universiteit Utrecht wil, in samenwerking met Actiz, nagaan hoe de opvattingen en meningen omtrent culturele diversiteit zich door de tijd heen ontwikkeld. Omdat de anonimiteit en vertrouwelijkheid van deze gegevens gewaarborgd zijn, vragen we u om een persoonlijke code aan te maken. Deze code maakt het mogelijk om uw antwoorden op deze vragenlijst en te koppelen aan een toekomstige vragenlijst. De code luidt als volgt:

1. Wat is de eerste letter van de voornaam van uw moeder? ……

2. Wat is de eerste letter van de achternaam van uw vader? ……

3. Wat is de eerste letter van de voornaam van uw vader? ……

4. Wat zijn de laatste 2 cijfers van uw geboortejaar? ……

Hartelijk dank voor uw medewerking!

Eventuele opmerkingen kunt u in onderstaand tekstvlak plaatsen:

--Einde van de vragenlijst--